

EARLY
CANADIAN
MASONRY

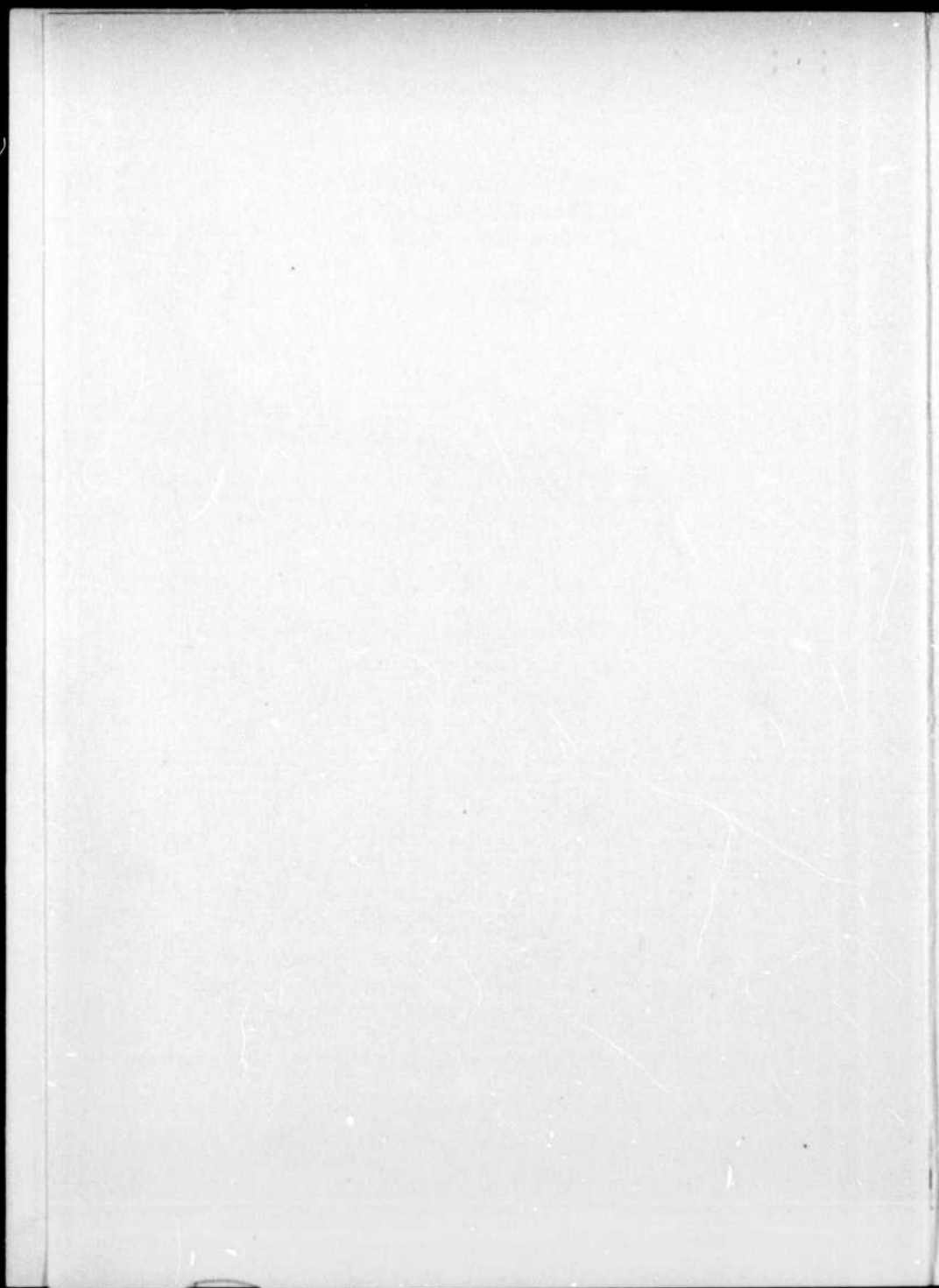


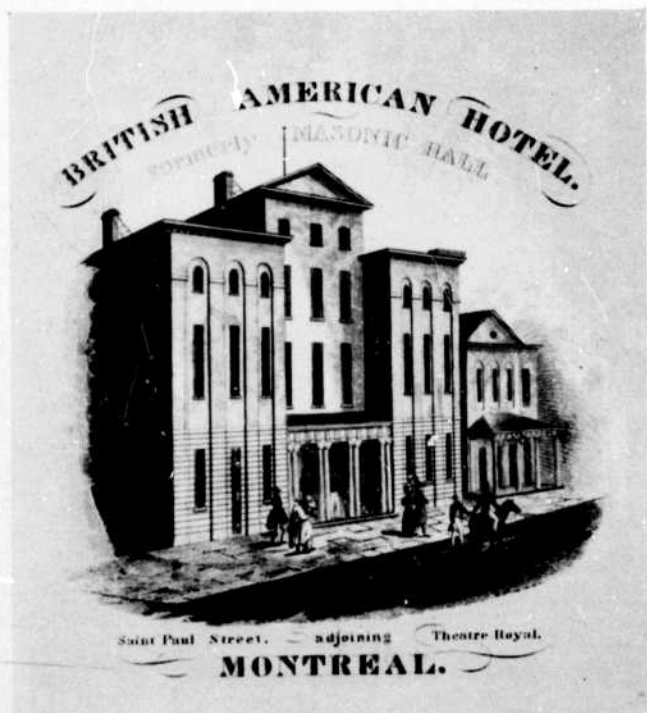
Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec

*This first edition is limited
to three hundred copies,
of which this Book is*

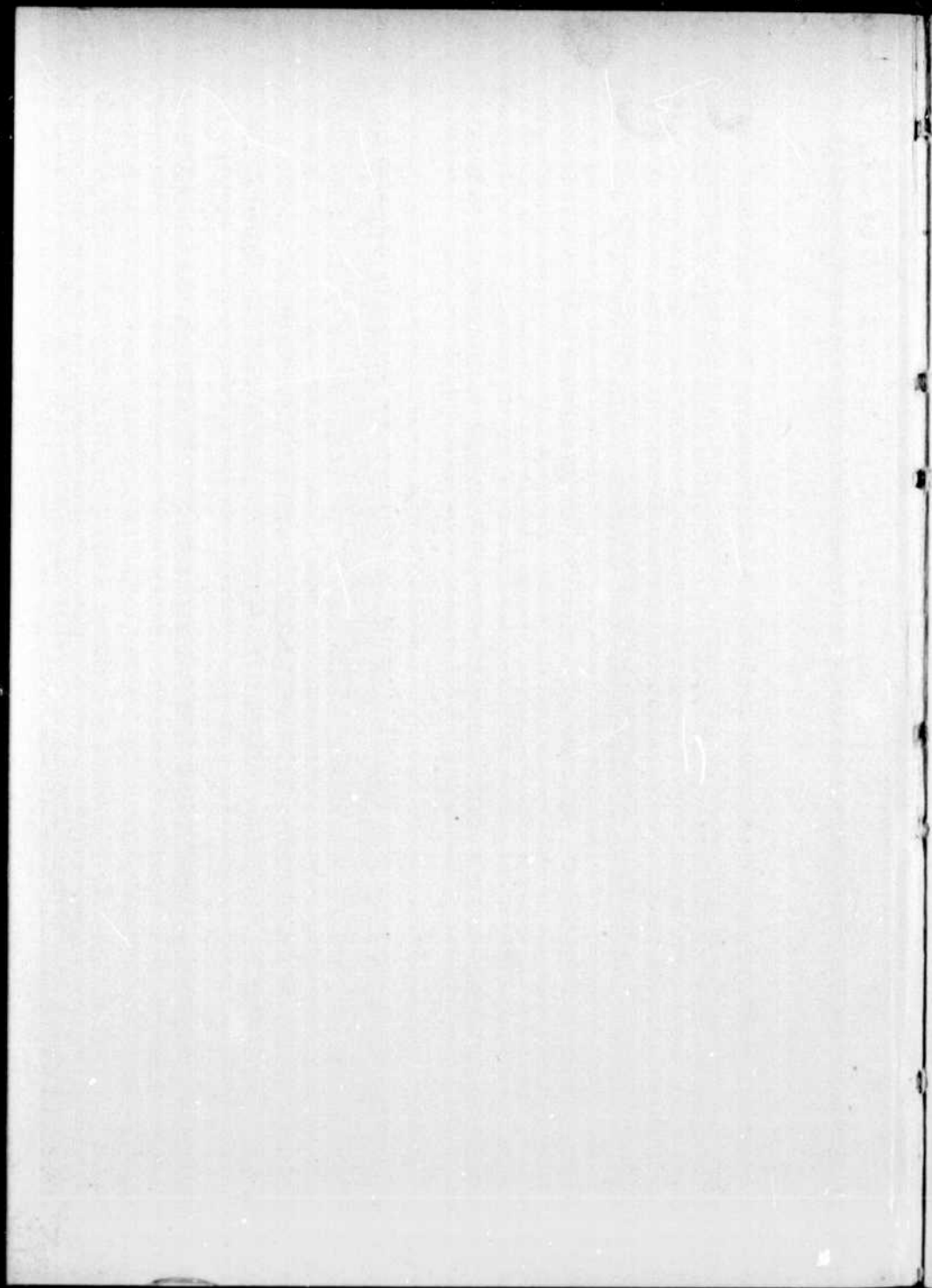
99

Albermarle Smith

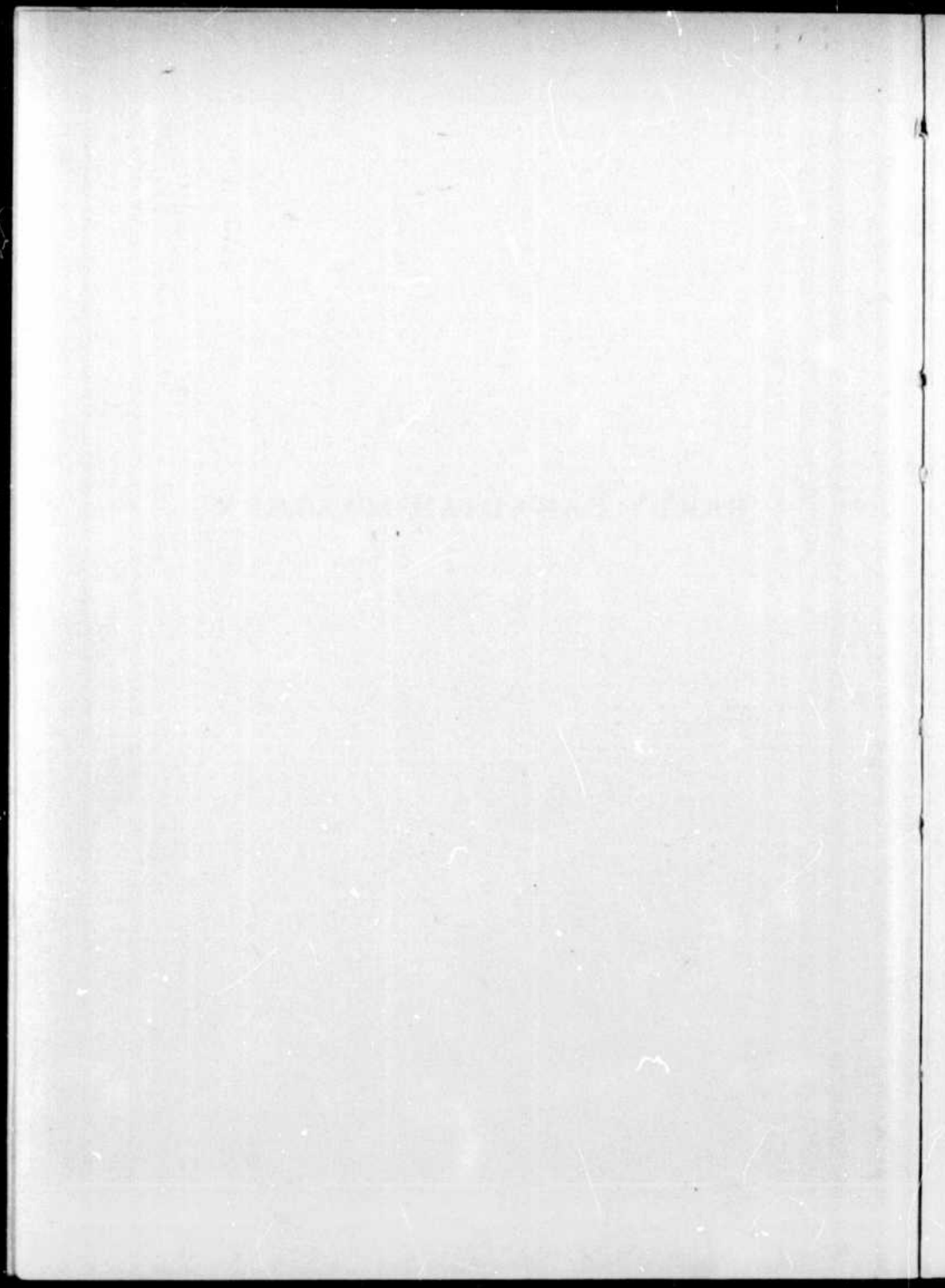




The Masonic Hall Hotel, later re-named the British American Hotel, Built in 1825, destroyed by fire in 1833. Contained the first "Masonic Hall" built in Canada.



EARLY CANADIAN MASONRY



A Research into
EARLY CANADIAN MASONRY
1759-1869

by Pemberton Smith, P.M., O.R.

Former President, "The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada"; (now known as the "Canadian Historical Association")

Treasurer and Member of Council, "The Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal"; (operating the Historical Museum in the "Chateau de Ramezay").

Formerly, Member of Council, "McCord National Museum," Montreal.

Life Member, "The Mechanics Institute of Montreal".

MONTREAL
QUALITY PRESS LIMITED
MCMXXXIX

132798

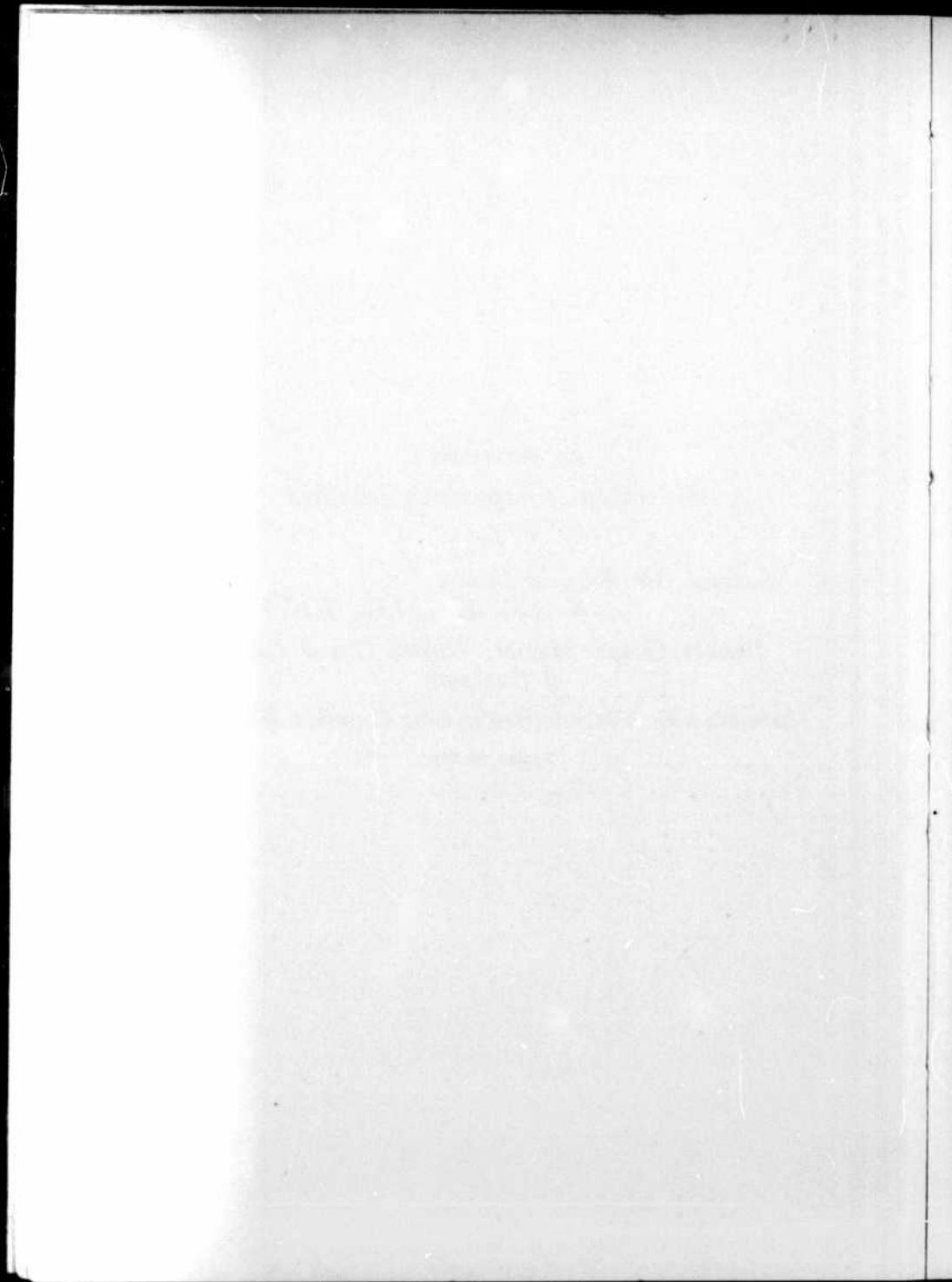
*By permission,
this volume is respectfully dedicated*

to

*General Sir Francis Davies,
K.C.B., K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.,
Deputy Grand Master; United Grand Lodge
of England.*

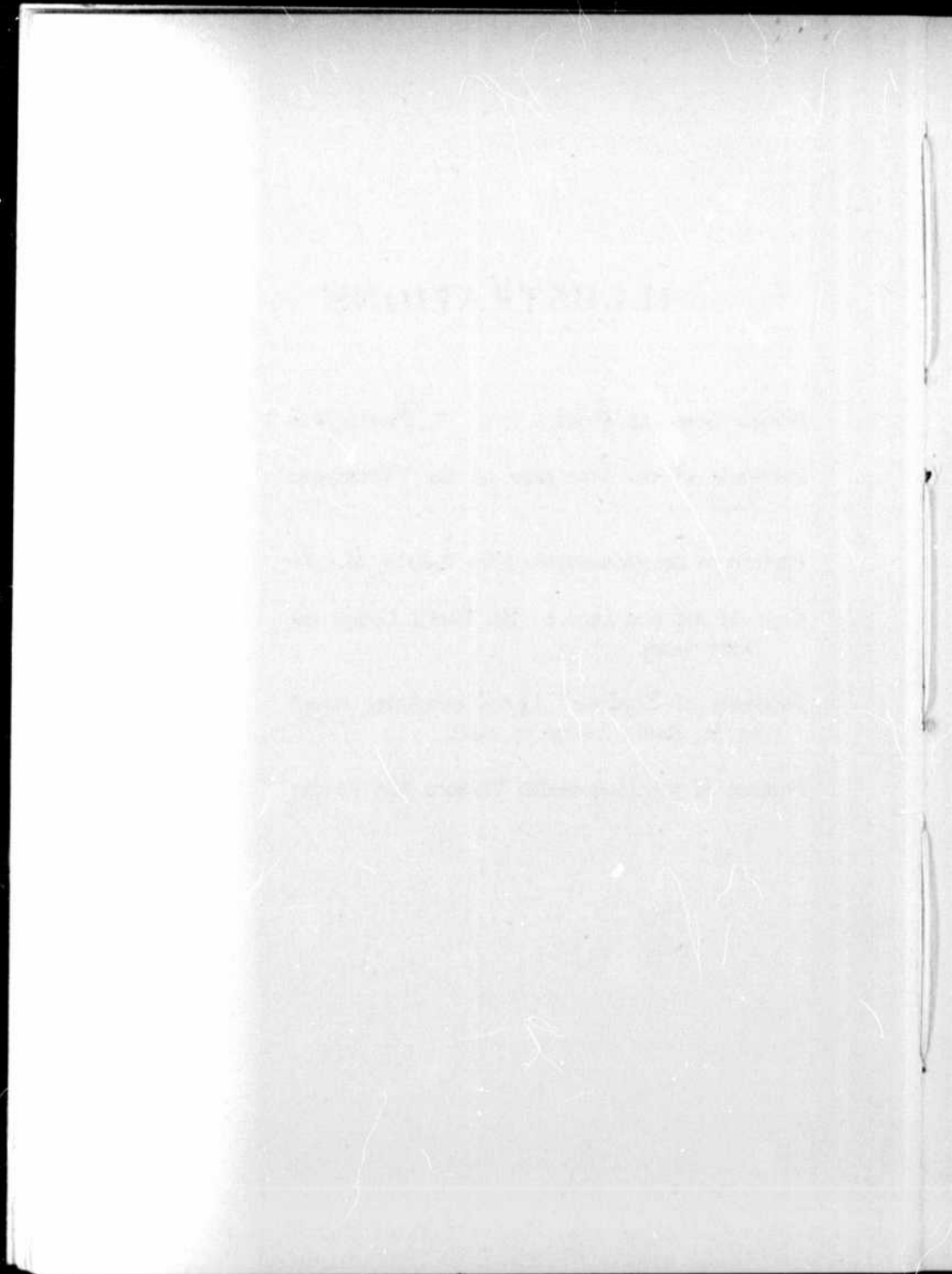
(who has taken a keen interest in early Canadian History)

by the Author



ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
British American Hotel, Frontispiece	
Facsimile of the first page of the "Thompson Book"	6
Portrait of the Honourable John Molson, M.L.A.	38
Copy of the seal used by St. Paul's Lodge for many years.	54
Facsimile of "Ancient" Lodge certificate issued by St. Paul's Lodge in 1808.	68
Portrait of the Honourable William McGillivray	97



PART I

**THE FIRST PROVINCIAL
GRAND LODGE OF CANADA**

"SENIORS" OR "MODERNS"
1759-1797

HEADQUARTERS AT QUEBEC
(Removed to Montreal in 1788)

1942

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

REPORT NO. 100

BY

W. K. H. PANOFKY

AND

W. L. BARKER

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1942

CHAPTER I

WHILE "Quebec" is a Huron-Indian word signifying "the Narrows," or "the Place where the river narrows"; so also "Canada" is a Huron-Indian word, (pronounced "Kan-nat-ta"), signifying "The Villages," or "the small settlements." Four centuries ago, the Hurons were one of the most powerful, (if not the most powerful) of all the so-called "Indian" tribes in North America; with their headquarters at their large town of Stadacona (close to which Champlain built his city of Quebec). But they had a branch tribe on the Georgian Bay, so Lake Huron is also named after this tribe. And, up and down the river from Stadacona, they had several small camps or settlements, which they called the "Kan-nat-ta." An Indian leaving Stadacona would be very likely to say he was going for a trip to the "Kan-na-ta." This is the origin of the name "Canada," which our whole Dominion now bears.¹

I have been given a copy of a letter written in Montreal on the 25th of August, 1768, to the Provincial Grand Master at Quebec, by Edward Antill, then acting in the city of Montreal as Deputy Provincial Grand Master for this first Provincial Grand Lodge; in which he clearly indicates the existence of French Masonry

1. This is certified by the well-known historian and authority, Dr. W. D. Lighthall, F.R.S.C.

in Canada while it still was part of "New France." The letter reads as follows:

"Bro. Pierre Gamlin¹ has a grand warrant from the Grand Master of France for the whole Province of Canada, which is ordered to to be registered in the proceedings here: as I thought it better to assemble together promiscuously than set up any such distinction as English and French workmen."

It must be borne in mind, in talking about this early history, that the term "Canada," prior to the year 1867, only applied to what are now known as the southern portions of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. "New France" originally comprised two provinces; the Province of Canada, (as just described), and the Province of Acadia, which took in all the territory we now know as "the Maritime Provinces." And, under British rule after the cession, the term "Canada" was still restricted to Upper and Lower Canada; or, say roughly, the valley of the St. Lawrence river as far as the Great Lakes, and the valley of the Ottawa river as far as Lake Temiskaming. For this reason, the writer proposes to coin and use the phrase "Canada Proper," to try and make clear the limits of the original "Province of Canada."² It was not until the passing of the "Act of Confederation" that the name "Canada" was chosen to designate the newly-formed and widely-spread "Dominion." (Which, by the way, was the first of the British Dominions to be called a Dominion.)

When Alexander Mackenzie, hailing from Montreal, finally succeeded in navigating and portaging his birch-bark canoe across the giant Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, (the first white man to succeed in reaching the Pacific from the east), the inscription he left on the flat rock at Elcho Harbour at the mouth of the

1. The usual French spelling of this name is "Gamelin."

2. Many early historians describe Upper and Lower Canada (Canada Proper) as "the Canadas."

Dean Inlet, into which the Coola river empties itself,
read as follows:

“Alexander Mackenzie,
From Canada by land
22 July, 1793.”

CHAPTER II

THE early part of the eighteenth century was to make a vital difference in the limits of New France. At the beginning of the century, about the year 1701, there were two main colonies in North America; New France on the north, with headquarters at Quebec; and New England to the south, with headquarters at Boston, Massachusetts. France and England (such close allies during the Great War of 1914), were in the middle of a long period of successive wars, which only really ended with the battle of Waterloo in 1815. And so, whenever France and England went to war, New England and New France were automatically at war also; and conversely, whenever France and England signed a treaty of peace, New England and New France were automatically at peace again.

Early in the century began that long war known as the “War of the Succession” This was the war in which the Duke of Marlborough proved himself one of the best land fighters in history; and in 1713, by the Peace Treaty of Utrecht, all the province of Acadia, (with the exception only of Cape Breton island) was taken away from New France, rechristened Nova

Scotia, and given over to New England. As Cape Breton island would thus form the only sea link by which France could guard her remaining Province of Canada, she set to work to build an impregnable fortress on the east side of this island; the "Fort of Louisbourg." It took ten years to build, and was nicknamed "the Gibraltar of the West."

It was the custom of sailing ships leaving New England for the Home land, (using the great circle route) to sail close to Cape Sable in Nova Scotia and Cape Race in Newfoundland, and so to pass uncomfortably near to this great fortress, with its good harbour for French ships of war. In 1744, France and England were at war again. So in 1745, a New England force, under the command of Sir William Pepperell, acting with Commodore Warren of the British navy, set sail from Boston for Louisbourg, laid siege to "the impregnable fortress," and finally captured it. But three years afterwards, when peace had been declared and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle signed, Louisbourg was solemnly given back to New France again!

You can imagine the consternation in Massachusetts! New England immediately began to press for the fortification of some port on the south coast of Nova Scotia to serve as a harbour of refuge, (in case of need), from the "Louisbourg menace." The harbour of Halifax was chosen for this purpose; and was fortified, garrisoned, and occupied in 1749. Very shortly afterwards, a Masonic Lodge was opened, which is still operating, and confirms the claim of the Province of Nova Scotia that English-speaking Masonry in the Dominion of Canada first began in their province.* But the new

* It is said that an earlier Masonic Lodge operated in Nova Scotia, at Annapolis Royal.

Halifax lodge got their warrant from the Provincial Grand Lodge operating at Boston in New England: and never had anything to do with the "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada" which was later established at Quebec. In fact, Nova Scotia had nothing to do with the word "Canada" prior to the "Act of Confederation," passed in 1867.

(Ez it noted, when New England "rebelled," and signed the "Declaration of Independence" in 1776, Nova Scotia's small population remained loyal to the British Crown; and it became the home of many "United Empire Loyalist" families who fled the "United States." But that didn't make it part of Canada. It remained a separate Crown Colony, (like Newfoundland), until Confederation).

In 1754, fighting broke out between New England and New France; George Washington fighting for New England against New France. In 1756 and 1757, Montcalm for the French was proving himself a second "Marlborough," and was having a series of great victories over the English along the line of Lake Champlain and westward. Louisbourg, off to one side had become isolated from the main fighting; so, in 1758, the British sent a special expedition against it, and this time captured it "for keeps." This expedition was under the command of Admiral Boscawen for the navy, and General Amherst for the army. With Amherst, there was a promising young Brigadier-General named James Wolfe, who led the first landing party, and generally covered himself with glory. Louisbourg capitulated to the British for the last time on the 26th July, 1758; and three years later, the British had it razed to the ground. So passed away the "Louisbourg menace," at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

Those who predicted a future for Wolfe were amply

justified. In 1759, he was out again for the purpose of attacking Quebec, which (since Louisbourg had been captured) was then rated as the second strongest fortress in the world—(Gibraltar still being the first). There Wolfe was honoured by meeting the great Montcalm himself on the Plains of Abraham—the result you all know. First Montcalm charged—the charge was met, steady as a rock, by two veteran regiments, the 43rd and 47th: and the charge changed into a retreat. Please note especially the 47th regiment. It had much to do with the establishment of Masonry in “Canada Proper.”

CHAPTER III

THE same eighteenth century, that had such an effect on New France, was to make a vital change in the “set-up” of Masonry in Great Britain. At the beginning of the century there were a great many lodges; all carrying on without any regulation or coordination. Up to this time, there hadn't been any “Grand Lodge” of speculative Masons.

After many long discussions, the first “Grand Lodge” was formed in 1717, in London. It was followed later on by the formation of a separate “Grand Lodge of Ireland”; and shortly after that by the foundation of a “Grand Lodge of Scotland.” The effect of the establishment of these two separate Grand Lodges was, automatically, to change the London Grand Lodge into the “Grand Lodge of England.”

Travel was slow and tedious at this period, (by saddle or by stage-coach,) and the difficulty of sending

17
Subscribed on the 28th day of November 1787
and of Masonry 5787 which was in some
as convenient after the surrender of this
place to His Britannic Majesty's Arms

The names & numbers of the
following Lodges viz: N^o 102 in the
57th Regiment N^o 217 in the 58th Regiment
N^o 265 in the 15th Regiment Dispensation
126 in the 53rd Regiment Dispensation
105 in the Artillery all of the Registry
of Ireland and N^o of Lodges
warranted; that in form as is set forth in
the Copying when it was consulted
and

Facsimile of the first page of the "Thompson
Book." Written in James Thompson's own
handwriting.



representatives from distant lodges to London caused the widespread introduction of the system of "Provincial Grand Lodges," to be closer to and more convenient for the individual lodges. (Many of these "Provincial Grand Lodges" still remain). Each Provincial Grand Lodge had its own Provincial Grand Master and Officers, and full authority to represent the Grand Lodge in its particular district; but had to report regularly to the Grand Lodge, and submit to their direction in all things.

Again, among the regular regiments of the British army, it was a usual custom to grant to the officers of the regiment a warrant authorizing them to hold a Masonic lodge at any locality where the regiment might happen to be temporarily stationed. There were a great many of these "Military" or "travelling" warrants. It is said to have been the army custom at that time to have each line regiment spend a minimum of two years on service in Ireland; and the Grand Lodge of Ireland seems to have been particularly active and busy in bestowing warrants, many English Regiments having thus obtained their military warrants from Ireland. This was the general situation as regards "Grand Lodges," when Wolfe arrived in Canada in 1759, to die on the field of battle at the moment of his victory.

Among the regiments who moved into the Citadel of Quebec to form the new garrison, there were many of the above described "Military Warrants," almost all of them from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Very shortly, the officers of these army lodges got together, and decided that they would form a "Provincial Grand Lodge," for the proper carrying on of the Craft in the new British Province of Canada; and in view of their distance from the Old Country, and the slowness of communications by sailing ship, that they would at

first operate without any London warrant, and await a convenient season for their report to the "Grand Lodge," (which meant probably that the officers of the first regiment to be relieved and called home would be expected to make a full report). Although most of these military lodges were operating under Irish warrants, there seems to have been no idea of forming an Irish "Provincial Grand Lodge":—the new institution was clearly created to form eventually a part of the "Grand Lodge of England" system.

Quebec was surrendered to the British on the 18th of September, 1759. Just about two months later, the brethren in the military lodges in the garrison met together in Quebec.

The opening entry in the minutes of this meeting reads as follows:

"Quebec on the 28th day of November 1759, and of Masonry 5759, which was as soon as convenient after the surrender of this place to His Britannic Majesty's Arms.

The Masons and Wardens of the following Lodges, viz: No. 192 in the 47th Regiment, No. 218 in the 48th Regiment, No. 245 in the 15th Regiment. Dispensation 136 in the 43rd Regiment, Dispensation 195 in the Artillery, all of the Registry of Ireland, and No. 1 of Louisbourg Warrant; Mett in form at 6 o'clock in the evening when it was consulted and agreed upon as there were so many Lodges in this Garrison. That one of the Brethren present of the greatest skill and merritt should take upon him the name of Grand Master from the Authority of the above Lodges until such time as a favourable opportunity should offer for obtaining a proper sanction from the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable the Grand Master of England, and in consequence thereof of our True and faithful Brother, Mr. John Price Guinnett Lieutenant in His Majesty's 47th Regiment was unanimously and to the great satisfaction of the whole Fraternity assembled proclaimed Grand Master for the ensuing year."*

* Copied from "Thompson's Book" referred to in Chapter IX.

CHAPTER IV

AS soon as the news of the capture of Quebec reached the Old Country, there began an influx of civilians; merchants, traders, professional men;—all anxious to adventure in this new territory. Among the first to reach Quebec was one Miles Prenties, who established himself there as an inn-keeper, and whose inn was later to be rendered famous by the frequent visits of Nelson while at Quebec.

The new Provincial Grand Lodge, composed entirely of military officers quartered in the Citadel, seems to have been slow to realize that it was the duty of a Provincial Grand Lodge to begin forming permanent civilian lodges. And so a group of civilians got together, formed themselves into a lodge, and got independently from the Grand Lodge itself in London, a proper Warrant or Charter to act as such, under the name and special number of "Merchants Lodge, Quebec, No. 1." This was undoubtedly the first warrant issued under the British regime in Canada Proper.

At a meeting held in Quebec on the 30th October, 1760, at which the Provincial Grand Lodge officers were present, with the members of five of the military lodges, and also the members of "Merchants No. 1," Bro. Walker of the last named lodge exhibited the warrant that his lodge had obtained from the Rt. Wor. the Rt. Hon. the Grand Master of Masons in England, and apparently caused the Provincial Grand Officers to realize that it was really quite possible to obtain a proper charter without undue delay. A committee was

immediately formed to petition the Grand Lodge to issue a proper warrant to the Provincial Grand Lodge to operate. This was a very humble petition; the officers pleading as excuse for acting temporarily without warrant their "extreme zeal for the craft." "Merchants Lodge, Quebec, No. 1," were brought into the matter of this petition; for the committee formed was composed of three names, Bros. Collier and Orr, (the Provincial S. and J. Grand Wardens), and the said Bro. Walker of "Merchants No. 1," now also acting as Deputy G. M. in the Provincial Grand Lodge under G. M. Lt. Milburne Weste. The committee lost little time;—the petition, signed by Wm. Paxton as Grand Secretary, went forward to London on the 8th November, 1762

Added to the petition was the following document, giving a list of lodges. This added document gives the actual authentic composition of this first Provincial Grand Lodge:

"We think it our duty to inform you that since our first convention we have on the proper application and after due examination into the worth and skill of certain Brethren at this place, Montreal, and others belonging to different Regiments, given the following dispensations, viz:

Merchants Lodge No. 9 Quebec—(This lodge is that which is mentioned to have a warrant from England under the name of Merchants Lodge Quebec No. 1).

MILITARY LODGES

- * "Select" Lodge.
- No. 2 Quebec 58th Regiment.
- * No. 3 " 2nd Battn. Royal Americans.
- No. 4 " 28th Regiment.
- No. 5 " 3rd Battn. Royal Americans.
- * No. 6 " 78th Regiment.
- No. 7 " Civil Branch of Ordnance (vacant).
- No. 8 " 35th Regiment.

- * No. 10 " Officers 47th Regiment.
- * No. 11 " Royal Artillery.
- * No. 13 " 4th Battn. Royal Americans.
- * No. 14 " 44th Regiment.
- * No. 15 " 80th Regiment.

No other lodge in Canada but No. 192 from Ireland held in the 47th Regiment. N.B. Those marked thus * are at present in Canada and amount on the whole to about 150 Brethren.

Quebec 8th November 1762."¹

Whether Merchants Lodge was particularly pleased to see its number altered from No. 1 to 9 (to make way for several military lodges), is debatable. One thing is certain, it continued to use its London "No. 1 Quebec," when possible, in preference to its new "Provincial No. 9." In the first copy of the "Quebec Gazette," (the first newspaper to be published in Canada Proper; and issued on the 21st June, 1764, printed part in English and part in French), there appears the following notice in English:

"NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN That on Sunday the 24th, being the Festival of St. Jhou, such strange brethren who may have a Desire of joining the Merchants Lodge, No. 1, Quebec, may obtain Liberty, by applying to Miles Prenties. at the Sun in St. John Street, who has Tickets, Price Five Shillings, for that Day."

CHAPTER V

THE tale of the difficulties and delays met with in getting a London Warrant or "Deputation"² across the high seas and safely delivered at Quebec is fraught

1. Copied from "Thompson's Book," referred to in Chapter IX.

2. A "Deputation" is a document "deputing" some chosen individual to act for the Grand Master as "Provincial Grand Master," and to organize and maintain a "Provincial Grand Lodge."

both with disappointment and adventure; and, at one time, stark tragedy. The first "Deputation," appointing Lt. Milburne Weste to be Provincial G.M. for Canada, was signed by Earl Ferrers, towards the close of his term as Grand Master in London, on the 5th May, 1764. (This fact was confirmed by a letter from the Grand Secretary, Sam Spencer, written in London on the 21st March in 1765).

In the meantime, the names of the Provincial Grand Masters who had held office prior to the issue of any such London "deputation," and the dates of their appointments, are as follows:

28 Nov. 1759, Lieut. John Price Guinnett, 47th Regt., Lodge No. 10.

24 June 1760, Col. Simon Fraser, 78th Regt., Lodge No. 6.

24 Nov. 1760, Capt. Thos. Augustus Span, 28th Regt., Lodge No. 4.

27 Dec. 1761, Lieut. Milburne Weste, 47th Regt., Lodge No. 10.

(Lt. Milburne Weste was to hold office until 1766, when the first civilian, The Hon. John Collins, was appointed to the post).

There was evidently a constant movement going on among the military regiments. Among the twelve military lodges mentioned in the note attached to the famous "petition" mentioned in the last chapter as having formed part of this first "Provincial Grand Lodge" in the period from the 28th November, 1759 to the 8th November, 1762, only seven actually remained at the latter date in Canada Proper, either in Quebec or Montreal.

The active hand of the 47th Regiment, (who had done

so well at the battle of the Plains of Abraham), is evident in the first "Provincial Grand Lodge." The first Prov. G.M. in 1759, was Lieut. Guinnett, of the 47th Regiment. The first Prov. G.M. to be recognized in the London "deputation" of the 5th May, 1764, was Lieut. Weste, also of the 47th Regiment. Again, the taking to itself of so high a number as No. 10, (as the 47th Regiment did), would seem to indicate a special act of courtesy by a body of gentlemen fully satisfied with their leading position in the "Provincial Grand Lodge."

The 1764 "deputation" was duly despatched by sailing ship bound for Quebec, and was eagerly awaited and expected by the members of the Provincial Grand Lodge. The ship got across the ocean safely, but word came that she was detained by adverse winds off Cap Tourment, (near the "Traverse" channel at the foot of the Island of Orleans). A group of ardent masons travelled down to Cap Tourment, got on board the ship; and, as the Captain would not promise to reach Quebec for another week unless the weather changed, they borrowed the ship's pinnace, took the document with them, and started to navigate the odd thirty miles themselves. They were caught in a bad squall on the way; the pinnace was upset, and the brethren were drowned. and the precious "deputation" disappeared, never to be seen again.

This tragedy threw the new Provincial Grand Lodge into a period of gloom and inaction. As before mentioned, they had obtained a letter from the Grand Secretary in London dated March 1765, confirming the proper signing of the "deputation" in favour of Milburne Weste; so that in the books of the Grand Lodge they were properly noted as a "legally constituted Provincial Grand Lodge"—but Weste was bereft of any

document to produce as occasion might require. So began a long correspondence, first applying for a "duplicate" copy of the "deputation." But London said it was impossible to issue any duplicate of such a document; the proper course was to make fresh application for a new Grand Warrant; to which Quebec replied that they were an impoverished lot, and could not afford the fresh fee, having already paid one full fee.

However, London finally brought them round to their point of view, and they applied for a fresh "Grand Warrant." (The original "deputation in favour of Lt. Milburne Weste" by itself would not have been of much use, however; for during this period he had retired, and had been replaced by the Hon. John Collins). Their letter to Grand Lodge dated 14th October, 1766, relates the loss of the original "deputation," and states that the Provincial Grand Lodge Officers then consisted of John Collins, Provincial Grand Master; Jacob Rowe and John Gawler, Grand Wardens; and James Thompson, Grand Secretary;—and prays for the issue of a new Grand Warrant.

Shortly after this letter, the Prov. Grand Junior Warden, John Gawler, removed to London, where he continued for many years to act as local representative and London correspondent of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada. And on the 10th March, 1768, he was able to write to Quebec, "I have much pleasure to transmit you the long wished for Grand Warrant." This had been properly signed by the Duke of Beaufort, Rt. Wor. Grand Master, it was safely received at Quebec this time; and at last, in 1768, the first "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada," (begun in 1759), became in all respects recognized, regularized, warranted and duly established in accord with all the requirements of the Grand Lodge of England.

CHAPTER VI

IF an engineer were to draw a chart of the progress of this first "Provincial Grand Lodge," the curve would look like one side of a figure 8; or a diagram would be like a transverse section of an old fashioned "Hour Glass." The Provincial Grand Lodge kept expanding until the American "War of Independence" began, when it shrank to the irreducible minimum of five lodges, (all Civilian lodges). After the war of the revolution was over it began expanding again; and the influx into Canada Proper of many families of "United Empire Loyalists," (who chose to begin life all over again in a new colony rather than to forsake their allegiance to King and Country), helped it to grow.

At first, both in Quebec and Montreal, the military regiments in the garrisons would come and go. When a regiment that had been in Canada for some time was removed elsewhere, no time was lost in getting the new regiment sent in to replace the former one properly listed and furnished with a new Provincial Grand Lodge number.

All English masonic historians glorify the three "Bluewater Lodges," held on three frigates, H.M.S. "Vanguard," H.M.S. "Prince" and H.M.S. "Canceaux." The credit for the formation of these naval lodges goes to a very ardent mason, Thomas Dunckerley. (Robbins, in his "English Speaking Freemasonry," lists as the three pillars of the craft in the 18th century the three "Ds":—Desaguliers, Dunckerley and Dermott). Dunckerley was with Wolfe as an officer on H.M.S. "Van-

guard" at the siege of Quebec in 1759 and was commended in despatches. He was back at Quebec in the summer of 1760 with some sort of authority to "regulate Masonry in the new colony," and doubtless had a good deal to do with the action of "Merchants No. 1, Quebec" in suggesting in October of that year that the new Provincial Grand Lodge should apply just as soon as possible for a proper London warrant. But no English historian yet seems to have realized that the third "Bluewater Charter" was granted to the officers of H.M.S. "Canceaux" by this Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada, (then properly warranted), on the 27th of December, 1768,¹ (while the "Canceaux" was passing the winter in Quebec).

The British Government made an offer to any soldier of a grant of land, should he desire to resign and remain in the new colony. Probably the first to disband as an entire regiment and colonize was the "78th Highlanders," (whose military charter had been listed under the Provincial Grand Lodge No. 6). Colonel Simon Fraser decided to remain with his men; and eventually purchased two French Seigneuries, one in the county of Charlevoix near Murray Bay, one at the mouth of the Riviere du Loup (en bas), where the town was later called Fraserville after him. (His nephew, also Simon Fraser, moved up into Glengarry county at the eastern end of Upper Canada, later when the Scotch were "coming in" to Glengarry. This nephew became one of the partners of the "North West Fur Company of Montreal"; and as such famous as a traveller and explorer, and navigated the turbulent Fraser river in British Columbia from source to mouth at the Pacific Ocean in a bark canoe, which is why this river bears his name).

1. See Dayne's "Birth and growth of the Grand Lodge of England," page 66.

Colonel Simon Fraser, (the elder), was Provincial Grand Master from June to November 1760. It is supposed, due to this decision by the 78th to "disband and settle" that he resigned after such a brief tenure of office, and devoted his energies to supervising the proper locating and settling of his men. Along both shores of the St. Lawrence river, as far as Murray Bay on the north down to Metis on the south shore, are to be found the descendant families of these "78th Highlanders," many of whom, (especially on the north shore), having married French wives, still bear their Scotch names, but have ceased to speak a word of English.

The Provincial Grand Lodge was compelled to take action; as it would be impossible for a disbanded regiment to continue to use its Military Charter. In consequence, a new Civilian Lodge was formed, to include the former members of the 78th, and named "St. Andrew's Lodge."

Very shortly afterwards, another Civilian Lodge was formed at Quebec, and christened "St. Patrick's Lodge." Unfortunately, little is known about this lodge, except that it met as a going concern for over thirty years. The name and the circumstances at the time of its foundation would suggest that it may have been largely composed of disbanded Irish soldiers, who also planned to colonize and settle.

Under the French regime, Quebec had been the one important city in Canada Proper, and Montreal a much smaller town. But Montreal was beginning to grow up, and from time to time some of the regiments in Quebec who formed part of the first Provincial Grand Lodge would be moved up to form part of the Montreal Garrison, where they would carry on the practice of Masonry. And, after the forming of St. Patrick's

civilian lodge in Quebec, the Provincial Grand Lodge decided it was time to form a civilian lodge in Montreal. In the year 1761, therefore, they established a lodge there known as "St. Peter's Lodge." This was the first English-speaking civilian lodge ever established in the city of Montreal.

Among the members of St. Peter's Lodge, there was one particularly active-minded mason known as Edward Antill. On the 11th December, 1767, we find him writing down to the Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec suggesting his own appointment as Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Montreal! His suggestion was complied with; and he was soon formally installed in this position. He at once appointed his own Deputy's "Subsidiary Grand Lodge" in Montreal; of which the Secretary and Treasurer was John Gerbrand Beck, also a member of St. Peter's Lodge.

Edward Antill seems almost at once to have planned the formation of a second civilian lodge in Montreal. And on the 27th December, 1770, we find him and the officers of St. Peter's lodge, busy installing the second Montreal civilian lodge, under the name of "St. Paul's Lodge."

CHAPTER VII

THE first gun of the war of the "American Revolution" was fired in 1775, although the "Declaration of Independence" was only signed in 1776. Britain was so vitally involved in her European wars that she was compelled to treat this as a "secondary war." The garrison regiments in Canada were all veteran regiments,

and were rapidly withdrawn to do actual fighting at more immediately important points. The Citadel at Quebec was left with a minimum garrison; Montreal had to be content with a handful of soldiers.

It is not surprising therefore that the American Revolutionaries should have promptly dispatched an army under General Montgomery to make the conquest of Canada, moving from the shores of Lake Champlain up the line of the Richelieu river. To meet this, the British in Canada decided that Montreal was undefendable without a proper army; and moved their few regulars out to fortify St. Johns and Fort Chambly. After the surrender of Fort Chambly, therefore, Montgomery was able to occupy Montreal without a shot being fired from the walls of the city, and marched on to Quebec; where, as you know, he not only lost the battle, but lost his life as well. And after this defeat, the "Americans" abandoned their attempt to make a conquest of "Canada," and gradually withdrew to their own lines.

But before completely abandoning their idea of conquest, they sent up a delegation of prominent citizens, including Benjamin Franklin, to try by "moral suasion" to persuade the Canadians to join in with the rebels. The delegation housed themselves in the old Chateau de Ramezay building in Montreal, and Benjamin Franklin brought in the first printing press in the city, (twelve years after the establishment of the first press in Quebec), to be used in printing propaganda in both languages. He brought over from France a capable printer named Mesplets, to run the press. All their efforts to upset the loyalty of the Canadians failed, however, and eventually the entire invading force withdrew from Canada; leaving Mesplets to remain as the

"first printer of Montreal," and the publisher of the first "Montreal Gazette" newspaper.

The withdrawal of the former regular garrison regiments had been a great blow to the "Provincial Grand Lodge"; but the few civilian lodges that had been established decided to "carry on." In making his report to the Grand Lodge in London on the 7th November, 1776, the Provincial Grand Secretary, James Thompson, has this trenchant phrase.

"We cannot say much of the flourishing state of the Craft here: war was never a friend to it."

The town of Detroit, (founded by Lamothe Cadillac of Montreal), was then part of Canada proper. In this town, a lodge had been formed by the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York, under the name of "Harmony Lodge." (This is still a flourishing lodge, now reporting to the Grand Lodge of Michigan. But for two decades, circumstances directed it to report to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada at Quebec. Britain did not cede Michigan to the new "United States" until 1796).

The Revolutionary War dislocated all possible communications between Detroit and the P. G. L. of New York. So on the 6th September, 1777, we find the following letter, which speaks for itself:

"Rt. W. and W. Brethren of the Harmony Lodge, Detroit.

"By Act of the British Legislature, you are now in this Province, therefore with pleasure we begin a correspondence that our duty and interest prompt us to. You will please, as is your duty, to correspond with and look to us as your Provincial Grand Lodge; our Quarterly Communications are the first Mondays in March, June, September and December, the officers' names you have at the foot. We do not think it absolutely necessary for you to have a new warrant from us; but if it be your desire you will please to send down a copy of your old Warrant, and who your choice of officers are, and we will send you a new one free of any charge but that of the G.S., which is half a guinea.

"From every new brother that you make you will receive one dollar for this Lodge, and remit it with detail of the proceedings of your Lodge at least once a year; the sooner in the Autumn the better, as we transmit our actions to the Grand Lodge of England about this time. We are in a flourishing state here, altho' our work was hindered by the siege and Blockade of the Rebels, yet when this was raised, we resumed our vigor, and are in the full blossom of Love and Harmony.

We are, brethren, etc., etc.

The Honourable John Collins, Esq., P.G.M.

Bro. Thos. Aylwin, Esq., Deputy P.G.M.

Lauchn. Smith, S.G.W.

Francs. Anderson, J.G.W.

Chas. Grant, Esq., G.T.

Jas. Thompson, G.S.

John Saul, S.G.D.

Jos. Winter, J.G.D.

John Hill, Gr. Sword Bearer.

The Revd. Bro. Geo. Henry, G. Chaplain."

Although this letter, written to a strange lodge, makes a brave show of vigor and prosperity, the fact remains that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada was down to its lowest level, (that of five purely civilian lodges, including the above-mentioned Harmony Lodge at Detroit). At the same Quarterly Communication, the Grand Secretary prepares and forwards his report of transactions to the Grand Lodge at London. It is very brief, and reads as follows:

"Quebec, 6 September 1777.

We have printed copies of the transactions of two Grand Quarterly Communications since our last of 7th November 1776, to which letter we have had no reply. As a token of our obedience, we now send one guinea; and we believe it will be handed you either by Thos. Aylwin, our Deputy

Provincial Grand Master, or by Chas. Grant, Grand Treasurer, who are very capable of informing you minutely of the state of the Craft.

We are, Brother, etc., etc.

(Signed) James Thompson,

Grand Secretary.

No. 1, Merchants Lodge at Quebec.

No. 2, St. Andrew's Lodge at Quebec.

No. 3, St. Patrick's Lodge at Quebec.

No. 10, St. Paul's Lodge at Montreal.

Harmony Lodge at Detroit.

(Whose Warrant is from the P.G.L. of New York)."

There had been a re-numbering. All the famous Military Lodges, (whose officers had formed and dominated the atmosphere of the Provincial Grand Lodge), had disappeared, and their names had been stricken from the roll. This P.G.L. was to expand after the close of this war; and incidentally grant warrants to regiments brought in to re-garrison Canada; but the atmosphere from now on was to have a much larger civilian tinge;—in spite of the fact that the Provincial Grand Master who succeeded the Hon. John Collins was a Colonel Christopher Carleton, and that the very famous "United Empire Loyalist" and soldier, Sir John Johnson, Bart., was later to act as Provincial Grand Master for many years.

CHAPTER VIII

THE full list of Provincial Grand Masters of this first Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada, from beginning to end, reads as follows:

Nov. 1759, Lieut. John Price Guinnett.

June 1760, Col. Simon Fraser.

- Nov. 1760, Captn. Thomas Augustus Span.
 1761, Lieut. Milburne Weste.
 1766, The Honourable John Collins.
 1786, Col. Christopher Carleton.
 1788, Sir John Johnson, Bart.

Dr. John H. Graham, M.A., in his "Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec," published in 1892, after laborious research, prints a list of 37 lodges in this Provincial Grand Lodge, 15 of which were formed subsequent to the American Revolutionary War. He quotes, wherever possible, Provincial Lodge numbers; but one must remember that there were at least three "re-numberings," and that the same lodge may therefore have borne different Provincial numbers. Of the six regimental lodges who met in Quebec on the 28th November, 1759, to initiate this Provincial Grand Lodge he quotes none. Of the seven regiments mentioned in the petition dated 8th November, 1762, only one has any mention; that is the 44th regiment, (which in 1762 had lodge No. 14). He refers to the founding of "Rainsford" Lodge in the same 44th regiment under Provincial Lodge No. 18 in 1784. His list shews evidence of much labour and research, and may be accepted as the most accurate list obtainable. We therefore quote this list in full:

Name	Location	Prov'l No.	Inaugurated
1. "Select Stewards"	Quebec	(0)	1759
2. Merchants	"	1	1759
3. St. Andrew's	"	2	1760
4. St. Patrick's	"	3	1761
5. St. Peter's	Montreal	4	1761
6. Crown Point (55th)	Lake Champlain	Boston	1762
7. Quebec	Quebec	—	1762
8. Crown Point	Lake Champlain	—	1763
9. Zion	Detroit	N.Y.	1764

10. Fort William Henry	Lake George	N.Y.	1764
11. Crown Point	Lake Champlain	Boston	1764
12. — Regt.	Montreal	—	1765
13. — Rgt.	Quebec	—	1766
14. Deputy Provl. Grd. Ldg.	Montreal	—	1767
15. Canceaux (Naval)	Quebec	5	1768
16. Prov. G.M's. Own Select	Quebec	6	1769
17. 52nd Regiment	Montreal	7	1769
18. — Regiment	Quebec	(8)	1769
19. — Regiment	Quebec	9	1770
20. St. Paul's	Montreal	10	1770
21. "A Lodge"	Detroit	N.Y.	1772
22. Union	Detroit	N.Y.	1775
23. Anhalt-Zerbst	Quebec	—	1780
24. Unity	Sorel	13	1781
25. St. James, King's Rangers	Cataraqui (Kingston)	14	1781
26. St. John's	Michilimakinac	15	1782
27. Select	Montreal	16	1782
28. Barry, 34th Regt.	Quebec	17	1783
29. Rainsford, 44th Regt.	Quebec	18	1784
30. St. John's	Niagara	19	1785
31. Unity	Fort Wm. Henry	— C	1786
32. New Oswegatchie	Ogdensburg	— C	1786
33. New Brunswick	Fredericton	—	1789
34. Rawdon	"Between the Lakes" (viz., Ont. and Erie)	—	1790
35. Union	Cornwall	—	1790
36. St. John's of Friendship	Montreal	(11)	1791
37. Dorchester	Vergennes, Vt.	(12)	1791

This list however omits one lodge in Ontario founded in 1792, still going as "Barton 40" in Hamilton. In "Transactions for the Year 1922" of the "Lodge of Research No. C. C. of Ireland," printed in 1923 by Geo. F. Healy & Co. Ltd., 23 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin, a research is reported into the fortunes of Military Lodge No. 192 in the 47th Regiment, after that regiment had left Quebec; where it had taken so prominent

a part in the capture by Wolfe in 1759. The report states:

"This Lodge became No. 10 in the Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec. The No. 10 was presumably given up when the Regiment left Canada, as that number was granted to St. Paul's Lodge in Montreal in 1770; and later revised in 1792 as Barton Lodge No. 10 in the township of that name situate at the head of Lake Ontario."

CHAPTER IX

LET'S leave the story of the "Provincial Grand Lodge" for a while; and see what facts we can assemble about the early individual civilian lodges which helped to support that Provincial Grand Body; namely, Merchants, St. Andrew's and St. Patrick's at Quebec; and St. Peter's and St. Paul's at Montreal.

Of the early days of "Merchants Lodge, Quebec, No. 1," which owned the first Grand Lodge Warrant of any lodge in Canada proper, (issued direct from London), there are unfortunately hardly any records. We know that Br. Walker (who had been made Deputy Pr. Grd. Master, and who was one of the committee of three to forward the 1762 petition praying for a proper warrant for the Provincial Grand Lodge already operating), was a member of this lodge. We know that Miles Prenties, (who kept the famous "Sun Tavern" in St. John Street at Quebec), was a member of this lodge; but we do not know what office or offices they held in Merchants Lodge. We know that the Honourable Claude Denechau,* member of parliament for L'Islet County, who had a beautiful residence

* Denechau's family name was originally spelt "Dénéchaud." He apparently dropped the final "d"; and later, the two accents.

at Berthier-en-bas; and who was later to become a very prominent mason indeed, was a member of this Lodge.¹

General records would seem to suggest that the fact that "Merchants No. 1" had to make way for military lodges in the garrison at Quebec and accept Provincial No 9, continued to rankle; even though it got back its No. 1 during the War of the American Revolution in 1777.

After the newer and rival "Grand Lodge of England" had begun to show such great activity under Lawrence Dermott, they sent emissaries to Quebec in 1786; and succeeded in getting "Merchants Lodge" to swing over to them. Thus "Merchants," which had been the first civilian lodge in Canada Proper to be warranted by the "Original" or "Modern" Grand Lodge, also became the first civilian lodge to be warranted by the Junior or "Antient" Grand Lodge. But if the lodge thus hoped to cure its numbering troubles it was to be disappointed, for the best number it was able to get was to be "Merchants No. 40" on their new roll.

The Hon. Claude Denechau either was absent on the occasion when "Merchants" as a body were "made Antient," or had decided to remain loyal to his first Grand Lodge. The latter seems the more probable. For it was not until the 14th January, 1800, (after all the lodges in Canada Proper had become "Antient") that Claude Denechau came up to Montreal, (ignoring Merchants Lodge for this purpose), and was solemnly "made Antient" in St. Paul's Lodge.

These emissaries evidently remained in Quebec for the year 1787: for in this year they formed a second civilian lodge, "St. John's Lodge, No. 241," (afterwards

1. From notes given the late D. D. MacTaggart, P.G.A.D.C., by Claude Denechau's grandson.

No. 3, G.R. of Quebec). And then, on the 20th December, 1787, they obtained an "Antient" warrant for a "Military or Travelling Lodge" to be held in the "Fourth Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Artillery." This lodge got the early No. 9, as this warrant was said to have been a renewal of a former warrant issued to this 4th Battalion in June, 1752, while the Battalion was serving elsewhere. (After the Union of 1814, this Military lodge in Canada seems to have merged into a civilian lodge, and taken the name of "Albion"; and still remains on the G.R. of Quebec as "Albion No. 2." The process by which this change took place does not seem clear).¹

The years 1786 and 1787, therefore, left a nucleus of three opposition "Antient" lodges in the city of Quebec.

With regard to "St. Andrew's Lodge," we are much more fortunate. One of the Minute Books has quite recently filtered in to the Grand Lodge of Quebec, and forms a treasured unit in their library in the Masonic Temple at Montreal. At the back is a list of officers from its foundation in 1760 up to 1784. This introduces the name of James Thompson; who was the backbone of this lodge for many years. The first Master at the inception in 1760 was Alexander Leith; the first Senior Warden James Thompson, (also acting as Secretary). In 1761 James Thompson became Master; and as "Master" his name is repeated six times during this period, many times being re-elected, once holding this office for four successive years. In the term mentioned, James Thompson sat in the Master's chair for thirteen years out of the twenty-four! He acted as Secretary for eight of the twenty-four years; and went

1. See Graham's "Outlines of the History of Freemasonry," pages 180 and 181, for full copy of the 1787 Military warrant; and copy of notes said to have been attached to this warrant.

back and helped the lodge by acting as one of the Wardens six times.

James Thompson fought in Wolfe's army with the 78th regiment; and in the city of Quebec held the office of "Overseer of Public Works" for sixty-nine successive years. He also replaced Wm. Paxton as Provincial Grand Secretary, and faithfully performed these duties for the Provincial Grand Lodge for approximately two decades.

The existence of this first "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada" was known to masonic historians in the nineteenth century; but its origin, and the real facts about its establishment, had been completely lost in the mists of antiquity. Then, as unexpected as a flash of lightning out of a clear sky, there came to light a book that explained all the earliest days; and made it possible to fit all the former disjointed records into one harmonious whole. There was a prominent mason in Gaspé county, John Nealor. To him came an elderly lady, saying that she had in her possession what appeared to be an old Masonic book that had been treasured in her family for three generations; and that as she was unmarried, and probably the last living descendant of her grandfather, it was about time to turn the book over to the Masons. Her grandfather had been James Thompson, in his lifetime "Overseer of Public Works" at Quebec. Nealor sent it up about 1921 to the Grand Secretary of the "Grand Lodge of Quebec," W. Walter Williamson; who was quick to realize its extraordinary importance.

This book turned out to be a most precious find. It may be referred to as the "Thompson" book: it is entirely written in James Thompson's own very legible

handwriting. Apparently, during the long years that he was Provincial Grand Secretary, he compiled the book as an additional record in case the Minute Books should for any unforeseen reason disappear. These minute books *have* disappeared; and the Thompson Book remains as the sole authentic record in Canada of the transactions of the first "Provincial Grand Lodge," in such form as to present a clear and reliable story. Thompson copied first the original "Minutes" in full, during the time that Wm. Paxton was Provincial Grand Secretary; and then, (while he was Secretary), copied in all the correspondence on important matters, giving both letters and replies. It is a labour of love to which he must have devoted much time and patience.*

(In 1926, to check the authenticity of the correspondence as shewn in this book, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Quebec took it over with him to London; and with the librarian in the "United Grand Lodge of England" checked over all the letters shewn. The librarian in London produced an enormous scrap book, in which old correspondence with Provincial Grand Lodges was pasted in order of dates. All the London correspondence shewn in the Thompson Book was verified, word for word, with the original letters received and copies of replies pasted in this large scrap book).

The "Thompson Book" ceases with the report to Grand Lodge of the Quarterly Communication of the Provincial Grand Lodge held in Quebec on the 6th September, 1777, as quoted in our seventh chapter.

* The Author's sincere thanks are due the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Quebec for frequent opportunities to make a complete study of this Book.

CHAPTER X

ABOUT St. Patrick's Lodge in Quebec practically nothing is available. In the minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, however, of the 10th October, 1776, there is an entry stating that "our Sister Lodge of St. Patrick had instructed her officers to apply to the R.W. Provincial Grand Master to request that a Grand Lodge may be called" for the purpose of appointing a successor to the late Deputy Pr. Grand Master, John Aitken, who had just died. A resolution was passed, "That our Master do accompany the W. Master of St. Patrick's Lodge, Miles Prenties, for that purpose, soon as may be."

This was before Merchants Lodge had been "made Antient." Prenties' name appears again as Master of St. Patrick's in a letter to St. Paul's, Montreal, the same year. Whether this means that Miles Prenties had changed over from Merchants to join the newer St. Patrick's: or whether, (as has happened in Canada), he was obliging a sister lodge by occupying the chair during a temporary shortage of managerial timber, it is impossible to venture an opinion.

It is hard to realize today, how far distant Quebec and Montreal actually were in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The only means of communication then were by saddle or stage-coach over two hundred miles of hilly roads; or in summer by the water route and sailboat. From Montreal to Quebec the journey by sail took about four days; but from Quebec to Montreal, facing the strong current and possible

adverse winds, the finest ocean-going sailing ships would sometimes take all of three weeks to make this part of the trip.

St. Peter's Lodge, (the first civilian lodge in Montreal), had two separate lives. Founded in 1761, it disbanded in 1775. Re-organized in 1780, it ran for a second term and then went permanently out of business about 1797.

The most prominent member of this lodge during its first fourteen years was Edward Antill, appointed Deputy Provincial Grand Master in 1767. His "Deputation" was an unusual document; instructing him to form a "Grand Lodge" in Montreal. (A Deputy's Grand Lodge, subsidiary to a Provincial Grand Lodge, would seem to be a long way removed from the "Grand Lodge" in London!) The Deputation was dated and registered in Quebec the 12th January, 1768; and says that at a full convocation of a Grand Lodge, held at the "house" of Brother Miles Prenties, that the Grand Lodge in Quebec—

"Have found it prejudicial to the craft to extend their Dispensations in and through this extensive Province without some fuller authority to be granted to some worthy Brother to preside more immediately over them.

"We have therefore appointed, and we do hereby nominate, appoint and authorize you, our trusty and well-beloved Brother Edward Antill, Esq., now residing at Montreal, to be our Deputy Residing Grand Master for the District of Montreal within this Province; hereby willing and requiring you, our Deputy Residing Grand Master, within your district as aforesaid, to erect a "Grand Lodge" at such time and place as may appear expedient and necessary for the well-being of the Craft."

This unusual document then proceeds to reserve all rights of supervision and regulation; and to give instructions to collect dues to be remitted for the "Grand

Charity" to the Grand Lodge in London through the Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec. A copy of the entire document is printed at length in Graham's "Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec," on pages 60 and 61

Edward Antill set up and held meetings of this Deputy's Grand Lodge: the officers being principally chosen from St. Peter's Lodge. They organized or recorded a lodge in the 52nd regiment, (then in Montreal) in 1769; and organized and installed St. Paul's Lodge in 1770; both lodges receiving their actual warrants from the Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec under numbers 7 and 10 respectively.

But this new Deputy's Grand Lodge did not succeed in working smoothly with its parent at Quebec. St. Peter's Lodge backed their own man Antill in all discussions: and increasing friction would seem to be the reason why St. Peter's solemnly disbanded in 1775; their action automatically dislocating the Deputy's Grand Lodge.

This left their young child, St. Paul's Lodge, in a puzzling position; they had received their Warrant from Quebec, but had had no direct contact with the regular Provincial Grand Lodge; reporting instead to Antill's "Deputy's Grand Lodge." It is not surprising therefore to find them writing to Quebec on the 18th May, 1775, as follows:—

"To the Provincial Grand Secretary James Thompson, Quebec.

"Dear Brother:—

We the Master, Wardens and Brethren of St. Paul's Lodge No. 10, present our compliments and brotherly respects to you and the rest of our unacquainted brethren.

Brother, we understand you act as Grand Secretary Introducing us, to let you know our proceeding. We had the honour of being installed under the sanction of the

above Warrant the 26th of December, 1770, by the Master and Wardens of St. Peter's Lodge No. 4, for which we paid five guineas for the Warrant, and two dollars to the Secretary for drawing said Warrant, and from that time to this present date, each member has paid one Halifax shilling to the Grand Charity, for all which we have receipts from the Worshipful Bro. Antill, but have not had the satisfaction to know if we are registered in the Grand Lodge or not. We have wrought according to our Instructions, skill and Knowledge in Masonry. We beg you will be so good as to let us know if we are to be owned as lawful Masons or not.

We remain in sincerity, your friendly Brethren,

By order of the Master,

Jas. Doig, Secretary.

This was answered by Provincial Grand Secretary James Thompson on the 17th July, 1775, as follows:

"Your favour of 18th May last I received, and no doubt you have since been looking for an answer to it; but the nature of it is such that I could not with any propriety do, till I had the Grand Lodge's opinion thereon. I have therefore waited until the Quarterly Communication, which was held in ample form on Tuesday the 20th June last; when I laid your letter before them, the purpose of which among other things complained of, brought on a resolution a copy of which you have herewith. (This resolution calls each Lodge to make a full return to Quebec of all Officers, admissions, expulsions; and brotherly advice for the general good of the Craft.) Pray what induced No. 10 to suspect they were not owned by the Provincial Grand Lodge here? It is true we do not communicate with you nor No. 4, (St. Peter's Lodge.) but with Bro. Antill, who was appointed by the Grand Lodge to preside as Deputy Grand Master over all the Lodges within the District of Montreal. To lay your apprehension in this respect aside, I beg leave to acquaint you that you were always owned by the Grand Lodge here, and acknowledged by the Grand Lodge of England; and that when any donations are remitted from hence to England for Charitable Purposes, it goes in the name of No. 10, as well as those here. Tender my brotherly respects to your worthy Lodge when assembled."

Secretary Thompson then writes to Deputy Pr.G.M. Edward Antill at Montreal on the 30th August, 1775, as follows:—

"A Committee of the Grand Lodge assembled at Mr. Prenties' on the 24th ulto. agreeable to appointment. In consequence of their proceedings, I was ordered to make some requisitions to the Master of every lodge in the Province. I have done so, a copy of which I forwarded to you at the same time; and waited for answers from the two Lodges at Montreal, and that of yours until the 24th instant, when I assembled the Committee, and among other things laid before them a report from Lodge No. 10, which came to hand the day before.

In it are copies of Receipts from you and Mr. Beck, for dues, donations, etc., from 26th December, 1770, to 21st November, 1774, which amount to a considerable sum. The Committee have therefore agreed that you should be acquainted therewith, and has adjourned until return of post, when they expect your answer, that no deficiency on your part may appear on their report to the Grand Lodge, which is to meet in the course of next week. I am, with due respect, Sir,

Your very humble servant."

(That there was friction existing is apparent to a Mason from the terms used in the signature of this letter). Edward Antill replies to Mr. James Thompson, Quebec, on the 4th September, 1775, as follows:

"Sir,—

I received yours of 30th ult. and in answer thereto, now mention that I had before both by letter and in person acquainted you that I had money in my hands for the Grand Lodge of Quebec; but the exact sum I never could ascertain on account of the breaking up of "St. Peter's Lodge" there, and the absence of Mr. Beck whom I had appointed acting Grand Secretary for this district, with whom the money was sometimes left indiscriminately with myself. However you will be so good as to draw upon me for the amount of my receipts, which Draft will be duly paid; if you will let me know the amount of Mr. Beck's

receipts, I will endeavour to produce that money for the Grand Lodge also. I have been at some expense in postage of letter, about 8/- Lawful; which I think should be deducted. With my respects to the Committee, I remain, your most obedient servant."

Antill was removed from his position as Deputy Provincial Grand Master: and his name disappears from all Masonic records from 1775 on.

But it is not to be conceived that a man of the character of the Honourable John Collins would leave the collapse of St. Peter's Lodge and the dethronement of Antill without some effort to repair the catastrophe in Montreal. It was a case of patience; and waiting for the right time and the right man.

There was an active-minded, ambitious youngish man who had come to the front in the city of Quebec, named Thomas McCord; and who was planning to move up and live in Montreal. He was later the father of the Honourable John Samuel McCord, and the grandfather of David Ross McCord. "McCord Street" in Montreal is named after this family; they were all three collectors of historical objects, and the "McCord National Museum" in Montreal was founded by the grandson, and endowed with his large personal collection.

In Quebec, in 1778, Thomas McCord applied for admission to St. Andrew's Lodge No. 2; took his first degree on the 24th August, his second on the 11th of September, and his third on the 30th November, (St. Andrew's night). By 1780 he had moved up to Montreal; and the following events are recorded:

"May 1780. St. Peter's Lodge was revived by a new warrant from the Provincial Grand Master at Quebec,

reinstating their former Charter; and at their meeting, Thomas McCord formally "joined" St. Peter's Lodge.

16th June, 1780. Thomas McCord was elected Treasurer of St. Peter's Lodge, and appointed Secretary at the same time. In two years he was Master of this Lodge."

In the meantime, the Hon. John Collins appointed Richard McNeil to be Deputy Prov. Grand Master for the District of Montreal, and the Deputy's Grand Lodge resumed operations; with Thomas McCord as Secretary. (It is interesting to note that while the Provincial Grand Secretary at Quebec was accustomed so to sign, McCord was accustomed to sign "Grand Secretary"!)

The Deputy's Grand Lodge started out again with new regalia; and among the Masonic treasures in the McCord Museum are two silver pendants or jewels that hung from the point of the Warden's collars, deeply engraved with the phrase, "Grand Lodge of Montreal, 1780."

This revived Deputy's Grand Lodge formed a third civilian Lodge in Montreal in 1782, under the name of "Select Lodge." It was properly numbered in the Provincial Grand Lodge as No. 16.

In a list of lodges prepared by James Tansweil, Provincial Grand Secretary at Quebec, (James Thompson having retired as such after many years of faithful service), and dated September 1784, the following lodges are named:

"Merchants No. 1, St. Andrew's No. 2, St. Patrick's No. 3; at Quebec.

St. Peter's No. 4, St. Paul's No. 10, The Select, No. 16; at Montreal.

Unity, No. 13, at Sorel.

St. John's, No. 15, at Michilimackinac. (These were

the fur-trading days; and this was an important trading post at the northern outlet of Lake Michigan).

And Military or Travelling lodges in the following regiments, viz., The King's Rangers; The 34th Regt., the 8th Regiment, the 53rd Regt., and the 44th Regiment."

This 1784 list is the last official mention of "Select No. 16" that can be found. The name would seem to indicate an attempt by the Deputy's "Grand Lodge" in Montreal to repeat Collins' experiment of a "Prov. G.M.'s. own Select Lodge" in Quebec.

When it came to 1786, "Merchants No. 1" had defected, and swung over to the new and rival "Antients." So there was a re-numbering in the Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec; St. Andrew's became No. 1, and St. Patrick's No. 2. At Montreal, St. Peter's lodge became No. 3 and St. Paul's No. 4.

The Honourable John Collins, Provincial Grand Master, was replaced in 1786 by Colonel Christopher Carleton; and again Col. Carleton made way in 1788 for Sir John Johnson, Baronet.

Sir John Johnson had been a mason in New York State, but remained loyal to the British Crown during the American Revolution, and is famous in history for his military exploits on the British side. In consequence, United States masonic historians have little good to say for him; but, removing to Montreal after the war was over, he was welcomed and beloved by Canadian Masons. The sugar-loaf mountain on the south shore of the St. Lawrence river, (one of the "Monteregian hills"), is called Mount Johnson after him. And, what is more, his remains are buried in his own private mausoleum well up the side of this mountain.

Sir John Johnson was the first Provincial Grand Master to keep his residence in Montreal instead of

Quebec; he therefore went to St. Peter's Lodge, Montreal, for his Provincial Grand Secretary, choosing Thomas McCord for this position. The necessity for a special Deputy and a special Deputy's Grand Lodge in the city where he himself resided, however, now passed away: and his appointment marked the final end of the Deputy Provincial Grand Master's "Grand Lodge of Montreal."

CHAPTER XI

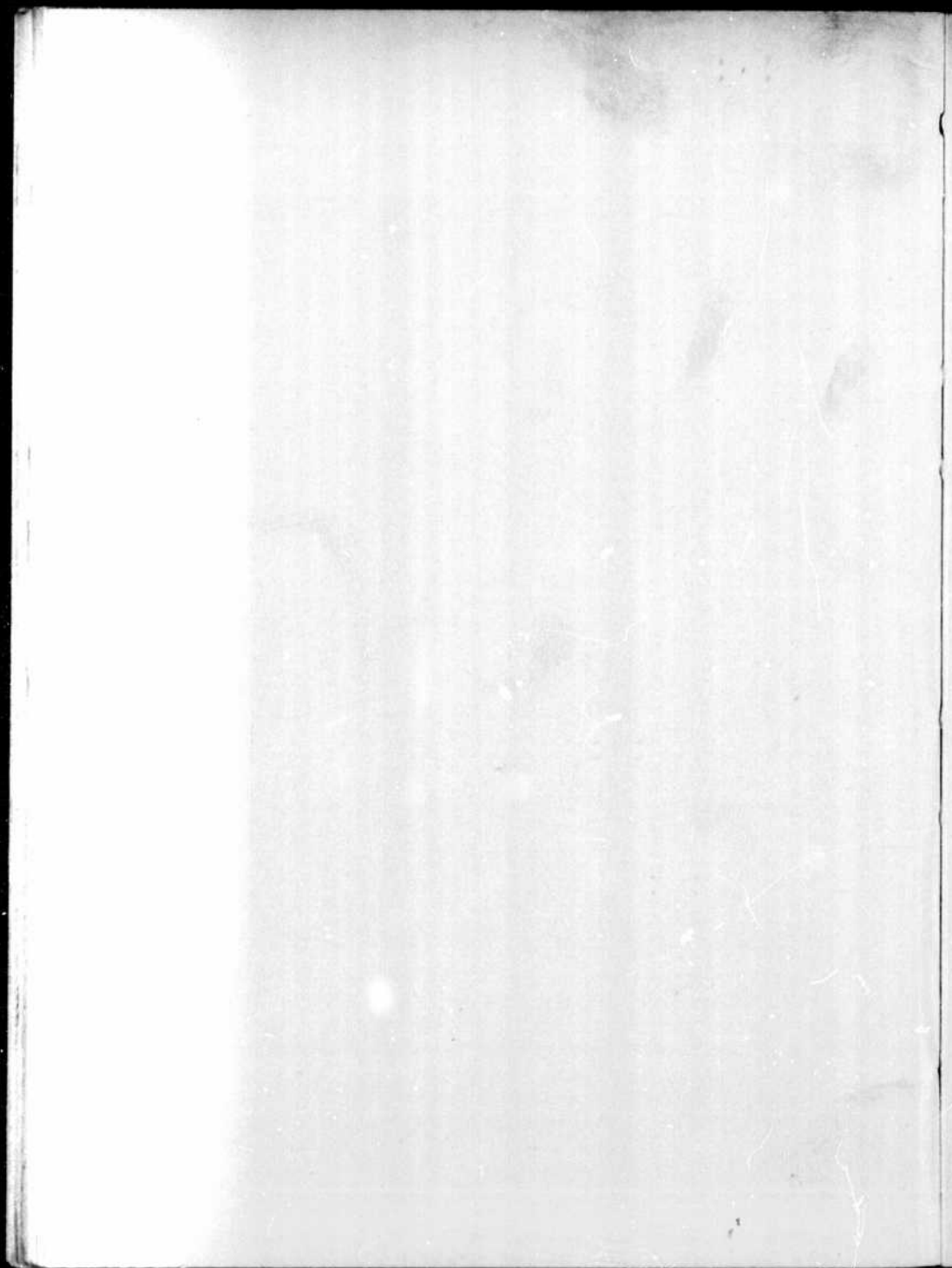
THE "breaking-up" of St. Peter's Lodge in Montreal in 1775 had the effect of bringing St. Paul's Lodge suddenly and unexpectedly into prominence. And for five years, (from 1775 to 1780), St. Paul's remained as the sole civilian lodge operating in the city of Montreal.

After deposing Edward Antill, a Committee from the Provincial Grand Lodge wrote a letter of instructions and encouragement to St. Paul's Lodge, dated the 7th November, 1776, as follows:—

"Brethren of St. Paul's Lodge, No. 10, Quebec, Montreal,
We a Committee appointed by the Grand Lodge to look into and endeavor to raise the low state of Masonry in this Province, towards its wonted splendor, do most earnestly recommend to all and every one of you on your parts, to be assisting as far as it is in your power, not only in punctual opening of your lodge, and working at the stated times, but that each one will where he has an intimate acquaintance, warmly remind him in a brotherly manner of his Duty and interest to rejoin his Lodge. This will redound to the honour of the Craft in general; but much more to your own Lodge, at a time when you have no Deputy presiding over you, which we trust will not be long; as the Rt. Wpfl. G. Master told us at last Grand Lodge it was in his mind and shall



*Portrait of the Honourable John Molson, M.L.A.
Twice Master of St. Paul's Lodge in 1791 and
1795. Second Provincial Grand Master of the
Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William
Henry, 1826-1836.*



be done now soon as he can with propriety effect it. We also desire you will send by first opportunity a detail of your Lodge as it now stands; together with what dues and donations you have at this time belonging to this Grand Lodge to our Br. Grand Secretary.

We are, etc., etc.,

(Signed) Thos. Aylwin, D.P.G.M.

Miles Prenties, M. No. 3, St. Pat.

Jas. Thompson, M. No. 2, St. Andrews."

In the same way that it is said that the first minute-book of the first "Grand Lodge of England" is missing from 1717 to 1722, but that the records are complete from that date on;¹ so the first minute book of St. Paul's lodge, from 1770 to 1777, seems to have been irretrievably lost early in its history. In consequence, there is not any record of the first Master or officers of this lodge: and their names will probably always remain unknown. The first name of any officer of this lodge that has been discovered up to the present is that of Secretary James Doig, who signed the letter to Quebec in 1775, mentioned in the last chapter. But in the "Thompson Book," the last communication to London, listing the five civilian lodges that remained to constitute the "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada" towards the close of the "American War," in September, 1777, lists "St. Paul's No. 10" as the only lodge still operating in Montreal; and from that date up to the present time, the list of their successive Masters is complete. In 1777, Robert Gordon was their master. In 1778, Christopher Carson, (who died in 1779), when Robert Gordon took the chair again; until his successor Thomas Busby was appointed. Busby was Master again in 1784, and for the third time in 1794: he belonged to a prominent family, and "Busby's Lane" in Montreal, (once in the centre of a fashionable resi-

1. Dayne's "Birth and Growth of the Grand Lodge of England," page 21.

dential district), was named after him. In 1789, John Platt was Master; Platt Street¹ in Montreal is named after his family: and his son, George Platt, (who also became master of this lodge in 1810), was the founder of the regiment now known as the "Royal Canadian Hussars" in Montreal. And a very energetic and public-spirited citizen, the Honourable John Molson, was Master of the lodge in 1791, and again for the second time in 1795. John Molson's name is known today principally as the founder of the oldest established brewery in Montreal; but to Canadian historians he is better known as having built and operated the steamboat "Accommodation," the first steamboat on the St. Lawrence River, which ran regularly between Montreal and Quebec; this being the second regular passenger steamboat line in the world, (following closely on Robert Fulton's "Clermont" that ran from New York to Albany on the Hudson river). He was one of the original proposers of the first railway in Canada, afterwards completed from Laprairie to St. Johns, P. Que., for the purpose of connecting the vessels of the "Molson Steamboat Co." with the steamboats then reaching New York via Lake Champlain and Albany.

Of all these early civilian lodges in both the cities of Quebec and Montreal, there is only one survivor. St. Paul's Lodge in Montreal had its Provincial number 10, (changed in 1786 to number 4). It had its London number 515 in the original "Grand Lodge of England," (altered in 1792 to 424). Founded in 1770, it remains today as the only lodge that was able to weather all the changes that were fated in the future to have such vital effect on the records of Masonry in "Canada Proper."

1. Planned to be an important residential street.

CHAPTER XII

OF the seven Provincial Grand Masters of this first "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada," all were military officers except one. But that one civilian, the Honourable John Collins, had a much longer term of office than any of the others; filling this chair for twenty full years, and assisted by James Thompson of St. Andrew's Lodge as Provincial Grand Secretary for almost the entire period. Collins was a man of ideas, with a strong mind that enabled him to put his ideas into effect.

As soon as he had been appointed he drew attention to the fact that the Provincial Grand Lodge had no seal; and in consequence began a correspondence with London on the subject. The 1717 Grand Lodge in London used as its own Coat of Arms a design derived from that of the "Worshipful Company of Masons" (operative) namely, on a chevron, a pair of open compasses; between three castles; with two Beavers erect as supporters. The Beaver had been accepted as the emblem of the new colony of Canada, (later, the first Canadian postage stamps were to carry the design of a Beaver), and the two supporters therefore seemed very appropriate. (The European beaver, common enough in the middle ages to be accepted as a known heraldic design, had been extinct in Britain for many years).

In the "Thompson Book," there is a copy of a letter written by James Thompson at Quebec to Edward Antill, Deputy Provincial Grand Master at Montreal, telling him the "Grand Seal" had arrived; and, also,

(perhaps naturally owing to his Scotch descent), adding the information that "it had cost £5.15 exclusive of commissions."

And on the 2nd August, 1769, there is a letter to John Gawler, (their London representative), signed by the "Committee to obtain a Grand Lodge Seal," (J. Aitken, Thos. Aylwin, and James Thompson), expressing thanks "for the trouble you have taken to obtain us that privilege we have so long desired: and for the elegant Provincial Grand Seal, (for which we remit seven guineas)."

Unfortunately, no impression of this seal can be discovered in Canada. St. Paul's Lodge in Montreal had kept their first Warrant, dated November 1770, and which bore this seal, until the conflagration of the "Masonic Hall" in Montreal in 1833, when it was destroyed by fire, together with many other priceless records of early Canadian Masonry. There is good reason to believe however that it displayed the "Grand Lodge of London" Arms already described, with the two Beaver supporters, and the motto "Amor, Honor, Justitia," surrounded by a band bearing the words "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada."

Collins was in charge of the Provincial Grand Lodge during Montgomery's siege of Quebec; and after the close of the war of the American Revolution, in 1780, was called upon to issue one strange warrant, to a lodge known as "Anhalt-Zerbst." A certain number of Germans, some of them of very high degree, who had been living in New England, while they owed no allegiance to the King of England, objected very strongly to the new republican form of government; so strongly that they decided to begin life all over again in Canada, and moved into Quebec. A very prominent student of languages in Montreal gives the following

description of the meaning of the name of this Lodge.

"Sachsen Anhalt," or "Anhalt in Saxony," (as the English would say), was a district just north of Saxony, and south-west of Brandenburg, (in which is Berlin). Zerbst is a town in Anhalt, almost in the centre of a triangle, formed by Madgeburg in the north, Leipsic in the south, and Wittenburg, (which was the city of Martin Luther), to the north-east. The famous Empress Catherine of Russia, the wife of Peter the Great, was Countess of Zerbst; which was her early home. This may well account for the monarchic principles of those early Germans; and the lodge of Freemasons was named from this city and province."

Anhalt-Zerbst lodge carried on all its meetings in the German language; and continued to meet regularly for some years, until its members were scattered by the lapse of time to settle in different localities in the growing colony of Canada.

Collins issued in all seventeen warrants during his twenty years of service. Previous to issuing the warrant to "Anhalt-Zerbst" in 1780, he had already issued nine warrants; one of which was for the still surviving St. Paul's Lodge in Montreal. His first warrant was the unusual one in 1767, appointing Edward Antill to be Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Montreal and district, with instructions to erect a subsidiary "Grand Lodge in Montreal!"

His second warrant was important in Masonic history; being the "Bluewater" warrant issued for a Travelling lodge to be held by the officers of H.M.S. "Canceaux," (a sailing frigate then wintering at the port of Quebec), aboard the vessel wherever she might happen to be. This bore the date 27th December, 1768.

His third warrant, dated in 1769, was issued in his capacity of Provincial Grand Master, to himself as

Master of a lodge to be known as the "Provincial Grand Master's Own Select Lodge." The name speaks for itself; the idea was to assemble the most capable craftsmen in Canada, and to form a lodge where visiting brethren would see an uplifting example of how capably the work of a lodge could be carried on. Admission was to be by invitation only; the invitation of the Provincial Grand Master would be almost equivalent to a command. But the idea of this new lodge caused a great deal of disturbance among the other lodges; to whom the idea at first was repugnant.

This warrant was issued in January, and on the 2nd February, 1769, Merchants Lodge wrote the following letter to Collins:

"Rt. Worshipful Brother:

The Merchants Lodge No. 1 this night in due form assembled,¹ having taken into consideration some late transactions in their city request that a meeting of the Masters, Wardens, and other officers who attended at the last Quarterly Communication, may be called with all convenient speed to discuss some points which the members of said Lodge think would be for the good of Masonry and the continuation of Harmony among the Craft in this city. They also request that no brother be summoned to attend said meeting who was not present at the last Quarterly Communication; and they beg leave to inform you that the Masters of two other lodges under your authority have given it as their opinion that such a meeting previous to the General Quarterly would be for the Good of the Craft.

By order of the Master, Wardens, and brethren of the Merchants Lodge No. 1.

John Halstead, Sec'y."

To the Rt. W'pful. John Collins, Esq.,
Provincial Grand Master.

1. "Merchants" got its Provincial number 9 in 1762. There is no record available of its being advanced to Provincial number 1 until 1777: which was probably the earliest re-numbering. This looks like a repetition of the use of the No. 1 shewn on its first London warrant; as was done in its advertisements in the first "Quebec Gazette" in 1764.

The Provincial Grand Master therefore ordered the Lodges to assemble on the 9th February, but after a night spent in debate and discussion, the meeting bid fair to end in disagreement. But Collins was not the type of man to let matters rest in this unsatisfactory state; and finally ruled that he would submit the whole matter to the Grand Lodge in London, and that they would all have to abide by their decision. The following letter was therefore drawn up before the meeting closed, dated the 9th February, 1769, and forwarded to the Grand Secretary in London:

"I request you to lay the following case before the Grand Lodge at its first meeting: and immediately thereafter communicate to me their opinion concerning it by the first vessel to York, Boston, Philadelphia, or this place; which will be the means of continuing the Craft in this Province in that Harmony and Regularity which hath hitherto distinguished them.

I did lately in concert with my Provincial Grand Wardens constitute a Lodge in this city; and the other Lodges now here allege that I had no right so to do without having previously taken the advice to obtain the consent of their officers at a general Quarterly Meeting.

I imagine that it is my Prerogative as Provincial Grand Master to constitute Lodges at pleasure without any such advice or consent; and this night it having been debated at a General Meeting of all the Lodges, without our being able to settle the matter, it is agreed to get it decided by the Grand Lodge of England; from which I have a Warrant to act as Provincial Grand Master for Canada."

London's reply, when ultimately received, was definite; and entirely supported the action of the Provincial Grand Master. A meeting was held in Quebec to receive this news on the 5th March, 1770; and after it had been fully digested by the different lodges, the Provincial Grand Secretary was instructed to write

a formal letter to Prov'l. Grand Master Collins as follows:

"Quebec, 10 May 1770.

"Rt. Worp'l:—

At last Quarterly Comm'n. held at Simpson's Coffee House on Monday, 5th March last, where were present the Grand Officers with the Masters and Wardens of nine regular lodges, viz:—

No. 1, 2, 3, 5 6 and 8 Quebec; No. 195 England and Nos. 299 and 378 Ireland. It was voted unanimously that the sincere and hearty thanks of the Fraternity here was due to our Right W. Pr. Grand Master, for his Candid and Generous Conduct of the evening of the 9th February, 1769, in waiving his prerogative touching Constitutions and Dispensations until the Grand Lodge of England should be consulted thereupon; and which it now appears he need not have done, he not having in any point extended his Authority beyond due bounds; which vote I was commanded to intimate to you: and I do it with much pleasure, because it gives me an opportunity of mentioning how much the Fraternity esteem you, and that I am most respectfully, etc., etc.

James Thompson,
Pr. Grand Sec't."

Collins, as usual, had won his point. But, in view of this complimentary and respectful letter, he could not venture to "rub it in," though the temptation must have been strong to say, "I told you so." His formal reply was as follows:

"Quebec, 2 June, 1770.

To the Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master,
and members of the Grand Lodge now assembled:

In answer to your favour of 10th May, it is impossible for me not to feel the most sensible pleasure, in finding my behavior in the execution of my office approved by the most respectable body in this Province; and as you have been pleased to entertain so kind an opinion of my integrity, (the best quality of a Grand Master), the height of my ambition is satisfied; and this worthy Society may rest assured

that to preserve the Harmony and cement that which hath hitherto subsisted, will ever be the chief care of him who has the Honour to be, with all due respect,

Rt. Wpfl. Deputy Grand Master and Brethren,

John Collins, P.G.M."

CHAPTER XIII

COLONEL Christopher Carleton was Provincial Grand Master, (replacing the Hon. John Collins, after his long and faithful service of twenty years). He sat for 1786 and 1787; and during these two years issued two lodge warrants.

The first, issued to "Unity Lodge," Fort William Henry, was in the nature of a "correcting warrant." "Unity Lodge No. 13" had been formed by Collins in 1781, and had warrant of authority to hold its meetings in the town of Sorel, which was the name of the settlement at the juncture of the Richelieu and St. Lawrence rivers. After the close of the American war, the existing fort there was enlarged, improved, and garrisoned by the British; and named "Fort William Henry," after Prince William Henry, then a lieutenant in the British Navy. The name of the town was also altered from Sorel to William Henry; and the warrant was for the purpose of bringing the description of the proper place for meetings to be held up to date. Prince William Henry was always extremely popular in Canada; he having been the first of the royal family to visit this new world; and at balls and receptions proved himself a charming and ingratiating guest of honour. He later reigned as King under the title of William IV, and was

very generally called "the Sailor King." "William Street" in Montreal is named after him; Sorel continued to carry the name of "William Henry" till long after his death and well into the middle of the nineteenth century, when it formally reverted to its original name of "Sorel" again.

The second warrant was for the formation of a new lodge, to be known as "New Oswegatchie," to be held in the newly christened town of Ogdensburg, on the south side of the St. Lawrence, and within the limits of the State of New York, in the newly formed "United States of America." But it must be remembered that in 1786 Ogdensburg seemed much closer in touch with Canada, and especially with Montreal, than it seems today. The fur trade was in its glory, the "North Westers," (officially known as "The Northwest Fur Company,") had their headquarters at Montreal, and with a spirit of daring and adventure, and with birch-bark canoes as their principal means of travel, were driving out through the Great Lakes, across the waterways of the western plains over the ranges of the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific coast itself. A frequent canoe trip was from Montreal to Detroit, to "trade" with the Indians in the country west of Lake Erie. Oswegatchie, (now called Ogdensburg), was a favourite stopping-place: especially on the return trip; where the crews would tie up for a good long rest before venturing on the last exciting stage of the journey, which meant running all the St. Lawrence rapids, from the Long Sault above Cornwall down to Montreal.

The founders of the present city of Ogdensburg were members of a once prominent New England family in New Jersey, who were mostly "Loyalists" during the American Revolution; most of their properties were confiscated, and many of them were "expelled."

Several of them took refuge in Montreal,—one was later to become Attorney General of Canada under Lord Sydenham; and in this year of 1786 one of them, Peter Skene Ogden, was reputed one of the boldest adventurers of the daring "North-Westerns," and while his home was in Montreal was spending years in the Rocky Mountains, where he worked down south as far as the present State of Utah, and where the City of Ogden, Utah, was named after him. Montreal, the headquarters of this great Fur Trade, was in close touch with Oswegatchie.

After the "United States" had won their independence, and peace had been signed, this Ogden family found they still owned the title to the forest lands that comprised Oswegatchie; and those who had remained in the United States got into touch with those who had been driven to Canada, and re-named, founded, and developed what has today become the city of Ogdensburg, New York State.

CHAPTER XIV

SIR John Johnson, Baronet; (famous officer on the British side during the American War), replaced Colonel Christopher Carleton in 1788; and (with the exception of the twenty years extraordinarily long service furnished by the Honourable John Collins), held this office longer than any of his other predecessors. He was the first Provincial Grand Master to have his home in Montreal instead of in Quebec. He abolished all traces of the "Deputy's Grand Lodge" in Montreal; and promoted the "Deputy's Grand Secretary," Thomas

McCord, to be his "Provincial Grand Secretary" for Canada. He appointed as his "Deputy Prov. G.M." William Grant, who lived in Quebec City. He brought the Provincial Grand Seal up from Quebec to Montreal; and gave it in to the charge of Secretary Thomas McCord.

According to Graham's list copied in Chapter VIII, he signed Warrants for a total of five new lodges; but if we accept as correct the conclusions of "The Lodge of Research of Ireland," published in 1923, he also signed the first Warrant for Barton Lodge of Hamilton in 1792; which brings the total up to six. His first Warrant, dated 1789, was for "New Brunswick" lodge, to be held in Fredericton, N.B.; (outside of the limits of "Canada Proper").

He then followed in 1790 with two lodges along the line of the St. Lawrence river in Upper Canada. One, "Rawdon Lodge," to be held in the territory "Between the Lakes," namely, Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, then a strip of sparsely settled woods. The other, "Union Lodge," to be held at Cornwall, Ont.

In 1791, he signed a Warrant for "Dorchester Lodge," to be held in the town of Vergennes in Vermont. Vergennes was outside of the limits of Canada, and within the boundaries of the new "United States." Still, the State of Vermont, now so easily reached by rail or motor car, lies due south of the city of Montreal, and not nearly so far distant as Rawdon Lodge and Barton Lodge in Upper Canada. This lodge was called after his predecessor's famous relation, Sir Guy Carleton; afterwards "Lord Dorchester," and Governor General of Canada in 1776. He was very popular and well-liked by both French and British in Canada; and his surname "Carleton," and his title "Dorchester,"

have been frequently repeated in his honour as place names throughout Canada.¹

And, in the same year, Sir John Johnson signed a Warrant for a new civilian lodge in Montreal, to be known as "Saint John's lodge of Friendship." A young man in Montreal, (son of the Provincial Grand Secretary), named John Samuel McCord, became a member of this new lodge.

Started as an important lodge in Montreal, this lodge disbanded in 1797; and this chapter should close with that date. But, to give a brief sketch of J. S. McCord's career, we must extend our dates into the nineteenth century.

John S. McCord was to become the father of David Ross McCord, (who, in his turn, was the founder of the "McCord National Museum" in Montreal). John S. McCord was to become in time one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Canada. After the closing of "St. John's Lodge of Friendship," no record of his affiliation with any other Masonic lodge appears until 1823.

1823 was the year in which the new "United Grand Lodge of England" decided to divide "Canada Proper" into three masonic districts, with separate Provincial Grand Lodges for each district.

On the 15th October, 1823, we find from the records of St Paul's lodge, Montreal, that John Samuel McCord "joined" this lodge.

Early in 1824, the Provincial Grand Lodge for this district was duly formed and the Prov. Grand Officers installed; and among the names composing the first list of officers is that of John Samuel McCord, first Provincial Grand Secretary of the new "Provincial

1. See "The Father of British Canada, a Chronicle of Carleton"; by William Wood, 1916.

Grand Lodge of the City of Montreal and the Borough of William Henry." By this time, J. S. McCord must have felt satisfied that he had equalled as far as possible the unusual masonic record of his own father.

Reverting to "Saint John's Lodge of Friendship," the lodge seemed to have had a certain "McCordian touch." For it was the first subordinate lodge to decide that it must have its own Lodge Seal. This seal was not of the type that made its impression on sealing-wax; but was the newly invented heavy iron "embossing seal," where you inserted a sheet between its jaws, and by heavy hand pressure on the lever, squeezed a clearly embossed design on the paper. The design of the seal was copied exactly from the Provincial Grand Seal mentioned in Chapter XII; Coat of Arms, supporters, motto and all;—only the band surrounding the coat of arms bore the name of the lodge. It was of course contrary to all heraldic tradition for any subordinate Lodge to sport the Arms used by the Grand Lodge. But there never was any Herald's office on this side of the Atlantic, nor any legal penalty for using the wrong "arms." The members of St. John's Lodge of Friendship must, in their heraldic ignorance, have thought it the proper design for all loyal masons to use; and so to have proceeded to use it.

To trace the fortunes of this Lodge Seal after St. John's Lodge of Friendship had disbanded, we have to turn again to the records of St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal.

John S. McCord had "joined" St. Paul's Lodge in October, 1823. Two years later, in December, 1825, he was elected Master of the Lodge. Again, in December, 1841, he was elected Master. And, for the

third time, in December, 1844, he was once more elected Master.

His third election, in 1844, seems to have made McCord feel that he would like to do something really worthwhile for St. Paul's. In the lodge minutes dated 13th May, 1845, there is the following entry:

"On the 14th January last, W. Bro. McCord, Worshipful Master, presented to this lodge the seal which had been in use in the late "St. John's Lodge of Friendship" in this city.

The Secretary, Bro. Ogilvy Moffatt, was instructed to have it so altered as to make it suitable for St. Paul's Lodge; it was sent to England for that purpose, and was now presented to the Lodge in its altered shape—"an old friend with a new face."

This seal was then used continuously by St. Paul's Lodge until 1926. By that time, it was beginning to wear out; and the face of the die was so smooth that it would not make a clear impression. The lodge had either to do without a seal, or buy a new one. Before buying, the Secretary at that time, F. I. Spielman, wrote the story of the seal to the "United Grand Lodge of England," also submitting an impression of the seal. The United Grand Lodge was interested enough to make an entry in their "Quarterly Communication" printed September, 1926, inserting a copy of the seal. They then wrote back to Montreal that this was an *exact copy* of the seal of the original 1717 Grand Lodge of England: (except for the marginal lettering). But as the "United Grand Lodge" had had their own coat of arms and seal from 1814, there was no remaining reason why St. Paul's, having used this device for so many years, should not continue so to use it; as it would be a pleasant memento of an early connection with times long passed away.

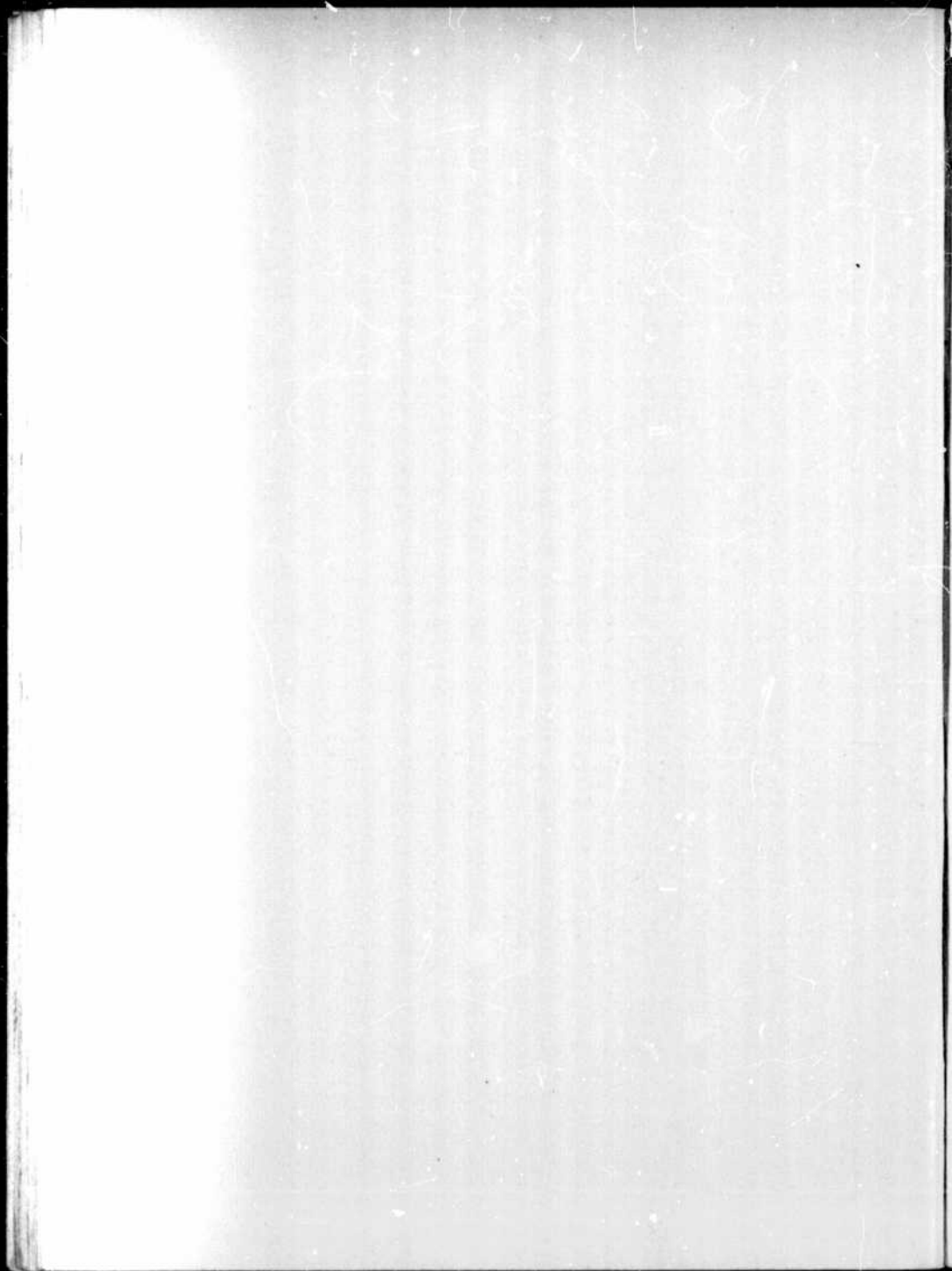
The original "Grand Lodge of England" *had* passed away. It passed away by amicable absorption into the new "United Grand Lodge of England," after the memorable Union meeting held in London in December, 1813.

And this first "Provincial Grand Lodge" had passed away. After having done its share by signing the joint petition presented to the Duke of Kent on the 8th January, 1794, (praying that the rival Grand Bodies might be united);—through no fault or neglect on the part of Sir John Johnson, but owing to the overwhelming force of unforeseen circumstances beyond his power to control, in 1797, the first "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada," (founded in 1759), "passed away"; having been replaced by a new "Provincial Grand Lodge of Antients" under H.R.H. the Duke of Kent.



NO. 374.E.R.

*Copy of the seal used by St. Paul's Lodge,
Montreal, for many years. This is a facsimile of
the coat of arms in use by the first "Grand
Lodge" begun in London in 1717.*



PART II

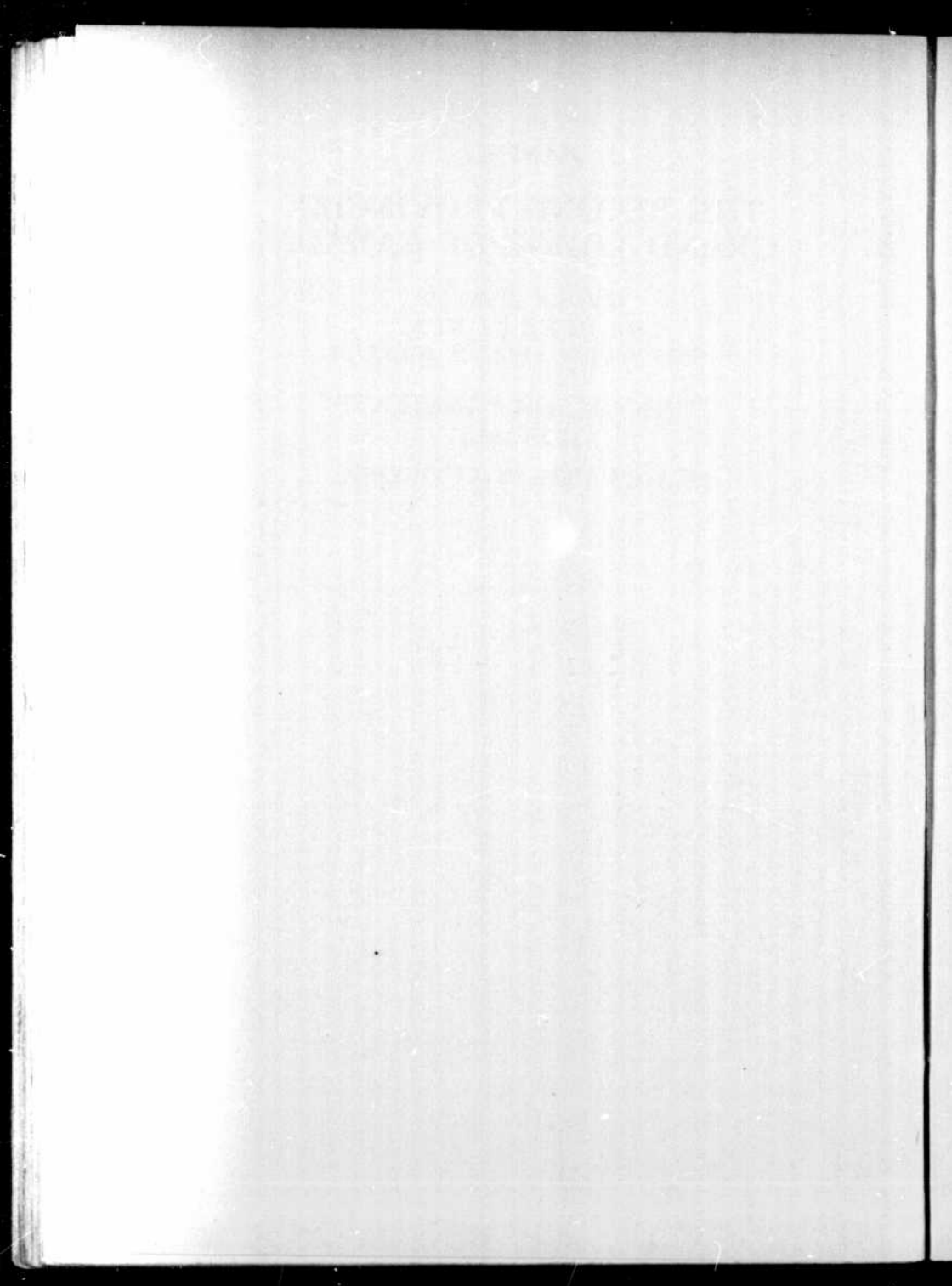
**THE SECOND PROVINCIAL
GRAND LODGE OF CANADA**

*UNDER H. R. H.
THE DUKE OF KENT.
PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER*

"JUNIORS" OR "ANCIENTS"

1792-1813

HEADQUARTERS AT QUEBEC



CHAPTER XV

THE path of the Grand Lodge in London was by no means always smooth. Some lodges refused to join, others were expelled for failure to conform to Grand Lodge regulations; there was therefore a growing nucleus of malcontent lodges. There were several sporadic attempts to form local opposition Grand Lodges at different points in England; all doomed to failure. But about the year 1750 there was formed a new body in London, under the glowing title of "The Most Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons," (later to become generally known as the Grand Lodge of the "Antients"). It made little progress for the first couple of years; but early in 1752 was fortunate enough to obtain the services of one Laurence Dermott as Grand Secretary. Dermott was a brilliant, indefatigable, and forceful man; and under his guidance this new and rival Grand Lodge soon began to accumulate momentum, and before long became powerful enough to incite the public mind to nickname the original Grand Lodge "the Moderns";--much to the distress of that Senior Body. And in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the rivalry between these Grand Lodges, (the "Moderns" and the "Antients") was to become so intensely bitter as to

split up the entire Craft into two distinct bodies, greatly to the detriment of the order as a whole.

At the time of the formation of the original Grand Lodge in London in 1717, the unregulated individual lodges had drifted far apart, especially with regard to the formula for raising a man to the rank of "Master Mason"; where the work had separated mainly along two different lines. The Grand Lodge had regulated this ceremony one way. When the rival Grand Lodge appeared some thirty-five years later, they adopted the alternate method, which they called "the proper Ancient working."

Bro. John Gawler, Grand Junior Warden of the first Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec, ("Moderns") who was then in London, writes to his Provincial Grand Secretary in 1768 as follows:

"I am sorry to inform you that in London there is a great division amongst the Craft: those under your Grand Master are the most universal, and though they call themselves Ancient Masons work the modern way; and those under G.M. Matthews work the ancient way and are called York Masons. The Duke of Beaufort has formally ordered his Lodges not to admit any of the ancient working masons into their Lodges, which has put a very great antipathy between them. However, there are many who constantly visit both, and Lodges in the country who derive their authority from the Duke of Beaufort and work after the ancient manner. But with regard to regularity and the speedy relief of the distressed the Duke's Lodges excel."

When, later, the members of this new Grand Lodge were to become strongly established on this continent, in America they consistently called themselves "Antient *York* Masons, laying great stress on the legend or tradition of Constitutions granted by Prince Edwin at the city of York as early as 926 A.D. As time went on, Dermott was able to make a tremendous advance in the interests

of his "Antients" by getting the Duke of Atholl, a very influential British nobleman, to accept the office of "Grand Master." Then, a few years later, the original "Moderns" were able to retaliate by enrolling six of the many sons of King George the Third. These included the Prince of Wales, (afterwards King George IV), H.R.H. Prince Edward, (afterwards Duke of Kent), and H.R.H. Augustus, Duke of Sussex. The Prince of Wales accepted the office of "Grand Master of Moderns"; remaining Grand Master until he became Prince Regent; when his younger brother, the Duke of Sussex was appointed in his stead.

In consequence, new nicknames of the grand bodies began to be commonly used, instead of the terms "Ancient and Modern," (much to the satisfaction of the original Grand Lodge). Their adherents were now often called "Prince of Wales Masons," and the Antients "Atholl Masons." In the Masonic Year Book issued by the United Grand Lodge of England, each lodge that was originally "Ancient" carries this reference, "was formerly on Atholl or Ancient Grand Lodge Roll."

The Duke of Kent appears to have been the traveling member of the Royal family, and came over to Canada for a long visit in 1792. The news of the projected visit of so prominent a Modern mason as H.R.H. the Duke of Kent was very stimulating to Sir John Johnson and his Prov. Grd. Secretary Thomas McCord in Montreal; and to all the original masons in Canada Proper, who doubtless felt that this visit would convince Merchant's Lodge, and the other two Antient Lodges in the city of Quebec, of the error of their ways.

CHAPTER XVI

BUT life is full of surprises. To the astonishment of every mason in Canada, when H.R.H. Prince Edward arrived at Quebec, he got in touch with the three lodges working under the "Antient" regime, had himself "made Antient," and appointed as the first "Provincial Master for Canada" of the "Grand Lodge of Antients!"

Graham, writing his "History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec" a hundred years later, describes the event as follows:

"A new era. A remarkable impulse was given to "Ancient" Free Masonry in the Province of Lower Canada and elsewhere in British North America, by the advent of H.R.H. Prince Edward as Provincial Grand Master at Quebec. The wonderful effect produced by the fact that his Royal Highness, recently a "Modern, or Prince of Wales Mason," had not only become an "Ancient or Atholl Mason," but a Ruler of the "Ancient," was very observable!"

Sir Alfred Robbins, writing his book on "English-speaking Freemasonry" in 1930, has this to say, mostly about the advancement in the status of the original "Grand Lodge of Moderns" in England following the joining of six of the sons of King George III; but with an interesting reference to Canada:

"The cumulative effect of these royal entrances, with that of their first cousin, Prince William of Gloucester, not only gave a great fillip to the future of the Senior Grand Lodge, but induced a keener desire among the

Masonic rank-and-file for early amalgamation. Much was still to come, but it is specially significant to recall that it was in 1796, when with his regiment in Canada, that Prince Edward,—then joining member of an Atholl Lodge, and made "Ancient" Grand Master to assist seventeen years later the signing of the Articles of Union—was the first Freemason in a prominent position publicly to formulate a wish to this end."

So, in the seventeen nineties, after Prince Edward's arrival in Canada in 1792, here was an anomaly. A mason in England desiring the feeling of Royal affiliation would have to join a lodge under the Senior "Grand Lodge of Moderns" and would then be called a "Prince of Wales Mason." A Canadian mason, desiring a similar affiliation, would have to join an "Antient" lodge, under the patronage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent!

Careful reading of Robbins' book leads one to infer that the Duke of Kent's change-over from "Modern" to "Antient" was in no sense the surprise to his royal brothers in the Senior Grand Lodge that it was to masons in Canada; rather that there probably existed some tacit agreement as to the programme to be followed tending towards ultimate affiliation. Otherwise, there would have been inevitable friction; and there is no such indication. Certain it is that two of the royal brothers kept working patiently, consistently, and harmoniously for many years towards this end; Kent, (the elder), working through the "Antients"; Sussex, (the younger), working through the "Moderns." But it was not to be until twenty-one years after the Duke of Kent's "change-over," that these two brothers were able to sit side by side in London; (the Duke of Sussex in the position of Grand Master of "Moderns," and the Duke of Kent having been specially appointed

"Grand Master of Antients" for this occasion), and watch the final healing of the former great division in the craft, and the friendly and formal amalgamation of the two erst-while rival bodies into a new and "United Grand Lodge."

In this connection, it is instructive to note the Duke of Kent's immediate programme in Canada. H.R.H. Prince Edward was duly installed at Quebec as Provincial Grand Master of Canada under the Grand Lodge of Antients on the 22nd June, 1792; and as early as December, 1792, at his command, committees were meeting the officers of the Modern lodges, "if possible to form a coalition of parties." On St. John's Day the same month, the new Antient Grand Lodge met at four o'clock to install the Grand officers elect; and at five o'clock, by the "Royal and Right Wpfl. Grand Master's," invitation, the present and past Grand Officers, (Antients), together with the Grand Officers under H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, (Moderns), met the new Prov. Grand Master of Antients at dinner at Lane's Coffee House in Quebec.

The Duke of Kent was called to Martinique in 1794, and reached there in March. He came north to Halifax, Nova Scotia, that fall, where he commanded till the fall of 1798. He went home to England that winter; and again came back to Halifax for a year, (summer of 1799 to late summer of 1800), as Commander in Chief of British North America. He never came back to Quebec.* But the Duke of Kent never resigned his office of "Prov. G.M. of Antients for Canada" until December 1812, by which time the formation of the new "United Grand Lodge" which was to take place a year later in London, was so well under way that the

* This information kindly furnished by Col. William Wood, well-known Quebec historian.

Duke of Atholl resigned as Grand Master in his favour, so that, in recognition of his services to the cause of union, he might sit beside his brother at the forthcoming Amalgamation Meeting. He was replaced as Prov. G.M. by the Hon. Claude Dénéchau of Quebec. From the time he left Quebec the Prov. Grand Lodge of Antients had been carried on by successive Deputy Prov. Grand Masters, "under the patronage of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent."

The news of His Royal Highness' impending departure was received in Canada with much regret. As a Mason, he was both competent and very popular, and he had endeared himself equally to Antients and Moderns. A farewell address dated 8th January, 1794, was jointly signed by William Grant, as Deputy G.M. of Modern Masons, and by Thomas Ainslie, as Deputy G.M. of Antient Masons. It contained this vital paragraph:

"We have a confidential hope that, under the conciliatory influence of your Royal Highness, the Fraternity in general of Freemasons in His Majesty's Dominion will soon be united."

The Duke of Kent's gracious reply contained these words in answer to this paragraph:

"You may trust that my utmost efforts shall be exerted that the much wished for union of the whole Fraternity of Masons may be effected."¹

As this address was to a "Prov. Grd. Master," it was not signed by Sir John Johnson, the "Prov. Grd. Master" of Moderns; but, while it expressed the desires and the good will of all, it was thought better, for the sake of order and regularity, to have it formally signed by both Deputy Prov. Grd. Masters. This address, together with the Duke of Kent's reply, were to constitute

¹ For full copy of this address and the reply thereto, see Graham's "History of Freemasonry," pp. 98-99.

the first written documents ever brought before both Modern and Antient Grand Lodges in London, expressing hope and confidence in a future healing of differences.

Robbins, in his "English-speaking Freemasonry," has the following paragraph anent the Duke of Kent's visit to Canada :

"The 'Antient' Grand Lodge in 1792 appointed H.R.H Prince Edward, (afterwards Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, and grandfather of the Duke of Connaught, England's Grand Master), to be Provincial Master for Canada. It was when leaving his position there that Kent, (later to assist his brother Sussex in consummating the English Masonic Union), was the earliest Freemason of prominence to recommend steps towards a happy ending for the then long-abiding divergence between "Moderns" and "Antients." Strikingly enough, it was from Canada, whence this urge to Masonic unity originally came."¹

CHAPTER XVII

THE new Provincial Grand Lodge, with His Royal Highness in charge, got well away to an early start. For a "list of lodges," we copy again Dr. Graham's list from his "History of Freemasonry."

Graham, in fact, has two separate lists. The first includes the three "Ancient Lodges" who, newly established in Quebec, had petitioned the Grand Lodge of "Ancients" in London for a Provincial Grand Lodge, the Duke of Kent's appointment being the answer to

1. But, on the same page, Robbins goes on to make an easy mistake for any Londoner. He refers to "Nova Scotia" as the originating centre for Canadian masonry. Admitting the earlier origin of the craft in that province, it did not form part of Canada until Confederation; and the Nova Scotia origin was entirely separate and distinct from the later "origin" in Quebec and Canada Proper.

this petition. These might be considered "Founders' lodges." It includes also the warrant for the new Provincial Grand Lodge, and reads as follows:

Registry of the G. L. of England. "Ancients."

Name	Location	London Number	Founded
Albion	Quebec	9	1752
Merchants	"	40	1755
St. John's	"	241	1787
Provincial Grd. Lodge	"	273	1792

He then proceeds, in a separate list, to set down, (quoting his own words), "the 26 or 27 warranted lodges" established by this Prov. Grand Lodge, giving their Provincial numbers. There is no number given for the last entry: and the date of founding, (subsequent to the formal closing of the Prov. Grd. Lodge of Antients in Quebec), seems the reason for his doubts as to whether the 27th entry should actually appear on this particular list. This second list is as follows:—

Name	Location	Prov. No.	Founded
Grand Stewards	Quebec	—	1792
Glengarry 2nd Battn.			
Royal Canadians	Upper Canada	1	1792
Royal Rose 7 Foot	Wm. Henry	2	1792
Dorchester	St. John's	3	1792
2nd Battn. 60th Regt.	Travelling	4	1792
Royal Edward	Edwardsburg U.C.	5	1792
Richelieu	Wm. Henry	6	1793
Fidelity 7th Foot.	Travelling	7	1793
Union	Montreal	8	1793
Select Surveyors (now Prevost)	Missisquoi Bay	9	1793
Zion	Detroit, U.C.	10	1794
Chambly	Chambly	11	1795
St. Paul's	Montreal	12	1797
St. Andrew's	At St. Eustache, River Duchesne	13	1800
Nelson	Caldwell Manor	14	1802
Rural	Ascot	15	1805

St. George	Three Rivers	16	1809
Murray	St. Andrew's	17	1813
Friendship	Eaton	18	1813
Golden Rule	Stanstead	19	1813
Wellington Persevering	Montreal	20	1815
Pythagorean	Chambly	21	1816
Sussex			
(now St. Andrew's)	Quebec	22	1816
Les Frères du Canada	Quebec	23	1816
Waterloo	Three Rivers	24	1816
Columbian	Hull	25	1818
Odell	Odelltown	26	1819
Rural Mark	Hatley	—	1824

The intrusion of the new Provincial Grand lodge of "Ancients" left the rank and file of Canadian Masons, (who knew little, and apparently never really grasped the deep-seated rivalry between the "Moderns" and the "Antients"), in a state of perplexity, which did not wear away for a long time. So late as 1817, a lodge certificate issued to a newly accepted brother of Murray Lodge No. 17 at St. Andrew's East, P.Q., is headed:

"We, the principal Officers of Murray Lodge No. 17, Lower Canada, "*United Ancient York Masons*," under the patronage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, etc., etc., etc."

Comparing the two rival Provincial Grand Lodges from the Canadian viewpoint, it would seem that the new "Ancients," under the ardent direction of Deputy Grand Master Laurence Dermott, and with the prestige of the Duke of Kent's name and presence, excelled in enthusiasm; while the original "Moderns" were well in advance in accuracy of systematic recording. Laurence Dermott was the life and soul of the "Ancient" movement, and an organizer of exceptional ability. The real future of the "Ancient" movement was to lie in the newly-formed "United States," where even today

almost every lodge uses what they call the "York" working in the Master Mason's degree.

To illustrate this difference in recording systems, the original Grand Lodge in London had set up and maintained a "List of Lodges" the world over, whether such lodges reported through one of their many Provincial Grand Lodges or direct; all numbered consecutively in exact order of foundation dates. When sufficient gaps had occurred owing to lapses, they had a re-numbering in London, "raising" all the subsequent lodges further up the list, and notifying them accordingly. These London numbers were in addition to any provincial numbers granted by Prov. Grd. Lodges, who were privileged to make their own re-numbering whenever advisable; also notifying London of such changes. Under this old system, the three "founders' lodges" in Quebec would have claimed numbers 1, 2, and 3 "Provincial"; but would have retained their London numbers intact. They were apparently afraid that under the new "Ancient" Regime, if they took their proper Provincial numbers they might be expected to resign their London numbers; and of the two preferred to keep the latter. This is the reason they are not shewn on the regular Provincial list, but had to be recorded under a separate list.

The comparative laxity of the "Ancient" system becomes manifest as we study this separate list. These three lodges, all established as "Ancient" in Quebec at about the same time, (somewhere approximate to the year 1787), have London numbers so far separated as 9, 40 and 241; while their foundation dates are stated respectively as 1752, 1755, and 1787. Merchants No. 40 was originally "Merchants No. 1, Quebec" on the "Modern" list; and as a foundation date 1755 is clearly

wrong, for Wolfe did not arrive at Quebec to lay siege to the city until the summer of 1759!

"Albion" lodge No. 9, however, has some very interesting history prior to the capture that throws some light on the elasticity of the "Ancient" numbering system. The name "Albion" was not adopted by this lodge till after 1814. At the period this list refers to it was a military lodge in the 4th Battalion of the Royal Artillery. Dermott only joined the "Grand Lodge of Ancients" as Grand Secretary on the 6th February, 1752,¹ so number 9, and a foundation date from 1752, would have made it a very early "Ancient" lodge indeed.

We learn, however, that the 4th Battalion Royal Artillery was moved into New York during the American War of Independence in 1781, and that the lodge was then carrying the London "Ancient" number 213.² When the independence of the United States had been acknowledged by Great Britain, the 4th Battalion were moved to Newfoundland; but before leaving New York the lodge had been very active in assisting at the formation of the new Ancient "Provincial Grand Lodge of New York" in 1782, and were much commended for their zeal in this respect. From Newfoundland they were moved back to Woolwich, and while there got a new warrant from Laurence Dermott, who by that time had become Deputy Grand Master. With this new warrant, dated the 20th December, 1787, they purchased the then vacant No. 9 "for the sum of five guineas to the Grand Charity." It is said this practice of buying a vacant early number was not uncommon among the Ancients at that period; but it is a practice that would have horrified the historically-minded

1. See Dayne's "Birth and Growth of the Grand Lodge of England," page 48.
2. See Graham's "History of Freemasonry," pages 87 and 89, 180 and 181.

Moderns. In buying this number, they seem to have concluded they had also bought the original foundation date of the first defunct "Lodge No. 9," namely the 12th June, 1752. This 1787 warrant is the one they brought over with them when they were moved over for their long stay in the city of Quebec.

We learn that "Merchants No. 1," when they applied for an "Ancient" warrant, after having been "healed over" in 1786, only got "No. 265." "Merchants" had long suffered from numbering troubles, which began when their special "No. 1 Quebec" was moved up to No. 9 by the first Provincial Grand Lodge. In 1791 they followed the example of the 4th Battalion, and "purchased for five guineas" the vacant No. 40; and appropriated No. 40's original foundation date of 20th August, 1755. This explains the apparent discrepancies in Graham's special list of the three "founders' lodges."

CHAPTER XVIII

THE Duke of Kent was already instructed in the methods of the original "Grand Lodge" in London. Granted the honorary title of "Past Grand Master" on his admission, he had later been appointed "Provincial Grand Master" of Gibraltar and Andalusia in 1790, and was well acquainted with both the privileges and restrictions of a Provincial Grand Lodge. But under the elastic and easy-going "Ancients," he very shortly dropped the word "Provincial" from his masonic title; and became generally known in Canada as "the Royal and Right-Worshipful Grand Master." In fact, Laurence Dermott's own mind does not seem to have been clear on

this point. In his favourite handbook of Ancient masonry, which he published under the title of "Ahiman Rezon,"* and which it was his ambition to see placed in the hands of every Ancient mason the world over, he has this note:

"At the particular request of the Ancient Masons of Canada, a grand warrant was granted on the 7th March, 1792, to his Royal Highness Prince Edward, (now Duke of Kent), as Grand Master of Canada."

The Duke of Kent established a new practice among the Ancients in Canada. He instructed, and encouraged the individual lodges to issue their own certificates of membership to newly accepted brethren.

His own Warrants to newly-formed lodges made use of both the term "Grand Master" and "Provincial Grand Lodge."

These were headed, "Edward, *Grand Master.*" (Then followed the names of the Deputy Grand Master, and the Grand Senior and Junior Wardens).

The documents then continued,

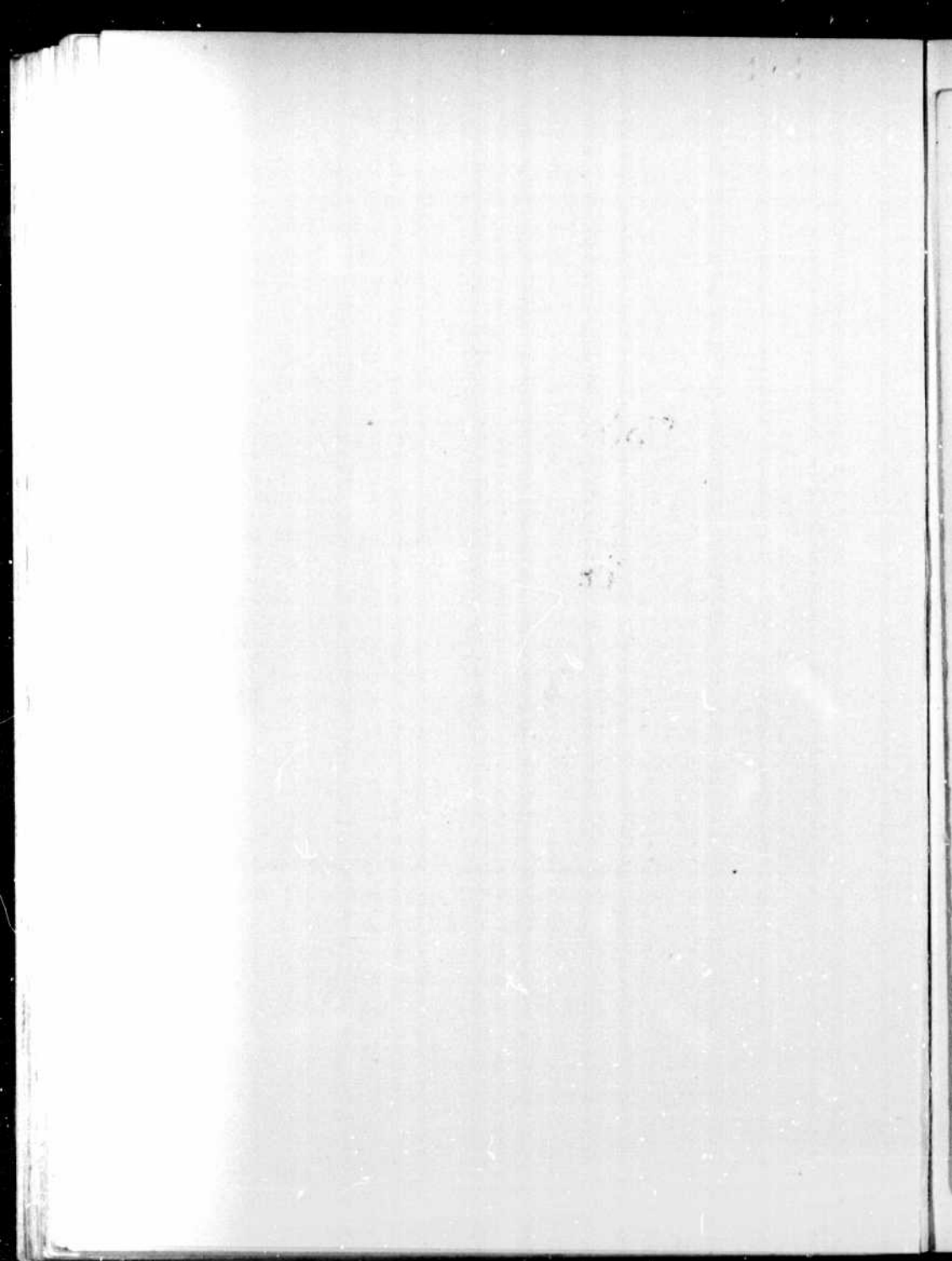
"To all it may concern:

We, Prince Edward, (followed by full titles), *Grand Master of Masons* in the Province of Lower Canada."

These documents provide for the continuance of this Lodge forever,

"Providing the above named Brethren, and all their successors duly conform to the known and established Rules and Regulations of the Craft; paying due respect to US by whom these presents are granted, and to the *PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE* of the said Province, conforming to the Laws and Regulations thereof, and preserving a Regular and Yearly Communication

* "Ahiman Rezon," by Laurence Dermott, D.G.M., printed by T. Burton, Little Queen Street, London, 1800.



**VOIR
MICROFICHE
SUIVANTE**

therewith, otherwise this Warrant to be of no Force or Virtue."

His first Warrant was issued almost immediately after his installation on the 22nd June, 1792, and was for a "Grand Steward's Lodge" to be held in Quebec. This was a part of his business organization of the new "Provincial Grand Lodge," and apparently did not carry any Provincial number. The master was always to be the Deputy Provincial Grand Master of the time; the chairs were to be filled, whenever practicable, by members of the Provincial Grand Lodge. They were to have two special duties. They were to attend as far as possible to purely routine matters that might crop up in between the regular Quarterly Communications; and they were to act as Trustees of the Grand Charity funds.

CHAPTER XIX

KENT HOUSE, beside the Montmorency river, a few miles outside the city of Quebec, was duly fitted up and furnished as His Royal Highness' official residence while in Canada Proper; but he had a summer dwelling at William Henry, (now the city of Sorel), where the Richelieu river joins the St. Lawrence. The little Anglican church at Sorel, which is still standing, is very proud of shewing the pew with the Royal Coat of Arms, where the Duke of Kent used to sit and worship on Sundays.

His Royal Highness signed warrants for nine new lodges while in Canada; of which two, (one military and one civilian), were located at William Henry, and

one civilian lodge established at St. Johns, further up the Richelieu river. In all, four were for military lodges; five for civilian lodges. His first two wararnts were military.

No. 1 went to Glengarry Lodge, in the 2nd Battalion of the "Royal Canadians," then stationed in the newly opened up county of Glengarry, north of Lake St. Francis in the Province of Ontario.

No. 2 was given to Royal Rose Lodge, in the 7th Regiment of Foot, then part of the garrison at Fort William Henry.

No. 3 was a civilian lodge, "Dorchester Lodge," at St. Johns, on the Richelieu river. The old name of "Dorchester Lodge," established as a "Modern" lodge by Sir John Johnson in Vergennes, Vermont, was vacant in Canada; the first Dorchester lodge having joined the then new Grand Lodge of Vermont, formed soon after the United States had gained their independence. The then little town of St. Johns was later to be named "Dorchester"; but, after bearing this name for some years, reverted again to the original name of St. Johns,—exactly as its neighbour Sorel had done with its temporary name of William Henry. Dorchester Lodge is still "going strong" in the present city of St. Johns; and is entitled to boast of having the earliest dated warrant of any existing lodge, signed by the Duke of Kent.

No. 4 was a "Travelling" warrant to the 2nd Battalion of the 60th Regiment. No. 5 is interesting as being named "Royal Edward" after His Royal Highness himself, and established in the new town of Edwardsburg, Ontario, also named after the Prince. This town is now the home of the very well known "Edwardsburg Starch Company."

The "Royal and Rt. W'pfull Grand Master" then turned down again to his summer home at Sorel, and established a new civilian lodge under the name of Richelieu Lodge, No. 6. This lodge would be in competition with "Unity lodge," "Modern," founded in Sorel in 1781 by Colonel Christopher Carleton. He also issued a "Travelling" warrant under No. 7 with the name "Fidelity lodge," to the same 7th Foot to which he had already granted No. 2, as "Royal Rose" lodge. Presumably this second warrant was to be available for use in case the regiment should be removed from Fort William Henry.

His next warrant was to Montreal, where he established "Union lodge, No. 8" as an "Ancient" lodge, to compete with the three "Modern" lodges there operating, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and the recently formed St. John's Lodge of Friendship.

The last warrant signed by His Royal Highness was to a lodge in Quebec called "Select Surveyors, No. 9."* Unfortunately the early minutes of this lodge are said to have been destroyed by fire, and one can only speculate on the reason for the unusual name. The members shortly settled along the shores of Missisquoi Bay, at the northern or Canadian end of Lake Champlain, near to the town of Phillipsburg, and brought the lodge and the warrant along with them. When Sir Georges Prévost became Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, they applied and had the name changed to "Prévost" lodge. Again, they moved the lodge inland from the lake to three different locations in the "Eastern Townships"; finally settling down in the last location as Prévost Lodge at Dunham, P. Q.

When the Duke of Kent departed from Canada

*See pamphlet published by Messrs. Mitchell and Milborne for the "Masonic Study Club," for further details.

Proper in 1794, he still kept his title of "Provincial Grand Master of Ancients"; only giving it up in December 1812, to become "Grand Master of Ancients" to enable him to act with his brother Sussex, (who was "Grand Master of Moderns"), at the forthcoming 1813 amalgamation. So for eighteen years, from 1794 until the end of 1812, the Deputy Grand Master had to perform all masonic duties in Canada. Thomas Ainslie had been the Prince's Deputy, and continued so to act after His Royal Highness had left; but with new responsibilities. Thomas Ainslie was Collector of Customs at Quebec; and his advertisement appears in the first copy of the "Quebec Gazette" printed 21st June 1764, on the same page as the notice of meeting of "Merchants Lodge No. 1" inserted by Miles Prenties. This advertisement reads:

"The Honourable Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs, having been informed that Compositions have been frequently entered into for Duties imposed by the Act of 6 Geo. II, payable to His Majesty at the ports of America, give this Publick Notice. That whoever will make Discovery of any Person or Persons, who shall have been guilty of entering into, or conniving at such Compositions, to John Temple, Esq., or Peter Randolph, Esq., Surveyors General of His Majesty's Customs in North America, or other Principal Officer of His Majesty's Customs, the Collector, or Comptroller, of any Post, except the Post where such Fraud was enter'd into, so that the Parties offending may be controlled thereof, and the Duties receiv'd by the Crown, shall receive One Third Part of the Duties so recover'd.

By Order of the Honourable Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs in London.

THOMAS AINSLIE,
Collector.

Custom House, Quebec.
20th June 1764."

This notice was printed both in English and in French.

CHAPTER XX

DURING this eighteen years, there were in all six successive Deputy Prov. Grand Masters, as follows:

Thomas Ainslie

Captain Dodd, (Royal Artillery)

Major Hamilton (Royal Artillery)

John Lynd

Dr. William Holmes

The Hon. Claude Denechau

Canada was the one section of the Empire where the two Provincial Grand Lodges were living together in perfect amity; and no doubt the Duke of Kent had the idea in his own mind that that condition of affairs would last until Union became an accomplished fact. But all progress on the part of the original "Modern" Prov. Grand Lodge stopped short. The Prince did not seem to anticipate how strong the pull not only of his personal popularity, but of the Royal Name would prove. It would have seemed almost disloyal to establish any new "Modern" lodges in competition with Prince Edward's own Prov. Grand Lodge. Living as a minority in a country but recently captured from France, and having totally rejected all the overtures of the rebellious United States in 1776, the English-speaking population, both freemasons and laymen, were Royalists and Loyalists to a man.

The first warrant issued by the Deputy G.M.'s office was to Zion lodge in Detroit, still within the then limits of Upper Canada; and the warrant was signed by Thomas Ainslie in 1794. This lodge would be in

competition with the existing "Harmony Lodge," taken over by the original "Modern Prov. Grd. Lodge" during the American war in 1777.* In 1795, a new lodge, Chambly No. 11, was opened at Chambly, on the river Richelieu between St. Johns, (or Dorchester), and Sorel, (or William Henry).

About this time began the movement that resulted in a general stampede of "Modern" lodges in Canada over to the Duke of Kent's "Ancients"; and the fact that the ceremony of "healing over" an entire lodge was to become one of common occurrence. In the city of Quebec, of the three lodges that had supported the first Provincial Grand Lodge during the American War, (Merchants No. 1, St. Andrew's No. 2, and St. Patrick's No. 3), St. Patrick's seems to have disbanded, as no later records appear. Merchants had already become "Ancient." That left St. Andrew's, (of which James Thompson, now an old man, was still a member), as the only "Modern" lodge in Quebec city, surrounded by a growing number of "Ancient" lodges; and they seem to have lost no time in getting themselves "made Ancient." The example of St. Andrew's was then rapidly followed by all country lodges; so that by the beginning of 1797 it would appear that Sir John Johnson was carrying on his original Provincial Grand Lodge supported only by the three Montreal lodges, St. Peter's, St. Paul's and St. John's Lodge of Friendship. But there was a strange lack of formality about this change from the one Provincial Grand Lodge to the other. None of the changing lodges seem to have surrendered their original warrants, nor is there any record (with one exception) of new Provincial numbers or new "Ancient" warrants;—neither

* See Modern List on p. 23, "Zion Lodge, Detroit, 1764." Can this Lodge have been revived, and then "made Antient?"

does it appear that Sir John Johnson ever notified the Senior Grand Lodge in London of all these changes. There probably was a firm faith in Canada that H.R.H. the Duke of Kent would not fail to accomplish the coalition he himself had suggested; and that Canadian lodges would be more welcome in the new Union, if they followed the Duke of Kent, and became "Ancient."

By the spring of 1797, while Thomas J. Sullivan was Master, the members of St. Paul's lodge in Montreal had become very friendly with the members of the new "Ancient" Union Lodge No. 8; although of course they were not permitted to "meet them in lodge." St. Paul's had once before been abandoned by St. Peter's lodge in 1775; and been left for five years the only lodge to carry on the responsibilities of masonry in Montreal, until St. Peter's came back re-established in 1780. The future of the first Provincial Grand Lodge in Canada seemed to be rapidly dwindling. St. Paul's decided to join the "Ancients," but first to write the Deputy Prov. Grand Master to find out whether they could get a new warrant. The result was that in May the lodge was "made Ancient," and obtained a regular "Ancient" warrant under Provincial Number 12; and Sullivan, as an "Ancient," was installed as Master again, and so acted for a second year. But St. Paul's retained its original "Modern" warrant, and there is no record of any written resignation sent to its first Prov. Grd. Lodge. Doubtless, in the then small city of Montreal, the matter had been so fully discussed that no formal written statement was deemed necessary.

Once in with the "Ancients," St. Paul's went rapidly ahead with the new work. The Lodge issued its own Master Mason's certificates, of which rare documents

three are displayed in the Lodge rooms, dated 1799, 1806 and 1808 respectively. The Lodge began to grant Mark degrees, Royal Arch degrees and also Masonic Knight Templar degrees! Brother Gwyn Owen Radford, Master of St. Paul's in 1803, was said to have been an authority on the mysteries and ceremonies of Sir Knights Templar and Knights of Malta in Montreal.

But this move on the part of St. Paul's lodge spelled the end of the first "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada." With only two supporting lodges remaining, Sir John Johnson ceased to convene "Grand Lodge" meetings. And shortly after, both St. Peter's and St. John's lodge of Friendship disbanded. Thomas McCord had been the soul of St. Peter's lodge since its revival in 1780, he had been D.G.M. of the Deputy's Grand Lodge of Montreal, he had been for several years Provincial Grand Secretary, he was now an old man; and the new "Ancient" Grand Lodge had no honours to tempt him. St. Peter's lodge had disbanded once before in 1775 because it did not approve of Quebec's treatment of their member, D.G.M. Edward Antill; so perhaps it is not surprising to learn that in 1797 it went finally out of business. And its protégé, St. John's Lodge of Friendship, of which Thomas McCord's son John Samuel was a member, disbanded at the same time.

When, later, the "United" Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry decided to disband in the year 1857, they did so formally and by means of regular correspondence with the United Grand Lodge in London. But, in the case of this first "Provincial Grand Lodge," begun by the masons in Wolfe's army immediately after the capture of Quebec, finding itself in 1797 deprived of supporting lodges, it simply shut up shop, ceased its meetings, and quietly faded away.

CHAPTER XXI

WHEN the Provincial Grand Lodge of Ancients found itself in entire possession of the Canadian field, strange to say its progress appears to have slowed up. This may perhaps be attributed to three reasons: First, the conviction in the minds of Canadians that "Union" was close at hand. Secondly, the removal of the earlier pressure to install an Ancient Lodge in every locality where a Modern lodge had earlier been established. And thirdly, the time spent on assimilating the joining Modern lodges that had been made over into Ancient lodges, and were now permitted to intermingle freely at regular meetings.

In 1800, a lodge named St. Andrew's No. 13 was begun among the Scotch settlers at River Duchesne, (St. Eustache). Two years later, "Nelson No. 14," at Caldwell Manor, near Clarenceville. And, in 1805, three years later, a lodge called "Rural No. 15" in the village of Ascot, not far from Sherbrooke. And four years later, in 1809, while Dr. William Holmes was Deputy Prov. Grand Master, St. George's Lodge No. 16 was established at Three Rivers, where Doctor Holmes is said to have lived.

In December 1812, the news came from London that the Duke of Atholl had resigned as Grand Master of all the Ancients in favour of the Duke of Kent, who had taken his place. His Royal Highness therefore resigned his former office of Provincial Grand Master of Ancients in Canada, and the Honourable Claude Denechau, Member of Parliament at Quebec, (then

Deputy Prov. Grand Master), was duly appointed as his successor.

Claude Denechau had joined Merchants lodge at Quebec while that lodge was still part of the original "Moderns," and was proudly using as Provincial number its first designation of "Merchants No. 1." He had not been "made Ancient" with the lodge in 1786, and his masonry had lain dormant till 1800, when he came up to Montreal and was solemnly changed to "Ancient masonry" in St. Paul's lodge, receiving their certificate to that effect signed by William Martin as Master, and Gwyn Owen Radford as Secretary "*pro tem.*" About this time, his extraordinary record of zeal for the craft seems to have had its real beginning. In 1801, the next year, we find him recorded as Prov. Grand Treasurer; in 1805 as Prov. Junior Grand Warden; in 1807 Senior Grand Warden, and in 1811 as "Deputy Prov. Grand Master of Ancients for Canada" in succession to Dr. William Holmes. As soon as he had obtained his warrant as Prov. Grand Master, he seems to have bent his swift energies to development. In his first year of office, 1813, he issued warrants for three new lodges, as follows:

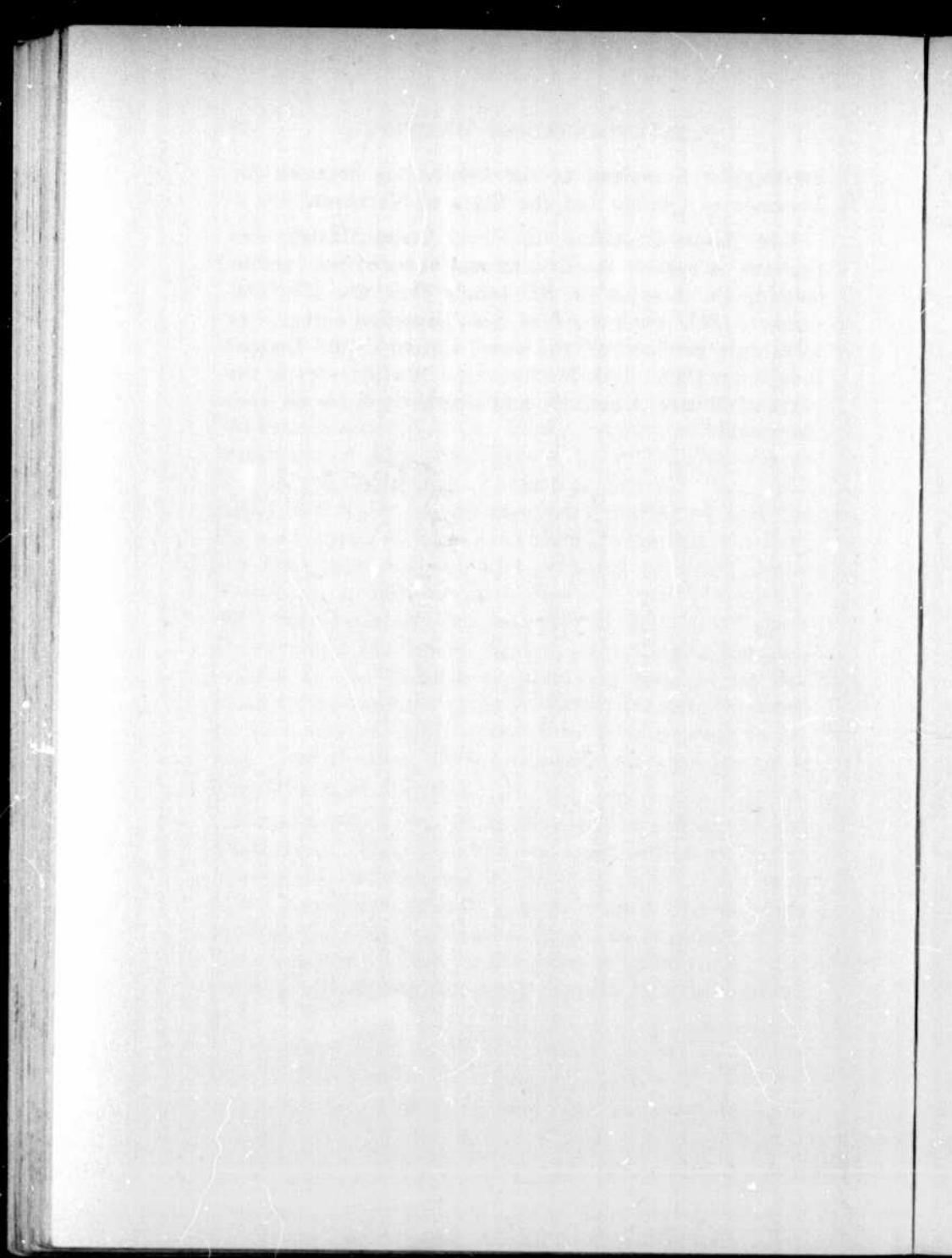
Murray lodge No. 17 at St. Andrew's East on the North river. This town had just been settled by Scotch immigrants, who named it "St. Andrew's." They then found there was already a town named St. Andrew's in Upper Canada, or Canada West; so re-christened it "St. Andrew's East," to prevent confusion. St. Andrew's East was for many years a "garrison town" in Canada.

Friendship No. 18, in the village of Eaton, on the way to Sherbrooke.

Golden Rule No. 19, a very well-known lodge still

existing, at Stanstead at the border-line between the Province of Quebec and the State of Vermont.

And Claude Denechau, as Prov. Grand Master, was the man to receive the first formal news of the famous meeting in London on St. John's Day, the 27th December, 1813, when the final Amalgamation ceremonies were duly carried out, the new "United Grand Lodge" inaugurated, and both Moderns and Antients drank the toast of "Peace, Goodwill, and Brotherly Love all over the world."



PART III
THE CANADIAN INTERREGNUM
1814-1820
READJUSTMENT PERIOD

THE HISTORY OF THE

REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

CHAPTER XXII

THE "Peace and Goodwill" that should have been universal among freemasons was to receive a severe jolt, in Canada of all places; where the first definite movement for masonic unity had originated, and where masons for years had been believing that Union would at once provide a full measure of harmony and content. This trouble was due to what Laurence Dermott would probably have called nothing but a "book-keeping question," too trivial to worry about.

The new Grand Lodge opened for business with the year 1814; and the original "Grand Lodge," and the "Grand Lodge of Ancients," both went out of existence as such at the same time. The members of the senior Grand Lodge had had so much trouble about the word "Ancient" for half a century, that they saw to it that this word was included in the new name; and the title "United Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons" was the one adopted.

It was decided to set up a "List," or "Roll of Lodges," similar in all respects to the one that had been maintained for nearly a century by the Senior "Grand Lodge"; fitting all "Ancient" lodges into their proper places, and re-numbering accordingly. The new Grand

Secretary had little trouble with the "Modern" list, which was already in shape; but to assemble and sort the "Ancient" lodges was to prove a gigantic task. In fact, the "United Roll" was not "closed up" till 1832,* a long eighteen years after the "Union."

The Duke of Kent's "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada" could not, of course, be denied every favourable consideration; but how to fit the lodges properly into the new roll would seem to have been one of the biggest problems the new Grand Secretary had to face. For of the three "founders' lodges" at Quebec, Merchants, Albion and St. John's, all three on the "Ancient" London roll, the first two had "purchased" their numbers and their positions; and neither had any "Provincial Number." Of the nineteen new lodges that had received consecutive Provincial numbers, none had any place or number on the Ancient London roll. And there were rumours of some purely "Modern" lodges, who had been "healed over" and had been working as Antients. The whole Canadian situation seems to have appeared to the Grand Secretary to be hopelessly involved.

However, in 1814, the Craft in Canada "carried on," Claude Denechau reported his lodges to London; and awaited with some anxiety his new "Deputation," "Patent," or "Warrant" as Provincial Grand Master for Canada. But it was slow in coming forward; instead, he found himself drawn into a long protracted correspondence anent the details of Canadian lodges, and it was not until the 3rd of January, 1820, that the document was actually signed and forwarded. Under this Patent he was duly installed on the 12th of June, 1820.**

* See the "Masonic Record" magazine, Sept. 1937; "Review of History of Amity Lodge 137, 1765;—the oldest lodge in Dorset."

** This original Patent is preserved in the library of the "Grand Lodge of Quebec" at Montreal.

Denechau must naturally have been uneasy about his position while his formal appointment was thus delayed; but he still had in his possession his 1812 warrant as "Prov. Grd. Master of Antients for Canada," and appears to have considered it his duty to act as Prov. Grand Master *pro tem* of the new "United Grand Lodge"; and later to give his unusual energy full play. However, for the year 1814 he simply marked time.

But in 1815, the news came through that Wellington had won the battle of Waterloo, and a fresh wave of loyalty swept over the British in Canada. The main street of a new residential suburb being planned in Montreal was surveyed as "Wellington Street," the cross streets to be named King Street, Queen Street, Prince Street, and Duke Street. In December 1815, Claude Denechau issued a new warrant No. 20, and on St. John's day, the 27th December, came up to Montreal and installed a new lodge there under the name of "Wellington Persevering."

The first Directory of Montreal was published by one Thomas Doige, and printed by James Lane. "at his printing office, No. 29 St. Paul Street," under the name of "An Alphabetical list of the Merchants, Traders, and Housekeepers residing in Montreal." In his edition of 1819, on page 48, following a list of "Banks and Public Offices in Montreal," comes this heading and the following three entries:

"Masonic Lodges in Montreal.

Union Lodge No. 8 is held at (place of meeting left blank for some unknown reason).

St. Paul's Lodge No. 12 is held at the "City Tavern." (The location of the City Tavern is elsewhere described as "between 73 and 74 St. Paul Street," of course an obsolete street-numbering).

Wellington Persevering Lodge No. 20, at Gillespie

and Cooper's, "King's Arms," No. 4 St. Charles Street, New Market."

In 1816, still without his United Grand Warrant, Denechau chartered no less than four lodges. A second lodge at Chambly, Pythagorean No. 21. A new lodge at Quebec, Sussex No. 22, (after the original St. Andrew's lodge of 78th Highlanders had finally disbanded, Sussex lodge adopted the vacant name St. Andrew's, which it still bears).

Denechau was fluently bilingual; and later in the same year put into force one of his own pet ideas, establishing a French Canadian Lodge in Quebec under the number 23, and the name of "Les Freres du Canada." All their meetings were held in French: and this remained a prosperous and flourishing lodge for many years.

And still in 1816, one more commemorative lodge at Three Rivers, called "Waterloo" lodge, No. 24.

His Grand Warrant still hanging fire, he established no new lodges in 1817, but in 1818 issued a warrant for Columbian lodge No. 25 to be held in the town of Hull, on the Ottawa river. Across the river, the small hamlet was shortly to grow and become important as the terminus of the new Rideau Canal; and to be christened By-town, after Colonel John By, the Royal Engineer appointed to supervise construction. Later, By-town was re-christened Ottawa, and is now the Federal Capital of the present "Dominion of Canada."

And in 1819, he issued a warrant for Odell lodge No. 26, to be held at Odelltown, a small village near the United States Border beyond Lacolle, P. Que.¹ This was the last warrant for which he used "Ancient"

1. During the "War of 1812" there had been a brisk skirmish here, and the "American invaders" had been repulsed.

numbers, for his own United "Grand Warrant" arrived early in 1820. It is said, however, that after his Grand Warrant had arrived, he went round specially to visit each of these seven lodges, and endorsed, regulated, and confirmed each of their warrants.

CHAPTER XXIII

DURING the six and a half years that Denechau was busy corresponding with the new Grand Lodge, and answering questions from the Grand Secretary, he evidently had decided that masonry could not pause, and that it was his duty to carry on. His Deputy in 1813 had been William Handfield Snelling, who continued to act as such after the new United regime had been declared.

Many Masons in Canada, (Denechau himself was one of them) had begun under the original Prov. Grand Lodge, and had later been "made Ancient"; and now that the craft was under the rule of the new "United Grand Lodge," some book of instructions was a plain necessity. He entrusted Handfield Snelling and a committee to prepare and compile such a book, which was published in 1818 under the title of "The Mason's Manual." Denechau ordered that a copy of this Manual should be presented by the Lodge Secretary to every new candidate; and yet, Graham, writing his "History" seventy-five years later, says "copies of this Manual are now very rare."¹

The frontispiece is a woodcut of the Duke of Kent, and beneath is this inscription:

1. Thanks are due to A. J. B. Milborne, Esq., member of the "Masonic Study Club," for lending his copy of this extremely rare volume.

"His Royal Highness Prince Edward Duke of Kent, etc., etc., etc., Past Grand Master of Masons in Lower Canada."

The title page reads as follows:

"The
Mason's Manual
comprising
Rules and Regulations
for the Government
of the
Most Ancient and Honourable Society
of
Free and Accepted
Masons
in
Lower Canada
To which is added
An Appendix
Containing various useful Charges, etc.
Published by order of the Provincial Grand Lodge
Quebec.
Printed at the new Printing-Office, by T. Cary, Junr.
and Co.
No. 21 Buade Street
1818."

There is a dedication to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, in which the following words occur:

"Whatever good effect the "Mason's Manual" may ultimately produce, is primarily to be attributed to your Royal Highness' zeal, and active perseverance during the year 1792."

The Preface contains the following interesting paragraph:

"It is intended to supersede the inconveniences which all the Subordinate Lodges, and particularly those in remote situations have hitherto suffered so much by, and to prevent

the irregularities they have fallen into, arising frequently from a want of acquaintance with the regulations as laid down in the "Book of New Constitution," unanimously accepted by the United Grand Lodge of England, at the memorable Epoch when the Interests of Ancient and Modern Masons were cemented forever in one Grand Plan of perpetual Union, under the name of "United Ancient Free-Masons of England," and subsequently recognized and acted upon by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada."

The Manual then prints a set of rules for the government and conduct of Provincial Grand Lodges, and the duties of the Grand Officers. Then later, Rules for the Conduct of Private Lodges; and "Public Ceremonies of Laying a Foundation Stone," etc.

The Appendix contains the "Ancient Charges of a Freemason": Forms of return to be sent half-yearly to the Grand Secretary; Form of Funeral Service, etc., etc., and a collection of Masonic Odes and Songs, (one of the latter composed by Thomas Bennett, Prov. Grd. Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia).

Some of the old phraseology has a quaint sound. In a "Short Charge to a new admitted Mason," is the following:

"Monarchs, governors, and rulers in all ages, as well of Asia, Africa, and Europe, as of America; have been encouragers of the Art, and many of them have presided as Grand Masters over the Masons in their respective territories."

Denechau was still without his Deputation from London when the "Mason's Manual" was published, and, probably for that reason, his name does not appear anywhere in the book. Instead, the Preface states that the work was suggested by William Handfield Snelling, Deputy Grand Master; and carried out by a committee composed of J. Stilson, Charles E. Collier, and James Fraser, Grand Secretary.

CHAPTER XXIV

CANADIANS had been trained for so many years to look forward to "Union" as the immediate cure for all masonic ills and troubles, that it was a very great disappointment to find that, while the first formal demand for unity had originated in Canada, the regularization of their new Provincial Grand Lodge was to be so long delayed. And when the proper "Patent" actually arrived in 1820, they got another jolt, when they found that it was made out, for some unexplainable reason, "for the City of Quebec and the District of Three Rivers" only!

The "War of 1812" with the "United States" had only been over for a few years; Brock had won the battle of Queenstown Heights, and de Salaberry the battle of Chateauguay, and a great deal of the fighting had been on Lake Ontario. Upper Canada, (later "Canada West," and now known as the Province of Ontario), was rapidly filling up; and masons had fully expected the document to authorize a "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada," and thus include Upper Canada. But, at this period, Upper Canada was still at its beginnings; while Lower Canada, with its well developed cities of Quebec and Montreal, was still proud to consider itself as the "centre of civilization." They would not have objected to a new Patent of "United Prov. Grd. Lodge of Lower Canada," in fact the title page of the "Mason's Manual" clearly indicates this. But why the limits should be confined to Quebec

and Three Rivers, omitting Montreal altogether, was beyond their comprehension.

Graham, writing his "History," concludes this may have been an error due to natural ignorance in London of the actual geography of the new colony of Canada. It seems impossible to accept this conclusion, especially with the Duke of Kent still alive and in England, and quite competent to instruct the Grand Lodge on any such points. The more probable hypothesis is that the Grand Lodge in London were already considering the plan for enlarging their organization in Canada Proper which was carried out a few years later, (three Provincial Grand Lodges instead of one), and this first "Deputation" was sent over to learn what the Canadian reaction would be.

London did not have to wait long to learn this. It remained, of course, quite legitimate for the lodges both in the remaining portion of Lower Canada, and the few lodges then existing in Upper Canada, to continue to report to London through Denechau's Prov. G.L. at Quebec as being the nearest and most accessible Provincial Grand Lodge, and this practice these now "outside" lodges followed for a period.

In 1820, there was a rivalry between the cities of Quebec and Montreal. Up to the end of the French regime, Champlain's old city of Quebec had easily maintained its position as the leading city in Canada, both commercially and socially. But after the formal cession in 1760, the British in Montreal had been able to establish the "North West Fur Company of Montreal", a company that was rapidly to extend its trade (with no better means of transportation than birch bark canoes), across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean itself, up the Mackenzie river to the Arctic ocean, and down south through the "Wyoming"

territory as far as the land which forms the present State of Utah. This new fur company had become the most formidable rival that the old Hudson's Bay Company, (then established for well over a century) was ever to know. In consequence, the older city of Quebec had fallen behind in the commercial race; and even in social matters Montreal was beginning to challenge its supremacy. In comparison, Three Rivers was then a small and unimportant town; and it was impossible to conceive that the freemasons in the ardent, confident, fast-growing city of Montreal, (which two years before had torn down all its stone fortification walls for the very purpose of permitting the city to expand), should forever continue contentedly to view their three lodges reporting as forming a part of the "District of Three Rivers!"

One of the most outstanding social events in Canada was the opening of the new "General Hospital" in Montreal in 1821, (the original building on Dorchester Street is still maintained intact as forming the Main Entrance to the present much enlarged hospital). The hospital authorities called on Denechau at Quebec to have the cornerstone laid by his Provincial Grand Lodge, and this was done on the 6th day of June, 1821, with much pomp and ceremony. All the documents relating to this masonic event, including all the current newspaper accounts of the ceremony, have been carefully preserved up to the present time by the General Hospital authorities. Another full account is to be found in "Hochelaga Depicta," published in 1839, and highly prized by all Montreal historians as an invaluable book of reference.* Under the cornerstone are two parchments; one giving the names of the subscribers and first directors; the other is the proper masonic

* "Hochelaga Depicta," by Newton Bosworth, 1839, Pages 124-130.

document, including the numbers of the three masonic lodges which were then in actual existence at Montreal and which attended the ceremony; namely: "Union Lodge," provincial number 8; "St. Paul's Lodge," provincial number 12; and "Wellington Persevering Lodge," provincial number 20. The whole masonic procession assembled at St. Paul's lodge rooms, in the then famous City Tavern, at No. 73 St. Paul Street. Preceded by a band, they marched uptown to the new building on Dorchester Street.

As Denechau's Grand Warrant did not include Montreal, and as Sir John Johnson, the former Prov. Grd. Master of the original Provincial Grand Lodge was still living in Montreal, Denechau specially deputized the latter to act as his representative for this occasion.

And the next year, we find St. Paul's lodge, backed up by both Union lodge and Wellington Persevering lodge, circularizing the Eastern Townships lodges for support to a petition to London for a new Provincial Grand Lodge in Montreal. Which is possibly just what London was hoping would happen.

CHAPTER XXV

THE petition for a new Provincial Grand Lodge went forward to London at the close of the year 1822. Denechau's new district was for Quebec City, where the Duke of Kent's official Canadian residence had been, and extended up the river as far as the District of Three Rivers. Montreal's new proposition would extend down the river half way to Three Rivers, and so include William Henry, (Sorel), which had been

His Royal Highness' summer home. The territory known as "the Eastern Townships" would be divided by drawing a vertical line on the map passing through Lake St. Peter, (the large expansion of the river between Three Rivers and Sorel), and lodges to the west of this line would belong to the new Prov. Grand Lodge; those east of the line remaining under Denechau's jurisdiction. The Montreal petition contained the following clause:

"There are at present in this District thirteen Lodges, whereas in the District of Three Rivers only eight."

In London this petition was accepted promptly and apparently without discussion; and it was shortly announced that on the 23rd of April, 1823, a "Patent" or "Grand Warrant" had been issued to William Magillivray to be Provincial Grand Master of a new "Provincial Grand Lodge of the City of Montreal and the Borough of William Henry." Turton Penn, of Montreal, acted as Provincial Grand Secretary. And, at the same time, Canada was informed that a similar Grand Warrant had been issued to Simon Magillivray, (William's younger brother), to form a third "Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada," with headquarters at the town of York, (now the thriving city of Toronto). The colony of Canada, therefore, with its small but rapidly growing population, was thus particularly well equipped with three separate Provincial Grand Lodges.* William Magillivray and Simon Magillivray were brothers**; both daring travellers and explorers, both had been famous members of the "North West Fur Company," (which had been amalgamated with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821) and the city

* Graham's "History of Freemasonry," pp. 162, 163, 164.

** At this period, spelling of words and names was still largely phonetic. The label on the portrait in the Chateau de Ramezay reads McGillivray. It was also spelt elsewhere MacGillivray, M'Gillivray; and perhaps most frequently and incorrectly, Magillivray.

of Fort William on the shores of Lake Superior is named after the elder brother, William, whose portrait is preserved in the museum in the "Chateau de Ramezay," in Montreal.

William Magillivray was a member of long standing in St. Paul's lodge, Montreal; and Turton Penn, acting Prov. Grand Secretary, was Past Master of the same Lodge. It will be seen that in 1823, this new alignment placed "Montreal and William Henry" in the most important position of the three. The importance of this position was maintained for some years; then Upper Canada, due to the rapid growth of freemasonry in a purely English-speaking province, began to forge far ahead.

The United Grand Lodge in London seems to have been convinced that Canada Proper would be delighted with this new and extensive organization on their behalf. Quebec might be disappointed, but their disappointment would be over-ruled by the enthusiasm of Montreal and Upper Canada; and this is exactly what occurred. So London was prompt to seize the opportunity to get the "Ancient" lodges of Canada entered on the new United "Roll of Lodges" in such position that there would be no future discussion from outsiders as to place and numbering. In consequence, in the early fall of 1823, the new "United Grand Master," His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, issued an Edict to his three Provincial Grand Masters in Canada Proper, instructing them to call on each of their lodges to turn in their "Ancient" warrants, and obtain each a fresh "United" warrant from London. His Royal Highness' commands were:

"Though there are several lodges in the district, yet none of them hold their Warrants from the Grand Lodge of England, but assemble under dispensations or warrants

which have been granted by Provincial Grand Masters* or Provincial Grand Lodges."

"In regard to such of them as do not hold Warrants from this country, you should require them to apply in regular form for such documents through you, the Grand Master's chief anxiety being the regularity of proceeding."

There were to be registration fees, but the edict continues:

"The Grand Master, however, is pleased to say, that he will recommend to the Grand Lodge to permit the Warrant to be issued to *all* such Lodges as are at present meeting under Provincial Dispensations, free from the accustomed fee of Five Guineas, payable under the Constitution of new Lodges."

In this manner, the United Grand Secretary in London, after many years of perplexity, was enabled to "balance his books," and close his "Roll of Lodges" as far as the Canadian "Ancients" were concerned; with the feeling that since the matter had been finally disposed of, all the documents relating to this question could safely be filed away and forgotten.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE Canadian lodges soon began to realize, that no matter what their foundation dates might actually happen to be in each case, London was listing them all as from the "turning in" of their "Ancient" warrants, and the consequent new issue of "United" warrants, thus bringing them all approximately to the year 1824. London apparently considered the whole matter of Canadian "Ancients" closed and settled once and for all, to their own permanent satisfaction. But whether

* This term, of course, includes his brother, the Duke of Kent, whose services to the cause of "Union" are so well-known.

the arrangement was to remain permanently satisfactory to the different Canadian lodges, is another story. Thirty years afterwards the first Independent Grand Lodge, the "Grand Lodge of Canada," was begun in Hamilton, Upper Canada, and started operations in the year 1855. And one of the strongest pleas they could make for the support of the different Canadian lodges was the promise of a new numbering, dating each one back to the time of its actual origin, prior to the "United Grand Lodge" edict of 1823.

All the Canadian lodges had come into the Union through the channel of the Duke of Kent's "Ancients"; but in 1823 there were four lodges still operating in "Canada Proper," whose real origin sprang from the earlier "Moderns"; three of them having begun before the "Ancients" had ever been thought of in Canada. The four were, "Merchants" and "St. Andrew's" at Quebec;* "St. Paul's" in Montreal, and "Barton" at Hamilton, Upper Canada. St. Paul's seems to have been the only one to try to get London to give it some special credit for its 1770 origin. They kept their first 1770 warrant as a precious relic until the burning of the Masonic Temple in 1833, when it was destroyed "with the original minute books, charters, records and muniments of the lodge."** They turned their "Ancient" warrant in for exchange in due course; and their lodge copy of the petition attached thereto has a footnote which reads as follows:

"Memo.—The original petition of which the foregoing is a copy, was transmitted to the Grand Lodge of England by the P.G.M. on the 28th January, 1824, by James Stuart, Esq."

Signed, T. Penn, P.G.S.

* St. Andrew's disbanding some years later, the vacant name was appropriated by Sussex Lodge: now St. Andrew's No. 3, G.R., Que.

** See "History and By-Laws of St. Paul's Lodge," (1876), pp. 207, 219, 220.

The Petition read:

"To The Right Worshipful The Honourable William McGillivray, Provincial Grand Master for the District of Montreal of the United Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons of England.

We the undersigned Master, Wardens, and Brethren of Lodge No. 12 held at Montreal and which has heretofore acted under the authority of a Warrant from the Provincial Grand Lodge at Quebec under the authority of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, Right Worshipful Grand Master, etc., etc., dated the first day of May 1797, having at heart the prosperity of the Craft and being anxious to exert our best endeavours to promote and diffuse the general principles of the art in this district; being also particularly desirous to supply any deficiency or remedy any irregularity in the authority under which we have heretofore acted and to be received and acknowledged as a regular Lodge under the constitution of England and to have the names of our members Registered accordingly in the Books of the Grand Lodge:

In consequence of these several reasons WE PRAY for a Warrant of Constitution or such other regular authority as it may be competent in you to grant empowering us to meet as a regular Lodge at Montreal on the second Tuesday of every month and there to perform the duties of Masonry in a constitutional manner according to the forms of the Order and the laws of the Grand Lodge.

We also pray your interposition and assistance in obtaining for our Lodge a regular Warrant of Constitution and in procuring the Registry of the names of our members in the Books of the Grand Lodge, and the prayer of this Petition being granted we promise strict obedience to the commands of the Most Wor-

shipful Grand Master and to the Laws and Regulations of the Grand Lodge.

Your petitioners beg leave farther to state that this Lodge was first established by warrant dated the eighth day of November, 1770, granted by the Right Worshipful and Honourable John Collins, P.G.M. for Canada by virtue of a Patent from His Grace Henry Duke of Somerset,* Duke of Beaufort, etc., etc., and continued to work under that warrant until 1797 when it was laid aside and the warrant which we now hold substituted. SAINT PAUL'S LODGE being the oldest now in existence in the District of Montreal your Petitioners hope the R.W.P. Grand Master will please to take the same into consideration in issuing the new Warrant.

Read and approved in Open Lodge.

Montreal, 23rd September, 1823.

(Signed)

Michael Scott, W.M.	F. Mackenzie
R. Harwood, S.W.	James Scott
A. Banbury, J.W.	Horatio Gates
Abner Bagg, Treas'r	Frederick Griffin
John Rawlins, Secret'y	Jacob Bigelow
Turton Penn, P.M.	James Farrar
Joseph Shuter, P.M.	P. W. Monk
John Smith	M. J. Hays
Jason C. Pearce	Gwyn Owen Radford
P. Lussier	Stanley Bagg
William Cormack	James C. Grant
James E. Campbell	Jabez D. Dewitt'

But no exception was made to the new general London rule, in spite of this special petition: and their Warrant from the new "United Grand Lodge" was issued on

* The Duke of Beaufort's titles are wrongly stated in this document; Somerset being the family name of the Dukes of Beaufort.

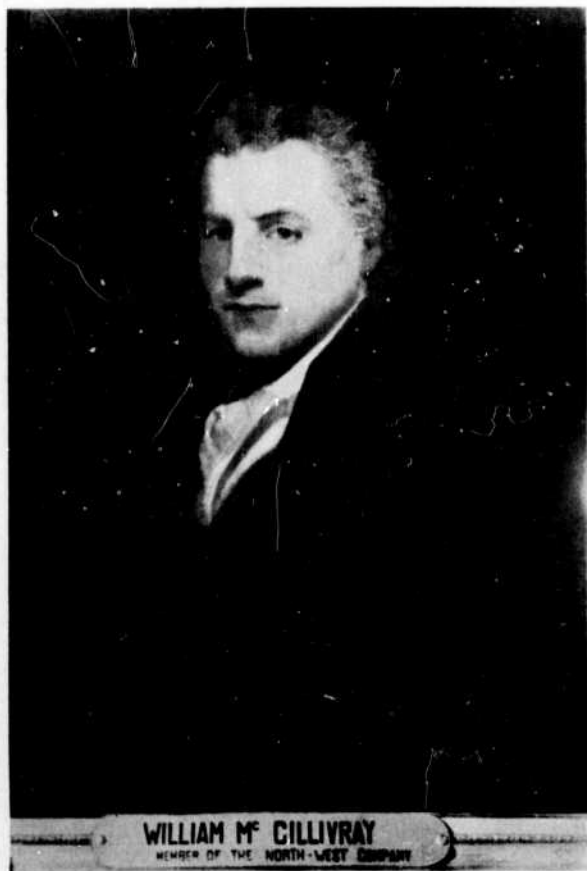
the 29th March, 1824, and by virtue of this Warrant the lodge operates today. All the other "Montreal and Wm. Henry" Lodges got the same date at the start.

Merchant's lodge, and the first St. Andrew's lodge at Quebec have long since passed away. Barton lodge at Hamilton has been re-numbered by the "Grand Lodge of Canada in Ontario." St. Paul's is the one Canadian lodge still existing and reporting direct to London, which dates as far back as this period; and in the "Year Book" of the United Grand Lodge of England has been listed for many years as being a lodge founded in 1824. But William Magillivray, the new Provincial Grand Master of "Montreal and Williard Henry," was an old member of St. Paul's, and his Grand Warrant dated 23 April, 1823!

This dating has long suggested an anachronism to Canadian historians, who find it impossible to reconcile the frequent records of this lodge in the early days of the Moderns and the Ancients with an 1824 foundation date.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE new Grand Lodge in London had, however, to deal with records of two prior Grand Bodies, and while the matter of the "Ancient" lodges in Canada was thus closed and disposed of, there still remained the "open ledger" of the original 1759 Senior Provincial Grand Lodge of "Moderns" at Quebec. Something had to be done about this. Apparently the method decided on was to mark all these lodges "Erased as from 1813," so that they would not obtrude on the records of the



(Courtesy of The Chateau de Ramesay)

*Portrait of the Honourable William McGillivray,
First Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial
Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry,
1823-1825*



United Grand body in 1814. This was not in any sense an erasure for misconduct; rather should it be said that all these lodges were "Erased as Moderns." It was a wholesale erasure of lodges who still had in their possession warrants from the original "Grand Lodge" that was passing out of existence.*

In the garrison at Quebec, and elsewhere in Canada, British regiments used to come and go. The first Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada had granted many Military or Travelling Warrants to such regiments. All the existing Military warrants remaining on record, were marked "Erased in 1813."

All the Civilian lodges remaining on record as "Prince of Wales" or "Modern" Masons, whether alive or dead, were equally marked "Erased in 1813."

The famous "Merchants, Quebec, No. 1," (London number 151), the first lodge in Canada to swing over from from Moderns to Ancients; and which was to continue for some years to form part of Denechau's "United Prov. Grand Lodge," was "erased in 1813."

"St. Andrew's No. 2, Quebec," (London number 152), (also still operating at this period), of which lodge James Thompson (so long the faithful Prov. Gr. Secretary of the earliest Provincial Grand Lodge), had been Master many times, was "erased in 1813."

"St. Patrick's No. 3, Quebec," (London number 153), which probably ceased to meet about 1792, was "erased in 1813."

"St. Peter's No. 4, Montreal," (London number 154), which "broke up" in 1775, revived in 1780, and finally ceased in 1797, was "erased in 1813."

"St. Paul's No. 10, Montreal," (London number 424),

* See Lane's "Masonic Records."

See "History of Freemasonry and Concordant Orders"; by Fraternity Publishing Co., Boston, Mass.

See Graham's "History of Freemasonry," p. 39.

with its long history, which had its "Modern" warrant from 1770, and its "Ancient" warrant from 1797, and was still "going strong" in 1823, was "erased in 1813,"

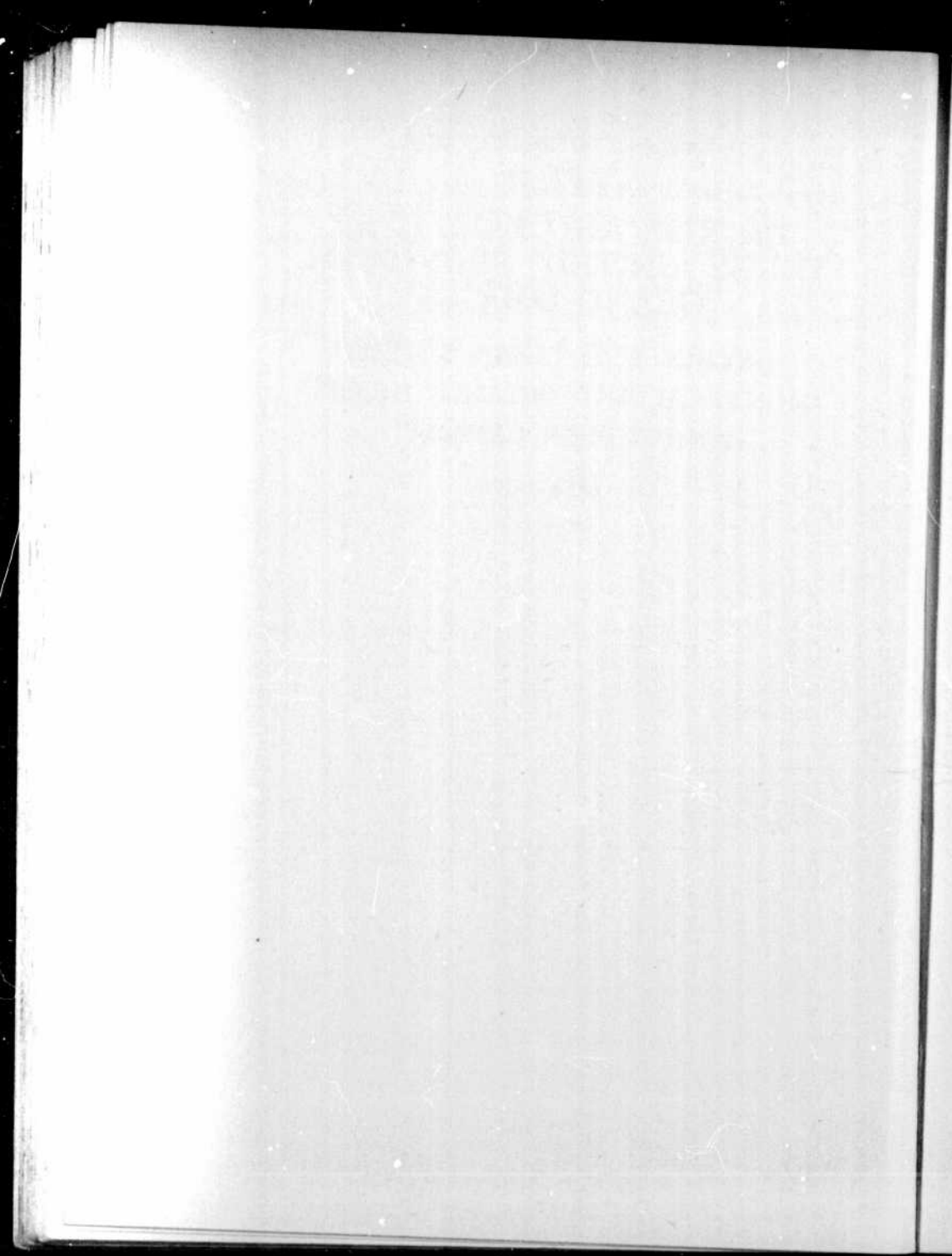
In this manner did the records of the first "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada" become closed in London; to remain closed, forever and a day.

PART IV

The RISE AND FALL of the
THREE "UNITED" PROVINCIAL
GRAND LODGES

"QUEBEC AND THREE RIVERS"
"MONTREAL AND WILLIAM HENRY"
AND "UPPER CANADA"

1814-1869



CHAPTER XXVIII

THE storm centre, which had lain over the masonic world in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century, seemed to move over to Canada for the latter half of the nineteenth century. In this young country, the barometer of Freemasonry stood at "set stormy," and the arrow was not to work around to indicate any prolonged period of peace and harmony until the twentieth century had well begun.

However, in 1824, the "Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry" started out with a fine flourish of trumpets. Turton Penn, (a prominent mason who was during his life-time four times Master of St. Paul's Lodge), who had been Provincial Grand Secretary for the purpose of getting the Grand Lodge assembled, resigned in favour of John Samuel McCord. The other officers were:

Deputy: The Revd. John Bethune
Senior Grd. Warden: J. H. Dorwin
Junior Grd. Warden: William Snaith
Chaplain: The Revd. B. B. Stevens
Grd. Treasurer: Horatio Gates
Grd. Registrar: Henry McKenzie
Senior Grd. Deacon: Rufus B. Page.

Junior Grd. Deacon: John Field
Grd. Sword-Bearer: John Molson
Grd. Director of Ceremonies: Jacob Bigelow
Tylers: Joseph Tutton, Wm. Coulson

The Provincial Grand Sword-Bearer, John Molson, delighted the members and caused a flood-wave of enthusiasm by offering to erect a Masonic Hall at his own expense, in which the new Grand Body would be worthily housed. This would be the first Masonic Hall of any kind erected in Canada Proper. The Hall, when completed next year, was solemnly dedicated on the 13th May, 1825, by the Prov. Grand Master, William Magillivray, assisted by his brother, Simon Magillivray, Prov. Grand Master of "Upper Canada." All the Prov. Grand Officers of "Montreal and William Henry" were present, also the band of the 70th Regiment; while the members of "Union," "St. Paul's" and "Wellington Persevering" lodges attended in a body.¹

In order that the building might produce sufficient revenue to become self-supporting, Molson built it in as part of a large Hotel, which he named the "Masonic Hall Hotel." This building consisted of one tall centre structure, with two projecting wings, one on either side (See Frontispiece), and the quarters devoted to the Craft occupied one entire floor of the centre section.

William Magillivray did not live long to enjoy being Provincial Grand Master in the new "Masonic Hall." Not a young man when appointed, his life as a fur trader had been one of extraordinary and exciting adventures. He died later in the same year, 1825.²

John Molson, (now the Honourable John Molson, member of the Legislative Council), was appointed the

1. Graham's "History of Freemasonry," p. 169.

2. Wallace's "Dictionary of Canadian Biographies."

second Provincial Grand Master; and was duly installed in his own Masonic Hall on the 5th September, 1826, by the Hon. Claude Denechau, Provincial Grand Master of "Quebec and Three Rivers." Molson's new Provincial Grand Officers were appointed as follows:

Deputy: The Revd. John Bethune
Senior Grd. Warden: Turton Penn
Junior Grd. Warden: S. F. Holcomb
Grd. Registrar: Henry McKenzie
Grd. Secretary: John Samuel McCord
Deputy Grd. Secretary: James G. Scott
Senior Grd. Deacon: John Potts Hogg
Junior Grd. Deacon: Joseph Shuter
Grd. Sword Bearer: Captain Moses Judah Hays
Grd. Director of Ceremonies: William Badgley
Deputy Grd. Director of Ceremonies: Frederick Griffin
Grd. Superintendent of Works: Abner Bagg
Grand Stewards: Peter McGill, Wm. Stephens,
Wm. Blackwood
Grand Tyler: W. K. McCord
Grand Organist: Alexander Kyle
Grand Standard Bearer: Charles Ward
Grand Standard Bearer to the Prov. Grd. Master:
Joshua Pelton.¹

CHAPTER XXIX

IT was found impossible to enroll in the new Provincial Grand Lodge all of the thirteen lodges in the district mentioned in St. Paul's 1822 petition. Some of the

1. Graham's "History of Freemasonry," p. 171.

country lodges manifested a great reluctance to turn in their original Ancient Warrants, and of course had to be excluded until such time as they saw fit to conform to the Duke of Sussex' edict. The first formal list of Lodges consisted of nine, all of whose new United Warrants dated from the 29th March, 1824, and all of which were entered on the "Roll of Lodges" as from that date. This first list read as follows:

Provincial No. 1	Union	Montreal	London No. 780
"	" 2	Prevost	Frelighsburg " " 781
"	" 3	St. Paul's	Montreal " " 782
"	" 4	Nelson	Caldwell Manor (Clarenceville) " " 783
"	" 5	Murray	St. Andrews " " 784
"	" 6	Golden Rule	Stanstead " " 785
"	" 7	Wellington	
	Persevering	Montreal	" " 786
"	" 8	Columbia	Hull " " 787
"	" 9	Odell	Odelltown " " 788

It will be noticed that St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, (the only lodge that dated back into the days of the first Provincial Grand Lodge), seems to have followed to some extent the example of Lieut. John Price Guinnett, the first Provincial Grand Master of Canada, who numbered the lodge in his own 47th Regiment as far up as No. 10, instead of claiming No. 1 as his right. The fact that St. Paul's appears on this first list as No. 3, appears to have been a matter of similar courtesy.

The "Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry" was fated to be more occupied with the construction and subsequent destruction by fire of "Masonic Halls," than with the formation of new lodges. For, in the thirty odd years of its existence, it appears only to have chartered a total of five new lodges; three in Montreal and two in the country.

The first alteration in this earliest list came from "Wellington Persevering" lodge, which did not live up to the second part of its name. For, towards the end of 1826, the members voted to turn in their warrant and disband; and during 1827 the lodge was formally cancelled. The vote to disband was a majority, and not an unanimous vote. "Montreal and William Henry" wisely got into touch with the minority, who were to prove the nucleus of a new lodge, and who were ready for a warrant in 1829, the name chosen being "St. George's Lodge."¹ This lodge was therefore often spoken of as "an offshoot of Wellington Persevering." The lodge was duly instituted by the Provincial Grand Lodge; given the provincial No. 10, and obtained the London number 643.

There was, however, a "mix-up" as to provincial numbering of this new lodge. As there were nine lodges on the 1824 list, and Wellington Persevering had dropped out, it seemed logical that eight would remain, and St. George's become No. 9. In the Centenary Memorial Book of St. George's No. 10, (now Grand Lodge of Quebec) printed in 1929, there is a facsimile of the first entry of the first minute book, which reads as follows:

"Minutes of Saint George's Lodge, No. 9, on the Provincial Register of "Montreal and William Henry," held at Mrs Coleman, New Market at four p.m., on the 17th July 1829, under a Warrant of Dispensation granted by R. W. Bro. John Molson, Esq., Provincial Grand Master for the said District of Montreal and William Henry."

The Provincial Grand Lodge, however, seems to have realized that it was too early to have a formal re-numbering, and to have reported St. George's to London as an addition to the existing list, with Pro-

1. There was already a St. George's lodge in Three Rivers, under Claude Denechau's "Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers."

vincial Number 10. As a matter of fact, there was no second formal re-numbered list filed with London until 1848, when it was rewarded with "Number 3."

The next year, 1830 or thereabouts, for some unknown reason, "Union Lodge," the first "Ancient" lodge established in Montreal, whose earliest warrant was one of those signed by the Duke of Kent in person, and which had always been considered "a strong lodge," decided to disband. In consequence, from the time of its "breaking up," until the year 1845, St. Paul's and St. George's were the only two lodges left operating in the City of Montreal.

1844 — By 1844, the second Earl of Zetland had succeeded the Duke of Sussex as Grand Master in London. In 1845, Montreal was ready for a new lodge, which was named "Zetland Lodge," after the New Grand Master. The existing minutes of St. Paul's Lodge have an entry stating that on the 12th August, 1845, the lodge assembled for the purpose of assisting at the installation of the officers of Zetland Lodge, whose warrant carried the London Number 731. J. S. McCord, at that time Master of St. Paul's, was the installing officer. At this date, there was no Provincial Grand Master to perform the ceremony.

The same minutes of St. Paul's have an entry on the 14th December, 1847, announcing that The Elgin Lodge had been regularly constituted by authority of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. And again one on the 11th April, 1848, which is of interest to the lodge now known on the Grand Register of Quebec as "Antiquity No. 1," which is the successor of the lodge mentioned. The entry reads:

"A communication was received from the Provincial Grand Secretary, announcing that the "Lodge of Social and Military Virtues," of this city, No. 227, I.R., had been regularly

constituted by authority of a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland."

The Honourable Peter McGill had become Provincial Grand Master as from the 12th May, 1846, in succession to John Molson, deceased. In 1848, this Provincial Grand Lodge forwarded their second and last "list of lodges" to London, with their first provincial re-numbering. This list shows a total of eight lodges, as compared to the nine shown on the first 1824 list. (The new lodges operating under the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, respectively, would make an actual total of ten lodges in this district). Comparing with the 1824 list, four of the original lodges had disappeared: Columbia at Hull and Odell at Odelltown; and in Montreal both Wellington Persevering and Union. Murray Lodge at St. Andrew's East had been re-named St. Andrew's Lodge. Prévost had finally settled down in the town of Dunham. One would conclude that there had been a delay in getting the lodge opened in Dunham after it had been closed in Frelighsburg, for its former number 2 had been demoted to Number 6; though in London a re-numbering brought its original 781 up to 776.

Dorchester Lodge at St. John's, which had shown a marked antipathy to turning in its early warrant at the formation of this Provincial Grand Lodge in 1824, had later conformed, and "come in"; but had stipulated that the United Grand Lodge in London should furnish them with an official "copy" of the document in question, which they still retain as their chiefest treasure.

The revised list in 1848 read as follows:¹

Provincial No. 1	St. Paul's	Montreal	London No. 514
"	" 2	St. Andrew's	St. Andrew's
	(formerly Murray)	East	" " 516

1. See Graham's "History of Freemasonry," p. 178.

"	"	3 St. George's	Montreal	"	"	643
"	"	4 Dorchester	St. John's	"	"	775
"	"	5 Zetland	Montreal	"	"	731
"	"	6 Prévost	Dunham	"	"	776
"	"	7 Nelson	Clarenceville	"	"	515
"	"	8 Golden Rule	Stanstead	"	"	517

In the years 1854 and 1855, this Provincial Grand Lodge established three more new lodges, completing their total of five; and bringing their list up to the peak of eleven registered lodges. Judge William Badgley had succeeded the Hon. Peter McGill as Provincial Grand Master, and seemed to bring with him a new wave of energy.

On the 29th April, 1854, the third new Montreal lodge was formed with the name of St. Lawrence Lodge, No. 9; (London number 923). The installing Master was Provincial Grand Master William Badgley; and again St. Paul's lodge was present at the ceremony, (this time assisted by St. George's lodge).

On the 23rd April, 1855, William Badgley issued a warrant for Shefford Lodge, in the thriving town of Waterloo, Que., which obtained London number 934.

And on June 28th, 1855, a warrant for Lacolle Lodge, in the town of Lacolle, Que., London number 938.

CHAPTER XXX

REVERTING to the year 1826, to the appointment of John Molson as Provincial Grand Master, and to his "Masonic Hall Hotel," Saint Paul Street was then one of the longest streets in Montreal, the west end of

the street was filled with the wholesale warehouses of merchants and importers; but the east end, with a clear view of the river, St. Helen's Island, and Mount St. Hilaire and Mount Bruno in the distance, constituted what a real estate dealer would have called "the best residential district" in the city. Molson built his hotel right in the midst of this wealthy residential district: it was on the south side of Saint Paul Street, a little to the west of Bonsecours Street, and on part of the site now covered by the large Bonsecours Market building. But the name "Masonic Hall Hotel" did not work. Guests who were not masons, especially if there were ladies in the party, would suffer from an inordinate curiosity to visit the Masonic Hall portion of the Hotel, in season or out of season, till the matter became awkward to deal with. In consequence, Molson re-named the building the "British American Hotel"; and by this latter name it soon became widely known as one of the best hostelries to be found in North America.

The same spirit seemed to permeate the rank and file of masons who, not being delegates to the Provincial Grand Lodge, could only enter the Masonic Hall at rare intervals. To offset this, an invitation was given to St. Paul's Lodge to move in and hold its regular meetings in the Grand Lodge rooms: then, by the general masonic rule, each ordinary mason would have the right to attend any regular meeting held by St. Paul's. Into these luxurious quarters, therefore, St. Paul's moved up from their former quarters in the City Tavern; bag and baggage, records and regalia; and from that time it would seem that this lodge became peculiarly imbued with a feeling of importance to, and of responsibility for the success and maintenance of the "Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry."

Their quarters were thus described:

"The Lodge room was most chastely and classically fitted up, with double rows of columns of the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, in pairs; and terminating, on the eastern side, by a magnificent throne of the Composite order. Between the columns, standing on their bases, twelve feet from the sides of the walls and twelve feet from each other, from west to east, were placed the couches for the accomodation of the members; and these, with the rest of the furniture, were covered with blue damask, the remainder of the furniture being in perfect keeping."

Soon after moving into the Masonic Hall, St. Paul's Lodge published in pamphlet form in 1831 a set of amended By-laws—with a brief historical review added. The Committee certified their 1770 "Modern" warrant still intact, stated that their first minute book, 1770 to 1777, was unaccountably lost; but that they had prepared from the remaining minute books a complete list of successive masters from 1777 to 1831. This list was reprinted in 1840. The work of this Committee probably constitutes the earliest attempt in Canada Proper to get together any historical records of masonry.

The British American Hotel began to flourish exceedingly and to become the social centre of the city. There had been no theatre in Montreal, so John Molson built the first one, on the land immediately adjoining his hotel on the west, and named it the "Theatre Royal."

CHAPTER XXXI

THE manager of the British American Hotel was an Italian, one Francis Rasco. He was an extremely popular, capable and genial manager. The hotel was

1. This had no connection with the Sparrow and Jacobs "Theatre Royal" afterwards built on Cote Street.

built, (as were most of the important buildings in Montreal at that time), with solid cut limestone outside walls, but the interior was all timber and plaster; the partitions were hollow frames of wood lath covered with plaster. With a climate of extreme cold in winter, necessitating super-heating, buildings dried out quickly into "fire traps"; and the demon Fire was destined to attack and destroy the "Masonic Hall." Early in 1833, an important concert was given in the British American Hotel, for which the corridors and halls were beautifully decorated with evergreens, interspersed with Chinese lanterns. These decorations were so effective that the famous "Bachelor's Club" asked that they be permitted to remain till Mardi-gras, when they would hold their annual ball. And after this, the decorations were still kept on, ready for any other function that might come along, growing drier and more inflammable day by day. On the 24th of April, fire broke out in the hotel and, before it could be extinguished, had spread to these decorations, through which the flames ran as if they had been so much gunpowder. In a few hours time, the whole structure had been reduced to ashes.¹

The walls of the hotel were thick enough to save the Theatre Royal, which remained intact after the conflagration. But the hotel walls were left standing as gaunt desolate ruins for many years.²

John Molson did not long survive the destruction of the "Masonic Hall." It was one of the last achievements of his long and active career. He died in the early part of the year 1836.

1. Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, (Section 1), E. Z. Massicotte, pp. 54-55.

2. "Hochelaga Depicta," by Newton Bosworth, 1839, page 151.

The burning of the British American Hotel was a severe blow to the pride and prestige of the City of Montreal. Having for eight years been renowned for the largest, most commodious and comfortable hotel in Canada, many more long years were to elapse before any new hotel was built to surpass this in size and elegance. And, in the rapidly growing city, no other hotel ever was able to provide the same clear and uninterrupted view of the river and St. Helen's Island.

The fire was a shattering blow to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry. Followed by the illness and early death of their Provincial Grand Master, this Grand Lodge was left in a state of depression and discouragement from which it did not rally for a long time. No appointment was made of a successor to the office of Provincial Grand Master for ten long years after John Molson's death.

The fire was later to prove to have been a severe blow to masonic historians writing towards the end of the nineteenth century. The first history to be published in book form was called "The History and By-Laws of St. Paul's Lodge," which was compiled by a committee and printed by J. Starke & Co., printers, in 1876. The second was the more ambitious "History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec" written by John H. Graham, LL.D., and printed by John Lovell and Son in 1892. "Thompson's Book," (which would have cleared the early situation), was still being kept by the descendants of James Thompson as a precious relic, and was not "discovered" by the Grand Lodge of Quebec until well into the twentieth century. Both the committee referred to and Dr. Graham himself, would have cheerfully "given their heads" to get possession of the early minute books of St. Paul's Lodge which had been burnt in the fire; and which would have

led them consecutively from the times of the first "Provincial Grand Lodge" through the period of the Duke of Kent's "Ancients," into the safe harbour of the later "United Grand Lodge."

The fire was a severe blow to St. Paul's Lodge; greatly mitigated by the prompt and hospitable courtesy of the only other subordinate lodge then operating in Montreal. Hardly had the ruins had time to cool, when St. George's Lodge wrote to St. Paul's inviting them to use their lodge rooms and regalia in the "King Arms" Inn, then kept by John Mack, No. 4 St. Charles Street, New Market. Formerly these rooms had been occupied by "Wellington Persevering Lodge." This offer was cheerfully and gratefully accepted: and so St. Paul's was enabled through the kindness of its fellow lodge to carry on its regular meetings without any break.

The fire was a severe personal blow to Francis Rasco, who was suddenly bereft of his job and visible means of livelihood. However, he had good friends in Montreal and was able to collect enough capital to warrant the building of a new hotel, which he began immediately. He obtained a promise from St. Paul's Lodge that if he would fix up a couple of rooms suitable for their purposes, they would move in as tenants in due course. The site purchased was on the north side of St. Paul Street, immediately behind the old building of the Chateau de Ramezay. He named the new hotel "Rasco's Hotel," and while neither as large nor as splendid as the British American Hotel,¹ it was long known in its turn as the "best hotel in Montreal." During Charles Dickens' famous visit to America in the eighteen-sixties, he made his headquarters for a fort-

1. See "Hochelaga Depicta," by Newton Bosworth, pp. 150-151.

night in "Rasco's Hotel." This building is still standing, the original hotel sign in large letters is still to be seen spread out across the front wall above the windows of the second story; and it is now numbered 281 to 293 St. Paul Street, East.

In May, 1835, St. Paul's left the hospitable quarters of their kind hosts, St. George's, and moved into Rasco's Hotel, which was to prove more or less their home for more than eight years. In the existing minutes of St. Pauls, there is an entry dated the 8th December, 1835, which speaks for itself. It records a letter from the St. George's Lodge, No. 643, E.R., signed by John Cliff, Secretary, which acknowledges the receipt of a "gavel and S.W. and J.W. columns," presented by St. Paul's "in thankful recognition of their fraternal kindness in placing their Lodge Room at the disposal of St. Paul's, after the fire at Masonic Hall in April, 1833."

CHAPTER XXXII

WITH neither Grand Lodge furniture nor regalia left, with no rooms in which to meet, with no ready funds available for rehabilitation, and no Provincial Grand Master, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry ceased to attempt to hold regular quarterly communications, and dwindled to nothing but a mechanical skeleton. The Deputy Provincial Grand Master signed necessary documents, and the existing lodges were kept intact, the Provincial Grand Secretary making all necessary reports to the Grand Lodge in London. No attempt was made to form any new lodges for many years. In 1845, how-

ever, Zetland Lodge was formed, (as mentioned in Chapter XXIX). Their warrant was signed by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, and the lodge properly recorded in London.

A distinct attempt had been made to rehabilitate the Provincial Grand Lodge, prior to the establishment of Zetland Lodge. Committees from each of the Montreal Lodges, St. Paul's and St. George's met together in 1840 to discuss ways and means. The decision of these conferences was that nothing could be done.

But six years later there was a bright ray of hope. The city had been growing; the residential district of St. Paul Street had extended eastwards past the old "Quebec Gate" to include the land now covered by the Place Viger Station and the C.P.R. tracks. This was being built into a very fashionable square, then known as "Dalhousie Square."

Early in the year 1846, Captain Moses Judah Hays, a mason of long standing, whose large house away out in the country faced on Cote St. Antoine Road, (in the heart of the present City of Westmount), whose position was Manager of the Montreal Waterworks, and who was well-to-do, notified the Provincial Grand Lodge that he intended to build a large hotel on land that he had purchased facing this square, to surpass in size and importance the burnt "British American Hotel"; and that he was willing to build into it a new Masonic Hall, to be called "Freemasons' Hall." The Provincial Grand Lodge jumped at the offer, and this long dormant body began to show especial activity.

On the 10th of February, 1846, committees were appointed by the different Lodges to confer on the offer. Captain Hays insisted that if the Provincial Grand Lodge should agree to occupy the new lodge room, St. Paul's should do so also, as in the case of

Molson's first "Masonic Hall." He stipulated for a rent of £20 per annum for the Grand Lodge, who would only hold four "quarterly Communications" each year. St. Paul's Lodge, however, were to agree to pay £30 a year, and their newly formed "Royal Arch Chapter" were to pay an additional £10, 10s per annum.

Added to this, St. Paul's agreed to pay £50 Halifax currency, towards the establishment of a "Provincial Grand Lodge Fund."¹

On the 9th March, 1846, a full meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge was held in Montreal, at which these arrangements with Captain Hays were confirmed; and the Honourable Peter McGill was chosen to be the "Provincial Grand Master," in succession to the late Honourable John Molson.

On the 12th May, 1846, all the lodges in the district were summoned to the Installation as Prov. Grand Master of Peter McGill, and other new officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge. The ceremony was set for the 20th May, at St. George's Lodge Rooms, in Mack's "King Arms" Inn.

Peter McGill had been a mason since 1823, he was made a director of the Bank of Montreal in 1825, vice-president in 1830, and president in 1834, and Mayor of Montreal in 1841. His large square residence, in the "Georgian" style, facing the Champ de Mars, is still standing, and its present numbering is 750 St. Gabriel Street. He appointed John Samuel McCord to be his Deputy; but owing to advancing age, McCord resigned in the next year.

Thomas Douglas Harington, a young and up-and-coming member of St. George's Lodge, was then appointed Deputy in 1848. Harington, however, was compelled to make several removes in his life. He

1. See *History and By-Laws of St. Paul's Lodge, 1876*, pp. 109, 113-117.

moved down to Three Rivers very shortly, where he affiliated with the Three Rivers St. George's Lodge. He was then appointed delegate to Denechau's "Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers," of which he eventually became Provincial Grand Master and had a lodge named after him. But, moving again up to Toronto in Upper Canada, he had to resign his high position.

When the Prov. Grand Lodge and St. Paul's had moved into the newly completed Grand Lodge rooms, the latter arranged with the other Montreal lodges, St. George's and Zetland, and with one of the two outside lodges, the "Lodge of Social and Military Virtues," (operating under the Grand Lodge of Ireland), to sublet from them at a fixed rental. Thus, when "Montreal and William Henry" moved into their new quarters, and resumed all their former Grand Lodge glories, "Freemasons' Hall" actually housed a great many more masons than Molson's "Masonic Hall" had ever done.

The outstanding feature of Peter McGill's reign in office was the formal re-numbering of lodges in the district, and the issuing of the 1848 revised list.

His reign, however, was a short one. The next year, 1849, his health became seriously impaired, and he was compelled to resign his position in consequence. The Honourable William Badgley, Judge of the "District Court," was appointed and installed in his stead.

Badgley was the last Provincial Grand Master in this district. A man of great firmness, the Provincial Grand Lodge flourished under his rule. And later, when the storms of freemasonry were to cast the wreck of this Provincial Grand Lodge upon the shoals, his steady hand on the helm during the crisis enabled the various Grand Lodge officers to retire with little loss of either dignity or self-respect.

CHAPTER XXXIII

IT seems a strange instance of the irony of fate, that the Manager of the Waterworks should have to see his own palatial hotel destroyed because the Waterworks for one day were not working. The "Hays' House" had in its turn become the most popular hotel in Montreal; and after the burning of the Houses of Parliament on Youville Square in 1849, the Parliament of Canada met therein until such time as the seat of Federal Government was moved to Ottawa.

The city had been growing so rapidly, that the reservoir, situate where St. Louis Square now is, had been condemned and was to be replaced by a new and much larger one at the head of Carleton Road, where the main city reservoirs are now located. It would be necessary to cut off the water supply for one entire day, to enable the city engineers to complete the proper connections, and the 8th day of July, 1852, was selected for this purpose. On this unfortunate morning there broke out early the terrible conflagration known as the "Great Fire of Montreal," and no water was available to stem the flames. This fire consumed at least two-thirds of all the buildings east of the line of St. Lawrence Main Street. By nine at night, the flames were roaring through Dalhousie Square, and the Hays' House, and the new "Freemasons' Hall" therein contained, went down in the general debacle.

It is to be noted that St. Paul's Lodge did not lose the remainder of its minute books, they had been stored elsewhere for safety in a "fire-proof" vault.

From these books, we learn that Zetland Lodge, the youngest of the three lodges on the Montreal list, rented rooms in Murphy's Hotel at the corner of Notre Dame and Gosford Street after the fire. St. Paul's lodge held its meetings in the Zetland Lodge rooms with St. George's Lodge, until in 1853 St. Paul's moved into the St. Lawrence Hall, the third pretentious hotel to be built in Montreal. This hotel was built facing on St. James Street, where the C.P.R. Express Building now is, and had an extension facing on Craig Street; also a large verandah where the guests could sit in summer, and watch the passers-by on St. Francois Xavier Street.

Judge Badgley did not allow any slackness on the part of the Provincial Grand Lodge to follow this second fire catastrophe. It held its regular quarterly communications in the Zetland lodge rooms, until St. Paul's had moved into its more spacious quarters in the new St. Lawrence Hall; but from that time on made its headquarters in St. Paul's lodge Rooms. After the installation of St. Lawrence Lodge by the Provincial Grand Master, this new lodge also arranged to hold its meetings in St. Paul's Lodge rooms "at a fixed rental."

On the 11th May, 1854, the Provincial Grand Master, together with twenty-two other officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge and the representatives of St. George's, Zetland, St. Paul's and the new St. Lawrence Lodge, laid the "Foundation Stone" of the first "Mechanic's Hall" to be built on the south-west corner of St. James and St. Peter Streets, with full masonic honours. When this building was demolished in 1927 (to make way for the new Royal Bank Building) the entire corner-stone and the glass case containing the original documents, were removed; and in 1928, built

into the foundations of the present "Mechanic's Institute" building which had been erected on the west side of Atwater Avenue in Westmount. Failing any remaining trace of the "Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry," by request of the Directors of the Library the stone was "re-laid" in the present building by St. Paul's Lodge.

In the first building, according to an old custom, the corner stone had been placed in the north-east corner of the building. The second time, however, the same stone was re-laid in the south-east corner of the new building, where it can be seen today.

The forming of the two country lodges "Shefford" at Waterloo, and "Lacolle" at Lacolle, early in the year 1855, may be said to have terminated the direct activities of the "Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry."

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE story of each of the three Provincial Grand Lodges was individual, separate and distinct. The "Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada," meeting in the town of York, was to see that municipality change its name in 1834 to the City of Toronto. A steady stream of British settlers was moving into this fertile province, and lodges began to multiply upon the face of the earth, requiring little aid but proper registration from the Provincial Grand Lodge.

Simon Magillivray did not prove a complete success as Provincial Grand Master. His standing and reputation were already established when he was appointed.

Both he and his brother William had been prominent members of the well-known "Beaver Club," with its courageous motto of "Fortitude in Distress"; both had been important partners of the famous North West Fur Company, and the "Northwesters" had always been popular in Upper Canada.¹ The trials that followed the bitter quarrels between Lord Selkirk and the North-West Fur Company were held in York; all the "Northwesters" were exonerated, and Lord Selkirk, then an old man ageing rapidly, was fined £2,000. After these trials were over, the two Magillivrays, William and Simon, worked hard to bring about an amalgamation of the rival fur companies, which was accomplished in 1822,² "the name of the North West Company was dropped; the new corporation was to be known as the Hudson's Bay Company."³ But then, neither of the Magillivrays was young enough to carry on the arduous life of a fur-trader, and both retired to regulate and liquidate their far flung private business interests. After William Magillivray's death in 1825, all these family responsibilities fell upon his brother Simon, who was compelled to make frequent visits to London, and to spend a great deal of his time down in Montreal. The prolonged absences proved very disappointing to the new Provincial Grand Lodge.

His successor as Provincial Grand Master was Allan MacNab, the unanimous choice of the Upper Canada Lodges. Born in Niagara in 1798, as a schoolboy he had helped defend York from the attack by the "Americans" during the "war of 1812." He had later served with the Lake Ontario navy, and then fought on land under Colonel Murray. He was an ardent mason and

1. See "Mackenzie and his Voyageurs," by Arthur P. Woollacott, pp. 199-211.

2. See "The Red River Colony," by Louis Aubrey Wood, pp. 140-141.

3. The prior legal name of the senior corporation had been "The Company of English Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay."

intimately known to the members of all the older lodges. But he got drawn into politics, represented Hamilton in Parliament for sixteen years, and was knighted for his political services to the country. The profession of politics makes a hard task-master, especially if one develops political ambitions; and MacNab, who had been selected as "one of themselves" began to neglect his own Provincial Grand Lodge. At length, when as Sir Allan MacNab he was called to be Prime Minister of Canada in 1854, it became plain that he would have no time to devote to his masonic duties and would have to leave everything of the kind to his Deputy. While the masons were naturally proud of his political success, it began to look as if it would always be difficult to discover a Provincial Grand Master on whom they could safely count to make the "Provincial Grand Lodge" his chief permanent interest in life.

Looking south from Upper Canada across the St Lawrence river, one saw plainly the territory controlled by the Grand Lodge of New York. Across Lake Erie, Ontario came into contact with both the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and the Grand Lodge of Ohio, while the western limits touched on the Grand Lodge of Michigan. The idea of an independent Grand Lodge began to gain favour in Upper Canada; and the feeling grew that the Provincial Grand Lodge system, controlled from a city so far distant as London, was not a workable proposition. Sir Allan MacNab's appointment as Prime Minister seems to have been the last straw that broke the camel's back.

The next year, 1855, in MacNab's own constituency of Hamilton, was formed the independent "Grand Lodge of Canada." Every lodge in Ontario joined up; and so,

at one fell swoop, the entire "Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada" was wiped out of existence.

The originators had thought it wise to form a Grand Lodge of Canada rather than to limit the new institution to an independent body confined to Ontario. In consequence, in 1854 their organizers had been in touch with both their sister Provincial Grand Lodges, and with the individual lodges in their respective districts.

The "Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers" seems to have stood as firm as the Rock of Quebec, and to have spurned all the proposed propaganda. In fact, their rejection was made in the most definite and final manner possible. At their regular meeting on the 28th November, 1854, the question of building a Masonic Hall in Quebec was raised and "referred to the Committee of General Purposes." And next year, in 1855, (the year of the actual inauguration of the Grand Lodge of Canada), twelve members were incorporated by law under the name of the "Quebec Masonic Hall Association," the capital not to exceed £15,000, (Halifax currency \$60,000).¹ This building would stand as a monument to the stability of "Quebec and Three Rivers," when complete, it was the first Masonic Hall ever built in the City of Quebec; and since the successive burnings of the Masonic Hall and Freemasons' Hall in Montreal, was at that time the only Masonic Hall in Lower Canada.

In Canada, the specially stormy period of masonry that was to finish the nineteenth century began with the formation of the "Grand Lodge of Canada." Their organizers found "Montreal and William Henry" much more vulnerable than "Quebec and Three Rivers." Geographically speaking, they were much closer and Montreal was more in touch with Upper Canada than

1. Graham's History of Freemasonry, p. 185.

Quebec was. Of the nine lodges that had all been equally numbered and dated in London as from the 29th March, 1824, four were still meeting in the country parishes, and there had later been added a fifth early lodge "Dorchester," at St. Johns. The promise of a new Grand Lodge roll with proper dating to concur with their actual foundation dates held a great appeal. In Montreal, however, St. Paul's was the only lodge really interested in early dating; and St. Paul's remained consistently and persistently loyal to "Montreal and William Henry."

But on the 19th July, 1855, a meeting was held in Clifton House, Niagara Falls, attended by delegates from all the lodges in Montreal and William Henry district with the exception of St. Paul's; all of whom agreed to join the "Grand Lodge of Canada." The Secretary of the meeting then wrote to St. Paul's lodge, requesting their cooperation in the movement. At a meeting held on the 25th September, 1855, this lodge unanimously resolved:

"That in view of the irregularity and unconstitutionality of the proceedings in question, this lodge absolutely declines to take any part whatever in, or recognize the contemplated convention."¹

However, at their meeting on the 27th December, 1855, Provincial Grand Master Badgley reported to St. Paul's that there had been a stampede; all of the country lodges, and the three Montreal lodges, St. George's, Zetland and St. Lawrence, had returned him their warrants, and arranged to report to the new "Independent Grand Lodge of Canada."

Badgley, however, was not the man to surrender without an effort. He called the country delegates into town and together with the Montreal lodges, discussed

1. See "History and By-Laws of St. Paul's Lodge," p. 120 and subsequent.

the matter thoroughly. The country delegates refused to commit themselves, and returned to "consult" with their lodges. And their final resignations followed.

Badgley then turned his attention especially to the three Montreal lodges. Zetland remained firm in its decision to change over; but he succeeded in getting St. Lawrence and one half of the members of St. George's to take back their warrants and resume again under the Grand Lodge of England. The other half of St. George's joined in with the "Independents," getting a new number 13; afterwards, for some reason, changed to number 19.

On the 11th March, 1856, the Provincial Grand Master, after correspondence with London, addressed a carefully prepared circular to each of the three lodges, in reference to the proceedings in Hamilton, Canada West, for the establishing of a so-called Independent Grand Lodge of Canada, declaring the same to be in direct contravention of the constitution and principles of masonry, and setting forth the rights and privileges of individual members of a lodge, and the respective rights of majorities and minorities. It was under this United Grand Lodge ruling, now for the first time set forth in writing to the subordinate lodges, that St. George's had been able to "split" into two halves, each carrying on under the old name.

But three lodges only, (or, more accurately, two and a half lodges), were a small number to try and maintain a Provincial Grand Lodge. A year later, on the 10th November, 1857, St. Paul's passed a resolution,

"That, in view of the small number of Lodges working under English Warrants in the Districts of Montreal and William Henry, it is inexpedient to continue the Provincial Grand Lodge, and that, on its dissolution, this Lodge will communicate direct with the United Grand Lodge of England."

Similar resolutions having been passed by St. George's and St. Lawrence, Badgley returned his "deputation" to London, and the "Provincial Grand Lodge of the City of Montreal and the Borough of William Henry" was formally dissolved.

Thus, by the close of 1857, the independent "Grand Lodge of Canada" may be said to have become firmly entrenched; and its success had been sufficient to wipe out every trace of the "Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada", and to procure the closing of "Montreal and William Henry," absorbing all their lodges except St. Paul's, St. George's, and St. Lawrence in Montreal.

CHAPTER XXXV

AT the beginning of the year 1858, there remained therefore only one of the three Provincial Grand Lodges that had been instituted in Canada by the United Grand Lodge; which was the "Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers," the first of the three to get its Warrant from London, in the year 1820. While with its restricted territory it had not accomplished any unusual expansion, it had been making some very interesting history.

For instance, while the Earl of Dalhousie was Governor-General of Canada in the year 1827, it was decided to erect a monument in the "Governor's Gardens," just beside the present Terrace, in joint commemoration of General Wolfe, who had "died victorious" on the battlefield, and of General Mont-

calm, who, although the loser in his last fight, had a long reputation as a brilliant and courageous army leader, and who had died of his wounds the day after the battle. The corner stone was laid with full masonic honours by the Provincial Grand Lodge, with the Honourable Claude Denechau as its presiding officer; and accompanied by the band of the 66th Regiment. All the Quebec City Lodges, six in number, were present at the ceremony as follows: Merchants, St. Andrew's, Albion, St. John, Sussex, and "Les Freres du Canada."¹ Graham, describing this event in his "History of Freemasonry," adds the following quotation "from a current newspaper account":

"It was an affecting incident of this interesting occasion that by the request of the Governor, Rt. W. James Thompson, Overseer for Sixty-nine years of Public Works, and the last survivor of Wolfe's army, being then in the 95th year of his age, gave the three mystic taps with the mallet upon the corner-stone."

This was the same James Thompson that had been master seven times of old St. Andrew's Lodge (present in a body on this occasion) and Provincial Grand Secretary for twenty years of the first "Provincial Grand Lodge" of "Moderns" begun in Quebec in 1759; during which time he had written out in his own handwriting the famous "Thompson Book" so frequently mentioned in these pages.

In the fullness of time, Claude Denechau died, full of years and honours. It was a matter of great pride to the French in Canada, that a French Canadian, a man of their own race and language, had not only been called upon to fill the chair in 1813 formerly occupied

1. "Merchants" and "St. Andrew's" were two of many Canadian Lodges on the original Register of the "Moderns" who had been marked by the United Grand Lodge as "Erased in '1813."

by H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, but had also been selected to rule over British masonry in this district for more than a quarter of a century.

He was succeeded by Thomas Douglas Harington, who was installed in Quebec on the 14th September, 1852, under London Warrant dated 1st May, 1852. Harington had already been Deputy Provincial Grand Master of "Montreal and William Henry" under Peter McGill in 1848. He remained in this position long enough to have a new lodge formed and named after him, "Harington Lodge." But he shortly was compelled to remove to the City of Toronto and resign his post. He was replaced by James Dean, Junior, one of the members of the "Quebec Masonic Hall Association," who was duly installed on the 17th May, 1858, under London "Patent" or "Warrant" dated 12th December, 1857. Dean was the last Provincial Grand Master of the "Provincial Grand Lodge of the City and District of Quebec and Three Rivers."

It will be noted that of the three United Provincial Grand Lodges, "Upper Canada" had two Provincial Grand Masters; "Quebec and Three Rivers" had three; and "Montreal and William Henry" had four—two of whom had died in office, one retiring from ill-health. The lists of Provincial Grand Masters read as follows:

Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada:

Appointed 1823 — Simon Magillivray
 " 1844 — Sir Allan MacNab

Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers:

Appointed 1820 — The Hon. Claude Denechau
 " 1852 — Thomas Douglas Harington
 " 1857 — James Dean, Junior

Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry:

- Appointed 1823 — The Hon. William Magillivray
- " 1826 — The Hon. John Molson
- " 1846 — The Hon. Peter McGill
- " 1850 — The Hon. Judge William Badgley

Claude Denechau's original "Patent" or "Deputation" from the United Grand Lodge in 1820 had been for "The Districts of Quebec and Three Rivers in Lower Canada." James Dean, Junior's "Patent" in 1857, when his Provincial Grand Lodge was the last survivor of the three, was extended by the phrase, "For the City and District of Quebec and Three Rivers, *and the Dependencies.*" A full copy of this document is to be found on pages 186-187 of Graham's "History of Freemasonry." It was issued in the name of the Earl of Zetland as Grand Master, and signed by Lord Panmure, Deputy Grand Master.

It fell to the lot of James Dean, Junior, to preside at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Masonic Hall in Quebec, which was ready for this ceremony on the 15th May, 1861. There were present the six lodges then operating in the city, namely: Albion, St. John, St. Andrew's, Civil Service, Alma and Harington. Representatives from St. George's and St. Lawrence Lodges, two of the three Montreal Lodges reporting direct to the United Grand Lodge in London, were also present as visitors. The building was completed and open for use by May 1863.

It is interesting to compare the lists of the six lodges in good standing in Quebec in 1861 with those that attended the ceremony at the Wolfe and Montcalm

monument in 1827, as follows:

1827	1861
Merchants	—
St. Andrew's	—
Albion	Albion
St. John's	St. John's
Sussex	St. Andrew's
Les Frères du Canada	—
—	Civil Service
—	Alma
—	Harington

The famous "Merchants No. 1, Quebec, Canada," and the original "St. Andrew's" Lodge of the 78th Highlanders, had both finally disappeared. "Les Frères du Canada" had gone out of existence. "Sussex Lodge," formed a couple of years after the opening of the United Grand Lodge, and first named after H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex the Grand Master, had adopted the vacant name of St. Andrew's; and still continues as No. 6 under the present "Grand Lodge of Quebec." And Civil Service, Alma, and Harington, three new lodges, had appeared on the map.

CHAPTER XXXVI

BUT there was a new storm brewing in the distance that was a few years later to sweep away the entire support of this last Provincial Grand Lodge and leave it to die of inanition, (just as all the support of the Provincial Grand Lodge in Upper Canada had been wiped out in 1855). Arising from circumstances which have nothing to do with freemasonry, this storm

(when it broke) was to cause divisions just as bitter (even if on a smaller scale) as the divisions between "Moderns" and "Ancients" had been in England a century before.

After many years of discussion, the Act of Confederation of the different Provinces in British North America was finally signed in 1867. Upper and Lower Canada, (later known as Canada East and Canada West), now became for the first time the "Province of Ontario" and the "Province of Quebec"; while the word "Canada" was extended to the whole Dominion.¹ The "Grand Lodge of Canada" would have been only too glad similarly to extend its jurisdiction. However it seemed all very well to have an Independent Grand Lodge in Hamilton for what used to be known as "Canada"; but were the same officers to be exalted to the position of being in control of the Maritime Provinces, and the Western Provinces, just because a political amalgamation was being formed? The answer came in the formation of separate independent Grand Lodges; one for each Province. Nova Scotia came first, and formed the "Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia." New Brunswick came second. In 1869, the new "Province of Quebec" formed the "Grand Lodge of Quebec." Today there are nine Provinces in the Dominion of Canada, with nine corresponding separate Grand Lodges.

"The "Grand Lodge of Canada" did not seem to mind much about the distant provinces; where they had had no prior supervision. But when all lodges from the former district of "Montreal and William Henry," who

1. It was Sir Leonard Tilley of New Brunswick who pointed out the applicability of the 10th verse of the 9th Chapter of Zechariah. "His *Dominion* shall be from sea even to sea; and from the river even to the ends of the earth." The same text is repeated in the 72nd Psalm, verse 8. The term "Dominion" was in consequence chosen to designate the new Confederation.

had joined them less than fifteen years before, gave up the dream of one Grand Lodge for "Canada Proper," and deserted in a body to affiliate with the new "Grand Lodge of the Province of Quebec," a bitter warfare began. It was a three cornered fight. Ontario attacked Quebec, Quebec attacked the three lodges in Montreal reporting direct to England; the three "English Lodges" fought for their right to live their own lives undisturbed. Until early in the twentieth century, the three lodges representing the "United Grand Lodge of England" in Montreal,—St. Paul's No. 374, St. George's No. 440, and St. Lawrence No. 640, met as one unit upon various specially historic occasions.

St. Lawrence Lodge stuck to London for a great many years; but at last gave up its English Warrant in 1907 and went in completely with the Grand Lodge of Quebec.

The principal campaign, however, was to bring in old St. Paul's Lodge; who, rightly or wrongly, was blamed for the continuance of the little group of "English" lodges, and whose loyal decision so to remain engendered a great deal of resentment, both in Hamilton, Upper Canada, and in the new Grand Lodge of Quebec. By this time, St. Paul's was the last surviving lodge of the first "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada"; and apparently also its members were convinced that if they threw in their lot with any new independent Grand Lodge, this early fact would become obscured in time, and so stood firm by their guns.

The minutes of this lodge for the 9th November, 1869, record a report from W. H. Hutton, then master of the lodge.

"That he had, at the request of the Grand Master of Canada, attended a meeting of the officers of that Grand Lodge, and

of the members of lodges in this city working under other jurisdictions, to confer upon the advisability of *all Lodges* joining the Grand Lodge of Canada."

Had this meeting proved a success, a strong attempt would have been made to re-absorb the newly formed "Grand Lodge of Quebec" into the "Grand Lodge of Canada." St. Paul's, however, unanimously approved the following resolution, which was to be their final and unchanged decision as to Grand Lodge affiliation:

"In consequence of a reply from the Grand Secretary of England to the effect that so long as this lodge desired to retain its allegiance to the parent Grand Lodge, it was assured of the support of that body; and that the Grand Lodge of Canada, or the prospective Grand Lodge of Quebec, had no right to compel this lodge to withdraw from its allegiance and join any other Grand Lodge; it having been expressly stipulated, at the recognition of the Grand Lodge of Canada, that no attempt was to be made to interfere with any lodge that desired to remain under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England. This lodge, therefore, deemed it quite unnecessary to receive any proposition from the Grand Lodge of Canada tending to sever its connection with its parent Grand Lodge, as the ties which have grown up during a connection of *more than a century*, are of too close and dear a nature to admit of their being surrendered."

Reading this resolution, it is evident that whoever drew it up was more intent on a clear and definite expression of the principles at stake, than bothered about meticulous accuracy in dates. For, if we take the date of the signature of its first warrant, (8th November, 1770) instead of the date of the formal inauguration of the lodge nearly two months later, this lodge would have been exactly ninety-nine years and one day old on the date of this meeting, the 9th of November, 1869. Of these ninety-nine years, twenty-seven had been spent as part of the original "Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada" under the Moderns, seventeen with the Duke of Kent's Ancients; and they had

only been reporting to the "United Grand Lodge of England," (which of course was composed of both the former rival Grand Bodies), for the remaining fifty-five years. The wording of the resolution seems again to illustrate how puzzled Canadian masons had been about the early conditions of separation, especially after the Duke of Kent's visit in 1792. Even today, hardly any of the Canadian masons have an idea what it was all about, or know the meaning of the old terms "Modern" and "Ancient"; neither do they begin to realize how far-reaching were the effects in Canada of these divisions in the Old Country, in the days when Canadian Freemasonry was young.

The friction and bad feeling developed by this definite decision of St. Paul's lodge was the cause of many non-intercourse Edicts.¹ The friction and bad feeling died with the passing of the generation of freemasons who had taken sides, but the Edicts remained. Twenty-five years ago, a St. Paul's mason met strange restrictions as to intervisiting. In all the craft lodges he could visit freely. But a St. Paul's Mark Mason was debarred from any visiting in, and the Mark Lodge closed to any visitors from Canada. A Royal Arch Mason from St. Paul's could visit any Ontario chapter, and his own chapter could receive Arch visitors from Ontario; but with the Grand Lodge of Quebec, all such intercourse was debarred. However, in the ranks of "Scottish Rite Masonry" the brethren intermingled again freely. This state of affairs lasted until the visit to North America of Lord Amphill, the Pro Grand Master of the "United Grand Lodge" of England in 1923. when the last remaining Edicts against free intervisiting were completely removed by mutual and friendly agreement.

1. See Robbin's *English-speaking Freemasonry*; pp. 315 and subsequent.

There remained only one question to be regulated in the new "Dominion of Canada," and that was the name to be used by the "Grand Lodge of Canada," meeting in Hamilton, Ontario. Even accepting the first British use of the word "Canada" as representing only the land surrounding the St. Lawrence river and its tributaries, the firm establishment of the "Grand Lodge of Quebec" had changed this name into a manifestly unsuitable title. And yet, this Grand Lodge *had* actually been *the* "Grand Lodge of Canada" for nearly fifteen years after its inception in 1855, and it would have been unfair to force it to alter its name so as to exclude this record. After many discussions with the new Grand Lodges in the other newly formed provinces, it was at last agreed by mutual consent that its historic position was to be indicated by a new title, "The Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario"; and that as such it would undertake never to print the first part of its title without adding the words "In the Province of Ontario," which are since held to be a component part of its name.

Matters are now all adjusted upon a basis mutually acceptable to everyone. Three lodges now remain in the whole Dominion of Canada reporting direct to the Mother Grand Lodge in England; viz., "Royal Standard" in Halifax, in the old Province of Nova Scotia; and "St. Paul's" and "St. George's 440" in the City of Montreal. There is no more friction,¹ and the freemasons of the Canadian Grand Lodges find an especial pleasure in visiting the English lodges, and noting the minor differences that exist in the work. In this respect, St. Paul's is probably unique. Never having been in-

1. When the handsome new Masonic Temple was erected on Sherbrooke Street West in Montreal by the Grand Lodge of Quebec, a few years ago, St. Paul's Lodge on the English Register, made a contribution equivalent to £5,000 in sterling towards the building funds, to emphasize the good feeling that exists.

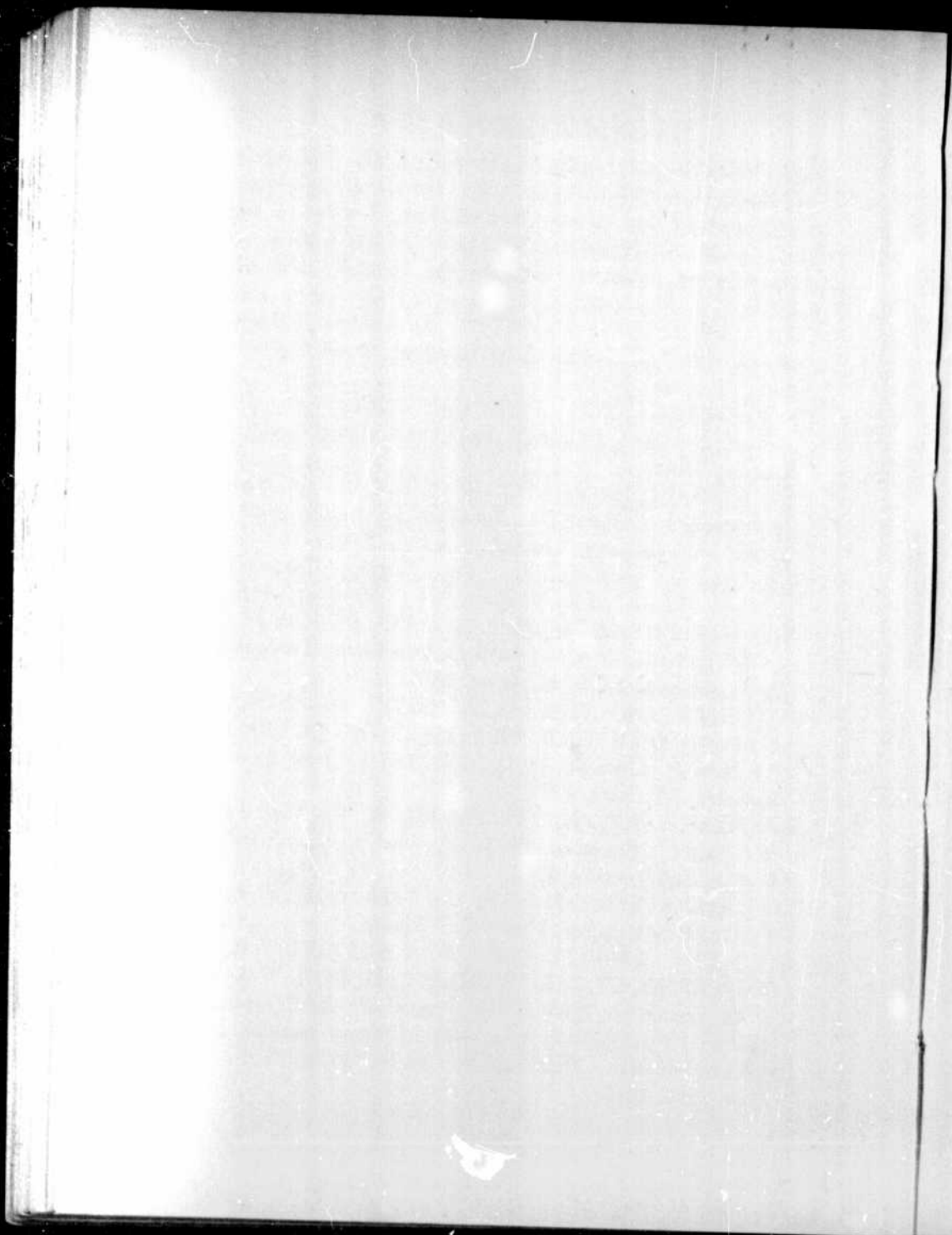
structed to change, its meetings provide an opportunity of seeing the work done as it used to be done in Canada in the earliest days of the United Grand Lodge of England, when the lodge was still working under Claude Denechau as Provincial Grand Master, and when the "Mason's Manual" was first published in 1818.

This is the story of the stormy times that attended the establishment of English-speaking Masonry in "Canada Proper" from the time of the capture of Quebec till the beginning of the existing regime. The Canadian barometer of freemasonry at last points to "set fair." Goodwill, harmony and brotherly love now prevail among Masons throughout the entire Dominion; and, as far as the human eye can foresee, the Craft will continue to thrive and flourish, "A MARI USQUE AD MARE."

THE END.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE "GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND." *By Gilbert W. Daynes.* Published by the Masonic Record, Ltd., London, 1926.
- THE "JAMES THOMPSON" MANUSCRIPT BOOK. No copy yet published. Kept by the "Grand Lodge of Quebec" at Montreal.
- THE WINNING OF CANADA. *By Colonel William Wood, F.R.S.C.* Published by Glasgow, Brook & Company, Toronto, 1915.
- ENGLISH-SPEAKING FREEMASONRY. *By Sir Alfred Robbins.* Published by Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1930.
- THE STORIED PROVINCE OF QUEBEC. *By Colonel William Wood, F.R.S.C.* Published by the Dominion Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto, 1931.
- HOCHELAGA DEPICTA. *By Newton Bosworth, F.R.A.S.* Published by William Greig, Montreal, 1839.
- THE HISTORY AND BY-LAWS OF ST. PAUL'S LODGE, No. 374. *Compiled by a Committee.* Published by J. Starke and Co., Montreal, 1876.
- OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC. *By John H. Graham, LL.D.* Published by John Lovell and Son, Montreal, 1892.
- MACKENZIE AND HIS VOYAGEURS. *By Arthur P. Woollacott.* Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London and Toronto, 1927.
- THE RED RIVER COLONY. *By Louis Aubrey Wood.* Published by Glasgow, Brook & Company, Toronto, 1915.
- GOULD'S HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. (Especially Vol. 4, P. 81, section on "Quebec" by *Wm. Walter Williamson*). (Note: This book is composed of many sections by various authors). Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1936.



INDEX

- Ainslie, Thomas 61, 72, 73.
 Aitken, Jno. 30, 42
 Albion Lodge, Quebec 27, 63,
 66, 81, 126, 128, 129.
 Alma Lodge, Quebec 128, 129
 Amphill, Arthur, 2nd Baron
 133.
 Anhalt-Zerbst Lodge, Quebec
 42, 43.
 Antill, Edward 1, 18, 31, 32, 33,
 34, 35, 38, 41, 43, 76.
 Atholl, The Duke of 57, 61, 77.
 Aylwin, Thomas 21, 39, 42.
- Badgley, The Hon. Wm. 102,
 107, 116, 118, 123, 124, 125,
 128.
 Barton Lodge, Hamilton, Ont
 24, 25, 50, 94, 97.
 Beaufort, Henry Somerset,
 Duke of 56, 96.
- "Canceaux," H.M.S. 15, 16, 43.
 Carleton, Col. Christopher 23,
 37, 47, 71.
 Civil Service Lodge, Quebec
 128, 129.
 Collins, The Hon. John 12, 14,
 21, 23, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43,
 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 96.
 CONNAUGHT & STRATH-
 EARN H.R.H. THE DUKE
 OF., P.G.M. 62.
- Dean, James, Jr. 127, 128.
 Dénéchau, The Hon. Claude 25,
 26, 61, 73, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83,
 84, 86, 89, 90, 102, 116, 126,
 127, 128, 135.
 Dermott, Laurence 26, 55, 56,
 64, 66, 67, 80.
 Dodd, Captain 73.
 Doig, James 33, 39.
 Dorchester Lodge, St. Johns,
 P. Q. 63, 70, 106, 107, 123.
 Dorchester Lodge, Vergennes,
 Vt. 50, 70.
 Dunckerley, Thomas 15.
- Elgin Lodge, The, Montreal
 105.
- Ferrers, Washington Shirley,
 Earl 12.
 Forty-Seventh Regiment 6, 8,
 11, 12, 13, 24, 103.
 Fraser, Col. Simon 12, 16, 17,
 22.
 Freemason's Hall, Montreal
 114, 116, 117, 122.
- Gawler, John 14, 42, 56.
 Golden Rule Lodge, Stanstead,
 Que. 64, 78, 103, 107.
 GRAND LODGE OF CANA-
 DA (In Ontario) 94, 121, 122,
 123, 124, 130, 131, 132, 134.
 Grand Lodge of Montreal (De-
 puty's) 18, 31, 32, 36, 38, 43,
 49, 76.
 GRAND LODGE OF QUE-
 BEC, (Province) 111, 130,
 131, 132, 134.
 Grant, Charles, 21, 22.
 Grant, William 50, 61.
 Guinnett, Lt. Jno. Price 8, 12,
 13, 22, 103.
- Halifax, Nova Scotia 4.
 Hamilton, Major 73.
 Harington Lodge, Quebec 127,
 128, 129.
 Harington, Thos. Douglas 115,
 127.
 Harmony Lodge, Detroit, Mich.
 20, 21, 22, 74.
 Hays, Capt. M. J. 102, 114, 115,
 117.
 Holmes, Dr. William 73, 77,
 78.
- Johnson, Sir Jno., Bart. 23, 37,
 49, 51, 54, 57, 61, 74, 76, 90.
- KENT, H. R. H. EDWARD,
 The Duke of, 54, 57, 58, 59,
 60, 61, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71,
 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 84, 85, 88,
 90, 93, 94, 95, 105, 127, 132,
 133.

Les Frères du Canada, Québec.
64, 83, 126, 129.

Lodge of Social & Military
Virtues (now Antiquity,
Montreal) 105, 116.

Lynd, John 73.

MacNab, Sir Allan 120, 121, 127

MacTaggart, Dr. D. D., P.A.
G.D.C., 26.

Martin, William 78.

Masonic Hall Hotel, Montreal
101, 102, 107, 108, 109, 110,
115, 116, 122.

Masonic Mall, Quebec 122, 127,
128.

Masonic Temple, The, Mont-
real 134.

Mason's Manual, The 84, 85,
86, 135.

McCord, David Ross 35, 51.

McCord, The Hon. Jno. Samuel
35, 51, 52, 53, 76, 100, 102,
105.

McCord, Thomas 35, 36, 38, 50,
57, 76.

McGill, The Hon. Peter 102,
106, 107, 115, 116, 127, 128.

McGillivray, Simon 91, 101, 119,
120, 127.

McGillivray, The Hon. William
91, 92, 95, 97, 101, 120, 128,

McNeil, Richard 36.

Mechanic's Institute, The,
Montreal 118, 119.

Merchants Lodge, No. 1, Que-
bec 9, 10, 11, 22, 25, 26, 36,
37, 44, 57, 63, 65, 67, 72, 74,
78, 81, 94, 97, 98, 126, 129.

Milborne, A.J.B. 84.

Molson, The Hon. John 40,
101, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108,
109, 110, 111, 115, 116, 128.

Murray Lodge, St. Andrew's
E., Que. 64, 78, 106.

Nelson Lodge, Caldwell Manor,
Clarenceville, Que. (now at
St. Armand) 63, 77, 103, 107.

New Brunswick Lodge, Fred-
erickton, N.B. 50.

New Oswegatchie Lodge, Og-
densburg, N.Y. 48.

Paxton, William 28, 29.

Penn, Turton 91, 92, 94, 96,
100, 102.

Prenties, Miles 9, 11, 25, 30, 31,
39, 72.

Prevost Lodge, Dunham, Que.
(formerly Select Surveyors)
63, 71, 103, 106, 107.

PROVINCIAL GRAND
LODGE OF CANADA

("Seniors" or "Moderns") 1,
5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20,
23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 41, 54,
60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 73, 74, 75,
76, 77, 79, 81, 94, 97, 98, 112,
126, 131, 132, 133.

PROVINCIAL GRAND
LODGE OF CANADA

("Antients" or "Ancients")
(York Masons) 26, 27, 54, 55,
56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64,
65, 66, 67, 68, 74, 75, 76, 77,
78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, 92,
93, 94, 97, 103, 112, 130, 132,
133.

PROVINCIAL GRAND
LODGE OF QUEBEC AND

THREE RIVERS (United)
84, 87, 88, 89, 116, 122, 125,
126, 127, 128, 129.

PROVINCIAL GRAND
LODGE OF MONTREAL

& WILLIAM HENRY
(United) 52, 76, 91, 97, 100,
101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107,
108, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116,
118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125,
127, 128, 130.

PROVINCIAL GRAND
LODGE OF UPPER CAN-

ADA (United) 91, 92, 119,
120, 121, 122, 125, 127, 129.

Radford, Gwyn Owen 76, 78, 96.

Royal Edward Lodge, Edwardsburg, Ont. 70.

Scottish Rite Masonry 133.

Shefford Lodge, Waterloo, Que. 107, 119.

Snelling, Wm. Handfield, 84, 86.

Span, Capt. Thos. Augustus 12, 23.

Spielman, F. I. 53.

Sullivan, Thos. J. 75.

SUSSEX, H. R. H. AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, The Duke of 57, 59, 62, 72, 92, 103, 105, 129.

St. Andrew's Lodge No. 6, Quebec (formerly Sussex) 64, 83, 126, 129.

St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 2, Quebec 17, 22, 27, 30, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 74, 94, 97, 98, 126, 128, 129.

St. Patrick's Lodge, No. 3, Quebec 17, 22, 30, 36, 37, 39, 74, 98.

St. Peter's Lodge, No. 4, Montreal 18, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 71, 74, 75, 76, 98.

St. Paul's Lodge, No. 10, Montreal 18, 22, 25, 26, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 52, 53, 63, 71, 74, 75, 76, 78, 82, 90, 94, 95, 97, 98, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 123, 124, 131, 132, 133, 134.

St. George's Lodge, Three Rivers, Que. 64, 77, 116.

St. George's Lodge, Montreal 104, 105, 107, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 123, 124, 125, 128, 131, 134.

St. John's Lodge, No. 241, Quebec 26, 63, 81, 126, 128, 129.

St. John's Lodge of Friendship, Montreal 51, 52, 53, 71, 74, 76.

St. Lawrence Lodge, Montreal 107, 118, 123, 124, 125, 128, 131.

Tanswell, James 36.

Thompson, James, 14, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 39, 41, 42, 46, 74, 111, 126.

Union Lodge, No. 8, Montreal 71, 75, 82, 90, 101, 103, 105, 106.

UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND 51, 53, 54, 60, 76, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 112, 124, 125, 131, 133, 135.

WALES, H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF (King George IV) 57.

Wellington Persevering Lodge, Montreal 82, 90, 101, 103, 104, 106.

Weste, Lt. Milburne 10, 12, 13, 14, 23.

WILLIAM HENRY, H. R. H. PRINCE (King William IV) 47.

Williamson, W. W., P. G. M., Grand Secretary, Quebec Province 28, 29.

Zetland, Thomas, 2nd Earl of 105.

Zetland Lodge, Montreal 105, 107, 114, 116, 118, 123, 124.

Zion Lodge, Detroit, Mich. 63, 73.