FREEMASONRY AT THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC 1759-60

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Before entering upon the subject of this paper it is desirable to refer to the claims that have been advanced for the existence of Masonry during the French regime.

The head of the Jesuit Order in Montreal, Mons. Montgolfier, wrote to the Bishop of Quebec in 1771, concerning the conduct of Pierre Gamelin, a member of St. Peter s Lodge, Montreal. Gamelin was one of the Churchwardens of Notre Dame Church, and during his wardenship he had participated in a public Masonic ceremony for which he had been put upon the carpet by his Roman Catholic pastor. In this letter Mons. Montgolfier writes that there were Masons under the French regime, but that they were few in number. This seems to have been the basis for the more elaborate statement published in 1855 by Father Edouard Hamon, under the pseudonym of Jean d Erbree, that a Lodge was established at Quebec in 1755. Hamon wrote at a time when Quebec was torn by a politico-ecclesiastical controversy arising out of the proposed dismemberment of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Three Rivers, and his statement concerning Freemasonry was evidently introduced with the motive of discrediting one of the parties to it.

Profane and Masonic investigators have failed to bring to light any evidence to support these statements.

It is well known, however, that Marquis Duquesne, Governor of Montreal from 1752 to 1755, and Baron Dieskau, the commander of the troops in New France in 1755, were Masons as they are both registered as members of the Lodge meeting at the Horn Tavern, Westminster, England, under a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England.

At the time of the operations before Quebec, there were two Grand Lodges in England the oldest, formed in 1717 and usually referred to as the Moderns because it was alleged that its adherents had introduced innovations into the Craft, and the Grand Lodge of England according to the old Institutions, founded in 1751, the members of which, although younger, were called the Ancients.

Captain John Knox, wrote in his Journal of the Campaign in North America (Vol II, p.313), under the date December 27th, 1759, that the anniversary of St. John s Day was duly observed by the several lodges of Freemasons in this Garrison.

Until comparatively recently, this celebration was believed to have been the first joint meeting of the Craft in Quebec. But in 1920, there came into the possession of the Grand Lodge of Quebec, a small book in which James Thompson, a Sergeant in the 78th Regiment (Fraser's Highlanders) had kept a record of the early meetings of the Craft in Quebec, as well as copies of letters written and received by him during the years he was Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

From this record it is now established that the first joint meeting of the lodges in the garrison was held on November 28th, 1759, which was as soon as Convenient after the Surrender of this place to His Britannic Majesty s Arms.

It should be borne in mind that although the Battle which decided the fate of the City of Quebec was fought on September 13th, 1759, it was until the 29th of September that the British troops marched into the City.

It seems to be a popular belief that with the capitulation of the City of Quebec, the campaign for all practical purposes was at an end. But had a French fleet appeared in the St. Lawrence before a British one in the Spring of 1760, there was more than a probability that Quebec would have been recaptured. Nor was there any certainty that General Murray, upon whom command had devolved, would be able to retain possession for he was left with only six thousand men to hold a fortress that was in wretched condition though he wrote to the Hon. George Murray that they were six thousand as brave troops as ever existed. Surrounding him were ten thousand of the enemy under De Levis and Bougainville, able and energetic commanders, who, in the absence of the British Fleet which had returned to England, now also held command of the River.

Five hundred houses had been destroyed during the three months bombardment, there was little food and no fuel, and as if this were not enough, the excessive coldness of the climate as Murray wrote to Mr. Pitt, and constant living upon salt provisions, without any vegetables, introduced scurvy among the troops, which, getting the better of every precaution of the officer, and every remedy of the surgeon, became as universal as it was inveterate. How serious was this condition may be gathered from a muster roll of Fraser's Highlanders taken early in 1760. Out of a total strength of 894, 580 were in Hospital.

Such were the conditions under which Freemasonry was first introduced into Quebec, and it is surprising indeed that the Brethren were able to meet at all.

In a letter to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, dated February 9th, 1769 John Gawler recounts the story of this first joint meeting and states that eight or nine Regimental Lodges were represented. However, the actual Minute records only six Lodges as participating in the proceedings.

They were the Lodges held in the 15th, 47th and 48th Regiments of Foot held in virtue of Warrants Nos. 245, 192 and 218 from the Grand Lodge of Ireland; a Lodge in the 43rd Regiment held in virtue of a Dispensation granted by Lodge No. 135 I.C. held in the 17th

Regiment; a Lodge in the Royal Regiment of Artillery held in virtue of a Dispensation granted by Lodge No. 195 I.C. held in the 42nd Regiment, and the sixth in the 28th Regiment holding a Warrant -- Louisburg No. 1 -- from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Boston which, in turn, derived its authority from the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns).

In addition to the Regiments mentioned, the 35th, the 58th, the second and third Battalions of the 60th, the 78th (Fraser's Highlanders) and the Louisburg Grenadiers composed of detachments of the 1st, 17th, 22nd, 40th and 56th Regiments also participated in the operations before Quebec. No Lodges appear to have been held in the 35th, 58th, 60th and 78th Regiments at this period. There were Lodges in the 1st, 17th and 22nd Regiments, and members of these Lodges were doubtless serving with the detachments forming the Louisburg Grenadiers, but it is assumed that the Lodges remained with the main bodies of the Regiments. There was also an Irish Lodge in the 28th Regiment -- No. 35, warranted in 1734. Gould writes that this Warrant presumably lapsed on the granting of the Boston Warrant but Bro. J.H. Lepper says that is continued in existence until 1801.

The Minute records that --

It was considered and agreed upon, as there were so many Lodges in this Garrison, that one of the Brethren present of the greatest skill and merit 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, 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.

Gawler's account of this meeting provides us with a little more information than in the actual Minute. It reads:--

In the winter of the year 1759, when Conquest had added that Capital to His Majesty s Dominions, the Masters and Wardens of all the Warranted Lodges held in the Regiments garrisoned there (to the No. of 8 or 9) assembled together and Unanimously Agreed to Choose an Acting Grand Master to preside over them, the better to Advance Masonry, Regulate their Proceedings, and Unite them in a Common Bond of Brotherly Love. Agreeable thereto they made choice of Brother Guinnett, Lieutenant in the 47th Regiment, and drew out Signed and Sealed a Warrant Impowering him and his successors Ellected to Congregate them together as a Grand Lodge for the Intent afore mentioned they having the Constitutions as their Chiefest Guide. This Regulation together with the Charitable Collections made and given to the poor Widows and Orphans of the Army and the distressed Canadians, brought the Craft into such universal esteem, that numbers applied to the different Lodges and was made Masons in as much as to make them so numerous To oblige the Grand Master to grant Warrants from under his present Authority until opportunity might offer for them to apply for a Greater.

Very little is known about the first Provincial Grand Master. He was gazetted a Lieutenant in the 47th Regiment with seniority from April 2nd, 1759. He was wounded at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and returned to England in 1760. He is shown as a member of Lodge No. 192 I.C. held in the 47th Regiment in a list compiled by Bro. E.E. West, but he does not appear as such in the Registers of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

I have often wondered why this unknown Lieutenant should have been selected. The more important military and Masonic figures may have felt that they could not undertake the responsibility of office while the campaign was still in progress. Colonel Fraser who held the office of Provincial Grand Master of Quebec in the following year was, I believe, not available as he had been severely wounded in the thigh. As Masonry does not grant preferment because of rank or affluence it must be assumed that John Price Guinnett was, in fact, possessed of the greatest skill and merit among those present, and it seems probable that he possessed the additional recommendation of not being actively engaged in military duties because of a slight wound.

There reports of the initial proceedings in Quebec raise many questions, and open a wide field for speculation.

There is, for example, the matter of constitutional procedure. At the time, the office of Provincial Grand Master did not exist under the Irish Constitution, while under the English (Modern) Constitution appointment to the office was a recognised prerogative of the Grand Master. so firmly was this prerogative established that when, in the early part of the nineteenth century, the Irish Craft decided upon the appointment of such officers abroad, the Duke of Leinster, then Grand Master, took a lot of persuading before he would consent to what he considered an encroachment on the prerogative of the Grand Lodge of England. From the English point of view the election of Lieutenant Guinnett was irregular and, in fact, it has never been officially recognised by the Grand Lodge of England. The terms of the Minute indicate that the irregularity of the proceedings was fully recognised by the participants. The use of the expression Acting Grand Master in Gawler's account clearly indicates that the election was but a temporary expedient pending the procurement of a proper Sanction.

Freemasonry has always been a conservative institution, and one cannot fail to be impressed by the desire often displayed by our early brethren to abide by the Constitutions. Even when they exceeded their powers or trespassed upon the prerogatives of their rulers, it was never done without premeditation. The welfare of the Craft was always the primary consideration, and when that was involved disciplinary action was rarely taken. In this particular case, it is difficult to see what disciplinary action could have been taken, if it had even been contemplated, for only the Lodge in the 28th Regiment was under the control of the Grand Lodge of England. The Grand Lodge of Ireland was little interested, for it was common practice for regimental lodges holding Irish Warrants to place themselves under the aegis of an existing Provincial Grand Lodge when on service away from home. So long as their ritual and practices were not interfered with, this was completely satisfactory, otherwise there was trouble.

It may be noted that the Minute does not state from which of the two Grand Masters the sanction was to be obtained. the application was, in fact, made to the Grand Master of the Moderns, and this raises the next question:-- Why should five irish lodges, who were much more closely allied to the Ancients than to the Moderns agree to make application to the Moderns for the proper sanction. This is even more strange when it is known that some of these Lodges had actually been represented at a meeting in Halifax, a few months earlier, where the brethren had recently transferred their allegiance from the St. Johns Grand Lodge of Boston (Moderns) to the Ancient Grand Lodge of England.

The answer to this question, it is submitted, is that there must have been a dominant personality behind the scenes who was able to bring influence to bear upon the decisions taken. It is believed that his individual was none other than Thomas Dunckerley. While the evidence upon which this conviction is based is meagre, it has received acceptance in research circles. Dunckerley, as is well known, was one of the most active and brilliant Masons in England. His Masonic career is capably presented in the Life written by Henry Sadler. Duckerley was not even present at the meeting, but he had been serving in the Fleet as Gunner -- a rank equivalent to the modern Quartermaster -- on board H.M.S. Vanguard, and it has now been definitely established that he had undertaken to present the case for the Quebec brethren to the Grand Master of England.

This episode in Dunckerley's life is indicative of the integrity of his character, and the very strong attachment exhibited throughout his life to the Craft. The Vanguard reached England early in January 1760, and during the short time that Dunckerley was in England his time must have been fully occupied in the supervision of the refitting of his ship which was under orders to return to Quebec with the least possible delay. Shortly after his arrival in England his mother died, and he learned that he was a natural son of King George II. Despite the claims imposed by his naval duties and his pressing personal affairs he nevertheless found time to discharge his obligation he owed to the Quebec brethren and present their case to the Grand Lodge. Bro. J.H. Lepper has observed that Dunckerley at this period was a poor man, and that unless he had known that Masons of good will were waiting to receive the document which would give them a proper sanction he would not have gone to the trouble and expense of obtaining it.

When Dunckerley came back to Quebec with the British Fleet, he was not only the Master of a Lodge established on board the Vanguard, but he also carried a Warrant, or Special Patent, empowering him to look into Craft matters wheresoever he might go. It was in virtue of that special authority that on St. John s Day in Summer, 1760, he installed Colonel Simon Fraser, as successor to Lieutenant Guinnett as Provincial Grand Master of Canada. This act has always been acknowledged by the Grand Lodge of England as being completely regular.

In the light of Dunckerley's later Masonic career, his strong attachment to the Moderns and his contempt for the pretensions of the Ancients this installation must have given him great satisfaction for it firmly established the Moderns in Quebec. The Ancients had been jockeyed (a word used by Dunckerley in similar circumstances a few years later) out of a favourable position.

The Minutes of this first meeting also record that Lieutenant Guinnett was duly installed and that he appointed Captain Thomas Augustus Span of the 28th Regiment as his Deputy, and that he also appointed Bros. Huntingford and Miles Prentice as Grand Wardens with Bro. Paxton as Secretary.

Captain Span was a son of Richard Span of a well known Co. Langford family (from which the late Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, was descended). He was posted as an Ensign in February 1740-1, and Captain August 28th, 1753. He was wounded twice in the operations before Quebec. In 1762 he served at Havana with the rank of Major in the 95th Regiment. He was a member of Lodge No. 35 I.C., held in the 28th Regiment. He died circa 1768.

Colonel Edward Huntingford was the Commanding Officer of the 28th Regiment, and the grantee of the Boston Warrant, No. 1, Louisburg, held in the Regiment.

Miles Prentice was, I believe, an Irishman. He was serving with the 43rd Regiment, was Warden of the Lodge in the 17th Regiment in 1758 when the Army was at Louisburg, and appears in a return made by the Lodge in 1759. This Lodge in the 17th Regiment granted a dispensation to its brethren serving in the 43rd Regiment, and these brethren were present or were represented at the initial meeting held in Quebec. The granting of dispensations by military lodges pending a proper Warrant being obtained from the Old Country was not an uncommon practice.

Beyond these few names we have no record of the Brethren who attended the meeting, but there were many Masons of prominence in Wolfe's Army, and it would seem inevitable that they took part in the proceedings. Among these were Colonel Richard Gridley, Grand Senior Warden of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Boston, of which his brother, Jeremy, was the Provincial Grand Master; Captain Robert Ross, a member of the Lodge in the 48th Regiment, who became Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1786, and who served as Grand Warden of that Grand Body from 1787 to 1789; Colonel John Young, Commanding the 60th Regiment (Royal Americans), who then held office of Depute Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland to which he had been elected in 1736, and who in 1757 received a Patent from the Grand Lodge of Scotland appointing him Provincial Grand Master over all the Scottish Lodges in America; Captain John Knox, whose Journal of the Campaigns in North America is so informative, was doubtless also present. He was a member of the Craft, and as he was serving in the 43rd Regiment in all probability he was either a member of the Lodge No. 136 I.C., in the 17th Regiment, or the Lodge in his own Regiment held in virtue of a Dispensation issued by Lodge No. 136.

Wherever the Highlanders went, their popular padre the Reverend Robert MacPherson, called Caipal Mor by the men because of his large stature, was also to be found. It is believed he was made a Mason in Scotland, and it would seem inevitable that he must also have been present to invoke a blessing from the G.A.O.T.U. upon the proceedings. He was a member of Select Lodge, carried without a number on the Roll of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec, in 1761.

While these officers naturally attract attention because of their prominence, yet the fact remains that the regimental lodges derived their support from the rank and file. Unfortunately, as Bro. Lepper has pointed out, the story of these sergeants, corporals and privates is almost as completely blank as are the pages of the registers which should record their names. It is true that from time to time military lodges made a return to their Grand Lodge, but they were necessarily made at very irregular intervals. In the case of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, when Alexander Seton, the Grand Secretary, was dismissed from his office shortly after the turn of the century, he took with him all the official records, for he dared not allow them to remain in the archives as evidence of his misconduct. These records have never been recovered.

However, we know a great deal about some of the humble Masons. there was, for example, Sergeant John Gawler of the Royal Artillery who is known to have been a member of Lodge No. 11, P.G.L. Quebec, held in the Regiment. He returned to England in 1764, and thereafter acted as unofficial representative of the Quebec brethren in England. It is from his correspondence with his old friend James Thompson, and with the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England that much of the history of these early days has been reconstructed. the close friendship between Gawler and Thompson is indicated by the fact that Thompson s eldest son was christened James Gawler.

Sergeant William Paxton of the 47th Regiment was Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge from 1759 to 1762 when he returned to England with his Regiment. He is shown as a member of Lodge No. 192 I.C., held in the 47th Regiment in 1761.

Miles Prentice, to whom I have already made reference, was the Provost marshal of Wolfe's Army, and was commissioned a Lieutenant on the field upon his appointment. When Peace finally came, he achieved the ambition of every British soldier and became a tavern-keeper, opening the Sun Tavern at Quebec. In 1775 he bought the old property with which Le Chien d Or is associated which stood on the site of the present Quebec Post Office. The stone on which is carved the golden dog gnawing a bone is now to be seen in the facade of the Post Office. He named his new possession Freemasons Hall and the Grand Lodge and some of the local Lodges held feasts and meetings there. When the 43rd Regiment left Quebec, Miles Prentice helped, I believe, to form a civilian lodge for the inhabitants of the town which, in the course of time, was renamed St. Patrick's Lodge, and of which he was Worshipful Master in 1766. In 1775, when Montgomery and Arnold attacked Quebec, Miles Prentice assumed his old job as Provost marshal, and although many historians write that Montgomery's body was identified by his widow, I have ample evidence to prove that he was very much alive many years after that exciting period.

There was also Saunders Simpson, of Fraser's Highlanders, a cousin of James Thompson, who established Simpson's Coffee House in Quebec, which was also a meeting place for the Quebec Lodges. It was his charming daughter -- Mary, with whom Horatio Nelson fell in love in 1782 when he was serving as Commanding Officer of H.M.S. Albemarle. Had he not been dissuaded by his friend Davidson from leaving the Navy and marrying the girl, British history might well have run a different course.

But the Mason to whom I think we are most indebted was James Thompson. He was born at Tain, a small town in Scotland, and was made a Mason there. This is his own statement, and up to the present time I have been unable to obtain verification from the existing Lodges in that District. When Fraser's Highlanders were formed, he applied for a commission, but as the establishment was already complete, he volunteered to serve as a Sergeant at a shilling a day. he fought at Louisburg, where his cousin, Captain Andrew Baillie, was killed by his side. He was with his Regiment in the gallant charge which took the Highlanders to the very walls of the City of Quebec. If the French gave themselves up quietly, Thompson wrote, they had no harm done to them, but faith! if they tried to outrun a Heilandmon they stood but a bad chance, for Whash! went the broadsword. After the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, he was placed in charge of the wounded and some idea of his physical build may be gathered from his Memoirs in which he wrote that becoming impatient at the slowness with which the wounded were being moved, he alone carried a man up the bank of the river at Levis and did not set him down until he reached the Hospital. He grumbled that the feat ruined his red coat. When the ladies of the Ursuline Convent knitted long woollen stockings for the Highlanders to wear in the winter of 1759-60 Thompson stuck to his kilt, and one may conclude that any weakling who dared to wear them would be beneath his contempt. For at least twelve years if not seventeen James Thompson was Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge, and he must have been a pillar of strength to the Provincial Grand Master, the Hon. John Collins, just as he was the prime mover in his own Lodge, the original St. Andrew s Lodge, warranted by Colonel Simon Fraser, of which he was a Charter member. Thirteen terms as Master, six terms as Senior Warden, one term as Junior Warden and eight terms as Secretary is a record of service to a Lodge which would be difficult to surpass.

James Thompson was employed in the Engineers Department at Quebec from 1761 to 1772 as Clerk of Works, when, on the recommendation of General Jones, then commanding the northern district of North America, he was appointed Overseer of Works on the staff of the Garrison by General Haldimand the Commander-in-Chief. In 1779 he was in receipt of four shillings and eightpence per day, Army Currency, which in a Petition to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent for some further allowance Thompson said was by no means adequate for the support of a wife, four boys and two girls. He retired from this office in 1828, after sixty-four years service, not because of old age, he claimed (he was then 96), but because of an injury he sustained during the Siege in 1775. In 1827, the foundation stone of the Wolfe and Montcalm Monument was laid with Masonic honours, and James Thompson, as the only survivor of the two armies commanded by the generals whose memories are thus commemorated, participated in them. But the sands of time were fast running our, and he passed peacefully away on August 25th, 1830, at the age of 97 years. His courage, integrity and intelligence had won for him employment, honour and trust and it can be truthfully said of James Thompson that he lived respected during the whole of his long and useful life, and died regretted.

I have often thought that the Masons of Quebec should preserve the memory of this useful citizen and zealous Mason by striking a medal for bestowal on Masons who have emulated his zeal for the welfare of the Craft.

From a biographical sketch on one of these early Quebec masons which I have taken from the Minutes of St. Andrew s Lodge, we learn something of their character. The Minutes reads:--

In this last tribute of our duty to our deceased brother the Society made a most respectable appearance, and, it may be said, that in this solemn ceremony, his Corps had the greatest Masonick honours known in this Province since the Conquest, having for Pall Bearers, Six Royal Arch Masons in their Regalia.

In his character he was possessed of a mind superior to anything that appeared to him mean and little. Generous almost to profusion, happy and facetious with his friends, with an extraordinary Vivacity, True to his Trust, Punctual in his Payments, Just in his Transactions, of great Humanity. With all these accomplishments, he had his foibles. His Passions were naturally warm & quick at times, but tempered partly, by reason, and the persuasions of his friends. Too fond of his friends and his Bottle, he ruined a Constitution which in its original texture seemed formed to last much longer than 47 years.

As one reads the pages of history upon which the events of this first winter are recorded, it is pleasing to find that the practice of Masonry brought some consolation and relaxation to these poor common soldiers. Their lot was indeed a hard one. The were ill clad. Their rations were reduced to permit food to be distributed to the starving civilian population, and it is to their credit that they accepted the cut in their rations willingly. Most of them had to find shelter where best they could.

The military situation, too, was deteriorating. Early in January, the enemy showed signs of activity, and the posts and blockhouses which had been established on the outskirts of the City were kept fully manned. A number of raids were made on enemy posts with varying success, and the British posts, in their turn, were attacked, but it was not until April that the enemy s movements became seriously alarming. A considerable force had occupied the woods bordering on the Plains of Abraham, and General Murray decided to give them battle before they could establish themselves. If Murray was justified in taking this risk in view of the condition of his troops for besides casualties, a thousand men had died of scurvy and two thousand were totally unfit for duty from the same cause, his decision was unpopular with the troops. One eye-witness describes the forces which marched out to battle as a poor, pitiful handful of half-starved scorbutic skeletons, many of whom had laid away their crutches for the occasion.

The British made a spirited advance, but were unable to withstand a counter-attack, and before reserves could be brought up, the line had given way, and Murray was compelled to order his troops to retire, the engagement costing a thousand men killed and wounded -- one-third of the force engaged.

After Murray s unsuccessful sortie, the enemy brought up artillery and bombarded the town day and night until the 9th of May, when with the arrival of the British Fleet, the siege was lifted.

Despite their trials and difficulties, the Masons did not forget their duty to their neighbours. When they addressed their memorial to the Grand Master of England, praying for a Warrant for their Provincial Grand Master, they enclosed Twenty Pounds as a small token of their respect. This was not an inconsiderable sum in those days, but they apologized for not enlarging it at present having had frequent opportunities of extending our Charitable Collections not only to distressed Brethren and poor Widows of brethren who have fallen on the field of battle, but even to relieve the distresses and miseries of some hundreds of poor miserable Canadians during the course of a long and severe winter.

Such a simple statement cannot fail to arouse feelings of great affection in the breast of any man whose mind is well constituted for these soldier Masons of Wolfe s gallant Army.

We have no record of any further meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge until June of 1760, nor have we any record of any meetings of the private Lodges, but there can be no doubt that the Regimental Lodge chests were frequently opened, the V.S.L., the Warrant, regalia and working tools taken therefrom and the Lodge opened. It may be safely assumed that the same conditions prevailed in the winter of 1759-60 as those that prevailed in the previous year of which Captain Knox records when the calendar does not furnish us with a loyal excuse for assembling in the evening, we have recourse to a Freemasons Lodge where we work so hard that it is inconceivable to think what a quantity of business of great importance is transacted in a very short space of time.

The Provincial Grand Lodge formed in Quebec in 1759 became a much more important body than has been generally recognized. Graham lists about thirty Lodges on its Roll, but a recent reconstruction shows no less than fifty-eight Lodges under its obedience. The territory over which it exercised Masonic jurisdiction was also very extensive. One Lodge was established at Fredericton, N.B., one or two as far West as Detroit and another at Vergennes in Vermont.