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Volume 2



Freemasonry in Music and Literature

Transactions of the
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edited by

Trevor Stewart

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Telephone: 0207 7226 6256 Fax: 0207 7359 6194 E-mail: info@canonbury.ac.uk Website: www.canonbury.ac.uk

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'When they Sing': the performance of songs in 18th-century English lodges

by Andrew Pink

The role of songs in the lodges

ritish research libraries are brim full with 18th-century English masonic song texts, and occasionally English masonic songs with music too, and anyone wishing to make a study of such material needs to find a method of organising it. The lack of any such method has always been an impediment to the appreciation of the value of this material, not only by freemasons, but also by historians in general.

It is well known that many masonic songs had an 'informal' use during the unstructured social time that came after the close of a lodge, but the 'formal' use of songs within a lodge itself is understood far less well. This is not surprising since many aspects of 18th-century English lodges remain unclear, and occasionally disputed, not least because the sources themselves never seem to provide exact corroboration with each other. In exploring the performance of songs in 18th-century English lodges, this paper proposes not only a performance framework within which to place the material, but also a contribution towards the creation of an organisational model for the material itself.

The thesis of this paper is that there were two places within a lodge in which songs had a 'formal' use; firstly at the end of a 'Lecture' (a use which can be further defined a 'formal-liturgical' use) and secondly during a lodge's meal (a use which can be further defined a 'formal-convivial' use). It is upon these 'formal-liturgical' and 'formal-convivial' uses of song that the present paper is focused, reviewing, in particular, the contemporary written evidence that describes the role and the performance practice of the two 'formal-liturgical' masonic songs that seem to have dominated the 'Work' of the 18th-century English lodge, i.e. *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song* and *The Fellow-Craft's Song*. Many 18th-century writers agree that 'When-ever a Lodge is held, the songs of the Fellow-Crafts and the Apprentices are sung'. It was only after the lodge was closed that the repertoire of 'informal' masonic songs came into its own:

[After the Lodge business] everyone is at liberty to depart or stay longer: everything of masonry is excluded: they talk of what they please, and sing various songs for their amusement.³

Broadly speaking, the principal activities of an 18th-century English lodge were two-fold. Firstly, lodges made freemasons and led them through the hierarchy of the three degrees of Freemasonry, which were, from the 1720s, Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft, and (*later*) Master. The lodge members met in a private room (almost always in a tavern) and sat around a table with a space at one end of the room to perform the ceremonies necessary for the making of a freemason (fig. 1).⁴ The table

would have doubled, in many cases, as a meal table. The 'work' around the table comprised the 'Lectures', a process in which the formulaic questions and answers of the knowledge relevant to each of the degrees were practiced,

by way of Catechism, or Lecture, The Master asking the Questions, and the Members, properly seated, making the Answers one after the other; this is termed Working.⁵

The following short extract from the opening of an 18th-century Fellow Craft's Lecture gives a sense of this:

Mas. Brother are you a Fellow Craft

Ans. I am. Try me. Prove me.

Mas. Where was you made a Fellow Craft?

Ans. In a just and lawful Lodge.

Mas. How was you prepared to made a Fellow Craft?

Ans. I was neither naked nor cloathed, barefoot, nor shod ... [etc].

Secondly, if not engaged in making a freemason, or rehearsing the 'Lectures', the Lodge provided the opportunity for some edifying demonstration or perhaps a lecture (not to be confused with the 'Lectures' mentioned above). Such an educational demonstration or lecture was based on a theme related to one of the Seven Liberal Arts, around which the intellectual life of English Freemasonry clung. So, for example, at the Old King's Arms Lodge, in the period 1733-1734, there were scientific papers given on themes that included 'The Structure and Force of Muscles', 'The Water Clock' and 'Optics'. At the *Philo-Musicae* Society (1725-1727) the edifying emphasis was upon the study of music. 8

The earliest English masonic songs

The earliest known English masonic song texts are *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song* (fig. 3), *The Master's Song*, *The Warden's Song* and *The Fellow-Craft's Song* (fig. 4), which all appear in James Anderson's *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* (1723), the first official book of English Freemasonry. Each of these four songs, except the last, is printed with music. Although the style of the music that is given in the *Constitutions* implies a role for instruments (fig. 5), the fact is, as far as the written evidence shows, that in almost all English lodges of the period, music was entirely vocal and unaccompanied by instruments except in rare cases, and then on rare occasions; it was not 'the norm'. The four song texts in the *Constitutions* became the foundation of all English masonic song texts, appearing, as they did, time and again in English masonic books throughout the century.

According to the rubrics in Anderson *The Master's Song or A History of Masonry* is 'To be sung when the Master shall give leave'; *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song* is 'To be sung when all grave business is over, and with the Master's Leave', *The Fellow-Craft's Song* is 'To be sung and played at the Grand Feast' (i.e., at the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge) and *The Warden's Song* is 'To be sung and play'd at the Quarterly Communication' (i.e., a quarterly administrative meeting). By following Anderson's rubrics *The Master's Song* and *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song* would appear to be the only two songs of the four that are directly connected with the lodge, being both dependent upon the Master's 'leave'. But 18th-century writers repeatedly state that it was *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song* and *The Fellow-Craft's Song* that were synonymous with each other and with the (formal-liturgical) 'work' of the lodge.¹¹ There seems to be no written evidence to associate *The Master's Song* (fig.

5) with the degree of a Master Mason, or its ceremonies. Its length and its several toasts, make clear its suitability for use during the 'formal-convivial' meal of the Lodge. Such (formal-convivial) 'refreshment' formed a distinctive part of the Lodge, as will be shown.

The anonymous author of *Hiram* (1766) is sure that *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song* and *The Fellow-Craft's Song* provided closure to each of the Lectures of the same name. At the end of the Entered Apprentice's Lecture, *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song* was sung, after which,

it is necessary the Brethren should have a little Respite; and, perhaps it is Nine o'Clock in the Evening, when some of the members chuse to have a bit for the Tooth. Those who have ordered any Thing for Supper retire into another Room [...] Calling the men from Work to Refreshment. 12

Likewise, according to the same book, the Fellow Craft's Lecture 'is always closed with the Fellow Crafts Song [...] and at this Time it is perhaps between Ten and Eleven at Night'. The obvious point here is that, in practice, the two Lectures followed each other, separated by time for a meal. It was at the 'formal-convivial' meal that a song like *The Master's Song* was performed, 'with the Master's leave', with the chorus and a pre-determined toast printed at the end of each of its five sections. At the end of the evening, after the closure of the lodge, the 'informal' (the more 'unbuttoned') songs were performed.

[Then] all the officers and Brethren take the Jewels from off their necks, and each Member may go or stay as he thinks proper; nothing of Masonry must be mentioned during the remainder of the Night, and it sometimes happens, that after the Lodge is closed, some Member, being warmed with the Juice of the Grape, thinks he may dispense with the Laws of Decency, and indulge himself with an obscene Song; but though it is a Maxim pretty generally received that good Singers should be free from all restriction, yet the best sort of Free Masons have not adopted it, though they do not exclude gay and joyous songs after the Lodge is shut. 14

Undoubtedly there were some nights when the rehearsal of either (or both) of the Lectures did not go smoothly since each Lecture is, after all, long and full of details that have to be remembered. This fact might explain why, in 1759, the author of *The Secrets of the Free Masons* wrote

I come next to the Songs, which are in great esteem among the Masons, and sung each Night of their meeting, in every Lodge, unless their Building take up so much Time as not to admit of a Song. 15

Songs in the exposures

The best source of information about 18th-century English lodge music and the performance of songs, comes from a series of texts that were published in London within the space of a few years of each other around the 1760s, and nowadays referred to collectively as 'masonic exposures'. The books themselves, far from being designed to undermine Freemasonry as their genre title 'exposure' might suggest, are thought to have been published as 'unofficial printed rituals', ¹⁶ a way in which Freemasonry could ensure a consistency of ritual and organisation amongst the increasingly far-flung English lodges. Interestingly, whatever philosophical and ritual

differences there might have been between the two divergent groups of Freemasons that were in existence from the 1750s onwards (i.e., the so-called 'Antients' and 'Moderns'), the existing evidence from printed song material reveals a considerable degree of uniformity between them in their shared song repertoire. It seems reasonable to conclude that their musical performance practice was, before their union in 1813, similar if not identical.

The type of detailed masonic information to be found in the exposures could not have been issued officially in the name of the freemasons themselves, since the oath of a freemason obliged those who took it to conceal masonic secrets from the uninitiated. Publicly at least, these books were treated with false contempt by freemasons, but were nonetheless allowed to serve their purpose. That the contempt was false is exemplified by the production, in 1759, of *The Secrets of the Freemasons*, printed in London by J. Scott. Scott was a respected printer of mainstream 'non-secret' masonic literature. He issued several of the later editions of the hugely popular masonic *Pocket Companions*, and does not seem to have drawn down the ire of the freemasons upon himself, or his business, as a consequence of his exposure.

The specific editions of the exposures that are useful to a discussion of masonic musical performance practice are The Secrets of the Freemasons (1759), A Master-key to Freemasonry (1760), Three Distinct Knocks (1760), Jachin and Boaz (1762)17 and Hiram (1766). Each of these documents gives slightly differing glimpses of the ways the lodges made use of song, but when they are read in conjunction with each other and with the song material itself, it becomes easier to gain a more coherent impression of how some things probably worked. All the musical information in these sources focuses on The Enter'd 'Prentices Song and The Fellow-Craft's Song. The reason for the sources' focus on these two songs as the distinct musical features of a lodge seems clear from their fundamental 'formal-liturgical' association with the Lectures (as shown above). These two songs' musical success, judging by their continuous appearance in collections of English masonic song texts (occasionally with their music) and in some general, non-masonic song books of the time, was due in no small measure to the simplicity and tunefulness of their melodies. Both these 'official' song texts were straightforward to sing, using commonly available musical settings that required no more musical resources than just the voices of those present. The Fellow-Craft's Song, the music for which is absent in Anderson's 1723 Constitutions, seems to have been popularly supplied by John Frederick Lampe (1703-1751).18 Further evidence to support the fact that these two songs really were connected, as a pair, is borne out by the fact that as early as 1725, the two texts appear side by side on broad-sheets sold publicly beyond the lodge.11

In Three Distinct Knocks it appears that The Enter'd 'Prentices Song and The Fellow-Craft's Song were accompanied by their own stylised actions:

When they sing [the Entered Apprentices Song] they all stand around a great Table and join Hands across, that is, your Right-hand takes hold of your Left-hand Man's Left-hand, and your Left-hand Man, with his Right-hand, takes hold of his left Man's Left-hand and so crossing all round. But when they say the last Verse, they jump up all together, ready to shake the Floor down. I myself have been below where there has been a Lodge, and have heard the people say 'Lord Damn their Bloods, what are they doing? They will shake the place down. I'll stay here no longer'. This they call driving of Piles. 20

Hiram bears out this description:

[When] the Enter'd Apprentice's Song [...] is sung, all the Brethren standing up; and at the End of each verse, they join hands crossways, so as to form a Link or Chain, and shake their Hands up and down, and stamp their Feet hard upon the Floor, keeping the Time; and this is what surprises Strangers who may be in a room underneath, or near the Lodge/ It is termed by Masons, Driving the Piles, 21

For The Fellow-Craft's Song, the hands are used to clap rather than forming a chain:

[...] holding your Left hand up keeping it square, then clap with your Right-hand, and · Left together, and from thence strike your Left Breast with your Right-hand, the strike your Apron, and your Right Foot going at the same time. This is done altogether as one clap or should be, which makes a great Shaking on the Floor, and what they call driving of Piles to amuse the World. [...] I have known some Lodges that have Shores set below to support the Floor, while they have been at work as they call it. 22

It was not only with the singing of 'formal-liturgical' songs at the end of each Lecture that actions are associated. Highly stylised actions were also part of the performance of 'formal-convivial' songs too (i.e. the songs sung during the Lodge meal), at the point when a toast is made after a song. It is the association of the text of a toast with a song that determines such songs as having a 'formal-convivial' use. In Anderson's 1723 version of The Master's Song, which is very long, there is a break provided, for a formal toast at the end of each of its five sections.²³ The Antient lodges' several editions of their Constitutions (Ahiman Rezon), from 1756 onwards used Anderson's songs as the basis of an expanded repertoire of mostly 'formalconvivial' (i.e., toasting) songs, and this expanded 'Antients' repertoire is to be found in the subsequent editions of Anderson's Constitutions (1756, 1784). The same toasts that appear in both books were listed in the exposure, Tubal Kain (1759):

Toasts Used by Masons

To the King and the Craft, as Master Masons To all Kings, Princes and Potentates, that ever propagated the Royal Art

To his imperial Majesty (our Brother) Francis Emperor of Germany

To all the Fraternity around the Globe

To the Right Worshipful and Grand Master

To all the Noble Lords and Right Worshipful Brethren that have been Grand Masters.

To all well disposed, charitable Masons

To the Worshipful Grand Wardens

To the perpetual honour of Free-Masons

To the Masters and Wardens of all Regular Lodges

To all true and faithful Brethren &c

To all the Brethren sons of the antient and honourable Craft

To the memory of him who first planted a Vine

To Masons and to Masons bairns

And Women with both wit and Charms

That love to lie in Masons Arms

To all the female friends of Masonry²⁴

All of this appears to be borne out in the text of a song published in Devon in 1763, entitled Five Masonic Songs By a BROTHER of a Lodge at Plymouth. Published at the Request of Several of The BROTHERS:

And after we've our Business done Then we rejoice and sing; To our Grand Master take a Glass, And George the Third our King. An to the Lodge we'll go &c

Then if the Master will permit, Dear Brethren join with me; To all Free Masons drink a Health, And give them three times three. And to the Lodge we'll go &c ²⁵

The anonymous author of Jachin and Boaz goes into some detail about how the drinking of these 'formal-convivial' toasts was stylised:

The table being plentifully stored with Wine and Punch &c every Man has a Glass set before him, and fills it with what he chuses, and as often as he pleases. But he must drink his glass in turn or at least keep the Motion with the rest. When therefore a Public Health is given the Master fills first, and desires the Brethren to charge their Glasses, and when this is supposed to be done the Master says Brethren are you all charged? The Senior and Junior Warden answer We are all charged in the South and West. Then they all stand up, and observing the Masters Motion (like the Soldier his Right Hand Man) drink their Glasses off, and if the Master proposes the toast with three times three Claps they throw the Glasses with the Right Hand at Full Length, bringing them across their Throats three Times, and making three Motions to put them down on the table, at the third they are set down (though [they are] perhaps fifty in number) as if it was but one, then raising their hands Breast high, they clap nine Times against the Right, divided into three Divisions, which they term Drinking with three times three: and at the end they give Huzzah.

Although the 1738 edition of Anderson's *Constitutions* provides a toast after *The Fellow-Craft's Song*, there is no evidence that a toast was part of the performance of the song in its 'formal-liturgical' use. Thus the 1738 *Constitutions*, and subsequent volumes, suggests the possibility that 'formal-liturgical' songs could, at times, serve as 'formal-convivial songs too.

Conclusion

Here then is evidence of the establishment not only of a 'formal-liturgical' tradition, but also of a 'formal-convivial' tradition. By the 1760s, at least, drinking a health and singing were firmly associated one with the other and taking place during the 'formal-convivial' meal that came at the mid-point of the evening, under the supervision of the Master of the lodge. A certain song required a certain toast; a certain toast required a certain song. This was a practical way of establishing formality during the conviviality of the meal time and of moderating the drinking; an important consideration, given that the Fellow Craft's Lecture was very often likely to follow. It seems unlikely that every toast was used every time a lodge met; the number of songs, and thus of toasts, varying according to circumstance.

This all adds up to a lively, busy, noisy, entertaining and distinctly musical, but very controlled, evening. The singing of the songs at the end of each Lecture was accompanied by rhythmic stamping and the holding of hands in chains, while the meal time was accompanied by singing, and loud, stylised toasting, shouting, clapping

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and stamping. Even the distinctly proper 'work' of the lodge, as described in *The Secrets of the Freemasons* was often marked with loud cheering:

The Applause that each Brother meets with from the whole Society, upon his duly and proportionately finishing a Piece in Architecture, is always expressed by loud Acclamations, [and] generally alarms, and surprizes [sic] those who are sitting by and under the Room where the Lodge is held.²⁶

Although Freemasonry was practiced in secret, it seems that it was hardly discreet, and so it comes as no surprise that on 18 April 1737 a correspondent to *The Craftsman* newspaper wrote of the freemasons that

these Men are generally look'd upon, in England, as a Parcel of like People, who meet together only to make merry, and play some ridiculous pranks,

and an irritable parody of *The Enter'd 'Prentices Song* appeared in the London press as early as 1725, and suggesting popular comprehension in its appeal:

Good People give ear,
And the truth shall appear,
For we scorn to put any grimace on:
We've been lamm'd long enough,
With this damn'd silly stuff,
Of a Free and an Accepted Mason.²⁷

The Wilkins engraving (fig. 2) says it all.



Fig. 1: a mid 18th-century lodge room 'The Ceremony of Making a Free-Mason' in *Hiram* (1766).



Fig. 2: a mid 18th-century lodge room a satirical engraving *The Free-Mason's Surprized* by T. Wilkins (London, 1754).

The Tune of the Enter'd 'Prentice's Song Compos'd by its Author, Mr. Birkhead, Deceas'd.

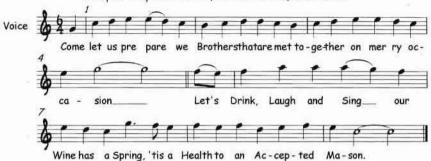


Fig. 3: 'The Enter'd 'Prentices Song' from J. Anderson's *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, (1723).²⁸

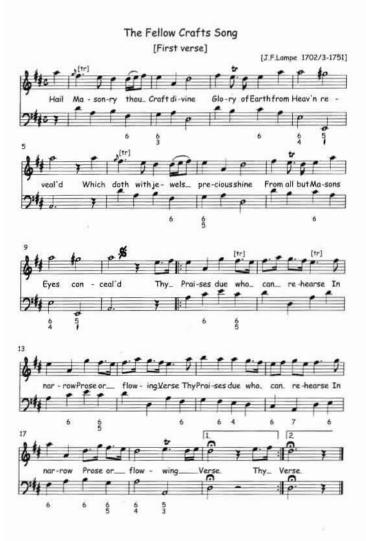


Fig. 4: 'The Fellow-Craft's Song' by J. F. Lampe in British Melody (1739).29

The Master's Song





Fig. 5: 'The Master's Song' from J. Anderson's *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* (1723).³⁰

NOTES

- 1 See, e.g., Wallace, M.: 'Music, Song & Spirits: The Lighter Side of Scottish Freemasonry', in History Scotland vol. 4(1) (2004), pp. 38 - 44.
- 2 [Anon] A Master-Key to Free-Masonry; by Which All the Secrets of the Society Are Laid Open; and Their Pretended Mysteries Exposed to the Public... Second Edition, (London: J. Burd, 1760), p. 10.
- 3 From an edition of Jachin and Boaz by William Nichol, in A Sharpe: 'Masonic Songs and Song Books of the Eighteenth Century', AQC vol. 65, (1953), p. 86.
- 4 A.C.F. Jackson, 'Preston's England', in AQC vol. 89 (1977), p. 105.
- 5 [Anon Hiram; or the grand master-key to the door of both Antient and Modern Free Masonry (2nd edn., 1766), p. 23.
- 6 A.C.F. Jackson: English Masonic Exposures of 1760-1769 [containing transcripts of Three Distinct Knocks (1760), Jachin and Boaz (1762) and Shibboleth (1765)]. London: Lewis Masonic (1986), p. 85.
- 7 J.F. Ashby: Freemasonry and Entertainment [Prestonian Lecture], London: J.F. Ashby (1999), p. 13. In J. Lane (ed.): Masonic Records 1717-1894. London: Freemasons' Hall (1895), p. 60 it states that the Old King's Arms Lodge was in Tower Street, Seven Dials, London.
- 8 M.C. Jacob: The Radical Enlightenment Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans, 2nd ed. Morristown, NJ: The Temple Books (2003), chapter 3, pp. 91-115, shows how important Newtonian science (Natural Philosophy) was, to early English freemasons, and how it had a popular audience in their lodges. Many members of the Royal Society were senior ranking English Freemasons. For the Philo-musicae Society see R.F. Gould: 'Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas Apollini' in AQC vol. 16 (1903), pp. 112-128.
- 9 J. Anderson: The Constitutions of the Freemasons (London: William Hunter and John Senex, 1723).
- 10 William Preston (1742-1818), in his *Illustrations of Masonry* (nine editions between 1772 and 1812) suggested a considerable role for both vocal and instrumental music in Lodge ritual, but there is no evidence to suggest that Preston's high view of the role music should take was adopted, attempted, or even practical, in most lodges, until the later development of permanently designated masonic rooms and halls.
- 11 In neither the first (1723) nor the second (1738) editions of Anderson's book do the rubrics and the songs tally satisfactorily, either with each other, or the evidence of contemporary writers. In cases of conflict I have taken the authority of the contemporary writers, who seem to agree on so much to do with practice, over Anderson.
- 12 Hiram: op. cit., p. 31.
- 13 Hiram: op. cit., p. 36.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 The Secrets of the Free Masons Revealed by a Disgusted Brother, Containing an Account of Their Origin Their Practices, Etc. To Which Is Added the Songs of the Masons, [...] and an Exact List of The ... Lodges. The Second Edition, (London: Printed for the author and sold by J. Scott ... and all the booksellers in town and country, 1759).
- 16 R.A. Gilbert & J.M. Hamill: Freemason A Celebration of the Craft. London: Mackenzie (1992), p. 28.
- 17 Three Distinct Knocks and Jachin and Boaz are printed in full in Jackson (1986).

- 18 J.F. Lampe & B. Cole: British Melody; or, the Musical Magazine: Consisting of a Large Variety of the Most Approv'd English and Scotch Songs, Airs, &C (London: Printed for and sold by ye proprietor Benjn. Cole engraver ... & at most print sellers musick shops in town & country (1739). Benjamin Cole was a masonic publisher and Lampe was a freemason. The date of 1739 gives no indication of the date of the music's composition.
- 19 For example, see British Library, shelfmark C.121.g.8.(9.) published by George Faulkner, Dublin, (1725).
- 20 Jackson (1986), see p. 83.
- 21 Hiram: op. cit., p. 31.
- 22 Jackson (1986), p.92.
- 23 From the second (1738) edition of Anderson's Constitutions (and in subsequent editions), The Master's Song was shortened, to one section with a toast. The toasts belonging to the omitted sections of the song were attached to a series of new songs in the editions from 1738 onwards.
- 24 Prichard (1759), p. 24.
- 25 [Anon]: Five Masonic Songs by a Brother of a Lodge at Plymouth. Published at the Request of Several of the Brothers (Exeter: W. Andrews & R. Trewman, 1763).
- 26 [Anon]: The Secrets of the Free Masons revealed by a Disgusted Brother ... (1759), p. 20.
- 27 The text of the parody appeared in The London Journal of 10 July 1725.
- 28 Music and text remain as in the original; bar numbers are editorial.
- 29 Music and text remain as in the original, except that an ad libitum flute part, doubling the voice, is omitted. Where this flute part has trills not marked in the original voice part, these have been shown in square brackets. Bar numbers are editorial. This music is from a general song collection (see fn 18), and so the instrumental parts have no particular significance for the performance of lodge music.
- 30 Music and text remain as in the original, except for editorial accidental in bar 8 and dotted lines and bar numbers, which are also editorial.
