

→* Ars *← Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY COLONEL F. M. RICKARD, P.G.S.B.

VOL. LII. PART I.

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THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is two guineas, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The Transactions of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigraha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 2,000 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meetings are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves; but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed Transactions of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and so far as possible, recorded in the Transactions.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Room.

A Candidate for Membership of the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

The annual subscription is only £1 1s., and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the Transactions previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting on Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.



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From a Photograph by Wallace Heath

Ami atul

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Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,

No. 2076.

VOLUME LII.

FRIDAY, 6th JANUARY, 1939.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, W.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., S.W.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.D.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derbys., J.D.; A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; and Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Biggleston, P.A.G.D.C.; C. E. Cheetham; J. W. M. Hawes; S. Pope; S. M. Bell; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; A. Saywell, P.A.G.D.C.; L. E. Jones; W. Lewis; J. J. Cooper; R. A. Card; J. Johnstone; W. Taylor; A. Senior, P.A.G.D.C.; A. F. G. Warrington; G. B. Fluke, P.A.G.D.C.; G. C. Williams; E. Eyles; R. W. Strickland; F. A. Greene; C. J. H. Swann, P.Dep.G.Swd.B.; A. W. R. Kendrick; L. G. Wearing; F. R. Radice; A. Parker; A. F. Hatten; H. W. Martin; F. Underwood, P.A.G.D.C.; A. F. Cross; R. Henderson-Bland; H. G. Ridge; W. Smalley; D. L. Oliver; E. C. Harris; J. F. H. Gilbard; S. R. Clarke; R. H. Clerke, P.G.St.B.; C. Murfitt; J. M. Catterson; W. J. G. Gun.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. D. Bolton, P.A.G.D.C.; F. A. Pope, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Kent; Walter Pope, L.G.R.; W. Williams, W.M., and J. Long, P.M., St. Augustine's Lodge No. 972; H. W. F. Hooker, United Industrious Lodge No. 31; H. C. Timmus, P.M., E. J. Chambers, P.M., and Wilfred Turnton, S.W., Royal Military Lodge No. 1449; A. J. S. Newing, W.M. Lodge of Peace and Harmony No. 199; T. C. Muffett, Holmesdale Lodge No. 874; C. J. Denny, P.M., Friendship Lodge No. 2307; H. W. Montague, P.M. Beverley Lodge No. 5006; Geo. Pope, P.M., Bee Hive Lodge No. 2809; B. S. Bramwell, P.M., Old Cheltonian Lodge No. 3223.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; D. Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.; B. Telepnef; Douglas Knoop, M.A., P.M.; Geo. Elkington, P.G.D., P.M.; W. I. Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; B. Ivanoff, J.W.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down; F. L. Pick; H. C. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C.

The W.M. read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

W.BRO. ARTHUR LIONEL VIBERT, I.C.S., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.,
SECRETARY, 2076.

Brethren,

It is with very great regret that I have to report the death of Bro. Lionel Vibert, which occurred on 7th December, 1938.

Bro. Vibert was born in July, 1872, at St. Petersburg, where his father was at the time Professor of English at the University. Bro. Vibert was educated at Victoria College, Jersey, where he distinguished himself by winning the Queen's prize for History. He passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1891, and went up to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was in residence from 1891-1893, after which he proceeded to India and served in the Presidency of Madras for twenty-five years, retiring in 1918. On retirement he settled in Bath, where he became connected with a number of local Societies; he was Hon. Treasurer Mid-Somerset Musical Competitions, a member of the English Folk Dance Society; he was co-opted on the Municipal Library and Art Gallery Committee in Bath, and was a member of the British Numismatic Society. When he became Secretary of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge at the end of 1928 he left Bath to reside in London.

As a Freemason Bro. Vibert was initiated in the Royal Alfred Lodge, Jersey, in 1892, and became W.M. of Lodge Southern Cross at Palamcottah in 1896. He was a member of several other Lodges in India; and, when in Bath, joined Royal Cumberland Lodge amongst other Masonic bodies.

In 1904 he was appointed Prov.G.S.B. Jersey; in 1911 Dist.G.S.W. Madras; and in 1934 Prov.G.S.W. Somerset. In 1928 he was given Grand Rank as A.G.D.C. With regard to Quatuor Coronati Lodge, he joined the Correspondence Circle in 1895, became a member of the Inner Circle 1917, was Master in 1921, and Secretary from 1928 to 1938. He had the honour of being appointed P.G.W. of the Grand Lodge of Iowa.

In the Royal Arch, Bro. Vibert was exalted in the Pitt Macdonald Chapter, Madras, in 1894; was a Founder of Rock Chapter, of which he was Z. in 1908, and became Dist.G.J., Madras, in 1911. In 1928 he received Grand Rank as P.G.St.B.; and had been Scribe E. of Royal York Chapter of Perseverance.

In the Mark Degree Bro. Vibert was advanced in Macdonald Ritchie Lodge in India in 1894; was Master of R. Cumberland Lodge, Bath, in 1926, also Master of Hiram Lodge in 1937, and was appointed G.J.D. in 1934.

As a Knight Templar he was installed in Madras in 1898; was E.P. in 1907 and became Sub-Prior of Madras. In 1932 he received Rank as P.G.S.B. (B.), and in 1937 was E.P. of Studholme Preceptory.

He was received into the Cryptic Degrees in Constantine Council in 1930, and was T.I.M. at the time of his death.

In the Rosicrucian Society he joined the Robert Fludd College in Bath in 1919, and the Metropolitan College in 1929; he became Celebrant of the Metropolitan College in 1936, and D.G. of C. in 1932.

He was a member of also the Red Cross of Constantine, the Royal Order of Scotland, the Order of Eri, and the R.A.K.T.P.

Bro. Vibert was Prestonian Lecturer for two years consecutively in 1925 and 1926, the subjects of his Lectures being "The Development of the Trigradal System" and "The Evolution of the Second Degree".

When he came home to England he became the Editor of *Miscellanea Latomorum*, and held that position for 18 years till 1938.

Bro. Vibert's achievements in Masonic literature are widely known and highly appreciated. Amongst his numerous publications may be mentioned particularly: —

*The Story of the Craft;
Freemasonry before Grand Lodges;
Rare Books of Freemasonry;
Anderson's Constitutions of 1723;
The Compagnonage;
A Lodge in XIVth Century;
Vestiges of Early Days;
Masonry amongst Prisoners of War;
Survey of Masonic Research.*

Bro. Vibert was well known as a Lecturer on Masonic subjects; and during the past year alone he lectured to over 30 Lodges in London and the Provinces.

The Funeral Service was held at St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Monday, 12th December, 1938, and was attended by a large concourse of Brethren.

The Report of the Audit Committee, as follows, was received, adopted, and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, January 6th, 1939.

Present:—Bro. S. J. Fenton, W.M.: in the Chair, with Bros. W. J. Songhurst, A. C. Powell, J. Heron Lepper, *Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump*, *Rev. H. Poole*, W. J. Williams, *Rev. W. K. Firminger*, Douglas Knoop, F. W. Golby, *Major C. C. Adams*, L. Edwards, *Col. F. M. Rickard*, Secretary, and Bro. R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books, and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1938.

BRETHREN,

During the year we have mourned the loss of Bro. J. P. Simpson, Master in 1912, and Bro. Dr. George Norman, Master in 1927. At the beginning of November, 1938, Bro. Lionel Vibert found it necessary to ask to be relieved of his duties as Secretary in consequence of continued ill-health, which we greatly regret to say resulted in his death on 7th December.

The total Lodge membership is now 23. At the Installation Meeting in November Bro. Col. F. M. Rickard was appointed to the office of Secretary.

Although we have had to record a number of resignations resulting upon the increase of subscription to the Correspondence Circle, we can say that the net result has proved satisfactory.

During the year we have issued Vol. xlvii. and Part i. of Vol. xlviii. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge, approximately £1.200 remains in reserve for each of Vols. xlviii., xlix., l., and li. Subscriptions amounting to £660 are still outstanding.

A brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the year has been drawn up and circulated: this includes a list of Local Secretaries.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to the Brethren who continue to do much good work.

A year ago Bro. Dr. F. D. Burns took charge as Local Secretary of a new district in the U.S.A., composed of Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska and Wyoming. During the past year two new districts were formed—Buckinghamshire, under Bro. V. H. Jarvis; and Assam, under Bro. W. Leitch. In Worcestershire, Bro. W. C. Henman has succeeded Bro. W. Starcke-Devey. The position of Local Secretary in four districts—Edinburgh, Lanarkshire, W. Rhodesia, Queensland—became vacant during the year; and there are several other vacancies, as can be seen in the list of Local Secretaries, which we should be glad to fill.

For the Committee,

S. J. FENTON,
in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1938.

[illegible]

One Lodge and seventeen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS :—

By Bro. S. POPE.

Photograph of Framed Tracing Cloth or Board which hangs in the Temple at Canterbury and which may be the one for which the Industrious Lodge in 1804 paid " Br. Cole for a Masonic Lodge Board in the three degrees as per Bill. £4 - 14 - 6.

Enlargement of No. 1, in which certain details do not appear owing to the fact that the frame is glazed. These details have been touched in by hand in this enlargement, and although not strictly accurate in design they show the correct position and character of the details represented.

Photograph of the old R.A. Apron, the design of which is the same as the "curious document" so ably described by Keneth R. H. Mackenzie and is referred to by James Hughan in *The Freemason* in 1878. The "Parallelogram coloured Yellow" with the lettered equilateral triangle is not shown in the banner at Canterbury. The mark of the block around that portion of the design used in the banner suggest that a separate block was used to print the parallelogram and that the two blocks may not always have been used together.

Portrait of Dr. Perfect "Painted by W. M. Sharpe: Engraved by W. Say. To the Right Worshipful and worshipful the Officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge and the fraternity of the Ancient and honourable Order of free and Accepted Masons in the County of Kent. This plate of their Provincial Grand Master William Perfect M.D. is humbly dedicated by their obedet. serv. W. Say".

Photograph and enlargement of portrait of "William Perfect M.D." with news cutting attached (an appreciation).

Photograph of Jewel of Dr. Perfect (sent by W.Bro. Sir Algernon Tudor-Craig).
"Silver Gilt and Paste Jewel of Deputy Grand Master of Kent. . . ."
"This jewel was presented to W.Bro. Wm. Perfect M.D. as D.P.G.M., the arms of Aucher being engraved below a contemporary print of him (No. 4) the reason for which is obscure". (Grand Lodge Catalogue).

Inwood's Sermons, 1799, with portrait of author.

Masonic Effusions of Matthew Garland, 1819 (F. C. Daniel), with portrait of Matthew Garland.

R.A. Certificate of James Smith exalted 1798, in Chapter No. 36, Chatham (Warranted 1783).

From the Lodge Collection.

John Cole's *Illustrations of Masonry*, in which are plates of T.Bs. for sale at the time mentioned in the paper.

Print of *Elegy on Death of Dr. Perfect*.

Two placards of Theatrical Performances in Canterbury, 1850.
Engraving entitled "Masons surprized—Secrets Discovered", 1754.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for Exhibition.

Bro. SYDNEY POPE read the following paper:—

**FREEMASONRY IN CANTERBURY AND PROV. GRAND
LODGE, 1785-1809, AND
DR. PERFECT, PROV. GRAND MASTER OF KENT, 1795-1809.**

BY BRO. SYDNEY POPE.



URING the summer outing of the Q.C. Lodge in 1933 Bro. Songhurst read a short paper on "Freemasonry in Canterbury" in the course of which he said:—

"On 3rd April, 1730, a Lodge was constituted at the Red Lion, in the High Street, Canterbury, and soon afterwards it appears to have aroused the suspicions of the Civic authorities.

This we find from a letter which was printed in *The Universal Spectator* of Saturday, 20th May, 1732. The correspondent of the newspaper says that 'The Secret of Free Masonry has as much amus'd the Ignorant as it has disturb'd the Malicious, or weaker part of the World, tho' both join in the full cry of the Invectives against what they are strangers to, and some uncommon Incidents have appear'd in Parts distant from London, in which the Royal Craft has suffer'd by slander and been misrepresented'. And then he describes how the Mayor of Canterbury had caused the Town Cryer to read the following Proclamation on 'several Market Days':—

Whereas a Report runs through Cyte, Town and Country, of an unlawful Assembly of a number of Men that met together at (the Red Lion Tavern) in this Cyte, and their bound themselves under wicked Obligations, to do something that may prove of sad Effect, Therefore the Mare of this Cyte desires any Parson that can, to inform him aright, because the whole Truth ought to be known, that such Dark-Lanterns may be brought to Light.

The writer of the letter says that this 'answered not the designed End, but at last became only the Object of Ridicule, and was burlesqu'd in the following honest tho' Rustic Manner':—

"O! Canterbury is a fine Town,
and a gallant Cite;
It's governed by the Scarlet Gown,
Come listen to my Ditty.
The Mayor by his Cryer maketh Proclamation,
And thus he begins his Worship's Declaration.

Whereas a Rumour round this City runs,
And Country too, that certain mighty Dons,
Were sent down here, in Coach and Six from London,
By whose Arrival we may be all undone.

They say the've come Free Masons to create,
I wish it prove no Plot against our State:
Their Meeting is within a certain Tavern,
The Room too is darkned, darker than any Cavern.

Now, I having at Heart a super Veneration,
For this our rich and antient Corporation,
Resolv'd like old Foresight, our Ruin to prevent,
And thus to bring them all to condign Punishment.

First I'll my Mirmidons, my Constables assemble,
At sight of them this varlet Crew shall Tremble:
For who knows what Plagues their Designs are to bring
On us at least—if not our Lord the King.

Their Magick Arts may prove of sad Effect,
May blow up Church and Town, but no new ones erect:
I'll thank and reward who can tell me aright
How all these Dark-Lanterns may be brought to Light."

W.Bro. Songhurst adds:—"Who was this worthy Mayor? It seems a pity that his name should not be 'Brought to Light'. . . . The Lodge against which the fulminations were hurled was the first Lodge to be constituted in the County. It had a very short life. It soon ceased to make any communications to Grand Lodge, and it was removed from the list in 1754".

At this period it was the custom to elect the Mayor of the City on the old Michaelmas Day, the 29th of September. The Mayor in May, 1732, the date the letter appeared in the *Universal Spectator*, was Thomas Bullock, who had been elected the previous September and whose signature is to be found against the "Minutes" of the Court of Burghmote of October, 1731. Thomas Bullock had been Mayor in 1724 and he was made an Alderman at the end of his year of office.

Thomas Bullock was a carpenter, and a son of Edward Bullock, Carpenter. He took out his freedom in 1687.

With regard to the Proclamation, there is no mention of the matter in the "Minutes" of the Burghmote. Mr. H. T. Mead, the City Librarian, is of the opinion that a private meeting was held (behind closed doors). This is confirmed by the following from *Bunce's Extracts (of the City Records)*.¹

"A private Burghmote or meeting of this House to be held at some time to be aggd by Mr. Mayor to council abt certain affairs relating to the public good and Benifit of this City. 846".

It is interesting to note that the Red Lion, in the High Street, Canterbury, adjoined the Guildhall—in fact, was at one time actually connected with it, for we find that in 1707 "The Door going out of the Gallery in the Guildhall into the fore chamber of the Red Lion is to be stopped up".

Under these circumstances one would hardly expect that "Dark-Lanterns" would choose the Red Lion to meet "togather" if their purpose was "to do something of Sad Effect".

"The next Lodge in Chronological order was warranted on 14th January, 1760, as No. 253, at the 'King's Head'. From 1770 to its extinction about 1773 it bore the number 201. Nothing is known (says Bro. Hughan) of the

¹ Vol. iii.a, 1630-1790, 25th March, 1732.

members of these two Lodges".¹ The following information, however, has since come to light:—

"*Kentish Post & Canterbury News-Letter*, April 5-April 15, 1766. Canterbury, April 5.

Last Week, died at his house in the Bishop's Palace, Mr. William Jordan, and was attended to the grave by the Freemasons of the Lodge of this City, of which he had been a member many years, the Procession was solemn and well conducted, their Tyler marching first, then the Apprentices, Fellow Crafts, Masters, Wardens and Secretary &c. all with their proper ornaments and decorations; then followed the corps, with the chief mourners of his family. The whole was conducted with great solemnity, which reflects great eoniums on that respectable body".

Joseph Royle visited the Faversham Lodge in 1763, 1764 and 1767, and from the Parish Register of St. Alphege we learn:—

"1762, Feb. 1. Ralph, S. of Joseph and Rebecca Royle, A.B. Palace".

Thus, if William Jordan had occupied the same house for the last four years of his life he must have been a neighbour of Joseph Royle.

In the Appendix will be found a list of Canterbury visitors to the Faversham Lodge 1763-1786. These are names of Canterbury citizens who were associated in Trade and Council circles. In 1763 three of these visitors are designated "M", "S.W." and "P.M." respectively, and a study of the names in this list suggests not only that they were from the "King's Head" Lodge, but also that the next Lodge to be formed in the City, "The Industrious", included some members of the extinct "King's Head" Lodge. The following letter² also adds to this suggestion seeing that they "held a Lodge (to arrange matters) and therefore their numbers must have been "five or more".

"Bro. Heseltine,

The Board will pay the charge of the Constitution and my Brethren and self return you our sincere thanks for your assiduity in procuring the same. We held a Lodge last Thursday and then fixed Thursday the 19th for the Consecration when we intend visiting our Brothers at Faversham, Dover, Deal and will send you the particulars of our proceedings, we shd be happy to favoured with yr company if possible.

I remain

Your sincere and faithful

Brother

Jno. Burnaby.

Canty. 7 Dec., 5776."

"The 'Industrious' Lodge was warranted on November 28th, 1776, to assemble at the 'Fleece', as No. 498, becoming 403 in 1780, and 404 in 1781 (owing to an error in making up the Roll in the previous year). . . . in the list of payments recorded in the *Transactions* of Grand Lodge ('Quarterly Communication' of February 14th, 1783, the Lodge occurs as '404, King's Head Inn, Canterbury', and likewise later on. In 1792 it received the number 326, and after the Union of the two rival Grand Lodges . . . 1813, the Lodge became 416 in the United Roll. . . ."³

Canterbury Dec. 21.

On Thursday morning a New Lodge of the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons was consecrated at the Fleece in this City; the members of which were happily favoured

¹ *United Industrious Lodge No. 31 Canterbury*—W. J. Hughan.

² "Province of Kent, 1770-1"—G.L. Library.

³ *United Industrious Lodge No. 31 Canterbury*—W. J. Hughan.

with the company of the highest worshipful the Masters and Brethren of the respectable Lodges at Faversham and Dover; one of the worthy members of the former Lodge presided as Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Kent and together with his officers were invested with jewels &c accordingly. After the ceremony of consecration was over, and the Lodge closed, the Brethren adjourned to an elegant dinner, which was provided on the occasion, where they sat in public, clothed in their jewels &c to the pleasing satisfaction of many spectators. After they had dined many toasts were given and the day concluded with that harmony which ever attends the Noble Society. The new Lodge the Industrious, will be held on the first and third Thursday in the month and from the unanimity which prevails among the worthy Masons in this City, there is no doubt but it will flourish equal to the wishes of every respectable Free and Accepted Mason".¹

The Lodge from Faversham was the "Lodge of Harmony" No. 133, which was formed in 1764 and in 1770 became No. 205, being named in 1777.

The "worthy" member who acted as Deputy Grand Master for Kent was no doubt "Julius Shepherd Esq.", who had held that office under the previous Prov.G.M. and who was appointed to that office a year later at Faversham by the "Rt. Worshipful George Smith, Esq., Prov.G.M."

The Lodge from Dover would be the Lodge of True Friendship which was formed in 1763, named in 1777 and finally erased in 1792.

These three Lodges belonged to the regular Grand Lodge known as the "Moderns".

On March 24th, 1806, another Lodge was formed in the City which obtained its warrant from the "Antients", and its number was 24. This number it retained until the "Union", when it became 37. These two Lodges, 416 and 37, united in 1819 under the name—The United Industrious Lodge No. 37. In 1832 the number became 34 and in 1863 it became and still remains 31.

Freemasonry in Canterbury from 1785-1809 is thus the history of Lodge No. 31 during that period, and it is through the courtesy of the members of that Lodge, in allowing me access to their old books, that I have been able to put together the following information.

There are no Minute Books of the Industrious Lodge, but the Treasurer's Book dating from 1785 until the union of the two Lodges in 1819 is still in existence and in possession of the Lodge (No. 31) as well as the Minute Books of Lodge No. 24 from the time of its formation.

The Treasurer's Book gives the surnames of the members together with some interesting details, and the Minute Book of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Kent, which starts in 1777, enables us to follow the progress of some of the members of the Industrious Lodge through Prov. Grand Lodge. The 'Royal Arch Register A.D. 1803', which is in the Grand Lodge Library, gives the full names—and in some cases the profession—of the 59 members of the Chapter of Concord, of whom 35 were members of the Industrious Lodge. To this we are able to add information from the local newspaper of the period and the "*Poll for the Members of Parliament*" for the years 1790 and 1796, which are in the City Library, and "*The Roll of the Freemen of the City of Canterbury, from 1392 to 1800*". From the latter work² we learn:—

"These admissions of Freemen are found in Chamberlains' Accounts of this City. . . . At first the entries are grouped under their different classes: Freemen by Birth, Freemen by marriage, and so on; but this soon gave way to mixed entries, where they follow one another irrespective of the class to which

¹ *Kentish Gazette*, December 18-21, 1776.

² Joseph Meadows Cooper, F.S.A.

they belong. In August, 1753, the Town Clerk suddenly found that he could abbreviate his entries very much, and so he made his record, omitting all details, and simply giving the name, occupation and date, winding up with "by birth", "by purchase", &c. Consequently we lose the names of fathers and wives, and the masters to whom the apprentices had been bound".

We shall shortly be dealing with the names of 35 Brethren, which are to be found when the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book opens in 1785. Most of these names are to be found in the "*Roll*" and the information therein agrees with that obtained from other sources. "The sons of Freemen were admitted at all times without any payment; those who married the daughter of a Freeman usually paid 11½d.; and those who had served an apprenticeship paid 4s. 1d. . . . The fine payable by those who purchased their freedom varied considerably . . . In the eighteenth century the fine varied from ten to twenty pounds . . . occasionally we find that when a man was admitted the name and age of his youngest child is given. This was to prevent such child from claiming freedom when he came of age as the son of a father who was free, the one qualification being that the child should have been born after his father became free . . ."¹

The Honorary Freedom was often conferred for peculiar reasons. Thus, Valentine Austin received his freedom because his father had been a loyal subject to King Charles; William Blunden, because his father was Mayor, . . . It was generally the custom to add a proviso to these free admissions that the freedom should not descend to sons or daughters. Later on we shall find 'Br. Blunden' who obtained his freedom by birth seems to have been a son of William Blunden and, as no other name given could have been his father, the proviso in question appears not to have been added in this case. (All the information with regard to the freedom of the City is taken from Meadows Cooper unless otherwise stated.)

Bro. Westron, P.P.G.W., a Past Master of Lodge No. 31, has from time to time read papers on the history of the Lodge, and, as he kindly placed these at my disposal, they have been of great assistance.

The Treasurer's Book opens as follows:—

"Industrious Lodge, Canterbury: Treasurer's Account:

James Warren June 24th, 1785.

Balance in hand in settling last year's Accounts	4- 2- 9
By Arrears of Quarterage Recd. of Br. Cheavele	16- 0 "

Then follow Quarterages of 4/6d. of 35 Brethren for the October quarter: the amount collected for the Jan. quarter was 8/-, and the same amount for the April quarter; 4/6d. was paid for the July quarter making 25/- for the year. The list of Quarterages does not give the number of Brethren "Made" in the Lodge, as we find "1791, Sept. 1st. Br. Sankey's admission as a quarterly member". Those Brethren who were not quarterly members are described as "Visiting Br. X." These Brethren paid 2/- with one exception, "1795, March 19th, one visiting Br. paid only 1/-".

Many of these Brethren were prominent in Prov. Grand Lodge, and the following list gives their names and the information we have been able to get from the sources mentioned:—

"Br. Epps" appears to have been one of the most active members of the Industrious Lodge.

William Epps, woollendrapier, became a freeman by Redemption in 1773. An advertisement in the local paper tells us that:—

¹ Joseph Meadows Cooper, F.S.A.

"Wm. Epps returns thanks to the public" . . . and he informs us that "he is engaged in partnership with Wm. Denne, Woollen Drapers, Taylors and Undertakers".

Br. Wm. Epps was Prov. Grand Secretary for the Province of Kent 1785-1795; he was appointed at the meeting at the King's Head, Canterbury, on "the 27th day of Oct., 1785". The Minutes of that meeting are signed "Canterbury, 30th Oct., 1785, Wm. Epps P.G. Secretary"; the writing is that of a professional scribe. In 1786 and 1789 Wm. Epps signed the audit of the Lodge accounts as W.M. The following items from the Treasurer's Book suggest that he was also Secretary of the Industrious Lodge:—

1788. To Br. Epps for Summonses as per Bill	16- 0
" " " " Collecting Quarterages	10- 6
1791. Paid Br. Epps for Bye Laws	10- 6

The name of Br. Epps occurs regularly in the Treasurer's Book until 1795, when it ceases.

In 1793 Br. Epps' name is mentioned in the Treasurer's Book in connection with arrears and again in 1795. It is sad to have to relate that this hard-working old Mason was expelled from the Chapter of Concord in 1796, which accounts for his name being erased from the Warrant.

"Br. Lowen": Thomas Lowen, Innholder, obtained his freedom by redemption in 1777.

"Mr. Thomas Lowen" attended Prov. Grand Lodge in 1785 as "Acting G.M.C." In 1786 he was appointed one of the Prov. G. Stewards, in 1788 Prov. Grand Artist, in 1790 Prov. Grand Junior Warden, and in 1791 and 1792 Prov. Grand Warden.

Thomas Lowen was one of the petitioners whose names appear on the Warrant of the Chapter of Concord (1784).

The *Report of the State of the Kent and Canterbury Hospital* for 1793 contains the name of T. Lowen (deceased).

Thomas Lowen, Innholder, obtained his freedom by redemption in 1777, when he took "the King's Head in the City of Canterbury".

"Br. Warren, Joseph": Joseph Warren, linenweaver, became a Freeman by birth in 1778. The 1790 Polling Register describes him as a weaver living in High Street; as we shall see later he was the proprietor of a weaving establishment.

"Br. Blunden": "Blunden William, gent, in consideration that his father was Mayor of this City in 1711" was presented with his Freedom in "1722". John Blunden, papermaker, obtained his Freedom by birth in 1761. Br. Blunden died in 1738, for we find:—

"1788. Music, Funeral, Tyler &ct at Blunden's Funeral 1- 7- 0"

"Br. Warren": As we have seen Br. James Warren was Treasurer of the Industrious Lodge in 1785, and he continued in that office until 1789.

The name of James Warren occurs twice in the *Roll of the Freeman*, "Warren James, linenweaver 1756 (Marriage)", and "Warren James, the younger, clock and watchmaker, 1767 (Apprenticeship)".

James Warren, of Canterbury, was initiated in the Lodge of Harmony, Faversham, in 1769. His name occurs in the "Roll of Scribing Members and of those on whom Degrees were conferred in the Lodge". He is given as a non member and as there is no further mention of his name in the Faversham Lodge list he may have been Passed and Raised seven years later in the Industrious Lodge, Canterbury.¹

¹ *History of the Lodge of Harmony No. 133, Faversham.*

The Kentish Register of Dec., 1793, informs us: "Died in Longport near Canterbury in an advanced age Mr. James Warren Sen". This was probably Br. Warren, as the Polling Register of 1790 gives the name of James Warren, Watchmaker, St. Georges St.

"*Br. Hambrook*": The fourth name in the "Royal Arch Register, A.D. 1803" (Chapter of Concord), is that of "Edward Hambrook".

"*Br. Edgcumbe*": "Gabriel Edgcumbe, sadler", obtained his Freedom in "1771 by Redemption". Br. Edgcumbe died in 1787.

"1787, 22nd July. Music at Br. Edgcumbe's Funeral 1-0-0"

"*Br. Palmer*": "John Palmer, tailor", obtained his Freedom in "1774 by Marriage". Br. John Palmer was a member of the Chapter of Concord.

"*Br. Pettit James*": (No information available).

"*Br. Barwick*" signed the audit of the Lodge Accounts in 1786 as John Barwick and according to the Polling Register of 1790 he was a Grocer in High Street.

"*Br. Burnby*": was an "attorney at Law". "He published, in 1772, 'An Historic Description of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury', reprinted in 1783, with corrections and additions by the late Rev. John Dunscombe. 'A letter to the overseers of the Poor of the Parish of Deal in Kent respecting the great increase of the Poor Rates, Canterbury 1778', 'An Address to the People of England, on the Increase of their Poor Rates, 1800', 'Summer Amusement; or Miscellaneous Poems, 1783'".¹

"*Br. Smith*": "Among the names of the early Brethren of this Lodge (Industrious) are mentioned Edward Smith, coachmaker".² Edward Smith, carpenter, obtained his Freedom by redemption in 1765.

Br. Smith signed the Lodge Audit in 1788 as Edward Smith; Edward Smith was one of the Petitioners whose names appear on the Warrant of the Lodge of Concord (1784).

"*Br. Hacker*": James Hacker, carpenter, obtained his Freedom in 1782 by redemption.

"*Br. Thwates*": Edward Thwates, stonemason, became a Freeman by marriage in 1783.

"*Br. Castillion*", "*Br. Isaacs*", "*Br. Abbot*": (No information available).

"*Br. Hammond*": Br. Chas. Hammond signed the Audit of the Lodge Accounts in 1786. According to the Polling Register of 1790 he was a School Master living at Eastbridge; the Register of 1796 informs us that he was then a Steward living at Kingsbridge; Eastbridge Hospital to-day stands on Kingsbridge. With this information before us we are not surprised at the beautifully-written and correct manner in which the accounts were kept from 1789-1791 and again from 1794-1809 during which periods Br. Chas. Hammond was Treasurer.

Charles Hammond, writing master, obtained his Freedom by birth in 1790. He may have been away from the City when he became twenty-one years of age, and possibly his change of occupation between 1790 and 1796 may have had something to do with his applying for his Freedom in 1790. His writing in the Treasurer's Book is that of a young man and his name occurs regularly until 1817, a matter of thirty-two years.

¹ Cutting from Magazine or Paper (name not given) in City of C. Library. U802/54.

² Freemasonry in Canterbury, 1730-1780. Reprint from *Canterbury Press*, 1880.

"*Br. Cheavele*" signed the Lodge Audit in 1786 as John Cheavele. The Polling Registers of 1790 and 1796 describe him as a Wool Stapler living at St. Peter's, Canterbury; according to *Bunce's Extracts from the City Records* he was the owner of considerable property in the City. He was Prov. Grand Treas. from 1791-1795, and when Dr. Perfect was installed as Prov. Grand Master of Kent in 1795 Br. Cheavele was the only Canterbury Brother among the Officers appointed.

According to the Minute Book of the Old Grand Chapter "*J. Cheveley*" was present at the meeting of 28th April, 1784, which is presumably when the Warrant for the Chapter of Concord would be under consideration, he was also at the previous meeting. The late W.Bro. Wonnacott marked "38" in pencil against his name. Br. Cheavele (the name is spelt in several different ways) may have been at that meeting in connection with the fees for the Chapter of Concord No. 38.

The name of Br. Cheavele appears regularly in the Treasurer's Book until 1811, a matter of twenty-six years from the time the book starts.

"*Br. Venner*": Among the Officers appointed by Col. Jacob Sawbridge, Prov. G. Master of Kent, in 1785, was "John Venner Esq." "John Venner Esquire" obtained his Freedom by Redemption in 1789.

"*Br. Hammond Revd.*": The Rev. Anthony Edgerton Hammond was Prov. Grand Chaplain in 1785. "Sir Narborough D'Aeth Bart. has presented the Rev. Anthony Hammond to the Rectory of Knowlton, in this County" (*Kentish Gazette*, 1784).

"*Br. Austin*": "Mr. Chas. Austin, Prov. Grand Treasurer, was another of the appointments made in 1785 by Col. Jacob Sawbridge, Prov. Grand Master of Kent".

"*Br. Collins*" signed the Lodge Audit in 1786 as "Chas. Collins". He was Treasurer of the Industrious Lodge 1791-1794. The Polling Register of 1790 gives the name of Chas. Collins, High Street, Canterbury, Barber.

Charles Collins, barber and perukemaker, obtained his Freedom by apprenticeship in 1773.

"*Br. Sawbridge*" was a native of the City for "in 1754 Jacob Sawbridge leased from the Mayor & Coalty a piece of land adjt to St. George's Gate. This lease was renewed in 1767 and 1777" (*Bunce's Extracts*). Col. Jacob Sawbridge "of the Grenadier Guards, nephew to Aldm. S" (Lord Mayor of London 1775) was Prov. Grand Master of Kent 1785-1795. The subscribers to Gostling's "Walk in and about the City of Cant.", 1777, include "Major Sawbridge, 1st Troop of Horse, Grenadier Guards". "He died near Stamford in Lincolnshire in 1796".

"*Br. Ayerst*": The Rev. Wm. G. Ayerst was appointed Prov. Grand Chaplain by Col. Jacob Sawbridge in 1785.

"*Br. Pettit*": "Pettit Thomas" was a member of the Chapter of Concord.

"*Br. Macaree*": Among the Prov. Grand Stewards appointed in 1785 by Col. Jacob Sawbridge was "Johnson Macaree Esq."; he was a Prov. Grand Warden in 1786.

In 1788 a notice concerning the East Kent Battalion of Militia was signed by Johnson Macaree, Adjutant.

"*Br. Royle*": Among the Officers appointed by Col. Sawbridge in 1785 was "Mr. Joseph Royle Junr. G.S. Keeper". The Polling Register of 1796

contains the name of "Joseph Royle, All Saints, Canterbury, Gent". The Mayor of the City in 1768 was Joseph Royle, probably the father of Br. Joseph Royle Junr. "Royle, Joseph, the younger, distiller", obtained his Freedom by apprenticeship in 1781. Joseph Royle was Mayor in 1790.

"*Br. Frend*": The report of the Prov. Grand Lodge meeting at Canterbury in 1801 in the local paper gives the name of "Richard Frend Esq." amongst those present. "Frend Richard, woollendrapier and silk mercer", became a Freeman by birth in 1784. The Polling Register of 1796 gives the name of "Richard Frend, Longport, Kent, Winemerchant". The Mayor of the City in 1803 was Richard Frend.

"*Br. Berry*": From the Parish Register of St. George, "1725. Ap. 1. Peter, s. of John & Sarah Berry". "Peter Berry, Surgeon, s. of John Berry, Silversmith", became a Freeman by birth in 1749. The Stewards for the "Anniversary Meeting of the Gentlemen educated at the King's School, Canterbury" included "Peter Berry Esq." At the meeting convened at Maidstone, when Col. Jacob Sawbridge was recommended as a successor to Capt. George Smith P.G.M., the acting Prov. Grand Master was "Peter Berry Esq." He was appointed Prov. Grand Orator in 1785.

The local paper informs us that "on Wednesday last the remains of Peter Berry Esq. were interred in the churchyard of St. George, in this City. His funeral was attended by the Gentlemen of the Freemason's Lodge, accompanied by a Band of Music playing a solemn march composed for the occasion".

The following items from the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book refer to that occasion:—

"Jan. 5, 1792.	Recd. by Cash Br. Berry's Funeral	6- 6
,, 11, 1792.	House Bill at ,, ,, ,,	14-10
	Paid for Band at do	1- 1- 0"

"*Br. Pillow*": In 1787 Br. E. Pillow was initiated after which Br. Pillow becomes Br. Pillow. J. The Polling Register of 1790 gives James Pillow as a "Saddler, Mercery Lane", and that of 1796 as "Saddler, St. Mary Bredins". "James Pillow, Saddler", became a Freeman by apprenticeship in 1773.

"*Br. Meers*", or Mears, as the name is sometimes spelt, is the nearest approach to "a manufacturer of brass" referred to in W.Bro. Songhurst's paper *Freemasonry in Canterbury*. The Polling Register of 1790 gives the name of Mears, Thomas, Whitechapel, Lond. Bellfounder".

"Thomas Mears, maltster", purchased his Freedom in 1773.

"*Br. Claris*": The Polling Register of 1790 gives the name of James Claris, High Street, Canterbury, Stationer. "James Claris, stationer", became a Freeman by apprenticeship in 1784.

"*Br. Furley*" signed the Lodge Audit in 1787 as "W. Furley".

"*Br. Chandler*": "Chandler William" was a member of the Chapter of Concord.

It is only very occasionally that we can ascertain who was Master of the Industrious Lodge by means of the entries in the Treasurer's Book.

In 1786 and 1789 William Epps signed the Lodge Audit "Wm. Epps Master". In the latter year we also get:—

"Chas. Collins J.W."

"Wm. Furley, S."

In 1791 we find the following items:—

“ 1791, Sept. 3. To a Distress'd Brother by order of Br. Berry 3- 6
 Sept. 24. Relieved Br. Day with 2-0 by „ „ „ „
 Nov. 2. Relieved a Distress'd Br. by „ „ „ the Master 3- 0 ”

As it is usual to find these payments were made “ by order of the Lodge ” or “ by order of the Master ”, it may be that Bro. Berry was Master in 1791.

In 1800, June 23rd, we find:—

“ Edwd. Pillow Master ”
 “ Chas Lepine, S.W.”
 “ W. Hubbard, J.W.”

In 1806:—

“ Edwd. Pillow M.
 A. W. Stacey S.W.
 Wm. Baldock J.W.”

In 1808:—

“ Edwd. Pillow M.”

In 1810:—

“ Edwd. Pillow P.M.” This is the first time the rank of Past Master is mentioned.

The following letters¹ show that Thomas Dunckerley was approached on two occasions with a view to his becoming Provincial Grand Master for Kent. The first of these is undated, but it will be seen that it was written before Capt. George Smith was appointed in 1777:—

“ Dear Sir,

Mr. Dunckerley having declined his intention of having the Provincial Grand Mastership of Kent, I beg leave to renew my desire for that Honourable post, should it meet with your approbation.

I am

Dr. Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

G. Smith.”

“ Oct. 21st, 1784.

“ My Dear Friend and Brother,

William Street Esq., Banker at Bath (my Worshipful Deputy for Somersetshire) desires to assist the Hall fund, with a loan of £25, for which I send you his Draught, the receipt of which you will do me the favour to acknowledge by return of post.

Bros. West, Phillot and Gardiner urg me to desire you will send their medals, and as there is nothing more to do than engraving their names, I must beg that Bro. Street's may be sent with them, addressed to Bro. West, Trim Street, Bath.

I was favoured with Bro. White's last letter, pray tell him that if any gentleman offers to be Provincial Grand Master for Kent, I shall hope (for the good of the Hall Fund) he will be appointed; but if no such application is made

¹ *Thomas Dunckerley*—H. Sadler.

I am ready to comply with the request of the Brethren and take the County under my care 'till such an offer is made. My Hearty Greeting to all serious Brethren (among whom place yourself) and believe me

Your Zealous and affectionate Friend,
 Routland Berkley Esq. Thomas Dunckerley".

"Redbridge, Jan. 3rd, 1785.

"Dear Sir,

On my return from Bath I have received your favour respecting the Provincialship for Kent.—I cannot prevail with myself to attend to a meeting of the Lodges at Maidstone; having but just finish'd a journey of 120 miles over ice and Snow, to discharge my duty in Somersetshire. If the Kentish Lodges apply to the Grand Master for me to be appointed for that County, I am ready to oblige them, but cannot canvass for their Votes and Interest. I hope (with God's permission) to be at Hampton Court next Saturday where I shall be glad to hear from you. I have received the Accounts of the last Quarterly Communication, and am sorry you did not receive my letter from this place, desiring they might be addressed to me at the White Hart, Bath, 'I was met at that place by 120 Brethren'.

Your affect. Bro. and Servant,
 Thomas Dunckerley."

I shall be obliged if you will write to Mr. Gillman as you propos'd—let him call a meeting, send him my letter, but tell him there is no necessity for my attendance.

T.D.

Will — White Esq."

The following are a notice of, a comment on and a report of the meeting at Maidstone referred to by Thomas Dunckerley in the above letter, taken from the local paper:—

"Provincial Grand Meeting of Freemasons for the County of Kent.

It having been recommended by the Grand Lodge, in consequence of Capt. George Smith's resignation as Prov. Grand Master for Kent, to convene a meeting of the Freemasons in the County in order to fix on a proper Person to recommend as his successor. I hereby give notice that at the request of several Lodges in Kent, it is intended to hold a Provincial Grand Lodge at the Bell Inn, Maidstone, on Whitsun Monday the 16th May, on which day a Petition addressed to the Grand Master, who may be worthy of the charge, and may appear on that day to have the majority of the Lodges in his favour.

Webster Gillman,

April 15th, 1785.

P.G. Secretary.

Procession to church at eleven where a sermon will be preached. Dinner on the table at three."

Kentish Gazette—

"Canterbury Friday May 13th, 1785.

It is expected the Provincial Grand Meeting of Freemasons of this County, which is intended to be held at the Bell Inn, Maidstone, on Monday next will be honoured with the company of Thomas Dunckerley Esq., Col. Jacob Sawbridge, Clement Taylor Esq., and many of the first Brethren of distinction in the Kingdom. Great preparations are making on this occasion, and it is thought that it will be the most numerous assemblage that has ever been known in Kent."

Kentish Gazette, 20th May, 1785.

“ At a Meeting of the Principle Lodges of the excellent Society of Free and Accepted Masons of the County of Kent, at the Bell Inn, Maidstone on Monday 16th May, Peter Berry Esq. as P.G.M. convened for the purpose of recommending a Gentleman to the Royal Grand Lodge as a proper person to succeed Captain George Smith as Provincial Grand Master for Kent, it was unanimously resolved, That Col. Jacob Sawbridge of the City of Canterbury, was in every respect worthy the high honour of taking the Lodges in Kent under his care, and a petition was signed, recommending him to the Royal Grand Master, the Duke of Cumberland, for that purpose. The meeting was numerous and respectable, they formed the procession to church about 12 o'clock where an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Bro. Ayerst . . . A collection was made for the poor of the parish and the procession returned in the most regular manner amidst some thousands of spectators to the Bell Inn, where an excellent dinner was provided, and the friends to Old England and to Masonry, were not forgotten in the Toasts, and the day concluded with the utmost harmony and Brotherly love.”

The Installation of the new Provincial Grand Master took place at Canterbury, and the following appeared in the local paper, *Kentish Gazette*, 28th October, 1785:—

“ In consequence of the appointment of Col. Jacob Sawbridge, as Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, a Provincial Grand Lodge was yesterday held at the King's Head in this City. The Procession to church being formed in the most Masonic and regular order by Twelve o'clock, the same proceeded to Westgate Church, where an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Brother Ayerst, from the following words:—It is good to be Zealously affected always in a good thing. The Procession returned to the King's Head, and the Brethren adjourned to the New Concert Room, in Prince Orange Lane, where an elegant dinner was provided. The Lodge being opened in due form at seven o'clock, the Provincial Master was pleased to appoint his officers as follows:—

Deputy G. Master,	G. Farbrace Esq.
P.G. Senior Warden,	Mr. W. Cousins.*
P.G. Junior Warden,	Mr. W. Gillman.*
P.G. Secretary,	Mr. W. Epps.*
P.G. Treasurer,	Mr. C. Austin.*
P.G. Chaplain,	Rev. W. G. Ayerst.*
P.G. Orator,	Peter Berry Esq.*
P.G. Architect,	Mr. W. Reynolds.
P.G. Master of Ceremonies,	— Grimshaw Esq.
P.G. Record Keeper,	J. Venner Esq.*
P.G. Artist,	Mr. R. Bristow.
P.G. Seal Keeper,	Mr. J. Royle, jun.*
P.G. Sword Bearer,	Mr. T. Fowle.*

Prov. Grand Stewards:—

<u>Captain Maccaree.*</u>	Mr. — Green.
<u>Sir Nar. D'Aeth.*</u>	Mr. — Cheeseman.*
<u>W. Hammond Esq.*</u>	Mr. T. Staines.
Mr. T. Robson.	Mr. T. Nash.*
Mr. C. Mate.	Mr. L. Ecclestone.*
Mr. W. Hopkins.	Mr. — Timbray.*

The nine Brethren whose names are underlined were members of the Industrious Lodge No. 404.

The sixteen Brethren marked * had their appointments confirmed at the following Prov. Grand Lodge Meeting.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century Freemasonry in Kent, under the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns", centred itself very much on Provincial Grand Lodge. In 1785, the year that Col. Jacob Sawbridge was appointed Prov. Grand Master for Kent, we find in the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book fees for the following:—"Major Bezenet, Wm. Champion Crispigny, Rev. Christopher Wells, Sir Narboro' D'Aeth and Major Hammond", and we trust that Thomas Dunckerley's hopes with regard to the "Hall Fund" were not disappointed.

From the *Kentish Gazette*, 1785, we learn:—"This day being the festival of St. John the Baptist the same was observed by the Industrious Lodge No. 404 of the Free and Accepted Masons in this City. They met at the King's Head in this City, in their Lodge room at eleven o'clock and from there they went in procession, all properly habited in the Emblems of their Order to Holy Cross Church, Westgate, where an excellent sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Brother Anthony Hammond, from Heb., c. 13, v. 1, Let Brotherly Love continue. From Church they returned in the same order to their Lodge at the King's Head where an excellent dinner was provided".

There are very few entries in the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book which have any bearing on the work of the Lodge.

Leather aprons appear to have been worn as they were purchased from "Breeches Makers".

1787.		Paid for 3 aprons	3- 0
1790, Nov.	19.	Paid Wm. Farley for aprons as per bill	4- 0
1796, June	2.	Paid Br. Finch for 2 aprons	2- 0
1786, March	15.	By Messrs Walker & Berks Bill for 3 Sconces	5-10- 8
1791, Nov.	4.	Paid for 3 large candles	16- 0
(Lodge No. 31 have three old oak candlesticks which are in the Prov. Museum at Canterbury and are probably the "3 Sconces" referred to.)			
1791, June	18.	Paid for a ribbon for the Master's Jewel	1- 0
1799, Feb.	15.	Repairing Pedestal	6
1803, June	24.	Travelling Expences of members to Deal to the Prov. Lodge on Whitmonday	4-10- 0
1804, July	27.	Br. Cole for a Masonic Lodge Board in the three degrees as per Bill	4-14- 6

There is an old Tracing Board hanging on the walls of the Temple at Canterbury, it is made of linen, or some such material, and is now in a glazed frame. Its condition suggests that it may have been originally used as a Tracing Cloth, as it appears to have been folded down the centre. The material is worn

through in places showing that the cloth has been backed. The fact that this material, linen or light canvas, is clean suggests that the backing was done when the cloth was framed. This may have been done in 1832 when the number of the United Industrious Lodge was changed to 34; had their intention been to hang the framed cloth on the wall they would not have gone to the trouble of having the Lodge Number painted on the back. It appears that it was the Lodge Tracing Board.

It is interesting to note some of the points mentioned in Bro. Cartwright's paper on Browne's *Master-Key*, second edition, 1802, which are illustrated on this old Tracing Board.

In Browne we find:—

“The distinctive characteristics of the Moderns are in evidence throughout. The right-hand pillar belongs to the First Degree and the left-hand to the Second . . .”

On the Tracing Board near the right-hand pillar we note the key, the 24 inch gauge and the drawing board with T square.

In Browne:—

“A point worth noticing is that the Pass Words were not *between* the degrees but *in* the Degrees”.

In Browne:—

“The initiate is made to ‘advance by three regular steps’. The candidate for passing does the same. No such advance is mentioned in the Third Degree”.

On the Tracing Board are depicted seven steps with the Bible, Compasses and Square resting on the seventh step.

In Browne:—

“The ‘Three Great Lights’ discovered by the Candidate on being ‘restored’ are the candles which represent the Sun, the moon and the Master . . .”.

On the Tracing Board the three candles are shown.

In Browne:—

“There is an ‘Explanation’ of the two Spherical Balls which is now omitted. Of the Balls one is said to have borne ‘a representation of the celestial bodies’ and the other ‘a map of the terraqueous globe’”

On the Tracing Board although the globe on the right-hand pillar is plain, the globe on the left-hand pillar is distinctly terraqueous.

In Browne:—

“In the Second Degree the second section begins thus:—

‘Bro. S.W., for why was you passed a Fellow Craft?

For the sake of the letter G.

What does the letter G denote?

Geometry, or the fifth Science, on which Masonry is founded’”.

“Similarly later on, in connection with the Middle Chamber we have:—

‘What does the letter G denote?

Geometry or the fifth Science, on which Masonry is founded, but more immediately God, the Grand Architect of the Universe, whom we ought to adore and to whom we must all submit’”.

On the Tracing Board we note:—The Letter G. inside a Triangle which is surrounded by a radiated circle. This is at the top and on the right is the Sun while on the left is the moon surrounded by seven stars.

Bro. Dring in his paper on *Tracing Boards* tells us:—"As a matter of fact, I am inclined to think that it was the custom, in many places to have only one Lodge Board on the face of which was depicted the emblems of the first two degrees, and that the third degree was illustrated by concrete examples on the floor of the Lodge".

In the case of the Board of Lodge No. 34 the emblems of the third degree seem not to form part of the design and it is possible that these were added to conform with the requirements of the Lodge, possibly the Industrious No. 326, for "a Masonic Lodge Board in the three degrees".

From Oct. 6th, 1796, to Feb. 9th, 1799, there are no entries in the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book, two pages having been left blank. During that period there is no mention of the Lodge or any of its members having attended Prov. Grand Lodge for which the following occurrence may have been responsible:—

Kentish Gazette—

"Canterbury, May 3rd, 1796.

Friday last, between eight and nine in the morning a sudden and very alarming fire broke out in the workshop of Mr. Joseph Warren, hemp and linnen-weaver, in the High-street of this City. Such was the rapidity of its communication, that the whole building near 60 feet in length, containing about 400 pieces of hop-bagging, and a large quantity of unmanufactured hemp, was instantly in a blaze from one end to the other, and in less than half an hour reduced to ashes. The flames spread to an adjoining building, belonging to the King's Head Inn, used as a Freemason's Lodge, which was greatly damaged, . . . Most of the buildings were insured; but Mr. Warren will be a sufferer to the amount of £500, as his stock, at the time of the accident, was not covered by the insurance for more than one fourth of its value, no cause can be assigned how the fire occasioned".

About two weeks after the fire we find the following item in the Treasurer's Book:—

1796, May 18. Moving Lodge things &c.

1- 4

The loss of their Lodge room was a blow from which it appears to have taken the members of the Industrious Lodge three years to recover, for we can find no indication of any Masonic activity in the City until 1799.

The report of the fire gives us some indication of the position of some of the members of the Industrious Lodge. Joseph Warren is described in the Polling Registers, etc., as a "Weaver", whereas he was the owner of what in those days must have been an extensive business.

In Bro. Songhurst's paper on *Freemasonry in Canterbury* he discussed a poem from a book published in Calcutta in 1800 called *Poems in Three Parts* . . . This poem gives an interesting and amusing description of a procession of Masons on St. John's Day from a Lodge-room to church and back again to dinner.

I have looked through the list of Canterbury Brethren in the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book (the only known record) round about 1800. but, with the exception of William Finch who might have been considered "A mild ingenious publisher of books", I have not succeeded in finding a group of Brethren who answer to the description of those in the poem.

William Finch was initiated in the Industrious Lodge No. 326 in 1794: as a paper on Finch is in course of preparation, to go into the matter here would be to overlap. Finch dedicated his first book to Dr. Perfect and I am hoping that we shall hear something of the relationship between these totally different characters.

William Finch does not appear to have cut much ice with his Brethren of the Industrious Lodge, for although they purchased copies of *Inwood's Sermons* and *Carwood's Effusions*, there is no mention of any purchase of Wm. Finch's *Masonic Key*.

As we have seen, on March 24th, 1806, another Lodge was formed in Canterbury. It met as "Antient" Masons, its number being 24. This number is stated to have originally belonged to a Bristol Lodge which lapsed in 1765. The first Master, Aaron Paris, and the Junior Warden, Duke Buckingham, had been members of the Industrious Lodge No. 326. In changing over from their "Modern" Lodge to No. 24 under the "Antients" they do not appear to have lost much time as they both signed the audit of the Industrious Lodge accounts on March 13th, 1806.

In the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book we note:—

1802, Oct. 7th.

"Making Passing and Raising Br. Aaron Paris" 3- 8- 0

1805, Sept. 5th.

"Making Mr. Duke Buckingham, Farrier Major in the Horse Artillery a Mason at the same time received for the other two degrees" 3- 8- 0

In the "List of Members of Lodge No. 24 held at the Guildhall Tavern, Canterbury, and returned to the Grand Lodge every Saint John's Day", of the 19 names 7 are those of military men, some of whom are non-commissioned officers. It may have been that the desire to associate with his old friends was the cause of Duke Buckingham's going over to Lodge No. 24.

In Jan., 1807, is specially noted the record of a gift from Bro. John Baker. He presented to the Lodge 12 goblets engraved with Masonic Emblems and we are informed that "as an equivalent compliment his health where drank with the ceremony of Masonry".

We shall note later that among those present at the Prov. Grand Lodge Meeting ("Moderns") at Canterbury in 1801 was John Baker Esq. The City of Canterbury at this time returned two Members of Parliament, one of whom was John Baker Esq.

In the City newspaper of Jan. 2nd, 1807, there is the following:—

"On Tuesday last the Brothers and Sisters of St. John's Hospital, Canterbury, enjoyed a comfortable entertainment given them by their worthy representatives in parliament to which was added a donation of half a crown to each person".

(The St. John's Hospital is composed of almshouses.)

From the same source on April 28th, 1807, we also note:—

"After a session of barely five months the Representatives of the People are again sent back to their constituents. Mr. John Baker again offers himself for Canterbury".

The list of Members of Lodge No. 24 in 1807 shows that there was a Br. John Baker, a plumber, in the Lodge. However, considering the times and the circumstances, I very much doubt whether it was Br. John Baker, the plumber, who gave those goblets.

That it was not unknown at this period for the "countenance and support of the respective Lodges" to be solicited we learn from the following:—

In 1806 the position of Coroner became vacant and there were two vacancies for which three candidates offered themselves; on the occasion of the appearance of the three notices to the electors the following notice¹ also appeared:—

"To the Ancient and Honourable Order of Free and Accepted Masons. Brothers. In consequence of the death of Mr. Hinde of Milton, one of the Coroners of this County, I beg leave to offer myself as a candidate to supply the vacancy, and earnestly request the countenance and support of the respective Lodges on the day of the election. By a diligent and faithful discharge of the duties attached to the office, I trust that I shall not only prove myself worthy of the honours you have already conferred on me as a Mason but worthy also of your sufferages on the present occasion.

I remain with great respect & attachment

Your faithful friend and Brother

Ashford,

R. G. De Lasaux. P.G.R.K.

March 13, 1806".

The notices of the three candidates appeared weekly for a long period but the above notice only once; this may have been due to advice from some of the "members of the respective Lodges".

In 1809 we note from the following² that the "Antients" held their Festival at Canterbury:—

"Ancient Masonic Festival. On the 24th June inst. by the United Lodges No. 24, 211, 960, under the Antient Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Such Brethren as are under the above mentioned Constitutions, as wish to join in Procession to attend Divine Service, are requested to send their names, with the number of their Lodges, to the Secretary at the Guildhall Tavern, Canterbury, on or before the 23rd inst.

Tickets for dinner 5/- each, to be had of the Stewards or Brother Wiltshire, at the Bar of the Guildhall Tavern.

Dinner on the table at four o'clock,

By order of the Ancient United Lodges,

Calderwood, Secretary".

THE ROYAL ARCH.

At the end of the Minutes of the Prov. Grand Lodge meeting at Canterbury on July 18th, 1780, there is the following:—

"N.B. This P.G.L. was honoured with the presence of
Jn. Brooks Esq. Past Principal of the R.A.
Barthw. Ruspini Esq. Principal of R.A.
Mauritus Lowe Esq. Lodge of the Nine Muses".

¹ *Kentish Gazette*, 10th June, 1806.

² *Kentish Gazette*, 20th June, 1809.

Their visit may have had something to do with the formation of the Chapter of Concord in Canterbury. There were no Royal Arch Chapters at that date working in Kent, for "The Royal Arch Chapter was chartered in Kent in 1783 re No. 36, Chatham, followed by No. 38, Canterbury, which was granted in Oct. 1783 . . ."¹ This was the Chapter of Concord the Warrant of which now hangs on the walls of the Temple in Canterbury. It reads as follows:—

In the left hand top corner is the seal of the Grand Chapter of London, 1769-1817. In the centre there is a skeleton triangle coloured green, around which in the form of an arc is the following:—

In the name of T.G.A.O.T.U., and underneath the triangle:
The Almighty JAH. On the right John Brooks, J. A. Heseltine,
J. W. Allen, Inspectors General. No. 38.

To all the enlightened our Brethren of the several Degrees of the Royal Craft but more especially those Citizens of the World and servants of the Omnipotent, who have been or hereafter may be honoured by Exaltation to our Sublime Degree; Health, Peace, and Good Will.

Be it known that our Excellent Companions William [name erased], Thomas Lomen and Edward Smith, having made known to us their desire of holding a Chapter of our Order for the cultivation of the Grand and Universal Science in hopes thereby the more to extend their aids to and promote the happiness of every terrestrial being and link mankind together by bonds of Friendship Peace and Harmony.

And that We having taken their request into consideration and find it co-incident with our Grand Scheme of Universal Benevolence do hereby grant to them this our Warrant of Constitution with full powers for them, their Companions and their successors to open and hold a Chapter of our Order at Canterbury or at such other place and at such time as our said Companions and their successors shall with the consent of Us and our Successors Grand Officers for the time being think meet. The first Chapter to be opened on Wednesday the twelfth day of May now next ensuing by the title of Chapter of Concord with such privileges powers and immunities as do right belong to regular established Chapters and Companions of our said Most Excellent Order subject nevertheless to the general laws and ordinances, already or to be hereafter enacted by our Most Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter.

Given at London under our Hands and the Grand Seal of the 30th day of April, A.L. 5788. A.D. 1784.

In the bottom left hand corner, "Benjamin Scatt, Edward Hill and Benjamin Lancaster, Sojourners". In the centre, "Geo. Barclay (E), R. Phipps (N)". On the right, "Francis Const (Z)". The signature against the (H) is not legible owing to the Warrant having at some time been damp. "G. W. Carrington (J)"

"The following list is taken from the 'Royal Arch Register, A.D. 1803', in the Grand Lodge Library. It seems a complete record of the Chapter of Concord":—

¹ *Origin of English Rite*—W. J. Hughan.

No. 38.		Chapter of Concord Canterbury	
Granted to	{	Will ^m . Epps Thos. Lowen Edw ^d . Smith	Oct. 1783.
Members Names	Age	Date	Profession
Epps William*			
Lowen Thomas			
Smith Edward			
Hambrook Edward			
Cheveley John			Woolstapler
Sawbridge Jacob			Esquire
Macaree J.			Ditto
Austin Charles			
Berry Peter			Esquire
Friend Richard			Wine Merchant
Vennor John			Esquire
Clariss Jo			
Hacker Jo			
Pillow Ja			
Hammond A. E.			Reverend
Prior John			16th Dragoons
Friend George Jun ^r .			
Chandler William			
Nunney H.			16th Dragoons
Nunney William			Ditto
D'aeth S ^r . Narborough			Baronet
White Joseph			
Pettit Joseph			
Friend George Sen ^r .			
Gregory William			Reverend
Lukin Robert			
Creswell John			
Coveney Edward			
Plane Charles			Esquire
Shepherd Julius			
Duly Philip			
Gardner James			
Dalton Charles			
Sankey Edward			
Campbell G. J.			
Templer H. L.			
Gore Henry			
Palmer John			
Cheesman Thomas		9th Decem ^r	Victualler
Fitch William		7th October	Surgeon
Starr Thomas		9th Dec ^r	Attorney
Brown William		9th Dec ^r	Mill Wright
Cobb John		10th Feb ^r .	Attorney
Mount Richard		9th Dec ^r .	Ditto
Pillow Edward		9th June	Tailor
Carr Thomas		12th May	Grocer
Powell B. G.		14th July	Reverend
Graham		10th Feb ^r .	Colonel
Furley		17th Dec ^r .	Writer
Mein		13th Oct ^r ., 1797	Postmaster

* Expelled in 1796.

Members Names	Age	Date	Profession
Ludwig Johan August Malek	35	24th April, 1799	Music M ^r . Pr. Wales Dgns
Lepine Charles		14th Sept ^r .	Cabinet Maker
Hubbard William			Vinter
Knox Richard	29	19th June, 1801	Ser ^t . Maj ^r . 52 ^d . Foot
Williams Peter	50	Do.	Surgeon
Stacey Alexander William	38	Do.	Tailor
Robays Andrew	35	8th July	Capt. Waggon Train
Wheeler Abner	33	15th ———	Q ^r . Mas ^r . Do.
Blake George	38	Nov ^r ., 1803	Brewer.

The following is the list of the Members of the Chapter of Concord No. 38, Canterbury, with whatever information we have been able to gather about the various Brethren therein:—

Epps William	The first fifteen names are those of members of the
Lowen Thomas	Industrious Lodge whose names are on the list of
Smith Edward	Quarterages when the Treasurer's Book opens in 1785.
Hambrook Edward	The only differences being "Friend Richard" spelt
Cheveley John	with an "i", and "Claris Jo." "Hacker Jo."
Sawbridge Jacob	should be Claris James and Hacker James an error in
Macaree J.	copying as the name John is given in full where it
Austin Charles	occurs in this list.
Berry Peter	
Friend Richard	In addition to the first three Brethren who were
Vennor John	petitioners, John Cheavele was a R.A. Mason as he
Claris Jo.	was present at the meeting of Grand Chapter 28th
Hacker Jo.	April, 1784, when the Warrant of C. of Concord
Pillow Ja.	would presumably be under consideration.
Hammond A. E.	
Prior John	"16th Dragoons".
Friend George Jun ^r .	"1776 Friend George Jun.; initiated passed and
	raised" in Lodge 133, Faversham.
Chandler William	Member of Industrious L. 1785.
Nunney H.	"16th Dragoons".
Nunney William	"Ditto".
D'aeth Sr. Narborough	Industrious Lodge Initiated 1785.
White Joseph	" " " " " " 1785.
Pettit Thomas	Member of Industrious Lodge in 1785.
Friend George Sen ^r .	No information available.
Gregory William Rev.	"1786 Oct. 5. Visiting Br. Gregory". "Inducted
	in 1788" Master of Eastbridge Hospital (Hasted).
	"Joining Mem. of Chapter Mem. of 133, Faversham.
Lukin Robert	" " " " " " 133, "
Creswell John	" " " " " " 133, "
Coveney Edward	Member of 133, Faversham.
Plane Charles	" " 133, " Joining Mem. of Chap.
Shepherd Julius	" " 133, " " " " "
Duly Philip	A Periodical Visitor to 133, Faversham.
Gardner James	No information available.
Dalton Charles	Made a quarterly Mem. of Ind. Lodge 1791.
Sankey Edwards	"1787. Making & passing Br. Campbell".
Campbell G. J.	"1787 24 June. Making Br. Templer 3-3-0".
Templer H. L.	"1787 Visiting Br. Gore".
Gore Henry	Member of Industrious Lodge in 1785.
Palmer John	"9th Decem ^r . Victualler".
Cheeseman Thomas	Initiated Industrious Lodge 1790 June 3rd.
Fitch William	

Starr Thomas	" 1789 Making Br. Mount & Br. Starr Aug. 6 "
Brown William	No information available.
Cobb John	" 1789 Cobb John jun. Init. Passed & Raised, 133 "
Mount Richard	" 1789 Making Br. Mount & Br. Starr Aug. 6 "
Pillow Edward	" 1787 Making Br. Pillow 3-3-0 "
Carr Thomas	" 1788 Carr Thomas 23, (F) Grocer init. pass. & raised " in 133.
Powell B. G.	" Reverend ". No information available.
Graham	" Colonel ". No information available.
Furley	" Writer " Wm. Furley Industrious Lodge 1785-1800.
Mein, . . . 1797	" Mein " Robert, 46, (F) Comptroller of Customs: init. passed & raised in 1791 ". L. 133.
Ludwig Johan August Malek	" 1799. Music Mr. Pr. Wales Dgns."
Lepine Charles	Industrious Lodge Initiated 1792.
Hubbard William	Signed Indus. Lodge Audit 1799.
Knox Richard	" 1801 March Making Br. Rich. Knox Sergt. Major 52nd Regt. of Foot 2-2-0 "
Williams Peter	" Surgeon ". No information available.
Stacey Alex. Willm.	Initiated Industrious Lodge 1799.
Robays Andrew	" Capt. Andrew Robays " Quarterage List Ind. Lodge Jan. 1st, 1801.
Wheeler Abner	Initiated Industrious Lodge Cant. 1801.
Blake George	" 1802, June 24. Recd. for making passing and raising Br. Geo. Blake 3-8-0 "

There is an interesting note in Culmer's *History of the Lodge of Harmony No. 133, Faversham*, concerning the Royal Arch Degree and some Brethren who afterwards became members of the Chapter of Concord:—

" 1778, Visitors from the Royal Scotch Greys Regiment and elsewhere.

Expenses of a Bye Lodge held 21st December, when seven brethren were exalted to than super-excelent Degree of a Royal Arch Mason, by the assistance of Bro. Sumpter of this Lodge, and brethren of the R.A. Lodge of St. Andrew, held in the Regiment of Royal Scotch Greys, £1 12s. 6d."

The names of the brethren exalted at this Bye Lodge were:—

" Bros. Robert Luklyn
 Julius Shepherd
 John Hall
 John Creswell
 Philip Duly
 James Cantis (Tyler of the Lodge 1776-80)
 James Watson (Private)

Bro. Sumpter was no doubt a R.A. Mason before he joined the Lodge in 1773. Those who assisted him were Bros. Beattie, Alexander Leishman (Sergeant) and George Penn (Private) members of the R.A. Lodge of St. Andrew held in the Regiment of Scotch Greys.

These particulars were taken from a few items written in the Craft Lodge Minutes. (The Minutes consist of notes written in the margin of the register of attendance.) The references to R.A. Masonry only cover the period Dec. 21, 1778, to March 10th, 1779.

Bro. Culmer, in a paper on R.A. Masonry, read in 1937 at Faversham, says:—

" This regiment (Scotch Greys) was probably stationed in Faversham or Ospringe for some weeks. Situate on the high road to London (Watling Street) it was a halting place for regiments on the march, and companies were sometimes here for several weeks,

especially during the Napoleonic Crisis. Many regiments had Lodges connected with them and it is easily understood how these Masons probably visited Craft Lodges and the exaltations were suggested and carried out by Dispensation on December 21st and following the regular Lodge meetings on the other dates. It must be remembered that Scottish Masonry under which the Scotch regiment held its warrant, was allied to the 'Ancients' and therefore included much of the R.A. Ritual among its Craft working".

There is no record that a regular Chapter was formed in Faversham at the time; in fact, not until May, 1821:—

"13th Jan. 1779 The Brethren exalted were:—

John Whitton	Bros Beattie, Leishman,
Thomas Chapman	Penn and Watson, visitors
Charles Boncey	
John Solly	
Edward Coveney	

27 Jan. 1779

Thomas Barnes exalted

10th Mar. 1779

William Hollingsbee exalted.

"In 1786, Aug. 30th, Bro. Julius Shepherd was appointed G. Superintendent of R.A. Masons for Kent. Visitors included Jacob Sawbridge Esq., Prov. G.M. for Kent", who was a member of the Chapter of Concord.

This appointment was doubtless the means of bringing the group of six Faversham Brethren, together with their visitor James Gardner of the Lodge of Antiquity, into the Chapter of Concord. Of the six Faversham Brethren five were as we have seen already R.A. Masons and therefore joining members of the Chapter.

Among the names of the members of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2 we find: ¹

"Noorthouck's Lodge of Antiquity, 1778-1790.

"Gardner James, Gent. Initiated 1786. Resigned.

Re admitted 1790. Erased for non payment of arrears 1791".

In the Minute Book of the L. of Harmony, 133, Faversham:—

"the name is spelt Gardiner, Gardener and Gardner (once only).

He first visited the Lodge in 1786, July 5th & August 2nd.

In 1787, Nov. 21st, Dec. 19th when he took the Chair and worked the First Lecture, Dec. 27 (St. John's Day Installation).

In 1788, Jan. 16th when he was in the Chair and worked the second Lecture.

In 1789, March 25th, April 8th, May 20th and July 15th.

„ 1790, June 30th.

„ 1792, Nov. 14th.

„ 1793, Jan. 9th, Nov. 13th, Dec. 27th (St. John's Day Install)

„ 1795, Nov. 25th, Dec. 9th, Dec. 27th („ „ „ „)

„ 1796, January.

His last visit was on Dec. 12th, 1798".

From these dates we learn that in 1787, a year after his initiation, Br. Gardner was working the 1st Lecture, and in the following year the Second Lecture. It is not surprising to learn that he was an actor, his visits to the Lodges

¹ *Records of Lodge of Antiquity*—C. W. Firebrace.

at Faversham and Canterbury being made during the time he was appearing at the theatre. There are no instances at Canterbury as at Faversham that a performance was "By particular desire of the Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons", although there are some by desire of other bodies; possibly the Masonic Fraternity was not large enough in Canterbury.

In 1787 Mrs. Baker (a great personality in Kent) opened another theatre in Faversham. She possessed theatres also in Maidstone, Canterbury, Rochester and Folkestone.

As we have seen, Br. Gardner first visited Lodge No. 133, Faversham, July 5th and August 2nd, 1786.

On July 10th, 1786, Mrs. Baker's Theatrical Co. was appearing at Faversham.

Starting on Monday, Aug. 14th, 1786, Mrs. Baker's Company appeared at Canterbury for Race Week.

Br. Gardner visited Canterbury in:—

"1786, Dec. 21. Visiting Br. Gardner 2/-
1790, Feb. 18. Visiting Br. Gardner 2/-"

"Theatre Sandwich (one day only) Tues. Jan. 12th, 1790. Lecture on Heads (as delivered by Mr. Lee Lewis, at the Royalty Theatre) by Mr. Gardner".

This was probably a flying visit from Canterbury.

"New Theatre, Orange Street, Canterbury. On Sat. Feb. 6th (1790)
. . . The Triumph of Liberty or the Destruction of the Bastile. Speeches in the Destruction by Mr. Gardner . . ."

On "Monday Feb. 8th (1790), The Manager an Actor in spite of Himself: Publican Mr. Gardner".

On 13th Feb., 1790, "The Destruction of the Bastile by Mr. Gardner".

Bro. Gardner again visited Canterbury in 1795:—

"1795, April 2nd Visiting Br. Gardner 2/-"

"Theatre Canterbury: On Thursday March 12th for the benefit of Mr. Gardner . . ."

From a newspaper advertisement of Jan. 8th, 1796, we learn:—

"By particular desire of the Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons: For the benefit of Bro. Gardner: Theatre Faversham: On Thursday Jan. 12th, 1795 (*sic*), will be presented an universally admired comedy written by Hugh Kelly Esq., author of 'False Delicacy' etc. . . . called 'The School for wives': End of Play, a Masonic Address by Brother Gardner. To which will be added . . . & a great variety of Military Evolutions and Manœuvres called 'The Deserter of Naples' . . . The Deserter, Mr. Gardner. Tickets at the usual places".

Another Theatrical advertisement appeared in 1798:—

"By desire of the Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons: For the benefit of Brother Gardner: Theatre Faversham: On Tuesday 11th December, 1798, will be performed . . . (also) The Mouth of the Nile a view of the engagement between the Fleets, and the blowing up of L'Orient etc. The Prologue to be spoken by Mr. Gardner . . ."

In 1799, Feb. and May Quarterages of the Industrious Lodge, Canterbury, include Br. Gardner. The Theatre was in operation at that time in Canterbury, but there is no mention of Br. Gardner, who may by that time have been engaged in the capacity of manager.

There now hangs on the walls of the Temple in Canterbury an old Royal Arch Banner which in all probability belonged to the Chapter of Concord No. 38, Canterbury. It is mentioned in the following correspondence which appeared in *The Freemason* in 1878:—

“ There seems considerable difficulty in historically appreciating the Royal Arch Degree—but at any rate an accident has enabled me to discover and become possessed of an important and probably unique historical document in relation to it, . . . Its dimensions in its glazed frame (which is certainly 120 years old), are 15 inches by 10 inches. It is on paper and coloured. At the top is a Parallelogram coloured yellow—displaying in the centre an equilateral triangle, bearing these letters:—



Immediately beneath this is an arch—the capstone of which is removed, and placed on the left to admit the rays of an all-seeing eye, with ten rays in number, which irradiate a purple covered table, fringed with gold and supported on a pediment amidst clouds, and blue radiance surrounds this arch. The arch bed bears the words ‘Holiness to the Lord’. This arch rests on the well known three pillars of Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty. The Ionic column supports the left side of the arch. On the Doric column is a representation of charity, and from behind the column is a hand protruding and pointing downwards, holding a plumb line. The Corinthian column is in front on the right side. At the base of the Corinthian column is a pick axe and crow bar—at that of the Ionic column a shovel. Between the columns next to the Ionic column is a three legged round table, on which lies the Volume of the Sacred Law, with a triple Tau over it; next to the table stands J., by his side Z., and leaning against the base of the Doric column is H. These three personages are suitably and emblematically garmented, and the flooring of the arch on which they stand is green, the round table being hung with a table cloth of three colours . . .

I remain, dear Sir and Brother,

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Hounslow,

Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, IX

May 4th, 1878.

Supreme Grand Secretary Sweedenborgian Rite”.

The following is an answer to the above letter from William James Hughan:—

“ The curious document mentioned by our learned Brother K. H. Mackenzie agrees in the main with a banner which is preserved at Canterbury, and once belonged to an old Chapter numbered 21. The ‘Modern Grand Chapter’ numbered its Chapters consecutively from one, but since the ‘Union’ each Chapter assumed the number of the Lodge under whose wing it worked, so it is not easy to trace old Chapters now, especially also we fancy the old warrants were exchanged in many cases for new ones. The banner is doubtless of

the latter part of the last century, and apparently is quite the same in character as the document in question, minus the triangle. Even this may be on the banner, but the photograph of it procured by my erudite friend and Brother the Rev. Thomas Robinson, M.A.. (P.P.G.H. Jamaica, P.G.J. Kent, &ct.).

William James Hughan".

In the Museum of the Province of Kent at Canterbury there is a Leather Apron, Lined Red, 16½ inches by 14, presented by W.Bro. A. E. Hobbs. The design painted on this apron is the same as that mentioned by Bro. Mackenzie. At the bottom is printed in small letters "Published by J. Cole, Old St. and 22, Mount Pleasant City Road".

It is interesting to note that the Plumb-Line is depicted in this design. "According to Preston, it was one of the instruments of Masonry presented to the Master of the Lodge at his Installation". (*Mackey's Enc.*)

We are told by Bro. R. F. Gould that 'The English Royal Arch was first conferred in Lodges and restricted to Brethren who had passed the Chair'.

Chapter No. 21 had nothing to do with Canterbury (L. Vibert) and as we now know that the Chapter of Concord No. 38 had, I suggest that this was an error on the part of Bro. Hughan.

There are two entries in the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book which suggest a connection with the Chapter of Concord:—

1788, May 1st. Wax Candles ½ part	- 7- 6
1789, April 2. Paid a proportion towards the Great Candles	- 7- 4

Who paid the other "½ part" or "proportion"? There was no other Lodge meeting in Canterbury in 1788 and 1789 but the Chapter of Concord was, whose members in 1789 were round about 38 of whom 23 were members of the Industrious Lodge.

On the walls of the Temple at Canterbury hang side by side in identical frames the old R.A. banner mentioned above and the old Craft Tracing Board "in the three degrees". The R.A. banner would seem to supplement the latter depicting as it does "one of the instruments of Masonry presented to the Master of the Lodge at his Installation", together with the emblems of the Royal Arch.

A paper on Dr. Perfect would be very incomplete which did not make a special reference to the Rev. Jethro Inwood and Matthew Garland.

THE REV. JETHRO INWOOD.

The Rev. Jethro Inwood was born about the year 1767, and was initiated into Freemasonry in 1785 as a Lewis according to Oliver. Mackey¹ says "he was soon after appointed Chaplain of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Kent which office he held for more than twenty years".

This statement is, however, not correct for he was appointed P.G.Ch. in 1795 at Faversham by Dr. Perfect and in his sermon on that occasion said: "My beloved brethren methinks as this is the second time you have invited me to the pleasing employment of addressing you in the sacred temple of a common Father of all, . . ." The first time was the previous year at West Malling when according to the Prov. G.L. Minute Book he acted as P.G. Chaplain.

The Parish Register of St. Paul's, Deptford, has been searched and reveals that the Rev. Inwood was curate there from 1790-1808.² "His first wedding was taken on 3rd March 1790 and his last on 6th July 1808". His last

¹ *Encyclopedia*, p. 356.

² Letter from Curate of St. Paul's, Deptford, 23 vi. 38.

attendance at Prov. Grand Lodge according to the Minute Book was a month earlier.

The Rev. A. F. A. Woodford tells us Inwood's "sermons are alike simple and sensible, forcible and feeling. Our Brethren may yet advantageously study them".

On festive and other occasions he preached many sermons of which a selection was published in 1799 in which a portrait of the author is given.

The statement above mentioned made by Inwood in 1795 also points to an incorrect statement concerning the first of the sermons published in this volume. This is stated to be "A Sermon Preached at the Anniversary Grand Provincial Meeting at Gravesend in Kent June 24th, 1793. On the celebration of St. John the Baptist".

The anniversary P.G. Meeting in 1793 was held at Margate; there is no record in the Minute Book of a P.G. Lodge meeting in Gravesend in 1793. At that time the Anniversary meeting was held on Whitmonday, the festival held on St. John's Day being a Private Lodge meeting or one held by a number of Private Lodges. (Moderns.)

An edition of the Sermons of the Rev. Jethro Inwood was published by Oliver in 1849 in the fourth volume of his *Golden Remains*. One of these sermons is that preached at a Provincial Meeting at Malling in 1794, of which in a footnote Dr. Oliver says:—

"These sermons are chiefly remarkable for the ingenuity with which masonic truths have been introduced, so as to make it impossible for an uninitiated person to detect the passages where they are introduced. They contain a tissue of moral aphorisms extracted from the lectures of Masonry, and interwoven with such art as to be invaluable to the curious and assiduous Brother".

Reference will later be made to the unsettled state of the country at the end of the eighteenth century; we are reminded by the statement of the Earl of Moira in Grand Lodge that there was at that date "no organ of the Craft in which a reply might be made public" to unfavourable criticism. The Rev. Jethro Inwood by means of his sermons, which were preached to mixed congregations and which were widely read—as the list of subscribers shows—must have done much to reveal the true nature and purpose of Freemasonry.

In a sermon on "Scriptural Architecture" preached at Birmingham in 1805 the Rev. Jethro Inwood said:—

"I have now been in the society of Masons near twenty years, and the greatest part of that time Chaplain to a body of that fraternity in the county of Kent, where that society is as numerous and respectable as in almost any county in the kingdom; my friends amongst them are numerous and valuable; my communications amongst them are daily, and to me, in a social sense, very valuable; and my labours amongst them, as their Chaplain, have been always the most acceptable as they have been the more faithful. That I have praised them, their Order, and their principles, both in church and by the press, I am not ashamed to acknowledge in any assembly; and if you follow the same principles, you will deserve the same commendations, for a good Mason must be a good man . . ."

Bro. Oliver said of this discourse¹:—

"Its truth, its faithfulness, and its intention, joined to the friendly and brotherly partiality of its hearers, is the only foundation of my hope of its favourable reception. To do any service to the

¹ *Golden Remains*, vol. iv., p. 374.

religious part of our order, is the utmost reward I wish for in all my best endeavours". Bro. Inwood was a modest man; his sermons are all good, and display the kindness and philanthropy of his disposition, as well as the masonic urbanity by which his intercourse with the fraternity was uniformly distinguished.

In another foot-note¹ Dr. Oliver adds:—

"The preacher has not said so much in his own behalf as he might justly have done. He was so universally respected in his province that the brethren regarded him as a father. The benevolence of his principles is strikingly displayed in a letter, which he wrote on the subject of the projected union of the ancient and modern sections of the Craft, dated Feb. 25, 1804, and which was finally effected in 1813. Bro. Inwood says: 'I most cordially congratulate the Craft on the happy union which is now likely to be established between the ancient and modern Masons, by means of the Right Hon. the Earl of Moira. These are circumstances which must be highly gratifying to a virtuous mind, and which alone can make Masonry most eminently useful, and most eminently beautiful, viz. an union of the brethren. And surely, it may be justly impressed upon the mind of every brother, that, with so excellent an example before him, he is unworthy the name of a Mason, if he either espouses or countenances any other principle but the principle of union. My opinion, then, is, if any member, whether of my own society or the other, does anything, in word or deed, to increase the difference, or enlarge the breach, he is, whether intentionally or not, absolutely an hinderance to the growth of brotherly love, and consequently subverts all the best effects not only of the principles of Masonry, but also of Christianity'".

Matthew Garland in one of his addresses² said: "We perceive with infinite satisfaction our Reverend Brother, the Provincial Grand Chaplain, to whom we owe so much and render so little, at the post of duty, in apparent good health, with all that dignity of sacred character so highly honourable to us, and so essentially exemplary to each other".

In 1867 fifteen folio and quarto volumes of MSS. written by (Dr.) Perfect were sold by a London bookseller for 7/6d. (*Notes and Queries*, 3 s., xi., 441.)

In the Library and Museum of the Prov. of Kent there are nine volumes of Poems and Prose MSS. written by Dr. Perfect from 1755-1773. Reference will later be made to the few Masonic references made in these volumes which were individually indexed by Dr. Perfect and are now bound in one volume. They show that between the age of 18 and 36 he was a voluminous correspondent; if the remainder of his MSS. could be found they would no doubt shed further light on those three great Masons: Dr. Perfect, the Rev. Jethro Inwood and Matthew Garland.

MATTHEW GARLAND.

Bro. F. C. Daniel in his Biographical Sketch of Matthew Garland published in the latter's *Masonic Effusions* tells us:—

"Mr. Matthew Garland was born in 1742 in Deptford.—His father was a respectable shipcarver, who had, besides him, several children. Mr. Garland was early apprenticed to a shipwright, which employment he followed many years. In 1766 he married the daughter of Thomas Storey Esq. an officer in His Majesty's Navy: she departed this life in Feb., 1819, six months before her husband.

¹ *Golden Remains*, vol. iv., p. 376.

² *Masonic Effusions*, p. 133.

The fruits of their marriage were ten children.—Finding the success in the employment to which he was bred not commensurate to his expectations, he, in 1780, commenced the business of an auctioneer, and continued to carry on from that period until his death.

“It was not until May, 1784, (at 40 years of age,) that Mr. Garland was Initiated into Free Masonry, in the Lodge of Moral Reformation, Deptford, by Thomas Smith, then the R.W.M. . . . From his first introduction into that Noble and Moral Science, he became enthusiastically attached to it, and from the period of his admission to his death, continued to make a brilliant and attractive display of his talents, both as an orator and writer, which he entirely devoted to this favourite subject. Well acquainted with the mysteries of the Craft, he made a conspicuous figure in every Lodge he attended, and was soon elected Master of the Lodge of Moral Reformation. He afterwards presided over the Perfect Lodge, Woolwich (which he instituted) and several others”.

In the List of Subscribers to Inwood's Sermons we find:—“Garland Matthew, R.W.M. and Father of the Perfect Lodge, and P.G.O. for the County of Kent”.

At the Prov. Grand Lodge held on Monday the 5th June A.L. 5797, at the Sun Tavern in Chatham, where the Lodge was opened by the Prov. Grand Master . . . “The Prov. Grand Master was pleased to appoint Brother Matthew Garland of Woolwich to be Provincial Grand Orator in Room of Brother Selby deceased”.

This

“appointment occasioned most of the poetical effusions which are the subject of the present publication. They were written on various occasions, on the theme of the moment, and are entitled to every indulgence when they come to be considered as the production of one, not originally a literary character, or engaged in such pursuits, but one bred up and conversant with the mechanical branches of life alone”.

“Had he been favoured with a liberal education, and the higher accomplishments of his mind cultivated, his natural genius would have placed him in a very superior rank, and his pieces might then have been compared with many eminent poetical characters; but he was excluded by his situation, and the necessary attention to business which the circumstances of his family required, from those modes of improvement that are essential to eliciting the brilliance, even in the first writers”.

Matthew Garland's *Effusions* enable us to catch glimpses of the Masons of his day both in private and Provincial Grand Lodge. The following from “Lodge of Moral Reformation, Deptford”, enables me to understand the trouble experienced in getting Provincial Officers to attend Provincial Grand Lodge:—

“
But, ah! how many heads have been laid low,
That call'd me Master many years ago.
You who with vigour happily survive,
T'attend the Grand Provincial call should strive;
Yet there are many Brethren which we know,
Whose grand profession would not let them go;
Could but the faculty devise a charm,
To guard their patients *three whole days* from harm,
Then might the sons of Galen slip away,
Add to our joy, and dignify the day”.

The Provincial Grand Orator never missed an opportunity of urging the Brethren to attend Provincial Grand Lodge; his knowledge of the countryside learned while leisurely travelling by coach is revealed when addressing the "Lodge of Harmony, Feversham", on which occasion the following meeting was to be held at Canterbury:—

"Harmonius brothers, please to recollect
The day approaches that demands respect;
Trivial impediments can have no weight,
The distance small, and your attachments great;
Hie over Boughton Blean, through Harbledown,
Maintain your rank, and add to your renown".

The following from *The Invitation* again shows the leisurely manner in which the Brethren enjoyed their visit to Provincial Grand Lodge; they took a day to come from West to East Kent, spent a day in Canterbury and the third was spent in returning to their homes:—

"Ye, who have studied, with peculiar care,
The uses of the level, rule, and square;
If ancient architecture can impart
Sublime sensations to the Mason's heart;
If antique sculpture and emblazon'd shrines,
The tessellated floor and grand designs;
If brilliant windows, which produce a blaze
Of rich, refulgent, variegated rays;
If these can charm, let Wisdom's sons repair
To scenes of grandeur, where such wonders are:
Fam'd Canterbury will, on Whitsuntide,
For their reception, ope her portals wide.
The contemplative mind and searching eye,
Within her walls may Saxon art descry.
Her rampart lines and winding walks pursue;
Mark well her bulwarks, and her towers view;
(Well may their heads such traits of ruin show,
Since they were rear'd a thousand years ago);
Then say, when these researches have been made,
If your fatigues have not been over paid".

Matthew Garland died in 1819, his funeral was attended by "upwards of one Hundred Brethren . . . the following were his Pall-bearers, viz. Brothers the Chavalier Ruspini—Bromley—Lond—Shadbolt—Knot and Young".

DR. PERFECT.

In the late Bro. Hextall's paper *The Craft in the Law Courts*, in the proceedings of the Quatuor Coronati, the following interesting information about Dr. Perfect is to be found:—

"At the end of the 18th century the Provincial Grand Master of Kent was Dr. William Perfect, who resided at Malling, and was held in high repute as a specialist in cases of insanity. A Mr. Smith, a tradesman of Maidstone, had the misfortune to be expelled from the Masonic Lodge True and Faithful, at West Malling, and the members having resolved that a statement of the circumstances should be printed and circulated, Dr. Perfect directed the Secretary to send a cautionary letter to the several Lodges in England, which was

accordingly done . . . After hearing it you will hardly be surprised at what followed as the sequel:—

Right Worshipful Master, Senior and Junior Wardens, and Brethren, Gentlemen and Brethren,

I am directed by the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of this Lodge to inform you that Thomas Smith, of the neighbourhood of Maidstone, Dealer in Rags, is accustomed to visit Lodges distant from his home, where his character being unknown, he is admitted. To prevent his future admission we subjoin his real character, a violator of Decency, and all those Laws by which Men of Honour and Reputation bind themselves, abandoned to the grossest Immoralities, a dishonour to Masonry, and unworthy the name of Man. A conduct so notorious procured his expulsion from this Lodge, and marked him unfit for any other. The better to caution you against such an Intruder, we annex a description of his Person:—a man of middle age, swarthy complexion—sometimes wears a dark Que Wig—at other times his own hair tied behind—about five feet six inches in height—has lost some of his fore Teeth by Fighting—generally wears a blue coat, and makes a shabby appearance, has a jeering manner of speaking, with a forced Smile upon his face—loud and low in conversation, and some time ago followed the occupation of Tinker, about Five and Forty Years of age.

The irregular and infamous Conduct of this Man has been laid before Grand and Provincial Lodges.

Your faithful and obedient Brother,

William Miles Newman, Secretary.

Lodge True and Faithful,

No. 386, West Malling, Kent.

26th March, 1792,

in open Lodge Assembled.

Smith not unreasonably displeased with the verbal portrait of himself thus presented to the Masonic world, brought an action to recover damages for libel against Dr. Perfect, who claimed that he was protected by the resolution which had been passed by the Malling Lodge; but upon the action of Smith *v.* Perfect being tried before Mr. Justice Gould at Maidstone Assizes in the summer of the same year—1792—the Jury gave Smith a verdict for fifty pounds damages.

That Dr. Perfect did not suffer in the estimation of his Brethren appears from the consecration of a new Lodge as the 'Perfect Lodge' at Woolwich in November, 1796, when an account states that the festive occasion 'amply displayed the characteristic urbanity of the Provincial Grand Master, whose Masonic talents never shon with brighter lustre'; and from the dedication in 1799, of the Rev. Jethro Inwood's well-known volume of Masonic Sermons, which extolled the Doctor's 'very high and respectable attainments in the Science of Masonry', as well 'as of all other Arts and Sciences'.

Reference has already been made to the nine volumes of Poems and Prose MSS. written by Dr. Perfect from 1755-1773. These consist of poems of every conceivable non-Masonic topic, literary correspondence and articles written on general subjects for the Press against which are written such notes as:—

Inserted in *Martins Mag*, 1756.

„ „ *Laurel Wreath* Vol 1. [Dr. Perfect published two Vols. of Poems in 1766 called the *Laurel Wreath*.]

„ „ the *Westminster Journal*, 1757.

„ „ *Mechells Journal*, 1757.

The few references to Masonry occur in 1766 and they include "A Suitable Motto for Lodges" in Latin with a translation into English, also some references during the course of correspondence with a Mr. Austin of St. Martin's, Rochester, who apparently was not a Mason. These include copies of a letter from Mr. Austin together with Dr. Perfect's reply:—

"Rescript to my Letter of ye 17th Sept."

I can find no more on Freemasons but I suppose you have seen a new Book advertised lately on that subject attempting to describe their Nature and Order . . .

Your sincere friend,

T. Austin, St. Marg'ts Rochester.

Sept. 29, 1766.

The answer to this letter, which is a long one, is also lengthy and is written in rhyme; in the course of this letter is the following:—

"My Poetical Rescript to the above Letter Oct. 12th, 1766".

As to *Book* that you mention upon *the Freemason*
By Accident lately I fixed my face on
It is titled and called—King Solomon's Glory
A grand insignificant Frivulous Story
It is mean and contemptable, trite and absurd
And far from *The Thing* on a *Freemason's Word*.

This shows that Dr. Perfect was a Mason in 1766 and we get, early in his Masonic career, a glimpse of that zeal for which later on he was so distinguished.

There is also a "List of Lodges to 1765", but no indication as to which of these was the one in which Dr. Perfect was initiated.

In 1787 the Lodge at Town Malling No. 386 was present for the first time at a Provincial Grand Lodge meeting and the following year Dr. Perfect's name appears for the first time. Amongst the promotions we find "Wm. Perfect Esq. P. G. Orator".

Lodge True and Faithful was Warranted in 1775 and met at Dartford in 1775 and 1779. Dr. Perfect would appear to have influenced its move to Malling where it was meeting in 1787. From the close association of Dr. Perfect, the Rev. Jethro Inwood and Matthew Garland in later years, it would seem possible that the Lodge initiated Inwood and that Dr. Perfect was a member while the Lodge was meeting at Dartford.

Up to 1766, the date of the references to Masonry in the *Perfect MSS.*, Dr. Perfect had not written any poems on Masonry, as he wrote to Mr. Austin: "7th Sept. 1766 . . . as to Poem which I intend to publish on Freemasonry is yet but in Embro, whatever you have on that head will be very acceptable . . ."

Bro. Hextall transcribed "An Extempore Sonnet" by Dr. Perfect from the *Masonic Minstrel*, 1828.

This was published in the *Freemasons' Magazine* in Jan., 1795.

Under the date Tuesday, Sept. 17th, 1799, in the *Maidstone Journal* we find:—

"Lately published Price 3/6. Poetic Effusions: Pastoral, Moral, Amatory and Descriptive. By William Perfect M.D. Sold by Mess. Murray and Highly, Booksellers, in Fleet Street or may be had of the Author, at West Malling.

These poems are written in the metre and manner of Shenstone's Pastorals, which will always find a certain portion of admirers. They are distinguished generally by ease and elegance, with much ingenuity, and with considerable pathos. *British Critic*.

N.B. The intention of the present humble dedication to the Muses being solely for the purpose of relieving a worthy but Indigent Character, by the profit of its sales, it is not doubted but the motive will recommend it to the attention of a humane and generous public ”.

In the Library of the City of Canterbury there are copies of *The Kentish Gazette*, from 1768 to the present date. These contain some interesting details about the meetings of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent and Dr. Perfect the Provincial Grand Master from 1795 until 1809.

On April 7th, 1801, was published . . . “Annals of Insanity.—by William Perfect M.D. of West Malling in Kent”. This work went through five editions, the fifth being published in 1809, the year of Dr. Perfect’s death.

That the Doctor was interested in the spreading of ‘Light’ which would benefit his fellow men we gather from the following, inserted in 1769 when he was 32 years of age:—

“Malling Sept. 15th, 1769.

William Perfect, Surgeon, With the assistance of a Gentleman of the first eminence in Medecine and Anatomy. Has prepared and is ready to deliver a private course of Lectures upon Anatomy the Theory, Principles, & Modern Practice of Physic & Surgery. He humbly presumes his design will be found of particular Utility to the younger Practicioners, and tend to compensate for the want of opportunities in such who have not attended Lectures of this kind in London. His terms may be known by personal application or by letter addressed as above ”.

On Tuesday, August 27th, 1805, we find:—

“This day was published.—Annals of Insanity, by William Perfect M.D. of West Malling in Kent and Member of the London Medical Society . . . into whose establishment for more than thirty years past, persons afflicted with mental disarrangement have experienced every necessary care and attention, on terms adequate to the circumstances of the case ”.

The frequency of the verdict of “Lunacy” at inquests at this time shows how necessary it was that more attention should be paid to Mental Illness and the importance of the work of Dr. Perfect.

The first reference to Dr. Perfect in the Minute Book of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent is in 1788. June 2nd:—

“The Prov. G. Master was pleased to make the following promotions . . . Wm. Perfect Esq. to be P.G. Orator ”.

At the Prov. Grand Lodge “holden at the White Bear Inn, West Malling . . . ”

“May 19, 1794. Present.—Wm. Perfect Esq. M.D. as D.P.G.M. A letter was received and read from Br. Julius Shepherd containing his resignation as D.P.G. Master for the County of Kent —on which a Motion was made by Brother Matthews and seconded by Brother Perfect “That in consequence of the unhappy malady with which our P.G. Master has been, and still is afflicted with, and the little probability of his recovery—That a Lodge of emergency be summond, to be held at the Bell Inn, at Maidstone on Monday the of July next to consider of and nominate a Proper Person as his successor to serve in that Exalted Situation in his stead and that the said Lodge of Emergency do consist of a Delegate from each respective Lodge in the County—which Delegate will bring with him

the nomination of his Lodge and to be then determined by the Majority of the said Delagates Present--which was carried.

Nem Con———

A Motion was made that Br. Perfect do take the Chair for the Remainder of the Day which was accepted of and carried.

Nem Con

Resolved that the next Provincial meeting be held at the Ship Inn, Faversham on Monday the 18th of May, 1795.

Wm. Epps P.G. Secretary ”.

The Minutes of the “Lodge of emergency” are as follows:—

“At a Lodge of Emergency held at the Bell Inn Maidstone on Monday the seventh day of July, 5794 convened for the Especial Purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of appointing a Successor to our Provincial Grand Master Jacob Sawbridge Esq. on account of the afflicting Malady under which he labours at present and the great improbability of his recovery—it was determined by a majority Wm. Perfect Esq. be recommended to the Grand Master of England as a proper Person to fill the office of Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent ”.

Dr. Perfect was Installed at Faversham the Minutes of the meeting being as follows:—

“Provincial Grand Lodge held on Monday 18th of May A.L. 5795 at the Assembly Room Feversham, by Virtue of a power invested in William Perfect Esq. M.D. by the most Worshipful, His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons, in England bearing Date the day of A.L. 5795 appointing the said William Perfect Esq. provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, with full power to make Masons, and constitute, and regulate Lodges, as occasion may require, and also to do, and execute all and every such other acts and things appertaining to the said office and agreeable to the Laws and Regulations of the Grand Lodge of England &c^d.

Lodge Opned Accordingly

When the Minutes of the Last Meeting and the patent appointing William Perfect Esq. M.D. Provincial Grand Master for the County were read.

Present:—

The Grand Officers, and the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges

No.	10	Chatham	326	Canterbury
	176	Feversham	341	Maidstone
	89	Gravesend	386	Margate
	329	do.	535	Dartford
	314	Malling		

who proceeded in due Masonic procession to church, where an excellent sermon was preached by our Rev. Brother Jethro Inwood of Deptford—returned in the same Masonic form to the Assembly Rooms when the Provincial Grand Master was pleased to appoint the following Grand Officers Viz:—

Resolved that the Bye Laws be reprinted for the use of the several Lodges in the County. . . .

The Lodge was closed in due form, and the evening concluded with the utmost Harmony, Festivity, and Brotherly Love.

J. Matthews P.G. Secy.”

From the Minute Book of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Kent, which starts in 1777, we learn:—

“At the Meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent held on May 28th, 1798 at the Falcon Tavern, Gravesend.

“The Prov. Grand Master acquainted the Provincial Lodge of the resignation of the P.G. Sec. Jer. Mathews and his appointing Br. Jn. Gurr P.G.S. and T . . . and in future every Provincial Officer and Masters of Lodges in this County, have a month's notice at least of the time and place of the Anniversary every year and that it be published in the usual newspapers one month before the day”.

It would seem that the reports of the Provincial Grand Lodge meetings were sent to “the usual newspapers” in the same way as the Notices, for the report which appeared in the *Kentish Gazette* of the meeting at Deal in 1803 is word for word the same as that which appeared in the *Maidstone Journal*. In some cases the reports appear to have been embellished with items of local interest.

Under the date May 3rd, 1796, we find:—

“Free and Accepted Masons, His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales Grand Master. The Anniversary Meeting of the Brethren for this County, will be held on Monday, the 16th instant, at the Rose Inn, Dartford; Procession to Church at eleven and dinner on the table at three o'clock.

By order of the Prov. Grand Master.

May 1st, 1796.

J. Mathews Prov. Grand Sec.”

The Minutes of this meeting inform us:—

“Provincial Grand Lodge held on Monday the 16th May A.L. 5796 at the Rose Inn at Dartford, where the Lodge was opened by the Provincial Grand Master. Present.

No. 10	Chatham	329	Gravesend
89	Gravesend	341	Maidstone
191	Lewisham	535	Dartford
314	Malling	549	Woolwich, who

proceeded in due Masonic form to church where an Excellent Sermon was preached by our Rev. Brother Jethro Inwood; when the Lodges returned to the Town Hall, and the Provincial Grand Master delivered a long and learned Disquisition on the Principles of our most excellent order, which was received with that mark'd and modest applause it so justly merited.

Lodge clos'd in due form with the greatest Harmony and Brotherly Love.

J. Matthews P. Grand Secy.”

The following account of the proceedings on that occasion appeared in the *Freemasons' Magazine* of 1796:—

“In the May number is described an anniversary meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent, held at Dartford under William Perfect, Provl. G.M. who arrived with about fifty of the Craft, followed by the Brethren from the Lodges at Deptford [? Dartford], Woolwich and Lewisham, who entered the town preceded by colours flying and an excellent band of music. A procession was formed, headed by the Provincial G.M., who in honour of the Prince of Wales, wore in his hat three beautiful feathers with the motto of

Ich Dien on an enamelled plate with the arms of Kent. In addition to this uncommonly brilliant, numerous and respectable procession, much beauty and elegance was derived from the LADY MASONS who assembled in great numbers, dressed in white and purple, and, after joining the procession, were politely conducted into the Church by the Provl. Grand Master. After service an oration was delivered by the Provl. G.M., later the company partook of an elegant dinner, and in the evening a Ball was given to the Ladies”.

This explains part of one of Matthew Garland’s Effusions under the title of “Lodge of Emulation, Dartford” :—

“
 Thanks to the fair, who, with becoming grace,
 Confer’d such honour on their native place,
 Whose unaffected charms attracted more
 Than the white spotless garments that they wore:
 Thus when the eastern Virgins of the Sun,
 Form’d the procession as their rites begun,
 The lovely maidens ev’ry bosom fir’d,
 The aged worshipp’d, and the young admir’d”.

The Minutes of the Prov. Grand Lodge meeting at which the Perfect Lodge was constituted are as follows:—

“Provincial Grand Lodge of Emergency held by order of the Provincial Grand Master and agreeable to Notification on eleventh Day of Novemr. A L 5796, at the Horse and Star at Woolwich to constitute the new Lodge No. 552. Present,

William Perfect Esq. P. G. Master.

Richard Thompson Esq. P.G.S. Warden.

Reverend Jethro Inwood P.G. Chaplain.

Brother Whitaker Saunders P.G.M. of Ceremonies.

Brother Thomas Assiter P.G. Architect

with the other Officers and Brethren necessary.

The Lodge being opened in due form in the Third Degree, the Warrant was read, the usual Ceremonies were regularly transacted and in Honor to the P.G. Master the Lodge was denominated the Perfect Lodge. The Brethren of the new Lodge were duly invested with the respective Badges of their office, and installed in their proper Places by the P.G. Master, who having congratulated them on their appointments, delivered a moral charge on the nature of their Constitution and directed the P.G. Secretary to transmit these Proceedings to the Grand Lodge of England.

The Lodge was then closed in due form and perfect Harmony.
 J. Mathews P.G. Secy.”

In the following year we find that the Prov. meeting “will be held at the Sun Tavern in Chatham, on Monday 5th June 1797 . . . By order of Wm Perfect Esq. M.D. Prov. Grand Master for Kent. J. Mathews Prov. Grand Sec.”

At this meeting the “Provincial Grand Master was pleased to appoint Brother Matt. Garland of Woolwich to be P.G.O. in the Room of Brother Selby deceased”.

Also it was “Resolved that the thanks of this Society be due and given to our Reverened Brother Inwood for the incomparable Sermon preach’d this day, and that he be requested to print the same, which he obligingly consented to, the Profits of which he liberally resigned to the benifit of the Cumberland School”.

In 1798 there appears to have been some slackness in the Province with regard to applying for dispensations and we note the following from the Minutes of the meeting:—

“ At the Provincial Grand Lodge Held on Monday 28th of May A L 5798 at the Falcon Tavern Gravesend where the Lodge was opened by the P.G. Master . . . P.G.M. having received a letter of excuse from the Lodge at Deal for makeing Processions without his Dispensation, the P.G.M. dispen's with the same but expects on all Future Occasions that every Lodge under his *Jurisdiction* will apply for a *Dispensation* before they make Processions on *any Masonic Occasion whatever* ”.

On August 21st, 1798, we find:—

“ Free-Masonry. A Provincial Grand Lodge of Freemasonry will be held at the Royal Oak Inn, Ramsgate for the Consecration and Constitution of a New Lodge on Monday 3rd Sept. next, when the attendance of the Provincial Grand Officers for the fulfilment of their respective duties is commanded.

By Order of William Perfect Esq. Prov. Grand Master for the County.

J. Gurr Prov. Grand Sec.

N.B. Procession to Church when a sermon will be preached on the occasion by the Rev. P.G. Chaplain at eleven o'clock, and dinner on the table at half past two ”.

The Minutes of this meeting inform us that:—

“ A Provincial Grand Lodge of Emergency by the command of the Provincial G. Master for this County was opened in Ample Form . . . when the Jacob's Lodge No. 570 was Duly and Truly Constituted and afterwards Consecrated by the P.G. Chaplain according to the Laws Rules Charges Regulations and Ceremonies of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons . . . ”

The Jacob's Lodge was Warranted by Dr. Wm. Perfect Prov. G.M. as recorded in the Grand Lodge Register, but all traces of the Warrant have been lost.

The Jacob's Lodge was erased in 1827.

On Feb. 15th, 1799, we find:—

“ To All Free and Accepted Masons ”. “ A Dispensation being obtained from the R.W. Prov. Grand Master Dr. Wm. Perfect, to bury our late Brother, Mr. Thomas Streatfield, of the George Inn, Ashford, in regular form as a Mason; it is therefore requested, by the R.W. Provincial Grand Master, that all Brothers, who can make it convenient will attend on the occasion—as there is no Lodge at Ashford, the W. Master and Officers of Fortitude Lodge at Maidstone will regulate the funeral.

N.B. The Lodge will be opened at the George Inn at half past ten o'clock precisely, and procession to the grave at eleven in the forenoon, on Sunday next.

Ashford, Feb. 14, 1799 ”.

In 1799 the Prov. meeting was held at Maidstone and the *Maidstone Journal* informs us that:—

“ Yesterday was held at Maidstone the Grand Anniversary of Free and Accepted Masons for the County of Kent, which for

respectability, numbers, or order has seldom been equalled. An excellent sermon was preached on the occasion before Wm. Perfect M.D. Prov. Grand Master, and a numerous and genteel congregation. The Society by Permission of the Mayor and Corporation (whose politeness on this occasion is duly acknowledged) dined in the Town Hall, and we never witnessed a more loyal, benevolent, and rational entertainment.—The Dinner and wines were of the best quality, and the Hall being elegantly and fancifully decorated with flowers and aromatic shrubs had the appearance of the Elysian Groves.—The full band from the Marine regiment at Chatham attended, and the day concluded with that decorum and genuine friendship which has ever been the characteristic of this ancient, laudable and universal institution ”.

The following from the Canterbury paper suggests that the above report was embellished with details of local interest:—

“ Canterbury May 31, 1799

“ Monday was held at Maidstone, the Grand Anniversary of Free and Accepted Masons, for the County of Kent, which for respectability, numbers, or order, has seldom been equalled. An excellent sermon was delivered on the occasion before William Perfect Esq. M.D. Provincial Grand Master, and a numerous and genteel congregation by the Rev. Jethro Inwood Provincial Grand Chaplain. The day was concluded with that decorum and genuine friendship which has ever been the characteristic of this ancient, laudable, and universal institution ”.

The Minute Book of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Kent informs us that at this meeting at Maidstone “ an application was made by the Master of the Ashford Lodge now acting under a Dispensation to be constituted and Consecrated into a Regular Lodge, which was appointed to be held on Monday 23rd Sept. at Ashford ”. And

“ In consequence of a Memorial signed by Brother Robt. Houghton, John Payne, Thos. Barker, Jas. Roberts, Stewart Hammell, Jno. Forster, Jno. Thurston, Wm. Noble and Wm. Wybourne in the Town of Ashford in this County, Praying to be Constituted and formed into a New Lodge to be held at the George Inn, in the said Town.

On the Twenty third Day of September 1799, The Provincial Grand Master attended with his proper officers, and for the sake of Convenience the regalia of the new Lodge was removed to a Spacious Room at the Royal Oak Inn aforesaid, after being duly installed opened a Provincial Grand Lodge in the third degree in Ample Form, and having Proceeded through the accustomed Ceremonies of Constitution and caused the New Lodge to be named The Lodge of Reason No. 581, and Proclaimed accordingly three several times with the Honours of Masonry. The Consecration took place and was conducted with the Moral Solemnities by the Rev. Jethro Inwood P.G.C. after which the Procession formed consisting of the new made Brethren and a numerous and respectable assemblage of Brethren from the Different Lodges in this County as well as several visiting Brethren Preceded by an excellent band of musick to the Parish Church of Ashford whence after hearing divine service and an excellent and appropriate sermon preached by the P.G. Chaplain, the Brethren returned in regular order to the Royal Oak Inn where the Lodge was closed in Due Forme, until Whitmonday next then to be opened

at Margate in this County unless any Provincial Grand Lodge of Emergency should in the interval be called by the Provincial Grand Master's order.

J. Gurr P.G. Sy."

The Lodge of Reason No. 581 was Warranted by Dr. Wm. Perfect Prov. G. M. as recorded in the G.L. Register, but all traces of the Warrant have been lost.

The Lodge of Reason No. 581 was erased in 1811.

The manner in which a new Lodge was constituted at this period (1797) is given by Oliver, and the above information from the Prov. Grand Lodge Minute Book would suggest that that procedure may have been carried out at the constitution of the Lodge of Reason:—

"The following is the manner by which a new lodge was constituted at that period, and it is founded on the ancient usages of the craft:—First, the Lodge is duly formed, and after an appropriate prayer, an ode in honour of Masonry was sung. The Secretary then informed the Grand Master that the brethren present were desirous of being formed into a new lodge. The petition, the dispensation, and the warrant were then read, as well as the entire minutes of the lodge while acting under a dispensation; and being approved, they were formally declared regular and valid, and signed by the Provincial Grand Master. He then enquired, whether the officers named in the warrant were approved by the brethren of the lodge, which being answered in the affirmative, the oration was pronounced. The Lodge was then consecrated according to the usual ceremonies, and constituted in ancient form by the Provincial Grand Master".

In 1800 the Provincial meeting was held at Margate and the Minute Book informs us that at that meeting:—

"The Provincial Grand Master had a requisition read, he that day received from the Grand Lodge for his attendance at Grand Lodge that evening in order to address His Majesty on his late Providential Escape from the hands of an assassin; it was then requested that the Provincial Grand Master would have the condescension to join the address of the whole County in name for them assemblyd Pro. Formo".

"The French revolution", says Preston in his *Masonic Illustrations*, "having unfortunately given rise at this time to many unhappy dissensions, which spread their contagion among some of the inhabitants of this island, it became necessary to counteract the measures of those mistaken individuals, who were endeavouring to sow the seeds of anarchy, and poison the minds of the people against the government, and the excellent constitution under which they enjoyed the invaluable blessings of liberty and property . . . Hence, addresses to the throne were daily presented, with assurances of a determination to support the measures of administration; and among the rest, it was deemed proper that the society of Masons, by adding their mite to the number, should show that attachment to the monarch and the constitution which the laws of the Order enjoined". (Oliver's edition, p. 280.)

"A Public protest was entered by the regular Grand Lodge in an address to his majesty, on the occasion of his escape from assassination in 1800, against the charge of disloyalty. In this

document the Grand Lodge says:—‘When principles were first promulgated in France, which, to our conception, tended to the overthrow of all peace and order in society, we felt ourselves called upon to depart from a rule which had been till then religiously observed in our association. As a veil of secrecy conceals the transactions of our meetings, our fellow subjects have no assurance that there may not be in our association a tendency injurious to their interests, other than the general tenor of our conduct, and a notoriety that the door of Freemasonry is not closed against any class, profession, or sect, provided the individual desiring admission be unstained in moral character. To remove, therefore, as far as possible, any ground for suspicion, it has been, from time immemorial, a fundamental rule, most rigidly maintained, that no political topic, on any pretence, be mentioned in a Lodge’”.

The report in the *Kentish Gazette* of the Provincial Meeting held at Margate in 1800 tells us:—

“The Fraternity having assembled at the York Hotel, Margate, and the Grand Lodge, being opened in due form, the business of the day was prefaced by the Provincial Grand Orator, in a neat and elegant speech, which was succeeded by a nervous and loyal oration delivered by Wm. Perfect esq. Prov. Grand Master, which did honour to the talents and assiduity of that gentleman . . . After divine service the company returned to the Hotel and partook of an excellent dinner; although the day was unfavourable, upwards of a 130 Brethren attended. It is unnecessary to add . . . In the course of the meeting, the following letter of communication was proposed by the Grand Master, to be sent to the Grand Lodge of England, which was unanimously agreed to by all the Brethren present.

“We the Provincial Grand Master, Deputy Master, Grand Officers and Freemasons of the County of Kent, in open Lodge assembled, at Margate, on this day (June 2, 1800) feeling the most abhorrence at the late wicked attempt on the life of our most gracious and beloved sovereign, do humbly intreat you to present our Fraternal Respects to the Special Grand Lodge on this day assembled, with our most cordial assent to an humble and dutiful address to the King, congratulating him on his late providential escape from the daring hand of a sanguinary assassin, and praying that Providence may long continue to defeat every daring and dark attempt even of insanity itself, that is aimed at his sacred person; and that heaven may long preserve a life so highly valuable, and extend it even to patriarchal longevity; that he may long continue to reign enthroned in the very hearts of a fondly admiring and grateful people”.

To Wm. White Esq.,
Grand Secretary.

(Signed)
Wm. Perfect P.G.M.”

“At the commencement of the eighteenth century, a prejudice unfortunately existed against committing any of the details of Freemasonry to print; and several valuable MSS. were sacrificed rather than risk their probable subjection to that ordeal; a feeling something akin to that of the antiquary who destroys all duplicates of his coin, or other rarity, to enhance its value. As Masonry progressed, however, a better and more liberal spirit displayed itself amongst the fraternity. Indeed, the objections which prevailed against the institution were principally excited by this exclusive practice; and as it gradually spread over the face of the country, and attracted

public attention, some public statement of its benevolent tenets, became absolutely necessary to its credit amongst those who regarded its introduction amongst them with suspicion, as the vehicle of designs which might compromise some of the most holy feelings of social life. Vague fears were entertained of treason to the sovereign"

"The address of the masonic fraternity to his Majesty George III., on his providential escape from the atrocious attempt at assassination, was, as the Earl of Moira stated in the Grand Lodge, the best answer that could be given to those who contended that Masonry was a league against constituted authorities; an imputation the more securely to be made, because at that period there existed no organ of the Craft in which a reply might be made public. The noble Earl, however, publicly contended that it is the invaluable distinction of this free country that such a just and unrestrained intercourse of opinions exist, as will not permit any number of men to frequent any dangerous or disguised society; and that it is impossible for any profligate doctrines could be tolerated for a moment in a Lodge meeting under regular authority; because its foundation stone is—Fear God, Honour the King".

In 1801 the Prov. Meeting was held at Canterbury and the report in the City newspaper informs us:—

"Yesterday being Whitmonday, the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons of Kent held their Anniversary in this City; when a sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Jethro Inwood, P.G. Chaplain, from the 13th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, 13th verse.—'And now abideth Faith, Hope, and Charity; these three, But the greatest of these is Charity'. The Rev divine enforced the principles of benevolence and philanthropy in a manner highly creditable to his zeal and abilities".

"The business of the Lodge was opened by Br. Garland, P.G.O. in a short appropriate speech; the elogium and charge was delivered by Wm. Perfect of West Malling esq. P.G. Master in his usual stile of correct eloquence. Br. Bernard of Margate, acted as Grand Master of Ceremonies, and greatly contributed to the felicity of the day. Among the company present were, the Hon. Philip Roper, Col. Dyke, John Barker, Joseph Royle, Richard Friend esqs and several other very respectable characters. The day commenced, was conducted and concluded with that dignity, hilarity and decorum which has ever been the characteristic of this Loyal and celebrated Society".

The Minute Book informs us that there were "upwards of 200 present" at that meeting; the names mentioned "Among the company present" are those of Brethren who were well known local men. The St. Dunstan's Church, Canterbury, contains the burial vault of the Ropers, in which is the head of Sir Thomas More. John Barker was one of the members of Parliament for the City. The Mayor of the City in 1768 and 1783 was Joseph Royle. In 1790 and 1799 the Mayor was "Joseph Royle (son of the one in 1783)". In 1793 and 1803 Richard Friend, "Son of Geo. (Mayor in 1784)", was Mayor.

In 1802 the Anniversary Meeting was held at West Malling, "when notwithstanding the unfavourableness of the weather, a more splendid, numerous and respectable appearance of the Brethren has seldom occurred. The procession from the Assembly Rooms to church, preceded by an excellent band of music, took place soon after one o'clock; a sermon was preached by the Rev. Jethro

Inwood, vicar of St. Paul's Deptford, from the 14th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and the 19th verse; after which the Brethren returned in procession to the Assembly Rooms and from thence to a temporary tent erected for the purpose in an avenue adjoining the town. The charge and address, delivered by the Prov. Grand Master, was full and impressive, and displayed the classic learning and Masonic knowledge of the speaker, and was as usual received with such enthusiasm and reiterated bursts of applause as words would but faintly describe; suffice it to say, he fully deserved the praises that were bestowed, . . . A song was written by the Prov. Master upon the occasion entitled 'The Lodge in the Tent', which was sung and distributed in print amongst the company present".

In 1803 the meeting was held at Deal, "after which a numerous and respectable assembly of the Brethren went in procession to church . . . After Divine Service the company proceeded to the Three Kings and partook of a sumptuous entertainment; in the course of the afternoon the usual charge and address was ably delivered by the Prov. Grand Master, and as enthusiastically received by the Brethren present . . . The company dispersed at an early hour highly gratified with the enjoyment of the day, and the polite attention of their Prov. Leader and Reverend Monitor. We cannot pass this article without noticing a singular occurrence which occurred in the afternoon, just as the Provincial Grand Master had finished an elogium upon the happiness of our matchless constitution etc. . . , a large French Prize hove in sight and displayed the Republican colours reversed, she brought to in the Downs, and afforded a well-timed opportunity to the loyal feelings of the fraternity, of displaying that heartfelt and sincere attachment to their King and Country so inseparably connected with our Order".

A very human expression of opinion was given at the "Sun Tavern, Chatham", in "1804 at a Meeting of the Prov. Grand Officers of the Masons of the County of Kent held agreeable to a Sum. from the R.W. the G. Master preparatory to the Annual Festival . . ." when "It was the opinion of this present Meeting that the address given by the P.G.M. on the Anniversary should be so given after Dinner".

From the following report of that meeting which was held at Ramsgate it would appear that the matter was settled to the satisfaction of all concerned:—

"Monday being the Anniversary festival of the Free and Accepted Masons of the County of Kent, under the patronage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, a Grand Provincial Lodge was held at the Assembly Rooms Ramsgate; a numerous, splendid, and respectable assemblage of the Fraternity went in procession to the Chapel in that town, where a sermon appropriate to the occasion was preached by the Rev. Jethro Inwood, Prov. Grand Chaplain, from the 4th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, and the 18th verse 'But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing'. After Divine service the company returned in procession to the Assembly Rooms and partook of a sumptuous dinner; in the course of the afternoon an elegant oration recommendatory of the observance of the religious and moral tendency of the Order, of considerable length, was delivered by the Provincial Grand Master with much emphasis, eloquence and ardour, which was enthusiastically received by the Brothers present with reiterated bursts of applause.—Many loyal Masonic and patriotic toasts were given from the chair, and that particular harmony, order, and hilarity prevailed which has ever so conspicuously distinguished the Masonic character; and the company dispersed at an early hour, highly gratified with the urbanity and

polite attention of their much esteemed superior, and the precepts of their Rev. Monitor ”.

In 1805. Friday May 24th we find:—

“ *Clarior é Tenebris.* Kent Masonic Anniversary.

On Monday, June 3rd, 1805 the Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons (under the patronage of His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales) will hold their annual Festival, at the Royal Artillery Hotel, at Woolwich, when a sermon will be preached on the occasion, before Wm. Perfect Esq. P.G. Master, the Officers and Brethren of the different Lodges in this county, by the Rev. Jethro Inwood Prov. Grand Chaplain.

Procession to church at ten o'clock and dinner on table at three precisely.

By Order of the P.G.M.

J. Gurr, P.G. Sec. &ct.”

The following is taken from the “Minutes” of that meeting:—

“ Provincial Grand Lodge Held on Monday the 3rd of June A L 5805 at the Royal Artillery Hotel Woolwich when the Lodge was opened in Due form. Present: Robt. Moor P.G.J.W. as acting P.G.M. The P.G.M. Absent from Indisposition . . .

“ Resolved unanimously on the motion of Br. Killick and seconded by Br. J. Inwood, That Circular Letters be forthwith sent by the P.G. Sy. (with the approbation of the P.G. Master) to all the Lodges within his Jurisdiction i.e. to all the respective members thereof to dissuade them from Purchasing or encouraging the sale of one Mr. Chamberlain's Lectures on Masonry as set forth in his printed letters, the same being deemed derogatory and below the Mystic Rites of our Sacred and Venerable Institution.

Resolved also that a committee be appointed to take the said Mr. Chamberlain's letter into consideration and to adopt such further measures as the necessity of the case may require.

Resolved upon a motion by the Rev. Jethro Inwood seconded by Br. Bryan that Br. Moor P.G. Grand Warden, Br. Killick Master of the Lodge of Freedom and Br. Charles Barnard P.G.M.C. do form such committee with full power to add to their numbers as they may see occasion, and the said committee having laid their Resolutions before the Grand Master by and with his Sanction desire a circular to the above purpose be sent by the Prov. G. Secy. discouraging with all becoming scorn and indignation the said Mr. Chamberlain's Propos^e to Violate the Honour and Sacred Secrecy of the Royal Craft which if thus made too easy of access will totally lose that valuable estimation which for a series of centuries it has been the Pride and Glory, to support and maintain, which circular letter was accordingly Transmitted to the Respective Masters of the Respective Lodges in the Jurisdiction ”.

There is no further mention of this matter in the Minute Book until 1810, after the death of Dr. Perfect, when it was raised again; Dr. Perfect no doubt remembered the former occasion when he caused a circular letter to be sent and the trouble to himself caused thereby.

In 1806 the Provincial meeting was held at Faversham and the report from the newspaper is as follows:—

“ Faversham May 26th, 1806.

“ This being the day appointed for the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons of Kent to hold their Anniver-

sary Festival at this place, the Brethren from all the different Lodges in this County, to upwards of 150, met at the Assembly Rooms, in this town, and preceded by a band of music, amidst a vast concourse of people drawn together by the novelty of the spectacle and fineness of the day, went in procession to our Parish Church; where an excellently appropriate sermon was preached by the Rev. J. Inwood, M.A. and Prov. Grand Chaplain to the Society, from the 5th Chapter of St. Matthew, and part of the 47th verse, 'What do ye more than others'—after divine service the Brethren returned in the same professional (*sic*) order to the Assembly Rooms, and after the business of the day partook of a sumptuous dinner; after which the Prov. Grand Master, with all that eloquence which has ever distinguished his elegant orations delivered a most animated and impressive speech of considerable length, expatiating on the morality, utility and benevolent tendency of the Masonic Order, which was received as usual, with loud and reiterated marks of applause to which it was so justly entitled.—Many loyal patriotic and highly finished Masonic toasts and sentiments were given from the chair, and the afternoon was passed with all that pleasantry and convivial harmony which attaches to the Masonic character.—As an honourable mark of the full approbation of this numerous and respectable assemblage, at their request, the Reverend Preacher consented to have his sermons printed for the use of the fraternity in particular and the community in general”.

The “Minutes” of this meeting inform us that the Prov. Grand Master and Officers were present—“with the additional Honour of Br. Saml. Clanfield Esq., W. P. Norris Esq., Past Grand Stewards”.

It was “Resolved that the Thanks of the Meeting are due to the R.W.P.G. Master for his polite attention, not only at this meeting, but on all occasions, for the good of Masonry in General but to the Lodges of Freemasons within his Jurisdiction in particular”. (This is the first occasion this phrase is used in the Minute Book.)

The History of the Lodge of Harmony No. 133, Faversham, informs us that “The Prov. Grand Lodge was held at the Assembly Rooms, Faversham” in 1806 “by Dr. Perfect, Prov. Grand Master. It was attended by 138 brethren representing 15 Lodges. £7-14 collected at the Church Doors was distributed to the poor. Expenses of the Provincial Meeting: Hymns £1-7-6: Band £6-6. Sexton and Maidservant 13/-: Ringers £1-1-0”.

In 1808 the meeting was held at Chatham the report being:—

“Monday the Anniversary Festival of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons of the County of Kent, was holden at the Sun Inn, Chatham. The procession to church which was conducted with the greatest order and effect under the direction of the Masters of Ceremonies, set out at twelve o'clock. The service in the church was truly characteristic of the solemnity of the Masonic Order. The prayers and a suitable service, selected for the occasion, were read by the Rev. Bro. Jones, and an appropriate and impressive sermon was preached by the Rev. Jethro Inwood, P.G. Chaplain, from St. Paul's First Epistle to Ephesians c. 5, v. 15. The usual collection at the church door was made for charitable purposes, on the return of the procession.—The Brotherhood after having gone through the usual business of the day, dined together, and the attention that had been paid in the previous arrangement made by the Lodge No. 10, met most deservedly, with universal approbation. The only circumstance which at all interfered with the festivities of the day was the absence of the Prov. Grand Master,

Wm. Perfect esq. M.D. who by severe indisposition, was prevented from discharging the duties of his exalted situation. In the absence of the P.G.M. Richard Thompson esq. D.P.G.M. filled the chair.— A more respectable assemblage of the fraternity we never recollect to have witnessed on any previous occasion.”

The following year 1809, on June 2nd we find:—

“Freemasonry. On Monday the 22nd instant a numerous and respectable assemblage took place at the Falcon Tavern Gravesend to celebrate the anniversary Provincial Festival of the County of Kent. The Master, Wardens and Brethren of the respective Lodges, and the Provincial Grand Officers, having been duly marshalled and arranged, according to ancient and established custom, by the Provincial Grand Master of Ceremonies, were conducted in regular form to the Parish Church, the service selected for the occasion was read by the Rev. Mr. Mansfield, with considerable impression, was in perfect unison with the solemnity of the Order, and appropriately adapted to the peculiar nature of the institution. The sermon was delivered by the Rev. Br. Andrew Hart, M.A. from St. John Chapt. XIII, v. 35, which was judicious, appropriate and impressive. On the return of the procession the accustomed collection of voluntary contributions for charitable purposes was made at the church doors; the regular business of the day having been gone through, the Brethren at three o'clock adjourned to the Town Hall, where a most excellent dinner was provided, which evinced the attention and liberality of the Lodge of Freedom No. 89, towards the comforts of the Masonic brethren, and which by the marked and distinguished approbation it received was the best proof of the general satisfaction; indeed there was only one circumstance connected with the meeting which at all interfered with the festival of the day, the general regretted and lamented absence of the Prov. Grand Master Wm. Perfect Esq. who was prevented by severe indisposition. Br. R. Thompson Esq. Dep. Prov. Grand Master presided on the occasion. We have always great pleasure in noticing the meetings of this excellent Society, and it was with peculiar satisfaction that we observed in the procession three distressed fatherless children, who upon enquiry, we find to be educated and clothed by the above Lodge, and which in our opinion is a clear demonstration if any additional proof was necessary, that benevolence among Masons is not only taught as a precept but practiced as a duty”.

The “severe indisposition” which prevented Dr. Perfect from attending the Anniversary Festival in 1808 and 1809 proved fatal, as on Friday, June 23rd, we find the following:—

“On Saturday evening June 17th about eleven o'clock were interred the remains of Dr. Perfect P.G.M. in Kent aged 72 years. The Procession consisted of a hearse, three coaches and one private carriage, and proceeded from West Malling, by torch light, to the church, which was lighted on the occasion, the resident clergyman having performed his duty, Dr. Thompson of Rochester D.P.G.M. in a neat and appropriate speech addressed the congregation and Masons on the many virtues of the deceased”.

“On his tombstone in East Malling Churchyard it is recorded that he, ‘after a life spent in the arduous duties of his profession, adorned with literary taste and softened by the emotions of a heart which glowed for other's good, exchanged it for Immortality June 5th, 1809’”.

An obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1809, says of Dr. Perfect: "His social and moral virtues will long be remembered by the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in Kent; and the memory of their zealous and affectionate Grand Master will be long and ardently cherished".

APPENDIX I.

ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF W. PERFECT, M.D.,

Late Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master.

Pensive, dejected, overwhelm'd with grief,
Grant me, indulgent Muse, thy kind relief;
Thy aid administer, inspire, indite,
And guide my feeble pen with force to write.
May honest fervour, compensation make
For want of genius, and for friendship sake.
Yes, gen'rous friendship, disint'rested, free,
Bestow'd by Kent's Masonic Chief on me;
For this concession let me, in return,
Strew grateful incense o'er the donor's urn.

To thee, O PERFECT, whose accomplish'd mind
Was stor'd with wit and sentiment refin'd;
Whose frank urbanity and plentious board,
Did literate and nutritious cates afford.
O, silent Monitor, before thy shrine,
I offer up these humble lays of mine.
Could I but catch one spark of genuine fire
From thy (so lately) fascinating lyre,
Then might I pour transcendant notes along,
And, with thy flow'rets, deck my plaintive song.

Fix'd were my hopes that some enlighten'd bard
Had the condoling monody prepar'd;
Had from APELLES Nature's pencil bourne,
To draw the portrait of the man we mourn.
Some modern GOLDSMITH would have suited well,
In classic numbers classic worth to tell;
To sound the praise of Kent's Masonic Sire,
Whose fame, recorded, never can expire.
For long as Masons shall with lustre shine,
So long the palm of Cassia shall be thine.

'Twas thine with eloquence and mental powers,
To give delight thro' captivating hours;
Or when thy Muse with radiant beauty glow'd,
Witness 'The Months', how sweet thy numbers flow'd!
If on hilarity thy mind was bent,
What could excel "The Lodge within the Tent?"
Or, did thine all-creative fancy stray
To Preston Court, the Park, or Beltenge Bay,
Nature and Genius took thee by each hand—
Climate and seasons were at thy command.

When festive customs call'd thee to appear,
The Sons of Science hail'd the rising year.
Order and Moral conduct led the way,
And thy superior talent crown'd the day.
No austere rules were thine, no distant pride,
At once politely free and dignified.
The annual fete was, under thy controul,
"The feast of reason and the flow of soul":
Where kind benevolence, with fost'ring hand,
And sentimental honours took their stand.

To these bright parts, instinctively were join'd
A hand and heart beneficent and kind.
Humanity thro' all thy actions shone;
And in thy breast compassion held her throne.
Professional repute, so justly due,
With mark'd distinction was conferr'd on you.
Debilitated reason felt thy pow'r.
Great was thy skill in nature's trying hour.
Gentle (not timorous) when danger call'd;
Howe'er the human frame might be enthrall'd.

But, ah! these qualities could not withstand
The stroke of Death, or parry off his hand;
For if intrinsic worth might set aside
The stern intruder, thou hadst never died.
The body long worn by incessant pain,
Resolv'd at length to kindred earth again.
Her anchor, Hope had cast within the vail,
Stedfast and sure, where comforts never fail.
Patient, resign'd—submissive and serene,
When mercy interpos'd and clos'd the scene.

Behold the mourning troop, solemn and slow,
Up to the village church they go.
The nodding plumes, the mutes, the spreading pall,
The flambeaux, and the midnight bell appal.
The hallow'd rites within the sacred place,
Pronounc'd with zeal, propriety, and grace;
The funeral dirge, perform'd correctly true,
By swains to whom peculiar thanks are due;
The sculptur'd silent tomb, with ample space,
Receives its rightful lord with cold embrace.

O, King of Terrors! thy malignant frown,
With baneful influence strikes our comforts down.
E'en whilst I write, my son in manhood's bloom,
Lies a cold corse; cut off in life's short noon.
My throbbing heart's oppress'd with grief and woe,
My gushing eyes with briny tears o'erflow.
These are thy triumphs, Death; but know thy throne,
Thyself—thy kingdom, shall be overthrone,
When man, enrob'd with a Redeemer's love,
In glory shall ascend to realms above.

PERFECT MSS. IN PROV. LIBRARY OF KENT, CANTERBURY.

Volumeye 9th Aug. 7th, 1766.

N.B. The Poetical Botcher No. 24 is on Masonry by Mr. Austin, see Vol. 8th Page 53.

. . . You'll let me see when printed your performance on the Freemasons. I wonder you have not dropped a word abt. these Gentre considering they are your beloved Brethren.—But since you have thought fit to bide yr time permit one to introduce them in a word or two as follows.

All Kingdoms have their Masons free
 Wch help to form Society
 By Signs and Marks they ll know each other
 In numerous crowds spy out a Brother
 They have their Laws and Order good
 To govern o'er the Brotherhood
 That ne'er have been in ages past
 Divulg'd till now found out at last
 But here at length the Secret s shown
 And faithfully to all made known
 If History be no Ancient Fable
 Free Masons come from Tower of Babel
 Whe first ye Fabric was begun
 The greatest underneath the Sun
 All Nations thither did repair
 To build this Castle in the Air
 Some thousand hands were well employed
 To finish wh. was ne'er enjoyed
 For as they built it still gave way
 And found new work for following day
 But after they some years had spent
 In labour with a good intent
 And found that all their labouring pain
 Was still alas! bestow'd in vain
 They then resolved no more to roam
 But to return to their own home
 Tho first they signs and marks did frame
 To signify from whence they came
 That where so e'er these men shd. go
 They always might their Brethren know
 And this was well contriv'd for want
 Of learning for the ignorant
 That wit t. speaking ev'ry Tongue
 As by an ancient Bard is Sung
 All Masons might of every Land
 Their meaning ever understand
 And yt it shd a Secret be
 Amongst themselves they disagree
 Their several Rules and Orders made
 Relating to the Masons Trade
 Should be observ'd as long as time
 As Records writ in Prose or Rhime
 And by a solemn Oath enjoined
 The only Tye upon the mind
 But since tis found the Masons free
 Wch in our modern Times we see

Are workmen of another kind
 To Sport they're more than Toil inclined
 They have no Trowels nor yet Lines
 But still retain their marks and signs
 And Tools they've got wch always fit
 A Lady Dutchess or a lit
 To build upon foundation good
 Not made of earth but Flesh and Blood
 And they ne'er want ye stronger stuff
 As t appears when strip or Buff (?)
 Whe they're in Cues all Females find
 To build the fabric of Mankind
 This still must be allowed by all
 Who're skilled in Building yours and fall (?)
 That this same workmanship exceeds
 The Labour pain and Manley Deeds
 So long since us d by all good people
 On Babel Tower or Sal'sbry Steeple.

Your sincere friend

Tho. Austin.

Dr. Perfect answers:—

Lines on Masonry I have not yet beheld the
 amiable ladies who bring up ye last Favour
 when I do ye message shall be punctually
 executed by

W.P.

APPENDIX II.

Visitors from Canterbury to the Faversham Lodge, 1763-1788, as shown in the
 Minute Book, Lodge of Harmony, No. 133, Faversham.

July 20, 1763:	Br. Thomas Pierce.
Aug. 31, 1763:	Abr. Prebble, Joseph Royle.
Nov. 9, 1763:	Abr. Prebble, Joseph Royle, Thomas Pierce, S.W. Will Dyce, P.M. Thos. Young, M., Sol. Freemoult.
Dec. 5, 1764:	Jcseph Royle.
Jan. 30, 1765:	Thos. Young.
April 23, 1766:	Dudlow, Parry, Thomas.
May 21, 1766:	Dudlow.
Feb. 25, 1767:	Roile, Dudlow.
June 17, 1767:	Thos. Young.
Nov. 2, 1768:	Beverley, Dudlow.
Oct. 31, 1770:	Dice, Friend, Matson, Thomas, Jull, Young.
Jan. 25, 1775:	Friend.
St. John's Day.	
Dec. 27, 1776:	Young, Edgcumbe, Pettit.
Prov.G.L.	
Dec. 23, 1777:	Hadrill, Pettit, Edgcumbe, Smith, Daniels, Taswell.
Nov. 26, 1783:	John Blunden, Sec. Lodge 403, Canterbury.
Jan. 7, 1784:	Blunden, Warren, Hambrook, Cheavele, Ind. Lodge, 403.
Mar. 15, 1786:	Jacob Sawbridge, P.G.M., Johnson Macaree, Thomas Lowen, Edw. Smith, John Chevele.

APPENDIX III.

Portrait of Dr. Perfect (Industrious Lodge Treas. Book)

“ 1804 July 26, Br. Lepine for a Frame & Glass to the portrait
of Dr. Perfect as per Bill - 12-6 ”

There is a printed Circular in the Grand Lodge Library
(Prov. G.L. of Kent 1777-1830) referring to the above portrait,
copies of which are still in existence, which reads as follows:—

AUCTOR PRETIOSA FACIT.

Dr. Perfect's Portrait

Under the immediate Patronage—and at the express
wish of the FREEMASONS in the

County of Kent

Proposals

For Publishing by Subscription

A PRINT

Representing the Portrait of William Perfect, M.D.

Provincial Grand Master

for the said County

From a Picture by W. M. Sharp—and an Engraving by W. Say.
The size twenty inches by fourteen.

Proofs one Guinea—plain Prints Ten Shillings & Sixpence,
To be paid at the time of delivery.

Subscribers are requested to send their money as early as Possible
to Brother John Gurr, Provincial Grand Secretary at Chatham,
Brother G. Perfect, Provincial Grand Senior Warden, W. Malling,
Brother Chavalier Ruspini; Pall Mall or Brother C. Cuppage in
Warwick Street, Gold Square — Subscriptions are also received by
the Master of every Lodge in Kent, who will immediately forward
them as above.

From the Press of W. EPPS, Rochester.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Pope for his interesting
paper, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W., comments being offered
by or on behalf of Bros. S. J. Fenton. C. C. Adams, W. J. Williams, H. Poole, L. E.
Jones, and F. L. Pick.

BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

The Lodge and the Craft should be grateful to Bro. Sydney Pope for his
paper which brings together a large volume of authenticated information
concerning Freemasonry in Canterbury and the Province of Kent, beginning
with the Constitution at Canterbury of the first Lodge in the County of Kent
in 1730, and proceeding with such continuity as the records afford until the
year 1809, when the Provincial Grand Master, Dr. William Perfect, finished his
earthly course.

The paper is not confined to the Craft Lodges of the “Moderns” and
the “Antients,” but extends to certain Royal Arch Chapters and to Lodges
held at various places in the Province. It brings vividly to our notice a number
of interesting events and notable personages, the mere recital of which indicates

the wide scope of our Brother's researches and the unusual variety of the manifestations of their existence and the liveliness shown by the Freemasons of Kent.

Perhaps the greatest gem of the collection is the narrative of the Anniversary meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held at Dartford in 1796 when the Prov.G.M., wearing the Prince of Wales' feathers in his hat, headed a procession with colours flying and an excellent band of music.

"In addition to this uncommonly brilliant, numerous, and respectable procession, much beauty and elegance was derived from the *Lady Masons* who assembled in great numbers, dressed in white and purple, and after joining the procession were politely conducted into the Church by the Provl. Grand Master."

No wonder that the Prov.G.M. was stirred to an oration and that Matthew Garland was led to the poetic effusion set forth in the paper.

But it would be wrong for me to dilate on the many important pictures presented to our mental vision by this most instructive collection of recorded facts. There is something for every Mason in the paper. Poetry, Prose, Oratory, Provincial Grand Masters, Clergymen, Legal proceedings, Journalistic rhapsodies, Military Lodges, and a host of other categories.

The paper opens with mention of the Lodge formed in 1730, whence it appears that some timorous local magnates had blundered into the idea that this Lodge of Freemasons was a sort of repetition of the history of Guido Fawkes with Dark Lanthorns and other accessories all complete. No wonder that the trepidation of these wrongly instructed local authorities was amusingly burlesqued.

I venture to add a few notes amplifying the information given by Bro. Pope as to the Lodge formed in 1730. The information given in Lane's Records is embodied in the paper.

In the list of Lodges (*Q.C.A.*, X., 179) page 237 is headed "Red Lyon in Canterbury," but no entry is made on the page which is otherwise blank. Also in *Q.C.A.*, X., 141, under date 1731, 29 Jan., there is this:—"The Lodge held at the Red Lyon in Canterbury sent half a guinea in token of their regard for the orders of the Grand Lodge and their desire of promoting the Grand Charity proposing to send something every quarter notwithstanding their private Charity at Canterbury which makes in all in the Treasurer's hands £75. 3. 6.

(This the Brethren then called the Grand Charity, but they appear to have had little foresight as to the extent that small sum was to grow.)

In the 1738 *Constitutions* at pp. 192-3 is a list of Deputations for constituting Lodges as in the Grand Lodge Books, and in the engraved List, including:—

"The Lodge at Canterbury at the Red Lyon constituted 3 April 1730 and meet 1st and 3rd Tuesday."

As to the Lodge consecrated in 1776 and held at The Fleece in Canterbury, it is hoped that our Brother will inform us from what record or newspaper is taken the quotation beginning—"Canterbury Dec. 21 . . ."

As the Centenary Warrant given to No. 31, United Industrious Lodge warranted 24th March, 1806, is dated 16th December, 1878, it seems desirable to embody in the paper a note to the effect that the Centenary period dated from the Lodge consecrated in 1776 and which Lodge was afterwards united with the Lodge formed in 1806. This is a case where the "Modern" Lodge united with a Lodge of the "Antients" and by so doing conferred on the united Lodge the chronological status obtained by the "Modern" Lodge.

Our Brother states that Freemasonry in Canterbury from 1785-1809 is the history of Lodge No. 31 during that period. This is not an entirely accurate statement because a reference to Lane's Records shows that a Military Lodge met in Canterbury in 1799. This Lodge was No. 183 and was erased in 1828. Its warrant was given to the Seventeenth Regiment of Light Dragoons in September, 1794 (see Lane, p. 183).

Under heading "The Royal Arch" appears this:—

"The Almighty J.A.H." Will our Brother please make clear whether the full stops actually appear between the letters of that name?

There are two Provincial Grand Masters of Kent whose names do not appear in the paper. They were Hon. Robert Boyle Walsingham, appointed 1770; and Captain Charles Frederick, appointed 1774, succeeded in 1777 by Capt. George Smith.

This is a worthy example of a paper dealing with the Masonic history of a Province for a most interesting period, and I am glad to join unreservedly in supporting the vote of thanks which has been proposed.

Bro. S. J. FENTON said:—

Bro. Pope has compiled a paper which will be appreciated by all who have heard it, and those who will read it; but the Brethren of Canterbury in particular and Kentish Masons in general will find in it a vast quantity of detail not hitherto printed which must enlighten them on points of local Masonic history.

Personally I have derived a lot of information from the paper; and of course I want to know still more than Bro. Pope has told us.

Brethren, only those of you who have compiled a paper of 20 or more long galley proofs, can appreciate the vast amount of research work which has been done by the author, and perhaps I am hardly generous in asking for more.

In 1785 we find the Prov. G. Master of Kent appointed officers unknown to us to-day by the names they bore.

An Orator—who does not officially have any parallel in our Lodges to-day —(although they are known to exist unofficially)—and of course such an officer is appointed in Scottish Lodges.

An Architect—this Brother we may assume to be the forerunner of to-day's Superintendent of Works.

A Record-Keeper—who was probably what we should to-day call a Registrar. This office might with advantage be revived. A real Record-Keeper to each Prov. G. Lodge would be very useful; and he would have plenty of work to do to keep a record of all the historical documents of his Province.

An Artist—Photography has probably been the cause of this office falling from favour.

A Seal-Keeper—Most early Lodges had their Lodge seals; a custom which unfortunately has died out, owing to cheap printing. In the early days Lodge clearance certificates were written on any paper and were recognised as official only when bearing the Lodge seal. I have seen one Lodge Summons calling a meeting bearing a Lodge seal, which the Tyler took round to each member who duly signed it. It was the only summons issued and the signature on it notified acceptance. (There was a fine for non-attendance. I might mention it was a Military Lodge working in India about 1820).

Regarding the support given by the Brethren of Canterbury and elsewhere in Kent to Theatrical Performances in 1785-1800, it is interesting to note that the custom continued for many years after that date.

In 1848—Theatre Royal, Margate,—on the occasion of the Prov. G. Lodge of Kent meeting at Margate under the patronage of L. C. Humphrey, Prov.G.M.—when an appropriate Masonic Address, written expressly for the occasion, will be spoken by Mrs. Dowton.

Similar performances were held in 1849, 1850, and 1851.

In 1851 a Bill contains an addition which is not on the other Bills. It reads—"A Policeman will be in attendance to ensure order in the Gallery."

Bro F. L. PICK writes:—

I would like to support the vote of thanks which I know will be accorded to Bro. Pope, who has done us good service in summarising the records of early Freemasonry in Canterbury with much valuable biographical material, especially relating to Dr. Perfect and the Rev. Jethro Inwood. Bro. Pope gives us an interesting little sidelight on the almost casual outlook of many provincial Brethren on the rivalry between the "Modern" and "Antient" Grand Lodges, as two Brethren who were taking an active part in the work of the Industrious Lodge in March, 1806, appear as first Master and J.W. of Lodge 24 of the "Antients" in the same month. Bro. Fry tells, in the History of the Royal Gloucester Lodge No. 130, of the working of a Lodge under both "Antients" and "Moderns" simultaneously; and, while in Bolton, Lanc., strong measures were taken to prevent intercommunication between members of the rival jurisdictions and in Rochdale the Lodges did not settle down together for ten years after the Union; in Oldham there is internal evidence that the Brethren were not at all clear as to the respective merits of "Moderns," "Antients," or even York.

Bro. Pope refers also to the activities of Bro. Gardner, the actor, who worked the First Lecture a year after his initiation and who regularly visited the Canterbury Lodges during his periodical visits to the district. Whilst the migratory life often prevents Masonic advancement, theatrical training has stood more than one Mason in good stead, and one may mention Thomas Griffith, the earliest known Grand Secretary of Ireland, who unlike Bro. Gardner was able to continue his activities in both worlds.

Bro. S. POPE writes, in reply:—

I am grateful to the Brethren for the kind way in which my paper has been received and would like to point out that the fact that a few scrappy notes sent to the late Bro. Vibert ultimately culminated in this paper is largely due to the inspiration and kind assistance I received from him. Bro. Rickard has also greatly assisted me and among other things he obtained for me was the list of the members of the Chapter of Concord. I thank Bros. Williams, Fenton and Pick for their kind remarks and for the additional information they impart.

Bro. Williams' remarks on the United Industrious Lodge remind me that it is also interesting to note that among the "Lodges now in existence originally founded by Irish Masons," given by Bro. Sadler in his *Masonic Reprints and Revelations*, is "United Industrious Lodge, No. 31, Canterbury." The Petition and Recommendation for the Warrant are given, also a list of the Founders, and we are told that "Six of the eight Founders of the Lodge were undoubtedly Irish Masons." These include "Duke Buckingham of 400, J.W., Aaron Paris of 400 (and) Jacob Hart of 400." We have already noted that Aaron Paris paid in 1802 the usual fee (£3-8-0) for "Making Passing & Raising" and that Duke Buckingham paid the same amount in 1805. In 1800 we find "Br. John Mead's admission under this constitution, his belonging to the 55th Regiment of Foot 10/6d." From this it would appear that these Brethren were members

of a "Modern" Lodge and that they became "Irish Masons" for the purpose of founding Lodge No. 24.

The "interesting little sidelight" mentioned by Bro. Pick is also emphasised by the item "Bro. Mead's admission." This, however, appears to be the only one and the names of the three members of the Industrious Lodge do not again occur in the Treasurer's Book after they had become Founders of No. 24. There is more evidence of mixing in the Faversham Lodge which started as "Antient" in 1763 and became "Modern" the following year; as we have noted, their Minute Book contains reference to Royal Arch work in 1778 and the following also is recorded there:—"1807, Feb. 25, Lodge opened in the 2nd Degree, Lecture on Ditto. The cross against the Brothers' names denotes that they were this night made Mark & Ark."

The Industrious Lodge appears to have been most orthodox and when I read¹ that "the Regular Grand Lodge adopted the Past Master's Degree in 1810, 45 years after the 'Antients,'" I turned up the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book and found that no member was designated "P.M." until 1810 when the previous P.M. became "Br. Edwin Pillow, P.M."

Bro. Pick mentions that "theatrical training has on more than one occasion stood a Mason in good stead"; that Masonry was appreciated by "the Profession" in the 18th century is shown by that eccentric genius George Parker, in his *Praise of Masonry* in which he says "To those who have to vary the stages of their lives as Itinerants there is hardly a more serviceable or more honourable appellation than that of Free Mason." Bro. A. W. Hudson in his paper on "George Parker's Dissertation on Masonry" tells us:—² "Brother George Parker, sailor, soldier, actor, author and lecturer was born in 1732 at Green Street near Canterbury, and after attending the King's School at Canterbury he was 'early admitted' he says 'to walk the quarter-deck as a midshipman on board the Falmouth and the Guernsey' . . .

"About 1761, his friends placed him in the King's Head Inn at Canterbury, where he soon failed."

The City Records³ show that "George Parker of this City, Victualler" applied to purchase his Freedom Tuesday, 26th June, 1764, without which he could not have taken the "King's Head"; as the Canterbury Lodge was meeting there at that date it is probable that he was initiated there, although, as Bro. Hudson remarks, "Unfortunately the archives of No. 253 are lost, so the necessary proof is lacking."

Bro. Fenton's remarks about the Offices not known to us to-day help us to visualise Masonic life in the 18th century and those on the "Seal Keeper" recall to my mind an item in the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book:—

"1799, March 1st. Wafers for Summonses. . . . 6d."

¹ R.A. Degree (J. Stokes) Mchester Res. Ass. Trans., vol. xiii., p. 46.

² Authors' Lodge Trans., vol. iv., p. 308.

³ Burghmote Minute Book.



FRIDAY, 3rd MARCH, 1939.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., W.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., S.W.; B. Ivanoff, J.W.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.D.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.; and W. I. Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. C. B. Savile; A. B. Adams; S. Pope; C. F. Sykes; R. A. Card; F. R. Radice; T. C. Muffett; W. M. Day; R. Dawson; S. S. Seelig; H. Chown; A. F. G. Warrington; J. J. Cooper; G. C. Williams; J. C. Vidler; W. W. Chetwin; Lt.-Col. C. J. H. Swann, Dep.G.Swd.B.; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; J. F. Tarrant; R. C. Brice; L. E. Banks; G. T. Harley Thomas, P.G.D.; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; Lt.-Col. H. C. B. Wilson; A. Mond, P.A.G.D.C.; T. M. Walsh; F. Matthewman; A. F. Cross; Lt.-Col. G. D. Hindley, P.A.G.D.C.; R. M. Strickland; J. M. Catterson; W. J. Mean; L. G. Wearing; R. H. Clarke; H. W. Martin; and C. H. Lovell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. H. Blake, Guildford Lodge No. 5443; H. Norris, Aldwych Club Lodge No. 3794; G. Eve, Bee Hive Lodge No. 2809; S. H. Maxwell, Clerkenwell Lodge No. 1964; and H. D. Reinsch, Lodge No. 677, G.L. Calif.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; B. Telepneff; D. Knoop, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby; F. L. Pick; and H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C.

The Worshipful Master read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

Brethren,

Since our last meeting the Lodge has lost by death two Past Masters, each of whom had rendered long and useful service.

WILLIAM JOHN SONGHURST.

By the death of W.Bro. W. J. Songhurst the Lodge has suffered a very grievous loss; he was our senior member and had guided the destinies of the Lodge for over 30 years. Bro. William John Songhurst was born on 12th July, 1860, and died after a very short illness on 25th January, 1939. He was laid to rest in Highgate Cemetery on Monday, 30th January. As a young man he spent some years in Mexico in connection with work with the Western

Railway Company of Mexico; but when he returned to England he resided in London for the rest of his life, and devoted himself to all things Masonic. However, in addition to his Masonic activities he found time to interest himself in other matters; he had been a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries since 1892, the year of its incorporation; he became a Liveryman of the Turners' Company in 1913; and was a member of the British Numismatic Society; in all of these he did active work.

Bro. Songhurst was initiated in the Ionic Lodge No. 227 in February, 1888, and was Master of that Lodge in 1894. He was a Founder of three Lodges—in 1897, Alleyn Lodge No. 2647; in 1904, Semper Vigilans Lodge No. 3040, the membership of which is drawn from the Chartered Institute of Secretaries; and in 1914, St. Catherine's Lodge No. 3743, the Lodge of the Turner's Company. In the Grand Lodge of England he was appointed Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1907, and promoted to Past Grand Deacon in 1917. Beyond the seas he had bestowed on him the honour of Past Grand Senior Warden of the Grand Lodge of Iowa in June, 1927.

For many years Bro. Songhurst was a co-opted member of the Library Committee of Grand Lodge. He was a Patron in each of the three Masonic Institutions; and, taking a particular interest in the R.M.I. Girls, he was a member of the Finance Committee of that Institution since 1902, and since 1905 a member of the Petitions Committee of which he became Chairman in 1918. It was his delight to present each year a prize for cooking.

Bro. Songhurst was exalted in the Royal York Chapter of Perseverance No. 7, of which he was First Principal in 1898. He occupied the same Chair in Panmure Chapter No. 720 (now the Globe Chapter No. 23). In 1907 he was appointed Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in Grand Chapter, and in 1917 he received promotion to Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. Since 1903 he was an active member of the Committee of General Purposes of Grand Chapter.

In the Mark Degree Bro. Songhurst was advanced in Hibernia Lodge No. 431 in 1895, became Master in 1900, and in 1904 took the Office of Secretary, which he held for over 20 years. In 1912 he was appointed Grand Junior Deacon, and in 1924 was promoted to Past Grand Senior Overseer. He was a member and Past Master of the Grand Master's Mark Lodge. He took the Royal Ark Mariner Degree in 1896 in Mother Lodge No. 1, afterwards joining the Prince of Wales Lodge No. 4, in which he became P.C.N. in 1925. He was a Founder of Hibernia Lodge of Royal Ark Mariners No. 431 and held the Secretaryship till his death.

In the Ancient and Accepted Rite Bro. Songhurst was perfected in the Invicta Chapter No. 10 in 1893, becoming Sovereign in 1903. He was a Founder and first Sovereign of the Alleyn Chapter No. 139 in 1897. He had the 32nd Degree conferred on him in 1912.

Bro. Songhurst was installed a Knight Templar in the Bard of Avon Preceptory No. 127 in 1897, and became Preceptor in 1905. He was Past Grand Herald in Great Priory.

In the Royal Order of Scotland Bro. Songhurst was admitted in the Grand Lodge in Edinburgh, afterwards joining the Provincial Grand Lodge in London. In this Order as well as in the Order of Red Cross of Constantine, the Cryptic Degrees, the Allied Degrees, the Secret Monitor, the H.R.A.K.T.P., he held high rank.

Bro. Songhurst joined the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia in 1899; and, after acting for over 10 years as Secretary of the Metropolitan College, he rose to the highest and most responsible position of Supreme Magus, which office he held for 14 years. In the Order of Eri he was G.C.E.; and in the Order of Light also he held a prominent position.

Coming to our own Lodge, Bro. Songhurst joined the Correspondence Circle in 1894, and was elected a full member of the Lodge in 1906. After serving as Librarian and Assistant Secretary to Bro. W. H. Rylands, he was appointed Secretary in May, 1908, which office he held until 1928, when, on his resignation of the office, he was the recipient of an illuminated address signed by all members of the Lodge. For many years he declined to be elected to the Master's Chair, preferring to continue in the work which absorbed him as Secretary; and even after relinquishing that office it was only by strong persuasion of the members of the Lodge that he was induced to become Master in the year of the Jubilee of the Lodge. From 1928 until his death he held the Office of Treasurer of the Lodge.

The contributions of Bro. Songhurst to *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* and the discussions in the Lodge—the latter always penetrating but always too brief—were many and always invaluable. The issue of his edition of the earliest Minute Books of Grand Lodge was an event of the highest importance, because it brought the earliest Grand Lodge records within reach of members of the Craft all over the world, and this valuable work is Vol. X. of *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*. His all-round knowledge of Masonic matters was unrivalled. His meticulous care in sifting evidence and his insistence on a firm foundation for any conclusion inspired reliance on his shrewd judgment. His advice and opinion were sought by many a Masonic Student; and his quiet and dignified manner gave the feeling that one was just a little wiser after a talk with him. All who knew him had great admiration for his genial personality, and will retain pleasant memories of his kindness and readiness to help anyone of his Brethren who was in need of assistance and guidance.

GEORGE ELKINGTON.

Bro. George Elkington was born on 1st October, 1851, and died on 11th February, 1939. He was educated at King's College and University College, London, whence he went to L'École des Beaux Arts in Paris, and later to the Architectural School of the Royal Academy. He studied architecture also at University College under Professor T. Haytor Lewis, and won the Donaldson Silver Medal. In 1875 he joined in partnership with his father, who was an architect and surveyor in the City of London; he had a long and distinguished career in his profession, and for many years was a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. In 1873 he was admitted by patrimony a Liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Coopers; in 1898 he became Surveyor to the Company, a position he held for over 30 years; and later served as Warden and as a Member of the Court, attaining to the Office of Master of the Company in 1931. In the following year he wrote the History of the Coopers' Company and the Coopers' Craft, a fitting climax to his long association with the Company. Since 1919 he was a Justice of the Peace for the County of London. The great and absorbing occupation of his life, however, was the development and expansion of the National Building Society, which was founded in 1849. For 33 years he was Chairman of the Society, retiring from that office in 1935 to become President, but he continued to work actively in the interests of the Society till his death.

Bro. Elkington was initiated in the Oak Lodge No. 190 in 1875, and became Master of that Lodge in 1880. In 1891 he was a Founder of the Hiram Lodge No. 2416, a Lodge of architects and surveyors. In 1896 he became Master of the Hiram Lodge, and a second time in 1916. He received London Rank in 1909, and in 1926 was appointed Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works, being promoted in 1936 to Past Grand Deacon.

Bro. Elkington was exalted in the Orpheus Chapter No. 1706 in 1893; and was a Founder of the Hiram Chapter in 1895, becoming First Principal of the latter Chapter in 1898, and a second time in 1917. He received London Chapter Rank in 1926, and in the same year was appointed Assistant Grand Standard Bearer, being promoted in 1936 to Past Assistant Grand Sojourner.

Turning to our own Lodge, Bro. Elkington joined the Correspondence Circle in 1898, became a full member in 1931, and Master in 1936. He was the 5th architect to occupy the Chair of the Lodge, and his knowledge of architecture proved a valuable aid to his Masonic studies.

One Lodge of Instruction and Sixteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Sketches of Solomon's Temple, by Stukeley—some dated.

Summons—Royal Grand Council of Rites, Bath, 1872.

Certificates—Carbonari, mentioned by Bro. F. J. W. Crowe in *A.Q.C.*, xvi., in 1903. Contains a reference to Freemasonry. Dated 1707—the date is under suspicion.

Les Fendeurs (also a photo of same). Dated 1778.

Knighthood of the Cape. i., 1789. ii., 1813.

Comical Fellows—1828.

Book, showing copies of some letters and documents constituting some of the evidence of Count Confalonieri's initiation into Freemasonry.

Copy of the certificate of "Decisi", mentioned in the paper.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for Exhibition.

Bro. F. R. RADICE read the following paper:—

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CARBONARI.

BY BRO. FULKE R. RADICE.

PART II.

X. THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES.



THE fall of Napoleon in April, 1814, put an end to a long period of disturbance. The Allied Sovereigns, helped by their peoples, had overthrown the Conqueror and the task of reconstruction faced them. The fear of the Red Terror and of the militant Empire which followed it had sunk deep into the hearts and minds of men; and the rulers of the Great Powers were determined at all costs to prevent their repetition.

The French revolutionaries, by appealing to all peoples to rise against their sovereigns, had adopted a policy, the dangers of which had been amply demonstrated in Italian Medieval history, when the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, not content with setting city against city, entered the cities themselves, divided them against themselves and caused chaos (see vol. li., p. 40). The Allied Sovereigns, after the war, turned this policy against the French: Russia, Austria and Prussia on the 26th of September, 1815, joined together in the Holy Alliance, the members of which declared their readiness to intervene even in the internal affairs of other states, if necessary, to suppress any fresh outbreak of revolutionary violence. Most other countries in Europe joined it or agreed to be bound by its principles.

French arms, however, had carried the principles of the Revolution far and wide; and in many countries the minds of many men had welcomed them gladly. Many of the educated classes of all nations, while eschewing revolutionary violence, had begun to aspire to take some share in the government of their respective countries; and the fact that the peoples had risen to help their rulers to defeat Napoleon seemed to give them some claim to a reward for their support. Legitimacy and absolutism, if pressed too far, were bound to come into conflict with what was to become the Liberal Movement of the nineteenth century. The liberal aspirations met with a certain amount of sympathy. France, now in enjoyment of a constitution, was not disinclined on occasion to support moderate reform abroad, though her government subscribed to the principles of the Holy Alliance and was ready to suppress revolution at home and abroad, and did so. The Emperor Alexander I. of Russia, imbued for a time with a mystic desire to improve mankind, showed liberal velleities: under the influence of Capo d'Istria he favoured the cause of Greek independence and looked benignly on the Greek secret society, the Heteria; and later he was suspected, not without good reason,¹

¹ Thayer, vol. i., p. 240. Marriott, *Makers of Modern Italy*, p. 37.

to be intriguing with both the Carbonari and the "Concistoriali"¹ in Italy. England, long accustomed to constitutional government, looked with ill-concealed impatience on the denial of all reform; and Castlereagh, though he thought that the time for far-reaching reform was not yet, was opposed to unlimited interference into the affairs of other states by the Holy Alliance powers.

Nevertheless, the demand for reform was premature. To those who remembered 1789 and 1792, any move towards liberal institutions, however harmless in appearance, seemed a forerunner of a fresh outbreak of the Terror. Moreover, the populations as a whole were not interested in political experiments; they desired nothing but peace after the long wars and left the agitation for political reform to a section of the educated classes. During the period now under review, which brings us to the next great landmark in the history of Carbonarism, repression was the order of the day.

As repression and the censorship prevented the open expression of opinion, the liberals were driven to rely on the secret societies for propaganda purposes and political discussion; and, as the Holy Alliance threatened to intervene against the reformers in all countries, the sectaries in their turn attempted to co-ordinate their efforts and bring about international action; and a revolutionary and sectarian centre arose in Paris.

We are informed that long before the fall of Napoleon a combination of secret societies was trying to compass his overthrow; and we have already noted the action of the Tugendbund and the Carboneria against him. These Societies are said to have been inspired and guided to some extent by the "Philadelphes".

The whole history of the "Philadelphes" is very obscure, and we cannot even tell whether they are separate from the "Adelfi" or not.

The history of the Adelfi and Philadelphes is too long to be dealt with here, especially as Brothers Gould and Tuckett² have treated this subject in the *Transactions* of this Lodge. I must, however, refer to a few points regarding those societies, as recent information has led me in some respects to differ in opinion from those eminent Brethren. According to the author of the *Histoire des sociétés secrètes de l'armée*, now acknowledged to have been Nodier, himself a Philadelphes, the Philadelphian society was founded about 1796 at Besançon³ not far from the district in which a form of the old Charbonnerie still survived. Its members were republican and therefore hostile later to Napoleonic Cæsarism. They made many proselytes in the army⁴; and the soldiers introduced the society into Italy. Colonel Oudet, who became Censor,⁵ or head, of the society, induced it to adopt the tactics of the Bavarian Illuminati, of worming itself into the other societies in order to gain control over their policy, while maintaining its own identity intact in the background. The Philadelphes are said to have assisted the Barbets⁶ of the Alps and the Bandouliers⁷ of Savoy and of the Jura, when they carried on a partisan warfare against Napoleon, and to have been responsible for the plots of Moreau and Malet,⁸ both of whom were Censors of the society; and Nodier goes so far as to think that they caused the Emperor's overthrow. Their ruling body was known as the Areopagus.⁹ &⁵ According to Nodier the Philadelphes had three branches in Italy, but he mentions the location of only one of them, Parma. We know of their existence in Apulia and probably the third region in

¹ See p.

² *A.Q.C.*, xiv., Gould, *Military Masonry*; *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., Tuckett, *Napoleon and Freemasonry*.

³ Nodier, p. 12.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵ A term used by the Illuminati of Bavaria.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. i., p. 90.

⁷ Nodier, p. 54. The Bandouliers are said by Nodier to have been raised among the Charbonniers of the Jura by the Marquis of Champagne, a Philadelphes.

⁸ Nodier, p. 231.

⁹ *A.Q.C.*, *Military Masonry*, p. 44.

which they established themselves was Piedmont and Lombardy, which the French armies first overran.

Meanwhile another society had been founded in Paris in 1804¹ by Lafayette, the Corsican Poggi, Servan Goyot, Barzin, the Roman Angeloni and, if Dito, our informant, is to be believed, Oudet, the Philadelphian Censor. Angeloni, whom we shall meet again, was a friend of Malet and took part in his conspiracy, narrowly avoiding his fate. Angeloni and Oudet, therefore, form the connecting link between the Philadelphes and the Adelphe. The ruling body of the Adelphe was the mysterious Grand Firmament, which acquired a great influence over the revolutionary societies of Italy and France. Witt² confirms the separate identity of these two societies and tells us that they were amalgamated later and quotes a decree of the Grand Firmament to this effect. In this way was formed a society variously called the "Régénération européenne"³ "European confederation"⁴ and possibly also "European patriots".⁴ Witt tells us: "The distinctive characteristic of the Grand Firmament", which he calls the "Directoire des sociétés secrètes", was "a continuous tendency to gain control of other societies, even if their object were contrary to its own: but it is not enough for it to achieve its object, it must reach it while keeping in the background, so as to make all these outside bodies serve to execute its own plans without appearing to do so". This was the Illuminati's system again. The Grand Firmament issued a journal, the *Minerve*, which proved effective as an instrument of propaganda. The existence of the Firmament has been doubted, but a manuscript in the British Public Records Office,⁵ which gives us much valuable information about the Adelfi in Italy, fully confirms Witt, and, so far as I am concerned, I regard the existence of that mysterious body as authenticated.

It is much more doubtful whether it was identical with the Central Committee of the Sects in Paris already mentioned. On the whole it seems that there were two bodies, the Grand Firmament being responsible for the more subversive activities of the sects and working more in secret, while the Central Committee busied itself more with liberal movements and political propaganda.⁶

A commission which sat at Mainz about this time discovered the existence of several sects which resembled the Carboneria and had the same political object, the "Gymnastical Society", the "League of the Blacks", the "League of Independents", and the "League of Freedom and Right". These were found to be in contact with the Parisian Committee and are regarded by Nicolli⁷ as evidence of its expanding influence. We shall see that Italians took part in its activities from the beginning and that it exercised a considerable influence on Italian events.

NOTES.

I have given above what seemed to be the most reasonable version of the union between the Adelphe and the Philadelphes. Witt, p. 7, says that the united societies took the name of "Société de la régénération Européenne". The Abbé Gyr says that this name was given to a combination of societies directed by Oudet, which had for sign "C . . .". He also mentions a separate society of Adelphe and says its old name was "Palladium". Gyr's *La Franc-Maçonnerie et ses rapports avec les autres sociétés secrètes de l'Europe notamment avec la Carbonerie italienne* is a very inaccurate work, at any rate so far as the Carboneria is concerned, but in such an obscure subject I hesitate to omit any information, however untrustworthy in appearance.

¹ Dito, p. 327.

² p. 18.

³ Witt, p. 9.

⁴ FO., 70/92.

⁵ FO., 70/92.

⁶ Ottolini, p. 94. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 128. Nicolli, p. 49.

⁷ p. 135.

XI. ITALY IN 1814.

In Italy the fall of Napoleon completely altered the situation. The restoration of several of the old rulers meant the substitution of a number of independent states for a country practically united, in spite of one or two major divisions, and controlled by one authority. In Italy, as in the rest of Europe, the forces of absolutism and liberalism confronted each other.

By the treaty of Prague the Peninsula had been recognised as Austria's particular sphere; and Austria accordingly received the task of ensuring the peace of the country and of safeguarding it from revolution. Absolutist principles found no more wholehearted supporter in Europe than Metternich, who guided Austria's policy; and indeed it is difficult to see how the Austrian empire, composed of many heterogeneous elements, could countenance any system of government which would have led to divisions as a matter of course and, possibly, to disruption. By the fortunes of war her troops under Bellegarde, at the end of the fighting happened to be in occupation of the provinces allotted to her by the Allies: Lombardy and Venetia. Though she had succeeded France as the paramount power in Italy, her position was weaker. She had full possession of only the two specified territories, and the right to garrison a few fortresses outside them, mainly in the Papal States, like Ferrara. For the execution of his policy, therefore, Metternich had to rely on the co-operation of the other Italian rulers.

As regards the smaller states, the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Habsburg-Lorraine, the ruling house of Austria, had been restored to Tuscany and the Duke Francis IV. of Habsburg-Este to Modena. Parma was given to the ex-Empress Marie Louise and Lucca does not enter into our story. As all these were Austrian princes, no difficulties were to be anticipated from them, with the possible exception of Duke Francis, who cherished ambitions of his own.

It was otherwise with the three greater states. At the end of the war the troops of Murat, King of Naples, Austria's ally, were in possession of the Papal States, and by a convention the Neapolitans were left in military occupation of the Marches. Murat, in virtue of his desertion of Napoleon, was left in Naples, the only uneasy survivor of the Napoleonic system. He was dissatisfied and unreliable. Ferdinand of Bourbon had to wait for his restoration to his mainland possessions.

Victor Emanuel I. of Savoy had been the first of all the dispossessed princes to return to his former kingdom; and he was received with the greatest enthusiasm by his subjects, who had always loved their rulers. In order to make his state strong enough to act as a buffer against France he was given Genoa. The inhabitants of the "Haughty City", whose hopes had been raised by Bentinck's unauthorised restoration of the republic, objected strongly, but the countryside of Liguria, which had suffered from Genoese exploitation, submitted readily. In 1815, when Napoleon escaped and Murat tried his last adventure, Piedmont assisted the Allies by sending a contingent under General Giffenga to the Austrian army which invaded Savoy; and as a reward Savoy was returned to Victor Emanuel. The King had given the Allies pledges not to introduce any political reforms, but this did not necessarily make him submissive to Austria. For centuries the rulers of Savoy had hesitated whether to expand into France or Italy, until Henry IV. had forced them down the Eastern slope of the Alps. Placed between the two great powers of France and Austria they had veered from side to side with consummate skill and had steadily advanced into the plain of the Po, adding to their possessions bit by bit,—the policy of the artichoke, as it was called. Austria, was, therefore, not only the recognised opponent of all those subjects of Victor Emanuel who desired a more liberal régime, but also of that kingdom's most cherished ambitions, in respect of which ruler and ruled were completely united. Piedmont, absolutist or

constitutional, felt in Austria a danger to its independence and was little likely to assist Austrian policy in Italy. For the rest of this essay, despite its official title of Kingdom of Sardinia, I will call the sturdy little state Piedmont, which also happens to be more correct, as well as more colloquial, as Sardinia and Savoy played but a small part in the great events that were to follow.

During the Napoleonic era Pope Pius VII. had not been in a position to influence events, yet he never bowed his head to the conqueror. Though he had crowned him Emperor, he kept his independent standpoint; and when Napoleon abolished the temporal power and seized his territories, Pius quietly excommunicated him, and when arrested refused all the terms offered to him by his embarrassed captor. When the Allies entered France in 1814, he was unconditionally released, partly to embarrass the deserter Murat. Pius at once made for his own dominions and reached the outposts of Nugent's Austrian brigade, which was serving South of the Po with Murat's army. His arrival was most unwelcome to Murat, who hoped to keep the Papal States for himself, and to Austria, which coveted the Legations.¹ Murat made every effort to induce the Holy Father to stop, pleading the dangers of the roads and the lack of transport; but the Pope adopted an attitude of sublime indifference to all obstacles, ready even to walk on foot, if no other way were possible, and proceeded onwards amid the general enthusiasm of the populace, in which the Neapolitan soldiers shared. Murat did not dare to resist openly, in view of the fanatical Roman Catholicism of his own troops, and of the fact that he had never been crowned by the Pope, a serious defect of title in the eyes of his subjects; and Pius continued on his way, receiving military honours from the troops, who gave them without waiting for the orders of their commanders, Austrian or Neapolitan. He arrived safely in Rome and his bold journey secured him possession of his territories South-West of the Appennines, that is, excluding the Marches, which were still occupied by the Neapolitans, and the Legations held by the Austrians. The Pope might have been expected to be particularly favourable to one of the principal Roman Catholic states of Europe; but he knew that Austria coveted the Legations. Pius VII. was, therefore, very reluctant to allow himself to become too dependent on Austria. In view of his position as Father in God of all Roman Catholics, he was inclined to show himself ostentatiously independent. Nevertheless, Papal misgovernment was to make his authority so weak eventually that the Pope often found himself between the Austrian devil and the deep sea of his own rebellious subjects, a situation from which the stronger power naturally drew profit.

Austria had also to reckon with foreign powers. France, long Austria's rival in Italy, did not scruple to do what she could to undermine Austria's influence; but her action had national rather than liberal objectives. England, on the other hand, while working to undermine Napoleon's power in Italy, had favoured liberal principles, and these were strongly upheld by Lord William Bentinck, our representative at the Bourbon court at Palermo and our Commander in chief. There is in fact some justification for the view held by some Italian writers that England encouraged the Italians' hopes of independence and free institutions, only to disappoint them when their promises had served their purpose.² Lord William was a man of exceedingly strong character and of very independent will, developed by his period of office as Governor of Madras; but his statesmanship was somewhat defective, and he acted too often independently, without regard to his government's policy. In Sicily he made England's position secure by enlisting on his side the Sicilian people, who had

¹ The Legations, as set up after Pius VII.'s return, were Bologna, Ferrara, Ferli, and Ravenna, the last two forming the Romagna. They were ruled by Cardinals later. The remainder of the Papal States was divided into Delegations, ruled by Prelates.

² Colletta, vol. ii., Bk. vii., ch. 53, p. 119.

suffered much from Bourbon misgovernment, against the corrupt court and by setting up a constitution with two chambers on the English model in the place of the old Sicilian constitution, an assembly of three estates, dating from the time of Frederick II. But his action on the Mainland was less successful. His policy towards Murat was faulty, as we have seen; he rescued Genoa from the French, but his unauthorised restoration of the republic had to be repudiated, and his proclamation issued, in spite of his unfortunate experience with the Sicilian Parliament, which drew from him the not altogether justified outburst that there was not an honest man in Sicily, could be, and was, construed as a promise of independence and liberal institutions, while his government was pledged to a different policy. His half promises raised false hopes; and when they were disappointed England gained among the Italians an unenviable reputation for greed and duplicity. It may be surprise to English readers to discover that Italian friendship for this country is but a recent growth. As the works of the Italian writers of the early part of the XIXth Century show, England was then regarded as only second to France for rapacity, and even a moderate writer like Ottolini suggests that Bentinck misled the Italians in order to secure for England the possession of Sicily and Corsica. In 1814 Bentinck was still at his post in Italy; and it is not surprising that Austria regarded him with suspicion while the liberals had hopes of support from England.

For the liberals the position was changed no less than for the absolutists. Nationalism, which had been strong during the French domination,¹ became quiescent in those parts of the country where the native rulers had been restored; and the energies of the reformers were now directed to obtaining free institutions. The country had been administered for years under practically one uniform system of government. The population had enjoyed the benefits of up-to-date administration, which were remembered, despite the Napoleonic extortions and the levy of 350,000 men for the wars, of whom 120,000 did not come back.² Many Italians had taken part in the work of governing their country and were competent to serve as councillors or civil servants; they had gained valuable experience and not only felt capable of ruling themselves, but also were anxious to do so. There had been a shadow of a constitution under French rule, enough to whet their appetite for more; and their hopes had been raised by the proclamations of Bentinck and Nugent. It is not surprising therefore that though the masses desired only peace, the demand among the educated and professional classes in Italy for constitutional liberty had become stronger.

On the other hand the restoration of the old frontiers tended to impede liberal co-operation and to lead to divergent developments³ in the different states. In the Austrian provinces the desire for independence remained as strong as before, while in the rest of Italy, which was now independent, in theory at any rate, the constitutional question was the more important, and with the exception of Piedmont the chief opponent of the liberals was, in the first place, not Austria, but the local ruler. The feeling for unity, which had made itself felt temporarily in 1814, soon died down. The liberals were further divided as to the form the reformed government was to take. There were still republicans, a diminishing party, which however endured to the end. A more numerous body was content with a constitutional monarchy. On the other side there was a party represented by the Santa Fede, which was both absolutist and in favour of the Pope's temporal power, yet was hostile to Austrian domination. It had combined with the liberals against the French, but diverted

¹ Lemmi, *Periodo napoleonico, 1797-1814. La restaurazione in Italia*. 1910. p. 67.

² Lemmi, *Le origini del risorgimento italiano, 1789-1815*, Hoepli, Milan, p. 372.

³ Nicolli, pp. 48, 49.

its energies to fighting its own countrymen, when the constitutional question became prominent and was in the end driven to prefer absolutism buttressed by Austria to constitutional independence.

The Italian rulers, suspicious of any sign which might portend a fresh revolution, would not make any concession to their subjects, and, pledged as they were to the Holy Alliance, could not do so without the threat of interference from Metternich. In order to keep her subjects in order, Austria tried to crush their spirit of independence and their intellectual activity in the political sphere; and it was to her advantage that no other state in the peninsula should grant what she was unwilling to allow to her own subjects.¹ The absolutists could argue with some show of reason that absolutism did not necessarily mean bad government; and could point out the good administration in the Austrian provinces and the mild and beneficent rule in Parma and Tuscany.

Irksome as the attitude of the rulers was when states were reasonably well governed, it became intolerable when absolutism was accompanied with inefficiency and corruption, when the smallest administrative change for the sake of decency was regarded as a revolutionary act; and, once it was realised that no reform could be obtained from governments supported by Austrian bayonets, Austria became, despite her good government, the symbol of oppression and tyranny, and it was only a question of time before the old nationalism revived.

XII. THE END OF THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD AND THE BEGINNING OF THE RISORGIMENTO.

It is rare, when one comes to consider historical details, that a historical line of demarcation between one period and another is found to be as clear and distinct as it appears at first sight. The date of the fall of Napoleon in April, 1814, is no exception; and we shall find that the period from that date to the end of 1815 sees in Italy not only the beginning of the effort to expel Austria and to obtain free institutions from the restored rulers, but also the aftermath of the Napoleonic episode. It is the period during which the Italian liberals look on one side to Napoleon and Murat to help them to achieve their objects and on the other to Lord William Bentinck and the English, when traces of a common aim throughout Italy are still visible, though the means suggested are inconsistent, and when local divergences have not yet fully developed. It will be convenient therefore in this chapter to treat of events affecting all parts of Italy, regardless of the new frontiers.

The authors of the rising in Milan of the 20th of April, 1814, had risen to drive out Beauharnais, not to make the Austrians lords over themselves; and they did not submit without some effort to escape their fate. First they turned to the English, and, on April the 28th, sent Lattuada, a Carbonaro of whom we shall hear again, to Lord William Bentinck;² but Bentinck could give them no encouragement, as their response to the Allies' invitation to rise against Napoleon had been too sectional and too late. Meanwhile the Milanese electoral colleges had met and sent a deputation headed by Count Confalonieri to Paris to demand from the Allied sovereigns independence or at least a constitution; but the Milanese had made the mistake of calling together the representatives of only the old Duchy of Milan³ and not of the whole Kingdom of Italy: a request from so limited a body could carry but little weight. The Powers implemented the treaty of Prague and assigned Lombardy and Venetia to Austria, a decision made public by Bellegarde in Milan on the 12th of June.

¹ Bianchi, vol. i., p. 26.

² Ottolini, p. 101.

³ Lemmi, *Le ristaurazione in Italia*, 1814, 1910, pp. xii., 98.

The envoys then approached the Austrian Emperor; he replied that he too was an Italian now, he had conquered his territories in the Peninsula and intended to dispose of them as he thought fit!¹ A further approach was made to England; but Castlereagh said he had no reason to think that the Italians would get aught but good treatment from their new sovereign. Castlereagh has been severely blamed by both English and Italian writers and charged with narrowness of vision and lack of sympathy with Italian aspirations. It is but another case of blaming a statesman for events which occurred long afterwards, which could not have been foreseen. Apart from the fact that England was bound by the treaty of Prague, there was no reason then to think that Austrian rule would be oppressive, as it became later, when her authority had been challenged by conspiracies. Of all the states in Italy, the territories under Austrian rule were, almost without exception, the best administered in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Emperor did not follow the course adopted by the King of Sardinia and the Pope, who tried to undo the past; he told Confalonieri's deputation that he had acknowledged Napoleon as a legitimate sovereign, and he felt bound, therefore, to recognise all his acts as valid.² So far as the ordinary affairs of life were concerned his rule was good and the administration of ordinary justice equitable. The Whiggish Duke of Argyle, who travelled through Italy not long after, said that if foreign rule over another race was ever justified, that of Austria in Italy was, because of the prosperity which it brought to its subjects,³ no doubt a superficial observation which ignored the hidden feelings of the educated, but good evidence of Austria's orderly administration. As regards Castlereagh's attitude towards Italian unity, the composition of the body which had sent the deputation was ample evidence that the question was at the moment impracticable.

The rebuffs received in Paris caused the deepest disappointment in North Italy, and discontent began to vent itself against Austria!⁴ A German diplomatist who was at this time at Milan on a mission, likened the country to one of its own half-spent volcanoes.⁵ Foremost among the discontented were the soldiers of the old Italian army. They had been accustomed to see the backs of the whitecoats who now lorded it over them, they knew what hard fighting was, and were numerous and had able leaders. The hardships inseparable from reducing an army from war to peace footing, the dispersal of the Italian units and their incorporation in the Austrian divisions, whereby they lost their individual identity, excited resentment. It is not surprising therefore that the old Napoleonic military element should be the first to take action.

The prospects of a successful rising were by no means desperate. The Allies were quarrelling over the spoils; Murat, whose ultimate fate has been already described, was still on the throne of Naples and his troops under General Carascosa were in the Marches; and, far greater than Murat, Napoleon, a name to conjure with among the veterans, was close by at Elba. The Emperor was now reconciled with his brother-in-law and was in active communication with him. Forgetting past Napoleonic oppressions, the discontented looked back to a glorious past and hoped for the return of the fallen leader, who would save them from conditions they feared and viewed with dismay.

In May, 1814, certain officers,⁶ including two Corsicans, two Genoese, four Piedmontese, two of the late kingdom of Italy and four from the Papal States and Naples, met in Turin and decided to approach Napoleon and offer

¹ Lemmi, *La ristaurazione in Italia*, 1814, 1910, pp. xii., 98.

² Helfert, p. 13.

³ Marriott, *Makers of modern Italy*, p. 57.

⁴ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 124.

⁵ Ottolini, p. 89.

⁶ Castro, p. 316. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 33.

him the crown of a united Italy. They assumed the name of "Independenti" (Independents) and drew up the following programme: Napoleon was to be Emperor and reign in Rome, with a civil list amounting to 20 millions. The government was to be composed of a ministry responsible to a Parliament of two chambers, the popular chamber to be elected triennially and to sit in turn in Rome, Milan and Naples, and the members to be debarred from holding permanent office. In time of crisis a Dictator could be appointed. Four Viceroyes were to rule in the four principal cities. The judges were to be irremovable and the jury system to be adopted, subject to suspension whenever a dictatorship should be set up. All titles of nobility granted during the last ten years were to remain valid, but no privileges were to be attached to them. Religion and the Press were to be free. Also Napoleon was to undertake to refrain from conquests and interference with foreign nations. An address, said to have been drafted by Delfico, a Neapolitan liberal, was presented to Napoleon at Elba and the delegates were received with a certain amount of encouragement. Preparations were advanced and the adhesion of some of the most distinguished civilians secured, including Professors Rasori and Gioia, Pellegrino Rossi¹ and the soldier poet Foscolo.² The plotters claimed that Genoese bankers were prepared to finance them to the extent of 12 millions. Great hopes were placed on the disbanded soldiers of the Italian army and Murat's troops, and help was expected from France. The plan of campaign intended to take advantage of the enmity between Murat and the restored French Bourbons, between whom war was expected to break out very shortly. (See vol. lii., p. 69). As soon as the French and Neapolitan troops had come face to face, Napoleon was to present himself to both armies like a *deus ex machina*, call on them to follow him and seize the crown of Italy. No open opposition was anticipated from England or Russia, and Austria was to be defied. In October, 1814, the conspirators transferred their headquarters to Genoa in order to be nearer to Elba, and they distributed inflammatory leaflets bearing the device of Italy, seated on a sleeping lion, unleashing a fierce Corsican dog. To conclude the story of this conspiracy, when it came to the point on the 26th February, 1815, Napoleon chose to try his fortunes in France, rather than in Italy, and the Independenti disappeared. Their name had been used by political parties before and was assumed many years later by another Sect.

There is no proof that these officers had any connection with the plot proceeding simultaneously in Lombardy or any of the secret societies, but the names of Rasori the economist, who was involved in Lombardy, and Gioia among the Independenti, if La Farina's statement can be relied on,³ makes one surmise the existence of such a connection; and it is very difficult to believe that this handful of men with such grandiose schemes and claiming such vast resources remained in complete isolation, when plotting was going on in many places and discontent was becoming general.

In Lombardy, though the soldiers were the prime movers, the civilian element, in the shape of the Secret Societies, took a more prominent part. Apart from their political ideals, the Sectaries had grievances of their own. Secret societies were proscribed throughout the Austrian Empire; and, even before the war was over, while the armies were still fighting on the Mincio and the Po, the civilian governor, who accompanied Bellegarde, had dismissed civil servants in Verona when they refused to resign from their Secret Societies.⁴ On the 27th of August the Austrian laws against the Sects were applied to Lombardy,

¹ Marriott, *Makers of Modern Italy*, p. 35.

² *La Farina*, vol. iv., p. 66.

³ Vol. iv., p. 66.

⁴ Helfert, p. 7.

and on the 30th of December, 1814, to Venetia; and membership of a Secret Society became a disqualification for all government employment.¹

The most prominent of the Sects which took part in the events which follow was probably that of the "Centri" (Centres). We have three main accounts of the origin of this Society. The first is contained in the depositions of Lattuada at his trial.² John Soleri Lattuada was a barrister who had long been a liberal; he had been a member of the revolutionary "Circolo serale" (Evening Club) of 1796, which was closed by the French authorities, had been one of the contributors to Salfi's "Termometro politico",³ and had been sent on the mission to Bentinck already mentioned. He said that the Centres had existed in Milan in 1802 and at Reggio in Calabria. The Society seems to have succeeded the Rays when they became extinct. In spite of Melzi's⁴ decree suppressing them, the Centres had continued to exist and even held some meetings. After the fall of Napoleon they renewed their activities, largely owing to the energy of Lattuada himself, who had been enrolled in 1812, and had induced many eminent men to join, including Generals Theodore Lechi of Brescia and Bellotti of Turin, Professors Rasori and Gioia,⁵ who had been involved in the conspiracy of the Independents, and a large number of Carbonari. Nicolli⁶ states that the Carbonari made common cause with the Centres, gave it a constitution and taught them its own methods of combat. The other account is contained in an anonymous report which was enclosed in a letter⁷ sent by Raab, chief of the Austrian police in Venetia, to Haager, minister of police in Vienna.⁸ This report states that the Society of the Centres was the Carboneria under a new name. It had ceased to hold meetings, but it continued to conduct its activities in secret and none of its transactions was ever written down. It was spreading all over Italy, its canvassers assuming frequently the guise of commercial travellers. These had lately issued manifestoes in various towns to the effect that "the Italians claim their independence from the Allied powers", in order to watch the effect on the public and the authorities. Each member of the Centres was allowed to enrol not more than five proselytes, who communicated only with him, just as he reported only to his own sponsor. In this way the segregation of members so usual among the societies of this period was maintained. The author of the report admits that the Society formed one huge chain, of which it was possible to seize hold of one end only. The members were under the usual obligation of providing themselves with arms, and bound themselves to fight for the honour of Italy and to subvert religion and Royalty. The third theory was one formed by the Judge Salvotti⁹ as a result of his inquiries in the Pellico Maroncelli trial, that a directorate of the Guelfic Society in Milan, to be described later, founded the Centres and directed the conspiracy, which we are now considering. This theory is improbable, as it is almost certain that the Guelfs were of a more recent origin than the Centres. Guelfs, Centres, Carbonari and Black Pin were all allies in the plot; and it is impossible now, as Dito says, to get at the truth.¹⁰

Ottolini gives some further information of which the source is not clear: that the Centres had discussed at their meetings the future constitution of the country, but had postponed a decision to a more favourable period and instead were concentrating their efforts on restoring Napoleon to the throne of Italy.¹¹

¹ Helfert, p. 141.

² Ottolini, pp. 93-98.

³ Tivaroni, 1789-1815. vol. i., p. 131; also 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 50.

⁴ Ottolini, p. 91.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 37.

⁶ Nicolli, p. 44.

⁷ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1,244. Ottolini, p. 94.

⁸ Helfert, *Kaiser Franz I.*, p. 25.

⁹ Dito, p. 293.

¹⁰ p. 293.

¹¹ p. 93.

Lattuada seems to have been responsible for this resolution. Ottolini definitely considers the Centres as an offshoot of the Carbonari.¹ Mistrali, without going so far, says that the officers' conspiracy was due to the Carbonari.² Helfert suggests that the Society derived from the Liberali (Liberals)³; but as the Liberali were a party and not a sect, this suggestion can hardly be accepted.

On the whole Lattuada's version seems to be the most probable. The Austrian spies' reports, though very useful and full of interesting information, not infrequently erred,⁴ as correct information was of course difficult to obtain by the very nature of their task. For instance, it is very doubtful whether they were right in attributing antimonarchical and antireligious tenets to the Centres, though such tenets were held in the higher degrees of the Carboneria, to which the Guelfia was closely related. It is most probable that the Carbonari were not the parent stem of the Centres, as Ottolini says,⁵ but, as Nicolli suggests,⁶ took a prominent part in reviving the old Society, instructed its members in the technique of revolution,⁵ and swelled its numbers to the extent of becoming in the eyes of some observers, like Raab, indistinguishable from it. At the same time I doubt very much whether Lattuada is right in thinking that the Centres existed in South Italy in the time of the Bourbon régime, especially in view of the inaccuracy of North Italian writers as regards events in the South. The main centre of the Society was Mantua, and its object Italian independence.⁷

The conspiracy was joined also by a group of Societies which had Bonapartist aims and were all offshoots or connected with the Carboneria.⁸ Their names will be found in Appendix I.; here I need mention only the "Spillo nero" (Black pin). It seems to have been founded in France,⁹ and may have been introduced into Italy by Lucien Bonaparte,¹⁰ who is sometimes reputed to have been the founder, which would not have been possible in the case of a Society originating in France, whence he was banished. We are told by Charles Villa,¹¹ one of the Carbonari of the Legations at his trial, that in 1815, when Murat was conducting his last campaign, that Cicely (or Helen) Monti, sister of Paul Monti, Grand Master of the Mother Vendita of Fermo in the Marches, was very active on Murat's behalf and told Villa that the words "Nomos" and "Autonomos" were used by a secret society similar to the Carboneria, which had centres in Naples, Milan and Brescia. From Cicely Monti's later activities one may surmise that this Society was the Black Pin, though the words given were used also by the Carboneria. The Black Pin's chief aim was the elevation of Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt, to the throne of France,¹² and its chief recruiting ground was the mass of old Napoleonic officers.¹⁰ Later we find Cicely Monti, now the wife of General Arnaud, settling in the Polesine, a province of Venetia, in 1817 and canvassing for the Black Pin.¹³ Here again the Society came into contact with the Carboneria, to the detriment of both Sects. Another version says that the old Napoleonic officer Bacchiega, a native of Crespino in the Polesine, introduced the Black Pin into that region. He was also a Carbonaro. Lucien Bonaparte is said to have obtained the Society's help for the Carbonaro rising at Macerata in 1817.¹⁰

¹ p. 94.

² Quoted by Leti, p. 92.

³ p. 133.

⁴ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p.

⁵ p. 94.

⁶ p. 41.

⁷ Ottolini, p. 96.

⁸ Leti, Ottolini.

⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 19.

¹⁰ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 379.

¹¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 95-98.

¹² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 495.

¹³ Nicolli, p. 82.

The Black Pin was most numerous in the Papal States, and we find traces of it after 1820.¹ Its chief centre was Modena and it was found also in Piedmont and in Genoa² as well as Lombardy. Tivaroni³ is probably wrong in thinking that it existed in Italy under the French régime.

In addition to the Black Pin, the Guelfia, to be described later, took part in the officers' plot; and Confalonieri tells us that he saved several of its members after the failure of the conspiracy.⁴

We may note here that a society known as the "Neri" (Blacks)⁵ is stated to have existed in Genoa about this time and that it was strongly pro-British. It had the same password as the Centres, which would point to its having been a variation of that Society and therefore connected with the Carboneria. As the Blacks were pro-British, it is unlikely that they took part in the machinations of the Independents or the Centres, which were in favour of Napoleon; and they may have been the outcome of Bentinck's activities in Genoa in 1814.

The initial steps⁶ in the conspiracy were taken at Brescia by Colonel Moretti, a Carbonaro, and Colonel Olini in September, 1814. They were joined by General De Meester, a Milanese of Dutch extraction, head of the military orphanage founded by Teulié, La Hoz's old friend (see vol. lii., p. 75), by Teulié himself and Rasori, in whose house the conspirators used to meet. Generals Zucchi and Pino also were approached.⁷ The object at first seems to have been the restoration of the Kingdom of Italy.⁸ Lattuada⁹ then heard of the plot; he brought the whole influence of the Centres to the aid of the officers, became the life and soul of the conspiracy and gave it a Bonapartist turn. For his constitution mongering he was advised by the distinguished old Freemason Romagnosi, who exercised a great influence over many young Carbonari and liberals, including Cattaneo, Sacchi and Ferrari, who became prominent in 1848. General Lechi wrote to his brother Joseph, who was General in the Neapolitan service, to persuade Murat to support the intended rising. Murat, whose title to the Kingdom of Naples was being disputed by Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna, was growing more and more dissatisfied with his position; but he did not dare yet to offend his sole supporter, Austria. He contented himself for the time being with sending Maghella to intrigue with the Northern Sectaries, as we have seen. The conspirators, however, received an independent assurance from Carascosa, who commanded the Neapolitan troops left in the Marches after the war, that he would come to their help on his own initiative, without regard to Murat's wishes, if they rose against the Austrians.¹⁰ Maghella reported that the Carbonari were numerous in Milan, Bologna, Alessandria in Piedmont and on the Mainland of Venetia and were hand in glove with the old Napoleonic soldiery.

At a meeting on November the 3rd the conspirators settled the details of the rising; various fortresses were to be seized, several towns were to rise in insurrection, and the cry of "Constitution and Liberty" was to be raised. If success attended the stroke, a provisional government was to be set up and bodies of troops sent into the mountains of the Valteline and the Friuli and

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 42.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 430, 458.

³ 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 127.

⁴ Confalonieri, *Memorie*, p. 88 *et subseqq.*

⁵ Ottolini, p. 94.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

⁷ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 36. Colletta, vol. ii., Bk. xi., p. 147.

⁸ Ottolini, p. 92.

⁹ Leti, p. 92.

¹⁰ Luzzio, *Carboneria e Massoneria*, vol. i., p. 102.

the Romagna to overwhelm isolated Austrian detachments.¹ The date of the rising was to be Christmas Eve, 1814.²

It is doubtful whether the revolt would have achieved its object. There was no real leader: at the critical moment General Pino held back, General Zucchi was abroad, General Fontanelli thought the Austrians were too strong for the conspirators to entertain any hope of success; and he was right. Lechi did not feel that his influence was sufficient to attract followers and Murat did not dare to declare himself as yet. The plot was discovered before a move could be made by Cheluzzi and other spies. Some say it was revealed to the Austrians by Talleyrand, who had heard of it and, being now the servant of the restored French Bourbons, was opposed to any Bonapartist movement. Yet another version says that the Piedmontese General Siffenga, on hearing of the conspiracy, informed the Foreign Secretary of Piedmont, Vallesa, who passed the information on to the Austrians;³ others that Rasori was trapped into incautious admissions.⁴ Lechi, Lattuada, De Meester and other leaders were arrested at various dates between early December and the middle of January, 1815,⁴ condemned to death after a trial ordered on the 8th of February, 1815,⁵ which lasted three years, were reprieved and eventually released after a term of imprisonment; some like Olini and Moretti and De Meester to plot again.⁶ Among those who escaped were General Pino, Pellegrino Rossi, Salfi, Prince Ercolani of Bologna and Count Cicognara, who were given refuge by Murat.⁷ This is the first of that long series of trials, which play such a prominent part in the history of Italy's Risorgimento, and these officers were the first of that numerous body whom the Italians have come to regard as the Martyrs of their cause, among whom the Carbonari hold a very honourable place.

In spite of this failure, the Centres were not done with; they changed their words and signs, removed their headquarters to Switzerland, while leaving emissaries to act in Piedmont, Tyrol and Lombardy, and planned a fresh rising in favour of Napoleon.⁸ One of the plotters, Casella, was a large boat owner on Lake Garda;⁹ and it was decided to use his boats to sail down Lake Garda, when an opportunity should occur, and surprise the fortress of Peschiera.

The Carboneria also did not remain inactive. On the 13th of January, 1815, a few days after the proclamation banning the Secret Societies had been posted on the walls of Verona, while the conspirators were undergoing their preliminary examination, the Carbonari circulated an appeal which ran as follows: "Peoples of Italy, arm yourselves. Justice demands it; your rights, hitherto ignored, require it, religion bids it. Arm yourselves, not to attack, but to escape the jaws of a despotism which destroys and rends you, and to lay the foundations of a real free society based on the principles of a sane, farsighted constitution, which will make you free and happy." It was signed "Italians who love their country."⁶

In the meantime the Carboneria was growing in power in the Papal States. As a large portion of the Pope's territories was in the occupation of two of his neighbours, between whom a secret agreement was suspected at his expense, great circumspection was necessary on the part of the Papal government to avoid giving either of them a pretext for making the occupation

¹ Ottolini, p. 98. Niccoli, p. 41.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 352.

³ Dito, p. 313.

⁴ Ottolini, p. 146.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. i., pp. 37 and 124.

⁶ Ottolini, p. 66.

⁷ Dito, p. 219. Tivaroni, 1789-1814, vol. ii., p. 285.

⁸ Ottolini, p. 99. Helfert, p. 567, quoting a report by Raab of the 3rd of June, 1815. Pol. A. ad nr. 1107 P.R.

⁹ Helfert, p. 567, quotes Raab's report to Haager in full; also Ottolini, p. 99.

permanent. Austria especially was known to covet the Legations after the death of Pius VII., if not before; she had already set up a civil government in that region in which Strassoldo, later governor of Lombardy, held an office.¹ To please the Powers and at the same time to suit his own purposes, the Pope abrogated in his edicts of the 13th and the 30th of May and of the 30th of July, 1814, all the reforms introduced by the French;² and, when he found a complete return to the past impossible, he effected a somewhat unsatisfactory compromise between the old and the new. On the 15th of August³ he also banned the Secret Societies, mentioning the Carbonari specifically by name. Though the Carboneria therefore found it difficult to make much progress in those parts of the Papal States west of the Appennines, where the Curia's authority was restored, in its delicate situation the Papal government was not disposed to risk the outbreak of disorders, and for a time did very little against the Sectaries. The Pope was even suspected of being not unfavourably disposed towards the Carboneria. When he passed through Murat's army on his way to Rome the King asked him bluntly why he favoured the Carboneria, to which the Pope replied that he had not abrogated any of his predecessors' Bulls against the Secret Societies.

Apart from Papal mildness, the occupation of the Marches by the Neapolitan troops gave the development of the Carboneria a great impulse. We have seen how the Carboneria was brought to Ancona from Liss⁴ in the time of the French régime, and, as one would expect, it at first consisted of isolated units. Now it developed a higher organisation in the Marches, possibly in consequence of the efforts of Maghella, who was trying to enlist the Society's support for his King, and under the influence of the neighbouring Abruzzi, one of the Carbonari earliest strongholds. Maroncelli,⁵ in his disposition before the Austrian authorities during his trial, stated that the High Vendita of Ancona ruled the Sect in the Marches, while in the Legations which were in Austrian occupation it remained split up in isolated units. In the Marches only Paul Monti's Mother Vendita of Fermo⁶ refused to acknowledge Ancona's supremacy. The High Vendita's seal bore the letters AVA, which meant "Alta Vendita di Ancona" (High Vendita of Ancona), and the effigy of a dagger, which in the Marches replaced the axe as the Carbonaro's emblematic weapon. The High Vendita's passports were playing cards of the Spades and Hearts suits. Lucien Bonaparte, created Prince of Canino by the Pope, and father-in-law to Prince Ercolani,⁷ the plotter of 1814 and later Guelfic chief at Bologna, is said to have been at one time "Great Light" of this High Vendita.⁸ It ruled over a number of Vendite Madri (Mother Vendite), which in turn ruled over Vendite figliali (Daughter Vendite).

By 1815, therefore, the Carboneria was extending its influence in the Papal States; and in the Austrian territories it was sullenly waiting for the moment to retrieve the failure of 1814. In South Italy, as we have seen, it was influential and disaffected towards Murat, in spite of his blandishments. Then came Napoleon's escape from Elba and Murat's last rash advance to the Po and his proclamation from Rimini on the 30th of March (see vol. li., p. 76). His unforeseen attack caused the Austrians serious embarrassment, as for the moment they could mass only 18,000 men against the 29,000 Neapolitans. The Holy Father was not sorry to see his two dangerous neighbours embroiled. Maroncelli

¹ Helfert, p. 89.

² La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 90-91. Helfert, pp. 95-96.

³ Memoirs, p. 206. Helfert, p. 139.

⁴ p. ?

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 34.

⁶ Dito, p. 295. Nicoli, p. 70. Vannucci, pp. 607-608.

⁷ Vannucci, p. 608.

⁸ Dito, p. 285. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 134.

tells a story, which he received from Count Porro, that the Holy Father had told the Count: "I am not opposed to Murat's enterprise nor to the means by which it is being carried out. The Carbonari have Italian feeling; you are Italian and so am I".¹ Nevertheless, the Pope thought it wiser to retire to Savona as the Neapolitans advanced.

As we have seen, Murat gained no support, and his power crumbled away before the Austrian advance; and at last Ferdinand was able to return to his Neapolitan throne. Murat's defeat led to the abandonment of all the plots then being hatched, including that of the Centres, who disappeared from history. Soon after Waterloo had confirmed the verdict of Tolentino the Napoleonic period was at an end and the supremacy of Austria, now suspicious and hostile, was riveted on Italy's neck.

XIII. THE PAPAL STATES.

After the fall of Murat the Pope returned to Rome on the 27th of May, 1815.² Shortly afterwards, thanks largely to the diplomatic skill of Cardinal Consalvi, the Secretary of State, his territories were returned to him practically intact by the Congress of Vienna and were evacuated by all foreign troops, the Austrians, however, retaining the right of garrisoning Ferrara, Comacchio, Ravenna and Bologna.³ The Holy Father still remained in his former embarrassing position between two neighbours who coveted portions of his possessions, for Ferdinand, despite his profession of Roman Catholicism, was no less than Murat greedy of other people's lands. The need for circumspection remained. Consalvi followed the policy of keeping the Papal subjects as contented as possible to avoid giving Austria any pretext for intervention.⁴ He preferred ignoring the existence of the Sectaries, in spite of the edicts, instead of ordering their execution;⁵ and in 1816 he even refused to give up to the Austrian police some fugitive Carbonari.⁶ But his statesmanlike policy, though supported by the Pope himself, met with the opposition of several of the Cardinals, especially Cardinal Pacca, governor of Rome, Cardinal Rusconi, Legate of Ravenna, and Cardinal Sanseverino, Legate of Forli, and his good intentions were often thwarted.⁷ It was difficult for the Pope to disregard the wishes of his most energetic supporters and especially of the reactionary sects, which must now be considered in some detail.

Helfert⁸ and La Farina⁹ think that the origin of most of these can be traced back to the time of the suppression of the Order of the Jesuits, towards the end of the eighteenth century, even though the names of "Santa Fede" and "Concistoriali," etc., were not adopted until later. The Santa Fede is described as the "Ignatian Society",⁸ an allusion to Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. The earliest appearance of the Santa Fede as such, of which we have a record, was in 1796, as we have seen (see vol. li., p. 52). It is said to have been derived from the older "Pacifici" (the peaceful ones) or "Santa unione" (Holy Union).¹⁰ Some of its members may have been among Cardinal Ruffo's bands in 1799, as La Farina suggests,⁹ but the majority of those were ruffianly crusaders, not sectaries. Both Farina¹¹ and La Farina⁹

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 36 note. Castro, p. 314. Leti, p. 76. Maroncelli tells this story in his "Addizioni" to Pellico's "Le mie prigioni".

² La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 92-93.

³ Marriott, *Makers of Modern Italy*, p. 38.

⁴ Nicolli, pp. 67-68.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 118, note.

⁶ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 116.

⁷ Helfert, p. 287.

⁸ pp. 125-127.

⁹ Vol. iv., pp. 93-95.

¹⁰ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 373. Dito, p. 288, dates them back to the arrest of Pope Pius VII. Ottolini, p. 120.

¹¹ *Lo stato romano*, vol. i., pp. 15-19.

agree that at the beginning the Santa Fede was respectable and numbered among its adepts most of the highest members of the Curia, but in the course of its conflicts with the liberal sects it degenerated, and by 1816 it enrolled scoundrels and men of bad character. The objects of the society were the restoration of the Medieval Papacy in all its power, and the expulsion, first of the French and, after 1814, of the Austrians. It adopted to some extent, therefore, the Guelfic standpoint. It is said to have been cosmopolitan and to have extended beyond the Alps. Apart from the Papal States, its followers seem to have been most numerous in Piedmont, Genoa and Lombardy. We shall frequently come across this inveterate foe of Carbonarism. In violence, however, according to Helfert¹ it was exceeded by the "SUS", letters which form the initials of the words "Silenzio, ubbidienza, soccorso" (silence, obedience, assistance), a society whose chief object was the extermination of Freemasonry, and the "Società del Cuore di Gesù" (Society of the Heart of Jesus), which pursued its enmity to the Bonapartists even to the extent of countenancing murder. La Farina,² on the other hand, describes the "Cuore di Gesù" as a mere corruption, founded, largely for his own immoral purposes, by the Jesuit Paccanari, and states that following on his imprisonment his society dissolved. These last two societies seem to have been short-lived.

Altogether on a higher plane to these zealots were the "Concistoriali" (Members of the Consistory). These have been regarded as a superior degree of the Santa Fede, but were more probably an independent foundation with similar aims, but moderate in their ways; Tivaroni³ derives them from the "Crociferi" (Cross-bearers), an older religious society, and the "Società di Gesù", namely the Jesuits. Helfert⁴ dates back their actual foundation to the arrest of Pius VI. by Napoleon, while Dito⁵ dates it back no further than the end of 1815. The most distinguished men of the time were among its members; it was said that Consalvi,⁶ Francis of Modena and Louis Bonaparte,³ ex-king of Holland, had been among its heads and that King Victor Emanuel⁷ was a member. It was strongly anti-Austrian, in fact Nicolli⁶ and Sualterio⁸ describe it as a league of Princes and Cardinals, supported by Russia, against Austria. Dolce⁹ in a report dated the 11th of October, 1816, says that the Concistoriali extended all over Italy and were in close relationship with the Carbonari and Federati: in the territory of Genoa alone there were 36,000 members of these societies, who were organised on a military basis, ready for an immediate rising. The Grand Consistory was reported to be in Rome. This obviously exaggerated report shows the importance attached to the society by the Austrians; and they sent Foresti,¹⁰ the Pretor or Judge of Crespino, to investigate its activities, with unforeseen consequences, as we shall see. At the same time it is clear, as Dito points out,⁵ that the Concistoriali were intended also to keep the liberal Sects in check, and the Guelfs regarded them as their particular enemies.¹¹ Canonici,¹¹ at his trial, said that at first when the society enjoyed the protection of the Roman, Modenese and Piedmontese Courts only, it was known as the flower with three petals; later, when Naples and Tuscany joined this union, it became the flower with five petals. It was particularly numerous in the Marches and the Romagne, and it

¹ p. 139.

² Vol. iv., pp. 91-92.

³ *L'Italia*, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 416.

⁴ p. 126.

⁵ p. 289.

⁶ Nicolli, p. 81. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 170. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 373.

⁷ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 134.

⁸ Vol. i., p. 41.

⁹ Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 182.

¹⁰ Nicolli, p. 85.

¹¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 455.

had branches in Tuscany, Piedmont and Lombardy.¹ La Farina² gives us its suggestion for Italian reorganisation. The Pope was to have Tuscany; the King of Naples was to have Elba and the Marches; the Duke of Modena, Parma Piacenza and a part of Lombardy and the title of King; and the King of Sardinia was to have the remainder of Lombardy and various small adjacent territories. An Austrian document found in Milan states that in 1818 Francis of Modena presided over a general assembly of the Concistoriali, which would be a proof of his membership of the society.³

I should also mention here in passing the "Congregazione cattolica apostolica romana" (Roman Catholic Apostolic congregation), which has a slight connection with the Papal States, though its principal sphere was in Piedmont. From its tenets and reputed origin it appears to have been a reactionary society, yet in many respects it appears to have been a liberal sect. Tivaroni states that this name was adopted by a group of Carbonari in the Papal States after the Macerata conspiracy. It will be described in connection with Piedmont.

At this period these reactionary societies had found their prophet in De Maistre, the Sardinian envoy to the court of Russia, a mystic who saw the Hand of God in everything and its highest Manifestation in monarchy; but in order to counteract the monarch's human weakness he proposed to temper monarchy, not by popular assemblies, but by means of the Papacy.⁴ This mass of opinion, which supported absolutism and the Roman Church, was at first as patriotic as the liberals and we find both sides sometimes in alliance. It was only when questions as to the form of government divided them that the breach between them became complete.

The Carboneria, though greatly strengthened during Murat's occupation of the Marches, had remained weak in the Legations,⁵ as we have seen. But when the unpopular priestly rule was restored, vigorous canvassing led to considerable results and a new Carboneria, which Maroncelli⁶ with some justice describes as different from that of Naples and opposed to Neapolitan interests, was built up. During the French occupation there had grown up in the Romagna a middle class more active and intelligent⁷ than any in Italy, which retained all the characteristics of that turbulent, hot-blooded population, and formed the best recruiting ground for the Carboneria in the peninsula. At Ferrara the barrister Solera⁸ rallied a group of Carbonari of 1813, including the Napoleonic officer Bacchiaga, and founded the famous "Amaranto" (Amaranth) Vendita,⁹ sometimes called "Zampa di leone" (Lion's paw).¹⁰ He soon resigned the leadership to another barrister, Tommasi, who became very prominent. Soon after, during Murat's occupation, the Vendita called "Pineta" (Pinewood) was set up at Ravenna.¹¹ At least as early as 1816 Vendite were established at Cesena by the engineer Fattibuoni,¹² though this Vendita did not obtain the Society's statutes until the next year, at Forli, at Faenza and at Rimini. By 1817 there were regular Vendite in most important towns of the region, where before there had been only scattered Good Cousins. Ancona was recognised as the ruling centre even by the Legations; and it ruled the Mother Vendita of Ravenna, Cesena, Forli, Rimini, Bologna, Ferrara, Bagnacavallo and Imola. These had,

¹ p. 289.

² Vol. iv., p. 170.

³ Dito, p. 289.

⁴ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 134.

⁵ The existence of the Carboneria in Bologna as early as 1814 is confirmed in Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 156.

⁶ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 34.

⁷ J. P. Trevelyan, *A short history of the Italian people*, p. 461.

⁸ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 142.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 313.

¹⁰ Leti, p. 103.

¹¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 138.

¹² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 127.

according to Maroncelli, three to five Daughter Vendite each. We know that Forlì had four, Imola two, Ravenna several.

As might be expected from its haphazard development, the Carboneria in the Papal States had many unusual features. Murat's soldiers, according to Soleria,¹ used the words "Nomos" and "Autonomus" to distinguish "Friends of the Fatherland"; words used also by Cicely Monti's Society (see vol. lii., p. 72). Landi² states that he was initiated into the degree of Master of the "Nomos" by Tommasi, from which one would infer that the words used by the Neapolitans came to distinguish sections of the Carboneria later. At the same time we must remember that much of our information concerning the Carboneria in the Papal States is derived from Pierantoni's book, which gives us extracts from the depositions of political prisoners like Solera and Landi and Maroncelli made before the Austrian authorities, which were sent to the Papal authorities to enable them to pursue their inquiries. In using this invaluable information we must realise that these men were on their trial for their lives and were also trying to shield their colleagues. Statements obtained under such conditions must always be accepted with caution. One important fact, moreover, is clear from these depositions, that the segregation of the different groups of Carbonari was very thorough and most of them knew very little about their own Society in towns other than their own.

The Carboneria's objects in this region as elsewhere were various. The majority wanted to destroy the temporal power of the Pope and drive out the Austrians.³ According to Cantù,⁴ some of the Sectaries, at any rate, wanted to overthrow all governments which were not constitutional, destroy religious imposture and acquire Italian independence. Nevertheless, there was a certain amount of feeling in favour of the Pope at this time. Count Gallo at his trial⁵ said that the Carbonaro aims were favourable to the Papacy, as he remembered both Zurlo and Salfi say at Pesaro during Murat's last campaign, that it was essential to drive out the Austrians, but there was no need to change the existing governments of Italy. The Italians in general were proud to have the Head of the Church among them; and an independent Papacy was regarded even by the enemies of the temporal power as essential to Italian independence.⁶ The Guelfic feeling of the Middle Ages was reviving as against the new Gibellinism of the Austrian Empire. L. C. Farini,⁷ later one of Cavour's most trusted henchmen and a distinguished patriot, thinks that the Papacy missed a great opportunity in not taking advantage of that sentiment and putting itself wholeheartedly at the head of the Italian movement. Among the Sects as a whole the most favourable to the Papal cause at this time was the "Guelfia".

The Carboneria of Lombardy and Bologna had been in contact for some time with this Society. Nicolli⁸ thinks that it was derived from the Centres and arose either in Milan or in the Romagna. The Austrian authorities tend to support this view: as we have seen the Judge Salvotti⁹ concluded that there was a Guelf Directorate in Milan in 1814 which conducted⁸ the conspiracy of the officers. Some Austrian reports actually call the Guelfs Centres, possibly because they sometimes wore a pin bearing a circle with a point at the centre.¹⁰ I might mention here two special points of similarity. Both Guelfs and Centres were allowed to enrol 5 other members only, and in both Societies conversation on the

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 355, 399.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 98.

³ Bianchi, vol. i., p. 26.

⁴ Quoted by Leti, p. 76.

⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 13.

⁶ *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 134.

⁷ *Lo Stato romano*, vol. i., p. 13.

⁸ p. 71.

⁹ *Dito*, p. 293.

¹⁰ Ottolini, p. 126.

Society's business could be carried on between only two members; if a third joined them the conversation ceased, even if he was known to them to be also a member.¹ This derivation from the Centres would connect the Guelfs with the older Sects in the North at the time of the French invasion. Tivaroni² considers the Guelfia a branch of the Carboneria, which I think goes too far.

Sorgia³ derives the Guelfs from the Piedmontese Adelfi, a view for which there is a considerable amount of support. The catechism of the Delfic Order, which is thought to be another name for the Adelfia, is practically identical with that of the Guelfia; the knocks of the Guelfia are five and one, which are also those of the Adelfia's degrees⁴; and the Guelfs, like the Adelfi and other sects, adopted classical names.⁵ Helfert⁶ merely states that the Guelfs were in communication with the Adelfi, but he adds that at first the Guelfs were very republican and would not have kings even in their packs of cards, but later were prepared to accept a constitutional monarchy so long as a republic proved impracticable. These views correspond to those of the Adelfi, but do not accord with the earliest Guelf constitutions. The Guelfs adopted the Illuminist tactics of worming themselves into other societies in order to gain control over them.

Another theory for which there is some first-hand evidence is that the Society was first instituted in Rome. This statement was made to Solera⁷ by a Neapolitan officer, Ranieri, who showed him a Guelfic catechism, which he claimed had been promulgated by Bentinck. Ottolini,⁸ apparently quoting from the earliest Guelfic constitution, says the Society was set up on the 14th of October, 1813, by "Good Italians impelled by a feeling for true liberty, eager to help the common mother and to set her free from the chains under the weight of which she had groaned for centuries". Canonici,⁹ another of the Carbonari examined by the Austrians, also stated that he had seen in Rome a printed report in which a dolphin was mentioned and the phrase that "the cock will crow" occurred, both expressions found in the Guelf catechism.

There are also some much more improbable theories, one of which says that it was introduced from Hanover.¹⁰ Curiously enough, an Adelfic lecture contained in the Record Office MS. states that the Guelfs were a North European society, but I have found no corroborative evidence to this effect. A theory¹¹ that the Guelfia arose in the Polesine province of Venetia and another that it was introduced by Madame Arnaud sound like garbled versions of the introduction of the Black Pin into Venetia. On the whole the probabilities are in favour of regarding the Guelfia as derived from the Centres, and later as strongly influenced by the Adelfia. The Centres according to the Austrian authorities were scattered over the whole of Italy and there would be, therefore, nothing incongruous to the derivation of the Guelfia from the Centres to find Guelfic documents in Rome.

The first constitution of the Guelfia that we know is variously attributed to Frediani or Monti,¹² the Grand Master of the Vendita of Fermo in the Marches. Some opinions attributed the foundation of the Society to Bentinck,¹³ for which there is of course no evidence, but the first constitution bases great hopes on English support. Article 3 placed the Society under the "valiant protection of England", and Article 43 declared Lord William Bentinck protector of the

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 41, 431. Ottolini, p. 94.

² *L'Italia*, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 495.

³ Leti, p. 82.

⁴ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 242.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 423.

⁶ p. 137.

⁷ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 353.

⁸ pp. 121-122.

⁹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 417.

¹⁰ Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 163.

¹¹ Ottolini, p. 123, note.

¹² Niccoli, pp. 71, 75.

¹³ Ottolini, pp. 120-121.

Order. Under this constitution the Guelfia was ruled by a council of forty; the heads of its assemblies were known as "Ruote" (wheels) and the members as "Raggi" (spokes). The organisation was in units of ten.¹ The Society shared the Carboneria's hatred for the French, refusing to tolerate even Murat, the only exception being the Duke of Reichstadt, Napoleon's son¹; and in Article 42 Prina² was doomed to death for his supposed subservience to Napoleon. Independence was its chief aim. Constitutionally it favoured a republic, but was prepared to acquiesce in a constitutional monarchy. What distinguishes the Guelfia from other societies is that even at this early period, it wished to unite all Italy under one government. If it were necessary to accept a federation, it postulated for a common code of laws, a common currency, common weights and measures, a free religion and a free press.³ Though individuals had often cherished such views, it was the first time a large organisation adopted them as its programme. The Guelfia was the forerunner in this respect of Young Italy and the Grand Chancellor Aldini was the forerunner of Mazzini.⁴

When Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian, the Guelfia seems to have been affected by the Bonapartism which found expression in the officers' conspiracy, and it took part in that plot.⁵ After 1815 it seems to have looked to the Pope for a time. This Society was now to influence greatly the development of the Carboneria in the Papal States. Bologna seems to have been the Guelfia's chief centre and Count Ercolani of that city, Lucien Bonaparte's son-in-law, its head.

We have two stories as to how contact was made between the two Societies in the Papal States. Nicolli⁶ says that the Mother Vendita of Fermo, which had refused to submit to Ancona, heard of a High Vendita at Bologna and sent the poet Mallio to make inquiries. He found that the High Vendita did not exist, but came into contact with the council of Forty, which then ruled the Guelfia. Solera, in his depositions⁷ at his trial, says that after he had met Ranieri and had seen the Guelf catechism, he happened to go to Bologna and met there Marchesini, who had been Director of Posts under the Kingdom of Italy and had lost his employment. On hearing of the Guelfia, Marchesini conceived the idea of forming a Guelfic Council at Bologna and spreading the Society, largely, Solera suggests, in order to increase his slender income. They found that a Guelf Council already existed at Bologna; and Marchesini succeeded in causing himself to be elected to the supreme Council of the Guelfia.⁸ He was, in fact, employed in drafting a new constitution for the Sect. This differed materially from the earlier one—for instance, all idea of support from England was abandoned, a necessary adjustment of policy—and the later Guelfia came to be regarded by some as a different Society altogether from the earlier version.⁹ Marchesini's constitution seems to have been copied very largely from the "Constitution of the Guelfic Knights", which was the work of the Directorate of Milan, of which a summary is in Appendix I. He may have been acquainted with it during his employment in Lombardy.¹⁰

This Constitution was never fully put into effect, but Marchesini's ideas for spreading the Society were approved in Bologna, Ferrara and the Romagna generally; and, as a result of the contacts with the Carboneria, an alliance was formed between the two Societies. The General Council remained at Bologna

¹ Ottolini, pp. 122-123.

² *ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

³ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 133.

⁴ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 124.

⁵ Confalonieri, *Memorie*, pp. 88 *et* subseq.

⁶ p. 72.

⁷ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 355-362.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 276.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 373.

¹⁰ Solera said Marchesini had mentioned an "Invisible Body" in Milan Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 398.

under the presidency of a "Gran Luce" (Great Light, a Carbonaro designation for High Vendita Officers),¹ and Councils of Guelfs were set up in most towns of the Papal States, where there had been none before: in Pesaro, Sinigaglia, Rimini, Faenza, Ancona, Tolentino, Fermo, Loreto, Sant' Elpidio and Rome. There were Councils apparently also in Naples and Turin.²

In return, many Carbonari were admitted to the Guelfia and it became customary for all Grand Master Carbonari to become by right Guelfs and they were often rulers of both the Vendita and the Council of the same locality. Monti and James Papis, both Grand Masters of the High Vendita of Ancona, and Count Cæsar Gallo occupied such a double position.³

Guelf influence seems to have become predominant. Both Tommasi and Foresti thought very highly of the Guelfia's efficiency⁴ and Tommasi laid himself open to the charge of telling the Carbonari nothing of the sectarian plans but telling the Guelfs everything that went on in the Carboneria.⁵ No doubt the higher social standing and ability of the majority of the Guelfs led to this result. On each local committee a proportion of the members were to be Guelfs and these were especially charged with education and propaganda. They were regarded as the mind and the Carbonari the bodily strength of the Alliance; and Nicolli⁶ describes the Guelfia as "a Sanhedrim of the unknown rulers of all the other Sects and Societies". The Papal authorities regarded the Guelfs as the more dangerous.⁷ On the 11th of July, 1817, after the Macerata plot, Cardinal Brancadoro, delegate of Fermo,⁸ reported to Cardinal Pacca, governor of Rome, that "the number of Carbonari is very large since last year and there are among them parish priests, employees in all branches of the administration, members of the provincial troops and the permanent army, the carabinieri (military police), and they are continually enrolling new proselytes. But the Sect of the Guelfs, although founded after the fall of French rule, is more terrible than that of the Carbonari, with which it has relations".⁸

The ascendancy of the Guelfs did not pass unchallenged. Carronici tells us of the existence of discontent, of which the complaints against Tommasi are evidence. Pellico⁹ also blames the Guelfia for diminishing the credit of the Carbonari, though he praises its philosophy.

Encouraged by the increase of strength due to the Alliance and the success of the South American rebels against Spain,¹⁰ the Sects decided to take advantage of the discontent aroused by the prevailing shortage, high prices and the ravages of the typhus.¹¹ The conspiracy of Macerata, though a minor episode in the end, led to the disclosure of very interesting information about the Secret Societies and the papers of its trial are one of our original authorities.¹² A few arrests made at the end of 1816 made the authorities suspicious and put the Sectaries on their guard. In April of 1817 the Pope fell ill and was likely to die, and the prospective vacancy of the Papal Throne seemed to offer a good opportunity for a rising.¹¹ In the same month the Supreme Council of Bologna instructed Monti to draw up a scheme.¹³ Monti commissioned Mallio to draft this plan. Mallio

¹ Ottolini, p. 127, says the Great Light at this time was Francis Passano, who was French Consul at Ancona and was imprisoned in 1877. In view of the distance between Bologna and Ancona, this seems doubtful; it is more probable that Prince Ercolani was the chief of the Guelfs throughout.

² Dito, p. 296. Nicolli, p. 71. Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 321.

³ Ottolini, p. 127.

⁴ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 140.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 427.

⁶ p. 71.

⁷ Ottolini, p. 122.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 123. Helfert, p. 326.

⁹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 126.

¹⁰ p. 296.

¹¹ Dito, p. 284. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 124 *et subseq.*

¹² *Memoirs*, p. 172. Appendix II. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 127.

¹³ Dito, pp. 296-298.

proposed that at the death of the Pope each town should set up a council of liberals. These were to be under the direction of similar district councils and the supreme authority was to be vested in a General Council. This General Council was then to petition the Powers to set up an independent national state in Italy. Naples was to be excluded, because the Neapolitans were "vile and without character", a curious feature, which shows how divided the Italians still were. Bloodshed was to be strictly avoided and force used only in self defence. If the Powers insisted on a constitutional monarchy, a Prince of the House of Austria should have the preference. The reason for this predilection was the rumour already mentioned, that Naples and Austria had agreed to partition Central Italy on the death of the Pope; and the evil reputation for indiscipline and rapine which the Neapolitan army had acquired during Murat's campaigns made Austrian rule seem the lesser evil. The scheme was submitted to Count Fattibuoni of Cesena,¹ who objected to the exclusion of the Neapolitans, and then presented it to the authorities at Bologna. These realised that the plan was chimerical and pigeonholed it, saying that the approval of the Directors of Milan was essential.

The Northern Sectaries were, in fact, divided on the subject of this rising. Tommasi² asserts that in his district all was prepared, bonfires had been built, horsemen ready to carry the order to rise, but a meeting at Count Ercolani's house at Bologna decided that the risk was too great, and Ferrara, which was under Bologna, obeyed.

While Monti's plan was being bandied to and fro, Papis, the Grand Master of the High Vendita of Ancona after Monti, wrote to Count Gallo of Macerata³ to make preparations. Count Gallo had been in correspondence with the Austrian minister in Rome; and this correspondence afterwards fell into the hands of the Papal authorities and gave them an insight into Austria's double dealing.⁴ Gallo, on receipt of Papis' letter, laid before his fellow citizens of Macerata a scheme for a local rising. Some extreme ideas were suggested. Riva, who came to Ferrara in order to try to arrange for joint action, said that the houses of the Sectaries's opponents were to be pillaged and, to avoid mistakes, all Good Cousins were enjoined to drive a copperheaded nail into their front doors, below the keyhole, as marks of recognition. It was decided in the end that on the appointed day the Vendite and the Councils of the Marches were to send specially chosen bands to Macerata, who were to be admitted to the town on giving the password "St. Theobald". Another word used was "Vendetta al popolo" (vengeance to the people). The troops would then be overpowered, the prisons opened and patrols, 12 men strong, sent to seize the funds in the treasuries and in the houses of the wealthy for deposit in the rebel treasury, which was to be established in the monastery of the Barnabites. A fire signal from the tower of the palace was to announce the victory to the neighbouring towns, and bonfires were to pass the news on to Bologna. On the following morning the peasants were to be summoned into the town by the tocsin in order to give the appearance of a general rising to the revolt of a Sect, Count Gallo was to be proclaimed consul, a free government was to be set up, the taxes abolished, prices reduced, troops organised and a thanks-giving celebrated in the cathedral. Unfortunately, instead of dying, the Pope got better. The Central Council suspended the enterprise and Negri was sent to the Marches⁵ to stop the rising; but the men of Macerata thought they were too far committed to be able to put off the revolt, and they made their attempt on the night of the 24th of June. Impetuosity, attributed to the Carbonari, wrecked the scheme. Two shots were fired at a sentry before the bands from the neighbourhood could be fully mustered, and the government police and carabinieri

¹ Not to be confused with the Neapolitan diplomat, the Duke of Gallo.

² Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 372.

³ Leti, p. 101. Dito, p. 299.

⁴ Bianchi, vol. i., p. 221.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 230

occupied all important points. The bands never put in an appearance, and the whole affair fizzled out.

Many arrests were made and the leaders, including Papis, Gallo, Fattibuoni and Riva, were tried and condemned to death by Cardinal Pacca, were reprieved, and then sent to gaol instead. Gallo was freed by the revolt of 1831.¹ This feeble attempt was the precursor of the movements of 1820-1821, and the trial of Macerata was the second of that long series of trials of Sectaries in all parts of Italy, and Papis, Gallo and their fellows joined the roll of the Italian martyrs for their country's cause.

The number of victims might have been higher but for an amusing incident related by Maroncelli.² Ragonesi and Baldini, two prominent Carbonari lawyers, whose Carbonarism was not suspected by the authorities, were appointed to accompany and advise the director of police sent to inquire into the disturbances. They soon discovered that he was both stupid and ignorant of legal matters; and accordingly they proceeded to take advantage of this by raising countless legal objections to the arrests the director wished to make, and saved many a Good Cousin from gaol. When the commission arrived at Bologna, where the mild Cardinal Spina held sway, they managed to convince him of the director's stupidity and he was sent home by Spina. The whole proceedings in this way came to an end.

The failure of Macerata was a serious blow to the Carboneri of the Marches. The High Vendita of Ancona³ was broken up, for at least four months the Vendite ceased to meet,⁴ and that of Rimini seems to have disappeared permanently, the passwords were changed,⁵ and throughout the Romagne the Vendite were broken up into small sections composed of from five to fifteen members. In Cesena, after Fattibuoni's arrest, the Vendita was closed and individual Master Carbonari were empowered to receive candidates, without assistance of a second Good Cousin.⁶

The arrest of some Guelfs at the same time led the General Council of Bologna to suspect, not without foundation, that the authorities had gained vital information, and suspended all communication between the Councils.⁴ Marchesini, having nearly burnt his fingers, withdrew altogether from such dangerous activities.⁷ The only meetings held for a time were those of the individual sections and those of the sectional chiefs, which replaced those of the regular Vendite.

The suspicions of the Guelfic High Council that their secrets would soon be in possession of the authorities were justified. The Austrian agents Frizzi and Dolce⁸ (see vol. II., p. 49) obtained about this time copies of the older Guelf constitution and the Papal Police were equally successful. In the same year, 1817, the authorities obtained copies of the constitution of the Guelfic Knights of Milan and of certain "Instructions" which were probably Marchesini's version. Further, some of the Sectaries did not remain staunch. On the 11th of August, 1817, Archdeacon Philipp Paoletti, Cardinal Brancadoro's secretary, sent to Cardinal Pacca a copy of the oath and catechism of the Guelphs, which had been revealed to him in the confessional.⁹ A high dignitary of the Sects had also revealed secrets when he was on the point of death, receiving the last ministrations of the Church. The information obtained in this way was confirmed by Rinaldi, a

¹ Vannucci, p. 30.

² Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 38.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 34.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 139.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 239; vol. ii., p. 12.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 146.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 231.

⁸ Nicolli, p. 74.

⁹ Ottolini, p. 123.

Master Carbonaro and President of a Guelf Council, in his depositions at his trial after the Macerata conspiracy on the 15th of October, 1817.¹

These revelations led naturally to a general increase in the government's repressive measures, and the reactionary societies became very active and began to have recourse to open violence against the liberals. To allow Sect to rise against Sect was an obvious act of weakness on the part of the ruler,² and against its will the Curia was dragged at the tail of the extremists and tended to become their servant. The Edict of 1814 was enforced in all its severity, and we have instances, like that of the Villa Piscatori at Frascati, where the premises in which Vendite had been held were confiscated. The short-lived support given to the Papacy by the Carboneria and the Guelfia turned to bitter opposition.³

The Carbonari were very disgusted with their leaders' lack of resolution. At Ferrara the ever energetic Tommasi began to turn away from the Guelfia and to increase the numbers of the Carbonari by admitting all and sundry, even of the lower social orders,⁴ a policy which met with the disapproval of the more respectable Good Cousins, who feared the introduction of more unruly elements, which they would have preferred to relegate to the offshoots of the Carboneria. Tommasi's views were also becoming more extreme. He was now suggesting that the idea of setting up a constitutional monarchy should be abandoned and a united republic for all Italy substituted. He was hoping, somewhat chimerically, for help from England and from Turkey.⁵ He was also very busy at this time in promoting the introduction of the Carboneria into Venetia, as will be told later.

The Guelfia made one more attempt to save the Alliance. At a meeting in Ercolani's palace at Bologna complete fusion was decided on.⁶ Tommasi decided to give the scheme a trial, and Munari drew up what became known as the "Latin Constitution".⁷ Again the joint Society was to be divided into two sections, a body to exercise in secret the general direction and the main body of the Sectaries. The High Council was to be replaced by a Senate of five. Each provincial capital was to have a Tribune of seven members and each of the subordinate cities a Tribune of five. The members were to bear Roman names and a secret code was to be used for correspondence, just as the Guelfs had used a "Dictionary". The new amalgamation adopted the colours of the Carbonari, "black, signifying coal or Faith, which must be blind and constant among Brethren until death; blue, which means Hope of arriving at the aim of virtuous men; and red, which reminds one of the fire of liberty, which must be kindled in all hearts and never be extinguished".⁸ The Council at Bologna, as a beginning, constituted itself into a Senate; and Munari was one of the members.⁹ Tommasi¹⁰ went to Ferrara and set up a Tribune of five members, and Munari¹¹ was sent to Mantua to do the same. The Senate also sent out four emissaries to various parts of Italy to seek alliances.¹² Tuscany, where the Sects had not thriven, was to be the object of special attention; the emissary for Naples was to do no more than establish a connection, as the Secret Societies were already numerous and powerful there. Dolce says that the Guelfia was established there, though we have no reliable confirmation. The Latin Constitution did not meet with approval; the Guelfia was discredited by this time. The Carboneria proved too strong and the less numerous Society was absorbed; it "died of consumption",

¹ Nicolli, p. 80.

² Farini, vol. i., pp. 15-16.

³ Nicolli, pp. 67-68.

⁴ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 372-376.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 388.

⁶ Dito, p. 302. Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 238-239, 251.

⁷ Nicolli, p. 80. Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 238-239.

⁸ Ottolini, p. 129.

⁹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 220.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 252.

¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 271.

¹² *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 220.

as Solera stated,¹ and the very name of Guelfia ceased to exist, though it is referred to in official documents after this date, probably in error. The Guelfia's most interesting characteristic is that it aimed at a united Italy. Its attempt to dominate the Carboneria, which was partially successful for a time, was the first of several. On the whole I do not think that this Society was either so powerful or important as its followers pretended, though it did succeed for a time in persuading both the authorities and the Carboneri to take it at its own value.

The Guelfic idea did not die with the disappearance of the Guelfia. Many years later it reappeared in the famous work of the Piedmontese Gioberti, *Il Primato degl' Italiani*, a ponderous book which had a great influence over the political thought of the time and helped to precipitate the crisis of 1848. Guelfism ceased to be a political Secret Society and became a political philosophical creed.

The disappearance of the High Vendita of Ancona left the Carbonari in the Legations leaderless. Bologna, which exercised a strong influence over the whole region might have taken its place, but it was out of favour owing to the failure² of the Guelfic chiefs to support the Macerata revolt and its internal divisions. Ferrara was pursuing its independent course under Tommasi, and was the only town in which in the months after the Macerata failure a formal Vendita was held, according to our records.³ The Romagne decided to fend for themselves: no new High Vendita was established, but, according to Maroncelli, the Vendita of Forli, the "*Amaranto*" gained the ascendancy through its energy and became the leading centre.⁴ The general policy of the province was directed by an informal committee of four representatives, one from each of the principal cities of the Romagne, Count Laderchi for Faenza, Count Orselli for Forli, Gallina for Ravenna and Fabbri or Zamboni⁵ for Cesena. Under the leadership of these men the Carboneria in the Romagne grew stronger and stronger, and developed in new directions.

Under the threat from the violence of the reactionary Sects, which overhung all men of liberal views, the Romagnol leaders began to consider measures of defence and reprisal against the Brigands,⁶ as they called their opponents. There was a strong objection to the admission of the lower orders to the Carboneria itself, and when he tried to do so, Tommasi was blamed. Good Cousin of Forli, Armuzzi,⁷ had suggested, in the case of Freemasonry, that the Fraternity should form subordinate societies, which should share none of Freemasonry's secrets but be under its control for purposes of defence. The idea was adopted by the Carbonari, especially the leader of the Vendita at Cesena, Caporali, and a whole group of subordinate Sects arose, composed of members of the lower classes, the peasants, who were mostly armed in the Romagne,⁸ and the artisans. Separate subordinate Societies were formed for students of the schools and universities. These Sects had an oath and in some cases signs.⁹ They formed "*Squadre*" (Squads) corresponding to the Carbonaro sections, and their leaders reported to a Carbonaro chief who supervised them. The poorer classes did not pay any subscriptions, the students had a fund which was kept distinct from the Carbonari's moneys.

These Sects did not hold any regular meetings but assembled as occasion demanded at inns or in the open country at a picnic.⁹ The Carbonari kept them in ignorance of the Carboneria's existence and did not acknowledge them

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 368.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 34.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 34, 164, 239.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 13.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 290.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 23; vol. ii., p. 220.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 309.

⁸ In Forli it was stamping with the foot. The Carbonari were taught this sign to enable them to call on the subordinate Sects for help. Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 54.

⁹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 316.

as Good Cousins, but only as Liberals.¹ They fulfilled their purpose of opposing the Brigands and it was often difficult to restrain them.²

Uccelli³ says that the Carboneria in the Romagna as a whole was divided into three Sections called: "Protettrice" (Protectoress), which was the Carboneria proper and looked after the general interests of the other Sections, the "Speranza" (Hope), which was the students' Sect, and "Turba" (Crowd) for the lower classes; but these names seem to have been generic, Turba especially seems to have been the name colloquially applied to all these subordinate Sects.⁴ Actually the names varied from town to town: for instance, at Faenza,⁵ the Speranzo was known as "Figli della Speranza" (Sons of Hope) and in Cesena⁶ as "Fratelli artisti" (Brother artists).

In addition to these Sects formed by the Carbonari, others arose independently; and some of these the Carbonari disavowed, when they were too violent. We have, in fact, here the contrary process to that by which the Guelfia, after a separate existence, amalgamated with the Carboneria. In order to escape the attention of the police and for other purposes the Carboneria split itself into fragments, threw out offshoots and multiplied itself. In this manner the Carboneria changed the names, signs, words and constitutions of its branches to suit the needs of the moment and of the locality; and in Cantù's words "instead of one great unity arose many societies with many names".⁷ These names and any information we have about these Societies will be found in Appendix I.; here I will content myself with mentioning, in addition to the Societies already referred to, the "Figli di Marte" (Sons of Mars), which are said to have arisen about 1820.⁸ As already stated, one of the best recruiting grounds for the Sects in general was the mass of old Napoleonic soldiers. Military skill would, of course, be indispensable in an armed revolt. The Carbonari were not ignorant of the axiomatic truth that a government cannot be overthrown against its will so long as it possesses a loyal army; and a revolution can succeed only if that army's loyalty be sapped. They accordingly turned their attention to their enemies' armed forces; and we find that in addition to some kind of military organisation for all Sectaries, as in the case of the "Concistoriali" and the "Federati", a separate establishment was set up in some places for serving and retired soldiers who had been seduced into joining a Sect. The "Figli di Marte" are the first example of this separate military Carbonarian establishment in Italy.⁹

In this way the Carboneria grew. Camillo Laderchi,¹⁰ son of the Faentine leader, said that in 1819 there were about 600 Carbonari in Faenza grouped in about 30 sections, besides the Turba; in Forli they were even more numerous: in Cesena there were three or four closely allied Societies; in Ravenna the Sectaries numbered as many as 2,000. Among the most eager was Lord Byron¹¹ and Count Guiccioli, the husband of his mistress, and Count Gamba, her brother, were both prominent Sectaries. As regards policy, there were signs of dissension. Ravenna and Cesena were impetuous and hot headed, Forli and more particularly Faenza and Bologna were cautious and anxious to avoid violence; and these differences did not augur well for the time of trial which lay before the Carboneria throughout Italy.

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 471.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 13. The Turba at Faenza gave some trouble, we are told.

³ Quoted by Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 133.

⁴ Dito, p. 306.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 279.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 132, 220.

⁷ *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 124.

⁸ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 134.

⁹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 608.

¹⁰ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 468-472.

¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 483.

But there was one aim in which all liberal Sectaries were united, stern resistance to the reactionary Sects. When the challenge came the Carbonari were ready to accept it. The hot Romagnol blood was up, outrage was met with outrage and blow with blow. In 1819, when 26 Carbonari were arrested and tried, Puccini, the director of police, reported¹; "In the Marches and the Legations there are numerous sects and all means are adopted to spread hatred for monarchical governments; and they set great hopes on the possibility of troubles in Italy. . . . The hatred of these parties finds vent in methods worthy of the Duke of Valence (Cæsar Borgia). Many murders of priests and government officials have taken place in Forlì, Ravenna and Faenza". Ravenna especially bore an evil reputation.² For this bitter warfare the weakness of the Papal government was chiefly responsible; and under its incompetent rule the excesses of the sectaries became so great in the years which follow, as to make the Papal States a byword in Europe for misrule.

Before closing this chapter, two curious incidents must be related.

Tuscany comes very little into my story. After the restoration of the Grand Duke, his government under the direction of Fossombroni was very mild and there was little discontent. There were Sects in Tuscany, but they were few and mostly in Leghorn, a seaport full of racial flotsam, and their existence was ignored.³ A letter sent by the Carbonari of Naples to the poet Benedetti was intercepted. Fossombroni did nothing beyond ordering the police visa to be affixed to it; but Benedetti was so frightened when he saw that the police had opened it that he committed suicide, quite unnecessarily.³ In the winter of 1818 the Tuscan Valtangoli, who did not disdain to play the rôle of a spy at times, visited the Carbonaro chiefs of the Romagna, giving himself out to be an emissary of Fossombroni,⁴ and laid the following plan before them. The whole Legations were to rebel; and they would be supported by the Illuminati and the Freemasons of Tuscany, provided they agreed to their territory being annexed to Tuscany. As any prospect of escaping priestly rule was attractive to the Romagnols, they sent four delegates, including Count Orselli,⁵ to Fossombroni. The minister, however, disavowed most of what Valtangoli had said, but hoped that the matter might be brought before the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, which sat in 1818.

Soon after the Macerata conspiracy a phrenologist, Confortinati,⁶ appeared in the Marches and was received into the Carboneria by a chemist in Pesaro. He then made his way to the Legations and met Tommasi in Ferrara. He gave out that he was a member of a High Vendita in the Abruzzi called the "Gran Sasso d'Italia" (Great rock of Italy, the name of the highest mountain in the Appennines), that under that Vendita eight degrees were practised, and he gave a full description of the gorgeous collars worn in those degrees. He added that he belonged to a society of the Ionian isles called the "Greek pilgrims",⁷ or "Greeks of Silence",⁸ on whose behalf he was authorised to collect funds. He also⁹ gave the Carbonari a prayer, to be said at the opening of the labours in a Vendita. He managed to obtain a certain amount of money; but was arrested not long afterwards. He confessed before the Austrian authorities that his story was a tissue of lies. The High Vendita he had mentioned was merely that of Aquila and all the information he had about it, including the existence of the eight degrees, had been given him by the chemist

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 130.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 126, 211.

³ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 12.

⁴ Dito, p. 204. Nicolli, p. 86. Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 31-33.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 203.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 279-296.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 225.

⁸ Luzio, *Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, p. 22. Foresti said he had heard of them at Rovigo, but did not know what they were.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 180.

in Pesaro. The marvellous collars had been described to him by a Freemason as worn in a certain society, which he assumed to have been the Carboneria!

Both these incidents show that the policy of strictly segregating the groups of members adopted by the Carboneria and other Sects had its dangers as well as its advantages.

XIV. PIEDMONT.

As Piedmont, including Genoa, was the first Italian territory to be overrun by the French armies, who brought their Sects with them, one would expect to find the earliest traces of them in these regions. Brother Tuckett¹ gives some evidence that there were Philadelphes in the army in Italy, a fact which Nodier confirms, but he² does not say specifically that Piedmont was one of the regions in which a branch of that society established itself. The Abbé Gyr,³ an unreliable writer, says that the Adelphes and Philadelphes spread beyond the Alps and revived the ancient "Carboneria", whatever he may mean by this; while Witt⁴ says that the Philadelphie was brought by the French armies into Piedmont and North Italy, and implies that this happened before 1809. If the Philadelphie did become established in Piedmont, it died down soon or remained hidden and unimportant until the Adelfia absorbed it. Of the presence of the French Charbonnerie I have found no evidence, beyond Gyr's statement already referred to, if such is his meaning.

The Carboneria proper seems to have come from Lombardy, probably as part of the impulse radiating from Lissa. By 1812 a Vendita is found at Ivrea,⁵ which is said to have been founded by some patriots who were disgusted at the subserviency of Freemasonry to French rule. Despite the efforts of Canon Moretta,⁶ the Society made little progress until Napoleon's Empire was tottering, when we hear of Count Paluca of Ivrea, Dr. Michael Gastone,⁷ the Barristers Grandi and Marchetti of Biella, the Abbot Bernardi of Casale, Count Palma, Dr. Urbano Rattazzi, a relation of Cavour's colleague of later days, and Count Marocchetti spreading the Sect in their various localities. The movement was, as in other parts of Italy, directed against the French; and we may note among its participators, though they were not yet, as far as we know, members of any secret society, Cantorre di Santa Rosa, Count Provana di Collegno and Cæsar Balbo, all to become prominent in 1821.⁸ While the French régime endured, the Sects did but little beyond some minor agitation, especially at Alessandria.⁹

At his accession Victor Emanuel I. found the Carboneria firmly established in the kingdom, and fairly numerous in his new acquisition Genoa, where Maghella,¹⁰ a native of that town, had sent emissaries to enrol supporters for Murat. The King was a kindly old man, who had served competently, if without distinction, as a soldier; he was devoted to his country and his subjects, and like all his House true to his word and faithful to his duty. He had not a strong character and was reputed to be dominated by his Queen, an Austrian princess. On arriving, among the welcomes of his people, he said he proposed to regard the last fifteen years as a bad dream,¹¹ which drew from the Russian ambassador the not inappropriate retort: "It is well that my master slept less

¹ *A.O.C.*, xxvii., *Napoleon I. and Freemasonry*, pp. 108-110.

² p. 248.

³ p. 339.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 32, agrees with this view.

⁵ Ottolini, p. 133.

⁶ Nicolli, pp. 89-93.

⁷ Ottolini, p. 133. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 38; vol. iii., p. 377. Dito, p. 341.

⁸ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 513.

⁹ Ottolini, p. 89.

¹⁰ *ibid*, p. 101.

¹¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 2.

soundly, or Your Majesty might not have woken up on your throne." In pursuit of his intention the King restored so far as was possible the conditions prevailing in 1800; all laws enacted between the 23rd of June, 1800, and the 20th of May, 1814, were abrogated¹ and all who had held offices in 1800 were restored to them. Deserving men who had served under the French found themselves reduced in rank and circumstances. But his policy had also a reverse side to it. If all changes of the last fifteen years were to be ignored, so were all political acts. There was no persecution in Piedmont; and, when a list of Piedmontese Jacobins and Freemasons was presented to the King, he tore it up without reading it.² Though the laws were antiquated, the administration was honest and reasonable, in contrast to Naples, where the laws were good, but the corrupt administration led to rebellion. There was also a certain amount of judicious toleration, so long as liberal views were not aired too openly. Colonel Regis, who arrived fresh from the battle of Toulouse against Wellington with 700 Italian Chasseurs, was taken into the Piedmontese service with his men, in spite of their liberal leanings.³

The problems which confronted the old King were dynastic, constitutional and international; and all were very closely interwoven. The constitutional problem was simple in outline; the Piedmontese liberals, like those elsewhere, wanted free institutions and modern administration, while the King was pledged to absolutism. His retrograde policy naturally caused discontent, but this discontent was limited to a comparatively small, though enlightened, section of his subjects, and the whole population, liberal or reactionary, was loyal to its ruling house. The international problem was also simple, for the time being. The King of Piedmont was beholden to the Allies; but the power which dominated Italy had long cast covetous eyes on the Piedmontese territories. Victor Emanuel's foreign problem was how to avoid the absorption of Piedmont by Austria. In resisting Austria the King could count on the devoted support of all his subjects, of the liberals even more than of the reactionaries, as soon as they understood, which happened very early in Piedmont, that the principal opponent to their desires was the power which threatened the very existence of their country.

In both his constitutional and international difficulties the question of the succession to the Piedmontese throne became of paramount importance. Victor Emanuel himself had no male issue, only four daughters; and in Piedmont the Salic Law was in force. The Heir Presumptive was his brother Charles Felix, who also had no male issue. Next in order of succession was the representative of the junior line of the House of Savoy, Prince Charles Albert of Carignano. As by personal inclination and by policy the King and his brother were reactionaries and considered themselves pledged to the Holy Alliance, the liberals could expect no concessions from them. The personality, the character and the actions of Charles Albert, who had given no pledges to the Holy Alliance, became of vital interest both to Austria and the liberals. His actions form a principal part of my story; his character we must now consider.

Charles Albert, the only member of the House of Savoy who submitted to the French and was accordingly held in disdain by his relations, was the son of Charles Emanuel of Carignano and Charlotte Albertina of Saxe Courland, a woman of unstable character. When his father died, before the restoration, his mother married again, and from then onward shamefully neglected her son. Once Charles Albert was forced to ride on the box of his mother's coach on a long journey in the depth of winter. His education was

¹ Helfert, p. 72.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 159

³ Castro, p. 311.

haphazard. First he was sent in Paris to the fashionable school of the Abbé Liautard,¹ where he was taught in accordance with strict Roman Catholic tenets, and later to the school of M. Vaucher¹ in Geneva, where the ideas of Rousseau and the Encyclopædists were inculcated. Eventually Napoleon rescued him from poverty, gave him an allowance and a commission in the French Dragoons. As a consequence of his upbringing and early circumstances the young Prince learnt to conceal his thoughts, weigh every act carefully and wait on the opinion of others before declaring himself. The religious mysticism inherited from his ancestors was intensified in Paris, while his training in Geneva made him lean to liberal and philosophical views. His nature, from the beginning, was at war with itself. It is not surprising that he grew up uncertain in his aims, undecided and unreliable.

Metternich was the first to recognise the importance of Charles Albert. The Prince was a stumbling block to Austria in two respects. His upbringing made the orthodoxy of his views suspect from the absolutist point of view, while his very existence went far towards assuring the continuation of Piedmont as an independent State. Metternich has been generally credited with the intention of eliminating Charles Albert from the succession and the substitution on the throne of Piedmont of an Austrian Prince after the extinction of the principal line. He employed Austria's favourite diplomatic expedient, a royal marriage, and found ready to his hand a suitable instrument in Francis IV., Duke of Modena, of the house of Habsburg-Este. When Francis' mother, Princess Beatrice of Este, lost her Duchy at the time of the French invasion on Italy, her son hoped to restore his fortunes by marrying the Archduchess Marie Louise. Metternich brought this design to an end and the Archduchess became Napoleon's bride. For a time Francis had to fend for himself, and Bentinck² thought him a suitable candidate for the crown of Italy and to lead an Italian revolt against the French; but it was Metternich who suggested to him to establish a claim to the Kingdom of Piedmont. Francis accordingly went to the exiled court in Sardinia and married Victor Emanuel's eldest daughter, his own niece. If ever it should prove possible to set aside the Salic Law, he would have a claim to the Piedmontese throne.

When Napoleon fell, Metternich demanded that Charles Albert, now free from his allegiance to the French Emperor, should take up his residence at the Austrian headquarters.³ The unsuspecting king was inclined to yield; but his shrewder brother, Charles Felix, pointed out that the Austrians meant the Prince no good, they might entrap him into a *mésalliance*, which would make his succession impossible, or even contrive an accident which would put him out of the way. Charles Felix hated Austria with that hatred which comes only from the most intimate acquaintance; it was he who said that Austria was a kind of birdlime which one could never get rid of once one had got it on one's fingers, and though he was ready to use Austrian support when he thought his duty demanded it, he had no illusions as to her character or designs. The King solved the difficulty by calling Charles Albert to his own court. In the meantime, thanks to an indiscretion of Francis, Metternich's intentions were partly revealed, and Talleyrand, interested in opposing Austria's predominance in Italy, at the Congress of Vienna insisted on the insertion of an article, 860, in the treaty of peace securing the succession to Charles Albert. Charles Albert at once won the King's affection, but no less quickly earned the dislike of the Queen, who naturally favoured the succession of her daughter and her brother. To avoid an impossible situation Charles Albert was allowed to hold a separate small court at Racconigi.

¹ Costa de Beauregard, pp. 15-18.

² Record Office FO. 70. Sicily.

³ Costa de Beauregard, p. 40.

The disfavour of the reactionaries led the liberals to court him; and, although the most orthodox tutors were provided for him, the Prince found the liberals' company attractive, especially when they talked of a free constitutional Italy, in which an aggrandised Piedmont would play a great part, and he chose from them his most intimate friends, among them Count Sanmarzano of Caraglio, son of the Piedmontese envoy to Vienna and equerry to the King, Caesar Balbo, Count Provana of Collegno and Captain Radice, both of the Artillery, and Hector Perrone. It was not long before rumours arose that the Prince shared the liberals' desire for reform; and, indeed, the liberals could not have found a more suitable person to lead them. Not only would their loyalty to the Royal house have been beyond suspicion, but through Charles Albert they could hope to persuade the King to grant free institutions and then lead them in a national war to drive out the Austrians, achieving their object in this way without incurring the odium of making a revolution.

Though the liberals were not persecuted in Piedmont so long as the outward decencies were observed, they were forbidden any open expression of their political views, and, as elsewhere, for discussion and propaganda they were driven to have recourse to the Secret Societies. Santa Rosa¹ explained to Victor Cousin that he and others would have preferred liberal propaganda in literature, but were forced to join the Sects by illiberal laws. The Sects themselves had been banned by an edict of the 10th of June, 1814.²

By 1817 the Carboneria had grown:³ it had a High Vendita in Turin, which, apparently, had replaced that of Ivrea, and Vendite in Genoa, Biella, Casale, Ivrea, Vercelli, Asti and Novara. The Sect was particularly numerous in Eastern Liguria.⁴ Owing to Piedmont's geographical position, Piedmontese Sects were particularly susceptible to foreign influence.⁵ Foreign emissaries made converts in the country and Piedmontese became initiated abroad and spread the Sects on their return. The High Vendita of Turin was composed largely of nobles and officers, but these, according to Dito,³ served as a screen for the real leaders who were in Alessandria. In Piedmont the Carboneria assumed a military aspect owing to the large number of younger officers who entered the Society. Its members were mostly of the cultivated classes; the peasantry and the artisans were hardly affected.

In addition to the Carboneria there were the Adelfi. As regards their introduction into Italy we have as usual several versions. Coppi⁶ says that Freemasonry, which had decayed after Napoleon's fall, revived in the Italian Adelfia in 1816, which was the same as the "Maestri sublimi e muratori perfetti" (Sublime Masters and Perfect Masons), and was subversive and anti-religious and celebrated the four great feasts of the French Jacobins. This description corresponds to what we hear as regards the Adelfi, but there are other versions concerning the Perfect Masters; and it would seem that Coppi has confused two societies. Luzio⁷ refers to a statement by Valtangoli, the Tuscan envoy to the Romagnol Carbonari, that the Adelfi were introduced from France with the object of opposing Freemasonry, and that they used Masonic symbolism, but gave it a different interpretation. This theory involves a date for the coming of the Adelfi into Piedmont earlier than 1816, by which year the French domination, which supported Freemasonry, had ceased. The date 1816.

¹ Tivaroni, vol. i., pp. 38 *et* subseqq.

² Helfert, p. 136.

³ Dito, p. 341. Cantù, *Il Conciliatore*, p. 271, says that Witt thought very little of these noble conspirators, who had been initiated only recently and were only Carbonaro Apprentices.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 89.

⁵ Dito, p. 339.

⁶ Quoted by Dito, p. 327.

⁷ Luzio, *Massoneria*, etc., vol. i., p. 196. Helfert, p. 137.

on the other hand, is confirmed by an Austrian report¹ dated the 22nd of January, 1824, which says that in that year there were two Societies in Italy, the Carboneria and the Adelfia, that both were democratic, but, while the Carbonari supported the Agrarian Law, of which we know nothing, the Adelfi were frankly regicide. The centre of the Adelfi is given as France. It is clear that the Adelfia was of French origin, that it had become prominent in Piedmont by 1816 and that it was subversive. It may have arrived earlier than 1816, or it may shortly before that date merely have absorbed the Philadelphie of Piedmont.

As regards its nature we are fortunate to have some information which seems reliable in the shape of a document in the British Record Office,² describing some aspects of the inner structure of the Adelfia. The document shows us the Society about 1820, when it had developed from its earlier state of 1816. Qualification for admission to the first degree, known as the Academician's, was simply membership of one of the various societies which had national and liberal aims, like the European Patriots, the Philadelphes and the Carbonari, which are all specifically referred to. By 1820 the political aims in this degree were very moderate, in fact there is hardly even any opposition to absolute government. About 1818³ the Grand Firmament instituted the degree of "Sublime Perfect Master", in which constitutional government was the aim. About 1820 the degree of "Sublime Elect" was instituted, which was frankly subversive. In it the Jacobinical tenets of the founders of the French Adelphe were inculcated; regicide was extolled, royal emblems were stabbed by the candidate at his reception, hatred of priests and nobles was inculcated, and the days of the execution of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette and Madame Elisabeth, as well as the 14th of July, the date of the Capture of the Bastille, and the 10th of August, the date of the decisive rising, were held as feast days. It is probable that, in its original Jacobinical aspect, the Adelfia found it impossible to make much progress in loyal Piedmont;⁴ it changed its character and adopted milder aims, while preserving its subversive objects in higher degrees successively instituted for that purpose, so that the patriotic national societies might be attracted, while the real aims of the leaders were kept concealed from all but a few extremists. The higher control was kept carefully hidden from the lower degrees; the members of the committees which ruled the Sublime Perfect Masters' Churches were identical with those who directed the Sublime Elects' Synods, but concealed their identity. Each Sublime Perfect Masters' "Church" was also ordered to form a Freemasons' Lodge, which was to conform to all Masonic requirements, but was to be under the complete control of the "Church". We have here again an example of the Illuminati's tactics. The Adelfi are said to have extended their influence in Piedmont by forming or gaining control of lesser Sects⁵ like the "Indipendenti", another instance of that very common name among secret societies, the "Ausonia", which spread into Lombardy, the "Liberi Italiana" (Free Italians), "Amici dell'unione"⁶ (Friends of union) and "Fratelli scozzesi"⁶ (Scottish Brothers).

According to Dito,⁶ the chief responsibility for the introduction of this formidable sect into Piedmont rests on Angeloni, and this is very probable. Angeloni and Buonarroti were among the first Italian exiles to work abroad in Sectarian circles in order to assist the liberal cause; and this is perhaps the appropriate place to give a short sketch of these two famous old Sectaries.

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 214.

² FO., 70/92.

³ Nicolli, p. 93.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁵ Dito, p. 342.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 333.

Louis Angeloni was born near Rome;¹ and after the conquest of the Papal States by General Berthier became a Tribune and member of the legislative assembly of the Roman republic. After the French disasters of 1799 he fled to Corsica and then to Paris. An ardent republican, he was soon implicated in plots against the first Consul; he was imprisoned at the time of the explosion of the infernal machine, but was released owing to lack of evidence; he took part in the plot, known as the "plot of the Romans", and later became founder of the French Adelphes. In 1812 he joined Malet in his conspiracy and narrowly escaped from losing his life in it. His gaoler, to do him a bad turn, placed him in a worse cell than the one allotted to him, with the result that his substitute in the proper cell was executed in his stead. In spite of his Jacobinism, he retained an ardent love for his country, and was perhaps one of the first Italians to give up his particular nostrum for the regeneration of mankind for the sake of the Fatherland as a whole. He welcomed the proclamations of Nugent and Bentinck and hoped to see an independent federation set up in Italy, being in this respect a forerunner of the Neoguelfs.² He was eventually deported from France to England, where he disdained to beg for assistance and therefore lived in the utmost poverty until his death in a workhouse in 1842.³ He was a grand old patriot and a notable Sectary.

Buonarroti, the Florentine, has already been mentioned. He supported the revolution in 1792, served in Corsica and at Toulon and accompanied the French army in Italy in order to help in the democratisation of the country. He was an extremist, one of the first socialists, and became a friend of Babœuf while both were in prison after the fall of Robespierre. After Babœuf's rising he was arrested⁴ and spent various periods of imprisonment in several places until he was exiled to Geneva. After Napoleon's fall he made the Swiss town a hotbed of conspiracies and collected round himself "a numerous company of good patriots, who waited anxiously to assure the triumph of public liberty with no distinction of country or religion", as one of his admirers says.⁵ He is said to have expressed a wish that Robespierre had cut off many more heads. He became one of the most prominent and persistent of the Carbonari and earned the names of "Old man of the Mountain" and "Patriarch of Carbonarism". Angeloni and Buonarroti were important links in connecting the Italian Sectarian movement with European liberalism.

When the Paris Committee and the Grand Firmament became active, as might be expected, Angeloni and Buonarroti⁶ were entrusted with the supervision of the Sectarian movement in Italy, and Angeloni became especially responsible for Piedmont. He met with some success: an Adelfic centre was set up in Turin under the control of the Grand Firmament,⁷ and Doctor Gastone and Grandi, the Carbonaro leaders, became heads of the Adelfia, which was known in Piedmont also under the name of Delphic Order.⁸ Angeloni even succeeded in enrolling General Giffenga,⁹ the commander of the Cacciatori (Rifles), who was entrusted with the leadership of the Society,¹⁰ and according to Helfert Santa Rosa, Collegno and the Prince of Cisterna became members.¹¹ The General was in touch with also the "Epingle" of Lyon,¹⁰ which was

¹ Romano Catania, pp. 8 *et subsequ.*

² *ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 230. Romano Catania, p. 31.

⁴ Romano Catania, pp. 3-7. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 202, note.

⁵ Andryane, vol. i., p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 341.

⁷ Nicolli, pp. 91-93. Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 179.

⁸ Lati, p. 82.

⁹ Romano Catania, p. 25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

¹¹ Helfert, p. 127.

probably the Black Pin. In the meantime Buonarroti was establishing a strong Sectarian centre at Geneva,¹ a connecting link between Piedmont and Paris.

From Piedmont the Adelfi spread in 1816 to Parma, where they probably absorbed the Philadelphes, if they still existed, to Modena and Mantua and, as we shall see, to the Papal States.² While the Carboneria, being the outcome of patriotic feeling, was a political Society with a leaven of Jacobinism, the Adelfia was a subversive society with a patriotic façade.

As the Sects gained ground, the necessity for co-ordinating their efforts became evident. The High Vendita of Ivrea had already tried to heal the breach between the Carbonari and the Freemasons,³ who had revived to some extent through the efforts of Dr. Gastone.⁴ In 1816 a more far-reaching effort was made: on the initiative of the Adelfi⁵ the "*Federazione italiana*" (Italian Federation) also known as the "*Federati*" (Federates) was formed. The Federation was not, in strictness, a new Sect, it was a fighting organisation in which all the Sects were eventually combined. The "*Liberi Italiani*", for instance, merged into it at the instance of Santa Rosa himself,⁶ who met a *Libere Italiano* and strongly recommended concentration of efforts. Witt⁷ thinks that this Association was modelled on the French *Fédérés* of the "*Cent Jours*", as Napoleon's return in 1815 is called. The Federation grew rapidly and spread into Lombardy, a development which led the Austrian authorities to suppose that it originated in that country. The official report of the 24th of January, 1824,⁸ already referred to, says that it was formed by the remnant of the Sectaries who survived the conspiracy of 1815 and adopted the signs of the "*Platonic Society*" suppressed by Melzi, a theory which is improbable. In 1820 our old friend Maghella succeeded in effecting a combination between the Federates and the Carbonari.⁹ Our Society was at this time increasing its strength in all directions, and we find it gaining the predominance in the new Association, the Adelfia falling more into the background. Metternich in his interview with Confalonieri declared that the Federates were but a second degree of the Carboneria.¹⁰ Dolce,¹¹ as early as the 12th of August, 1816, suggests an even wider alliance embracing the *Concistoriali* as well (see vol. lii., p. 78). Witt gives the numbers at the disposal of the Federates as 100,000 in 1821.

The Federates had hardly any ritual of their own, only an oath taken on a dagger to maintain secrecy, be obedient and to sacrifice their lives for liberty.¹² Dito adds that they swore to be faithful to a constitution and a king who was intended to be Charles Albert.¹³ They were grouped under Captains, who in turn were under District Commanders, and these were under Provincial Commanders or Colonels. Each Commander had under him ten Captains and each Captain four Federates.¹⁴ The objects of the Federation were the same as those of the Carbonari, but they also favoured a federation of Italy on the model of the United States of America, or, alternatively, a division of Italy into three

¹ Nicolli, p. 102. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 376.

² Austrian report of 22 January, 1824. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 219-228.

³ Nicolli, p. 89.

⁴ Luzio, *Massoneria*, vol. i., p. 179.

⁵ Dito, p. 333. Nicolli, p. 96. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 133, suggests that the Federation arose in the Papal States after the Macerata trial. I think that is a mistake.

⁶ Dito, p. 342.

⁷ p. 86.

⁸ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 219 *et subsequ.*

⁹ Nicolli, p. 96.

¹⁰ Confalonieri, *Memorie*, p. 165.

¹¹ Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 182.

¹² Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 386.

¹³ Dito, p. 342.

¹⁴ Dito, p. 342. Nicolli, p. 96. Ottolini, p. 47, ascribes erroneously this organisation to the Adelfi.

kingdoms.¹ The patriotism of the Association was undoubted; and it seems to have attracted into its ranks many of the noblest spirits in the land and it cast out much that was undesirable in Secret Societies. Among the Piedmontese Carbonari and Federates were Santa Rosa, Collegno, the Count della Cisterna, Moffa di Lisio, Sanmarzano, son of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Marquis de Prié, Colonels Regis and Ansaldi, Captain Radice, and the inevitable Gastone and Grandi.

The liberal Sectararies gained considerable advantage from the protection of the French, Spanish and Bavarian ambassadors, who allowed conventicles to meet almost openly at their embassies.²

On the other side, the reactionary societies were also not lacking in Piedmont. The Sanfedists were represented, and there were the Concistoriali in considerable numbers. Among other similar societies were the "Viva Maria" (Long live Mary),³ or "Figli di Maria" (Sons of Mary). It was founded in 1817 and d'Azeglio, father of the future patriot and prime minister, was its president. It is not certain how far this association was a secret society: it is said to have been a branch of the Santa Fede. There was also the "Società cattolica" (Catholic society),⁴ which was so extreme in its aims that it had to be suppressed in 1827. The "Congregazione Cattolica apostolica romana" (Catholic apostolic roman congregation) was a mysterious body, and it is impossible to say whether it was liberal or reactionary. Tivaroni, as have seen, says it was the name adopted by a group of Carbonari after the Macerata conspiracy. La Farina,⁵ who gives the fullest account of it, says that it originated among the Neo-Catholics of France as a benevolent society and that it spread to Piedmont and Lombardy about 1815. In its higher degrees it became political, but it was never numerous, and died out.⁶ Dolce⁷ succeeded in obtaining its constitution at Genoa,⁸ together with a list of the officers of the Concistoriali and a catechism of the Carbonari, a good haul in fact. Helfert⁹ dates the Congregazione back to 1801, and also calls it the "Società apostolica" (apostolic society) and the "Contromassoneria" (Counter-masonry). I have no evidence as to the existence of a Society called Counter-masonry and it seems that Helfert has again mistaken the word describing the Society's activity for its name. He relies too much on the police report, which, from the circumstances in which they were obtained, could seldom be completely accurate or reliable. One of the objects of the Society was the "Exaltation of the Pope and of religion", which would indicate a reactionary character, yet it also aimed at a constitution on the British model and among its passwords were those ascribed to the Centres. It seems to have been involved in the rising of 1821, and raised a tumult at Grenoble, after which it changed its words and symbols. It seems to have been a liberal Society with Roman Catholic leanings.

On the whole the liberals were in the minority. The greater number of the nobles, who had rendered to the House of Savoy faithful service for centuries, preferred the old system, yet were as patriotic as any liberal. The masses themselves were devoted to their country and their rulers and did not understand what free institutions meant. The King himself, as we have seen, was pledged against reform. Yet the liberals seem to have been confident, and they began to sound Charles Albert. Giffenga went so far as to place before him some of Angeloni's

¹ Nicolli, p. 97.

² Dito, p. 339.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 135.

⁴ Bianchi, vol. i., p. 173. Helfert, p. 290.

⁵ Vol. iv., p. 170.

⁶ Nicolli, pp. 81-82.

⁷ Ottolini, p. 35.

⁸ Dito, p. 289.

⁹ p. 127. Report of the spy Paruta to Sauran, 11 June, 1816,

writings.¹ The Prince remained ambiguous, he thanked the old Sectary through his equerry Collegno for his efforts "To animate the Italians to that union of thought which alone could give them what they had awaited in vain from the foreigners". By the beginning of 1820 the political situation was becoming tense. But it was not in Piedmont that the first explosion was to take place.

XV. THE LOMBARD VENETIAN KINGDOM.

The conspiracies of the Centres and the behaviour of the North Italians during Murat's last desperate attempt, made the Austrian authorities feel that they could not rely to any large extent on the loyalty of their Lombard and Venetian subjects. Francis I. did not altogether disregard their aspirations; at first Lombardy and Venetia had been incorporated into the Empire as new provinces; later the Emperor decided to constitute them into the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom. No doubt this measure was intended to some extent as a counterblast to Murat's proclamation of Rimini of the 30th of March,² which called for a united Italy; nevertheless the scheme had been under consideration long before, though the edict was not issued until the 7th of April.³ A Viceroy was to be at the head of the new kingdom, to reside six months in Milan and six in Venice; and each province was to have a governor and an administration of its own.

But this concession did not satisfy the Italians. Under Napoleon the Kingdom of Italy had been a distinct state with its own court, its own government, its own army and its own flag, whose only link with imperial France was that Napoleon himself was both Emperor and King and commanded both the French and the Italian armies. Under Austrian rule the army had lost its separate identity, dull Viennese etiquette, introduced by St. Julien,⁴ took the place of Eugène's brilliant and voluptuous court, and everything was decided in Vienna, often a long proceeding. Under French rule there had been at any rate a semblance of a constitution; the Austrian government allowed no more than "Congregations", composed of nobles and members of the middle class selected by the Emperor, who had no legislative or administrative powers, but were merely allowed to consider and advise on such minor matters as the government chose to refer to them.⁵ Attempts were made also to Austrianise the Italian provinces, which aroused the derision even of Metternich.⁶

Another grievance was the severe censorship. Bellegarde had suggested the creation of a scientific, literary and artistic review, to give the Italians some means of expressing their ideas without touching on dangerous topics. He had even secured the services of no less a person than Foscolo, a valiant soldier, patriot and one of Italy's greatest poets,⁷ who at this moment felt inclined to submit to what he could not mend, greatly to the disgust of some of the more extreme patriots, the *Italiani puri* (pure Italians); but the authorities in Vienna took so long in deciding that Foscolo changed his mind and preferred to go into exile to England.⁸ A paper called the *Biblioteca italiana* was eventually set up in 1815 under the direction of the Freemason Acerbi⁹; and many eminent people, including Vincent Monti, contributed to it. It represented classicism against the growing romantic movement in Italy. But the oppressive censorship neutralised any good results this measure might have had.

¹ Romano Catania, p. 25.

² Ottolini, pp. 104-105.

³ Helfert, p. 208. La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 158-159.

⁴ Witt, Part II., p. 10.

⁵ Helfert, pp. 64-65.

⁶ Dito, p. 316. Letter written to his wife in 1819.

⁷ Helfert, p. 53.

⁸ *id.*, p. 175.

⁹ *id.*, p. 301.

Apart from Metternich's policy, Austria's rule was handicapped by events beyond her control. There was a general shortage and a rise in prices,¹ which will not surprise us who have had experience of post war years, and led to some rioting and brigandage. Raab, director of police in Venetia, reported to the minister of police in Vienna, Haager, in the second half of October, 1815, that the feeling of friendliness towards the deliverers of 1814 had entirely evaporated. As a result the police became very active and the Sectaries were hard pressed. Bellegarde and Raab himself did their best to administer the Law against the Sects with tact; they knew that the majority of the public officials belonged to some Secret Society or other and did not intend to drive them to desperation by summary dismissal. But others were not endowed with a similar capacity for turning the blind eye; and the police inquiries were pressed sometimes to ridiculous extremes. Plots in plenty were discovered, only to prove mere nests. In 1816 Bellegarde's successor, Saurau, driven by fatuous criticism from Vienna, suggested to Haager the establishment of a vast net of espionage to cover all Italy and most of France. Haager entrusted this task to the ex-British agent Dumont, assisted by Dolce and Captain Frizzi, who obtained valuable information about the Sects in the Papal States, as we have seen.

Despite its crudities, police action did not remain without effect. From the beginning the Carboneria had never been so strongly organised in the North as in the South; and under the pressure the Secret Societies wilted. It is unlikely that the number of members diminished, but the Vendite ceased to meet, and proselytising was suspended to the extent of creating the impression that the Sects had died out.² Friends as well as foes were deceived, for Foresti and Maroncelli, when they tried to revive the Society a few years later, thought they were introducing it for the first time North of the Po.³ Such at any rate was the state of affairs in Lombardy.

As regards Venetia the facts are obscure. Nearly all authorities are agreed that the Sects never gained very much footing in that province,⁴ and this view is borne out by Foresti's impression; and as he was a Judge and a liberal he would have been likelier than most to have known the truth. There was, moreover, no connection, after Foresti's activities, between the Venetian Good Cousins and those in Lombardy or Piedmont, but only with those of the Legations, from which the Sect had been introduced. On the other side we have the report of Maghella⁵ to Murat in 1815 saying that the Carbonari were numerous on the Venetian Mainland.

After the apparent disappearance of the Sects the cause of liberalism was sustained by a group of enlightened spirits, among whom were some of the greatest nobles in Lombardy. Count Porro di Lambertenghi, the old Sectary who belonged to a liberal club at Varese as long ago as 1794, was one of the moving spirits, and conspicuous among the others was Count Frederick Confalonieri, one of the most prominent figures in our history, though he never was a Carbonaro. He had played a part in the tumult of the 20th of April, 1814, and some regarded his reputation tarnished by that event. He was the leader of the deputation sent to Paris to plead for the independence of Lombardy. While in Paris he met an old Sectary and patriot who has been reputed to have been Buonarroti. But Buonarroti does not correspond to Confalonieri's description—he was not in Paris at the relevant dates; and there is little doubt that Romano Catania⁶ has made out a good case for

¹ Helfert, p. 320.

² Nicolli, pp. 41, 98.

³ Vannucci, p. 607.

⁴ Luzio, *Carboneria*, etc. Dolce's report of Nov., 1815, to Saurau, pp. 115, 122. Nicolli, pp. 85, 98. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., pp. 492, 494.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 36.

⁶ Romano Catania, *Del risorgimento d'Italia*.

thinking that it was Angeloni. Angeloni¹ introduced Confalonieri to some of Malet's old friends and disclosed to him the nature of the Philadelphian or the Adelfian society, under an ordinary promise not to disclose what had been communicated to him. He also informed him of the secrets of the lower degrees of Freemasonry, the Guelfs and the Carbonari.² The Milanese nobleman refused to enter into any of the Sects, and to the end he maintained that he had never belonged to any Society except Freemasonry.

Though Angeloni failed to convert Confalonieri, he did succeed in firing him with his own enthusiasm for Italian redemption and deeply influenced Confalonieri's action in the succeeding years. The knowledge imparted by Angeloni not only enabled the Count to help some Guelfs after the officers' conspiracy of 1814, but also enabled him to get into touch with the Secret Societies in other parts of Italy, and to ascertain their feelings and the prospects of a successful rising. During this journey to France Confalonieri also came into contact with Pellegrino Rossi at Geneva.³

In the spring of 1815 the Count, accompanied by his wife, made a tour of Central and South Italy and met many of the prominent liberals of those regions, including the two Pepe, Carascosa, Rossarol, and he found the Carboneria very strong everywhere in the South. In Naples he made acquaintance with the Calderai, and he tells of an occasion in Calabria when, forced to take refuge in an inn whose innkeeper's appearance was "Marvellously illfavoured" and his manners worse, he succeeded in effecting an instantaneous change in his host's manners at any rate by giving the Calderaio sign. In the Roman States also he found the Carboneria very widespread but of a very violent and vindictive character.

In 1818 he went again to England, and was initiated into Freemasonry by the Duke of Sussex in a Scottish Lodge at Cambridge, and formed a very favourable opinion of our Brotherhood in England. He received the second and third degrees and Grand Lodge honours. On his return he came into touch with the Central revolutionary committee in Paris, of which La Fayette was a member. Such is Confalonieri's own story, and it is clear that, even if he was not actually initiated into any of the Societies, as he himself affirms, he was repeatedly sought after by the Sectaries, and he entered into relations with individual members.

The distinguished group of the Milanese aristocracy, led by Confalonieri, was responsible for the building of the first steamboat in Italy and the introduction of industrial machinery from England.⁴ Confalonieri's own interests lay in the introduction of a system of mutual education. This group also helped the development of the romantic movement in Italy in literature. Marshall Bubna, the Austrian commander in chief in 1819, said that the Austrian censorship was wide enough to allow the ventilation of reasonable public opinion, with some truth; the Italians would have been very glad of similar facilities in 1849.⁵ Count Porro,⁶ remembering the part he took in editing Salfi's *Termometro Politico* in the years gone by, took him at his word and founded the newspaper *Conciliatore* in Milan,⁷ which propounded Romanticism in literature and, so far as it dared, liberal opinions in politics. The first number appeared on the 3rd of September, 1818.⁸

¹ Confalonieri, *Memorie*, pp. 88 *et subsequ.*

² *ibid.*, Luzio.

³ Dito, p. 320.

⁴ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 167. Helfert, p. 340.

⁵ Cantù, *Il Conciliatore ed i Carbonari*, p. 285.

⁶ Tivaroni, *L'Italia*, 1789-1815, vol. i., p. 90. Botta, vol. ii., p. 382; on p. 390 he says Porro was minister of police in the first Cisalpine government, of which La Hoz and Melzi were members.

⁷ Thayer, vol. i., p. 253. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 167.

⁸ Dito, p. 320.

Among those who wrote or worked for the paper were some of the most eminent men of the day: Silvio Pellico of Saluzzo in Piedmont, the secretary; Professors Romagnosi and Gioia, eminent Freemasons whom we know already, and Ressi and Rasori; the two Counts Pecchio; the poets Borsieri and Berchet of Pavia, of whom Berchet was an Adelfo and later smote Charles Albert hip and thigh in his verses, only to become eventually a devoted supporter; Count Philipp Ugoni of Brescia; Sismondi of Geneva, the historian of the Italian medieval republics; Manzoni, most eminent of the romantics, whose mild language laid him open to reproach on the part of the hot heads of a later date; Count Philipp de Brême, who wrote a catechism of liberal principles for the small shopkeepers and the middle classes generally; and the music master Maroncelli of the Romagne.¹ It is difficult to say which of these men were Carbonari. Romagnosi and Ressi were not, Porro, Pellico, Maroncelli, Borsieri and Berchet were, and others may have been. The *Conciliatore* circle was also in touch with some of the most distinguished foreign writers, like Madame de Staël, Lord Byron, Lord Brougham and Hobhouse. Pellico told his friend Mompiani that secret societies were necessary to inculcate the spirit of liberty and independence² into the Italian masses; but they also needed education to raise them morally and socially; to regenerate Italy it was necessary to become a Carbonaro.³ The *Conciliatore* group tried to carry out this policy.

At first the Austrian authorities regarded these men as a romantic literary coterie, and informed Cardinal Consalvi to that effect, when he suggested that the *Conciliatore* veiled a conspiracy set on foot by Byron.⁴ The Austrians regarded Maroncelli and Pellico, whom they kept under observation, as men of little account, though they were in touch with others who might become dangerous.⁵ But it was not long before in their eyes romanticism came to mean liberalism; the *Conciliatore* "smelt of coal", they said.⁶ The authorities were not far wrong in regarding the newspaper as a conspiracy,⁷ as Pellico⁸ himself tells us that it was intended to inculcate patriotism and revive the old Guelfic opposition to the empire. The censorship became stricter, Strassoldo the governor himself sometimes undertaking the task. In 1821, under the stress of continuous vexations, the Paper ceased publication.

One of the most important consequences of the enterprise of publishing the *Conciliatore*, which was unforeseen, was that an organisation of liberals came into being in this manner, which could be adapted to very different purposes. When the Piedmontese Sectaries closed their ranks, prepared for action and began to look for allies outside their own borders, they found in the *Conciliatore's* personnel a group ready formed, with whom they could form a connection. It was not in Milan, however, that the first efforts of the Sectaries were made; it was in the province of Venetia that the Austrian government received the first shock to its complacency. The existence of a Sectarian hotbed in the Romagne had long been known, and the Austrian government had often found fault with Consalvi for his leniency. It could not rely on sure support from the Papal Authorities, as these, fearing Austrian encroachment, were not at all indisposed to view any embarrassment caused to the Empire with a certain amount of satisfaction. The activities of the Concistoriali in particular had come under notice of the Austrians and Felix Foresti, who had distinguished himself in the service of the kingdom of Italy

¹ Cantù, *Il Conciliatore*, p. 472.

² Dito, pp. 318-319.

³ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 356.

⁴ Cantù, *Il Conciliatore*, p. 470.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 295.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 230.

⁷ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 351.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 354.

and had risen to the office of "Pretor" or judge of Crespino,¹ in that part of Venetia known as the Polesine, a townlet which had dared to give trouble to Napoleon, was sent in 1817 to investigate their doings.² He had been inclined to liberal views and had come into contact with the old Napoleonic officer Bacchiega, a Carbonaro.³ In Ferrara Foresti met Solera, the founder of the town's Vendita, and was easily persuaded to become a Good Cousin himself.⁴ The leaders of the Vendita of Ferrara, then full of energy, were eager to extend the Society to the North bank of the Po, and the liberal judge seemed a very suitable instrument for the purpose. Tommasi, the well-known Carbonaro and Guelf leader, who knew most of the Secret Societies of Europe, gave him his instructions and even took him to a meeting of the Guelf High Council at Prince Ercolani's house at Bologna.⁵ At that meeting Tommasi spoke mysteriously of a high degree called "Teca" which he was expecting from Naples, and hinted that Foresti might earn it by good work in Venetia. We know nothing further of this degree. Foresti set to work at once and soon had established a Carbonaro centre called the Vendita of the Lesser Adige⁶ at Rovigo and subordinate groups in Crespino, Polesella, Fratta, Padua and other parts of Venetia.⁷ These do not seem to have been regular Vendite, though Foresti styles them as such.⁸ While the Carbonari in the Marches, therefore, were being hard hit, those of Ferrara and the Polesine were gaining ground. In October, 1817, Tommasi came to Rovigo on the occasion of the fair which took place there in that month and held a Vendita, followed by a dinner, or, as the Good Cousin called it, the "Labours of the Table" or "Labours of mastication".⁹ A few days later two Good Cousins from Ferrara came to collect dues, but softened their importunities by inviting the Polesine Sectaries to a meeting at Ferrara in November. A regular Vendita was held there; of this we have interesting details, which will be related in another chapter.

In the meantime Foresti had become aware that the Austrian police had obtained, through the inquiries into the Macerata revolt, an inkling that the Carboneria had gained a footing on Venetian soil. He at once gave orders to the Polesine Carbonari to destroy all compromising papers, which was duly done, with one exception which was to have dire consequences.

Unfortunately for Foresti and his colleagues, General Arnaud and his wife, whom we have known as Cicely Monti, had recently settled in Fratta in the Polesine. Mme. Arnaud had been busy canvassing on behalf of the Black Pin and had induced several Carbonari, to Foresti's disgust, to join her Society. On St. Martin's Day, 1818,¹⁰ she gave a dinner party; but the authorities, misliking her activities, raided it, with the result that General Arnaud, his wife and son, her brother John Monti and the Carbonari Villa, Fortini, a priest, Count Camerata, Jérôme Bonaparte's son in law, were arrested. On being questioned by the police Villa turned King's evidence. It has been suggested that he was insanely jealous over his wife and wanted to be released at all costs in order to punish her for her behaviour.¹¹ Thanks to his disclosures,

¹ Vannucci, p. 607. Luzio, *Salvotti*, pp. 18-19.

² Nicolli, p. 85.

³ Helfert, p. 268.

⁴ Foresti says Solera initiated him. Nicolli, p. 85, says Tommasi did.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 224.

⁶ Luzio, *Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, p. 28.

⁷ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, says that the Vendita at Crespino was under Bacchiega.

⁸ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 143.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 138, 164-170, 302. At first Tommasi could not give the Carbonaro Toast, as there were Pagans present. It was given later.

¹⁰ Dito, p. 322.

¹¹ Luzio, *Processo Pellico-Maroncelli*, p. 15.

Foresti,¹ Count Oroboni, Munari, the Guelf constitutionalist, Solera and others were also arrested by the Austrian or Papal police on the 7th of January, 1819.² Further arrests took place at a ball given by the Imperial delegate Count Porcia.³ These arrests put a sudden stop to the Carboneria's activities in Venetia, and they were never revived there, as far as we know. They led to a famous trial; but as the Carbonaro trials are all closely connected, I will leave Foresti and his companions for the moment.

The Fratta Carbonari had only just been arrested when the existence of serious disaffection in the very heart of Lombardy was discovered. During the existence of the *Conciliatore* its managing staff met three times a week⁴ at the house of Count Philipp de Brême. At a date when those meetings were still taking place sectarian activity recommenced, possibly through the Piedmontese sectaries probing the ground in Lombardy; and it was not long before the house of the Brêmes had become the headquarters of the Lombard Federates.⁵ The Federation made ground rapidly. Confalonieri was soon recognised as its chief in Lombardy, and he was warmly recommended by the Grand Firmament in Paris and the Secret Societies' centre at Geneva. Among his most zealous collaborators were Counts Trecchi, Pecchio, Ugoni, Arrivabene, General Demeester⁶ and several others of those who had conspired in 1814, like Colonel Olini and that stouthearted old conspirator Colonel Moretti. Two centres were set up in Milan, one for the upper classes and one for the lower classes, a system resembling that of Faenza. A third centre under Count Porro and Count Louis Lechi, a relation of the two Napoleonic generals, managed the Federation's affairs in the countryside.⁵ Count Ugoni and his brother set up a subcentre in Brescia, Arrivabene, another at Mantua, and yet other subcentres were formed at Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, Como, Bergamo and Sondrio.⁷ Relations were set up not only with Turin but also with Geneva and the Grand Firmament itself. The organisation spread even to the Duchy of Parma under the guidance of the poet Berchet,⁶ though there was no intention of overthrowing the mild government of Marie Louise. In Lombardy the activity of the Giardinieri (Lady Gardners), the women's branch of the Carboneria, became specially prominent, and among these patriotic ladies we must mention Countess Christine of Belgioioso, one of the greatest names in the Italian Risorgimento, who had already earned the unwelcome attentions of the Austrian police, and Countess Fracavalli.

By the beginning of 1820 the Sects in Lombardy were again in full activity after their sleep, plotting, contriving against the day, then not far distant, on which they were to rise; and we shall see by the middle of the year the Carboneria try again to set up a regular organisation.

XVI. THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES.

Ferdinand returned to Naples after the flight of Murat, queenless, with amorganatic wife. There were no disorders and massacres as in 1799; Carbonari and Calderai joined forces to prevent them and the militia played their part. In December, 1816, the King assumed the style of Ferdinand I.

¹ The best account of these events is Foresti's own in Vannucci, p. 607 *et subseqq.* Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 495, says Bacchiega or Arnaud introduced the Carboneria into the Polesine. They may have obtained a few recruits before the Society became established.

² Dito, p. 323.

³ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 172.

⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 351. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 184. *Il Conciliatore*, p.

⁵ An Austrian police report of the 12th of April, 1821, says that after the failure of 1814 the Carboneria adopted the signs of the "Platonica", suppressed by Melzi, and called itself "Federazione italiana". Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 582.

⁶ Nicolli, p. 96. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 184.

⁷ Dito, p. 347.

of the Two Sicilies. The populace which had dubbed Murat the "Stage King" called him the "Peasant" owing to his lack of regal pomp.¹ The constitution, which had been dangled before the Carbonari to secure their support, was not granted, and that of Sicily, extorted by Bentinck, was quietly abolished. It remained in the minds of the Sicilians as a rallying cry and a political objective. Ferdinand, therefore, ruled as an absolute monarch. No persecution of late opponents took place:² at the armistice of Casa Lanza, which had concluded the war with Murat, the Austrian Generals and Lord Burghersh had stipulated that the Murattist officers should keep their rank; and the peace treaty confirmed these terms.³ As 12,000 Austrians were in occupation of the country, disregard of these terms was out of the question. Ferdinand contented himself with dismissing a number of civil officials and promoting those who had followed him to Sicily, the "Fedeloni" (most faithful ones), as they were called, and granting them higher rates of pay.⁴ The reforms introduced by the French were not abolished, but even slightly improved in the codes of 1819;⁵ in fact the laws of the Kingdom were probably among the best in Europe.

Nevertheless things soon began to go wrong. The Austrian army, which had restored the Bourbons, had to be paid; and Ferdinand had contracted other obligations. In 1816⁶ there was a famine; and when this was relieved by the importation of Russian corn the native farmers suffered loss. There was even a small outbreak of the plague. The authorities proved to be utterly incompetent, so that, despite the goodness of the laws, the administration degenerated into that state of helpless ineptitude then so usual in that part of the country. An example of the Neapolitan way of managing things was soon given in the treatment meted out to the brigands.

The bands of partisans organised during the earlier days of the French war too often formed a refuge for men fleeing from justice as well as for those persecuted by Manhès and the French generals; and some of these bands degenerated into associations of robbers and murderers. The Bourbon government set up special giunte (committees) in the provinces to deal with this evil: these made a show of activity by putting a few people to death, but they were too often the wrong persons, owing to insufficient and inefficient inquiry.⁷ The notorious Gaetano Vardarelli, who had been a soldier and had deserted after the return of the Bourbons to take up the more congenial occupation of brigand, terrorised a large part of Apulia with his mounted band. Unable to subdue them, the government took the Vardarelli into its pay, to hunt down other evildoers. Soon after the band fell into an ambush in the village of Ururi, where some of Gaetano's personal enemies lived, and some of the leaders, including Gaetano, were shot down. Government complicity was suspected. In the case of the survivors government treachery was open and unashamed. They were invited by General Amato to conclude a fresh treaty, and on their arrival were ambushed and murdered.⁸ Gaetano Vardarelli was a Carbonaro.⁹

In addition to the brigands, associations of malefactors carried on their nefarious activities under the guise of patriotic societies. Among such were the

¹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 101.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 149.

³ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 4. Dito, p. 223.

⁴ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 103.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 118. Colletta, vol. ii., Bk. viii., ch. 51, p. 232.

⁶ Colletta, vol. ii., Bk. viii., chs. 18-21, pp. 199-202. La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 112, 113, 128.

⁷ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 104.

⁸ La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 125, 127. Pepe, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 149, gives the terms of the treaty with the Vardarelli.

⁹ Frederici, p. 31. Letter of Nugent to Church.

"Filadelfi" (Philadelphians), the "Patriotti europei" (European patriots) and the "Decisi" (Determined ones).¹ Some of these had respectable beginnings, but, possibly through the influence of unscrupulous leaders, became associations of ruffians. The Filadelfi may have been the South Italian branch of Nodier's Philadelphes, and they may have been introduced into South Italy as early as 1801,² when St. Cyr's corps was sent to Apulia after Marengo; but there is no real evidence of their existence there before 1815.³ Lecce, in the very heel of Italy, was their chief centre. This town became a regular sectarian hive, and in 1817 are said to have numbered 70,000 in its territory.⁴ The Filadelfi were closely connected with the European Patriots. Their origin is obscure. In 1809 the British commander in chief, Sir John Stuart, entered into negotiations with an association called the Patriots,⁵ which was said to extend over a great part of Italy, but it is not known if this body was a secret society or merely a party, like the Liberali (Liberals), whom Helfert mistook for a sect. In Bentinck's time Noliterno represented himself as an agent of the "Italian Patriots".⁶ The Patriots may have been the parent stem of the Patriotti europei, who first come under notice in Apulia in 1814. They boasted that they formed part of a "Lega europea" (European League) or "Grand European Republic", which was supposed to be an international association with its centre in Paris.⁷ Of this League the shadowy "Salentine republic"⁸ formed part, a body which probably never had a real existence but whose authority was acknowledged by nearly all criminal sects. Helfert⁹ tells us that in 1815, at the instance of John Baptist Raggi, this society reformed itself, adopted as its name the "Patriotti europei riformati" (Reformed European patriots), and took as its aim the improvement of mankind, basing its ideas on Liberty and Equality, showing the influence of the French revolution. Leti,¹⁰ by mentioning both the original and the reformed society in the same list, shows that he also regards them as different from each other.

The Filadelfi and Patriotti were organised on a military basis. According to Helfert,¹¹ the Patriotti became the predominant Sect and the chiefs of the Filadelfi were compelled to become members of the Patriotti. The Patriotti were suppressed by General Church and the Filadelfi absorbed by the Carboneria. According to Leti,¹² the Filadelfi set up a branch in Salerno, Caserta and Naples, which numbered among its members some of the highest names in the land, like General Filangieri, the Dukes of Campochiaro and Capeceatratro, Ricciardi, and the Prince of Caramanica, who later became the head of an autonomous group of the Society in Naples and Campania. It is possible that Leti in this statement has antedated a revival of the Southern Filadelfi, which took place in 1825.¹³ Accepting it, however, for the moment, as correct, it is possible that it was only this respectable branch that was absorbed by the Carboneria, and that the disreputable Apulian sect shared the fate of its allies, the Patriotti europei. There is also another version, that this respectable Filadelfia arose out of the Carboneria after 1820.¹⁴

¹ Memoirs, pp. 120-134. Frederici, p. 37.

² Nicolli, p. 32.

³ Frederici, p. 117.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 32.

⁶ Bentinck, 30:3:12.

⁷ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 60.

⁸ Frederici, p. 116. Memoirs, p. 133.

⁹ Helfert, pp. 335-336.

¹⁰ Leti, p. 78.

¹¹ F.O. 70, Record Office, p. 336.

¹² Leti, p. 89.

¹³ Nicolli, pp. 168-169.

¹⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 104.

Worst of all were the Decisi. They established a complete reign of terror in the provinces of Lecce and Taranto and held both the populace and the authorities at their mercy. They allowed no neutrality; and whoever resisted them was pitilessly murdered. Their leader, the priest Ciro Annichiarico, was a genius in his way, a splendid horseman, a dead shot, and a past master at getting out of the most desperate situations. On one occasion he travelled in General Church's own suite disguised as a Neapolitan officer.¹ He tried in 1816 to form a league of all the bands of South Italy in order to browbeat the government. Vardarelli opposed him on the plea that a league would provoke strong measures, while the government was too apathetic to take any notice of small bands. Vardarelli proved right.² In November, 1817, General Richard Church was sent to Apulia with full powers. He found that the local authorities failed largely because they allied themselves with one or other of the Sects against the others, with the result that the crimes of their own allies went unpunished. Church maintained the strictest impartiality, refused to take any cognisance of political opinions and confined himself to punishing evildoers of all parties. His own 1,200 reliable troops enabled him to give adequate protection to the better elements of the population, the *morale* of the local militia was restored and a few skilful and successful manœuvres gave everybody confidence and struck terror into the enemy.³ The criminals' prestige was soon broken. Mercilessly harried, one after another of the Decisi was captured, tried fairly and executed, until Ciro himself, after a desperate attempt at starting a political revolution, was cornered and captured after a desperate resistance in February, 1818. He had murdered about 76 people himself. Church tried and put to death 163 criminals, including some Carbonari.⁴

It is about this time that we hear for the first time of the Camorra, the notorious society of evildoers of Naples which endured until recently, of some of whose methods I have myself had experience.⁵

It is impossible to tell how far these Sects were corrupt Carbonari or ordinary criminals who tried to obtain the protection of our Society in order to kill and rob with impunity. That the evildoers were connected with the Society is undoubted, from the fact that Vardarelli was a Carbonaro and Annichiarico raised the Carbonaro colours when he tried his abortive rising in 1818.⁶ The Decisi certificates and their ritual shows clearly that they were a perversion of Carbonarism.⁷ Dito⁸ thinks that the societies were associations of criminals but the chiefs were Carbonari. That the Carbonari committed crimes is undoubted; and it is true also that some of them showed sympathy for the criminals. In 1821,⁹ on the 3rd of January, after the revolution, the Deputy Arcovite moved in Parliament on behalf of a legislative committee, which had been inquiring into the disorders in the Province of Lecce in 1817, that all prisoners in gaol in consequence of those disorders should be set free on the pretext that their offences had been political, not criminal; but the motion was rejected at the instance of the Deputy Nicolai, confirming the general opinion that the criminal societies had used politics to cloak their own misdeeds. The Carbonari regarded it as one of their duties, under their constitution, to reform men, and the missionary zeal of some Good Cousins seems to have made them careless in

¹ Frederici, *Brigantaggio*, p. 124.

² Memoirs, p. 121. Frederici, p. 137.

³ General Church was condemned to death in a Campo of the Filadelfi at Lecce on 4th January, 1818. The Filadelfi's Lodge was usually a "Church". This shows how far the Filadelfi and Patrioti had amalgamated. *Barbiera Origantaggio*, p. 236.

⁴ Colletta, vol. ii., Bk. viii., ch. 48, p. 228.

⁵ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 18.

⁶ *ibid.*, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 18. Frederici, pp. 51-52.

⁷ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 61.

⁸ Dito, p. 227.

⁹ Memoirs, pp. 167-168.

investigating the character of their candidates. The reception of Vardarelli disgusted many of the more respectable members. But as a rule the Carbonari's conduct seems to have been beyond reproach, as one would expect from the type of men from whom they were recruited. Tivaroni,¹ goes so far as to say that the Good Cousins did not join the criminal sects, which is certainly exaggerated; but it is a fact that once the criminals were suppressed the Society increased its membership by leaps and bounds, which would seem to indicate that the criminals were no less enemies to the genuine Carbonari than to the Authorities. Montejasi,² the Carbonaro intendant of Molise, was one of Church's strongest supporters.

The peculiar methods of the Bourbon government receive further illustration from their treatment of the Carbonari. At first, in spite of its disappointment as regards the refusal to grant a constitution, the Society remained quiet,³ a wise proceeding in view of the presence of the Austrian troops in the country. But on the 8th of August, 1816, the King proscribed all secret Societies.⁴ Calabria had always been a hotbed of Carbonarism, the Province⁵ had even once considered forming a separate republic with Murat, then still alive, as consul. General Nunziante was, therefore, sent to pacify that region. He found out that the membership of the Society numbered no less than 50,000 to 60,000 in the region. His informer was found murdered, and the General himself was warned to leave well alone. He remained undeterred, promised a pardon to all who abjured the Sect and punishment to the recalcitrant, with the result that, despite their ferocious attitude at the beginning, many Good Cousins recanted: in so widespread a Sect weaker members must have been numerous.⁶ We do not know what happened in the other provinces.

It became clear, however, that the Carboneria was too powerful to be suppressed by force. A new minister of police, Prince Canosa, took office in December, 1815.⁷ He had accompanied Ferdinand on his flight to Sicily and had directed the activities of the partisans during the war with Murat from the island of Ponza. He now proposed to take under his wing the Calderai and set them at the Carbonari. The history of the Calderai has been told elsewhere.⁸ Canosa, in describing his plan to the other ministers, used the expression that he would use the Calderai as a counterpoise to the Carbonari, whence the Calderai of this period came to be known as Calderai del contrappeso (Boilermakers of the counterpoise).⁹ Canosa is even credited with having given them 20,000 muskets, though he denies it in a pamphlet he published later in his own defence.¹⁰ Affrays and murders between the two Sects became common and increased to such scandalous extent that the Austrian and Russian ambassadors made strong protests, and Canosa was dismissed on the 27th of June, 1816, not without ample compensation from his grateful sovereign.¹¹ Medici then became responsible for the police; and left the question to settle itself. He had been a Jacobin in 1799 and a Freemason; and he was suspected, probably unjustly, of being a Carbonaro.¹² The Calderai, left without official support, died out as a political sect, but continued for a time as a criminal

¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 26.

² Frederici, p. 205. Memoirs, p. 135.

³ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 134.

⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 13. Memoirs, p. 73.

⁵ Dito, p. 226.

⁶ Memoirs, p. 69. Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 176.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 68.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 68-81. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 114.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 76.

¹¹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 116. Memoirs, p. 73.

¹² Nicolli, p. 113.

association, hostile to the ministers who had abandoned them and whom they stigmatised as Jacobins,¹ while the Carbonari, as a result of their recent efforts to increase their strength and the liberty allowed them by Medici, became more numerous and bold.²

Their chiefs began to think the time had come to plan to extort by force, if necessary, the constitution which had been promised and then refused. Up to the return of the Bourbons the Society had been ruled by the High Vendita of Naples. Some extracts from the Constitutions of the Carboneria contained in the "Memoirs" give us a good idea of its duties.³ It was composed of several kinds of officers and deputies from each Vendita. It alone had the power to set up dependent Vendite and to grant them their bye-laws. The officers consisted of seven Grand Dignitaries: the Grand Master, two Assistants, a Grand Administrator General, two Grand Conservators General and a Grand Representative of the Grand Master; of the following Honorary Officers: an Ordinary Representative of the Grand Master, a Grand Conservator, two Assistants, a Grand Orator, a Grand Treasurer, a Grand Keeper of Seals, a Grand Keeper of Archives, two Grand Masters of Ceremonies, a Grand Almoner, two Grand Master Experts and two Grand Adepts; and of the following ordinary Officers: three Presidents, three pairs of Assistants, three Orators, three Secretaries, one Treasurer, three Keepers of the Seals, three Keepers of the Archives, one Assistant Treasurer, four Masters of Ceremonies, an Almoner, an Accountant and eight Adepts. The normal period of office was three years, and re-election was allowed. Besides holding general assemblies, the High Vendita divided itself into a Grand Vendita of administration, one of Legislation and a Court of Appeal, which no doubt explains the triplication of some of the offices. The "Memoirs"⁴ tell us that the situation of the High Vendita was fixed at Naples, as it was the most convenient place.

The control exercised by the High Vendita seems to have been ineffective: the revolts which took place against Murat were isolated efforts, that in Calabria being largely the work of the Vendita of Cosenza and that in the Abruzzi of the committee of Lissa.⁵ In 1815⁶ the High Vendita was transferred to Salerno, possibly in order to avoid the attentions of the Austrian military authorities in charge of the army of occupation. Salerno had become a great centre of Carbonarian activity, and, therefore, seemed an appropriate place in which to set up the central authority of the Sect. But their very vigour made the Salernitans bad subordinates. Proud of its energy and importance, the Grand Diet of Salerno refused to recognise the High Vendita Dignitaries now in its own town, and throughout the following period gave proof of a turbulent disposition. In consequence there arose two factions, the moderates of the High Vendita led by the brothers d'Avossa and Rosario Macchiaroli, and the extremists of the local Grand Diet.⁷

The first steps to obtain the coveted free institutions were taken in 1817. A series of pamphlets⁸ appeared in the disturbed regions of Lecce and Bari, where the criminal societies had their spheres of action, and Avellino, demanding a constitution, the language becoming more violent in successive issues. Refusal to pay taxes was even threatened. Intonti was sent as intendent to Foggia in the Capitanata (North Apulia) with full powers, but he preferred more lenient measures and succeeded in persuading the Sectaries to remain quiet, at any rate

¹ Pepe Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 181.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 136. Dio, p. 236.

³ Appendix III., pp. 203-205.

⁴ p. 23.

⁵ See vol. li., p. 72.

⁶ Nicolli, p. 54. Leti, p. 77.

⁷ Nicolli, p. 57. Leti, p. 87.

⁸ Memoirs, p. 82. Dito, p. 230. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 28.

until the Austrian troops, whose presence was necessary until the Neapolitan government had succeeded in raising an effective force of its own, had left the kingdom.

At the restoration the army and militia had been disbanded, and the Austrians had to keep order. In order to allow them to go home, and also to fulfil Ferdinand's treaty obligations to the Emperor, for he had pledged himself to send 25,000 troops, reduced in 1819 to 12,000,¹ to Austria's support in case of war, a new army had to be created. For this purpose conscription had to be reintroduced, in spite of all promises, for, owing to Medici's economies, the soldiers' pay was insufficient to attract volunteers. The Militia was reorganised into 21 regiments, one for each province of the Kingdom, and Naples had four Battalions and a Cavalry regiment. The obligation to serve in the Militia was laid on the property owners; the officers were chosen by the King and the uniform and drill were similar to those of the regular army.² This reorganisation was completed by the middle of 1817 and by August of that year the Austrian troops had departed, leaving behind them an excellent reputation for discipline and good conduct.²

Even before they had marched away some Carbonari of Salerno, whose leading spirits were Gagliardi of that town, de Blasis and Curci of the Basilicata and Arcovito, who later proposed in Parliament the motion already referred to, approached Macchiaroli in May, 1817, in order to hatch a plot.³ A committee was formed, which was to act as a clearing house for correspondence, in Naples, and a meeting was held in the ruins of Pompei. Emissaries were sent to sound Good Cousins in the provinces of Calabria, Basilicata, also called Principato Ultra, and Avellino, and the priest Mattei⁴ was sent to Spain, Sicily and France to see what were the prospects of help from those quarters. It was decided to try at first lawful ways, to petition and canvass ministers. If these failed, a revolt was to be started in the province of Otranto,⁴ a good choice, as we know from General Church's report that Apulia was in a most dangerous state, though he did express the opinion that no rising would take place.⁵ If the revolt proved successful, armed forces were to march through the Abruzzi and the Marches to the Po and proclaim the freedom and federation of all the Italian states. This was the time when the Macerata conspiracy was being hatched in the Papal States.

On the 16th of August the Vendite in Naples boldly held a celebration in the Cathedral, followed by a procession through the streets, at which the Carbonaro colours were displayed and the Good Cousins carried swords and daggers.⁶ Several priests took part. But this proved the sum total of the Society's activities on this occasion, for Gagliardi found none of the provinces ready except the Principato Citra or Salerno; and the rising was put off to 1818, confirming Church's forecast.⁷

These exploratory moves showed that the Carbonarian organisation was not equal to its task. The Great Diet of Salerno showed the example by recasting its own constitution. By its statute of 1817 the Carbonarian government in the province was to consist: "Firstly, of a senate, to propose laws and debate resolutions; secondly, of a representation of the people, to take decisions; thirdly, of a Magistracy to act as executive."⁸ The moderate Macchiaroli was elected chief of this supreme magistracy, which would indicate

¹ Colletta, vol. ii., Bk. viii., ch. 32, p. 215. Helfert, p. 331, says 6,000.

² La Farina, vol. iv., p. 117. Colletta, vol. ii., Bk. viii., ch. 24, p. 207.

³ Memoirs, App. vi., p. 221.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 56. Dito, p. 237.

⁵ Frederici, pp. 26, 36, 51.

⁶ Nicolli, p. 55. Helfert, p. 335.

⁷ Memoirs, p. 22. Cavalotti's translation of Memoirs, pp. x.-xvi.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 101.

that at the moment the local hotheads were ready to defer to the High Vendita;¹ and he spent the next three years in improving the Carbonaro organisation.² This statute was confirmed at the Grand Diet of 1818 and was adopted in the other regions. As a result the formation of the "Republics" of Western Lucania (Principato Citra or Salerno), Eastern Lucania (Basilicata), Daunia (Capitanata), and Peucezia (Middle Apulia) was decided on. A general reorganisation of the members took place and they were properly grouped in Vendite or Families, and the Families in Tribes bearing Roman names.³ According to Rossetti each Vendita sent a member to a Mother Vendita, 20 deputies forming such a Mother Vendita, and each Mother Vendita sent a representative to the High Vendita; but it is not clear at what date this organisation was in force.⁴ Progress, however, was still slow: no move took place either in 1818 or 1819, even though Church's measures to keep Apulia quiet had caused a certain amount of resentment, but the new organisation led to a great increase in the number of adherents, especially in Apulia, after the terror of the criminal societies had been lifted⁵; in fact, the Carboneria is said to have grown so powerful by 1820 that no arrests could be made, or administrative measures taken, except with its consent.⁶

Not even the improved organisation could bring about a successful rising in the absence of an adequate armed force to overcome government opposition. On the 1st of November Lieutenant General William Pepe was appointed to the command of the military divisions of Avellino and Capitanata, and with him, as his chief of staff, went Colonel de Concili, who possessed large estates near Avellino. These appointments proved the turning point in the fortunes of the Carbonaro movement in South Italy.

William Pepe was a member of a distinguished Calabrian family. From their earliest days William and his brother Florestano had been ardent liberals, while the rest of the numerous family were of a more sedate disposition. William and Florestano were both intending to make the army their career when the revolution of 1799 broke out. They both joined the liberal side and in the fighting Florestano received the wound which troubled him for the rest of his life. He rose to high rank in the army under Murat, served with great distinction with the French troops and obtained important commands, like the governorship of the province of Molise in 1809.⁷ He was selected by Murat to suppress the Carbonaro rising in the Abruzzi in 1814. Though he never ceased to be a liberal he remained faithful to soldiering; he refrained from conspiracies and never became a Carbonaro.

His younger brother William, on the contrary, never ceased conspiring till the end of his life. After 1799 he was shipped off to France and took part in the Marengo campaign, under General Joseph Lechi, but was not present at the battle. On his return at the conclusion of peace he began his long series of conspiracies and spent a good part of his youthful years in poisonous gaols, such as the dreaded isle of Marittimo in the Aegatian group. Later he took service under Murat, showed himself a good disciplinarian and an able soldier, but could not keep off his favourite occupation of plotting. Though he served Murat faithfully enough in the field, he did his best to extort from him a constitution. He took part, accordingly, in the two pronunciamientos of 1814 engineered by the generals, and claims the leading part in them, and, when

¹ Nicolli, p. 58.

² Leti, p. 88.

³ Nicolli, p. 57. Helfert, p. 335, says that the Principato Ultra (Avellino) formed a "Republic", but gives no date. It became much later the "Republic" of Hirpinia.

⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 378.

⁵ Nicolli, p. 54.

⁶ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 27, 28.

⁷ Pepe, vol. i., p. 258.

these led to nothing, tried a private one of his own at Geri. Murat, however, realised what was going on and recalled him to Naples, removing him from his command. For his activities he gained the soubriquet of the "tribune". He served in Murat's last campaign and was one of the beneficiaries of the terms of Casa Lanza, and continued to serve in the army under the Bourbons. La Cecilia¹ regards him as a vain man and of small intellect. Pepe was in every way a South Italian, impetuous, emotional, easily ruffled, vain and boastful, enthusiastic, generous, ready to take offence and to fight a duel, and equally ready to embrace the adversary he had wounded. In character he appears to me a decaricaturised edition of Conan Doyle's Brigadier Gerard. He must have been rather lovable and a great nuisance to everyone who had any connection with him.²

On taking up his command he found the country demoralised, brigandage rife and Carbonarism all powerful. The better classes were at the evildoers' mercy, the militia was demoralised, the local authorities inept and the Sects all powerful, yet disunited and unable to keep order,³ a state of affairs resembling that found by General Church in the neighbouring provinces of Southern Apulia two years earlier. Pepe refused to be blackmailed by anyone and succeeded first in inspiring some confidence into his officers and the *Gens d'armes*. A few successes against the brigands, in particular the extermination of the band of Minotti, raised their morale, and the provinces under Pepe soon became orderly and safe. In view of the satisfactory results Pepe received the full support of the commander in chief, the Austrian Nugent,⁴ who had been appointed after the departure of the Imperial troops.

Then he took in hand the militia. He held meetings of the most important men in the province of Capitanata, dismissed incompetent officers and replaced them by influential and efficient men. Then he weeded out all rank and file who were too poor to be able to afford the cost of their uniform or to spare the time for the two or three drills a month required by the regulations, who had been admitted irregularly to take the place of more wealthy shirkers, and he enforced the service on those from whom it was due. He did not hesitate to send some recalcitrants to penal battalions. He saw to it also that their equipment was in good order and that their uniform was attractive.

As the militia consisted largely of the well to do, it formed excellent recruiting ground for the Carboneria. Pepe soon discovered that without the assent of the Carbonaro leaders no administration was possible, and that the Sect was far too powerful to be suppressed. He had political ends of his own in view, and was a strong believer in the moral influence of Carbonarism on the backward populations of the South.⁵ He accordingly decided to enlist them in the cause of order and moral uplift, and incidentally to prepare an instrument for his schemes. He made each company of the Militia into a Carbonaro Vendita, inducing all those who had not joined the Society to be initiated, and to each of these military Vendite he attached a civilian Vendita called, contradictorily, a "pagan" Vendita. The Pagans also were encouraged to provide themselves with arms.⁶ After the Capitanata he applied the same methods to the province of Avellino; in this manner he found himself soon at the head of a force of 10,000 disciplined militiamen and a similar number of trained Sectaries.

¹ p. 20.

² It is not certain when Pepe became a Carbonaro. In his *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 137, Prince Leopold told him in 1821 he had been initiated into the Sect in Germany seven years before. Pepe replied that in that case the Prince was his senior in the Carboneria.

³ Pepe *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 163.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 159.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 317.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 159-166.

Before Pepe's appointment the Carbonari had copied to some extent the organisation of the suppressed *Patriotti Europei* and were divided into Corps, Battalions and companies. Pepe introduced that parallel organisation which we often find in the Carboneria, a military hierarchy corresponding to a civilian hierarchy, the one duplicating the other. We have already observed a similar system in the case of the *Figli di Marte* of the Papal States. Dito¹ gives us some interesting information about Pepe's organisation. Each *Vendita* divided its *Famiglia* (in this case this must mean membership) into three sections: 1st class, volunteers fit to serve as soldiers outside the frontiers of the Kingdom; 2nd class, *Attivi armati* (armed active men), only fit to fight within the Kingdom, a kind of Landwehr; 3rd class, *Armati sédentarii* (armed sedentary men), who would be called on only to defend their own locality. When the *Vendite* met the first business was to carry out the Carbonarian labours in the Barracca. Then they went out to drill. The Campo (parade ground) was situated as near as possible to the Foresta (forest or locale of the Barracca). A small tent was set up in the centre, covered by three hoods. The undermost, which reached to the ground, was red; the next, which reached halfway down the side, was light blue; and the third, which only covered the top of the tent, was black. The tent pole was surmounted by a crowing cock and a lance and an axe were attached to it. At the entrance hung a barrel, paradoxically to represent the sobriety of the Good Cousins, a bayonet, to symbolise that the Carbonari must be armed, a drum and other musical instruments. Near the tent the standard of the Order was set up, which bore the letters "L o M", signifying "Libertà o Morte" (liberty or death). Each Carbonaro carried a knapsack and weapons. The uniform consisted of a blue coat with a black and red collar, light blue cuffs, white buttons and stripes. The buttons bore the inscription "*Liberale della regione di . . .*" (Liberal of the region of . . .). The shako was of the usual pattern of the Napoleonic period and bore on a metal plate the letters "L o M" and a cockade in the colours of the Order. The trousers were light blue. On this parade the drill was carried out, followed by the "labours of the axe", a course of moral and, presumably, political teaching. Pepe says he seldom entered a *Vendita*, but took good care to be fully informed of what was decided in them.²

In 1819 the Austrian Emperor, accompanied by the Empress and Metternich, paid a visit to South Italy: and Pepe was ordered to hold a review in their honour at his Headquarters at Avellino. He decided to seize this opportunity to kidnap the Emperor, Metternich and Nugent, all the Carboneria's chief enemies in fact, and raise the standard of revolution; but the expected visit did not take place. The Royal party first went to Salerno, where General Colletta was in command; and he warned King Ferdinand that the roads to Avellino were impracticable. Having bicycled over some of those roads a hundred years later, I feel that Colletta's opinion was justified; but Pepe ascribed this advice, which spoilt his plot, to professional jealousy, because, he says, Colletta's own troops were not in a fit condition to give any display and he did not want the credit to go to anyone else; and he never forgave Colletta.³ The two officers were bitter enemies, and as the writings of both are original authorities for the period, we have an unusual opportunity for seeing two sides of the case.

Meanwhile the government had grown suspicious; the strength of the Carbonari was growing too great. The new minister of police appointed in 1819, Giampietro, began to take measures to put into effect the edict of 1815.⁴

¹ pp. 234-235.

² Pepe, vol. ii., p. 178.

³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 182-183.

⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 18.

He is reputed to have been a Carbonaro before his appointment. Colletta himself found the Sect's influence a menace to military discipline and asked for full power to suppress the Society. When these were refused he declined to accept responsibility for the consequences and was deprived of his command.¹

On his side Pepe, in his proclamations and harangues, was laying stress on the citizens' duty to their Fatherland, letting the King's name gradually fall into disuse; and he even ventured on occasion to omit it altogether. It is not known whether he had been received as yet into Carbonarism; but he was very proud of his Carbonaro force, and intended to use it when an opportunity should occur.

While the Carboneria was making great strides on the Mainland, it made little headway in Sicily. Sicily had always resented her subordination to Naples; and the Carboneria, regarded as a Neapolitan importation, was at first universally unpopular. The only reliable information we have about its introduction into the island is a report by the Commissary Franco to the governor, the Duke of Gualtieri,² which says that a few Carbonari were initiated in 1813 by a priest, Louis Oddo, at Caltagirone and Pietraperzia, but differences over the terms of the oath had prevented further progress. Not till 1818 did the poet Sestini, helped by Oddo, form the first Vendita, again at Caltagirone. Sestini was a keen missionary and the first Vendita was quickly followed by others at Trapani, Terranuova, Piazza Amerina and, later, in the more important towns of Messina, Syracuse, Palermo itself and also Pietraperzia. Franco had been sent to trace the authors of some seditious posters; and he arrested about 50 Carbonari, who received light sentences. The next year two Vendite were formed in Palermo in the prison of the Vicaria, its members being mostly soldiers and convicts. With few exceptions, the Carboneria had taken foothold only in the East of Sicily.³ Since the restoration and the introduction of the system of government inherited from the French into the island, which prevailed on the mainland, the provincial towns of Sicily, especially those which had become chief towns of the provinces under that system, no longer saw eye to eye with the capital, which resented the loss of its pre-eminent position. The fact that the Carboneria depended on the High Vendita in Naples was not a disadvantage in Eastern Sicily, as it was at Palermo. By 1820 the Carboneria had still made but little progress at Palermo, a fact which was to prove a weakness in the future.

Such being the situation, it will be interesting to state here the opinion of one of the most eminent contemporaries, who though not a Sectary himself, was closely connected with the Sects and shared their aspirations and was in the best position to judge, both as regards our Society and the prospects of the coming revolution, Count Confalonieri.⁴

He thought the Carbonarian rites puerile, though he agreed that the method of approaching the masses through their senses was the right one, and he was disgusted by the Society's mock religion and, even in the highest degrees, irreligion; and he strongly disapproved of the practice of concealing from the lower degrees its real objects. As an aristocrat he naturally disliked its demagoguery and its republican aping of antiquity. On the other hand, he realised that secrecy was not necessarily an evil, in fact, in the circumstances of the time, it was indispensable. He deeply sympathised with the Carboneria's attacks on abuses and its aim to overthrow tyranny and to obtain a guaranteed constitution, just as he approved its benevolence and fraternal feeling towards the liberals of all nations.

¹ Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 171. Nicolli, p. 114.

² Nicolli, pp. 63-65.

³ *ibid.*, p. 112.

⁴ *Memorie*, pp. 88 *et* *subseq.*

During his travels between 1814 and 1820 he found that the liberals in South Italy lacked the military spirit and were neither wise nor moderate. The further North he travelled, after leaving the South, the less violent and incendiary grew the nature of Carboneria. The Romagnol Sects he regarded as ignorant and fanatical, likely to destroy rather than build up. In Tuscany he found the societies few and weak. In Bologna the Carboneria was wise and theoretical and therefore harmless. Modena was divided between two Sects; and Parma, though full of ferment, was moderate. Finally he found Piedmont both politically reasonable and militarily brave, but lacking in wisdom and immature for great changes. From this summary we are not surprised to find that the Count was pessimistic and regarded the prospects of the coming revolution as very doubtful.

XVII. THE CARBONERIA IN 1820.

In 1814 the Carboneria had penetrated into most parts of Italy, but its power was small. In Piedmont and Venetia, as far as we can judge, it was very weak, in Lombardy it was one of several Sects and had to share its influence with them, in the Legations it had taken a firm hold, but it was not yet strong enough to undertake independent action. It was only on the mainland of South Italy that it had been able to challenge, without much success, the government.

By 1820 it had developed in all directions. It is true that in the Austrian territories it had been compelled to suspend its activities after the failure of the officers' conspiracy, but it remained alive enough to be able to resume its political labours when the impulse came from Piedmont, and to give the authorities cause for thought. In Piedmont it had become the most powerful Secret Society, it had penetrated the army and the educated classes and it had eager hopes of being able to influence the country's policy at home and abroad. In the Papal States it had attempted a rising; and the failure of that rising had not interrupted its growth or its activities; on the contrary, it had stirred it up to greater vigour, so as to enable it to absorb other Sects or to repel their attempts to gain dominion over it; and the Papal government seemed unable, despite all efforts, to keep it in check. In Naples it had become so strong that the task of government could not be carried out without its connivance in several regions, and it had a military force at its disposal. Some Austrian authorities estimated the number of Carbonari at 800,000,¹ and Colletta at 642,000. These figures are probably greatly exaggerated and include all branches, offshoots, satellites and well-wishers; but the estimates show what power was ascribed to the Society by those who had to oppose it.

In six years the Carboneria had grown strong enough to be a serious menace to the native sovereigns of Italy, and Metternich thought it important enough to call on the Holy Alliance for support. The Society had even spread abroad; and the Carbonari were becoming numerous in Spain and France. Where in 1814 the Carboneria had dared to act only in time of trouble and then only in support of one party or another, it was now prepared to challenge absolutism and its powerful supporters single-handed; and at the beginning of 1820 a trial of strength was not far off.

APPENDIX I. (*continued*).

Perhaps the most important Society which took part in the officers' conspiracy of 1814 was that of the "Centres", which was probably an offshoot of the "Rays".² Owing to their rule that nothing was to be put in writing, we have little information of their ritual or constitution.³ Their banner was tri-

¹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 173.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1.244.

³ Ottolini, pp. 93-97. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 170, attributes some of these signs and words and the yellow cord to the Congregazione Cattolicci Apostolica Romana—see later. Ottolini may be wrong here.

angular, divided into three triangles, blue, green and gold, the colour and shape of the Italian flag in the "Constitution of Ausonia",¹ which will be described elsewhere. They had a medal with a bee and a sleeping eagle engraved on it,² both Napoleonic emblems, and a yellow cord with five knots. The signs were: bringing the hand to the forehead twice in sign of sorrow and, on coming nearer, passing the right hand twice up and down the left forearm (or *vice versa*, the authorities are not agreed as to which arm performed each motion³). The reply was passing the hand twice across the mouth and the chin. The grip was an ordinary handshake, during which the thumb pressed hard the other member's ring finger three times, which was answered by three light taps on the corresponding finger. The degrees were three, of which we know two called Brother and Tutor. A Tutor had the power to initiate five Brothers, who were not allowed to know any other member except their Tutor. Conversations on the Society's subjects could be carried out between only two members and then only after exchanging the words: "Succour to the wretched". The Lodge was known as a *Vendita* and, before entering, one had to give the word of the day, which was changed frequently, and the password "Eleutheria" (Freedom, in Greek) and the secret word "Ode", which also was meant to refer to liberty. In 1815 the signs were changed to⁴: touching alternately the right ear and the left breast three times with the right hand. Then one member said: "Have you seen him?" to which the reply was: "I have not, but I shall see him", probably in allusion to Napoleon. Another version of the dialogue given in an Austrian report⁵ was: "Soccorso" (help), to which the reply was: "All'indigenza" (to poverty).

The "Indipendenti" may not have been a secret society at all and none of their signs, if they had any, are known.

The pro-British "Blacks" of Genoa gave the sign by turning the clenched fist slowly towards the body; to which the reply was passing the open hand from the left side of the head to the right eyebrow. Then the passwords were exchanged, the first two of which were like those of the Centres, but given as question and answer: "Soccorso"—"Agli infelici". "Onore" (Honour)—"All'Italia" (To Italy). The pin of the society bore a sleeping lion.⁶ A society of the "Sleeping Lion" is mentioned by Luzio, which may have been an independent unit, but may have been the Blacks under a different name.

Of the more definitely Bonapartist Societies, there is nothing to add except the names of those not already mentioned. Those we know are: the "Spilla nera" (Black Pin), the "Avvoltoi di Bonaparte"⁷ (Vultures of Bonaparte); the "Cavalieri del sole"⁷ (Knights of the sun), the "Rigenerazione universale"⁸ (Universal regeneration), and the "Patriotti"⁷ (Patriots), who may have been connected with those who negotiated with Sir John Stuart. All these Societies are regarded as Carbonarian. They soon died out.

In addition to these more important Sects we are told of a society in Milan known as the "Teppa"; but it seems to have been an association of evildoers, like the "Camorra", with no political object. In modern Italian Teppisto is the exact equivalent of hooligan. There was another abominable Sect among the students of Padua called the "Selvaggi" (Savages). It took for its model certain German fraternities, who considered brutishness the equivalent of greatness. Their habits were filthy, as was also their dress; they drank blood and were

¹ St. Edme.

² Ottolini, p. 99. Helfert, p. 567, letter of Reuss to Bellegarde.

³ Ottolini, pp. 93-97. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1,244.

⁴ Ottolini, p. 99. Helfert, p. 145, quoting letter from Raab of 3rd of June, 1818.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1,244, report of December, 1814.

⁶ Ottolini, p. 95, quoting a letter from Reuss to Bellegarde. Lemmi, *La ristaurazione austriaca a Milano nel 1814*, p. 449.

⁷ Ottolini, p. 93. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 67.

⁸ Helfert, p. 134.

suspected of cannibalism. It was obviously a perversion. Helfert¹ mentions some "Indipendentisti", who he says turned to Napoleon after Murat's fall. Unless these are the same as the "Independents", nothing is known of them.

We must now plunge into that cauldron of Sectarian activity, the Papal States, and deal first of all with the Guelfia. Under its earliest organisation the chiefs² of that Society were known as "Ruote" (wheels) and the members as "Raggi" (rays). The hierarchy was on a decimal basis: the Prince, at the apex, ruled over ten Prefectures, a Prefect over ten Centuries, a Centurion over ten Decas, a Deca over ten Guelfs. The ruling body was a council of Forty. The members of a Deca or Century did not know one another and could communicate only through their chiefs. The meeting places were known as "Ships" and the presidents of the meetings as "Pilots". The Guelfic oath was written in blood and ran as follows:—"I swear to God of Hosts and to you, supreme dreadful one, to keep in the depths of my heart the secret which you have revealed to me. I swear to shed all my blood for the constitution and independence of Italy. I swear to exterminate our enemies and, in case I should iniquitously fail, I wish that my body be given to the flames and my ashes to the winds. Constitution, independence, death". On many occasions this oath was uttered, and not written down and signed, as was often the case with the Sects.³

The Catechism ran as follows:—

- Q. Are you a guelf?
- A. My mother has the sea for husband and the highest mountains for her breast.
- Q. Who is your mother?
- A. The woman of the black tresses and the large apples, the most beautiful of the universe.
- Q. What are the traits of your mother?
- A. Beauty, wisdom and, once upon a time, strength.
- Q. What is her dowry?
- A. A pleasant garden, elegant with flowers, in which grow olives and vines and in which blows a gentle breeze.
- Q. What is your mother doing at present?
- A. She groans, being pierced through.
- Q. Who has pierced her?
- A. Her neighbours, helped by her degenerate sons.
- Q. Why did they pierce her?
- A. Out of envy for her beauty.
- Q. Where did they pierce her?
- A. Through the breast and the womb.
- Q. How did it happen that they pierced her?
- A. Owing to the neglect of her defenders.
- Q. How long is it since she was pierced?
- A. Fourteen times a hundred years.
- Q. Where are you going?
- A. To seek a remedy for my mother.
- Q. What is the remedy?
- A. The root of a plant which once grew in the garden of our mother and which has been transplanted elsewhere.
- Q. Will you find it?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What impels you to seek it?
- A. My love for my mother.

¹ Helfert, p. 267.

² Ottolini, pp. 122-123.

³ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 431.

Q. When will she be healed?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Do say.

A. When the cock will crow again; the eagles will strive; the bulls will fight; the harp will call up the dolphins; the moon will be covered with blood and the boat will be beached.

Q. How will your mother be after her healing?

A. She will come back more beautiful, strong and feared.

Vincent Rinaldi, Grand Master in the Carbonari and president in the Guelfia, on the 15th October, 1817, during his trial after the Macerata conspiracy, explained that the defenders were the foreign princes, the remedy was the Guelfic Society, the root of the plant was Napoleon who was to return, the cock was France, the eagles and the bulls Austria, Russia and Prussia fighting among themselves. The Guelfs were bound, if they wore a tie pin, to have on it only the letter G or a ring with a point in the centre, whence the Guelfs were sometimes called "Centres", as in the Austrian documents referred to in the text. Every good Guelf was obliged once a month to feed on milk only and drink it in the light of the moon, in honour of Saturn, Italy being the Saturnia Tellus. Every Guelf introduced by another had to announce himself as "Della Torre", which alluded to Italy, a word which was never uttered, except in the reversed form "ai Lati" (at the sides).¹ The signs were: bringing the hand to the forehead as in the military salute, going through the motions of placing a ring on one's finger, canting a tumbler towards the right, and crossing the hands over the breast or over the forehead. The grip was a hand shake during which six taps in the rhythm of five and one were given, which are also the knocks of the Sublime Elect of the Adelfi; these taps were also given by clapping the hands together. They alluded to the six letters of the word "Italia", one of the pass or sacred words of the Society. The other words were: "Guelfo, costituzione, indipendenza" (Guelf, constitutions, independence).²

In 1817 the Guelfic constitution was altered and we have a complete copy of the version known as the Constitution of the Guelfic Knights of Milan, the work of the Guelf Directorate in that city.³ In this version the Guelfia was to be geographically subdivided into eleven districts with the following capitals called Central cities:—Rome, Turin, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Bologna, Ancona, Venice, Naples, Matera, Cosenza. The Metropolis was to be chosen by the vote of these cities, but Rome was clearly designated for that honour. The reports of the trial of Macerata conspirators gives us a yet more detailed organisation for the Papal States Guelfs.⁴ Three grand divisions were suggested: That of the Legation of Bologna with Bologna as its centre, that of the Legations of Ferrara, Ravenna and Forli with Forli as its centre, and that of the Marches of Ancona, Fermo and Macerata with Ancona as its centre. This organisation was probably complementary to that sketched out above. Guelfic Councils were to be set up in all the cities. That of the Metropolis was to be composed of nine members and called the Directorate and ruled by a Metropolitan. The Councils in the Provincial Central cities were to be composed of seven members, known as Councils, and ruled by a President. In the subordinate cities, they were also to be of seven members and known as Councils, and ruled by a Director. In the villages they were known as Municipalities, and composed of three members ruled by a Master. The Councillors were elected for life and the Presidents, etc., were chosen from them. The Presidents were to keep their identity secret from the ordinary members. For intercommunication an officer known as the "Visibile"

¹ Ottolini, p.

² Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 242.

³ *ibid*, vol. i., p. 443.

⁴ Memoirs, p. 174.

(Visible one) was appointed, who often was the President himself. Inter-communication between the subordinate bodies was seldom allowed. Foresti¹ tells us that a mark of recognition used sometimes was a gold ring with the name and badge of the Province inscribed on it, with five Arabic figures, which denoted the Vendita. The provinces had special names (*e.g.*, Ferrara was Padusa). For messages a special code or Guelfic "Dictionary" was used. Vendita in this dictionary was Rosina.

In addition to the Councils, there were Committees of Safety in every locality. Each member of the Councils nominated five other members to serve on these Committees, which were therefore 15 strong in the Municipalities, 35 strong in the cities and 45 strong in the Metropolis.

There was hardly any limit on the number of ordinary members; they had to take an oath and signs were communicated to them, but they were otherwise admitted without any ceremony. Members were enjoined to enroll "Aderenti" (Adherents) who were divided into two classes, "Amici" (Friends) for the students in schools and universities, and "Chierici" (Clerics) for the lower classes. These Adherents were not allowed to know of the existence of the Guelfia, their bond to the Guelf who enrolled them was purely personal. According to Solera,² the designation of "Guelf" was limited to members of the Councils only. Each member could enrol seven Chierici and was designated a Ray.³ The Chierici could also become Rays and enrol seven more members. Solera says that this method of recruiting led to great confusion and no one knew what the status of anyone was.

We have also some of the variations to this constitution. Ottolini gives us what may be Marchesini's version of the organisation.⁴ According to him the head of the Society was called a "Gran Luce" (Great light) who presided over the General Council at Bologna. In the large cities a "Luce" (Light) presided over a council of six members and a committee of 12 "Aggiunti" (co-opted members), and in the smaller towns these numbers were reduced to four and eight respectively. Foresti says that,⁵ in the provincial capitals the Councils were composed of five and in the smaller towns of three members. In some places the Ray could enrol only five other members,³ not seven; we are given the names of some of these Councils. At Faenza it was known as "Virtù" (Virtue),⁶ or "Costanza" (Constancy), at Ravenna "Pineto"⁴ (pine grove) no doubt after the famous local feature, at Ferrara "Fortezza"⁴ (Fortress). The Guelfs called each other "Brothers".

Solera⁷ gives some interesting details as to the manner in which some of the Guelfic Councils were set up. Marchesini's scheme for Ferrara was that seven suitable men should be approached and these should enrol others to a total of 21. In actual practice Solera, Carli and Tommasi decided each to obtain six other members, but apparently the full number of 21 never met, to Solera's knowledge. The officers of this Council were the President, the Visibile, the Secretary and the Treasurer. At Ferrara only members belonging to the Council were Guelfs, the others were Chierici and Aderenti. The Council met once a week at Raspi's house. Tommasi's zeal was very great; Foresti⁸ saw in his house a list of Visibili for several towns, including Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua and Cremona, all in Austrian territory, to which Tommasi was eager to spread the Sects; but these were probably future nominations, not actual posts. Raspi even tried to obtain candidates in Venice itself.

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 204.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 379; also p. 328.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 431.

⁴ Ottolini, p. 127.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 200-206.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 9.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 290.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 214.

In the case of the Guelfia, owing to the amount of information available, I have given but the summary, instead of giving it in full, as I have tried to do in the case of the Societies connected with the Carboneria, in order to place the facts on record in *A.Q.C.*

The organisation of the Latin Constitution, as already related, was: a Senate ruling over Tribunates who in turn ruled over the Vendite. The oath of the Constitution was: "I swear to secure and ensure, with all my strength and with all the means in my power, the happiness of Italy my Fatherland, in unity with the Latin Society to which I belong. I swear to keep religiously the secret of the society and to fulfil equally my duty to it and never to do or say anything that may compromise it and never to act save in accordance with its resolutions. If I ever violate this oath, I consent and fully submit to whatever penalty the Society may impose on me, even death".¹

The Secret Societies formed by the Carboneria for the purpose of enrolling the lower classes were: the "Turba" at Faenza, the "Difensori della patria" (Defenders of the Fatherland) at Forlì,² the Frateli or Anrici del dovere (Brothers or friends of duty) at Cesena and the "Americani" at Ravenna.³ The Societies formed for the students of the schools and universities were the "Speranza" or "Figli della speranza" at Faenza and Forlì and the "Fratelli artisti" (Brother artists) at Cesena and Ravenna. We know but little about them and probably the arrangements of the "Turba" were typical of those of all the other Societies. A reception was made as follows:—A meeting⁴ was held in an inn and the candidate was brought in with his eyes bandaged. A dagger was presented to his breast and he had to swear to maintain secrecy, be obedient and to defend the Fatherland and all patriots against scoundrels, which, of course, meant the Sanfedists. Their sign was stamping with the heel. It was found necessary to inform the Carbonari of this sign, in order that they might be able to call for help, when necessary. Apart from the receptions, the Turba held no formal assemblies, its members met in inns or in the open, either to eat or to make speeches. They were evidently expected to be the rank and file in a revolt and we have instances⁵ of arms being collected in secret stores for their use. The heads of their Squads were changed every year and they reported to a Carbonaro specially appointed to look after the popular Sects. Needless to say, these Societies were not informed of the political objects of the Carboneria, which were seldom communicated even to Apprentices. When a revolt was planned in 1820 the heads of squads were told⁶ that something was afoot and to be ready; apart from this the members were only harangued on the subject of the iniquities of Papal misgovernment.

The "Fratelli artisti" are mentioned as late as 1829.⁷ The "Difensori della Patria" are mentioned by the spy and traitor Santarini as late as 1831.⁸ We also hear of the "Figli dell'Onore" (Sons of honour) in Forlì, possibly a variant of the "Difensori della Patria". The "Turba" is stated to have existed in the Kingdom of Italy,⁹ that is to say before 1814, and is mentioned in 1825.

Some authors give us additional details on the following Societies:—

¹ Ottolini, p. 112. Cantù, *Il Conciliatore*, who is not too accurate, says they swore "eternal hatred to monarchical government".

² Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 184, 316.

³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 89-90.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 53-54.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 184.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 370.

⁷ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 153.

⁸ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 313, quoting official reports.

⁹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 317.

The "*Bersaglieri americani*" are mentioned by Leti¹ as one of the offshoots of the Carboneria in the Romagna, formed soon after 1818. Cantù² refers to a Society called the "*Cacciatori americani*" (American hunters) which existed in Ravenna in 1831 and seems to have been in existence, according to Tivaroni,³ in 1822, and according to other versions in 1818. In the eighteenth century all armies had formed light infantry to act as scouts and skirmishers, and these troops were given names which indicated their duties. Bersaglieri, which comes from bersaglio (target), is almost the exact equivalent of the British "*Rifles*", and "*Cacciatori*" of the German "*Jäger*", the names for these light troops in England and Germany respectively. In the Sardinian army the light regiments were called originally Cacciatori, and later, when formed into a famous Corps, Bersaglieri.⁴ It is clear that both names mean the same thing; and I have no doubt that they refer to the same Secret Society, though Cantù's statement seems to imply that they were different Sects. The reference to America may be due to the fact that South America was in insurrection when the Sect was formed, or merely to the name of an inn: "*Degli Americani*" (of the Americans), in which about 400 of the Sectarrians of Ravenna used to meet. In 1831 the Carbonari attempted to remodel the Sect on the lines of the Spanish Comuneros; and one of the distinguishing marks of the reformed Sect was a blue Spencer, an American cap. This Sect has a particular interest for us, because Byron belonged to it. It was definitely a branch of the Carboneria, though it had its own signs and a High Carbonaro always presided over it. Tivaroni tells us that the members of a Sect known as the "*Americani*" (Americans)⁵ at one time drilled openly in the pineta, the famous pinewood of Ravenna; these bold fellows must almost certainly have been the Bersaglieri.

Cantù gives us the catechism of the Difensori della Patria, which was used at the reception of a Candidate:—

Q. Who are you?

A.

Q. What do you seek?

A.

Q. Do you know the object of our Society?

A. Our only object is to free our country from the abominable yoke of slavery and especially from the tyranny of foreigners and to make ourselves free men, that is, such as never wish to be subject to the arbitrary will of any man, but live only under the control of laws made by the nation through its freely elected representatives. Tell me now if my words correspond to your wishes.

Q. Since you now desire the liberation of your country from slavery, and especially from the tyranny of the foreigners, do you recognise for your Fatherland the whole of Italy?

A. Yes.

Q. Among the tyrants whom do you know?

A. The Germans and their allies.

Q. How do you think one can secure this longed-for liberty, that is to say, the rule of law; perhaps by means of a constitution made and adopted by the nation through its legitimate representatives?

A. Yes.

¹ p. 78.

² *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 608.

³ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 140.

⁴ We must avoid the tempting translation "*Targeteer*", as this word means one who bears a large or small shield, while Bersaglieri means one who fires at a target.

⁵ 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 166.

Q. To obtain these advantages, which are so unjustly denied to us and which the Societies are making every effort to obtain, are you willing from this moment to sacrifice everything, beginning with your life?

A. Yes.

Q. In order that your generous efforts may not be vain, it is necessary to combine them with those of many others, who, all in unity within this Society, move towards the sublime goal which they have set before themselves. For the good order of the Society, many rules have been laid down and all must conform their actions to these. Are you willing to submit to all the rules of the Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Before enrolling you among its members, the Society demands that you should sign a solemn and irrevocable oath to prove the noble sentiments which you have shown. Are you ready to utter and sign the oath, which I am about to dictate?

A. Yes.

(Here the president will call all members to order. They will stand up. He will then recite the following oath):—

In the presence of the just God of vengeance, who has infused in us the noble sentiments of liberty and independence, who punishes tyrants and abhors the vile herd of them who, rendered by slavery similar to cattle, dishonour their creator. In the presence of the terrible God and in the sacrosanct name of Italy, my country, before you all I swear that I will always be ready to sacrifice all, beginning with my life, for the liberty and independence of Italy, and that I shall never divulge to anyone the secrets of the Society of which I wish to be a member. (The initiate is then raised in the midst of the members who are present; he is then asked if he wishes for light, and when he says yes his bandage is taken off. All members must hold out their weapons. Then follows the communication of the quarterly passwords, the grips, etc.)¹

This catechism is interesting for the fact that its wording contemplates Italy as the common Fatherland. It is as yet but the germ of the idea of unity, but it is a beginning. It may be due to Gueïfic influence.

The “Figli di Marte”² were a purely military branch of the Society. It is not clear whether they are the same as the “Raggio militare” which Leti mentions as contrasting with the other Sects, which were composed of civilians, or whether the “Raggio” cover a whole group of military Associations. Cantù³ gives a fairly full account of the “Figli di Marte”. This Society was the Carboneria pure and simple adapted in its terminology to its military character; for instance, the Vendita was a Bivouac, the Apprentice a Volunteer, the Good Cousin a Corporal, the Master a Serjeant and the Grand Master a Commandant. The members called each other “Brother,” and the sign was the ordinary military salute given with the left (? sic) thumb and forefinger closed. The grip was a handshake, the hand being pressed twice. A member could be tested by means of the following catechism:—A Volunteer said “Libertà”, which was answered by “Della patria” (of the Fatherland); a Corporal, “Vincere” (Conquer), which was answered by “Per Morire” (To die). For a Serjeant, “Italia”, which was answered by “Sola” (alone); a Commandant said “Unione” (union), which was answered by “Forza” (strength). The knocks were two, except for a Commandant, who gave four. In a Bivouac the salute was placing the right hand over the heart. The oath ran as follows:—

¹ Cantu, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 608 *et subseqq.*

² *ibid.*, and Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 140.

³ *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 608 *et subseqq.*

"I . . . swear and promise on this sword, consecrated to the Fatherland, to keep in the deepest secrecy all that has been communicated to me regarding the respectable Society of the Figli di Marte to which I most gladly belong from this moment. I swear to observe scrupulously all the statutes of the Order; and if I be forsworn, I pray that even from this moment the whole anger of the Fatherland embitter the soul of my true brethren, so that their just vengeance cease not until my body be cut to pieces, to my eternal execration. I swear it". The Candidates' baptism was accompanied with the following words:—"To the glory of God the Mover of the universe and under the auspices of the Fatherland and by the power conferred on me by the High Vendita of Italy I constitute you a Volunteer, son of Mars, of the Order of Cesena, under the distinctive title of the Cannon". The rules of the Society were:—

1. Only soldiers or ex soldiers can belong to the Society.
2. The Director can be only a retired officer, living in his own town and a Good Cousin.
3. The object at which the Society must aim is the liberation of Italy from the barbarians in alliance with all the respectable Societies which have the same end.
4. Names of the Labours: (not stated).
5. In the Bivouac: There are four degrees: Volunteer, Corporal, Serjeant, Commandant. A squad consists of ten Volunteers under a Corporal. Four squads form one division under a Serjeant. The whole force divided in this manner is under a Commandant. (Presumably "Force" here means a larger subdivision, not the whole Sect).
6. It is forbidden to speak to civilians.
7. The Brothers must enroll comrades.
8. Only a Commandant is authorised to Make a Brother, and must be assisted by 4 Corporals or Serjeants, or failing these, Volunteers, to a total of five persons.
9. Active list officers can be members but can not direct the labours of a Bivouac.
10. Members are under the strict obligation to communicate everything that may come within their knowledge, which might harm the General cause, to their Corporal, the Corporal to the Serjeant, the Serjeant to the Commandant. The Serjeant is bound to report every day to the Commandant.

In addition to the Societies mentioned we have a long list of Societies given by various authors as working in the Papal States. These are the *Pellegrini bianchi* (White Pilgrims), *Ermolaisti* (Hermolaists), *Massoni riformati* (Reformed Masons), *Siberia* (Siberia), *Illuminati Filadelfi Maestri perfetti* (Philadelphian perfect Masters), *Stella* (Star), *Fratelli seguaci* (Brother followers), all mentioned by Leti;¹ *Nomus*, mentioned by Ottolini;² *protettori repubblicani* (Republican protectors), *Fortezza* (Fortress), *Speranza* (Hope), *Fratelli* (Brothers), *Progresso* (Progress), *Edenisti* (Edenists), *Egizii* (Egyptians), *Dormenti* (Sleepers), *Filantropici* (Philanthropics), *Eremiti* (Hermites), *Fedeli* (Faithful ones), *Amici di Nola* (Friends of Nola), *Beati Paoli* (Happy Pauls), *Oppressi non vinti* (Oppressed not conquered), *Apofasimeni*, mentioned by Cantù; *Fratelli seguaci protettori repubblicani* (Brother followers republican protectors), mentioned by Vannucci;³ *Società segreta egiziana* (Secret Egyptian society), *Congregazione cattolica apostolica romana* (Catholic Roman apostolic congregation), mentioned by Tivaroni; the *Unione repubblicana* (Republican Union),

¹ p. 79.

² p. 78, note.

³ Vannucci, p. 306.

mentioned by Dito; the Orphelins de la veuve (Orphans of the widow), the Chevaliers de Mars et du soleil (Knights of Mars and of the sun), and the Lion dormant (Sleeping lion), mentioned by Witt, and the Fratelli seguaci protettori (Brothers followers protectors), mentioned by Nicolli. The Carbonari's depositions before the Austrian authorities mention the "Società borbonica" (Bourbon society), the "Castella" (castles), the society called variously "Etruria riunita" (United etruscia) or "Enotria" or "Italia riunita" (United Italy) and the "Vecchi Lombardi" (Old Lombards).¹ Several of these Societies are mentioned by different writers and nearly all of them are said to be Carbonarian. The few exceptions will be specified. Their names are often very similar, but it would be dangerous to deduce that they denote the same society or societies closely related. We have, for instance, the Patriotti, a Bonapartist Sect, which probably had nothing to do with the party or society which negotiated with Sir John Stuart in 1809, nor with the Patriotti Europei riformati or the Patriotti riformati, but these last two Societies, which were both in South Italy, were probably one and the same, or possibly one succeeded the other. There are also the countless Fratelli of something or other.

Of the Societies mentioned in the list above we hear nothing more of the following after 1820: Stella, Fratelli seguaci, Protettori repubblicani, Orphelins de la Veuve, Chevaliers de Mars et du soleil, Lion dormant, Fortezza, Progresso, Edenisti, Egizii, Dormenti, Filantropici, Fedeli, Amici di Nola, Beati Paoli, Oppressi non vinti, Fratelli seguaci protettori repubblicani, Società segreats egiziana, Fratelli seguaci protettori repubblicani, Unione repubblicana, Società borbonica, Castella, Enotria and Vecchi Lombardi of Bologna. I need not say more than the following remarks: Nomus was the Society to which Cocognara belonged, and was absorbed by the Carboneria in 1818. The protettori repubblicani are said to have existed as early as the French régime and may have been composed, if their name can be taken as a guide, of republicans who disliked the Napoleonic Cæsarism. Tivaroni makes it clear that they are not the same as the Fratelli seguaci protettori repubblicani. Fortezza is the name of one of the Guelfic Councils, and this may be all that the name signifies. The Amici di Nola seem from their name to have been a Neapolitan Society or Vendita, but as they mentioned in a list of the Sects in the Papal States, they may have been merely a Sect called after the place where the Neapolitan revolution originated in 1820. The Beati Paoli bear the name of a medieval Sicilian Society, and it is possible that Cantù,² who alone mentions them as a modern Sect, has been guilty of an anachronism in numbering them among the off-shoots of the Carbonari. The "Fratelli Seguaci Protettori repubblicani" are said by Dito³ to be a direct offshoot of Freemasonry, not through the Carboneria, and according to Vannucci were numerous in the Marches. The Egizii mentioned by Cantù may have been the same as Tivaroni's Società segreat egiziana, which is said to have been derived from Egypt and to have been under the protection of a Turkish Pasha, who had designs of political changes in the Ionian Isles and Italy. There were also Egizii in South Italy. The Fratelli seguaci protettori⁴ are said to have been imported into the Marches and even Apulia by the brothers Marignano from France. The Filantropici were not connected, as far as is known, with the Filantropi of South Italy, who were allies of the criminal Decisi. The mention of the "Chevaliers de Mars et du Soleil" may have been due simply to a mistake by Witt, who wrote without his notes for the "Cavalieri del sole," who were Bonapartist. The "Filadelfi maestri perfetti" are probably the "Sublime Perfect Masters" of Piedmont

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 458, 337.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 125.

³ p. 306.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 81.

with a garbled name; and of the "Congregazione Cattolica apostolica romana" I will speak more at length among the Piedmontese Sects.

The remaining Societies were more long-lived. The Pellegrini bianchi operated in Naples and Ravenna, a town in which the Sects seem to have indulged in more changes and variations than any other. In Naples they were still in existence in 1823 and in Ravenna in 1822; and they are still found in some parts as late as 1828. In Ravenna they seem to have been connected with the Eremiti, who may have been a branch of them. Both Sects are definitely stated to have been Carbonarian. The name, White Pilgrims, provoked their sectarian opponents of the Santa Fede in Ravenna to assume about 1823 in opposition the name of Pellegrini della Società cattolica (Pilgrims of the Roman Catholic Society). The Ermolaisti mentioned by Leti were most probably the same as the Società di Ermolao of Tivaroni, and are still found at Ravenna in 1825. The Massoni riformati (Reformed Masons) were probably the outcome of Ercolani's efforts to revive Freemasonry at Bologna, and they lasted until 1825. We know nothing of Siberia and Fratelli (Brothers).

The "Illuminati" bear a sinister name, but we have no proof of any direct connection with the notorious Bavarian sect. Two of Weishaupt's followers, we know, Counts Costanio and Savioli, were banished to Italy, whence they probably came originally, in 1784. There were many groups, especially in France, who called themselves "Illuminated"; one, we have seen, existed in Rome in 1843; and it is more probable, as Carbonarism arose only long after the dissolution of Weishaupt's sect, that the name was adopted from some of these groups. According to Dito¹ the Illuminati of this period were Carbonari pure and simple under a different name, and had the same signs and symbols as the Southern Carboneria. They were divided into Councils, Vendite, Sections and Squads, and lasted for several years after 1821.²

Tuscany was remarkably free from Sects. Here we need refer only to the Illuminati, who may have been in contact with those of the Papal States and about whom we know nothing beyond what has been already stated. Munari, the author of the *Latin Constitution*, mentions a nobleman who travelled round Italy to find out what the prospects would be for a Tuscan King to be accepted, and said he belonged to the "Illuminati riformati" (Reformed Illuminati).³ The "Fusciacca rossa" (Red cravat) was another society of evildoers in Leghorn, a seaport where the flotsam of the Mediterranean was likely to congregate. It was a degenerate offshoot of the Carboneria, rather than a political society. Under its obligation its members were supposed to plunge their knives once a day in blood, as a sign of courage, though it is not stated whether the blood was supposed to have been in the veins of a man or in a basin. Later their name was changed to "Bucatori" (Piercers), who continued to exist as late as 1843.

Turning to Piedmont, the best information we have about the Adelfi, though it is fragmentary, is contained in the MS. in the Record Office. It is far too long to be given in full here, and again I am compelled to content myself with a summary. As already stated, the membership of certain societies qualified men for admission to the Adelfi's first degree, known as that of Academician of the European Confederation; and we do not know of any ceremony of reception. The "Brethren" met in an Academy. Nicolli⁴ differs in that he states that the Adelfi of the first degree met in Churches, ordinary, provincial and central, and that the officers were: a Bishop, two Administrators, a cashier and a Column or doorkeeper. The word was "Eleutheria",⁴ the same as that

¹ p. 307, note.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 154.

³ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 247.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 94.

of the Congregazione cattolica apostolica romana,¹ and according to Ottolini, of the Centres. Nicolli may be referring to an earlier state of affairs than that described in the MS. He also tells us that the emblems were a lion, a Phrygian cap, columns, overthrown altars and crowns and pictures of scenes from the French Revolution, but does not say in which degree they were used.

For the second degree, of Sublime Perfect Master, Carbonaro Masters and Masters in Freemasonry and Patriotic Academicians, as well as members of the Adelfic Acadmemicians' degree, and they were admitted, even if they were not 25 years old, the limit applicable to the first Adelfo degree. The Sublime Perfect Masters met in Churches, whose officers were: a Sage, who had to be 30 years old, two Grand Stars or Overseers, a Grand Pontiff or Orator, a Column or Grand Expert, also called the Terrible or Temibile (Terrible or Fearsome Brother), a Secretary and a Cashier. The Sage and the Stars formed the ruling Council of the Church. At the date of the Record Office MS., probably about 1820, the Sublime Perfect Masters professed to support constitutional government. The third degree of Sublime Elect was purely republican. Its motto was "Oteroba", which meant "Occide tyrannum et recupers omnia bona antiqua" and also "Perfection", interpreted as follows: "Omnium tyrannorum extinctione rerum publicarum omnia beata assequuntur". The grip was a hand shake during which the knocks of the degree, five and one, were given on the Brother's first knuckle joint. The sign was merely showing the right hand and the salutation was "Viva la repubblica" (Long live the republic). There was also a short dialogue: "D'ou est-ce que tu viens?"—"Du mont Ida". "Qu'Est-ce que tu lis?"—"Arton" (Aritogeiton). "Qui te guérira?"—"L'or et le mercure". The password was "Phyleos". Candidates were most carefully chosen after several scrutinies. During their reception they had to stab emblems of Royalty. In addition to the dates of events in the French revolution, the names of five regicides were held in reverence, namely: Aristogeiton, Timoleon, Brutus, Oliver Cromwell and the supposed founder of the Society, Carnot. The Council of the Synod of Sublime Elects was exactly the same as that which ruled the Perfect Masters' Church to which it was attached, but the Church itself was kept in ignorance of this double rôle. To keep the Synod in check, the Grand Firmament attached Deacons to it which represented its own authority, before whom the Sages had to bow. These Deacons were Mobile, whose authority extended everywhere, or Territorial, whose authority was limited to their own province, or Special, whose authority was limited to a particular commission. The Deacons could also institute a superior body composed of deputies from all the Churches and Synods of Province called a Cathedral. Classical names were used for individuals and regions. Piedmont was Achaia; Lombardy, Argolis; the Duchy of Modena, Arcadia; the Papal States, Florida; Tuscany, Euboea. Among the many towns I may mention Turin which was Nicaea; Milan, Thebes; Parma, Aulis; Pavia, Argos; Genoa, Sidon; Piacenza, Corcyra; Bologna, Leucas; Ferrara, Heraclea; Ravenna, Crissa; Rome, Babylon; Naples, Elatea; Leghorn, Olympia; and Florence, Lesbos. This list shows how widespread the Adelfia claimed to be, yet it is difficult to tell how deeply it penetrated. In Piedmont, despite all its efforts, it never succeeded in forming more than nuclei and its subversive aims never found favour.

The Federati, Doria tells us,² met in a "Temple". They had no degrees, but used those of the Carbonari when necessary. Their word was "Libertà o Morte" (Liberty or Death). The grip was like that of the Carbonari, except that only a semicircle was described on a Federato's hand and three taps were given. The sign was that of the Carbonaro Apprentice. It is clear that the Carboneria acquired a dominating position in the Federation. Doria,² in fact,

¹ Luzio, *Massoneria*, etc., p. 182.

² Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 386-387.

describes it as an offshoot or "Economy" of our Society, the term "Economy" arising out of the necessity of "economising", that is using sparingly, the Society's own name of Carbonaria for reasons of safety. Dito¹ gives a somewhat different version. According to him the words were "Patria, Onore, Costanza" (Fatherland, Honour, Constancy), and for recognition the following sentences were exchanged: "What do you seek?"—"The independence of Italy". The sign was given by joining the hands, palm to palm, the thumb of the left hand between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, so that the left thumb pressed on the first joint of the right index finger. This was answered by bringing the right hand to the left side, as if grasping the hilt of a sword, which was also a Carbonaro sign in certain regions.

About the "Liberi Italiani" "Indipendenti" of 1816, "Annici dell'Unione" (Friends of Union), "Fratelli scozzesi" (Scottish brothers), and "Ausonia" we know nothing. Ausonia was the poetical name of Italy and was used more than once among the Sectaries. St. Edme says, with what truth we do not know,² which at one time seems to have directed Carbonaro activities. The Piedmontese Society seems to have emanated from the Philadelphes, penetrated into Italy under the French régime and spread to Lombardy, where its character seems to have improved, according to a very obscure statement of Cantù.

In the "Congregazione cattolica apostolica romana" or "Società Apostolica" as Helfert calls it,³ the password was "Eleuteria",³ the Adelfic word, and the sacred word "Ode". There was also another word "Filadelfia". The word "Eleuteria" was sometimes regarded as the name of the Society. The jewel was a yellow cord with five knots. After a tumult at Grenoble, which may have been the rising which took place during the revolution in Piedmont of 1821, and probably led to the discovery of these secrets, the words were changed to "Siete voi bastiglione?" (Are you a Bastiglione? a word the meaning of which is unknown) and placing two fingers held close together to the lips; to which the reply was "Yes" accompanied by stretching out the hand with three fingers extended. Ottolini⁴ attributes the yellow cord and the words Eleuteria and Ode to the Centres; but as the Centres had other signs, one wonders whether Ottolini had not misread his authorities, especially as he is not supported in this respect by other writers. The symbols of this Society, according to Helfert,⁵ were the pelican, the sun and the stars and the square and the compasses. The oath of the Society was⁶: "I swear before God, who is the supreme vindicator of the Truth and the impartial Protector of all men, to be faithful to the Congregazione cattolica, not to reveal to anyone what shall be entrusted to me by my brethren and unite with them always in defence of the sublime morality of the Gospel, for the destruction of the enemies of social order and Christian charity, to help with all my intellect and strength the progress of our holy institution and the relief of indigent brethren. If I betray my trust, I consent to undergo the terrible punishment hurled by the Congregazione cattolica at traitors". The grips and words were masonic. The Society, according to Luzio, had three degrees, of which according to Helfert,⁷ the lower ones were purely charitable and the higher one political, as is shown by the aims set out in the Constitution of the Society. The words of the Society were: "Union, Independence or Death. Una salus, Italianorum populorum foederatio, religionis et Supremi nostri Pontificis exaltatio, anglica constitutoi,

¹ p. 342.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 369.

³ Helfert, p. 127.

⁴ Ottolini, p. 93.

⁵ Helfert, p. 127.

⁶ Luzio, *Massoneria*, etc., p. 197.

⁷ p. 127.

aliter bellum civile, mors atque omne genus calamitatum", a curious mixture of liberal and reactionary objects. Helfert¹ calls this Society also the "*Società apostolica*" (Apostolic Society). The Austrian police² thought they had discovered traces of it in Milan and called it "*Società apostolica romana*".

In South Italy, where the Carboneria had been very strong from Murat's days, its activities were directed to improving the general organisation, instead of multiplying the number and variety of the subsections. Government tolerance made subdivisions unnecessary and the tendency was centripetal rather than centrifugal. We hear of the "*Filantropi*" (Philanthropicals), "*Patriotti europei*" (European patriots), "*Filadelfi*" (Philadelphians), "*Filosofi*"³ (Philosophers), "*Liberi europei*" (Free Europeans),⁴ and "*Decisi*" (Determined ones).

The *Filantropi*⁵ were not the same as the *Filantropici* of the Papal States, though their names are variants of the same word. The *Patriotti Europei* and the *Filadelfi* were so closely connected that it is best to take them together.⁶ The divisions of these Societies were called "*Squadriglie*" (Squads) and "*Campi*" (Camps), and it appears that the Squads, on the whole, belonged to the *Patriotti* and the Camps to the *Filadelfi*. In the larger towns the Camps contained as many as four sections, in the smaller ones of a lesser number and a Camp of one section was usually sufficient for a village. The officers of the section were a Captain reporter (*Capitano relatore*), a Secretary, a Registrar, a Treasurer. The Camp was under a President Commandant, two Counsellors, two Captains, an Aide de camp, a Captain reporter, a Keeper of Seals, a Registrar and a Treasurer.⁷ We also hear of a Prefect of *Filadelfi*, who may have been the same as the President Commandant or a yet higher officer.⁸ The meetings were held at first by night, but as the Sects became more numerous and bold they met and drilled by day. Many had firearms and all had daggers. They even began to form mounted troops. The Squad of *Patriotti* was usually 40-60 strong, the Camp about 200-300 strong and the sections about 50-70 men. When at their strongest the Sectaries numbered 40,000-70,000 in Lecce province alone⁹ and 113 Camps were known to the authorities. When four dots appeared under the signature of a *Filadelfic* summons, noncompliance meant death.¹⁰

The *Decisi*¹¹ were the creation of *Ciro Annichiarico*. They were not numerous, so that they were all known to each other. They often went about the country disguised as *Pulcinella*, the Neapolitan Punch, and under the guise of that merryman gained entrance to the scenes of their nefarious activities. Their colours were red, blue and yellow, a slight difference from those of the Carboneria. They called themselves Brothers and their Lodge was a *Decisione* (Decision). We also hear of a "*Council of Blood*" of the supreme Chiefs, to decide on perpetrating a murder.¹² They had regular certificates, like most secret societies, and these bore pairs of skulls and crossbones with the legends "*Sadness, Death, Terror, Mourning*" in the four corners and initials which meant: *La Decisione Del Tonante Giove Ispira A Fare Guerra Contro I Tiranni Dell'Uman Genere. Terrore E Decisione.* (The decision (Lodge) Of Thundering Jupiter Inspires to wage war against the tyrants of the human race. Terror and Determination.) The certificate, the reproduction of which is given in the *Memoirs*,¹¹ said: "The mortal Gaetano Cafieri is a *Deciso* Brother, n°. five,

¹ p. 127.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 134.

³ Frederici, p. 158.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 39, 63.

⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 120.

⁶ Frederici, pp. 116-118.

⁷ *Memoirs*, p. 129.

⁸ Frederici, p. 293.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 293.

¹¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 120-160.

¹² Frederici, p. 239.

belonging to the Decision of the Thundering Jupiter, spread over the face of the earth, through his Decision has had the pleasure of being a member of the Respectable Salentine republican Decision. We invite therefore all Philanthropical Societies to lend their strong arm to him and to help him in his need as he has reached the Decision to gain liberty or death". Cafieri was the registrar of deaths, so we have the reproduction of the certificate of a very notorious member. The flag of the Decisi was black with a silver skull. The qualification for admission was the commission of two murders. A Decision¹ was held in full form. The Grand Master said:—

G.M.: (after the trumpet had sounded) Take heed Brothers Decisi. Arms to order. The Dead Faction (Sentry) has warned us that Pagan N., who has presented the memorial, is outside and wishes to be admitted. If it is your wish to admit him, good; if not, speak. (If no one speaks, the trumpet is sounded and the Candidate is admitted blindfold. He is then severely questioned, even submitted to violence, and if he persists in wishing to join, the G.M. continues): Well, as you have decided to join the Decisione, join me, brave ones, bind him and see that no trace of his body be found, as he is a caitif republican and an enemy of the King. Tremble, man, who have had the audacity to disclose your opinions in our presence; but this is not all. You will see in a few hours your family destroyed, your property sacked and your relations die with every mark of infamy. (If the Candidate still persists) The Pagan persists in his opposition. Therefore fall in and to order, at the sound of the trumpet; and we shall decide if he shall live.

(Then the trumpet is sounded, the Decisi press round the Candidate and point their weapons at him. His bandage is then taken from his eyes. If he has been firm throughout the ordeal, he is admitted and receives his certificate.)

The sign, called the Sign of Safety, is: Place the right hand on the breast, the fingers closed and the thumb under the hand; then seize the hat, the thumb under the brim; lift it and replace it and drop the hand to the thigh. A Brother is tested by the following catechisms:—"Of what country are you?" to which the reply is: "Of the world". "Have you any brothers?" "I have two". "How old are they?" "One century". The oath is: "I, N. . . . swear on the impenetrable secrets of the Philanthropical societies not to reveal to anyone who does not belong to me my secrets and not to admit anything, even to the Brother who has given me light. If I forswear myself, I will submit and consent that my body, if Heaven does not want it as it is, be cut in pieces and my flesh given as food to the vultures. I swear also on this steel, the avenger of the wrongs of the Decision, to be the inexorable enemy of all Decisi Brothers who shall not know how to keep the sacred secrets and to wreak bitter vengeance on them with the consent of all Decisi Brothers and their chiefs".

We have also a description of a meeting room of a Decisione, which was surprised by General Church and his troops. The room was darkened. In the middle was a table covered with a black cloth. On it was a lamp with a skull in front of it, pistols, books and papers. On the wall at one end hung the Decisi flag and their silver trumpet.² The Decisi used to send out threatening letters to their intended victims; if the signature bore four dots under it, a refusal would be punished by death. Two dots or none implied a lesser punishment. These four dots were also used by the Filadelfi,³ as we have seen.

Executions were carried out with full ritual at the sound of the trumpet. At the first sound, daggers were drawn; at the second, the executioners stepped

¹ Frederici, pp. 119-121.

² *ibid.*, p. 237.

³ *ibid.*, p. 293.

nearer the victim; at the third, they closed on him; at the fourth, they stabbed him, beginning with the Director of the Funeral Ceremony. Sometimes executions were just simple murders, sometimes torture was applied. The Members of the Society carried a dagger with a black handle, carved in a particular fashion.¹

The Decisi used the ordinary calendar, the Filadelfi and the Patriotti used an Era of their own. 1817 coincided exactly with the IV. year of "Vindicated liberty".² General Church broke these criminal Sects and executed 163 of them. When the Decisi were shot, the necessary orders were punctuated with blasts from their own silver trumpet which was captured at Grottaglie, Ciro's own town.³

When executed, Ciro was struck by twenty bullets, four in the head,⁴ yet he still breathed and had to be shot again; a worthy leader of such disgusting ruffians. The following account illustrates the connection of these villainous societies with each other. General Church was condemned to death with the sound of the trumpet in a Filadelfi Camp at Lecce on the 4th of January, 1818. As no one was prepared to bell the cat, the leader of the Filadelfi, a lawyer called Felice, sent emissaries to Ciro Annichiarico, asking him to select someone suitable to carry out the sentence, for Ciro was sometimes employed in this way by the other Sects and received their protection in return. Ciro referred the matter to Cafieri, the Decisi's registrar of deaths, and a Decisione was held at Grottaglie to discuss the matter. But Church had already got wind of the matter, surprised the meeting, and made a good haul of Sectarian documents. Soon after the power of the Sects was broken and Felice, after a very awkward interview, was pardoned.⁵ It was in a desperate effort to break through the toils closing on him that Ciro tried to raise a Carbonaro rebellion in 1818 in which the Vardarelli and about 1,200 other armed criminals were to take part, but Church was too quick and Ciro was dead before the move could mature.

Of the Camorra there is nothing to say, except that it had a ritual and a catechism and an oath, and that its members carried big sticks and wore their hats over the left eye.⁶ It probably had no connection with the Carboneria. It is not clear whether the extremist "Greci solitarii o dispersi"⁷ (Lonely or scattered Greeks) had any connection with the "Greeks in solitude"⁸ of Murat's reign, the probabilities are against it. General Nunziante,⁹ in a letter to the Intendant of Calabria Ulteriore, mentions a Sect of "Egizii" which may have had some connection with the Sect or Sects of similar name in the Papal States. The "Figli di Epaminonda", the "Eraclidi", "Amici di Aristide" and "Società del Sangue di Cristo"¹⁰ may have been variants of the Carboneria and are mentioned accordingly. The "Unitarii italiani"¹¹ (Italian unitarians) mentioned by St. Edme and Cantù seem to have been a party and not a sect. Dolce referred to a society of "Salvatori" (Saviours), which was Carbonarian, but of which nothing is known.¹²

In South Italy, as elsewhere, bitter war was waged against the reactionary Sect, but these can best be described in dealing with the events which followed the movements of 1820 and 1821 when they acquired their greatest importance.

¹ Frederici, p. 279.

² Memoirs, p. 134.

³ Frederici, p. 242.

⁴ Memoirs, p. 146.

⁵ Frederici, pp. 163, 236-246.

⁶ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 18.

⁷ Memoirs, p. 164.

⁸ Ottolini, p. 61.

⁹ Dito, p. 226.

¹⁰ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 98. Dito, p. 250.

¹¹ St. Edme, p. 196. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 124.

¹² Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 365.

APPENDIX. III. (continued).

Bibliographical note and list of works consulted.

A. *Original Authorities for the Carbonari.*

La Cecilia. Memorie dall 820 all 876. Artero e Ci. Rome. In London Library.

A. Pierantoni. I Carbonari dello stato pontificio. Dante Alighieri. Segati. 1910. In London Library.

B. *Original authorities for the period and incidentally for the Carboneria.*

Bianchi. Storia della diplomazia europea in Italia. In London Library.
Brigantaggio e società segrete nelle Puglie, 1817-1818. Memoirs of General Church edited by Signora Feride Frederici. Barbiera. Florence. 1899. In British Museum.

British Record Office. F.O. 70. W.O. 1/315.

Cantù. Il Conciliatore ed i Carbonari. In Archivio storico italiano. Firenze. In London Library.

Confalonieri. Memorie. e lettere edited by Casati. Hoepli. Milan. 1889. In London Library.

MS. F.O. 70/92. In British Record Office.

C. *Works on the Carbonari and other secret societies.*

A.Q.C., vol. xxvii. Napoleon I. and Freemasonry. Tuckett.

Cavallotti. Translation of "Memoirs of the Secret Societies of South Italy". In London Library.

Luzio. Antinio Salvotti ed i processi del ventuno. Dante Alighieri. Rome. 1901. In British Museum.

id. Il processo Pellico Maroncelli. Cogliati. Milan. 1903.

Romano Catania. Del Risorgimento d'Italia. Dante Alighieri. Rome. 1913. In British Museum.

Telepneff. The Illuminati. Unpublished.

D. *General works.*

Barbiera. Figure e figurine del secolo che muore. In London Library.
Bolton King. History of Italian unity. Nisbet & Co. London. 1899. In London Library.

Costa de Beauregard. La Jeunesse du Roi Charles Albert. Plonet C^{ie}. Paris. 1889.

La Bédoyère. La Fayette. Cape. London. 1938. W. H. Smith & Sons.

Sir J. A. R. Marriott. Castlereagh. In London Library.

id. Makers of Modern Italy. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1931. In London Library.

Probyn. Italy. 1815-1890. Cassel & Co. London. 1891. In London Library.

La Cecilia was himself a Carbonaro though he did not become prominent until after this period. Pierantoni's book is invaluable as it gives us excerpts from the depositions of the imprisoned Carbonari before the Austrian authorities copied out and forwarded to the Papal authorities, which concerned the Papal States. Bianchi has a good collection of diplomatic documents. Signora Frederici's book is useful as in addition to Church's Memoirs she gives copies of letters, etc. The MS. 70/92 gives an invaluable though fragmentary ritual and constitutions of the higher degrees of the Adelfi. The other works call for no particular comment, except perhaps Professor Luzio's invaluable and accurate works.

NOTE.

The letters and documents, of which I give copies below, taken from Gallavresi's "*Carteggio del Conte Federico Confalonieri*", vol. ii. (1). Ripalta, Milan, 1911, a work in the London Library, constitute some of the evidence of Confalonieri's initiation into our Brotherhood. We may note that he signed a declaration worded almost exactly the same as some of the questions put to the Candidate nowadays.

1. Milan State Archives. XXII. P. CCLII. N. 7

Mr, Brown to Confalonieri

Limmers Hotel 21th August 1818

My dear Sir,

I have just seen H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex who informs me that it will not be convenient to *make* you in London before October but that it can be arranged in Cambridge if you will be there on the *fourth* of next month, september,

Yours my dear Sir most truly
Yeats Brown.

to Count Confalonieri
etc. etc. etc.
Sablonière Hotel

2. Milan State Archives. XXII, P. CCLII, N. 5

Mr. Yeats Brown to Confalonieri

Limmers Hotel Monday 14th August 1818.

My dear Sir,

H. J. Da Costa Esq. a particular Friend of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex and myself will have the pleasure to call upon you at Sablonicus on Wednesday—and he will give you every information and introduction necessary—he will perhaps personally introduce you at Cambridge but this depends on circumstances over which he has no control.—You will however at any rate meet the Duke of Sussex there.—May I beg you to take charge of the enclosed letter for Mr. Goldsmid and the stiff of paper on the other side of this sheet for the Duke Visconti di Medrone—it is the direction for the culture of some seed which I sent him by the Marquis of Carcano.

Remember me most kindly to Count Porro and say that I will write to him soon.

Yours my dear Sir
With much sincerity
Yeats Brown

to Count Confalonieri
Culture of seakale for the Duke Visconti.

3. Casati Papers Cologno Monzese.

J. B. Goussel to Confalonieri.

F. Comte Confonolieri

Vous trouverez ici vos comptes de Loge

Nomination	£ 1. 1. 0
Reception d'apprentif	4. 4. 0
Grande Loge pour enregistrement	0. 10. 6
Ecole de Charité pour les filles	
des pauvres Francs Maçons	0. 5. 0.
Tablier, Couvreur &	0. 15. 0
Le diner	2. 2. 0

£ 8. 17. 6

Mon cher F.: Mon. Le Comte,

Je vous prie de vouloir bien signer ce papier, qui aurait dû être signé avant votre réception, laissez moi aussi votre nom de baptême, que je dois envoyer à la Grande Loge, peut-être que vous ne partirez pas ce soir, dans ce cas j'aurais bien flatté de vous voir demain matin. Si je n'ai pas l'honneur de vous revoir, à présent, j'espère que quelqu'un de ces jours nous nous reverrons.

J'ai l'honneur d'être votre très humble et très affectionné F..

J. B. Goussel

Sécretaire de la nouvelle Loge de Cambridge N.549
Cambridge, Rue d'Emanuel

le 4 Septembre 1818.

v.

Monsieur le Comte Confalonieri a payé le montant dû à la loge de Cambridge N.549 et a été reçu Franc Mason au degré d'apprentif le 3 septembre 1818.

J. B. Goussel Sécretaire de la Loge

(red seal of the Lodge)

4. Milan State Archives XXII— CCLII N.9

Confalonieri to the Rulers of the Masonic Lodge of Cambridge.

To the Worshipful Master, Wardens, Officers, and Members of the Lodge of Cambridge—New Lodge N.549.

I, Being free by birth and of the full age of twenty-one years, do declare, that, unbiassed by the improper solicitations of friends, and uninfluenced by mercenary or other unworthy motive, I freely and voluntary offer myself a candidate for the mysteries of masonry; that I am prompted by a favourable opinion conceived of the institution, and a desire of knowledge; and that I will cheerfully conform to all the ancient usages and established customs of the order.

Witness my hand, this 2d day of september 1818

Witness

Frederic Confalonieri

J. B. Goussel

5. Milan State Archives XXII CCLII N.8

the Rev. G. A. Browne to Confalonieri

Monsieur le Comte,

Je vous prie d'accepter mes remerciements de la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire. J'ai été bien flatté de vous voir ici et particulièrement dans notre loge, et vous croire que dans toutes les occasions je serai prêt à vous témoigner combien je suis à votre service. M. Powel et Goussel me prient de les appeler dans votre souvenir et toute notre loge se joint à moi pour vous souhaiter toutes sortes de bonheur, et espère vous revoir dans notre Fraternité. C'est avec ces sentiments que j'ai l'honneur d'être

Monsieur le Comte

votre très humble serviteur

ami, et Frère

G. A. Browne.

le 11 7bre.

Note.—This Lodge was the "Cambridge New Lodge of Free Masons N.549 and Chapter of R.A.U.—The School of Plato N.148, held at the Red Lion, Petty Cury, Cambridge". The list of members, among whom are the Rev. J. Powell, J. B. Goussel and the Rev. G. A. Browne, is kept in the State Archives with this letter.

6. Milan State Archives B. XXII, P. CCLII, N4.

Mr. Da Costa to Confalonieri

Mr. Da Costa a l'honneur de prévenir Mr. le Comte Confalonieri, qu'ayant reçu les ordres de Monsigneur le Duc de Sussex pour faire assembler la loge, afin de donner quelques grades à Mr. le Comte, on a déjà pris les mesures là dessus; et Mr. Da Costa passera chez Mr. le Comte Mercredi au matin, pour lui faire part du vour signalé.

Kensington, ce 21 Septembre

7. Casati Archives Cologno Monzese.

Certificate of Frederic Confalonieri.

Alpha Lodge N.43—Freemasons Tavern London

These are to certify that Count Frederic Confalonieri (whose signature is in the margin) was at the Age of 32 years (as has been regularly certified to us) initiated in the first degree of Masonry in the Cambridge New Lodge N.549 held in the University of Cambridge on the third day of september last, and was this day regularly passed to the degree of Fellow Craft in this our Lodge.

Witness our Hands the first day of October A.L. 5818. A.D. 1818

William Shatbolt W.M.

H. C. Da Costa S.W.

William Mergdrick J.W.

William H. White Sec Y

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Radice for his valuable paper on the proposition of Bro. S. J. Fenton, seconded by Bro. C. C. Adams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, L. Edwards, W. J. Williams, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. S. J. FENTON said:—

In proposing a vote of thanks to Bro. Radice for his paper on the History of the Carbonari, we must appreciate the enormous amount of study he has put into his paper, as shown by the 498 references which he quotes as footnotes.

These alone should emphasise the fact that, in his paper, we have the benefit in a condensed form of the essence of the amount of study he has done, and incidentally the number of books he has translated for us.

The subject is one for specialists, and is very closely allied to both Religion and Politics.

It may be that to-day—with the official censure which has been put on the Craft in many countries—there are similar secret societies working with similar object, having in view the overthrow of political and religious powers; but I have my doubts on this subject, due to the enlightenment of the masses to-day by education, and the reduction of the size of the world—by wireless and quick transport, to say nothing of the freedom of the Press—compared with the period covered by Bro. Radice's paper, which refers to 120 years ago or thereabouts.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS, in seconding the vote of thanks to the Lecturer, said:—

It is a pleasant duty to congratulate the author on a paper of such interest. This interest is not confined to Masonic circles, but one feels that a contribution has also been made to the story of the reforming—not to say revolutionary—movements of the early nineteenth century, and it is not inappropriate that such a contribution should be made by one bearing the name Radice. This country has indeed been repaid the debt due to her for the asylum she offered Italian reformers like Rossetti and Panizzi, not to mention the most famous of all, Mazzini.

There is one matter which whets, but does not satisfy, the appetite of an English audience on the references to Count Frederick Confalonieri, who is said to have been initiated into Freemasonry by the Duke of Sussex in a Scottish Lodge at Cambridge and to have received Grand Lodge honours. One would like to know whether Bro. Radice has succeeded in checking any of these statements. If he could do so, it would be a matter of some interest. We know that the Duke of Sussex was interested in foreign affairs and was of a liberal disposition in politics, and we should like to know whether his sentiments in this case led him in the direction indicated. It seems a little doubtful, however, whether there would be a Scottish Lodge meeting at Cambridge, although on the other hand the Duke spent a good deal of his time in East Anglia, particularly with his friend Coke of Norfolk at Halkam, and was in truth with the University. Cannot the records of Grand Lodge confirm or contradict the statement about Grand Lodge honours?

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

Our indebtedness to Bro. Radice continues to grow and the increase of our knowledge with it. So many new facts have been disclosed to us by his industry and skill that our gratitude can be surpassed only by our admiration and gratitude for the unselfish labour and admiration for the acute mind of the scholar.

To one discovery of his, as new as it is happy, I should like to draw special attention: I refer to the manuscript in the Public Records Office which confirms Witt's account of the "Grand Firmament".

Let me premise that when I first came across a mention of this putative Directorate of European Secret Societies in the pages of Witt's book, I doubted if it had had any existence outside his imagination, and expressed those doubts in print (*"Famous Secret Societies"*, p. 147).

Well, we live and learn; and now, to echo Bro. Radice's own words, "I regard the existence of that mysterious body as authenticated".

One *caveat*, however, must be lodged.

We must carefully separate our acceptance of the existence of the "Grand Firmament" from an acceptance of all the claims it made to possess far-flung authority.

Any secret society existing for revolutionary ends is obliged by its very essence to claim more power and influence than it possibly could exercise; such assertions are good propaganda to hearten its members and to extend its borders, and we all know what a weapon of potency propaganda can be.

Nevertheless, when we reflect on the situation as it existed then in Europe, and Bro. Radice's labours have made such a task easy for us, the two difficulties of communication and finance (to mention but these twain) will, I think, lead us to conclude that the "Grand Firmament" never can have had a tithe of the power it claimed. What limited power it did possess and utilize has yet to be discovered and described. Let us hope that this will yet be done, and that the doing of it will be yet another feather in the cap of our learned Brother to whom we already owe so much.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

We have now had the privilege of hearing the second part of the Introduction to the History of the Carbonari. It is evident that the work on this part has been as onerous as that on the former and that the Author has spared neither time nor thought in the collection, consideration and condensation of a mass of material which has related to the Carbonari and to the ever changing conditions and ramifications of the environment in which that Society endeavoured to work out its destiny and designs.

The present work begins with a section relating to the position of things resulting from the fall of Napoleon and the efforts to bring back to some kind of order the chaotic condition into which Europe and particularly Italy had fallen as a consequence of the international hurricane which had swept through the countries affected during the Napoleonic period.

So far as Italy was concerned, the division of the land into a number of Kingdoms and States, the inhabitants of which varied in their precedent history and racial, mental, political and religious, or irreligious, outlooks, made the problem a very complicated one which could only be solved by the cancelling out of a number of hostile factors.

Had the Carbonari been the one and only Secret Society working to accomplish their political designs, our Author's task would have been to some extent simplified. The fact is, however, that there were numerous conflicting Societies working at the same time but by no means pulling together. To isolate the doings of the Carbonari from the welter of conflicting aims and methods so that we can trace their operations during the various periods covered by the present paper is a task which might well baffle the most diligent investigator. The success which has attended our Author's efforts is one which compels our admiration and gives full evidence of his zeal and ability in dealing with such a perversely complicated multiplicity of problems.

The extracts from various Catechisms and such like relating to the admission into membership of these miscellaneous Secret Societies makes the paper very interesting. One cannot read the paper without being struck with the great gulf fixed between non-political Freemasonry as known in this Country and in Grand Lodges associated with us and the fierce political motives and aims which constituted the *raison d'être* of such Societies as the Carbonari.

Apparently a Freemason, although *as such* not entering into political discussions, found no difficulty in joining the ranks of the Carbonari and other Societies whose functions were entirely concerned with the abolition of the then existing order of things.

The closing paragraph of Part II. indicates that we had then arrived at the brink of something like a precipice and that we are to be favoured with a further paper "dealing with the events which followed the movements of 1820 and 1821, when they attained their greatest importance".

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

There is some analogy between the Freemasons and the Carbonari if we assume that the one has developed from the mason trade and the other from the charcoal-burning industry. But after the perusal of Bro. Radice's paper the likeness is somewhat dim. The masons use the tools of the craft for symbolic purposes, and in those branches where the masonic body uses entirely different objects for its lessons, it is necessary to enter through the tectonic order.

But does a similar qualification hold for the various bodies believed to be branches of the Carbonari? It looks as though any society, whose object was the subversion, or modification, of the established Government, was liable to be regarded as a "Carbonari" Society. A basis of symbolism taken from

the charcoal-burning industry was apparently the reason for the name at the commencement; but to what extent have the objects of the Society superseded its ritual for the purpose of classification? It reads as though a great deal of permeation took place with the intention of moulding the activities of other bodies, but this would not affect the ritual or the identity, yet might lead to them being described as branches of the Carbonari.

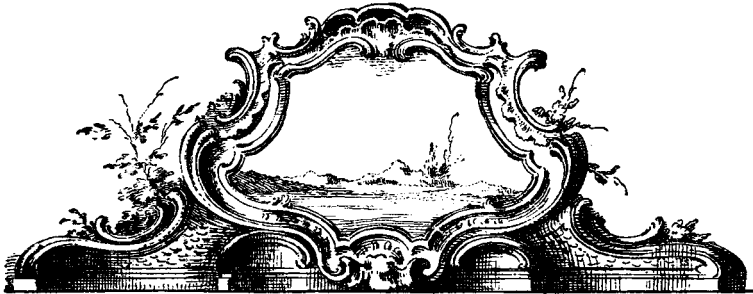
Bro. F. R. RADICE *writes* in reply:—

Once more I have to thank Brethren for their very kind remarks and helpful comments. As regards the W.M.'s remarks, in spite of the advance of education, I am afraid that over a large part of the world, including a great deal of Europe, education is little more advanced to-day than it was 120 years ago, and secret societies still exist. Serbia, Macedonia are instances, and there are still, I believe, Carbonarios in Portugal, who, as far as I know, have no connection with the Society I am dealing with. As regards the copper nails, there is no evidence that the authorities either noticed these or took any action. The point really is that it was a very inconspicuous mark for which only those in the know would be on the look out.

Bro. Bullamore raises a very interesting point, which arises to some extent out of his remarks on Part I. of the paper. In the case of each of the Sects derived from the Carboneria the question arises whether it is Carbonarian because of its aim or because of its ritual. The Carboneria had two objects, the first, in which it imitates its Mother Society, Freemasonry, was the improvement of man. Morality was taught by symbolism. The second object was purely political. There was the usual tendency of societies with the same political object to merge into one another and for offshoots to branch out which adopted a somewhat different symbolism for the sake of distinction and also as a precautionary measure when the parent stem was persecuted. We shall see that ritual and symbolism eventually fell more and more into disuse. Bro. Heron Lepper tells me that developments similar to those which took place in the Carboneria occurred in the case of the Irish Ribbon Men.

Bro. Williams' comments call for no reply from me beyond thanking him for his interest and kind reception of the paper.

A regards Bro. Edwards' remarks, I have now appended the documents (copies of) in the Confalonieri papers which relate to his admission into English Freemasonry. I have not yet been able to see the originals or to verify the information from the Grand Lodge records, but it seems clear that the statement I followed originally, that the Count was initiated into a Scottish Lodge, was erroneous.



FRIDAY, 5th MAY, 1939.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—
Bros. S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., W.M.; H. C. Bristowe,
P.A.G.D.C., as S.W.; A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M., as J.W.; *Col.*
F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; D. Knoop, P.M.; and David
Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. M. Scott;
R. H. Henderson-Bland; G. W. Richmond; R. M. Strickland; S. H. Muffett; C. D.
Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; H. Johnson; C. F. Waddington; A. Saywell, P.A.G.D.C.;
A. F. Cross; W. Morgan Day; R. A. Card; *Lt.-Col.* C. J. H. Swann, P.Dep.G.S.B.;
H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; J. B. Ebel; R. G. Cooper; J. J. Cooper;
J. H. Smith; H. G. Ridge; A. F. G. Warrington; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.D.C.; L. G.
Wearing; A. F. Ford; F. G. Barber; W. E. Gathercole; J. C. da Costa; and S. R.
Clarke.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. T. Rhymer Edmonton, Latymer Lodge
No. 5026; R. S. Baird, Archbishop Tenison Lodge No. 5163; R. C. Burgess, Old
Haileyburian Lodge No. 3912; and H. M. Ridge, Prometheus Lodge No. 4209.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev.* H. Poole,
P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.;
Major C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., S.W.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; B. Telepneff; W.
Ivor Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., P.M.;
Lewis Edwards, P.A.G.R., S.D.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; *Rev.*
Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; B. Ivanoff; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W.,
Derby; F. L. Pick; and W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down.

The election of Treasurer resulted unanimously in favour of Bro. J. Heron
Lepper.

One Study Circle and Twenty Brethren were admitted to membership of the
Correspondence Circle.

The congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. *Sir* Alexander Gibb, *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson and *Lt.-Col.* Frederick Walton, Grand Deacons; Lionel F. Dunnett, G. E. W. Bridge, Gerald M. J. Slot and Slater Willis, Past Grand Deacons; L. E. Hall, Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; L. J. Bussey, William Clough, Frederick J. Corbett, Frederick T. Cramphorn, *Major* Charles Duly, Eric J. Edward, E. H. Miller, and *Major* Harry G. Smith, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; *Lt.-Gen.* Robert R. Ormsby, Grand Sword Bearer; R. Copley Davies, H. Hiram Hallett, Maurice King, Arthur W. Lane, D. Matthews, and H. J. Park, Past Grand Standard Bearers.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Snuff-box, circular, wooden, with masonic emblems on lid, and other emblems on the pedestal.

Door knocker, brass, formed of square and compasses and gavel.

Silver badge, "Order of Foresters"—presentation to Robert Walker, a "ruler" in 1855.

Apron, of chamois leather, hand-painted.

Copy of early Irish Warrant, 1732.

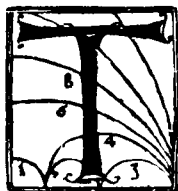
Reprints by "Times"—non-masonic. Some famous documents, 1215 to 1815.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition.

Bro. Douglas Knoop read the following paper:—

PROLEGOMENA TO THE MASON WORD¹

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES.



THE obscurity of the Mason Word, and the strangeness of the stories connected with it, by inviting the inquirer to seek an explanation of such unusual things, tend to distract attention from one important point, namely, that the Mason Word came into existence because it was useful. Its form may have been decided by other factors, and, once adopted, it may have become the nucleus of accretions of various kinds; but the thing itself, as distinct from its form and later associations, arose directly, like political society itself, out of necessity and utility. It may thus be compared with the apron and gloves of masonic ceremony, which, however decorative and symbolical they became, were at first practical things made to meet an everyday

¹ In view of the fact that the Brethren have been led to expect a contribution on a different subject from that to which their attention is now to be called, it may be well to explain the genesis of the present paper. We had for some time been considering a study of Scottish operative masonry (a topic of the first importance on account of the Scottish influence on the development of speculative masonry) when Bro. Poole's paper on the *Graham MS.* (*A.Q.C.*, vol. 1., part i.) stimulated our interest in one special aspect of the subject, the Mason Word. A preliminary survey of the evidence relating to it provided material for a short inaugural address by Douglas Knoop on the occasion of his installation in the Chair of the Hallamshire College, S.R.I.A., in April, 1937. Thereafter, further consideration of the Mason Word was temporarily suspended, while we turned to investigate the history of Scottish stone building. In the course of that study, it became necessary to consult various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century records in Edinburgh, and the late Bro. Vibert, aware of our interest in the records kept in that city, was led to think, quite wrongly, that our forthcoming paper was to be concerned with mediæval buildings in Edinburgh. Bro. Rickard, who had no means of following the progress of our study, adopted Bro. Vibert's description in the paragraph relating to future papers placed at the end of the record of the Lodge's activities in 1938, circulated last December. It soon became clear to us that we should not be able to draw on anything like the same wealth of detailed records as we were able to use in our studies of English operative masonry; our study of the building industry in Scotland was necessarily less detailed, and more concerned with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, than with mediæval times.

Meanwhile, our plans were further modified by the appointment of Douglas Knoop in October, 1937, as Prestonian Lecturer for 1938. In the hope of arousing interest in a relatively new but very important subject, and using as a nucleus the material already handled in the Hallamshire College inaugural address, he took as his subject the Mason Word.

The lecture (which was delivered on twenty-five occasions, one of them being the October meeting of this Lodge) had, for various reasons, to be limited in scope; it attempted only to give an account of the Mason Word as an operative institution, and of the conditions governing its operation. In this paper we attempt to determine the conditions in which the institution arose, and those which enabled it to continue.

For that purpose, we have made use of some parts of the paper which we had prepared on Scottish Operative Masonry, re-casting the material so far as appeared to be necessary, in our attempt to explain why the Mason Word, as an operative institution, was found in Scotland and not in England, and what peculiar conditions led to its establishment and development in the northern kingdom. Since the paper on Scottish Operative Masonry, despite repeated pruning, was far too long to be read in the Lodge, we have decided to print it as the first part of a small book on "The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word", with the Prestonian Lecture on "The Mason Word" as the second part.

need. Our first business, therefore, is to inquire into the conditions in which the Mason Word—considered generally as a system of secret methods of recognition used among operative masons—was useful and necessary.

Little reflection is required in order to realise that the Mason Word could have had little or no use merely as a means of distinguishing skilled masons from others. That could have been better done by a practical test, by requiring the man who claimed to be skilled to prove his ability on the spot by hewing or laying stones. That, indeed, was the reasonable practice at York Minster in 1370: "no mason shall be received at work . . . but he be first proved a week or more upon his well working".¹ When, therefore, we find masons providing themselves with the Word, we may take it, probably, that they intended thereby to enable a man to demonstrate, not his possession of skill, but his membership of a group. A greater or lesser degree of skill was, indeed, necessary in order to qualify for membership, but it was not the only qualification. Possession of the Mason Word was an indication that the man to whom it had been communicated accepted the rules and shared in the privileges of the body, legalised or other, which guarded it. The Mason Word, in short, was evidence not simply of a technical but of a social or corporate qualification.

This view of the matter will appear the more sound, if it be shown that there existed, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Scottish artificers working in stone who, although they were not masons, could not readily be distinguished from masons by means of a trade test. There can be no doubt at all that in the northern kingdom the dividing line between the building crafts was not drawn as sharply as it was in England. There, the enforcement of the local monopoly of trade enjoyed by particular crafts was implemented, more or less successfully, by the prevention of "intermeddling", that is, of one kind of craftsman doing work regarded as the speciality of another trade.² In Glasgow, on the other hand, it was a recognised practice at the end of the sixteenth century for the same artificer to undertake both wright's work and mason's work.³ Such an overlap between different crafts may have been exceptional, but it is significant; for, if boundaries between different crafts were not always rigid, distinctions within one craft were likely to be less rigid still. In fact, there was a marked absence of clear distinctions between different classes of stoneworkers, such as quarriers, cowans, and masons. In his own locality, whatever the grade of an artificer might be, there would be little need of any special or elaborate system to enable others of his craft to recognise him; but it would be otherwise if he travelled outside it, seeking work among people who might know nothing about him or his standing. We shall show that there was considerable mobility among stoneworkers in Scotland, and that such local opposition as existed to the employment of "unfreemen" did not apparently interfere very seriously with strangers finding work.

Granted the conditions likely to give rise to some secret method of recognition among properly qualified masons, there would also necessarily be developed some machinery to communicate and preserve the means of recognition. That function might either be added to others discharged by an existing body or bodies, as we believe was actually the case in Scotland, or it might conceivably be the main purpose of bodies especially established for that object. In any event, three sorts of authority would seem to be required: first, local organisations operating the system of recognition in their own areas; secondly, if the system

¹ *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surtees Society), 181-182; Knoop and Jones, *The Mediæval Mason*, 249.

² Cf. Knoop and Jones, "The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century", *A.Q.C.*, xlviii., 13, 20.

³ *Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow*, 1175-1649, clxxxv.

was to frank a mason moving from one region to another, co-operation among the local organisations would be needed; thirdly, if the system was to apply uniformly to the whole country, some central authority would be required in order to control its working. There is evidence to suggest that the masonic organisation existing in Scotland satisfied the threefold conditions which seem to us essential pre-requisites of any widespread system of secret methods of recognition.

In order to exhibit and discuss the evidence regarding the establishment and preservation of the Mason Word, we shall now review in some detail certain aspects of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century building industry in Scotland, following the order indicated in the foregoing analysis.

1. *Vagueness of distinctions between stoneworkers.*

A study of Scottish building records suggests that there was far less differentiation than in England between stoneworkers, of which the main categories in Scotland were: (i.) quarriers, (ii.) cowans, and (iii.) masons.

(i.) *Quarriers* cannot, with complete clarity, be distinguished from masons, since there were some kinds of work which might be done by either category. In 1581, for example, while Doune Castle was being repaired,¹ the quarrier was paid £26.13.4 Scots² for winning 160 stones, and the same man, apparently, received £6 Scots for "broching" them in the quarry, "that the horse might bring them easier home". Another quarrier, James Young, contracted with the magistrates of Linlithgow in 1670,³ not only to "win and put out" the stones for the Tolbooth, but to square them, an operation which might ordinarily be regarded as within the competence of masons only. Moreover, just as quarriers were found dressing stone, so masons might be found quarrying it. Thus in 1639 masons at Cawdor were paid "for winning of the stones, hewing thereof and building of the old hall and kitchen",⁴ and other masons at the same place were paid in 1684 "to win stones in the quarry at Cawdor for the said work".⁵ At the repair of the College at St. Andrews, Thomas Coventrie, mason, was paid £475 in 1688 "for mason and quarry work wrought by him and his men".⁶ In 1548 we find two men described as "masons and quarriers" at the siege of Huntley House,⁷ and four men so described in 1550.⁸

Examples of masons working in quarries are not uncommon. A contract of 1508⁹ between John Marser, mason, and the provost and baillies of Edinburgh, provided that Marser was to be rewarded reasonably for 'broching' and dressing stone at the quarry. The building accounts of Dunkeld Bridge for 1513¹⁰ show a payment of 24s. Scots to John Anderson, mason, "being in the quarry and cutting stones". In 1553-4 two masons at Edinburgh were paid for dressing a hundred stones at the quarry.¹¹ While the Parliament House,

¹ Mylne, *King's Master Masons*, 60.

² £1 Scots was equal to 2s. 6d. sterling in 1579, to 2s. sterling in 1597, and to 1s. 8d. sterling in 1601-1700.

³ *Ibid.*, 241.

⁴ *Book of the Thaness of Cawdor*, 296.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 396.

⁶ Building Account printed in Fleming, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1919-20, 243; possibly this entry only means that Coventrie had both quarrymen and masons in his employment.

⁷ *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, ix., 375.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ix., 406.

⁹ Printed in Mylne, 9.

¹⁰ Printed in Mylne, 24.

¹¹ *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1528-57, 288.

Edinburgh, was being erected, masons were sent in 1635 to the quarry at Ravelston to dress stones on the spot.¹

(ii.) *Cowans*. We have noted only two building accounts in which this word occurs, namely, those for Edinburgh Castle in 1616² and 1626.³ The first shows that two cowans were employed in the first week of October, 1616, and one in the following week; the second shows that two cowans were employed for two days, and one for six days, in the first week of April, 1626. On neither occasion does a mason appear to have been employed in the same week. One cowan received 16s. 8d. Scots a day, one 13s., one 12s., one 10s., and two 6s., as compared with a mason's normal rate of 12s. Scots a day on the same building operations. The accounts, unfortunately, throw no light upon what work the cowans did.

Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* defines "cowan" as "one who builds dry walls, otherwise denominated a drydiker"; the *O.E.D.* gives a very similar meaning—"one who builds drystone walls". Such evidence as we have been able to collect from documentary sources does not entirely support this definition. The Minutes of the Incorporation of Masons of Glasgow for 17 February, 1623,⁴ record that John Shedden was received and booked as a cowan and authorised "to work stone and mortar and to build mortar walls, but not above an ell in height, and without power to work or lay hewn work, or to build with sand and lime". The Minutes of the Incorporation of Wrights, Coopers and Masons of the Burgh of Canongate, for 27 May, 1636,⁵ show that John McCoull, cowan, was admitted "to work as a cowan any work with stone and clay alone, without lime", and the Minutes for 30 May, 1649,⁶ that William Reull, "cowaner", was admitted "to work as a cowan any work with stone and clay alone, without lime, except only to cast with lime timber door cheeks and timber windows, and clay chimney heads without". Two negative indications are provided by a Minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh in July, 1599, which states that a mason confessed that he had offended against the deacon and masters by placing a cowan to work at a chimney head,⁷ and by a Minute of the Glasgow Incorporation of Masons in December, 1600, which forbade a freeman to have cowans in his company, or to suffer them to work, hew windows or doors, or sell stones.⁸

The Schaw Statutes of 1598⁹ laid it down that no master or fellow of the craft should receive any cowan to work in his company, or send any of his servants to work with cowans, under penalty of £20 Scots for each offence, a prohibition which was repeated in the Schaw Statutes of 1599.¹⁰ A Minute of Aitchison's Haven Lodge of 7 January, 1600, records that a mason was fined £10 Scots for having a cowan in his company.¹¹ A Minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh of December, 1693, forbade any master to employ a cowan under penalty of £12 Scots for each offence.¹² These prohibitions against working with cowans suggest a secondary and wider meaning of the word, which is given both in Jamieson and in the *O.E.D.*, viz., a man who does the work of a mason but has not been

¹ Hannay and Watson, *The Building of the Parliament House* (Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, May, 1924), 40.

² Edinburgh Register House: Master of Work Accounts, vol. xv.

³ Accounts printed in Mylne, 74.

⁴ Printed in Cruikshank, *Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons*, 70.

⁵ Printed in Murray, "Freeman and Cowan", *A.Q.C.*, xxi., 198.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 25.

⁸ Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, 65.

⁹ Printed in Murray Lyon, 9-11.

¹⁰ Printed in Murray Lyon, 12-14.

¹¹ Wallace-James, "The Minute Book of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge, 1598-1764", *A.Q.C.*, xxiv., 35, 36.

¹² Murray Lyon, 25.

regularly apprenticed or bred to the trade. It was partly, at least, to prevent cowans from doing the work of qualified masons that the latter were entrusted with the Mason Word as a means of proving themselves. This doubtless explains why, in 1707, Mother Kilwinning Lodge defined a "cowan" as "a mason without the word".¹

(iii.) *Masons.* In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents the word commonly used to indicate mason was *cementarius*, and in fifteenth-century documents, *lathomus*, as was also the case in England. In Scotland, however, we have found no distinction between hewers and layers at this period, and the same is not infrequently true of the craftsmen described as "masons", "masounis", "mayssonis", in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In view of the relatively few cases in which a distinction appears to have been drawn between mason hewers and mason layers, we must assume that masons in Scotland normally did both sorts of work, even though we can seldom find explicit evidence to support our assumption. The case of masons at Cawdor, who were paid in 1639 to win stones, to hew them and to build, has already been mentioned. In the summer of 1637, at the erection of the Parliament House, Edinburgh, gloves were distributed to the whole company of the mason hewers²; the object of the gloves being to protect the layers' hands from splinters, it seems to follow that the hewers were about to engage in laying.

2. *Geographical mobility of stone workers.*

(i.) *Recruitment.* How masons for any particular building operation were recruited, if enough local men were not available, is uncertain, but where masons entered into contracts to erect work away from home, it is not unlikely that the mason-contractors took some of their men with them. Thus we find a Dundee mason contracting to do work at Newtyle, Forfarshire, in 1589; a Kilwinning mason at Partick, Glasgow, in 1611; a Dundee mason at Falkland in 1620; a Nairn mason at Cawdor in 1639; and an Edinburgh mason at Dreel, Fifeshire, in 1663. In some cases, the master craftsmen, working with their men away from home, do not appear to have been contractors on task work, but workmen on daily or weekly wages.³

Entries in the surviving building accounts, relating both to large and small operations, point to individual masons being recruited from a distance during the course of particular jobs. (i.) In numerous cases, messengers, or masons, or overseers, were paid their expenses "seeking masons", either without reference to locality, or, as was more usual, with an indication where they were to be sought. Thus masons were recruited in Perth for Dunkeld Bridge in 1515, and for Holyroodhouse in 1535-36; in Edinburgh for Falkland Palace in 1504; in Dingwall for work at Darnaway in 1501; in Stirling, Paisley, Glasgow and Renfrewshire for work at Dumbarton about 1619; and in Dunbar for work at Haddington in 1547-48. (ii.) In some building accounts there are entries which show that the expenses of masons coming from outside were defrayed, as, for instance, the expenses of masons coming from Elgin to Inverness in 1460, the cost of transporting the tackle of four masons from Melrose to Edinburgh in 1615-16, and similar costs of Edinburgh masons to Stirling in 1625. (iii.) In other cases, the costs paid were those of masons returning home in the autumn at the end of the building season. Thus at Edinburgh Castle in 1616, payments were made to masons returning to Stirling, Linlithgow, Dunfermline, Glasgow, and "to the parts where they dwelt".⁴

¹ See *O.E.D.* under "cowan".

² Hannay and Watson, *op. cit.*, 54.

³ For examples of this, and references for the previously mentioned contracts, see *The Scottish Mason*, 47.

⁴ The references on which this paragraph is based will be found in *The Scottish Mason*, 48.

The foregoing reference to "seeking masons" raises the question as to whether a system of impressment prevailed in Scotland. What compulsion, if any, was behind such "seeking", there is little or no evidence to show, but we have noted one or two instances in which some measure of compulsion may be suspected. Thus in April, 1501, payment was made to a man "to pass with the king's writing to Melrose for two masons to the kirk of Steil". The expression "with the king's writing" certainly suggests some kind of order. In 1513, we find a series of payments to masons "to pass into England at the King's command", which would seem to imply compulsion. The terms of the contracts of service of John Kowtis, mason, at Stirling in 1529, and of George Boiss, mason, at Dundee in 1537 appear to contemplate the possibility of their being called upon to work for the king.¹ Although these instances do seem to point to some degree of impressment in Scotland, the use of compulsory powers, unless the evidence is lost, does not appear to have been so frequent and widespread as it was in England. We have noted no further instances until 1599, when the burgh of Dumfries was ordered to send twenty-four pioneers and masons for a military expedition. In July, 1604, an Act was passed compelling masons to come and build the ruinous parts of Holyroodhouse. In 1617 an Order was issued by the Privy Council, very possibly under the Act of 1604, for certain masons from Dundee, St. Andrews, Dysert, Pittenweem, Culross, Preston, Glasgow, and Linlithgow to come with their tools to Holyroodhouse to assist in the repairs, under pain of being regarded as rebels.¹

(ii.) *Free and unfree craftsmen.* Although it seems probable that impressment played but a small part in the life of the Scottish mason in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is plenty of evidence to show that masons, at that period, not infrequently worked in burghs other than those in which they normally dwelt, either because their employer obtained a contract there, or as a result of being sought, or very possibly of their own accord. This raises the question of the position of craftsmen working in burghs of which, presumably, they were not freemen. The information available for the discussion of this question is unfortunately somewhat limited. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1540, anyone with buildings to erect was authorised to employ good craftsmen, freemen or others, because of the extortionate charges of craftsmen, especially in the burghs. There is little or no evidence to show how far this Act, which was re-enacted in 1607, was effective. We cannot find any direct reference to the subject of free and unfree masons outside Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the principal burghs, so far as we know, which possessed Incorporations of Masons and Wrights, and possibly therefore the principal burghs in which masons enjoyed an officially recognised monopoly of trade.

In the original regulations of the oldest Incorporation, that of Edinburgh, established by seal of cause in 1475,² there was no provision in favour of freemen. The only requirement was that if a craftsman came to the burgh and desired work, he must first satisfy the overseers of the Incorporation that he was competent and, if approved, pay a mark towards the maintenance of the altar. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the mason burgesses endeavoured to prevent unfreemen from infringing their monopoly of trade. Thus in 1577, when wrights and masons had stopped certain unfree masons from building, the municipality ordered³ that the unfree masons, in accord with the Act of Parliament, were to complete the work and "commands this order to be kept in all times coming when wrights or masons become unreasonable in their prices". In the seventeenth century, the hostility to unfreemen is shown in various Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh.

¹ For references, see *The Scottish Mason*, 49, 50.

² *Records of Edinburgh*, 1403-1528, 31, 32.

³ *Ibid*, 1573-89, 58.

At Aberdeen a seal of cause, granted to the masons, wrights, and coopers in 1527, was confirmed in 1541.¹ By the latter grant, it was provided that no man should be made a freeman of the said crafts until he had been examined by the deacons and found proficient, or should be permitted to trade on his own account until he had been made free.

In Glasgow, where a seal of cause was granted to the masons and wrights in 1551, no craftsman was entitled to work at his own hand without entering as a burghess and freeman; but according to a Minute of the Incorporation dated 3 November, 1612, freemen could engage unfreemen to work for them, provided that the engagement was for a minimum period of a year. In 1652, owing to the number of masons being insufficient as the result of a fire, the Town Council authorised the employment of any masons fit for the work, wherever they could be found. In 1655, each stranger of the calling working for wages in the burgh was required to contribute 30s. Scots quarterly for the use of the poor of the craft. In 1657, as a consequence of a petition of the deacons of the masons and wrights against the great employment given to strangers, the Council ordered that no unfree person, mason or wright, should take any further tasks or works in the burgh, beyond those they already had in hand, and that in future strangers, masons and wrights, were only to work under freemen of the burgh.²

3. *Craft organisation in which the Mason Word was able to develop.*

(i.) *The "Territorial Lodge".* In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the word *luge*, *ludge*, appears to have been used in Scotland in three different senses: first, to designate a masons' workshop (often especially erected in connection with a particular building operation), which corresponds exactly with the use of the word *logia*, *logge*, in contemporary and older documents in England; secondly, to describe a permanent structure serving among other purposes as a workshop for a more or less permanent staff of masons, governed by rules either laid down by, or approved by, their employers, which is equivalent to the use of the word *loge* at York Minster, where three sets of masons' ordinances are extant; thirdly, to indicate an organised body of masons associated with a particular town or district. It is this last type of lodge which, for want of a better term, we describe as the "territorial lodge". The word appears to be used in this sense in the Schaw Statutes of 1599, where it is provided "that Edinburgh shall be in all time coming as of before the first and principal *ludge* in Scotland and that Kilwinning be the second *ludge* as of before . . . and that Stirling shall be the third *ludge*". About this same date, "territorial lodges" can be traced also at Dundee, St. Andrews, Perth, Dunfermline, Aitchison's Haven, Glasgow, and Ayr. These "territorial lodges" were doubtless mostly concerned with particular burghs, though that was not so in all cases, as is shown by the location of a lodge at Kilwinning, which was not a burgh. The Lodge of Aitchison's Haven met not only at the Haven, but also at Fisherrow, Musselburgh, Inversk, Prestonpans and Dalkeith, all places in Midlothian or Haddingtonshire, a few miles east or south-east of Edinburgh; of these places, apparently only Musselburgh was a burgh.

The main functions of a "territorial lodge"³ appear to have been to discharge certain official or semi-official duties of a trade character, such as regulating the terms of apprenticeship, keeping records of the reception and

¹ Both seals of cause are printed in Bain, *Merchant and Craft Gilds*, 238-240.

² See Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, 3, 61, 62; *Records of Glasgow*, 1630-62, 233, 323, 370.

³ We rely on three sources: (1) the Schaw Statutes of 1598 and 1599; (2) certain surviving examples of seventeenth-century lodge rules (Crawford Smith, *Lodge of Scoon and Perth*, 45-7; Miller, *The Lodge, Aberdeen*, 57-65; Vernon, *Freemasonry in Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire*, 13, 14; Smith, *Old Lodge of Dumfries*, 9, 10); (3) the early minutes of the Lodges of Aitchison's Haven and of Edinburgh (Wallace-James and Murray Lyon).

entry of apprentices and of the admission of fellowcrafts, and assigning "marks" to members of the lodge. Other rules concerned masters more particularly; such were the rules prohibiting the taking of work over another master's head, the employing of another mason's apprentice or journeyman, and the employing of cowans, or causing servants to work with them. The lodge also concerned itself with the settlement of disputes between masters and their servants. In addition, it collected funds, by way of both fees and fines, for pious uses and for the relief of distress among members, and indulged in a certain amount of feasting at the expense of candidates. Finally, it conferred the benefit of the Mason Word on qualified members.

In England, so far as we are aware, there were no "territorial" organisations bearing the name of lodge; the only bodies of masons discharging official or semi-official functions were described as "companies" or "fellowships", which roughly corresponded with the Scottish Incorporations.¹

(ii.) *Co-operation among Lodges.* Such evidence on the subject of recruitment and mobility as we have examined gives an indication of the extent to which masons worked in places outside their own areas, and also shows something of the attitude of the freemen masons of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen towards the unfree masons who might seek work in their midst. We have also discussed the local organisation or "territorial lodge", by which masons regulated their affairs in their own areas. It now remains to consider what co-operation, if any, of an extra-local character, existed among masons in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The chief examples of voluntary co-operation are afforded by the documents known as the St. Clair Charters of 1601 and 1628.² By the first, representatives of the Lodges of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Haddington, Aitchison's Haven, and Dunfermline, on behalf of the deacons, masters and freemen of the masons within the realm of Scotland, and with the assent of William Schaw, King's Master of Work, agreed that William St. Clair of Roslin should purchase from the King, for himself and his heirs, "Liberty, Freedom and Jurisdiction" over all the masons of Scotland. The second Charter, signed by representatives of the Lodges of Edinburgh, Dundee, Glasgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Ayr, and St. Andrews, on behalf of the deacons, masters and freemen of the masons and hammermen within the kingdom of Scotland, is a confirmation and elaboration of the first Charter. The interest of these charters lies, not in the claims of the St. Clairs of Roslin to exercise an hereditary right of supervision over the masons of Scotland, a claim which appears to have been disallowed by the Court of the Exchequer in 1635,³ but in the uniting of no fewer than five lodges in 1601 and of seven lodges in 1628, or of nine different lodges in all, from places more than eighty miles apart, to support that claim.

Of compulsory or semi-compulsory collaboration, more illustrations can be given. They mostly centre round the office of Master of Work to the Crown of Scotland, which we describe in the next section. Three pieces of evidence, dated during the period when William Schaw held that office, point to some kind of widespread collective activity amongst masons. (i.) On 28 December, 1598, there was promulgated by William Schaw, "with the consent of the masters after specified", what are known as the Schaw Statutes of 1598. Unfortunately, the names of the masters who consented do not appear to have been preserved in the copies which have survived, and thus we do not know from what lodges representatives attended. (ii.) A year later, on 28 December, 1599, a further set of statutes and ordinances was issued by William Schaw, directed more particularly

¹ See *The Scottish Mason*, 64.

² Printed in Murray Lyon, 65-68.

³ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

to the Lodge of Kilwinning. It gave to that Lodge certain supervisory powers over other lodges in the Nether Ward of Clydesdale, Glasgow, Ayr, and Carrick. From the last clause, it would seem that the statutes were issued on the authority of the Warden General and Principal Master of Work, at the request of the Lodge of Kilwinning, but that certain privileges and powers which the Lodge desired could not be granted at the time, owing to the absence of the King from Edinburgh, and because no masters, other than the masters of the Lodge of Edinburgh, were present at the meeting in Edinburgh on 27 and 28 December. This implies that for certain purposes an assembly of masters from one lodge only was insufficient. Both on account of this implication, and because of the powers which the Lodge of Kilwinning exercised over other lodges in the West of Scotland, these statutes throw an interesting light on masonic organisation. (iii.) An entry in the Minute Book of the Lodge of Edinburgh under date of 27 November, 1599,¹ records that a general meeting was to be held at St. Andrews on 13 January, 1600, "for settling and taking order with the affairs of the Lodge of St. Andrews". The meeting was to be attended by (a) two commissioners from "everie pircular ludge",² (b) by the whole of the masters and others within the jurisdiction of the Lodge of St. Andrews, and (c) by the masters of Dundee and Perth, the penalty for failure to attend being £10 Scots in each case. To judge by the context, "pircular" lodges were probably subordinate lodges under the jurisdiction of the Lodge of St. Andrews, which in that case very possibly exercised some kind of supervision over Fifeshire lodges, corresponding to that exercised by the Lodge of Kilwinning over West of Scotland lodges. The "others within the jurisdiction of the Lodge of St. Andrews" were presumably the fellowcrafts and entered apprentices. As Dundee and Perth are mentioned separately by name, and were to be represented in a different manner from the other lodges, the presumption is that the Lodges of Dundee and Perth were somewhat of the standing of St. Andrews.

Another and earlier example of jurisdiction exercised over masons resident in a fairly wide area, is afforded by the election of Patrick Copeland of Udaught, by choice of a majority of the master masons of the district, to the office of Warden and Justice over the masons within the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine.³ This particular election was ratified by the King in 1590.

The most definite evidence of co-operation or collaboration to secure freedom of movement amongst masons, is afforded by what are known as the Falkland Statutes of 1636,⁴ which provided for the better regulation of masons, wrights, and other artificers engaged in the building industry, by the foundation of unprivileged companies outside those places where the trades in question were organised as privileged companies under seals of cause. The Statutes contemplated three sorts of conditions in which masons might be working away from home: (a) masters and servants associated with a particular unprivileged company might work in the area of another unprivileged company on payment of certain fees; (b) artificers residing near a free burgh, in which a privileged company was established by seal of cause, might be examined by that company and, if found proficient, admitted to the craft; they could then work outside their own area, in any unprivileged place, on payment of certain fees; (c) members of a privileged company and their servants might reside and work in any other company's bounds on payment of certain fees.

¹ Extract printed in Murray Lyon, 40.

² Read *p[ar]ticular ludge*?

³ Murray Lyon, 4, 5.

⁴ Promulgated at Falkland on 26 October, 1636, by Sir Anthonie Alexander, General Warden and King's Master of Work; printed in Laurie, *History of Freemasonry*, 2nd ed. 1859, 445 *folg.*, and in D. B. Morris, *The Incorporation of Mechanics of Stirling*, 31 *folg.*

(iii.) *The King's Principal Master of Work.* The long series of volumes of Master of Work Accounts, preserved in the Edinburgh Register House, is a clear indication that the King's Master of Work was an administrative and financial officer, whatever other functions he might discharge. The various writs of appointment¹ throw some light upon the duties of the officer. He was to superintend the appointment of workmen and to agree with them about rates and prices and other conditions. He was also to render an account and reckoning to the Treasury of the agreements entered into, and of all monies received and expended by him.² In at least one case, he was given power to hold courts by himself or his deputies, and to punish transgressors at the works under his charge.³ Originally, an appointment related to a particular work, such as Stirling Castle or Linlithgow Palace, but at a later date the authority of the official extended to all royal works, in which case the holder was usually described as Principal Master of Work. The earliest of these wide appointments which we have been able to trace⁴ are those of Sir James Hammyltoun in 1539, of John Hammyltoun in 1543, and of Sir Robert Drummond in 1579. Better known among the King's Principal Masters of Work, either because of their greater administrative activities, or because their activities have been more fully recorded and preserved, are William Schaw, who held the office at the end of the sixteenth century,⁵ and Sir Anthonie Alexander, who was appointed in 1630.⁶

The Genesis of the Mason Word. The existence in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of a considerable measure of co-operation and collaboration among masons in different parts of Scotland, such as is clearly indicated by the various cases to which we have drawn attention, provided the widespread association among masons without which the institution of the Mason Word could not have existed. That the various lodges scattered over Scotland should have communicated the same secret methods of recognition to qualified masons, and that they should have kept in touch with the changes and developments in those secrets, which almost certainly took place in the course of years, is really very remarkable. It would certainly not have been possible without close association among the interested parties, and probably not without some overriding authority, such as the King's Principal Master of Work, to control the whole institution. By what date conditions favouring the institution of the Mason Word had developed, it is impossible to say. The Schaw Statutes of 1599 refer to the Lodge of Edinburgh as first and principal lodge of Scotland and to the Lodge of Kilwinning as second lodge, in both cases "as of before", but how long these lodges had occupied such positions of responsibility there is no evidence to show. Nor do we know at what date representatives of different lodges began to meet in order to discuss and decide matters of general interest to masons. Such meetings may have taken place several, or even many, years before those, at the end of the sixteenth century, of which some knowledge has come down to us. Nor, in view of the scarcity of Scottish records, can we be sure that Sir James Hammyltoun, appointed Principal Master of Work to the Crown in 1539, was the first holder of that office, an office the existence of which must have greatly facilitated, if it was not absolutely essential to, the establishment of the Mason Word.

¹ A score of these, preserved in the Registers of the Privy Seal, are printed in R. S. Mylne, "Masters of Work to the Crown of Scotland". *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1895-96, 49-68.

² Mylne, *op. cit.*, 60.

³ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 53, 54.

⁵ The original writ is not recorded (*ibid.*, 54): his date of appointment, given as 1583 or as 1592, is discussed in *The Scottish Mason*, 54.

⁶ Mylne, *op. cit.*, 56.

On the other hand, it does not necessarily follow that the institution of the Mason Word was established as soon as conditions developed which rendered it possible. In so far as the Mason Word was part of the machinery for preventing unqualified masons or "cowans" from doing the work of qualified masons, it would hardly be established before the menace of unqualified masons became serious. The fact that the Schaw Statutes of 1598 prohibited masters and fellowcrafts from employing cowans, or sending their servants to work with cowans, under penalty of £20 Scots for each offence, seems to imply that the menace existed as early as 1598; but how much earlier it existed, we do not know.

In the Prestonian Lecture it was pointed out that, as the Mason Word was a privilege associated with the termination of an apprenticeship or the admission to a fellowship, it might be as old as the system of apprenticeship, which can be traced at Cupar-Angus in 1466 and at Edinburgh in 1475. This was no doubt one factor governing the institution of the Mason Word, but the other factors to which we have drawn attention above, the need for some widespread association among masons to support the institution, and the menace of unqualified masons or "cowans" to stimulate the establishment of the institution, would seem even more important.

Among unqualified masons, there might be not only (i.) drystone wallers, or "cowans" in the original sense of the word, but also (ii.) masons who had not served a *lawful* apprenticeship, and (iii.) men who had served apprenticeships to masons, but had not been admitted afterwards "according to the manner and custom of making masons". Men of the second class are described as "loses" in the *Melrose MS. No. 2*¹ (1674), where the conditions are defined which make an apprenticeship *lawful*, conditions approximating very closely indeed to those regulating apprenticeship in the Schaw Statutes of 1598. Masons were not to employ "loses" if freemen were available, and if "loses" were employed, they were not to be allowed to know "the privilege of the compass, square, level and plumb-rule". A mason of the third class is described as a "lewis" in the late seventeenth-century *Dumfries MS. No. 3*,² where it is laid down that a master or fellow "shall not make any mould, square or rule for any who is but a lewis".

Comparison of Scottish and English conditions.

In most sections of this paper we have drawn attention to marked resemblances or differences between Scottish and English conditions. The resemblances are hardly surprising, as the organisation of the building industry was very similar in all countries of Western Europe in the Middle Ages. The main differences are due, in our opinion, to geological factors, and not, as some might be inclined to suppose, to absence of close relations between the two countries, or to strength of French influence in Scotland, from the time of the Scottish Wars of Independence in the fourteenth century, until the union of the two Crowns in the early seventeenth century.³

The best building stones are magnesian and oolitic limestones, such as the magnesian limestones of Yorkshire and the oolitic limestones of Somerset, Oxfordshire, Dorset, Northants, Rutland, and Lincolnshire. These fine and evenly grained stones constitute the best qualities of "freestone", that is, stone which can be freely worked in any direction and which, consequently, is especially

¹ Printed in Vernon, *History of Freemasonry in Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire*, 58 folg.

² Printed in Smith, *History of the Old Lodge of Dumfries*, 85 folg.

³ The cultural and social break between the two countries was probably not so great as is sometimes suggested. Cf. G. G. Coulton, *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life*, pp. 33-4 and 36

adapted for carving and under-cutting. The point to which we would draw particular attention is that there are no magnesian or oolitic limestones in Scotland, where most of the rocks belong to older geological formations. Some of the calciferous Scottish sandstone, more especially that known as "Hailes sandstone", quarried near Edinburgh, is "freestone", though not of the highest grade. The Coal Measures of Lanarkshire, as well as the Old Red Sandstone found in the basins of the Forth and Clyde, and in other parts of Scotland, yield stone useful for building, though not suitable for carving or under-cutting, and the same is true of the granites more especially associated with the name of Aberdeen.

This dearth in Scotland of "freestone" in general, and of the best qualities in particular, had a very important influence on conditions in the Scottish building industry. First, it probably accounts for the fact that the word "freemason", *i.e.*, freestone mason, was unknown in Scotland as a trade designation; secondly, it helps to explain why there was comparatively little differentiation between the various classes of masons in Scotland; thirdly, it doubtless constitutes an important reason why Scotland developed architectural styles of its own, characterised in general by simplicity and austerity; fourthly, it may explain the possible lack of large quarry undertakings in Scotland, comparable with various important English mediæval quarries,¹ which supplied their high grade stone to distant building operations, notwithstanding the heavy costs of carriage.

As stone capable of being used for building, though not necessarily high class building stone, was easily accessible over a wide area in Scotland, the erection of buildings of local stone in place of structures mainly of timber became fairly common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and stoneworkers, prepared to win, dress and lay stone, were probably to be found in most burghs, and even in country districts. The quality of the work done by some of these men, who had received little or no systematic training, was doubtless low, and it was from this type of worker that the "cowans" were recruited. The erection of numerous small stone buildings over a wide area favoured the growth of small master tradesmen employing one or two servants; thus the system of independent craftsmen, or "little masters", appears to have flourished in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereas in England at this period the "direct labour system" and the system of relatively large mason-contractors were more common. Connected with the system of independent craftsmen, or "little masters", there tended to grow up, either spontaneously, or possibly as the result of official encouragement, local organisations of masons to watch over their interests, the "lodges"—the "territorial lodges" as we have called them—which existed not only in the larger burghs, but also in the smaller burghs, and occasionally in country districts. Thus the widespread supply of local stone for building, and the dearth of freestone, gave rise to special features of the Scottish building industry and, directly or indirectly, to "territorial lodges", to cowans and to the Mason Word. For an examination of the Mason Word as an operative institution, we may refer the Brethren to the Prestonian Lecture, in which also an attempt was made to trace the influence of this old Scottish practice upon the Freemasonry of to-day.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded for his valuable paper on the proposition of Bro. S. J. Fenton, seconded by Bro. David Flather; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, D. Flather, S. J. Fenton, R. J. Meekren, C. H. Carder, and G. W. Bullamore.

¹ See our paper, "The English Mediæval Quarry", *Economic History Review*, Nov., 1938.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

Bro. Knoop and Dr. Jones have placed us under further obligation by presenting us with this "Prolegomena to the Mason Word". The theme is undoubtedly of great interest and should incite useful discussion.

If my own contribution to this be short, it must not be taken as indicating any lack of appreciation.

The building tradition of Scotland was a thing quite apart from that of England. A mere glance at any Scottish town, prior to even the middle of last century, is sufficient to demonstrate that fact. The use of rubble walling was far more extensive north of the Tweed and may have had a considerable bearing on the question. A dry-stone diker was not quite the same as a dry-stone waller, and a builder in rubble was not by any means the same as either, although it would not be difficult for a dry-stone waller to acquire proficiency as a rubble bulder, and so bring himself into contact with masons who were "loses" or layers or more simply as fixers. Even at the present day the men who fix the stones in a building are not generally the dressers or moulders who prepare them.

The dry-stone diker, dry-stone waller and rubble builder did not use the mallet and chisel at all. Any excrescences that needed removal (and they were few) were knocked off with a hammer. The setter used a heavy setting maul, or beetle, and rarely required a mallet or chisel.

As to the preparation of stones at the quarry, it is not to be assumed that they were worked ready for placing in the building. They would be merely rough squared and broached or scabbled ready for the hand of the more expert craftsman.

The present day practice of working and moulding stones at the quarry is, I imagine, of recent growth, and my experience is that it is not altogether satisfactory.

It may be asked what all this has to do with the Mason Word. The authors' suggestion that it was a practical necessity for proving that a man had been duly admitted is not quite sufficient. Far more likely is it that freemasons (whether that term means workers in freestone, men free of the guild, men who were free from the restriction of the guild, or geometricians, *i.e.*, liberal or free-masons) were handing on a custom that, as they believed, had come down to them from the time of building King Solomon's Temple. It is at least significant that masons or freemasons alone amongst all trades have this wonderful legend, which we have positive evidence goes back to the fourteenth century, and I have faith enough to believe it was no mere conception of even the Gothic building era, in which I always include the Norman buildings, as they include every feature of all the later mediæval styles.

I hope I may be forgiven for suggesting that one essential point has been omitted from the paper. It does not include any hint as to the nature of the mysterious word. Caution may, of course, be the reason for this. It has been freely stated that the word is lost and that we cannot now find out what it was. Nevertheless some of us are vain enough to think we know. There are certain indications pointing out the way (I am not sure that they all lead in the same direction). A list of these, as an addendum, would add enormously to the value of the paper.

I would like my support to be added to the vote of thanks which I know will be accorded to the authors of this evening's lecture.

Bro. D. FLATHER said:—

I have great pleasure in seconding your proposition of thanks to Bro. Knoop for the most interesting and instructive paper which he has read to us.

The Lodge in particular, and Masonic historians in general, owe a great debt of gratitude to Bro. Knoop and his colleague for the vast amount of

knowledge they have contributed upon the working conditions and practices of the Operative Masons, a subject which hitherto had not been explored, and was but little understood.

While this paper has provided a great amount of knowledge as to the early Operative system and therefore does not call for or excite any criticism, I would like to say something towards the removal of the unpleasant ideas which exist as to those workmen who were classed as "Cowans". Our ritual perpetuates the use of the word as opprobrium; even the Oxford Dictionary gives as an alternative meaning that of "Sneak" or "Eavesdropper"; while the Century Dictionary gives "(1) One whose occupation is the building of dry stone walls: used especially of one who has not been regularly trained in the Masons' trade; (2) One who is not a Freemason".

I suggest therefore that we should discourage the use of the word "Cowan" as a word denoting dishonour—having in mind the age-long form of jealousy which impelled members of one trade to resist the employment of another trade in their own. The work of a "Cowan" or "Waller" was kindred to that of "Mason", and rightly the Masons objected to encroachments upon their Craft by any who belonged to another Craft, and who had not therefore served any apprenticeship or been recognised as a member of it.

The work of a Cowan or Waller was in itself a highly skilled craft and as such was recognised by the Gilds of Tylers, Wallers and Bricklayers.

If we examine the work of Dry Wallers—which in West Yorkshire, Derbyshire and the Lake District we see perhaps better than anywhere else—we shall appreciate the highly skilled character of their work. Over hill and valley they run—these long lines of walls—over hill and dale—of uniform height and thickness—often bent or angled so as to enclose established boundaries. Some of these walls have stood the weather and storm of hundreds of years, the material used in their construction being, no doubt, the rough stones found on the land they were enclosing, others from the cliffs and outcrops of neighbouring hills—but all pieced together so that, regardless of their irregular shape, the result was a wall, strong and permanent, uniform in thickness and height. Truly the Cowan is a skilled craftsman, and his skill is as evident to-day as it was in old time; so that, when we define the duties of the Tyler, we ought to have in mind the two separate parts of those duties, viz., (1) To guard against the admission of anyone who has not been regularly Initiated as a Mason, and (2) To guard against the admission of an eavesdropper or sneak.

Bro. S. J. FENTON said:—

It is always a pleasure to listen to a paper from Bro. Knoop and Dr. Jones, because their endeavour has always been to provide us with the origin of some Masonic idea. It must be acknowledged that in this paper they have to speculate somewhat on why there was any necessity for a Masonic word at all, but the process by which they develop the theory is very interesting, and takes us back very definitely to the early operative days of the Craft.

Our Lecturers have put into plain language the meaning of one of the mystery words of the Craft, "Cowan", in a manner which will prove very useful to preceptors of Lodges of Instruction—"A mason without the word". But it is very evident from the facts stated that, at any rate, in Scotland, where the best records seem to have been discovered regarding cowans and their work, that they were frequently artisans of no mean ability, but had never served an apprenticeship. A Crofter may by experience, or from parental instruction, build a "dry stone" wall to secure his flocks or define his boundary, and by force of circumstances and experience he may have even added a room

of some sort to his house, and such a man, not in any way earning his living by such work, could not be called a cowan, although he fits the definition.

The Masonic Cowan, who appears to have been the cause of the necessity for a Masons' Word, was apparently what one would describe as a "casual labourer", or, perhaps, better still, as a "handy man", prepared to do any plain job in the building trade—"jack of all trades but master of none"—and it was as a protection against a Master employing such labour on actual stone-masons work that the Masons who had served their apprenticeship and who had become efficient, that a society—Trade Union or Ring—created a Masonic word for identification purposes.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes:—

It is very gratifying to find Bro. Knoop and Dr. Jones supporting the thesis that Scottish lodges prior to the eighteenth century communicated the secrets of the Mason Word in two stages, and that in them there were two grades of membership corresponding to these stages or steps which, by analogy at least, we may call degrees in our modern technical sense. The opinion that these lodges communicated their mysteries in one step only, which has held the field since Murray Lyon and Wm. Hughan first advanced it, has been a stone of stumbling in the way of a just appreciation of the records, ritual fragments and allusions that remain to us.

I sincerely hope, however, that, after freeing Masonic scholarship from this bondage, the writers are not going to use their great and justly earned influence to rivet on a new set of fetters in maintaining that somebody, at some time deliberately and as it were with malice aforethought, did proceed to invent the Mason Word and all that went with it, and that thereby (to change the metaphor) they propose to lay another spell of gramarye upon us, to hold the eyes of Masonic students to the second and third generation after us.

However, I am not sure that this is really what is intended. Though several passages in the paper, especially when taken in conjunction with the recent publication that is referred to in a note, "The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word", seem quite unequivocal in stating it, yet on the other hand a distinction is made in the same note where it is said that "The Mason Word as an operative institution is found in Scotland and not in England", and the full implication, or rather, the intended meaning of the authors, is not clear to me. I should personally prefer to say that the records prove the existence of the Mason Word as an operative institution in Scotland, while in England no records at all exist.

Subject then to further elucidation on this point, and I hope that the statements are not meant to be so sweeping and absolute as they appear to be, and subject also to any further indication of how the writers would account for the two grades—apprentice and fellow—that were inherited by the re-organised Craft in London, *circa* 1716-1717, and whether in their opinion these two grades were basically the same as entered apprentice and fellow of craft in Scotland or something quite different, I would like to offer some considerations that in my opinion militate against any hypothesis of deliberate invention.

The question is not open to a conclusive solution, no answer can be demonstrated beyond doubt with the evidence available. The facts brought to light by the authors of the paper certainly point to an economic and social environment in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Scotland which would have made some such apparatus as the Mason Word very desirable to the regularly qualified stone-masons as a means of establishing their status and their right to be employed as such. And this state of affairs accounts very satisfac-

torily not only for the mention of the "Word" in the records, but also, I think, for the very existence and preservation of such records as pertained to the lodges. But this proves nothing in respect of actual origin. It is of course possible—so far as these records go—that the system of secret means of recognition was invented *ad hoc*. It is equally possible, still limiting ourselves to this evidence alone, that it was borrowed and adapted, that it was revived and elaborated, or even that it was an immemorial tradition in full force which in changing circumstances was being put to a new use, and that to further that use it had become necessary or natural to mention it in the records.

The idea of a password as a means of recognition is a very old one. Passwords were as much a commonplace among the Greeks and Romans in time of war as they are in modern armies. How much they were used among feudal levies I do not know. The "watch words" and "battle cries" do not seem to have been quite the same thing. But passwords of this kind, to be of use, must be frequently changed. It remains possible that the masons derived the idea from military usage, and that at first their "words" were often changed. We have nothing whatever to show. All the ritual remains are at the earliest of very much later date than the period under consideration. It is therefore quite possible to suppose that the usages and so on which they indicate were quite different from the original secrets of a century or so earlier; that is, upon the hypothesis of deliberate invention. However, a close study of ritual variants, from the earliest vestiges remaining down to the present time have led me very definitely to the following conclusions:—

First; that the essentials (that is, the essentials from the standpoint of historical development) have never varied so much as to make recognition even difficult, great as the differences often appear to be.

Second; that nowhere and at no time is there any indication of deliberate and intentional change, with the possible exception of an alleged transposition of certain names in the lodges under the London Grand Lodge of 1717.

Third; that the manifold and rather bewildering series of variations that have arisen can be traced to the operation of laws affecting all ritual and traditional usage, which may be subsumed under the heads of degradation or decay, and accretion or evolution. The first of these leads to the dropping out of use, and finally to loss of certain features in some places which may be retained elsewhere; the second may be sub-divided further. Accretion by the incorporation of parallel variants, evolution partly by the introduction of explanations and interpolations, and also (and this especially in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries) of rationalization carried out, it must be said, in complete ignorance of the nature of ritual and ritual myth. Indications of the two first of these sub-processes are to be found in many of the earliest ritual fragments, while the process of degradation is suggested by their fragmentary character.

These conclusions may seem inconsistent with the fact that the more or less primitive two grade arrangement inherited by the Grand Lodges of both North and South Britain evolved into the modern three Craft degrees. But the inconsistency is more in appearance than in reality. In a series of articles published in *The Builder* (organ of the defunct National Masonic Research Society of the United States) in 1928-1929 my friend, Bro. A. L. Kress and myself attempted to show by what stages and under what conditions the three degrees we know grew out of the earlier two grades, and the "telescoped" single

ceremony (to use Bro. Poole's expressive term) where this existed, without any internal difficulty or apparent friction and without making recognition or visitation between lodges following the different systems impossible. The point I wish to make in this reference is that just as the "Speculative" masons of the eighteenth century clung religiously to the traditions they had received, so, and even more rigidly, would the Operative masons of the seventeenth century, and earlier, have held to them, or at least so one would naturally suppose.

When a club or society of any kind is formed in England, or for that matter throughout a greater part of the Empire, its proceedings are naturally and as a matter of course governed by Parliamentary rules of order. In the United States there would be some quite noticeable though unimportant differences. But the procedure of such an organisation formed, let us say, in France would differ very considerably and in material respects. True invention or originality is really very rare, the greater part of what goes under that name is no more than development or adaptation, the application of something old and familiar to a new purpose or under new conditions. A study of the rituals of the so-called "high grades", of which so many were spawned in the eighteenth century, reveals an almost absolute lack of originality or power of invention, bizarre and fantastic as many of them are. Incidentally, most if not all of the earlier additional degrees, of which the rituals are extant, appear to have incorporated some feature that was being dropped, or had dropped, from the Craft system, and around that to elaborate some interpretation of Freemasonry.

It therefore seems, to me at least, a psychological improbability so great as to amount practically to impossibility, that the stone-masons in Scotland should have invented *de novo*, and without model, a system such as the Mason Word must have been even at the lowest estimate possible of its complexity. There is nothing definite anywhere so far brought to notice that indicates that the word itself was ever changed once it had come into use, and though in his Prestonian Lecture Bro. Knoop suggests that it was the original secrets communicated to *entered* apprentices when that status was created in the monopolistic interests of the masters, and that a new set of secrets in place of the old were invented for the fellows of craft, that suggestion is admittedly based on evidence of a century or more later; and, if this later evidence can be used to support any one intention concerning earlier usages, it may with equal legitimacy be used to support others that could be advanced. But to return—to be adequate for the purpose of establishing an individual's status the "word", if not frequently changed, would have to be as it were guarded and led up to by interrogatories in a fixed form or framed upon some definite rule or principle, by which both parties could be satisfied as to each other's right to the culminating secret. Military passwords would not serve very adequately as a model for such an arrangement.

There was however a possible source from which such a system might conceivably have been derived. In Scotland, as elsewhere, at the period in question existed an organization curiously resembling that of the mason lodges. It was illicit, indeed it was most dangerous to be even suspected of any connection with it. I refer to that survival of a primitive magical fertility cult known then and later as witchcraft. If we were to be compelled by the evidence to accept the invention or importation of the word and its secrets into the mason craft at that (or any other) time, in a manner similar to that by which certain Trades Unions in the early part of the nineteenth century adopted initiatory ritual and secret signs and words of recognition (derived apparently from fraternal benefit societies and probably ultimately from Freemasonry), I should be inclined to seek for the originating idea in the loosely but efficiently organized covens of the witches with their rites and forms of admission. For initiation is not of spontaneous generation in the higher cultures of human kind. Where among them it exists it is either a survival or else derived from a survival.

This I fear may sound a pronouncement *ex cathedra*, but obviously this is no place to submit the evidence and arguments that support it.

Personally I do not think there was any material influence of the one organization upon the other, even though the masonic ceremonies, stripped to their essentials, are as purely magical as those of the witches. And, as "essence" and "essential" are ambiguous terms whose meaning depends on the purpose of the statement in which they are used, it may be well to repeat, in order to guard against misconception, that I mean the essentials of the original tradition discoverable by comparative and analytic methods. And further, I of course mean magical in the anthropological sense, and not that masons in the sixteenth or fifteenth centuries practised them with magical intent any more than Freemasons do to-day. The most I should suppose in their case would be a vague, and, in the strict sense of the term, a superstitious idea that it would be "unlucky" not to perpetuate their traditional usages. The proper limits of discussion again prevent me from enlarging upon this point. Perhaps I may therefore be permitted to make another reference to places where the matter has been to some extent discussed. There were two articles by myself in *The Builder* for 1923 and 1924 respectively, and a series under the heading of "The Form of the Lodge" written in collaboration with Bro. Kress in the same periodical for 1926. Here I would add only this. There were various folk rites, as for example that of the "need fire", the "baal teinn" and other seasonal observances which survived in Scotland down to the second or third decade of the nineteenth century, and the strata of the population which preserved and continued them would be the same as those from which skilled workmen, including the masons, were drawn. It does not seem to be a straining of probability to suppose that concurrent with these more or less public observances, originally of magical intent, there might have been private rites of like nature perpetuated in a segregated and organized group.

While the considerations here sketched in outline may seem alien to the kind of material collected in the paper, they are not, I believe, irrelevant to the question of the origin of the traditional usages and secrets that by synecdoche were compendiously referred to as the Mason Word. And as already indicated it does not seem that the hypothesis of invention, or even of conveyance from outside and adaptation to the requirements of the organization of masons, is required by the facts collected in such fullness by the authors. They themselves assume that the trade (or craft) was already possessed of the lodge organization, and used it for the purpose of maintaining a monopoly in true trades union spirit. And if lodges were in existence, what is there yet set before us to negate the possibility that traditional usages were also in existence, and like the lodge organization used and perhaps adapted to the same monopolistic end?

Further, a central organization does not necessarily have to be posited to maintain the secret modes of recognition, adequately, however far individual masons might wander in search of work. Though of course this point stands or falls with the other question. It is to be admitted that, should we be compelled by some further evidence to accept the theory of deliberate invention or adoption, we would have also to accept either a central authority, or at least some kind of movement towards centralization developing *pari porsu* with the spread of the system among the lodges; in fact, just such a tendency as the paper shows was actually operative. But if the secrets were traditional they would *ex hypothesi*, like the lodges, be in existence before the accentuated movement towards monopoly and centralization began, and we can reason by analogy that such central organization would be quite unnecessary for the purpose. Variations could exist, and undoubtedly did exist just as they do to-day. And it must be remarked that during the strictly historical period of Freemasonry the central authorities have had singularly little to do with the

maintenance, or development, of ritual tradition. Even in the United States, where uniformity is a fetish, and each Grand Lodge spends much effort and money in maintaining an officially adopted form, the nett result has been only to establish fifty odd variants. But these variations, and the still greater ones existing in other countries, do not make recognition impossible. If we may judge from Anderson, the first Grand Lodge decided that inter-visitation by the officers of lodges was machinery sufficient for the maintenance of the true secrets of Freemasonry, and the mobility of stone-masons (as of other building trades) would have served incidentally exactly the same purpose in the sixteenth, or any other century preceding or succeeding it.

The array of facts collected by the authors of the paper, and of the book on Scottish Masonry, is very welcome. Bro. Kress and I had come to similar conclusions in regard to the difference on the external side between the craft organizations of England and Scotland, and their relationship to the body politic and the community at large; but it would seem that we had done so on rather inadequate grounds in view of the wealth of evidence now made available. But great differences in organization and external relationships have existed all through the era of purely speculative Freemasonry without interfering with the maintenance of substantial internal conformity to an ideal type, somewhat as varieties of plants or animals conform to the type of their species.

I feel that this contribution to the discussion is too long, but the importance of the question involved must be its excuse.

Bro. C. H. CARDER *writes*:—

Bro. Knoop's argument really is that the Mason Word originated amongst Masons in Scotland, because of abuses which had developed in the working of the craft in that country.

It became necessary to distinguish those masons who, having served a regular apprenticeship, became regular members of a recognised Lodge and were subordinate to its rules and governance, from two other categories of masons:—

First: Those who, having served a regular apprenticeship, did not become members of any association or lodge of masons on completion of their apprenticeship.

Second: Those whose education in the craft was itself irregular in that it was not conducted under the supervision of a member of an organised lodge or in accordance with the established rules for the progressive training of apprentices which were recognised by the organised lodges.

The regular members of the organised Lodges were entitled to the Word, which was denied to the other two classes of workmen.

There is a clear analogy here with the practice of the Universities, which refuse their B.A. or other degree (i.) to those who are admitted to, and take the established course of study at, the University, but fail to take the final examination, and (ii.) to those who, although they may have pursued a parallel course of study and may be fully competent in the necessary subjects, are ineligible to take the examination because they have never matriculated.

The parallel of the second category is all the closer, since Bro. Knoop quotes by way of illustration two cases where cowans—who for this purpose may be defined as “unadmitted masons”—were paid a rate of wages very substantially greater than the wages paid to regular members of the craft, which we may accept as a clear indication that their skill was in fact greater, although,

owing to one of the "irregularities" previously referred to, they were not eligible to become members of one of the organised Lodges.

(However skilled or highly remunerated a layman may be, he would be deemed an outsider—and as such, figuratively classed as uneducated—at a general convocation of any of the Universities.)

The term "cowan" may originally have been used in Scotland to define the "skilled labourer" type of workman, who was considered competent to erect rough walling of unhewn stones but not competent to dress stone nor to mould stones, but at the date to which Bro. Knoop refers, it appears to have been applied as a generic term to all masons outside the body of the organised Lodges.

It is clear from the records of both Glasgow and Edinburgh which are quoted by Bro. Knoop, that, by the latter part of the sixteenth century at any rate, some of these cowans were in fact quite competent to do the higher grades of work, and this rather lends colour to the suggestion that basically it was fear which prompted the organised Scottish Masons of that day to devise the use of the Word, in order to restrain those competent cowans from encroaching on the more remunerative trade which they considered was their prerogative, but which they were no longer in a position to retain on merit alone. The restrictive ordinances of the various municipalities, made on their representations, tend to support this same argument. The "Word" therefore served the same purpose of the Trade Union "ticket" in a modern Scottish shipyard, and it is not in itself a proof of any particular qualification for a job, but it is an essential qualification to enable the craftsmen to obtain employment at that job.

Bro. Knoop puts forward a very interesting theory as to the machinery by which the use of the Mason Word may have been developed and operated in Scotland in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and supports it with very logical arguments which his deep researches into the matter ensure will be considered with due attention.

BRO. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The traditional mason word was a word of power analogous to the mantrams of the Hindus, the songs of the heroes of the Kalevala, or the names of the G.A. among the Mahomedans. At a time when the belief in spells and charms was general I think it unlikely that this word was the common property of the general body. It would be communicated to a select few. The word used as a password by masons travelling from one lodge to another is far more likely to have been a substitute showing how far that particular craftsman had travelled towards the acquirement of the word of power. We can, of course, regard this as the mason word because it was used by masons, but it is desirable not to confuse it with what is referred to in some degrees as the master word.

The suggestion that the system developed as a trade organization does not appeal to me. I think it more probable that it was a religious development and that the system was retained on account of its usefulness after the secularisation of the fellowship.

While there may be considerable doubt as to the antiquity of the fellowship of stone-workers, there is a limit to that of the fellowship of masons. At the time we first hear of them the skilled craftsmen were engaged principally in building, re-building, or repairing abbeys and other ecclesiastical buildings. These abbeys sometimes had their own quarries or possessed the right to quarry on the lands of others. Skilled craftsmen joined their order and they had their own lodges of workmen. One of their objects was the training of tyros in the arts and crafts. Under these conditions a system could readily be developed by which a surplus of skilled workmen could make themselves known when they travelled to other scenes where their labour was likely to be in greater demand.

Religion would account for the ease with which the system passed from one Kingdom to another, and some of the rules which governed the fraternity show that they were organized on definitely monastic lines. Their names show that like the monks they were known by their places of origin instead of their surnames; and the recognition of concubinage suggests that the letter, if not the spirit of celibacy, was observed by some of the higher members.

These craftsmen would have the preference for church work and, on account of their skill, they could compete favourably at other work in freestone against secular craftsmen. When they were thoroughly established it was an advantage for the secular craftsmen to join them; and, when the reformation extinguished their religious backing, they were able to revise their regulations and continue their fellowship with a monopoly of the craft of building and carving in stone.

Bro. KNOOP, in reply, writes:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself, I have to thank all the Brethren who took part in the discussion. Some of the observations supplement our paper, and call for no reply. In answer to Bro. Baxter's remark that we made no reference to the nature of the Mason Word, it may be pointed out that we did not, in this paper, profess to touch on the subject, which was discussed, so far as was feasible, in my Prestonian Lecture a year previously. We note Bro. Bullamore's view that the Mason Word was "a word of power"; that was obviously the view of the "Doctor" more than 200 years ago, if the observations of Verus Commodus concerning the "mysterious hocus pocus Word" be accepted as a true record and as applying to the Mason Word. We particularly wish to thank Bro. Meekren for his comments and for drawing our attention to a possible misinterpretation of certain of our remarks. In our paper we are concerned with the Mason Word *as an institution*. That, we believe, came into existence about 1550; but we do not wish to imply that the Mason Word, *as a word*, was suddenly invented or adopted at about that date. The use of unofficial passwords among masons may have grown up locally and spontaneously at an earlier date, and so also may test questions and answers intended to safeguard such passwords. Bro. Meekren refers to a surmise, put forward in my Prestonian Lecture, that the Mason Word originally concerned fellow crafts only, and that the participation of entered apprentices in it was a later development. Further study of the conditions prevailing in the Scottish building industry has led me to the belief that the entered apprentice and fellow craft secrets, in their primitive forms, were established simultaneously. This modified view was put before the Brethren in my paper on "Pure Antient Masonry". Another point to which Bro. Meekren draws attention, namely the idea that the Mason Word had in its origin some connection with witchcraft or popular superstition, was touched upon in my Prestonian Lecture, and was not referred to in this paper. Similarly the subject of the evolution of Degrees, mentioned by Bro. Meekren, fell outside its scope.

The proofs of this paper were paged almost immediately after it was read, so that it could be issued in pamphlet form. That was done long before Bro. Meekren's comments reached us; and we have made no attempt to revise the text of our paper in the light of those comments, for to do so would have meant seriously upsetting the type and enlarging the scope of the paper. We have, nevertheless, borne his remarks and suggestions in mind while dealing with the Mason Word and Degrees in our *Short History of Freemasonry to 1730*; and we venture to refer the reader to that book for our considered opinion on the various points raised by Bro. Meekren.

THE HUDDLESTON MS. (D. e. 49—COLNE BRANCH).



THIS, the latest addition to the long and growing list of known copies of the Old Charges, came into the possession of Bro. Wallace Heaton about four years ago, and is now in Grand Lodge Library. The version is one of two Masonic items in a small quarto volume which contains matter collected from many sources, and relating to many subjects, but largely concerned with alchemy, prophecy and the occult generally. It appears to have been collected by one John Joseph Huddleston, of Penrith.

The two Masonic items are together; the first being a copy, dated "January the 9th 1730 / 31" of the *Mystery of Free-Masons*, of 1730 (which I have sometimes called the "Grand Whimsey").

The other, which is headed

"Orders to be Observed and Performed by
the Company of Masons",

is a somewhat free, but on the whole faithful, rendering of the text of the Colne Branch of the Grand Lodge Family. This seems to be quite definitely a North-Country version, and this is confirmed by the provenance of this new copy.

The critical value of the *Huddleston MS.* is not great. In no single case does it appear to retain a correct reading against the fairly uniform agreement of the other three members of the Branch—the *Colne 1 and 2* and *Clapham MSS.*—and there are not even interesting or amusing variations. It is perhaps worth mentioning one misreading, in the instructions for the taking of the oath; where the *Huddleston MS.* reads "that He, or She, who is to be made free". It is hardly necessary to point out that this, as also the "hee or shee" of the *York No. 4 MS.*, is simply a misreading of "he or they", and has no significant bearing on the possibility of the admission of women.

The *Huddleston MS.* does not contain the Apprentice Charge, which is found in the other members of the group; and the "Coat Armour" which is blazoned on the final page does not seem to have been actually drawn, as it was in the two *Colne MSS.*

The copy is dated 1730; the enigmatic closing paragraph, in which the writer describes himself as "Studiosum Lamspringensis", seems to need explanation, which may perhaps be given by some student of Rosicrucian matters.

The text of the *Huddleston MS.* is shown in the photographs now reproduced.

H.P.

Orders to be Observed and Performed by
the Company of Masons.

The might of the Father of Heaven with the Might of
his Son, and the goodness of the Holy Ghost be with us & our
Beginning, and send us good Life, that we may Come to his Blessed
Kingdome that never shall have End. Amen.

Good Brethren & Fellows, our Purpose is to tell you here
the worthy Science of Masonry first begun. I shall tell you; Before
Noahs flood, there was a man, called Lamech, as you may read in the
Fourth Chapter of Geneses. This Man had two Wives, the Name of
the one was Adah, the Name of the other was Zillah. by the first
Wife, Adah, he begott two Sons, the Name of the one was Jaball, the
other was called Tuball; And by the other wife Zillah, he had a Son
& a Daughter, the Sons name was Tubal-kain. The Daughters name
was Naamah. These four Children found out the beginning of all the
Crafts of the World. First, Jaball found out the Craft of Geometry
and they kept flocks of Sheep and Lambs in the fould, and were the first
that wrought Houses of Stone & Trees, as it is written in the Chapter
abovesaid. Tuball the Second Son found out the Craft of Musick and
Songs, & Harp, & Organs. Tubal-kain found out the Craft of Smiths
of Gold & Silver, Iron & Steel. Naamah the Daughter found out the Craft
of Weaving. And these four Children knew well that God would take
Vengance of the World for Sin either by Fire or Water, & they writ the
Sciences they had found out on two Pillars of Stone, that they might be found
out after the Flood or Fire. The one of the Stones was called Marble be-
cause it would not burn. The other was called Latherness, because it would
not drown with Water. The Names of the Seven liberal Sciences are these
First Grammar, which teacheth a man to speak & write truly, Second
Logick, which teacheth a man to discern Truth from falsehood. The Third
Rhetorick, which teacheth to speak fair & in subtil terms. The Fourth
Arithmetick, which teacheth to recount all kind of numbers & to cast accounts.

The Fifth Geometry which Contains Rules for Mett & Measure, Pe-
 =ducative & Weight for all Manner of things, for without Geometry noe
 Merchant can buy or sell, nor noe other Craft can be without Mett or Me-
 =sure that Contains Geometry, which is now called Masonry. The Six-
 =Science is Musick which teacheth to sing & Play on Harp & Organ &
 other Instruments. And the Seaventh is called Astronomy, & it teach-
 =eth a Man to have judgement of Stars, & of the Skies & of the Planets.

And these were the Seaven Liberrall Sciences. Our intent is to shew
 you in what Manner these Stones were found on which these Sciences were
 written. In the Great Armenia, Harmerine who was the Son of Cush,
 which Cush was the Son of Ham, who was the Son of Noah; the Said
 Harmerine was after called Hermes the Father of Wisedome, he found out
 one of the Pillars of Stone, and found the Sciences thereon written, which he
 taught to other Men, and at the building of the Tower of Babylon, there
 were Masons first made. Nimrod the King was made a Mason, & he loved
 the Craft of Masonry very well (as it is recorded in History) And when the
 City of Nineveh, & other Cittys of the East were builded, Nimrod the
 King of Babel sent thither Sixty Masons at the request of Nimrah
 his Cozen, and when he had sent them out, he gave a charge to every one that
 they should be true each to other, and that they should live truly together. &
 that they should serve their Lord & Maister truly for their pay, & that the
 maister should have all that was belonging unto him, and others under him.
 More charges he gave them, which was the first time that ever Mason had any
 charge of his Craft. Moreover, when Abraham & Sarah went down into
 Egypt, he taught there the Liberrall Sciences. He had a worthy Clark whose
 name was Euclid, & right well he knew the Seaven Liberrall Sciences, for it
 befell in his days, that the Lord & States of the Realm, had soe many Sons, that
 they had begotten, some by their Wives, some by other Ladys of the Land which
 was full & plentious of Generation that they had noe competent living to keep
 their Children withall, wherefore they made much Moan, & the King made a
 Proclamation (viz^t) That if there were any Man that should Enform the King &
 & Council which way they might live honestly like Gentlemen, that he should
 then come unto them, and he should be well rewarded for his pains & travell.
 After the Proclamation was made, came the worthy Clark Euclid & said
 unto the King & Lords, If you will let me have the Children to Govern, I
 shall teach them one of the Liberrall Sciences wherewith they shall live honest
 as Gentlemen should doe, upon Condition that you will grant me & them a
 Commission

Commission, & that I may have Power to Rule them as they should be ruled.
 After the Manner of the Sciences. Then the King Sealed the Commission and the
 worthy Clark took unto him the Ladys Sons, & taught them the art of Geometry in
 Practice to build Churches, Castles, Towers & Mannors, of all Sorts of
 Buildings & he gave them a Charge, as followeth.

First, that they should be true to their King & other Lords w^{ch} they served
 & ordained the wisest of them to be Maisters of the Work, & charged them that
 neither for Love nor Money, honour, Riches or favour, they should lett any be Maisters
 of the Work who had but small cunning in the Craft, whereby the King or Lord
 whom they served should be a Loser, or the Lodge ashamed, and alsoe that they
 should call the Maister Governour of the Work soe long as it lasteth & be govern-
 ed by him, and work with him, and be ruled by him. Many more Charges he gave
 unto them, which were to long to sett down here. And to all these Charges he made
 them Swear a great Oath which was then in Use; and ordained for them a large
 pay & reasonable that they might live honestly; and alsoe he ordained that they
 should assemble together once Every Year to determine how they should work
 best to serve the Lord for his profit, and their own credit, and correct within
 themselves those who had trespassed against the Craft. And thus was the
 Craft first grounded, and the worthy Clark gave it the name of Geometry
 and Now through the World it is called Masonry. Long after the Children
 of Israel went down into the Land of Promise that is called Palestine,
 King David began the Temple of Hierusalem, & this King David loved
 Masonry well, he gave them Charges & Mannors as he had learned of the Egyptians
 that was given them by Euclid, and others Charges which we shall mention af-
 terwards. After the death of King David, Solomon Davids Son, formed out
 the Temple which his Father had begun, he sent for Masons out of diverse
 Countries of the Land, gathering them together, soe that he had at one time Eighty
 Thousand workers of Stone, and they were all called Masons, besides the Lords
 that Solomon had appointed & Workmen three thousand & three hundred that
 were ordained to be Maisters & Governours of the Work, as you may read in
 the first of Kings Chapter the 5th ver. 16. Hiram King of Tyre loved
 King Solomon, and he gave him Timber to his Work. And Solomon confirm-
 ed both the Charges & Mannors which his Father had given. And this was the
 Craft of Masonry at that time in the Country, & men Walked into diverse Countre-
 to learn more Craft & Cuning, & it chanced that there was a Cuning man named
 Mannius

Mannius Gracus who was at the building of Solomons Temple, he came
 into France, & one of the Governours of Kingly race named Charles Martel loved
 such a Craft who went to this Mannius Gracus & learned of him this Craft, Charge
 & Manners, after which by the will of God he was Elected King of France. after
 Election he took Masons, & helped to Make Masons, & Set them to work giving them
 good Pay, & Charges as he had learned of other Masons, & Confirmed a Charter from
 year to year to hold an Assembly where they would. Thus came the Craft into France
 England at that time stood Void as for any Charge concerning Masons untill
 Saint Albans time, & in his time the King of England who was a Pagan did
 wall the Town now called St. Albons. St. Albons was a Worthy Knight & Servant
 of the Kingshousehold, Governour of the Realme, & overseer of the Ereding of
 the Walls of the Town, a lover of Masonry & a cherisher of Masons; he made their
 pay right, as the Realme stood then. he gave three & Sixpence a week to each
 Mason & threepence for their Noon Dinches. And always before that time Masons
 through all the Realm had noe more then a Penny a Day & night untill St. Albons
 mended it. He got a Charter from the King & Council to hold a generall assembly
 to Make Masons, and gave the Charge as you shall hear afterwards.
 Soon after the Martyrdome of St. Alban, Workmen came soe fast over into
 England, that the good Rule of Masonry was almost destroyed untill the time of
 Athelston a worthy King of England, who brought the Land to Peace & builded
 many great Works of Abbies, Castles, Towns & Mannors & many other building
 he loved Masonry more then his Father did, he was a Practitioner of Geometry
 & drew himself much to take & commune wth Masons & to learn of them the Craft
 & afterwards for the love he bore to Masons and to the Craft, he was Made Mason
 He got of his Father a Charter & a Commission to hold an Assembly Once Every
 year in what Part of the Realm they would to correct in themselves the trespasses
 & faultes that were committed in the Craft. He held an Assembly at York, &
 made Masons, & gave them Charges, & learned them Manners, & Commanded
 that Rule to be kept ever after, and took then the Commission & Charter to keep
 himself, & made Ordnaunces that it should be renewed from King to King. And
 when the Assembly was gathered, he Made Proclamation that any Old or young
 Mason that had any understanding of the Craft & Manners should appear there.
 and there were Some in Latine Some in Greeke, Some in French, Some in English
 & Some in other Languages, and their intent was all one. hereby he did Make known
 how the Craft was found out, & he Enjoynd & Commanded it should be learned
 where any Masons were to be Made and to give him his Charge, and from that time
 to this in what Manner the Masons are Made, & he Ordained a Charge by the
 Advice of the Maisters & Fellows, as followeth. (viz.)

One of the Elders taking the Book that He or She, who is to be Made free may impose, or lay his Hands on, and then his Charge shall be read.

Every Man that is Mason take heed to your Charge. If any Man know himself guilty in any of these Crimes that himself hath committed against God, or his Craft, and Principally let him take heed that he well & faithfully Observe his Charge, for it is a great Perill for a Man to Endanger his Soul by Perjury.

The Charge for all Fellows.

You shall be true to God & Man & to the Holy Church, and you shall use noe Heresie nor Error according to your Understanding nor by Wise Mens learning. You shall be a true Leige Man to the King Supreme Governour or Ruler without any Treason or Falschood or Conspiracy but to show it & amend it, or declare it to the King & Council, and alsoe that you be true Leige Man to the King & to one another (to w^{ill}) to Every Mason that hath taken his Manners; you shall doe unto him, as you would he should doe unto you. Alsoe you shall keep truly all the Councell of Lodge or Chamber, and all Councell that ought to be kept by way of Masonry, and alsoe that you be Noe Thieves nor Thief fellows as far as you know. And alsoe that you shall call all Masons Brothers, or Fellows, & noe other foul name. And alsoe that you shall not defile your Fellows Wives by Calumnie or any other way. And alsoe that you shall not defile his Servant or put him to any discredit. and alsoe that you pay truly for your Meat & Drink where you Lodge or Table. Alsoe you shall doe Noe Villany where you boord, whereby the Craft may be evil Spoken of or Slandered. These were the Charges in generall that belonged to a True Mason, Brother, Maister or Fellow.

Now will I rehearse other things Singular for Masons, for Maisters and Fellows.

First that noe Mason undertake any Load or Maisters Work nor any other mans, unless he know himself to be Maister of the same Work, soe that the Craft may have Noe Slander or evil report by him in soe doing, and that noe Maister or Fellow take any Work but at reasonable Pay, soe that the Load or Maister whom he serves, may have sufficient Work for his Pay. & he to live honestly by it. And alsoe that he pay honestly his Fellows who he employes. Alsoe that noe Maister

Maister or Fellow deprive others of their Work then have taken, or put them of it, unless they can render them Uncapable of the Work. Alsoe that noe Maister take any Apprentice under the Terme of Seaven years, and that the Apprentice be able of Birth (viz.) free Born, noe Bastard, whole & Sound of Limbs, as a Man ought to be. Alsoe that noe Maister take any to be made Mason without the Consent of Six or Seaven Masons at the least, & that he that is to be soe Made, be able, & in all degrees free born & of a good kindred, true & honest noe bondman or Bastard and that he have his right Luminarys. And that noe Maister take any Apprentice unless he have Sufficient Occupation for two or three Fellowes at the least. Alsoe that noe Maister or Fellow put his Lords Work to task, which was wont to be for Wages, & that Every Maister or Fellow give pay to his Fellowes as they deserve, that they be not deceived by false Workmen. Alsoe that noe Maister shall Slander another behind his back to Make him lose his good Name or goods. Alsoe that noe Mason within the Lodge or without, being in Masons Orders, be Ungodly. Alsoe that Every Maister reverence his Elders, and put them to work. Alsoe that noe Mason be a Common Player of Dice or any other unlafulfull game whereby the Craft may be Slandered. Alsoe that noe Mason use Lechery or be any Bawd. Alsoe that noe Maister or Fellow goe into the Town without a Fellow goe with him that may bear Witnesse that he is in good Company. Alsoe that Every Maister or Fellow come unto the Assemblies if he be within fifty Miles of it, & have Warning of it, and if he have Transgressed against the Craft to abide the award of Maister & Fellowes to Make him accord & Conform, & if he will not accord to Compell him by Common Law. Alsoe that noe Maister or Fellow to make any Mould, Square or Rule to any Layer within the Lodge or without Masons Orders to lay any Moulded Stones. Alsoe that Every Mason & Fellow shall Cherish Strangers who are Fellowes, when they come out of Strange Countreys, & Sell them to Work if they will Work, and if he have noe Work at the time when they come, he shall refresh them with Money, directing them to the Next Lodge. And alsoe that Every Maister shall truly Make an End of his Work which he hath undertaken to it, far or journey. And here have you all the Commands, and these that you have heard rehearsed you shall truly observe & keep.

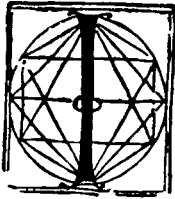
Soe help you God.

The Coat, Armour belonging to the Fraternity of
Masons is here depenciled being thus Blasoned (viz.)
The Field Sable on a Chivern a Pair of Compasses
betwixt three Castles Argent.

Scriptum per me Joannem Josephum Huddleston
Studiosum Lamspringensis
Anno Domini 1730
Laus Deo Semper.

Scriptum per me J

A SELECTION OF WILLS MADE BY TESTATORS DESCRIBED AS FREEMASONS DATED BETWEEN 1605 AND 1675.



IN the following notes P.C.C. stands for Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The names of the Registers are given as (for example) 32 Hayes. (32 is the number of the folio in the Register which contains a complete copy of the Will.)

These notes give only the names and descriptions of the Testators; the date of the Will and of the Probate; together with such details as may probably have a masonic interest.

Some administrations are included.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

1605

Robert Warde.

Date of Will. 2nd May, 1605. Probate 15th May, 1605.

Register. 32 Hayes, P.C.C.

Description of Testator. Robert Warde, of London, Cittizen and fremason. He desired to be buried in the Church of St. Sepulchre without Newgate.

He gave a house in Leicestershire to Anne his wife and appointed her to be Executrix and Residuary legatee.

He bequeathed unto William Warde, of London, citizen and Freemason, twelve pence, and unto testator's Brother his youngest son 12^d.

Testator stated that Medley the keeper of Essex Tennys Court in Milford lane owed him tenn pounds and tenn shillings for the laying of his tennys Court beside that which he had already received which was tenn pounds and tenn shillings.

Note.—William Warde named in the Will is also named in the 1620 Powder and Match list (*Conder*, page 300) as one of the Wardens of the Freemasons' Company.

1608

Nicholas Richardssonne.

Date of Will. 6th Octr., 1608. Probate 22nd October, 1608.

Register. 94 Windebank, P.C.C.

Description of Testator. Nicholas Richardson, Citizen and freemason of London.

1615

Andrew Warde.

Date of Will. 11th Novr., 1615. Probate 18th July, 1616.

Register. 74 Cope, P.C.C.

Description of Testator. Andrew Warde of Little Barrington in the County of Gloucester freemason.

He desired to be buried in the Churchyard there.

1616

The Will of Thomas Midhaste of Chich St. Oseth freemason was proved in 1616 (*vide Calendar of Commissary of London, Essex, and Herts*).

1617

Rafe Wicke.

Date of Will. 1st Novr., 1617. Probate 14th Novr., 1617.*Description of Testator.* Rafe Wicke citizen and freemason of London.

Refers to his wife as "being now greate with child" and makes provision for that child if born.

He made his good and loving friends William Suthes Goldsmith and John Recorde Freemason Cittizens of London his Executors, to whom Probate was granted.

The will was actually signed 2nd November, 1617, and the witnesses were Thomas Harper, Richard Lewellene, Ralphe Durber, Thomas Woodcocke notary public.

(According to the Probate Act Book the Testator was of the Parish of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street.)

This will brings several Freemasons together.

(1) The testator whose name I do not remember seeing elsewhere.

(2) William Suthes, who was King's Master Mason for Windsor Castle and whose memorial is in the Porch of St. Mary, Lambeth. He died 5th October, 1625.

His will, dated 3rd October, 1625, was proved in P.C.C., Regr. Clarke 107, and he styles himself a Goldsmith, although his memorial stone also describes him as Master Mason of Windsor Castle.

(3) John Record, whose will is registered 88 Parker, P.C.C., and dated August, 1619. One of the last two Wardens of the Marblers Company.

(4) Richard Lewellene, who was Master of the Freemasons Company in 1642.

(5) Ralphe Durbar is named (*Conder*, p. 300) as one of the Members of the Company who subscribed towards providing Powder and Match for the use of the Company in the year 1620.

1619

John Recorde.

Date of Will. 8th August, 1619. Probate 4th September, 1619.*Register.* 88 Parker, P.C.C.*Description of Testator.* John Recorde of the Parishe of St. George in Southwarke and Cittizen and Freemason of London.

He disposed of lands in the County of Kent and elsewhere in the realm of England and gave his wife a life interest therein.

He gave 40^s. to the poor of Southwark.To the Workmen and Journeymen of the Bridge House for a dinner or supper 20^s.

To the Company of Freemasons whereof he was a member Three pounds.

He gave unto John Maundie so that he serve forth his time with my wife towards the charges of obtaining his freedom, otherwise not, forty shillings.

After testator's decease the stock belonging to his trade should be sold and his wife was to have the sum of money for which it was sold for and during her natural life.

His wife Katherine he appointed Executrix and Probate was granted to her.

He requested his loving friends Thomas Paskin and John Mortimer to aid the executrix.

Witnesses to the Will were Jo. Mortimer, Tho. Paskin and John Maundey.

Note.—John Recorde was one of the two Wardens of the Company of Marblers who in 1585 petitioned the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London to sanction the union of the Marblers with the Freemasons. The Petition was

granted and the "one entier bodie was to be called and termed by the name of Freemasons and Marblers".

(See *City Letter Book* entitled &c., fo. 57).

It will be seen that John Record does not describe himself as both Freemason and marbler, although he was one of the petitioning marblers.

Thomas Paskyn, one of the witnesses is named (*Conder*, 300) as a subscriber in 1620 towards the Powder and Match fund before mentioned.

1619

The Will of Thomas Dickenson of Thaxter freemason was proved 11th November, 1619 (vide *Calendar of Commissary of London, Essex, and Herts*).

1635

Thomas Jordan.

Date of Will. 11th Sept., 1635. Probate 14th October, 1635.

Register. 101 Sadler, P.C.C.

Description of Testator. Thomas Jordan Citizen and free mason of London.

He disposed of a £400 mortgage in his favor on land in Kent. He gave unto such of the livery of the Company of Freemasons London as should be present in their liveries at his funerall the sum of three pounds to be disposed of at the discretion of the M^r. Wardens and Assistants of the said Company.

He gave unto the most indigent members of the same Company the like sum of 3 pounds to be distributed amongst them at the like discretion of the same Master Wardens and Assistants.

Also 40/^s. to the poor of St. Giles without Cripplegate.

He appointed his son Thomas Jordan and (during the son's minority) Richard Llewellyn, citizen and freemason of London, Executors. Probate was granted to them.

Note.—The testator was bountiful to the Company of Freemasons. According to *Conder* (pp. 153 and 161), he gave to the Company £1 for a carpet in 1629 and also £100 in 1636. This £100 is not mentioned in his will, though it seems to have been paid after his death.

Thomas Jordan was Master in 1627.

Richard Llewellyn was Master in 1642.

Probably the Thomas Jordan named as an Executor is the same person as Thomas Jordaine, the Master of the Company in 1656.

1636

Daniel Chaloner.

Date of Will. 28th February, 1636. Probate 22nd March, 1636.

Register. 44 Goare, P.C.C.

Description of Testator. Daniel Chaloner Citizen and Freemason of London.

Daniel Challoner is named in the 1620 list of subscribers for Powder and Match (*Conder*, 300).

He was a relative of Randle Holme, as appears by a note in *A.Q.C.*, xlii., 313-4.

1638

Richard Chilton.

Date of Will. 2nd October, 1638. Probate 16th October, 1638.

Register. 130 Lee, P.C.C.

Description of Testator. Richard Chilton of Barnes in the County of Surrey. Citizen and Freemason of London.

Gave to poor of Hamersmithe, Middlesex, 20/^s.

Desired to be buried within the New (or Now) Chappell in Hamersmith aforesaid.

Disposed of a shop and yard in parish of All Saints, commonly called little All Hallowes London: also of a messuage in Hamersmithe.

Appointed his wife Executrix and residuary legatee.

(*Note.*—Richard Chilton was Master of the Freemasons Company in 1632.)

1640

Nicholas Stone.

Date of Will. 30th January, 1640.

Description of Testator. Nicholas Stone of the parish of St. Martin in the Feildes in the County of Middlesex Esquier. Master Mason unto his Majestie.

[The will originally Gave to the companie of free masons London tenn pounds to be payed to them within six months next after his decease, but this clause appears to have been erased in 1643.]

Testator gave unto his three sonnes Henry Stone Nicholas Stone and John Stone all his books manuscripts draughts signes instruments and other things thereunto belonging which then remained in his study in his then dwelling house to be equally divided between them.

(For further particulars see Vol. VII. of the *Walpole Society Publications*, which includes the note books of the said Nicholas Stone, concerning whom much is recorded in various volumes of *A.Q.C.*)

The reference to this will is inserted, although the Testator did not in it style himself a Freemason.

1643

Richard Mawde.

Date of Will. 4th Octr., 1643. Administration with will annexed 22nd June, 1648.

Register. 101 Essex, P.C.C.

Description of Testator. Richard Mawde of the City of Oxford Free mason.

Note.—Richard Maude is named by Gould (*History of Freemasonry*, ii., 151) as signing with Hugh Davies and Robert Smith a receipt. All three were described as of the City of Oxon. Freemasons.

A copy of this receipt is contained in my paper on *The use of the word "Freemason" before 1717* (*A.Q.C.*, xlviii., pp. 140-198) under date 1631-1633. The receipt is interesting among other things as showing Archbishop Laud as a benefactor of those three Freemasons who had incurred losses in connection with a contract for works at St. John's College, Cambridge.

1643

George Climer.

Date of Will. 15th March, 1643.

Calendar of the Court of Arches London Peculiar describes him as Georg Climer of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, citizen and freemason. I have not found any further information.

1664

John Quince.

Administration in the Archdeaconry of Northampton. Quince, John, of Kettering, freemason, granted 21st October, 1664, to Catherine Howe, of Kettering, widow, and Anne Marriot, of same, widow, sisters to the said John Quince. Surety, Thos: Edey, of same, Draper. John Quince deceased the 8th Sept., 1664. Inventory £40.10.0 taken by Thos Edey, Edward Sparrow.

(Bro. Commander S. N. Smith found this in "*Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*", page 9 of supplement to 5th Series, Vol. IX., part 6, and communicated it to me.)

1675

Edward Marshall

Will dated 27th November, 1675. Codicil 4th Decr., 1675.

Probate 11th Decr., 1675.

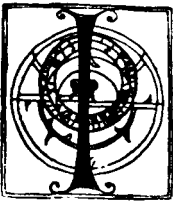
Register. 128 Dycer, P.C.C.

The Will and Codicil are long.

He was not described as Freemason in his Will, but appears under that designation in a deed quoted in my paper on *The use of the word "Freemason" before 1717* (*A.Q.C.*, xlviii., 1935, part 1, page 185). [That paper needs correction in the page referred to. The item should have been headed "1668. Edward Marshall".]

Edward Marshall and his Son Joshua Marshall were both Master Masons to the King, and a photograph of the Memorial to them in St. Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street, was produced in these *Transactions*.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Samuel Burcham Barnes, of Littleborough, Lancs., on the 3rd January, 1939. Bro. Barnes was a member of Lodge of Harmony No. 298. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1920.

Arthur Henry Barron, of York, on the 1st May, 1939, aged 67 years. Bro. Barron held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1926.

William Reynolds Bayley, *B.A.*, *B.Sc.*, of Glen Osmond, S. Australia. Bro. Bayley held the office of Deputy Grand Master and Deputy First Grand Principal. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1936.

John Carruthers, of Saltcoats, Ayrshire, on 11th January, 1939. Bro. Carruthers was Rep.G.L. Connecticut and Rep.G.Chap. N. Dakota. He held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1892.

Leonard Danielsson, of London, N.W., on 21st February, 1939. Bro. Danielsson was a member of Islington Lodge No. 1471 and of the Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1897.

Freeman John Eaton, of Sydney, N.S.W., on 21st February, 1939. Bro. Eaton was a P.M. of Lodge No. 85 and P.Z. of Chapter No. 9. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in May, 1920.

George Elkington, F.R.I.B.A., J.P., of London, S.W., on 11th February, 1939. Bro. Elkington held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1898, elected to full membership of the Lodge in May, 1931, and was W.M. in 1937.

Major Edgar William Greenslade, of Newton Abbot, Devon, on 1st February, 1939. Bro. Greenslade held the rank of P.Dis.G.Sup.W., Bengal, and was a member of Devon Chapter No. 1138. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1924.

Sir George Harvey, M.P., of London, W.C., on 27th March, 1939, aged 70. Bro. Harvey held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1913.

William Sutherland Hunter, of Glasgow, in 1939. Bro. Hunter held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1890.

William Irving, of Dumfries, on 26th October, 1938. Bro. Irving held the rank of Pr.G. Treas., and was a member of Chapter No. 174. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in November, 1896.

Ishmael R. Jones, of Cleveland, Ohio, on the 20th January, 1939. Bro. Jones was P.M. of Lodge No. 379 and P.H.P. of Chapter No. 139. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1933.

Harold Coote Lake, of London, N., on 22nd April, 1939. Bro. Lake was P.M. of Cholmeley Lodge No. 1731, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1912.

Fred Lax, of Darlington, Co. Durham, on 2nd September, 1938. Bro. Lax held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1934.

Henry Lewis, of London, W., in November, 1938. Bro. Lewis was a member of Bee Hive Lodge No. 2806, and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in June, 1911.

Thomas Alfred Royds Littledale, of Ross, Herefordshire, on 4th December, 1938. Bro. Littledale was a P.M. of Lodge of Perseverance No. 155. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1913.

James George McAfee, of Pietermaritzburg, S. Africa, in 1938. Bro. McAfee held the rank of P.G.W. Antrim, and was P.K. of Chapter No. 154 (I.C.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1924.

Charles Maple-Polmear, of Johannesburg, on 19th May, 1939. Bro. Maple-Polmear held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.), and also the offices of Dist.G.M. and G.Supt. (R.A.) Transvaal. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1930, and for a few years acted as Local Secretary.

Robert Matthews, of Gravesend, Kent, on 28th May, 1939, aged 73 years. Bro. Matthews held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1921.

Capt. **Edward Claude Baverstock Merriman**, of Tangier, in June, 1929. Bro. Merriman was P.M. of Lodge of Assistance No. 2773, and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in May, 1920.

Richard Stephenson Middleton, of Sunderland, on 28th January, 1939, aged 70 years. Bro. Middleton was P.M. of Wearmouth Lodge No. 2934, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1908.

Ernest Alfred Noble, of Liverpool, on 18th April, 1939. Bro. Noble was a member of St. George's Lodge No. 3758 and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1935.

Bomanjee Pestonjee, B.A., LL.B., of Poona, on 7th October, 1938. Bro. Pestonjee was P.M. of Lodge No. 843 (S.C.) and P.Z. of Chapter No. 68 (S.C.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1927.

Professor **Charles S. Plumb**, D.Sc., LL.D., of Columbus, Ohio, on 4th March, 1939, aged 78 years. Bro. Plumb had held the office of Grand Historian for 10 years, and was a member of Temple Chapter No. 155. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1924.

Capt. **Fulke Knatchbull Prideaux-Brune**, of Padstow, Cornwall, on 21st April, 1939. Bro. Prideaux-Brune was a member of St. Petroc Lodge No. 1785 and of St. Petrock Chapter No. 330. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in March, 1923.

Thomas Lloyd Roberts, of Capetown, on 25th March, 1939. Bro. Roberts was a member of Rising Star Lodge No. 1022. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1927.

John Robinson, of Bangor, Co. Down, in 1938. Bro. Robinson held the rank of P.Pr.G.D. Antrim. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1896.

Samuel Reginald Royce, of Fulton, New York, on 4th January, 1939. Bro. Royce was P.M. of Lodge No. 144 and of Chapter No. 167. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1929.

Samuel Nelson Sawyer, of Palmyra, New York, on 1st May, 1939, aged 81 years. Bro. Sawyer held the rank of Past Grand Master, and was P.H.P. of Chapter No. 79. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1909.

Henry Smith See, of Providence, R.I., on 26th June, 1939, aged 60 years. Bro. See held the rank of Past Grand Master. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1927, and for some years acted as Local Secretary.

Herbert Sheard, of Bingley, Yorks., on 2nd February, 1939. Bro. Sheard was P.M. of Scientific Lodge No. 439, and held the rank of P.Pr.G.St.B. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1912.

Arthur Lind Simpson, of Harrow, on 18th December, 1938. Bro. Simpson held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1929.

Cornwell Smith, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in April, 1939. Bro. Smith held the rank of P.Pr.G.D.C. and P.Pr.A.G.D.C. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1903, and for many years acted as Local Secretary for Northumberland.

William John Songhurst, F.C.I.S., of London, N., on 25th January, 1939. Bro. Songhurst held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner, and also Past Grand Warden, Iowa. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1894, was elected to full membership of the Lodge in March, 1906, and was W.M. in the Jubilee year of the Lodge, 1934-1935. For more than twenty-five years he acted as Secretary for the Lodge.

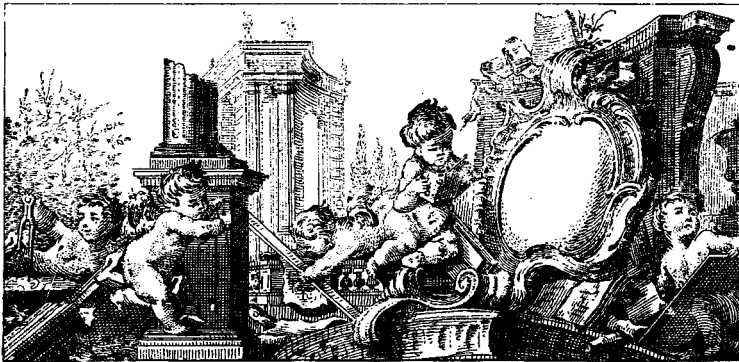
Major Edgar J. Taylor, of Westbrook, Connecticut, in December, 1937. Bro. Taylor was a member of Lodge No. 386 and Chapter No. 8 (N.Y.C.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1932.

Dr. Fritz Uhlmann, M.D., of Basle, Switzerland, on 24th September, 1938. Bro. Uhlmann was P.M. of Osiris Lodge and a member of Veritas Chapter. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1934.

Arthur Lionel Vibert, I.C.S., of London, W.C., on 7th December, 1938. Bro. Vibert held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.), and also Past Grand Warden, Iowa. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1895, was elected to full membership of the Lodge in January, 1917, and was W.M. in 1922. For ten years prior to his decease he acted as Secretary of the Lodge.

Major Giles Hadden Welsford, of London, N.W., on 22nd May, 1938. Bro. Welsford was P.M. of Blackfriars Lodge No. 3722. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1931.

Lieut.-Col. Edward Richard Whishaw, of Cairo, in February, 1939. Bro. Whishaw was P.M. of Khartoum Lodge No. 2877 and P.Z. of Sudan Chapter No. 2954. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1920.



SUMMER OUTING, 1939.

HASTINGS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.



WENTY-SIX years ago Quatuor Coronati Lodge paid a visit to Hastings for the Summer Outing. This year, as in 1913, the kind invitation of the local Brethren promised a pleasant trip in a country of historical interest.

On the present occasion the party comprised:—

Bros. *Major* C. C. Adams, London, P.G.D., S.W., 2076; C. H. H. Adams, Guildford, P.Pr.G.Supt.W., Cambridge; Harry Bladon, London, P.A.G.D.C.; A. H. Blake, Guildford, 5443; Robt. A. Card, Seaford, P.M., 30; G. S. Collins, Hove, P.G.D.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, Wisbech, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Ch., 2076; Robt. Dawson, Hastings, P.Pr.G.W.; W. Morgan Day, London, 2860; Lewis Edwards, London, P.A.G.R., S.D., 2076; S. J. Fenton, Birmingham, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, W.M., 2076; David Flather, Sheffield, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; W. Ivor Grantham, Scaynes Hill, P.Pr.G.W., 2076; H. W. Graves-Morris, Luton, P.G.St.B.; F. A. Greene, London, P.Pr.G.Treas., Surrey; Wm. Barry Gregar, Weybridge, P.Pr.G.W., Essex; John W. Hall, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; *Major* J. W. M. Hawes, Guildford, P.Pr.G.D., Sussex; Wallace Heaton, London, P.A.G.D.C.; Harold Hill, Bournemouth, P.Pr.G.D., W. Yorks; J. P. Hunter, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.Supt.W.; J. V. Jacklin, Royston, Herts, P.M., 3532; Wm. Jewitt, Stockton-on-Tees, 2104; G. Y. Johnson, York, P.A.G.D.C.; H. Johnson, Guildford, L.R., P.M., 2191; H. C. Knowles, London, P.G.D.; *Dr.* F. Lace, Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; C. D. Melbourne, London, P.A.G.R.; C. Morgan, Hastings; C. A. Newman, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; *Dr.* C. E. Newman, London, W.M., 4453; Stanley Palmer, London, P.A.G.D.C.; Cecil Powell, Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; A. Quick, London, P.M., 2183; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, London, P.G.Swd.B., Sec., 2076; Thos. Selby, Eaglescliffe, P.G.St.B.; R. W. Strickland, Sevenoaks, P.Pr.G.R.; Ed. Tappenden, Hitchin, P.A.G.St.B.; J. A. Ward, Hastings; H. R. Wood, Manchester, P.G.St.B.

On Thursday, 29th June, the Brethren from London left Victoria Station by the 10.45 a.m. train, arriving at Hastings at 12.40 p.m.; and the party was accommodated at the Royal Victoria Hotel, St. Leonards.

After lunch at the Hotel, we proceeded by car to the Town Hall, where His Worship the Mayor kindly held a reception, after which we were given a description of interesting local history.

From the Town Hall the party proceeded by car to visit places of archaeological interest in Hastings. The first place visited was "The St. Clement's Caves", which extend to a great distance with intricate ramifications; and though the roof and walls are of friable sandstone, even the innermost recesses are free from dampness owing to the good ventilation throughout. Suspicions of smuggling and other misuses caused the entrances to the caves to be blocked up about the year 1812. No detailed description exists of the caves as they were at that time; but a few years later the entrance was accidentally broken through, and the owner re-opened the caves; and it appears that they were at that time somewhat enlarged. After this the caves were opened to visitors, and were used for various social functions. A large figure of a man—perhaps intended to represent Napoleon I.—is to be seen on the wall close to the original entrance; and two other male figures, as well as an urn, have been carved on the walls in

other parts. The rock into which the caves penetrate is known as the Ashdown Sands, deposited at a very early period.

From the caves the party proceeded to the Castle, a prominent feature of interest. William the Conqueror, soon after landing in England, erected a castle at Hastings with curtain walls and buildings complete; and in 1070 granted it to Robert, Earl of Eu. The castle was built upon the cliff dominating the town, and from it the old parts of Hastings can be seen in all their picturesqueness. Some of the remains still to be seen may have been the Conqueror's work, but it is certain that the greater part is of later date. The Earl of Eu built, within the precincts of the Castle, a church which he established as a Collegiate Church with houses for the general establishment. The remains of this church and the ecclesiastical buildings form the main part of the ruins of the Castle. The chief architectural work is of late twelfth century, but some of an earlier date is indicated by the herring-bone pattern to be seen in the curtain walls, in the north wall of the chapel, and in the turret stairway of the central tower. Hastings Castle is typical of castles which depended for defence on lines of earthwork, in that the castle keep was built on a site distinct from that of the mound, which remains at the north-east corner of the enclosure. The mound was originally defended by a fosse and protected by an outer bailey also with earthworks and fosse.

On leaving the Castle we visited the two old churches of the town. St. Clement's Church—In 1286 Alanus de Chesmongre gave a rood of land to the Abbot of Fécamp for the construction of the Church of St. Clement entirely afresh, the earlier church having been overthrown by the inundation of the sea in 1236. The new church probably comprised a nave and chancel and one broad south aisle with a tower at the west end. In 1378 a raiding French force burnt Hastings, and the church perished, only a much-injured tower and portions of the walls being left standing. But in the time of William de Lyndon, rector in 1381, the present Perpendicular church was erected. The present nave and south aisle were built on the original foundation, but extended westward, and a north aisle was added. In the sixteenth century the chancel was brought out eastward, and the crypt, then and now used as a sacristy, was constructed to carry it. As was common in medieval England, there was a step down, not up, into the choir, as is shown by the choir arches being lower than those in the nave. A most beautiful and interesting piece of Perpendicular work is to be seen in the font. Two cannon balls, relics of a French or Dutch raid, are embedded in the south side of the tower.

All Saints Church—is of fifteenth century date, and comprises chancel, nave, north and south aisles and a western tower. There is a Perpendicular stoup in the south porch; and among the interesting archæological features are the remains of an old mural painting representing the Last Judgment.

Many interesting architectural beauties of the old town were noticed on the drive back to St. Leonards, where at the Masonic Hall tea was kindly provided by the local Brethren. After tea, the Hall and Masonic objects of interest were open for our inspection.

Dinner was taken at the Royal Victoria Hotel; and after dinner an hour was spent with a short description of the places to be visited during the tour.

On Friday, 30th June, the party proceeded by car to Winchelsea, and there visited the Town Hall and the Church. Winchelsea is one of the oldest mayoralties in the kingdom and is steeped in historical associations. It is a mile or so from the sea, with no direct outlet, though once it was on the coast. The Winchelsea of to-day was founded by Edward I., but a century later the sea receded. The old Town Hall is a picturesque ruin; but the Church, though not completely finished, shows the importance which attached to the town in those by-gone days. The Church was built in 1300, and contains some of the most beautiful Decorated work. The porch is late Perpendicular.

From Winchelsea we went on to Rye, where we were soon absorbed in the old-world atmosphere of the place. At the Town Hall we were received by His Worship the Mayor, who very kindly gave us welcome to this ancient town; and after the reception we were entertained by Mr. L. Vidler with a description historical and otherwise, of the interesting features of the place; after which, under the guidance of Mr. Vidler, we made a tour of the town and saw the many places he had described. The Court Hall was built about 1742 on the site of a former one. The treasures include two silver-gilt maces, and also two smaller silver maces about two centuries older; and the mayor's bell bears date 1565. Also to be seen are an old pillory and a gibbet, and an old fire engine nearly two hundred years old.

Rye was given by Edward the Confessor to the Norman Abbey of Fécamp, which held it till 1267. Edward the Confessor established the five ports—Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, Hastings—afterwards adding Rye and Winchelsea, denominated "Ancient Towns".

Rye is rich in archæological remains. Of the three original gateways only one remains, which (excepting the gateway at Canterbury) is the finest Town Gate to be found in the South of England. It was probably constructed early in the reign of Edward III. (about 1327), when the town was enclosed, so far as practicable, by a stone wall with battlements. The Ypres Tower claims the distinction of being the most ancient structure in the "Ancient Town". The first documentary evidence of the building occurs in the Patent Roll of 33 Henry III. (in 1240), when any surplus from a grant made to Peter of Savoy was to be applied to fortify the Castle of Rye. The name is derived from one John de Iprys, to whom an indenture was granted in 1430 to hold for ever a certain embattled tower. The real history of the tower is a blank, but it is believed to be more in the nature of a small defensible house strongly fortified against sudden attack.

The Flushing Inn was, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one of the leading hostelries in Rye, and is remarkable for a wonderful old fresco painting extending across the entire length of one of the rooms. The painting bears the heraldic badge of Edward VI., which has the arms of his mother—Jane Seymour—placed in juxtaposition with those of the king, and fixes the date of the painting within the period 1537-1553.

St. Mary's Church contains Norman work of a period anterior to 1189; also Early English or Lancet, end of twelfth century; Decorated of a century later; and Perpendicular from 1377 to 1546. The entire length from east to west is 159 feet, and the transepts extend 77 feet north to south. The clock is the oldest going clock in England, with its quaint quarter-boys, "Gog and Magog", and unique pendulum, 18 feet long, swinging across the north transept. Stone cannonballs taken from the walls of the church bear testimony to the ravages made by the French in the many raids on the town. There are some curious masons' marks to be seen in the church.

The Mermaid Inn was known to have been an Inn in the year 1636. It has a most interesting exterior, much care having been taken in its renovation. The oaken beams and walls have, wherever possible, been exposed. The antiquarian gem of the house is an old room ornamented with a well-carved wainscot, and having a chimney-piece of Caen stone with a profusion of roses engraved thereon, indicative of its Tudor date, while a date in Roman numerals shows that it was erected some time in the early part of the sixteenth century.

The Monastery of the Friars Heremites of St. Augustine is a fine building, but the date of its foundation is not known. The House of Austin Friars is mentioned so far back as 1364 in the time of Edward III., and the architecture of the south window is of this period. The carved stone-work in the east, west and south windows tell an impressive tale of what the former architectural beauty of the chapel must have been. From time to time skeletons have been

found in the monastery and adjoining ground, supposed to be the remains of monks, and in each case they appear to have been buried in a standing position. Since the Dissolution till 1894 the building was used for many purposes.

Many examples of beautiful old Tudor houses may still be seen in Rye. That Rye formerly possessed a Mint is clear from a coin having been struck in the year 1668. On one side of the coin is a ship with three masts, under full sail, around which are the words—"For ye Corporation", and on the other side a representation of a Church with the words—"Of Rye 1668".

After lunch at the Cinque Ports Hotel we proceeded to Bodiam. The Castle was begun in or about 1386 by Sir Edward Dalyngrigge (sometimes called Dalyngrudge). The Castle was the last purely military castle to be built in England. In 1377 the French had landed at the mouth of the Rother and had burned the town of Rye; and in 1386 Dalyngrigge received a licence from Richard II. to "strengthen, embattle, construct and make into a castle with a wall of stone and lime his manor house of Bodiam . . . for the defence of the adjacent country and the resistance of our enemies". The Rother was then navigable to some distance above this point, and high tides used to flood the valley. Dalyngrigge built an entirely new castle, but there are no records to show how long the building took.

The history of the castle has been uneventful.

The castle is a rectangle with a round tower at each corner, and a square tower in the middle of each wall. The main entrance was, and is, by the gateway in the central tower on the north front. The gate-house on the north face is flanked with a square tower on each side of the entrance. The tower on the south side forms another entrance of less importance. There is now a causeway to the entrance, but originally the approach was by a trestle bridge which with the drawbridge was 136 feet long. This bridge was parallel with the castle wall and within easy range, so that an enemy was submitted to a flanking fire and could not advance directly upon the gateway till the Octagon was reached. Between the Octagon and the Gatehouse, and separated from the Octagon by a second drawbridge, was the Barbican, a fortified tower with chambers for a guard. Of this tower only part of the west wall and the remains of a staircase are now left. Beyond the Barbican is another old causeway, and beyond that yet another gap of 10 feet, now bridged over, but originally to be crossed only by a third drawbridge before the Gatehouse was reached. There were buildings round the Court, on the N.E., E., S., W., and N.W. sides. There were three storeys. It was not possible to make a complete circuit of the ramparts, as each section was reached from the tower, or towers, it adjoined. The Castle Chapel was at the northern end of the eastern wall. Original masons' marks can be seen in many places, notably at the S.W. corner of the Court.

On leaving Bodiam Castle we motored to Battle, and visited the Abbey, situated in beautiful surroundings. The earliest authentic record of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Martin is contained in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in which it is stated that King William built a noble Monastery on the spot where God allowed him to conquer England. It is said to have been completed in the lifetime of the Conqueror, but he was not present at its hallowing, as he was called away to Normandy, where he died. Towards the end of the twelfth century Walter de Lucy adorned the church and built a new cloister of marble. During the thirteenth century the buildings were begun to be rebuilt on a larger scale. The Abbots of Battle were summoned to Parliament as Peers from 1295 until the suppression. The gateway to the Abbey is a magnificent example of Decorated English architecture. It was remodelled by Abbot Retlynge in 1382, but the wings on either side are of later date. On the 15th August, 1539, Henry VIII. granted to his Master of Horse, Sir Anthony Browne, the house and site of the monastery. Sir Anthony Browne was, by Queen Mary in 1554, created Viscount Montague. Viscount Montague went on a mission to Rome

to represent the English nobility with the announcement that England was to return to the Papal obedience. There is a tradition that when Sir Anthony was celebrating his house-warming at Battle Abbey, an enraged monk rushed in and foretold that the House of Browne would perish by fire and water. In the summer of 1793 George Samuel, 8th Viscount Montague, was drowned in the Rhine at Laufenberg, and in September of the same year the lovely house at Cowdray was gutted by fire at midnight. The ruins of the Abbey Church and buildings comprise—the south wall of the nave; the triapsidal eastern crypt, indicating the position of the high altar; the dormitory with its roofless Early English hall and the three vaulted crypts beneath. There was a disastrous fire at Battle some five years ago. Only the outer portions of the Abbey are open to inspection, as the restored parts are used for a girls' school.

After tea a visit was paid to the Battle Parish Church. The original church was built between 1107 and 1124, but has been so altered, added to and restored from time to time that little of the original work remains. Transitional Norman work is to be seen in the nave arcades, Early English in the western doorway, Decorated in the south aisle and northern chapel, Perpendicular in the north aisle, south chapel, south porch and tower, and in the chancel is modern work.

From Battle we returned to St. Leonards.

On Saturday morning we drove to Hurstmonceux; and by the kindness of Sir Paul Latham we were privileged, under the guidance of Sir Paul himself, to pass through the beautifully laid-out extensive gardens, and see the many interesting architectural features of the finest brick-built castle in Britain. The castle was originally built in 1440. It is approached across a broad moat along the front face, by a bridge leading to a gateway retaining its pristine beauty. The building is in a wonderful state of preservation, and all renovations have been undertaken with an eye to preserving original architectural design. Before leaving Hurstmonceux we paid a visit to the church, which was described to us by the Rector, Dr. Rosslyn Bruce, in a most fascinating manner. Only shortness of available time prevented us lingering round so interesting a building.

From Hurstmonceux we proceeded to Lewes. It was not possible, in the time at our disposal, to see all the interesting spots in the town; but several hours were spent, before and after lunch, under the guidance of Bro. Rev. E. Griffiths, who very kindly conducted the party to the principal places and entertained us with descriptions of the architectural and historical features.

Though the entrenched position, now the churchyard of St. John Subcastro, might have been a Roman encampment, the site of Lewes seems to have been unoccupied till the time of the Saxons.

St. Anne's Church—The nave, south chapel and west tower are of the early part of the twelfth century. The capitals to the piers are fine examples of the transition to Gothic, and are beautifully carved. The vaulting to the chapel belongs to the same period; and the chancel was rebuilt in its present form at the beginning of the thirteenth century; but the chancel arch is modern. The fine timber roofs date from 1538. There was formerly an anchorite's cell on the site of the present vestry; and the hatch and squint are still *in situ*. In the church are to be seen a beautiful twelfth century font with basketwork carving, a carved oak pulpit of 1620, altar rails of the seventeenth century, and an Easter sepulchre of composite character. The music gallery is eighteenth century in style. The bells include two dated 1683.

Freemasons' Hall claimed particular attention; and it was with difficulty we could drag ourselves away from the inspection of such an interesting collection of Masonic objects of which the Lodges here are the fortunate possessors.

The Castle is peculiar in that it possesses two mounds, both artificial, on the higher of which, toward the entrance to the town, the keep was built later.

The flintwork of the keep and of the remaining south wall may date from about the end of the eleventh century. The Norman gateway is now only a fragment. The keep wall of great thickness surrounded an open space of elliptical shape, of which only the south-west angle remains. In the thirteenth century projecting towers of roughly octagonal shape were added to the keep, and of these two remain. In the early fourteenth century, when the keep tower was of less value for defence, and the outer walls and entrances were strengthened, the projecting gatehouse, or barbican, was built in the moat and furnished on both sides with drawbridges. Lewes Castle ceased in 1347 to be a residence; and after vicissitudes was, in 1850, rented by the Sussex Archaeological Society as a Museum.

Not far from the Castle is the Town Hall, which was reconstructed from the Star Inn. The cellars beneath and the stone stairway leading to them date from the fourteenth century. In the eighteenth century a landlord of the Star Inn obtained the magnificent Jacobean staircase from the derelict mansion of the Covert family at Slaugham, and this is still the main stair in the Town Hall.

All Saints Church—The church is of very ancient foundation, but the only part of the medieval church which remains is the west tower, a low square structure dating from the fifteenth century. The nave was rebuilt in 1806, and the east end in 1883. There are three bells, the oldest perhaps dating from the fifteenth century, the other two some two centuries later.

Southover Church—includes work dating from twelfth to eighteenth centuries. It has an interesting history, and probably was originally the Hospitium at the gate of the Priory of St. Pancras. In the fourteenth century, when the Chapel of St. John within the Priory Gate had become too small for parochial needs, the hospital seems to have been converted into a parish church and a new hospital built. There does not seem to have ever been a structural chancel—the chancel being separated from the body of the church by a screen. The tower is brickfaced and has a picturesque cupola and vane, and is of date 1714. The most precious possession of the church is the beautifully carved grave-stone of Gundrada, who was, with her husband, joint founder of the Priory. The monument is of black Belgian marble, and dates from the twelfth century.

The approach to the point of view over the ruins of the Priory of St. Pancras lies through some pretty shrubberies.

William de Warenne was made Lord of Lewes by William the Conqueror. After spending some years putting his estates in order, de Warenne and his wife, Gundrada, started on a journey to Rome. They did not get so far, and when in Burgundy visited the Abbey of Cluny, from which they conceived the idea of founding a house for Cluniac monks in Lewes. In 1077 de Warenne gave the monks a small church in Southover (which church was probably of Saxon date), and with it ample land. The monks erected a large monastery, the church of which was ultimately larger than Chichester Cathedral. It was after the plan of Cluny itself, with double transepts, each with an eastern end. Gundrada was buried here in 1085, and her husband in 1088. The first consecration of the church took place before 1098. The Priory was surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1537, and arrangements were made for as complete a destruction as possible. The ruins lay neglected for centuries, until in 1845 the railway from Lewes to Brighton was cut across the church and cloister, when the remains were discovered.

The ruins of the Priory include the following:—

The great gate of thirteenth century date, built largely of Sussex marble. The monastic church, of which the only portion remaining is a fragment of the south-west tower.

The cloister, of which only a vault remains.

The refectory—the south wall still stands on the south bank of the railway. The masonry has some interesting herring-bone designs of stone and flint.

The dormitory, of which only a series of undercrofts, originally vaulted, still remains.

The rere-dorter, of which the Norman masonry is still in good condition.

The infirmary chapel, in which there still stand the original stone altar and the step of the altar piece.

Anne of Cleve's House—was probably built of materials taken from the Priory ruins. The porch is Elizabethan and bears the date 1599; it has a small hall, open to the roof; and one of the rooms contains a magnificent stone fire-place. The house is now used as the Sussex Archæological Society's Folklore Museum; and contains many interesting exhibits, which include—tapestries of Lambeth manufacture, being copies of Brussels work by Van der Hecke; a table made of a large slab of Sussex marble, which is the subject of a legend connected with the assassination of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

On leaving Lewes we made our way to Alfriston, passing through some beautiful scenery.

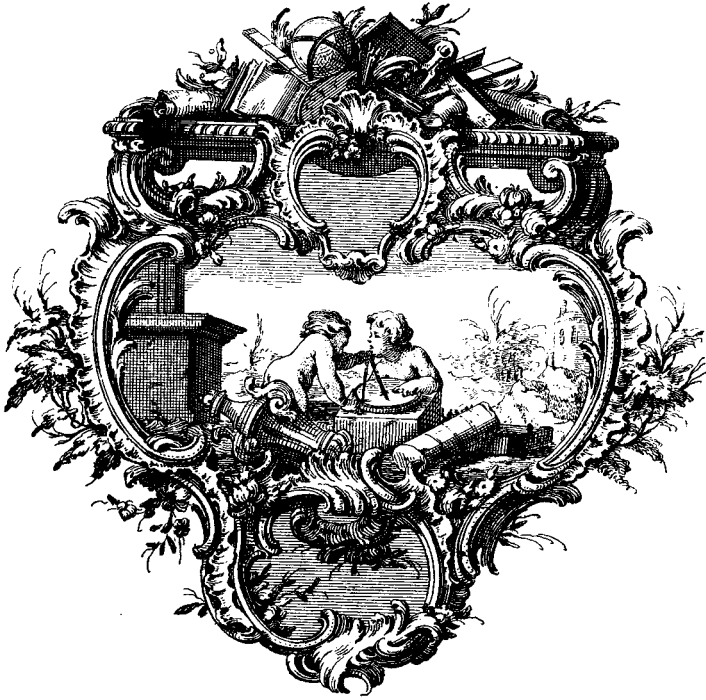
Alfriston is mentioned in the Domesday Book. Lord Tennyson used to be well-known in Alfriston as the man who *made poetry for the Queen*. At Alfriston we took tea in the Star Inn, of which the present building is said to date from the early part of the sixteenth century. The original building was on the same site in the thirteenth century. The many and quaint carvings with which the Inn is decorated suggest that it was built by the Abbot of Battle. The church is said to date from 1360. The legend is—It had been planned to build the church to the west of the village, in a field called the Seven Crofts; but each night after the blocks of stone had been conveyed to their destination they were hurled by supernatural agency over the houses to another field called The Tye. At last a wise man seeing four oxen lying in this latter field with their rumps together, it was decided to build on this spot and in this form, namely cruciform. The care in building has resulted in one of the finest specimens of flint-work in England. The tower rises in the centre, surmounted by a shingled spire, and is supported by interior arches of which the piers are almost unique, being semi-octagonal and concave. The whole building is in the Decorated and Perpendicular style. On the south side of the chancel is a handsome Perpendicular piscina and three-seated sedilia, of which the rounded arches suggest a date prior to the church as it now stands. The walls of the church are said to have been covered with frescoes.

The old Clergy House is contemporary with the church. It is constructed of oak framing, with wattle and daub in the interstices, an open timbered roof, cambered tie-beams, and moulded king-posts. It is an architectural gem, with a beautiful little garden attached to it.

From Alfriston to Pevensey, where we walked through the extensive ruins of what were practically three castles. The area enclosed by the outer circuit was undoubtedly the Roman station of Anderida, with stone wall and round towers, two of which flanked the south-west gate. Soon after the landing of the Normans in A.D. 1066 William the Conqueror granted Pevensey to his half-brother, Robert, Earl of Mortmain, who utilised the Roman walls as an enceinte for his castle. The Normans dug a moat round the Norman walls and raised a mound 30 feet high at the south-east corner within the enclosure. Later stone curtain walls with towers and main western gateway were built, and formed the Norman bailey. Traces of Norman work are to be found in the towers of the gateway, but the main work remaining dates from the thirteenth century, when Peter of Savoy surrounded the stone keep with a third fortalice.

From Pevensey we returned to St. Leonard's. After dinner we held an "At Home" to entertain the local Brethren in acknowledgement of their kind invitation to Hastings. W.Bro. F. W. S. Cushman, Provincial Grand Secretary, was unfortunately, owing to ill-health, unable to be with us to read his paper on *The History of Sussex Lodges*, which was read on his behalf.

On Sunday the party attended Service at Blacklands Church, when the Rural Dean of Lewes—Bro. Rev. E. Griffiths—preached an impressive sermon. After the Service we drove through the interesting parts of Hastings on our way back to St. Leonards. After lunch at the hotel the party departed by the 3.5 p.m. train to London.



HISTORY OF SUSSEX LODGES.

BY W.BRO. F. W. S. CUSHMAN.



THE birth of Freemasonry in Sussex as elsewhere is "wropt in mystery". Perhaps the earliest existent reference to a Lodge in Sussex is that in the records of Grand Lodge under the date 2nd March, 1732, "The Petition of Bro. Chas. Edward Hall "a member of the Lodge at the Swan Chichester being there "made a Mason by the late Duke of Richmond six & thirty "years ago, and now recommended by the present Duke of "Richmond as a proper object of charity of Free & Accepted "Masons". The Petition was read and it was "resolved that six guineas be "given to Bro. Hall for his present subsistence".

This would go to show that a Lodge at Chichester was in existence in 1696; and this is corroborated in *The Pocket Companion & History of Free Masons* published in 1764, which says that in 1695 "the most noble Charles Duke "of Richmond & Lenox Grandfather of the present Duke, Master of a Lodge at "Chichester coming to the annual Assembly in London was chosen Grand Master "and approved by the King".

William Preston (13th Edition, p. 189) states that in 1697 the Duke of Richmond who was elected Grand Master was Master of a Lodge at Chichester. As to how long that Lodge had been in existence I can find no evidence.

In 1724 a Warrant was granted to and "accepted" by the Lodge, which was called the Lodge of St. John, the second Duke of Richmond being Grand Master at the time. It was numbered 48 and met at the Swan Inn Chichester but was erased from the records. It is not included in a list of Lodges published in 1764.

In 1736 a Warrant was granted to hold a Lodge in London under the No. 151; and, after meetings at various taverns, it migrated to Arundel in 1789 where it met until it was removed to Littlehampton, where it still meets under the title of the Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love No. 56.

In 1774 the first Provincial Grand Master for Sussex was appointed, Capt. Francis Minshall; but I find little or no trace of his activities. After 1782 he does not appear to have held the office. No Lodge was consecrated during his tenure. The office of Prov. Grand Master was apparently vacant from 1782 to 1788 when General Sir Samuel Hulse, G.C.B., was appointed, and he, in 1797, appointed as his Deputy Capt. Henry Shelley a member of the family which included the Poet. In 1814 Sir Samuel Hulse was succeeded by the 4th Duke of Richmond, the first of the three Dukes of Richmond who have held the office of Prov. Grand Master for Sussex, the others being the 5th and 7th Dukes. The Duke referred to above as being chosen Grand Master in 1695 was doubtless the First Duke.

The 4th Duke, when Lt. Col. Lennox of the Coldstream Guards, gained some notoriety in challenging his Colonel to a duel as a consequence of the alleged utterance by the latter of words reflecting on the honour of his Junior Officer. The Colonel was the Duke of York, a son of King George III., and the gentleman famous for marching his men up the hill and marching them down again. As a result, on Wimbledon Common on the 26th May, 1789,

Lt. Col. Lennox shot away a curl from the Duke's head from a distance of 12 paces and honour is said to have been satisfied in spite of some difference of opinion on the part of the Duke himself.

In the 18th Century Warrants were granted for Lodges at Rye, Shoreham, Lewes, Chichester, Hastings, Seaford and Brighton.

The first Lodge constituted in Hastings was "Harmony" No. 583 in 1799, and the meeting house was "The Swan". In 1814 it was re-numbered 601, in 1817 it met at the "Anchor" and then at the "Crown", and subsequently it united with the "Derwent" under No. 54, altering in 1832 to No. 47, and in 1863 to its present No. 40. There was also a Military Lodge meeting at Hastings, attached to the Wiltshire Regiment of Militia, which was constituted in May, 1794, and afterwards settled in Wiltshire, but was erased before 1832.

Of the 18th Century Lodges, just mentioned, only three are now existent, the Royal Clarence at Brighton, South Saxon at Lewes and the Royal York at Brighton which was constituted as the Royal Cinque Ports Lodge, Seaford, and moved to Brighton as the Royal York Lodge in 1823.

The history of one of these extinct Lodges affords interesting reading, and W. Bro. Ivor Grantham has written a history of the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 701.

He gives us many illuminating incidents which give us an idea of what Freemasonry in Sussex was like about a Century ago.

I wonder what would happen to-day, if a Lodge, before consecration, commenced operations by virtue of a Dispensation granted by the Provincial Grand Master "until such time as a Dormant Warrant can be transferred under "the Seal of the Grand Lodge". This actually happened in the case of this Lodge. Within a very short period of the signing of the Petition the Lodge was meeting at the "Chequers Inn", Maresfield, under this Dispensation; and that this was being done with the knowledge of Grand Lodge is evidenced by the fact that the Secretary was writing to Grand Lodge asking for certain directions as to procedure. A passage in a letter, dated the 12th May, 1818, from the Secretary to Grand Lodge, is quite frank with regard to a Provincial Grand Secretary of the time. The Secretary of the Lodge says "I am aware "that it is not *strictly* regular to communicate with the Grand Secretary, there "being a *Provincial* one to apply to, but as I have some idea of the extent of "their Masonic abilities in that quarter I thought any application for information unnecessary". By February, 1819, three Craft degrees had been conferred upon John Merricks, Gunpowder Manufacturer of Edinburgh, and all within one calendar month, "on account of his impending departure from "the County"; and all this took place before even the Warrant was received, and this did not arrive until the month of November, 1819,—eighteen months after the Lodge commenced working. In the course of correspondence with Grand Secretary, a pheasant, a brace of partridges and a hare are all mentioned, which may or may not be significant.

In 1823 the Lodge migrated to Uckfield and continued to meet there for about 4½ years; but a return made to the Grand Lodge in March, 1828, covering the years 1824 to 1827, gives seven names only, and little surprise need be occasioned by the discovery that on the 23rd May, 1827, the Lodge was closed and adjourned *sine die*. On that date a Resolution was moved in the Lodge asking the then R.W. Prov. Grand Master—the Duke of Richmond, Lenox, Aubigny, etc. etc. to allow the Lodge to be moved to Lewes, of which he approved in September, 1827.

The Lodge survived until 1840, and in 1851 it was erased from the records as no Returns to Grand Lodge had been made since 1838.

The Minute Book sheds some light upon an attitude which does not coincide with that in force to-day. The reception accorded to the United Lodge

of Harmony and Friendship by certain members of the South Saxon Lodge of Lewes, which had then been established some 30 years, was distinctly hostile, and correspondence was going on between Grand Lodge and Prov. Grand Secretary which certainly did not disclose much harmony or friendship. In one letter it is described as "This upstart Lodge . . . with a degree of "pertinacity that strongly betrays an insidious design." In September, 1827, "the Senior and Junior Wardens jointly forwarded a letter to the Grand "Secretary in which they say that the removal of this Lodge to Lewes is without "the exception the greatest piece of injustice ever heard of. . . . We rely "that the measure may not be sanctioned until an investigation has taken place— "Lewes can but barely support one Lodge. . . ." (an observation completely justified by subsequent events, though now—a century later—no longer true).

It is evidence of the feeling between the two Lodges that for seven years the meetings coincided, with the inevitable result that the attendance of brethren at both Lodges declined.

In the Minute Book are to be found the following entries:—

June 24th 1828

"Lodge business being thus far concluded,
 "the same was closed with solemn prayer
 "and adjourned until 5.o'clock at Bro.
 "Bollen's at the Stag Inn.
 "Stag Inn, 5.O'clock.
 "The Brethren being assembled in the ante
 "room were commanded to clothe, and at a
 "signal for that purpose given removed into
 "the room intended for the Banquet, when the
 "following Brethren sat down to a sumptuous
 "dinner prepared in Mrs. Bollen's usual style
 "of excellence, viz. . . ."

On the 2nd December, 1835, a Resolution was proposed that a junction of the two Lodges in the Town of Lewes should be effected. It was seconded but was not put from the Chair.

The olive branch was apparently holden out about this time, for on the 16th December, 1835, we find two brethren of the South Saxon Lodge visiting the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship for the purpose of inviting the members to dine with the South Saxon Lodge on St. John's Day. Evidently they could not make up their minds to accept this, for, on the 21st December, a Lodge of emergency was called "to take the same into consideration". At the Lodge of emergency on the 21st December "after several Brethren had delivered their "sentiments upon the question which was put to the ballot, it was carried by "a majority that the invitation from the South Saxon Lodge should be accepted". Possibly the proximity of Christmas had something to do with this decision.

In September, 1837, it was agreed that the Lodge should be discontinued and that the Lodge regalia and furniture be sold, and this was apparently done, the amount realised being £17. It is interesting to note that a page in the Minute Book is headed "Inventory of Lodge Furniture etc. etc." but otherwise it is blank.

The practice of adjourning the Lodge was frequently indulged in during the period under review, while on several occasions one or more of the regular meetings were entirely suspended by arrangement between the members or by direction of the W.M. for reasons which may nowadays seem strange:—

"1829 July 22 . . . closed with solemn prayer and
 "adjourned to Wednesday . . . on account of the Lewes
 "Races and Assizes happening on the days on which
 "the Lodge is usually held".

“ 1832 Nov. 21 . . . closed with solemn prayer (and in
 “ consequence of the forthcoming Election, and in
 “ order to avoid political excitement or discussion
 “ amongst the Brethren) the same was adjourned to
 “ Wednesday, January 9th and then to meet for the
 “ general purposes of Masonry ”.

“ 1834 Oct. 15 . . . closed and adjourned to Wednesday
 “ 29th instant instead of the Wednesday following that
 “ being the 5th of November when it was deemed most
 “ prudent not to meet on that evening.”

“ 1834 Nov. 19 . . . Lodge business being concluded the
 “ same was closed with solemn prayer and about to
 “ adjourn, when the W.M. addressed the brethren as
 “ follows: ‘ My reason for closing the Lodge without
 “ naming a day whereupon to meet again arises from the
 “ purist motive and I trust you will all be satisfied
 “ when I explain myself — it is this. Seeing that the
 “ peace of the Town of Lewes is about to be disturbed
 “ by a contested Election, and when I look at those
 “ who compose this Lodge, and find that they are of
 “ different parties — In order to do away with anything
 “ of political feeling among us, I think we had better
 “ let the Election with all its confusion be passed over
 “ previous to our next assembly in Lodge Order whereby
 “ we shall be enabled to escape and avoid every party
 “ feeling and maintain our integrity as Masons and Men
 “ and thereby prevent ill will or party feeling to break
 “ in upon us — I therefore declare this Lodge adjourned
 “ *sine die.* ’ ”

The By-laws of the Lodge were lengthy. By-law No. 20 provides that every Officer absent at the opening of the Lodge should be fined—W.M. 2/6, each Warden 1/6, Treasurer, Secretary, Deacons and other Officers 1/- and the other members 6d.—“ except such absentee be sick, lame, in confinement, or “ living more than three miles from the place of meeting”, and a note says: “ all fines to be spent for gin or grogs and tobacco ”.

Freemasonry does not appear to have been very flourishing in Sussex during the first half of the 19th Century. Indeed it may be said to have been in a state of decay between 1827 & 1854. Here is an extract from the Minutes of a Meeting of Prov. Grand Lodge on 17th November, 1854:—

“ —————and Friday the 17th day of November,
 “ 1854 having been appointed for the First Meeting of
 “ the Provincial Grand Lodge, the Brethren of the
 “ several Lodges in the Province met for that purpose,
 “ pursuant to summons.”

“ Bro. Colonel James McQueen, the Very Worshipful the
 “ Provincial Deputy Grand Master then addressed the
 “ Brethren as follows—
 “ I question whether there is a similar instance in
 “ the annals of Freemasonry, of a Provincial Grand
 “ Lodge, instituted as that of Sussex, in the year 1801,
 “ having sustained a lapse of twenty seven years
 “ without assembling, and had it not been for the
 “ increasing and zealous exertions of several energetic

“and worthy members of the craft in effecting the
 “present arrangement, this, our Grand Lodge, might have
 “continued from year to year in comparative abeyance.

“In May last, I sent to each Lodge in this Province a
 “notice of my appointment, since then diligent enquiry
 “has been instituted after the minute book of proceedings,
 “the By-Laws and Regalia of the Lodge, but nothing
 “belonging to the Provincial Lodge can be found, except
 “some papers and Treasurer’s documents, handed to me
 “by His Grace the Duke of Richmond, our Right Worshipful
 “Provincial Grand Master, on my appointment in April
 “last, the same having been placed in his hands by the
 “Past Provincial Treasurer, brother William Ridge, on
 “his quitting Sussex many years ago, to whose high
 “Masonic principles our Grand Lodge is indebted for the
 “recovery of the sum of £40.4.4. standing in the
 “Chichester Savings Bank to the credit of our Provincial
 “Grand Lodge, that amount Bro. William Ridge has
 “transferred to me as Trustee, until you shall have this
 “day elected a Treasurer”.

“We have also regained the Provincial Grand Banner and
 “Grand Deacons Wand which Bro. Butcher W.M. of the South
 “Saxon Lodge No. 390, and his Brethren have carefully
 “preserved, our best thanks are due to them for their
 “promptitude in placing them at our disposal this day. . . .

Eight Lodges were erased during the first half of the 19th Century and only three Lodges whose Warrants were granted in the first half of the 19th Century exist in Sussex to-day. There were only 7 active Lodges when, in 1857, the Royal Brunswick Lodge was consecrated at Brighton. Onwards the growth was steady and by 1886 there were 26 Lodges and 7 Chapters. The last Sussex Lodge to become extinct was Mariners, Littlehampton, which was erased in 1859; but, for some years after this, there seems to have been some pessimism. As late as 1883 the author of “History of Freemasonry in Sussex” referring to Lodges, which had met at Uckfield, Brighton, Worthing, Littlehampton and Horsham and had become extinct, wrote “a half dozen zealous masons cannot keep a Lodge going for any time in these small Towns and thinly populated districts and we feel sure that many of the Lodges started in the last decade will be equally as short lived as some of those whose existence we have already chronicled”. Fortunately time has proved this prophecy to be false; for, as already stated, not one of the Lodges in the “small towns” referred to, has had to give up its Warrant, nor is there any sign of anything of the sort happening.

Sir W. W. Burrell, on his Installation as Prov. Grand Master in 1877, said that if he had health and strength he intended to visit every Lodge in the Province; but, as there were *nineteen* of them, he did not think he could be expected to visit all in the course of one year. The visits made by the present Prov. Grand Master and Deputy Prov. Grand Master (to say nothing of those of the Asst.Prov. Grand Master) approximate 40 each per annum, and every effort is made that every Lodge shall receive a visit from one or the other at least once during each year.

The year 1886 marked an event in Sussex Freemasonry of which the Province is justly proud. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught & Strathearn, Earl of Sussex, was installed as Prov. Grand Master for Sussex by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.) M.W. Grand Master and held the office for 15 years, retiring when he was appointed M.W.

Grand Master in 1901. H.R.H.'s rule over the Province was by no means perfunctory; he took a keen personal interest in the work in the Craft and earned and gained the love and esteem of his Brethren in the Province equal to that of all Brethren in the Craft which he holds to-day.

The first Lodge to be consecrated under the rule of His Royal Highness was appropriately enough the Earl of Sussex No. 2201. The Deputy Prov. Grand Master Bro. Gerard Ford was the first Master, succeeded by Sir W. T. Marriott, M.P. for Brighton, who was to become Deputy Prov. Grand Master in 1889.

By the time that His Royal Highness retired to take up the more important duties of Grand Master the number of Lodges in the Province had increased to 33. It is indicative of the remarkable growth of Freemasonry, that in the 20th Century the number of Lodges in Sussex has more than doubled *i.e.* from 33 to 75. His Grace the Duke of Richmond (7th) and Gordon was installed Provincial Grand Master in 1901 and held the office until his retirement owing to advancing years in 1925. Twenty-two Lodges were consecrated from 1902 to 1925, no less than 14 of these being between 1919 and 1925. It is pleasing to note that in every case the approval of the R.W. Prov. Grand Master to the granting of Warrants for these Lodges was justified, in that all of them are in a flourishing condition and in no case has there been any cause for anxiety.

On Bro. T. Weller-Poley retiring in 1912 from the office of Deputy Prov. Grand Master His Grace appointed Bro. Major R. Lawrence Thornton to be his Deputy and it was soon evident that the appointment was to make its mark upon the work in Freemasonry in the Province. The "work" in most of the Lodges had inclined to slackness, and the dignity that should always be evident in the rendering of the Ritual was in many cases sadly neglected. It is not so now—indeed it is exceptional to find any of the Ceremonies worked in such a way as to demand adverse criticism, and there is no doubt that this has been brought about by the example and precept set by the Deputy Prov. Grand Master appointed by the Duke of Richmond & Gordon in 1912.

We are now proud to acclaim him our Prov. Grand Master, an appointment which he deservedly received in 1926 on the retirement of the Duke of Richmond & Gordon in 1925. Under his guidance and rule 20 Lodges have been consecrated and, with one exception caused through his severe illness, he has consecrated every one in a manner gaining the highest admiration from all whose privilege it has been to be present on these occasions. It was due to his active and practical work that the number of Lodges in the Province now entitle it to the appointment of an Asst. Prov. Grand Master, and our Prov. Grand Master again showed his aptitude for doing the right thing, by appointing W.Bro. Col. C. R. B. Godman, T.D., P.G.D.

On his appointment in 1926 the Prov. Grand Master had appointed W.Bro. Dr. Henry Gervis to be his Deputy, but, to the regret of all the Brethren in the Province, he retired from the post in June, 1935, and W.Bro. Col. C. R. B. Godman was appointed by the R.W. Prov. Grand Master to the vacancy thus created. This appointment made it possible for the R.W. Prov. Grand Master to appoint W.Bro. Sir Geo. M. Boughey Bt. C.B.E., P.D.G.D.C. as Asst. Prov. Grand Master, an appointment which has again demonstrated the happiness of our Prov. Grand Master's choice.

It can be safely stated that never was Freemasonry in Sussex in a more prosperous and secure position than it is to-day—with 75 Craft Lodges, 34 Chapters, 16 Mark Lodges, besides other Degrees; almost every corner of the Province is provided with Masonic facilities and it is gratifying to realise that these facilities are enjoyed by Brethren who are keen and sincere in masonic practice and by whose help the brotherhood has obtained a lasting place in the History of Sussex.

St. John's Day in Harvest

SATURDAY, 24th JUNE, 1939.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, *B.A., B.L., P.G.D.*, Ireland, P.M., as W.M.; Major C. C. Adams, *M.C., P.G.D.*, S.W.; B. Ivanoff, J.W.; Col. F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*, Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., P.A.G.R., S.D.*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, I.G.; and Rev. W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, *P.G.Gh.*, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. W. H. Topley; G. S. Shepherd-Jones, *P.A.G.D.C.*; Robt. A. Card; F. A. Greene; A. F. Cross; W. Morgan Day; R. W. Strickland; A. W. R. Kendrick; S. Dargavel; W. B. Gregar; J. C. da Costa; C. H. H. Adams; Jas. J. Cooper; S. J. H. Prynne; R. Henderson-Bland; J. F. Nicholls; F. E. Barber; Robt. S. Faird; F. Millar-Scott; T. L. Found, *P.A.G.St.B.*; S. W. Freeborn; L. G. Wearing; J. Johnstone, *P.A.G.D.C.*; L. J. B. Morris; S. R. Clarke; A. F. Ford; R. G. Cooper; F. Coston Taylor; and W. J. Mean.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. W. Bell, *P.A.G.D.C.*; and A. H. Blake.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. C. Powell, *P.G.D., P.M.*; R. H. Baxter, *P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.*; Rev. H. Poole, *B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.*; W. J. Williams, *P.M.*; D. Flather, *J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; B. Telepneff; D. Knoop, *M.A., P.M.*; W. I. Grantham, *M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex*; F. W. Golby, *P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, W.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *P.Pr.G.D., Armagh*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W., Derby, J.D.*; and H. C. Bristowe, *M.D., P.A.G.D.C.*

One Lodge and eleven Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Secretary drew attention to some interesting

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Three Autograph Letters from the Duke of Sussex.

Sixteen various Portraits of the Duke.

Book Plate of book presented by the Duke.

Programme of the Duke of Sussex Funeral Procession.

Coloured Print of Myrza Abdul Hassan Khan, who was initiated into Freemasonry in the presence of the Duke.

Presentation copy of book entitled *Documents Regarding the Claims of Augusta of Este*.

Illustrations in a Memoir of the Duke taken from the *Illustrated London News* of 29th April, 1843.

Two Bronze Medals commemorating the death of the Duke.

Book, *Tentamen*, dedicated to the Duke, showing long list of titles.

Invitation to Masonic Charity Ball, 1840.

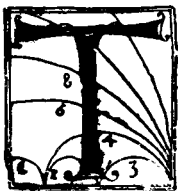
Various Addresses to the Duke as Grand Master.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for Exhibition.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS read the following paper:—

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF SUSSEX.

BY BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS, M.A., F.S.A., P.A.G. Reg.



O have been twice "morganatically"¹ married; to have been the first Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge and to have reigned over it for some thirty years; to have left one's body for dissection (and that in the medical twilight of the eighteenth-thirties); to have been a prince among radicals and a radical among princes; to have been the son of a reigning monarch and never to have risen beyond the rank of colonel, and that of a volunteer regiment—surely all this is enough to have earned a place in the temple of fame and perhaps in that of history. Such is the achievement of the Duke of Sussex, and though one may smile, and occasionally grieve, over some of these achievements, yet one cannot help thinking that in this variegated record, there is evidence of much solid worth and much that is of service to the cause of humanity.

According to the newspapers of the time, at five o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, January 27th, 1773, Queen Charlotte, wife of George III., was taken with the pains of labour, and following custom the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain were sent for to be present at the birth. But before their arrival, at about 5.50, the Queen was safely delivered of a male child, who on February 25th was baptized Augustus Frederick, the ninth child and the sixth prince to be born to his parents. The fanciful may see in the infant's arrival before Archbishop and Chamberlain an auspice of the radicalism of the future Duke of Sussex.

² The early days of the young Augustus Frederick were passed in a cottage at Kew with two of his brothers, Ernest and Adolphus, under the care of two tutors. In 1786, the three princes, attended by Lord Howe and General Faucet, embarked at Gravesend on the "Augusta" yacht for Germany. On July 6th they were entered at the University of Gottingen, which had been founded by George II. in 1734. Each of them was accompanied by a governor, a preceptor, and a gentleman-in-waiting; they were lodged in one house and the expenses of their table were fixed at 600 crowns a week. Professor Mayer taught them the German language; Mr. Heyne, Latin; Less, theology; and Feder, morality. Each of these teachers was rewarded with an extraordinary grant of 1,000 crowns a year. Gottingen is only about 100 miles south of Hanover, and as George III. was Elector of Hanover, Mr. Fulford suggests that the particular university chosen was selected not so much on account of the learning it provided as with the political object of giving the Hanoverians an opportunity of being impressed with the superior charms of English gentlemen and to encourage them to adopt English manners and customs. Prince Augustus from his early years and during a great part of his life suffered from asthma, and it seems to have been decided that a prolonged stay on the Continent and the abstention from a

¹ I have used the word "morganatic" and its derivatives throughout this paper and in inverted commas, recognizing that though it is a term unknown to English Law, yet it not ineptly conveys the character of the Duke's quasi-matrimonial adventures.

² Fulford: *Royal Dukes*, p. 286.

military career would give him a greater chance of overcoming his malady. ¹ In 1790, the Princes Ernest and Adolphus were gazetted to the army, but Augustus was to spend some time in travelling in Germany and Italy, studying men and manners, but still struggling against ill-health—indeed, in that same year George Selwyn mentions a rumour of the Prince's death. We from time to time catch glimpses of him in the letters and memoirs of the time. In November, 1791, the Countess of Elgin writes that Mrs. Cargat reports that Prince Augustus is somewhere near Naples, that he is a charming young prince, that he had dined with her husband on his way from Vevey, where he has resided some time. "He is", she says, "so good, amiable and attentive; he is in perfect health, is much improved, and his constitution strengthened". ² In August, 1792, he dined with the King of Prussia at Coblenz, and afterwards attended by all the Englishmen of distinction there, took his departure on his further travels. The Prince later on was to refer to his stay in Coblenz as having first given him an opportunity of meeting the Polish army. ³ In September, 1793, a friend of hers writes to Madame d'Arblay (Fanny Burney) to say that she had met Prince Augustus and Prince Adolphus, and that the former "is not so lively (as his brother), and by no means boisterous; a mild affability reminds you that he is the favourite brother of the Princess Elizabeth; and if he has not been allowed to exercise that military courage which constitutes the heroes of history, we know that he has manifested admirable firmness in the course of his long sufferings; and Rosseau asserts that the negative virtues are the most sublime".

"The Times" in its issue of the last day of the year 1792 stated that Prince Augustus had gone to Rome, where he proposed to stay the winter. It was to be an eventful visit.

At the time the Prince was visiting Rome, there were also staying there Lady Dunmore and her two daughters, Augusta and Virginia Murray. A chance encounter with Lady Augusta in the Church of St. Giacomo led to a friendship between him and that lady, and to the kindling of a fervent passion. Its fervour may be gauged from the terms of the written engagements entered into by the parties, of which the Prince's undertaking may be quoted: "On my knees before God our Creator, I Augustus Frederick promise thee Augusta Murray, and swear upon the Bible, as I hope for Salvation in the World to come, that I will take thee Augusta Murray for my Wife—for better for worse—for richer for poorer—in sickness and in health—to love and to cherish till death us do part—to love but thee only and none other:—and may God forget me, if I ever forget thee—The Lord's name be praised! so bless me! so bless us, O God: and with my handwriting do I Augustus Frederick this sign—March the 21st, at Rome, and put my seal to it, and my name Augustus Frederick".

After four months' acquaintance, the Prince offered his hand in marriage, but was refused on account of the apprehension felt by Lady Augusta as to the disadvantages which a marriage with her would entail for her admirer. He succeeded in convincing her, however, and on April 4th, 1793, they were privately married at Rome according to the rites of the Church of England at an "inn commonly known by the name of Sarmiento". The officiating clergyman was the Rev. William Gunn; there were no witnesses. In spite of its secrecy, some rumour of the marriage appears to have got abroad, for "The Times" on the 26th of the month stated that "Having made it our business to enquire into the fact", it can say in the best authority that the report is unfounded, having originated in a letter received "by a young lady from her beau". It added that the Prince was tired of travelling abroad, and being anxious to return had asked the King for leave to do so. The Prince himself was in fact glad to hear

¹ H.M.C. 15th Rep., vii., 245.

² "The Times", August 8th, 1792.

³ Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay, vol. v., p. 369 (1843 ed.).

that the rumour had been refuted; he was anxious for concealment while the lady asked that the King should be informed of the marriage. Lady Dunmore and her daughters left Rome for Florence a few weeks later, arriving there early in June and the Prince followed.

By now nature had provided signs of the marriage and Lady Dunmore had to be told of the cause of her daughter's indisposition. Augustus was ordered home and left Florence at the end of June. He was detained at Leghorn for a time waiting for the frigate which was to take him home, but finally left that port on August 3rd, having been absent from his native shores since 1786.

He arrived in England in September, followed shortly afterwards by Lady Dunmore and her daughters, and he visited them at their house in Lower Berkeley Street. His wife being in an advanced stage of pregnancy, and he wishing to set at rest any doubts of the legality of the connection, the Prince in December had the banns of marriage between "Augustus Frederick" and "Augusta Murray" published in St. George's Church, Hanover Square, on three Sundays in December, 1793, and a second ceremony accordingly took place. A son, Augustus Frederick, known by the surname of D'Este, after a common ancestor of his parents, was born on January 13th, 1794, and just after his birth the Prince, being affected by asthma, left England for Italy and Germany. While abroad he became very ill and Lady Augusta by means of a passport in a feigned name contrived to visit him. Meanwhile the King had proceedings taken in the Court of Arches to annul the English marriage, and the decree of annulment was pronounced in the summer of 1794, the Italian marriage being treated as but "a show and effigy".

The Prince returned to England from the Continent in 1800, leaving Berlin suddenly and with his debts there unpaid. He then lived with Lady Augusta in Hertford Street and Lower Grosvenor Street until in December ill-health again forced him to go abroad. Next year disagreement between husband and wife gave rise to angry feelings and led to a separation which was finally completed in 1806. A daughter, Augusta Emma, had been born in August, 1801.¹

Although the final terms of the separation were not completed until 1806, the domestic life of the two ended in 1801. In that year the Prince was created Duke of Sussex, Earl of Inverness, and Baron of Arklow, and was given a parliamentary grant of £12,000 a year, raised in 1806 to £18,000. He had previously been dependent on an allowance from his father. By the terms of the final settlement, Lady Augusta (or Countess) d'Ameland, as she was now to be called, was to receive an annuity from the Government charged on certain colonial customs duties in consideration of her surrender of her rights under a covenant made with the Duke of Sussex in 1802 and of her withdrawing her chancery suit for its performance; besides this annuity, the Duke agreed to settle on her a proportion of his parliamentary grant together with £500 a year for the maintenance and education of the son, and £200 a year for that of the daughter. Further she was not to use the title of Duchess of Sussex, and the King and the Duke were to provide for the payment of her debts. In 1809 the custody of the children was taken from her.

So ended the romantic episode which had begun in 1793. What was the cause of the separation is not clear. Mr. Fulford says: "Whether it was made clear to him that he would never be given his Parliamentary grant as long as he clung to Lady Augusta and that he preferred the solid worth of a Dukedom and £12,000 a year to the charms of a forty-year-old wife, or whether Lady Augusta was unfaithful to him, will never be known for certain, though at the time both

¹ In a speech delivered some years later the Duke referred to his having lost a child by drowning. As to who the child was I have no information.

explanations of his conduct were suggested". I think we can acquit the lady of any suggestion of unfaithfulness, not only in view of the lack of any direct evidence, but by reason of the fact that she was given a liberal allowance and particularly the custody of the children, the latter until 1809, when they were taken from her for another reason. Not unnaturally, though she acquiesced, she was not satisfied with the settlement, and she writes rather pathetically to Sir John Dillon in 1811: "Lord Thurlow told me my marriage was good abroad. Religion taught me it was good at home; and not one decree of any powerful enemy could make me believe otherwise, nor ever will. By refusing me a subsistence they have forced me to take a name—not the Duke of Sussex's—but they have not made me believe I have no right to his. My children and myself were to starve, or I was to obey, and I obeyed; but I am not convinced, therefore pray don't call this 'an act of mutual consent', or say 'the question is at rest'. The moment my son wishes it I am ready to declare that it was debt, imprisonment, arrestation, necessity (force like this in short) which obliged me to seem to give up my claims, and not any conviction of their fallacy"—hardly the letter of a guilty wife. I think it would be reasonable to attribute the separation to the combined effects of the waning of a great passion, disillusionment with the fading charms of an aging wife, poverty and ill-health, and to the steady pressure of the King and his ministers. His treatment of Lady Augusta is the least creditable episode in the career of the Duke of Sussex.

For several years after his marriage, as for many before it, the Prince spent much of his time abroad, and from the newspapers and correspondence of the period we catch glimpses of his travels and of his activities. ¹ In May, 1795, we find him in Rome, where he "rode before" the Pope, descended from his carriage to kiss the hand of His Holiness, and was affectionately received. ² At the end of 1796, he proposes to spend the winter in Vienna. In 1800 he is in Berlin. And during this time and later we find him writing home, making suggestions as to policy, and asking for favours or pensions for his friends. His interest in other religions, particularly that of the Roman Catholic Church, seems to have caused some slight scandal and even led to the rumour that he was purposing to join that communion. ³ In April, 1802, James Traill writes to J. H. Frere reporting that the Prince has shown "unusual acts of respect" to the Roman Catholic Church by attending the services at Lisbon, but that he denies having joined it, although he refuses to take the Sacrament in the English Chapel. Further it is reported that he shows "indolence" and "great facility of disposition". On the other hand, he befriended da Costa, a victim of the Inquisition at Lisbon, who afterwards became a member of his social and masonic circle.

Unlike his brothers, Augustus Frederick received no military training, by reason of his illness and his absence abroad, but in 1805 he accepted the command of the Loyal North Britons, a volunteer regiment raised to resist threatened invasion, in the room of Lord Reay; and his picture was painted by Pellegrini in the uniform of that corps. "The Times" in reporting the appointment stated that he would attend a parade at Gray's Inn, after which there would be held a grand field day. The Duke did, in fact, attend and "exhibited all the soldierly aspect and bonny countenance of a bra' muckle chief, frae the Grampian Hills". At a previous field day the whole of the drummers had separated from the corps and allowed it to return without them. They had been tried at drum-head by court-martial, and sentenced to a number of lashes varying in the case of each drummer with the degree of his guilt. At the parade, the Duke addressed them, approved the sentence, but pardoned the offenders.

¹ "The Times", June 22nd, 1795.

² *Ibid.*, December 6th, 1796.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 38237.

The earlier years of the century were shadowed for the Duke by ill-health and financial distress. In August, 1804, he paid his respects to his parents on his return from abroad, and in September he was introduced into the Privy Council at Weymouth. At the end of August, "The Times" reports that he is temporarily at Carlton House, until he can find a house near one of the fashionable squares, and in October states that he is much indisposed. ¹ Under date, 24th November, 1804, the Duke of Kent writes to Lord Dartmouth asking for the loan of the Lord Chamberlain's apartments of Kensington Palace for his brother on account of the latter's ill-health, until Mrs. Middleton's apartments can be procured. He states that the only present accommodation that Sussex has is one page's room at Carlton House, and that he is subject to "daily severe attacks of an incurable asthmatic complaint. A year or so later, we find Sussex writing to his friend Lord Moira regarding an appointment in Jamaica, which he seeks on account of the badness of his affairs, the warmth of the climate and the fact that he is the only member of the Royal Family, who, as he says, does not hold an appointment. His efforts were unsuccessful, however, thanks to the objections raised by Grenville. Again in 1807 and 1809, we read of the Duke's renewed ill-health, in the latter year due to a violent cold caught while attending the fire at St. James's Palace, which led to inflammation of the lungs.

According to his own statement, the Duke had always been of liberal views in political affairs, and on the authority of ² Lord Albemarle, he declared himself to have been an "early sufferer in the good cause. When only seven years old he was by order of the King, locked up in his nursery and sent supperless to bed for wearing Admiral Keppel's election colours". His interest was developed by his continental education and travels, and though he could speak of the European upheaval as "an awful and calamitous revolution", yet his disgust at its terror and violence seems in no way to have blinded his eyes to the need for social and economic progress and for religious toleration, nor did his love and reverence for the British Constitution affect his desire for reform within that Constitution. His frequent opposition to the government of the day was in accord with the traditional opposition of the princes of the House of Brunswick towards their royal fathers and the latter's ministers, but in his case his actions were taken in no spirit of faction and at great personal sacrifice of possible office and emoluments. The Duke's active parliamentary career began in 1810 and continued until after his niece's accession, and without the sacrifice of his political opinions and by the march of events we find him gradually transformed from the stormy, though constitutional, apostle of reform into the Nestor of Privy Councillors and the repository of the practical experience of his time.

In 1810 we find him addressing the Lords on the subject of the King's illness. Next year, he took part in the debate on the Regency Bill, pleading for the removal of the suggested limitations on the Regent's authority. In 1812, he delivered a long and learned speech in favour of Catholic Emancipation, which was reprinted by Bro. J. Asperne from Hansard. In 1813, speaking on the Address, he congratulated the House and the Country on the late happy military events. In 1814, he presented a Petition from the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland against the Orange Lodge, which were alleged to be bound by secret and illegal oaths. He also asked certain perhaps indiscreet questions regarding the quarrel between the Prince Regent and the Princess Charlotte of Wales. In 1815, he spoke on continental affairs, stating that he was anxious for the restoration of Poland to her rank among the nations. Again he presents a Petition in favour of the Catholic claims and asks for an enquiry. In 1816, he shows his interest in economic affairs by seconding the Duke of Bedford's motion for a

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.

² "Fifty Years of My Life", vol. ii., p. 103.

Committee on the State of the Nation. He stated "that necessity had taught the states of the continent to supply themselves with many articles for which they formerly depended on us . . . but they could sell all at 25 or 30 per cent. cheaper than they could be afforded here". In the years of political repression, he constantly spoke against the various Acts proposed by the Government in furtherance of their policy—against unconstitutional interference with public meetings, against the Aliens Bill, the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, the Seditious Meetings Bill, the Blasphemous Libel Bill. Occasionally we find the three Royal Dukes, Clarence, Cumberland and Sussex, intervening in the Lords' debates, not always to the enhancement of their own dignity, as the following quotation from Hansard shows:—

"The Duke of Cumberland wished to know what date was affixed to this petition. The Duke of Sussex said, it was dated the 31st of September. The Duke of Cumberland remarked that there was no such date in the year".

In April, 1829, Sussex delivered another long speech on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, which was now becoming a triumphant cause. In 1832, he presented a Petition for the "promotion of anatomical science", and made what for the time and the person was a remarkable announcement: "I have directed that, after death, my body shall be opened and examined, for I have some reason to think that there is a peculiarity in my conformation the knowledge of which may possibly serve the interests of science. For more than forty years I was afflicted with a complaint of which I have lately gotten rid . . .," After the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act, his zeal for religious toleration continued unabated; he presents a Petition in favour of the Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill, one from the Dissenters of Craven Street Chapel, another from the Society of Friends of Ireland against the death penalty. In November, 1837, he proposed the Answer to the Address from the Throne delivered by the young Queen, and his words have a prophetic interest. He expressed his "hope and belief that when the chroniclers of this country shall have to record the annals of this reign, which has begun so auspiciously (and I pray God to continue for many, many years), they will not have to write in characters of blood, but have to commemorate the triumph and glorious consequences of peace—the strict observance of the laws of the country—the security of person and property—the diffusion of knowledge—the advancement of arts, manufactures and science—the general occupation and employment of all classes of society, and the extension of commerce over the whole surface of the globe". With the accession of his niece, Sussex, for whom Queen Victoria appears to have had something like a daughterly affection, became to an extent the repository of the wisdom and experience of the Royal Family, ¹ although it is on record that he had occasion to complain that in the matter of household appointment the Queen consulted no one but her ministers and considered applications only if made through that channel, but, on the other hand, we find him giving his experience of the position of the Royal Princes in the Privy Council. ² Greville tells how, when the question of the Prince Consort's admission to the Privy Council came up, he referred to the Duke for his opinion, when Sussex informed him that the King's sons are born Privy Councillors and are declared sworn when the King pleases, that he himself was merely introduced into the Council in 1807, but that after his father's death he had to be sworn.

In the debate in the Lords on the position of the Prince Consort he recalled the acrimony displayed on both sides of the House in 1811 and 1812, and how he had urged that the Regent ought to enjoy all the privileges of a sovereign. He mentions how, placed as he was nearest to the throne next after the precedence, he had recently voluntarily resigned his position in favour of the Prince Consort.

¹ Sussex to T. J. Pettigrew, August 15th, 1837. Letter with Pettigrew family.

² *Memoirs*, iv., p. 253.

On December 20th, 1798, Prince Augustus Frederick was initiated into Freemasonry in the Royal York Lodge at Berlin, in due course proceeding to the other two degrees, and further taking several additional degrees which apparently the Lodge was authorized to confer. The "Royal York" had taken its name from Edward Augustus, Duke of York, brother of George III., who had been initiated therein in 1765, when he was about the same age as his nephew and two years before his premature death. We do not know the circumstances in which Augustus Frederick entered the craft, and can only conjecture that his admission may have been due to his intellectual curiosity and desire to make himself acquainted with the various institutions on the Continent, perhaps also to the family connection of his uncle with the Royal York Lodge.

¹ In a speech made at Sunderland in 1839, he thus referred to his introduction into and progress in the Craft: "When I first determined to link myself with this noble Institution, it was a matter of very serious consideration with me; . . . it was at a period when, at least, I had the power of well considering the matter, for it was not in the boyish days of my youth, but at the more mature age of twenty-five or twenty-six years. I did not take it up as a light and trivial matter, but as a grave and serious concern of my life. I worked my way diligently, passing through all the different offices of Junior and Senior Warden, Master of a Lodge, then Deputy Grand Master, until I finally closed it by the proud station which I have now the honour to hold".

The Duke of Sussex was at various times closely connected with four lodges,² the Prince of Wales's, the Lodge of Friendship, the Lodge of Antiquity, and the Royal Alpha; and it will perhaps be more convenient to deal with each of these in turn before passing to the record of his Grandmastership.

In July, 1810, Prince Augustus visited the Prince of Wales's Lodge, and on his again being present in November he "was graciously pleased to signify his consent to become a member of the Lodge and unanimously elected". Three of his brothers, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence, were also members. In 1815, we find Sussex in the chair and proposing that Lucius Cogan be admitted without fees. In 1823, he, as a visitor, installed the Duke of York as Master. It is curious to find in the list of arrears of subscriptions the name of Sussex frequently figuring, and that with an increasing debit; in 1818 he owed no less than £67.2.0d. Whether this liability was ultimately discharged, or was terminated otherwise than by a cash payment, we do not know. In 1826, Sussex visiting the Lodge, the Duke of York resigned the chair to his brother as Grand Master, which the latter assumed for a few minutes, addressing the Brethren and congratulating them on the prosperity of the Lodge. York having died at the beginning of 1827, it was resolved that condolences be sent to Sussex, who was to be asked "to assume the more immediate Government" of the Lodge until their Patron's pleasure be known, and to this request he acceded, assuming the Government on February 16th for one year. Throughout his life we can observe in the Duke a rigorous and punctilious regard for his prerogatives, and in the negotiations which subsequently resulted in the election of his brother, the Duke of Clarence, as Master, he had occasion to complain that the request to the latter to take the chair was sent directly and not through himself, "conformably to the last precedent". Clarence was in fact installed by his brother on February 22nd, 1828, and on his succeeding to the Throne in 1830 requested Sussex to take the Lodge under his protection, to which request the Grand Master acceded, becoming Master of the Lodge and so continuing until his death.

¹ Todd: *History of the Phoenix Lodge*, p. 134.

² I have to express my thanks to the members of these Lodges for their kindness in allowing me to peruse their Minutes, as well as to the Librarian and Assistant Librarian of Grand Lodge for allowing me access to the Minutes of Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter.

On March 12th, 1806, an emergency meeting of the Lodge of Friendship was held, which the R.W. Master Lt.-Col. Stewart announced had been convened to report to the Lodge that the Duke of Sussex, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge at Berlin, had acceded to the wishes of the Brethren by honouring meetings of the Craft by his "presence, countenance, and support". It was resolved that he be constituted a member of the Lodge without a ballot; that he be requested to accept its Mastership so long as he continues a member; and that at the usual meeting an Acting or Deputy Master be annually elected. Two days later the Duke attended the Lodge, and "The R.W. Master in the chair having resigned his Jewell, His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex was invested therewith and was installed as Master of the Lodge in due form" a Deputy or Acting Master being ballotted for. Sussex proposed a vote of thanks to the retiring Master, and seconded a member of the Grand Lodge of Prussia for membership. In 1806, W. H. White, later Grand Secretary, was appointed Secretary of the Lodge. The Duke took the chair on several occasions in the next few years, notably on June 9th, 1808, when the Marquis of Tweeddale was initiated, and Lord Moira and William Preston were present, but it is not stated who performed the ceremony. In January, 1809, it is recorded that he was absent owing to a particular engagement with the Royal Family, but he forwarded a suggestion that a Committee be appointed to frame the necessary By-Laws. On June 14th, 1810, the Lodge met at The Thatched House Tavern, "as usual", when a special Lodge was convened by the Acting Grand Master to initiate Mirza Abul Hassan, Persian Amir, and Envoy from the State to the Prince Regent. The A.G.M. and other Brethren honoured the Lodge with their company, as did the Duke of Sussex, Past Master of the Lodge. In May, 1813, the members of Fidelity congratulated the new Grand Master on his election. On December 9th of that year, the Master acquainted the Brethren that His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex had communicated to the Secretary his pleasure to decline being any longer a member of the Lodge, it not being in his power to pay attention to the duties of more than one Lodge,—a principle which, however, does not seem to have applied in the case of his concurrent membership of the Lodge of Antiquity, the Royal Alpha, and the Prince of Wales's Lodge. It was resolved to ask the Duke to allow his name to remain on the roll as an Honorary Member, with what result it is not stated, but in view of subsequent events, it is clear that he did not cease to take an interest in the Lodge. On January 11th, 1821, it was resolved to invite him to attend the celebration of its foundation. On February 8th, he was present as a visitor, with "Brother Augustus Frederick D'Este of Grand Lodge", his son. On April 12th, Sussex and D'Este were again present, and, after the Lodge was closed, the Brethren adjourned to celebrate the 101st year since its establishment. Sussex made occasional appearances during the next few years, on each of two particular visits successfully appealing for assistance for a poor and distressed brother. On June 12th, 1828, it was resolved that the members dine together at the Crown and Sceptre, Greenwich, and that the Grand Master be asked to accompany them, he having expressed his willingness to do so. On June 30th the excursion took place and was attended by the Duke and among others his friends Tynte, Baillie, and Pettigrew. In 1833, he again attended the Lodge, when his friend Lord H. J. Spencer Churchill was Master. In 1836, the Brethren expressed their gratification at his restoration to sight.

The Duke's best known connection with a private lodge is that with the Lodge of Antiquity. At an Emergency Meeting held in March, 1808, together with several other brethren of distinction who were visitors to the Lodge, he was elected as Honorary Member. In November it was announced, that, subject to election, he would be pleased to accept the Mastership. His installation had subsequently to be postponed until March, 1809, by reason of his having caught a cold, which led to a dangerous inflammation of the lungs, at the fire at St. James's

Palace. He continued as R.W. Master of the Lodge until his death, and Bro. Firebrace in his "Records" devoted a whole chapter to the events of his Mastership. With the assistance of that work and after a perusal of the original Minutes, I propose to set out some of the more interesting events of that period. On December 2nd, 1812, the Duke's son, Augustus Frederick D'Este, a Lieutenant in the 7th Regiment of Foot or the Royal Fusiliers, was ballotted for and initiated "as a case of emergency". On the 18th, D'Este was "passed" and elected an Honorary Member of the First Class. In May, 1818, the Brethren adjourned at 5 o'clock to the Banquet, when H.R.H. the R.W. Master and M.W. Grand Master joined the Lodge. In February, 1819, Sussex was present, and at 6 o'clock the Lodge adjourned to the Banquet; at 9 o'clock the Lodge was resumed and he held a Masters' Lodge in an adjoining apartment and presented the Royal Medal to Bro. Brandram who could not attend before the Banquet; the Lodge was then closed in the Third Degree and the Master joined the Brethren. At many other meetings, there is recorded the presentation by him of the Royal Medal, which he had instituted in January, 1812, as a mark of distinction for Master Masons raised in the Lodge or such subscribing members thereof who had proved themselves well skilled in the Three Degrees of the Order. In November, 1823, he delivered in a most impressive manner an eulogium on the merits of "our departed Brother P.M. Da Costa", Acting Master 1812-3, the former prisoner of the Inquisition in Portugal, with whom he had been acquainted for so many years. In February, 1824, he joined the Brethren in Lodge and "the ceremony of Installation was completed", he having previously expressed his intention of installing his friend, Col. Thomas Wildman in the chair as Deputy Master. In January, 1827, an Emergency Meeting was held to pass a vote of condolence on the death of the Duke of York, the brethren on that occasion wearing black gloves, and, in March, Sussex attended and addressed the members on his brother's death. At a meeting held on May 25th, 1827 (altered from the 23rd by his command), he was present, when a ballot was taken for Lord Weymouth, whom he had proposed and who was seconded by his friend Charles Tennyson. In February, 1828, he attended and invested the officers, giving them a charge. In June, 1833, we find him conferring the Royal Medal at a Lodge opened at Kensington Palace. On January 22nd, 1834, a letter from the Master was read in Lodge on the occasion of his twenty-five years rule of its members, in which he signed himself "with the sacred number". Next month he attended the Lodge, received an address and presented a signed reply, and then gave an oral address at considerable length referring to the important events that had occurred during his Mastership. In October, 1836, he replied to an address of congratulation on the successful result of his operation for cataract. In January, 1837, a grant was made towards his Tribute. In May, a letter from him was read showing that sense of the rights of others as well as of his own prerogative which characterized the royal radical; he consented to the consideration of certain financial measures, "but that they are to be considered in the first instance as suggested for the better regulation of the finances of the Lodge, and not as any dictation on my part". On May 3rd, 1843, an Emergency Lodge was held to record the decease of the M.W. Grand Master and R.W. Master, resolutions recording the grief and respect of the members were passed, and a long account of his career, including "34 years and 5 months" as Master, is given in the Minutes. The "Lodge Room was hung with black cloth and several portions of the Masonic furniture decorated with black crape".

The Royal Alpha Lodge No. 16 is descended from five old Lodges—the Ionic, a lodge which had met at Waltham Abbey, the Lodge of Prudence, St. Peter's, and the Royal Lodge. In 1793, the third and fourth united as "Prudence and Peter", which in turn united with the first as "Ionic and Prudence" in 1800. About 1805, the lodge at Waltham Abbey had become

almost dormant, and the Duke wishing to have a private lodge under his own control "which should be set aside for the use of distinguished Masons and others selected, and in almost every case proposed by himself", chose this lodge for his purpose, transferred it to Kensington Palace and gave it the name of Alpha. In 1823, "Alpha" united with "Ionic and Prudence" under the name of the former but with the number and seniority of the latter—16. The Royal Lodge, which had fallen into decline and gone into abeyance in 1806, was included, however, in the Union in 1813, but appears to have done no work. In 1824 it was united with the "Alpha" and took the name of the "Royal Alpha".

The portions of the earlier Minutes of such of the constituent lodges as have any such records surviving show the intimate connection the Duke had with them, and how many of his friends—men whose names we meet again and again in his masonic, in his public and in his private relationships—were members. In May, 1818, we find him present as Grand Master, with Williams in the chair, and among others present, the names of H. J. Da Costa, Meyrick, Yeats Brown, White, Shadbolt, and Fowke. Save for its meeting at Freemasons' Hall in 1818, the Lodge met either at Kensington Palace or at the King's Arms Assembly Rooms, Kensington, just outside its gates—very conveniently for the attendance of the Duke. On March 27th, 1824, there is a record of the Grand Master's presence, with Col. Weldman as Deputy Master, Meyrick as S.W., McGillivray as J.W., and White as S.D.; Dr. Cooke, Col. Tynte, and Brandram also were present. On that date, it is noted that all members of the Ionic and Prudence Lodge No. 16 being members of the Alpha, it was resolved to unite with the latter under its title, but with the number 16. On August 20th, 1824, the Grand Master was pleased to announce that he had summoned this Lodge of Emergency for the purpose of balloting for Mr. Abraham Bulaiss, an Hebrew and a Native of Tunis, whom H.R.H. had proposed and R.W. Bro. McGillivray had seconded, the candidate being about to leave the country very shortly. A ballot being taken, Bulaiss was declared duly elected, and being in attendance, was accordingly introduced and in antient form initiated into the Mysteries of the 1st Degree of Freemasonry, Brother I. Levy P.M. of the ¹ Lodge of Judah, No. 277, acting as Interpreter, and McGillivray as Deputy Master *pro tempore*. On March 1st, 1828, by command of the Grand Master, a special Meeting of the Installed Masters of the Lodge was held at Kensington Palace for the purpose of installing the Earl of Yarborough as Provincial Grand Master for the Isle of Wight, Sir Matthew White Ridley for Northumberland, and J. R. Gossett for Wiltshire. On July 31st, 1841, Bros. George Aarons of the Lodge of Israel No. 247 (now No. 205) and W. H. White gave the First and Second Sections of the Lecture in the Second Degree. On the death of the Duke, a meeting was held on April 20th, 1843, with Ramsbottom in the chair as Deputy Master, and in the presence of Lord Zetland, Prov.G.M., as Past Deputy Master, when the Deputy Master addressed the Lodge on the late melancholy event; a banquet was not provided, as the Minutes state. Reference was made to the fact that the Duke had occupied the chair for more than a quarter of a century, and that the Lodge had been "honoured by the designation of His 'own'". The Deputy Master was instructed to assure the "amiable Duchess of Inverness" of the deep sympathy of the Brethren. In June, the Duke's friend, Col. Wildman, resigned as he was residing in Nottinghamshire, of which since 1823 he had been Provincial G.M.

The first reference to the Duke in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge (of the Moderns) is on February 6th, 1805, when the following record occurs:—

"The Grand Lodge being acquainted by Brother William Gill Esq., that His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex has been initiated into Masonry

¹ This was an Antient's Lodge constituted in 1784 and erased in 1830.

in the Royal York Lodge at Berlin it was therefore

Resolved unanimously

That in testimony to the High Sense the Grand Lodge entertains of the Honour conferred on the Society by the initiation of the Duke of Sussex, His Royal Highness be presented with an Apron lined with blue Silk; and in all future Processions do rank as a Past Grand Master ”.

On December 31st, 1808, he was present together with Lord Moira when the Prince of Wales with masonic ceremony laid the foundation stone of Covent Garden Theatre. On February 12th, 1812, the Duke writes to Moira accepting the Deputy Grand Mastership and he did in fact preside at Grand Lodge on that date in that capacity, Moira informing the Brethren that in consequence of the death of Sir Peter Parker, H.R.H. The Grand Master had appointed Sussex to be his Deputy. On November 25th, Sussex was present as Grand Master when the arrangements for the Moira Dinner and Presentation were discussed.

Meanwhile, on April 4th, 1812, we find Lord Moira, Acting Grand Master, writing to Col. McMahon to say that the election of the Grand Master is to take place on the following Wednesday, and that as it would be inconsistent, if not indecorous, that the Sovereign (*i.e.*, the Prince Regent) should be subjected to a form of election which would admit the possibility of another sentiment than one, it would be better for the Prince Regent to become Patron of the Craft, and that the Duke of Sussex or any other brother whom the former might name should be elected Grand Master. This request elicited the Prince Regent's acceptance.

On January 27th, 1813, he was again present in Grand Lodge, as were also the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester. He opened the Grand Lodge; the Minutes relating to the Dinner were read; the Grand Lodge was adjourned; the Grand officers went in procession to the Hall; Sussex presided over the Dinner and afterwards presented the Jewel to Lord Moira, on his appointment as Governor-General of India. On April 7th, 1813, Sussex being present in Grand Lodge and in his capacity as Deputy acting as Grand Master, a letter was read from McMahon, the Prince Regent's Secretary, to Bayford, the Grand Treasurer, stating that his master declined to continue as Grand Master, as he was in present circumstances unable to attend and discharge the duties of the office. Sussex was thereupon elected to succeed him with “the most animated demonstrations of Joy, Affection and Respect”. On June 23rd, 1813, the new Grand Master having expressed his wish for a union of the two Grand Lodges, it was resolved that he be empowered to make arrangements to that end and if necessary to form a committee. I do not propose, beyond a few details, to set out the story of the union, it having already been dealt with by writers like Bro. Hughan and Bro. Hallett. Suffice it to say that on November 25th, 1813, Articles were signed at Kensington Palace, and were ratified at an Especial Grand Lodge, over which the Duke presided, on December 1st, and that on the 27th of the latter month was held the “Grand Assembly of Freemasons for the Union of the two Grand Lodges of England”.

We must now consider as briefly as possible some of the more important or more interesting happenings which occurred during what, all things considered, must be deemed the Duke's very active headship of Grand Lodge so far as he was concerned in them. At the meeting on May 29th, 1815, we have an early eighteenth century reminiscence: “The (Grand) Lodge being opened in the Committee Room the Procession moved in the accustomed order thrice round the Hall the Duke of Kent's Band playing a slow march after which the Brethren partook of an elegant Dinner provided by the Stewards”. On August 23rd, the Duke repeated from the Throne the ancient obligation of the First Degree which he now recommended for the sanction of the Craft. The Ancient Obligation of the Second Degree was also repeated, and it was resolved that these were the only

pure and genuine obligations. The Duke further announced that the forms for opening and closing in the Three Degrees worked by the Lodge of Reconciliation were consonant with the immemorial forms. On May 2nd, 1814, representatives of the First Lodge of the North, the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, and the Grand Lodge of Ireland attended the Grand Master's Installation. On December 7th, Robert Leslie asked the Grand Master whether he had been regularly initiated and passed, and was told that he had obligated in the Grand Master's Lodge on December 1st, 1813, in the presence of the Duke of Kent. It was resolved that Leslie's case be referred to the Board, and that he be suspended. On August 23rd, 1815, Sussex repeated the obligations of the First and Second Degrees, and the forms and ceremonies for opening and closing of the Lodge of Reconciliation were approved. On May 20th, 1816, at an Especial Grand Lodge, the Grand Master stated that he had called it so that the Lodge of Reconciliation might explain their arrangements, but that these would be submitted for sanction at the next meeting. The Lodge of Reconciliation then worked the Three Degrees. On September 3rd, 1817, he reported the union of the two Grand Chapters. On June 2nd, 1819, Sussex being absent, an address of congratulation was voted to the Duke of Kent on the birth of Princess Victoria. On August 23rd, 1819, an Especial Grand Lodge was held at the Norwich Assembly Rooms for the installation of the Duke's friend, Coke of Holkham, afterwards Earl of Leicester and Provincial G.M. for Norfolk. On September 23rd, a similar Grand Lodge was held in Bath for the installation of Arthur Chichester as Prov.G.M. for Somerset and for the dedication of the Masonic Hall, but indisposition prevented Chichester's appearance. On December 1st, the Grand Master delivered himself in Grand Lodge of several observations with regard to the delivery of the Lectures. He stated that so long as the Master of any Lodge observed the Landmarks, he could give Lectures in such language as was best suited to its character; that no itinerant lecturers should practice in other Lodges; that it was wrong to convene an assembly of the Brethren to hear a Lecture without a warrant or other sanction; and finally, that a Master of one Lodge visiting another and approving the Lectures given there might give them in his own Lodge. On September 4th, 1822, the Grand Secretary, the Grand Master being absent, announced in Grand Lodge that by command of the latter the first stone of the new Windsor-Eton bridge had been laid by the Duke of York, P.D.G.M. On March 5th, 1823, Sussex being on the Throne, £100 was granted to Bro. Isaac Lindo, who had been Senior Grand Warden in 1814 and who had suffered financial losses in the recent crisis; certain brethren were expelled from the Craft, chiefly in consequence of the recent masonic trouble at Wigan. On May 7th, 1825, an Especial Grand Lodge was held at Latymer's School House, Hammersmith, for the laying of the foundation stone of Hammersmith Bridge by the Duke. An account of the proceedings is given in Faulkner's "*History of Hammersmith*", in which it is related that at 4 o'clock the Duke arrived at the School Room where the officers of Grand Lodge were assembled, and the Lodge was opened by the Caveac Lodge. The procession then walked to the Broadway down Angel Lane in masonic order; it then divided and the Duke passed to the platform where he scattered corn, wine, and oil on the stone, afterwards dining with a numerous company at the Coffee House. On March 7th, 1827, Sussex being absent from Grand Lodge through illness, the death of his friend, the Marquis of Hastings, formerly Lord Moira, was announced. On February 22nd, 1828, an Especial Grand Lodge was held at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's Street, when the Duke handed over to his brother Clarence the Jewel of the Prince of Wales's Lodge on the latter's becoming Master. At the Grand Festival of the year, Dr. Pettigrew, the Duke's friend and librarian, was made Senior Grand Deacon. In May, at an Especial Grand Lodge held at the Shard's Arms Inn, Old Kent Road, Sussex laid the foundation stone of the Licensed Victuallers' Asylum. In September, 1829,

he approved the Jewel for the two charities, the Girls' and the Boys'. On July 17th, 1830, at an Especial Grand Lodge an Address to the Duke of Clarence on his accession as William IV, was voted. ¹ Greville in his "Memoirs" gives a rather amusing account of its reception: "To the Freemasons he [*i.e.*, the King] was rather good. The Duke of Sussex wanted him to receive their address in a solemn audience, which he refused; and when they did come he said, 'Gentlemen, if my love for you equalled my ignorance of everything concerning you, it would be unbounded', and then he added something good-humoured". On September 15th, 1831, an Especial Grand Lodge was held at the new Vestry-Room, near St. Martin's Church, for the laying of the foundation stone of Charing Cross Hospital. In March, 1833, Sussex being absent, it was announced that he had presented to Grand Lodge a bust of William IV. and the "Gilt-Silver" trowels used at the laying of the foundation stones of London University, the Licensed Victuallers Asylum and Charing Cross Hospital, "proving that every Institution by which Education may be promoted, Want relieved, or Calamity alleviated, may rely on the active Support and Co-operation of the Grand Master of the Order, whose characteristic principle is Benevolence". On September 12th, 1833, an Especial Grand Lodge was held in the Exchange-Rooms, Nottingham, over which the Duke presided, his friend, Col. Wildman, the Prov.G.M., acting as Deputy G.M., and by the G.M.'s command, the other Provincial Grand Officers retaining their places as his Grand Officers for the day. In March, 1834, to mark the fact that the King had been its Master at his accession, the officers of the Prince of Wales's Lodge were allowed to wear a special collar, and as the Grand Master had been its Master for 25 years, the officers of the Lodge of Antiquity were allowed to wear gilt jewels, he giving his gold square of Deputy G.M. to be worn by its Master. In 1834 begins for the Duke a long period of absence from Grand Lodge, due to illness and the condition of his eyes. At the Grand Festival in 1836, he sent a message that he hoped that the period had nearly arrived when the operation (for cataract) would be performed and his sight restored, and in July of that year, at an Especial Grand Lodge, the congratulations of the members were voted to him on his restoration to sight. On July 18th, 1837, at an Especial Grand Lodge, Sussex being on the Throne, an address to the young Queen on her accession was voted in which the Brethren state that they are aware "of the peculiar difficulty under which, as Free Masons, we labour at the present moment, since from the nature of our Institution, and the strict obligation which binds its Members to secrecy, our incorporate Society can be known to your Majesty, by its name and title alone". In September, the Duke wrote to the Grand Lodge requesting the receipt of the Address by the "Youthful and Maiden Queen". At the Grand Festival in 1838, a piece of plate to the value of 1,000 guineas was presented to the Grand Master to mark his 25 years' rule of the Craft. From the meeting in September, 1839, illness kept Sussex away, but it was announced that the Grand Lodge of Royal York at Berlin had appointed the Chevalier Bernard Hebel as its representative in Grand Lodge and that the Grand Master had made him Past Senior Grand Warden. Reference was made to the fact that the Berlin Grand Lodge not only owed its origin to this country, but also had taken its name from the uncle of the Grand Master, and that the latter had received "the first Light in Masonry in that Lodge in the autumn of 1798". On November 12th, an Especial Grand Lodge was held at the Phoenix Hall, Sunderland, for the purpose of laying the foundation stone of a building to be known as the 'Athenæum' and to be used as a literary and scientific institute. The Duke had been staying at Lambton Castle with his friend, Lord Durham, and proceeded thence in a carriage drawn by four greys and preceded by outriders, with Lords Durham and Zetland, Provincial Grand Masters

¹ Vol ii., p. 12 (1897 ed.).

respectively for Durham and the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, seated with him. Among those in the following carriages was Lady Cecilia Underwood. He received a vociferous welcome and subsequently attended the meeting of Provincial Grand Lodge at the Phoenix Lodge Hall. A procession was then formed and wended its way to the site of the Athenæum, where the stone was laid with masonic ceremonial, the masonic portion of the gathering afterwards proceeding to the Bridge Inn for the banquet, at which the Duke delivered two speeches, one in reply to the toast of his own health, and the other in proposing that of the Provincial Grand Master. While the dinner was being held, the front of the hotel was illuminated with a "Crown of Gas Lights" and fireworks were displayed in several parts of the town. At the December Quarterly Communication these festivities had their sequel, when it was resolved to present to Sir Cuthbert Sharp, the Deputy Prov.G.M. for Durham, a blue apron together with a seat and vote in Grand Lodge and precedence immediately after Past Grand Wardens, for his zeal and attention particularly when he acted as Senior Grand Warden in November. In 1840, three addresses were presented to the Queen; first on her wedding, then on her escape from assassination, and finally on the birth of the Princess Royal.

At an Especial Meeting in October, "held by adjournment", at which Sussex was not present, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge Royal York attended, and it was announced that Lord Salisbury had that morning been obligated and installed as Deputy G.M. at Kensington Palace. In October, 1841, the Duke proceeded North, accompanied by the one-time Lady Cecilia Underwood, now the Duchess of Inverness, and after staying with the Archbishop of York at Bishopsthorpe, went on a visit to Lord Zetland at Aske Hall. On the 20th, he drove with his host to preside over an Especial Grand Lodge, held "in the State-Room of the Mansion House, in the City of York". He gave an admonition to the Brethren against political differences in Lodge, and later attended the banquet. Reference is made in the Minutes to "The Presence of the Illustrious Grand Master, who repeatedly addressed them during the Evening (with both paternal and fraternal kindness) causing them to enjoy, in a high degree, both the Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul". On December 1st, 1841, Grand Lodge, Sussex on this occasion being absent, offered its congratulations to the Queen and the Grand Master on the birth of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII.

The Grand Master attended Grand Lodge on several occasions in 1842, but on March 1st, 1843, it was announced that severe indisposition prevented his attendance, and on April 25th, a meeting pursuant to Article 2 of the Book of Constitutions was held, and the death of Sussex formally recorded. Next day condolences were voted to the Queen and the Duchess of Inverness. At the September meeting a statue to the late Grand Master was voted to cost £1,800, and a Special Committee was appointed to which the name of Dr. Crucefix, the seconder of the motion, was added.

At the meeting of Grand Chapter held in April, 1810, Waller Rodwell Wright proposed that the annual Festival and Grand Chapter of Communication be held on May 10th for the reception of the Duke of Sussex, and it was resolved that he be ballotted for at that meeting as an "associate" Member of the Grand Chapter. Lord Moira presided over the May meeting and proposed that the ballot for Sussex be dispensed with and that he be requested by a unanimous vote to become a member. Burckhardt and Da Costa reported that they had examined him and found him in all respects satisfactory and were desired to introduce him. It was further resolved that he be requested to accept the office of "First Grand Master" of Royal Arch Masons for the ensuing year, and he did in fact continue as head of the Order until his death. On November 30th, 1813, a special

Convocation of Grand Chapter was held (at which the Duke was not present) to receive the formal announcement of the signing of the Articles of Union of the two Grand Lodges on the 25th and of the recognition therein of the Royal Arch. The Duke was given full power to conclude a union with the Grand Chapter of the Antients. In the sequel the union was not finally concluded until 1817, when on March 18th the members of the two Grand Chapters met separately and then proceeded to a Third Chamber where the Duke was waiting to receive them, when the United Grand Chapter was formed, officers were appointed, and also a Committee to settle such questions as those of procedure, laws and regulations, clothing, etc. On March 19th, 1825, an Especial Meeting was held with Sussex in the chair, and in the presence of the Duke of Leinster, M.E.Z., of the Grand Chapter of Ireland, Lord Donoughmore, a Past Z. of that Grand Chapter, and Lord Rosslyn, Past Z. of Scotland, the Duke of York was exalted, made Past Grand Z., and presented with his clothing and jewel. In April, Sussex presented the carpet used at the ceremony. In April, 1827, Sussex's reply to the address of condolence on the death of the Duke of York was read. It is interesting to note that at the same meeting Grand Chapter resolved that if the Principal Sojourner, either of his Assistants, the Grand Sword Bearer, or Grand Standard Bearer did not attend at least two meetings during their year of office and did not offer sufficient excuse, he should forfeit his office. On May 7th, 1828, it was announced that the Duke was too ill to attend and would appoint his officers at a special meeting to be held later. The special meeting was held on the 21st by his command and the officers appointed, he again being absent. In February, 1830, he sent a message that when the New Masonic Hall was completed he would meet the Committee on the Premises and offer his suggestion on the subject of the paraphernalia necessary to Grand Chapter. In August, 1830, an address of condolence to the Duke was voted on the death of George IV. It appears that George IV. was not, but that William IV. was, a member of the Order. In May, 1831, the Grand Z. being prevented by illness from attending, asked that the Rev. G. A. Browne (to whom has been attributed the compilation of the Ritual) should take the chair. The Marquisses of Salisbury and Abercorn and Lord Monson were exalted. In May, 1833, a command to dine with the King prevented the Duke's attendance. In February, 1834, a committee was appointed to consider and report upon the Royal Arch ceremonies. On November 5th its report was received and approved, and there is in existence in the archives of Grand Chapter a MS. copy of the Ritual, "Approved by the Duke of Sussex, Grand Master, Z.", and dated November 2nd, 1834. On November 21st, a meeting was held consisting only of those "who are of the Rank of the First Chair of the Order, and who also have been regularly installed as actual Presiding Masters of Warranted Lodges . . . as the First Class", and after the report, approved and signed by the M.E.Z., had been read and the matter connected therewith explained, it was unanimously approved. A Special Convocation four days later approved and confirmed the arrangement of the several ceremonies. On February 4th, 1835, the Duke, who was absent, wrote to the Grand Chapter to propose that Lord Dundas (later Earl of Zetland) having been appointed Pro. G.M. should become the Pro. Z. of the Order. Further he appointed additional persons to the committee for promulgating and giving instructions in the ceremonies, including such well-known masonic names as those of McGillivray, Lord John Spencer Churchill, David Pollock, and Sir Frederick Fowke. On November 4th, Spencer Churchill, having become Deputy G.M., took his seat as Second Grand Principal by virtue of this fact. In September, 1836, Sussex was present in Grand Chapter and replied to the address on his recovery, voted at the previous meeting. In May, 1839, Lord Durham (formerly J. G. Lambton) became Pro. G.Z. and Lord Zetland H. In May, 1841, a resolution of thanks to the Grand Z. for his rule of the Order was passed.

In an account of the Duke's masonic career it is necessary to include an account of the Crucefix case and there must now in justice be told a series of incidents which unfortunately do not make for edification nor reflect much credit on the parties concerned. Dr. Robert Thomas Crucefix, whose bland features, as shown in his portraits, no less than his kindliness and irascibility, remind one of the then popular Mr. Samuel Pickwick, was a well-known freemason of the time, a Junior Grand Deacon, and the founder of the "Freemasons' Quarterly Review". In the pages of that journal was mooted the question of the foundation of a home for members of the Craft who had been overtaken by poverty or misfortune, and to that end collections were made and meetings held. In particular on June 22nd, 1835, Crucefix presided over a meeting at Radley's Hotel, Blackfriars, at which details were discussed, and at which a Committee and Sub-Committee were appointed, the latter to prepare a memorial to the Duke of Sussex, "soliciting his powerful aid in the cause of the Aged and Decayed Freemasons' Asylum, and humbly offering to the acceptance of His Royal Highness the dignified office of President of the Institution"; it was also announced that the Earl of Durham, the Deputy Grand Master, had consented to become a Trustee. Shortly afterwards, Lord Durham wrote to withdraw his consent on the ground that his assumption that the matter had received the sanction and approbation of the Grand Master had in fact been proved—and that by the Duke himself—to be incorrect. It began to appear that the project; however well-intentioned, had not been handled with sufficient tactfulness with regard to the Grand Master's feelings. As the latter pointed out in a letter sent by his command to Crucefix and signed by the Grand Secretary, "the convening a meeting of a number of brethren to appoint officers and make laws and regulations for the intended Institution was altogether irregular, while seeking to obtain the approval of the Grand Master and ultimately the sanction of the Grand Lodge; because, by such a proceeding, the meeting predetermines important preliminary points, and it must be evident that His Royal Highness cannot as Grand Master enter into communication with a body of Masons not known to the Grand Lodge, nor acting under any recognized authority". The Grand Secretary's letter was dated July 9th, 1835. On the 15th another meeting was held and as a result a memorial was addressed to the Grand Master pointing out that the measures already taken were merely preliminary and that the proceedings now awaited the Duke's commands. Notwithstanding this, the promoters still carried on with their plans and in fact in the following July a Festival was held in aid of the charity, and in August, 1836, it was resolved respectfully to tender "the patronage or presidency of the Institution" to the Grand Master. In September, the Deputy Grand Master on his behalf, while thanking those concerned for their address, pointed out that as the proposed Institution had not received the sanction of the Grand Lodge it was impossible for the address to be received "in any other than its individual character". The promoters still persevered with their project, and it was arranged that at the Quarterly Communication in September, 1837, the approval of Grand Lodge should be sought. When the time came, however, Crucefix, as he stated, was "abruptly informed" that the Duke was opposed to the measure, and he elected to postpone it. But in December he in fact obtained the recommendation of Grand Lodge, which recommendation was confirmed at the Communication of March, 1838. Meanwhile, correspondence had been carried on with the Grand Master through his Deputy, and, in May, 1837, the Duke stated that he saw no reason to alter his opinion expressed the previous year that the establishment of an "Asylum for Aged and Decayed Freemasons" would tend to induce improper persons to enter the Fraternity. A letter in reply produced a repetition of his view that, as he had not been furnished with an account of the specific object of the meeting, his sanction could not be given. Further, it was pointed out that

the Duke in an interview with Crucefix in the previous year had convinced him that the measure should await more auspicious circumstances. Crucefix contraverted the Duke's version of the interview, arranged for an audience in June, 1837, and declared that the Duke on that occasion stated that he was not opposed to the contemplated Asylum. This interview, to Crucefix's chagrin, was followed at the Communication of September, 1837, by the expression of the Duke's opposition, as has been related.

Following the approval of Grand Lodge, the project went ahead with meetings, collections, festivals, and the drafting of regulations. It was becoming clear that there was another point at issue between the Duke and the promoters, as the former looked upon the scheme for an Asylum as a "useless expenditure, a waste of money", while if this project were given up he would be prepared to listen to a plan for granting annuities. Further, he stated in a letter of August, 1839, that until the following April he would take no further step, but that "should the brethren at that time have made no advance in the matter", he would be at liberty to state his own plan. This letter was laid before the subscribers in October, 1839, and a representation was drawn up showing that they could not adopt the course suggested by the Grand Master. They pointed out that the project had been approved by the Grand Lodge and that moneys had been collected and invested for the establishment of the Asylum: they were willing to delay but not to withdraw the project. Their views were confirmed at a special meeting held on 13th November.

At this meeting, over which Crucefix presided, there was considered a pamphlet which was circulated by Bro. W. Jackson, of the Caveac Lodge, which attacked the Asylum project and called into question the motives of Crucefix. An acrimonious discussion arose thereout and it was alleged that two speakers, Alderman T. Wood and J. L. Stevens, thereupon spoke disrespectfully of the Grand Master. The matter came before the Board of General Purposes, not apparently as a direct accusation, but on the reading of a circular drawn up by Jackson and purporting to give a report of what happened at the meeting of the 13th November. As a result of the hearing, the Board recommended that Wood and Stevens be suspended for their attacks on the Grand Master, and Crucefix for not having checked them. The three accused appealed. When the recommendation came before Grand Lodge at the Quarterly Communication in March, 1840, Wood withdrew his appeal, apologized, and was reinstated; the appeal of Stevens after a legal discussion was dismissed, as was that of Crucefix. The last named thereupon took steps to sever his connection with the Craft, and wrote a rather intemperate and ill-advised letter to the Grand Master. Once more Crucefix's conduct was considered by the Board, and on its report coming before Grand Lodge in September, 1840, condemnation of his conduct and of the report in his journal, the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, was pronounced, and his expulsion was recommended. In the following month he attended Grand Lodge at an Especial Meeting and tendered his apology. The Rt. Hon. C. T. D'Eyncourt, the Provincial Grand Master for Lincolnshire, a well-known radical politician of the day, who held an appointment in the household of the Grand Master, apparently thought it incumbent on him to take a strong stand in the matter, and notwithstanding the apology, moved the expulsion of Crucefix. An amendment, however, was proposed that the apology be accepted and that no further action be taken, and the amendment was carried by 145 votes to 128. It is interesting to note that notwithstanding the Duke's opposition the Asylum was ultimately established, and the two projects, the Annuities and the Institution, were combined to form what is now one of the most useful and best-known of the Masonic charities. Further, in September, 1843, we find Crucefix as seconder of a resolution in favour of erecting a statue

in memory of the Duke and being appointed a member of the committee to arrange therefor.

A minor repercussion of the quarrel affected the famous Dr. Oliver. Oliver and Crucefix were great friends, and a project was initiated at the height of the latter's quarrel with the Grand Master to present Crucefix with a testimonial. The presentation was made at a meeting of the Bank of England Lodge, of which he was a member, and the Master requested Oliver to take the chair. This he did both at the Lodge and at the subsequent banquet. Oliver had served as Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Lincolnshire under Bro. D'Eyncourt, who has been already mentioned, and, both after D'Eyncourt had moved Crucefix's expulsion and after he arranged to take the chair at the presentation, had offered his resignation to his chief, which D'Eyncourt refused to accept; and in view of this he was surprised in April, 1842, to receive a letter from the Provincial Grand Master declaring the office of Deputy vacant—nor was Oliver ever re-appointed.

The events just recorded, which it has been thought necessary to set out in detail, though it is hoped not at excessive length, reflect no great credit on any of the actors. On the one hand, the Duke seems to have given evidence of an unfortunate autocratic spirit in so violently opposing a project, admirable in its aim if not tactfully presented, which had the formal sanction of the Grand Lodge, and there are some remarks of Crucefix, *ex parte* it is true, which suggest that this obstinacy of opinion was accompanied by intemperate, unmasonic and undignified behaviour. As for the Board, it appears from the subsequent hearings in Grand Lodge to have initiated proceedings on an *ex parte* report and to have pressed against the accused technical points in a fashion which did not conduce to that mingling of justice and mercy which is so often inculcated in our ritual.

I have carried the story of the Duke's matrimonial affairs up to the year 1809, when Lady Augusta D'Ameland was deprived of the custody of her children. Both the young people, Augustus and Augusta, for some years seem to have lived on good terms with their father, and the son obtained a commission in the Royal Fusiliers, and was, as we have seen, introduced by his father into Freemasonry. Their mother died in February, 1830, and the Duke then married Lady Cecilia Buggin. This lady was the daughter of Dr. Saunders Gore, Earl of Arran, and had been married at an early age to Sir George Buggin, an attorney of Hatton Garden, who had left her a jointure of £1,000 a year; she was stated by *The Times* to be "very beautiful, correct and amiable". The marriage ceremony was performed by Archdeacon Glover, the Duke's chaplain. The next year D'Este filed a bill in Chancery for obtaining and perpetuating testimony regarding his mother's marriage. In spite of a demurrer by the Attorney-General, the Court allowed the Interrogatories, but D'Este's success was but an empty one, as the Rev. William Gunn, who had performed the ceremony at Rome in 1793, objected to answer them on the ground that by so doing he might incur penal consequences, *i.e.*, under the Statute of Praemunire. Sussex also objected to answer Interrogatories put to him on the grounds that he might expose himself to penalties under the Royal Marriage Act and because in 1793 he had engaged himself not to reveal the name of the officiating clergyman. The proceedings aroused some interest at the time, and the Law Magazine¹ seriously discussed the claims of the D'Estes. But more than this, these estranged Augustus from his father and resulted in his dismissal from his post of equerry to William IV. After the death of the Duke of Sussex, D'Este brought his claim before the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords, and after a hearing the judges who, accordingly to

¹ January, 1832. A statement of the claims was printed in a series of pamphlets: Documents regarding the claims of Augustus of Este, etc.

precedent, were asked to advise their Lordships gave their opinion against his claim. They were asked to decide whether, evidence being offered of a marriage at Rome celebrated by an English priest according to the rites of the Church of England and without the consent of the Prince's father, if such evidence established a valid marriage apart from the Royal Marriage Act, it would be sufficient, having regard to that Statute, to establish a valid marriage where the eldest son of the Prince claimed lands in England by virtue of such marriage. The judges based their opinion on eight grounds, into which it is not necessary to enter into detail, but, viewed generally, their opinion was that the marriage of the Duke fell within the class dealt with in the Royal Marriage Act, and that the place where it was celebrated did not take it out of the rule. Although D'Este had failed in his legal claim, Queen Victoria, with a praiseworthy kindness, continued to him the allowance of £1,000 a year made to him by his father. His sister, Augusta Emma, added a romantic touch to the story by marrying Thomas Wilde, her brother's counsel in the suit, who afterwards became Lord Chancellor as Lord Truro. In the Truro collection in the House of Lords can be seen the eagle of D'Este quartered with the Chancellor's own arms.

A considerable part of the Duke's middle and later years was taken up with visits to, and occasionally it might almost be said progresses through, the country. These gave him an opportunity to stay at the country houses of such friends of his as J. G. Lambton, afterwards Earl of Durham, and Coke of Norfolk, afterwards Earl of Leicester, and from thence to visit the neighbouring towns, where he could deliver speeches on the burning questions of the day and display his zeal for reform, for religious toleration, and for the British Constitution, and where also he could take part in such Masonic ceremonies as a meeting of Provincial Grand Lodge or the laying of a foundation-stone. It is impossible to deal with the whole of these visits and progresses, but a short account of some of them will give an idea of the intensely busy life led by the Duke.

For example, in 1822 he left York on August 29th, and thence went to Durham, Chester-le-Street, and Lambton Hall. On September 6th he goes through Gateshead to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, his carriage being drawn by the people, and he there receives the freedom of the city. At two o'clock the Masonic brethren begin to arrive; "the splendour of their apparel, the decorations of the various orders, their banners, flags, and insignia, all tended to add to the effect of the scene." Sussex appears on the steps of the Mansion House, attended by Sir M. W. Ridley and J. G. Lambton, all in full masonic costume. A masonic procession of at least 500 persons parades past the Duke. Then he lays the foundation-stone and afterwards gives one of his constitutionally democratic speeches, declaring that though he is fond of the people he is not a republican. Later in the month we find him, among other places, at Howick, Raby Castle, and Bishop Auckland. At Raby the Scots Lodge of Freemasons from Barnard Castle greets him and pays him masonic honours. He attends a regatta at Sunderland and gives an address at the Bridge Inn. He receives the freedom of Doncaster while staying at a friend's house. He visits the Pauper Lunatic Asylum at Wakefield; he goes to Newstead Abbey, the seat of his friend, Col. Wildman. In October, 1827, he was again staying at Raby Castle, which he leaves on November 1st after a stay of three weeks ("one continued scene of magnificence") for Thorpe Hall, Yorkshire, the seat of Mr. Milbank, where "beef, ale, and loyalty were the order of the day". On November 5th he is at Richmond, being met at the entrance to the town by the members of the Richmond or Lenox Lodge. At the "King's Head" he enters the Lodge with his brethren, receives and replies to addresses, telling them how "When circumstances allow of my visiting a Lodge . . . I avail

myself of the opportunity with eagerness". Even fourteen years later, the Duke is still on his round of country house and masonic visits, and still the familiar places and the familiar friends figure therein, but this time the political element is wanting—much of what he has striven for, Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, has been achieved—and he is now the repository of constitutional law and the favourite uncle of his Sovereign. On September 27th, 1841, he arrives at the Midland Hotel, Derby; then with the Duchess of Inverness he goes to Bishopsthorpe on a visit to the Archbishop of York; thence to Aske Hall to stay with Lord Zetland. On October 20th, attended by his host, who is the Provincial G.M., he goes to York, receives addresses, visits Provincial Grand Lodge at the Mansion House, where his friend presides, attends dinner in the Guildhall, and next morning returns to Aske Hall.

Mention has already been made of the Duke's great friend, the celebrated Coke of Norfolk, at whose seat at Holkham it was his custom to stay for about two months each winter, and whose annual sheep-shearing feasts seem to have made a great appeal to the hearty John Bull character of the Duke. A member of the family¹ gives some amusing accounts of their guest in his domesticity: "The Duke was like Saul a head and shoulders taller than the people. He wore a magnificent diamond order, and a black velvet skull-cap. The little Duchess was good-temper and good-nature itself. She was very small and common-looking, and appeared very ridiculous by the side of her magnificent husband", to whom she was devoted even to the extent of injuring her eyes "by constant reading to him in an atmosphere of tobacco-smoke". Mrs. Pickering heard him confess that for eighteen years of his life he had kept a journal, but that in view of the mischief its publication might cause he had burnt it, and never kept another. "He pretended to wish that there should be no ceremony observed towards him, but in reality no one was quicker than he to notice the slightest breach of etiquette in those about him"—a characteristic which we seem to note in his masonic career, particularly in the unfortunate Crucefix episode. He declares his intention to leave his body for dissection—"Much better, I think, than being buried in the dreary vaults at Windsor, among those *rascals*, my ancestors". She mentions his liking for smoking and for gossiping till a late hour, and finds him "enveloped in smoke, with the little Duchess reading aloud to him". Faulkner in his *History of Hammersmith* mentions the smoking box by the river where the Duke could be seen indulging in his favourite hobby, and we shall mention hereafter the enormous stock of cigars and pipes dispersed at the sale of his effects.

I do not know whether anyone has yet written the history of royal chairmanships, but whoever does so must give a due meed of praise to the Duke of Sussex as a pioneer. The Royal Society and the Lying-in Hospital, the Humane Society and the Jewish Hospital, all claimed and received his attention. Crabb Robinson² grudgingly admits that "he was not a bad chairman, but no orator", but from the reprinted speeches of his—and they are not a few—which have come down to us, from the frequency with which his services were called upon, and from "The Times" obituary notice, it is clear that his gifts must have been at least adequate. Add to these a magnificent presence, much geniality and social adaptability—"condescension"—and the aptitude of a good trencherman, and we can well understand his popularity with various audiences. Further, in most cases his interest in those causes with which he was associated was something more than perfunctory; of an inquiring mind and of a catholic taste, he could and did find in them all something congenial.

His association with some of his societies deserves something more than a bare mention. In 1830 he was elected President of the Royal Society after a

¹ Memoirs of A. M. W. Pickering (ed. Spencer Pickering), 1903.

² Diary, vol. ii., p. 394.

close contest in which he beat Sir John Herschel. He presided over its meetings for many years, and on the oratorical, ceremonial, and social sides seems to have worthily discharged his duties. In 1839 he resigned his office, giving as his reason the somewhat curious ground of his means being inadequate for the necessary entertainment. The reason given was received with a certain amount of incredulity, and "Old Fellow of the Royal Society" wrote to "The Times" to point out that the expenses of the presidency did not exceed £200 a year for its four soirées—"Men of science may calculate, but they do not expect to sup by Gunter's scale". The Duke was also closely associated with, and presided over, the Society of Arts, and was a Member of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries.

His colonelcy of the Loyal North Britons has already been mentioned. In addition to this he was associated with a far more illustrious and ancient corps, the Honourable Artillery Company. Admitted in May, 1817, he shortly afterwards became Colonel, and as the ¹historian of the Corps remarks, he "took a most active part in the management of the affairs of the Company", most meetings of the Military Committee being held at Kensington Palace. In 1830 it is recorded that William IV., the Captain General, opposed the new uniform and gave orders for his own tailor to make an officer's coat which was afterwards worn by the Duke at a Levée. It was in the uniform of the Corps that he appeared at the wedding of Queen Victoria. On the accession of the Queen he was appointed to the full command of the Corps as Captain-General and Colonel. In 1840 a dispute arose which involved a conflict between the Military Committee and the Court, *i.e.*, between the Company as part of Her Majesty's Army and its constitution as a City Company, which dispute was ultimately submitted to the Home Secretary, who decided that it was improper for the Court to attempt to control the military side, and supported the view taken by the Duke, who in August, 1842, announced to the members from the chair that he had received a new Royal Warrant which reserved to the Crown the right of appointing the field officers and the adjutant. After the death of Sussex the Company placed on record its sense of the services he had rendered. Although his "health did not enable him often to be present at the field exercises", yet he was "attentive to the most minute details involved in the military duties and internal management of the Corps". It is a curious irony that during the lifetime of one who was so much interested both in Freemasonry and the Corps that the latter never had a lodge of its own. In November, 1781, it had been proposed that members who were Masons should be allowed the use of Armoury House for three months to establish a lodge to be called "The Honourable the Artillery Company's Lodge"; the proposal was agreed to, but negatived at the next meeting of the Court. It was not until 1849, six years after the Duke's death, that the Court of Assistants sanctioned another proposal to form a lodge, this time successfully carried out in the foundation of the still flourishing Fitzroy Lodge.

Reference has already been made to the Duke's tolerance on religious and political matters, and this quality is well shown in his relationship both with individual Jews and with Jewish institutions. In 1809, accompanied by the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, he attended the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place "to witness the Hebrew form of worship", arriving there in the carriage of Mr. Goldsmid, with their own carriages following. "The singing was excellent and the Royal Dukes appeared much gratified by the choruses. . . . After the Service, the Royal Dukes drove to the mansion of Mr. A. Goldsmid, where a sumptuous entertainment was provided which was followed by a grand concert". Goldsmid was in fact a friend of the Duke's, and this

¹ Raikes.

was not the only occasion on which he entertained his distinguished guest. Further, Sussex was a patron of several Jewish benevolent institutions, according to "The Illustrated London News", and was President of the Jews' Hospital, Mile End, for a number of years. S. A. Hart, R.A., in his ¹ "Reminiscences" relates how the subscribers to that Hospital, wishing to have a portrait of the Duke painted, approached him with that object, with the result that Hart was commissioned to do the work. The painter goes on to say that the Duchess of Inverness told him that he had a difficult subject to deal with, "a corpulent man", but that he had avoided coarseness and had made the sitter look like a gentleman. He also notes the Duke's passion for smoking and the multitude of his pipes. He adds that so great was the prince's love of Hebrew that up to a late period of his life he continued to read it with "a gentleman learned in the Holy tongue". That gentleman, Dr. Loewe, in a sermon preached at the Synagogue of the Sephardic Jews on the day of the funeral of the Duke, mentioned that the latter had never allowed a day to pass without reading a portion of the divine law, and that he was so well acquainted with the Hebrew language as to be able to appreciate the works of the Jewish Rabbis. Loewe not inaptly sums up his general character: "He was, in all benevolent and exalted feeling, an active and vigorous promoter of art, science, and literature; he was, on all occasions, the steadfast advocate of the innocent when in danger, and of the defenceless when threatened with oppression".

Throughout his life the Duke of Sussex suffered from pecuniary difficulties which were on more than one occasion the subject of debate in Parliament. These were due to general causes. It was not until he was twenty-eight that he received any Parliamentary grant, being until then dependent on an allowance from his father, and by that time he was heavily in debt. Further, not having taken up a military career, and for much of his life being out of favour with Court and Ministry, he was without those additional emoluments which were then so often at the disposal of royal princes. In addition to this he seems to have been without any sense of financial management in regard to his own affairs, and the formation of his celebrated library also must have played a part in his difficulties. In 1801 he was given a Parliamentary allowance of £12,000 a year, four years later raised by £6,000, and then on the death of the Duke of York by another £3,000. In 1825 his affairs were discussed in the Commons by Brougham, who stated that he had never received anything from the public purse since his Parliamentary allowance, and that even this was subject to a heavy change in respect of his allowance to Lady Augusta, and that without compounding with his creditors "by the assistance of a learned gentleman" ² who superintended his affairs, his debts had been reduced from £100,000 to a very small amount. In 1838 the Duke applied to Lord Melbourne for an increased allowance, but, being unsuccessful and then relying on expected support in the House, employed Gillon to raise the matter there, but the motion not meeting the expected support, he was again disappointed.

³ Grenville records these incidents and admits that the Duke had "some sort of claim", having been promised by William IV. the Rangership of Windsor Park, worth £4,000 a year, which was immediately afterwards swept away by Grey's economical reform; and then having been given the Rangership of Hyde Park and, having drawn the first quarter's salary, he found that salary again swept away; in addition to having to give up to the Queen Dowager a residence at Bushey which had been allotted to him.

Notwithstanding financial difficulties, the later years of the Duke were passed in more easy surroundings. Ministered to by the solicitous little Duchess,

¹ (1882), pp. 123.

² Henry Stephenson.

³ Memoirs, vol. iv., pp. 118-120.

in favour with his royal niece, indulging in the sober delights of book-collecting and the less sober delights of the table, visiting his friends and radiating among them and their children what was in essence a sunny and genial nature, with the knowledge that the causes which he had so vigorously advocated were at length triumphant, the Duke saw his life drawing to a close in a peacefulness of which his earlier and middle years had given little promise. The beginning of the year 1843 saw him still visiting and being visited. "The Times" announces that the Duke with the Duchess of Inverness is staying at Castle Howard and will later proceed to Woburn Abbey to meet Lord and Lady John Russell. In March he was visited by Prince Adelbert of Prussia. On April 17th, it is announced that he is suffering from erysipelas; three days later that the illness had taken an unfavourable turn. On the 20th he is visited by the Queen, then expecting her confinement, and then on the 21st, that newspaper in a special edition announces his death at 12.15 a.m. that morning.

He had directed that he should be buried, not among his royal ancestors, but in the grounds of the cemetery at Kensal Green, in the development of which he is said to have shown a considerable interest, and which he was in the habit of visiting during the last years of his life. This unusual request seems to have caused some difficulty in Court circles, but the Queen yielded to her uncle's request, directing further that there should be no curtailment of the usual ceremonies accompanying royal obsequies. His views as to the utilization of his body for scientific purposes were so far carried out that a post-mortem examination was made and the report published in the newspapers. After a lying-in-state at Kensington Palace, the remains were on May 4th taken to the cemetery for interment, accompanied by a military contingent, by the Duke of Cambridge as chief mourner, by the Duke's personal friends, and by the whole panoply of a royal funeral. Among those present and representing the various interests of the deceased were Col. Tynte, W. H. White, Pettigrew, the Rev. G. N. Browne, Lord Zetland, the Chevalier Hebel—*all masonic friends*; Sir Moses Montefiore and Sir Isaac Lyon-Goldsmid, representing his Jewish interest; and such public characters as the Duke of Wellington and Lord John Russell. Prince Albert also attended, and the son of the first marriage, Sir Augustus D'Este, was accommodated with a seat among the personal friends, but not among the principal mourners.

In both Houses of Parliament addresses of condolence were voted to the Queen on her uncle's death, Lord John Russell in the Commons saying of his opinions that they were not those which were naturally in conformity with his birth or rank, but opinions which he advocated as tending to the maintenance of the constitution under which he was born, and to the benefit of the people among whom he lived; while in the Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne referred in particular to his services to literature, science and charity.

"The Times", in a leading article, paid full tribute to the Duke's character, services, and attainments. It considered him of all the sons of George III., after the Duke of York, the most popular, and after George IV., the most accomplished; his popularity was in no slight degree due to his Liberalism, but "had it rested on no other foundation than this, we should not have cared to reckon it as a proof or his virtues as an instance of the peoples' discernment". It therefore proceeds to set out his other claims: his forty years' connection with benevolent institutions, though his means were not commensurate with his rank; his kindly heart; attainments far from contemptible, though he was not a scholar or a philosopher; a "facility of manner" which foreign travel and the temporary assumption of foreign habits had given him; his skill as a chairman; and the popular appeal made by his protests against the Royal Marriage Act. As to his public character, "The Times" said that "he spoke with some fluency, possessed a competent acquaintance with foreign affairs, had

great facility in availing himself of any suggestion or recent information which might happen to reach him; and though he spoke but rarely, yet, adding the weight of the princely character to some show of ability and knowledge, and combining these with the influence possessed by great popularity out of doors, he possessed an importance in Parliament which never previously belonged to any other member of the Royal family". As to his private character, it notes that "He liked popularity, had no objection to a good dinner, and enjoyed cheerful society without very fastidiously investigating the rank or the refinement of his companions". His "great animal spirits, some humour, a sufficient command over language" resulted in his after-dinner speeches being unrivalled. As the question arose some time after his death, and also as it has been suggested that the Duke's religious beliefs resulted in his viewing with disfavour the Christian masonic degrees as shown in particular by his neglect of Knight Templary of which he was from 1812 until his death the nominal but faineant head,¹ it is perhaps pertinent to enquire what these religious beliefs were. Some little scandal was caused by the publication of the notes and comments he had written in a copy of Hay's "*Religio Philosophi*", in which he had confessed to at least some scepticism regarding certain important Christian dogmas, he having stated among other things that no human being has the power of damnation, that he believed in a future world but did not know how it would be accomplished, and that the resurrection was "another question beyond my comprehension". But his general religious position is clearly set out in certain published letters² which may be left to speak for themselves as his apologia:—"As far as I have presumed to dive into, and to occupy myself with the Holy Volumes, I feel satisfied of their divine origin and truth; but that they contain likewise more matter than any one, and myself in particular, can ever aspire freely to understand". "But I do not venture to enter upon, or to burden myself with, what are commonly designated as dogmas, and which in my conscience I believe for the most part, if not entirely, are human inventions, and not exerted for purposes, or from motives, of Christian charity; I am therefore determined to keep my mind calm upon such topics, and to remain undisturbed and unbewildered by them. I am persuaded that their adoption is not necessary for salvation. This I say, wishing at the same time I am making this honest declaration, not to be thought a Freethinker, which imputation I indignantly repel; nor to pass for a person indifferent about religion, which God knows I consider, if Christianly, I mean most charitably observed, to be the greatest blessing to mankind in general, and of the utmost importance to my own comfort and holiness in this world, as well as to my hopes in futurity".

Throughout a great part of the reigns of his father and of his two brothers, his relationship with them was disturbed by many disagreements. His first marriage, his liberal opinions, and his unconventional behaviour were not matters to commend him to the favour of George III., and he was among the royal family rather in the position of the ugly ducking of the royal family. For a time his opposition to the Court was shared by his eldest brother, but with his appointment to the Regency the Prince of Wales ceased to act with the opposition parties, and the part played by the Duke of Sussex in regard to the Princess Charlotte and subsequently his actions in the case of Queen Caroline estranged him from his eldest brother both during the latter's regency and during his reign,

¹ This is the popular view. In a letter dated April 25th, 1826, and addressed to Lambton (now in the writer's possession) occurs the following:—"Interested as I feel to get into safety the *paper connected* with the Order of the Temple your kind proposal is most acceptable to me as it must be to all who are anxious for the welfare of the Order". One rather wonders, in face of this, whether the Duke was in fact so luke-warm in regard to the Order as he is usually considered to have been.

² Some of the opinions of his late R.H. The Duke of Sussex on the subject of religious doctrine . . . by Richard Cogan Esq., to which is added a letter of the late Duke to Dr. Adam Clarke . . . (1845).

an estrangement embittered by the younger brother's advocacy of popular causes and by his appearance on Liberal platforms, although these quarrels were allayed by occasional reconciliations. With William IV. on the whole his relations were more friendly, although even with him there were disagreements on the question of the Reform Bill, but with the accession of Queen Victoria, the Duke entered into the halcyon days of his association with the Crown.

As Freemasons we are accustomed to see in the Duke of Sussex only the Grand Master of the Craft, and it is somewhat difficult to realize that Freemasonry was but one of a great many causes in which he was interested. Nevertheless, it is clear from what has been already shown, that he took his office very seriously and was filled with a kindly—if occasionally opinionated—interest in the whole institution. Unfortunately, his correspondence is scattered and there is little or nothing in the archives of Grand Lodge beyond the Minutes to show whether he played any part behind the scenes in the negotiations for the Union. But as showing his general interest, I may perhaps be allowed to quote from two letters, one of which is in my possession and the other of which was apparently sold at the recent dispersal of the Norfolk House collection. In the former,¹ addressed to the Deputy Prov. G.M. for Durham and ordered to be communicated to “the Brethren in due form assembled”, he thus writes:—

“The Grand Master in acknowledging the receipt of the invitation communicated to him in the name of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Durham by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master has to request the worshipful Brother to convey to the Brethren of his Province, his kind and fraternal thanks for the assurance of their warm attachment, and for the good feeling with which they have addressed him, to assure them of his sincere regard, and the lively interest which he takes in their welfare, as in the prosperity of the Craft in general, and to express to them his deep regret as also to explain the cause of his being prevented from coming amongst them upon the present occasion; having been detained longer than he had originally intended, under the hospitable roof of his noble friend the Duke of Cleveland by an injury done to one of his legs. The Grand Master hopes however that at some future period he may be so fortunate as to find himself in the neighbourhood of Durham, when with the blessing of the Great Architect of the Universe he will most cheerfully avail himself of such opportunity to attend their meeting, to assist at, and to preside over their labours. In saluting the worthy Brethren by the Mysterious and Holy Number the Grand Master assures them of his continued good will towards the Provincial Grand Lodge of Durham as also to every individual Lodge under its immediate care and sanction”.

The other letter is addressed to the 11th Duke of Norfolk and is dated December 30th, 1813, and runs as follows:—

“My dear Duke,

Our great Masonic Union took place last Monday, and by the recommendation of my brother the Duke of Kent, supported likewise by the goodwill of the two fraternities I was elected Grand Master of the whole.

The nomination of the Deputy Grand Master belongs to me, which as yet I have not done as my natural wish is in an election which is annual that this my *first choice* should fall upon your Grace *with your consent* as the highest dignity we have in the Craft after

¹ Dated from Raby Castle, October 14th, 1838.

the Grand Master. This would give a grand éclat to the Union, and as it is merely for one year, and as it will call upon your attendance only four times in that period should it suit your convenience, I hope you will neither refuse me nor the Lodge at large who would feel gratified in the extreme. I am well aware you are not a Master Mason, but at any time previous to my institution which is to take place on St. George's Day in the month of April next, this may be done privately either at Norfolk House or at Kensington Palace as may be most agreeable. I have further to observe that numerous as the meetings may be nothing of a religious or of a political controversy can be allowed and consequently any scruples you might have from a fear of any disorderly occurrence must of course be removed. . . .¹ One of your Grace's ancestors was the head of our society formerly when there was a schism among the Craft, and we possess monuments of his munificence towards us. I should therefore hope that you would not refuse me a request which would afford so much personal pleasure and satisfaction to myself and so great a benefit and advantage to the fraternity at large. Your Grace's acquiescence on this occasion joined with your liberal mode of thinking would I am certain soften in the world many religious leanings which ought not to be entertained in this enlightened age and ultimately ensure their total removal.

With esteem consideration and affectionate regards I have the pleasure to remain

My dear Duke

Your Grace's

Ever truly obliged and devoted etc. etc.,

Augustus Frederick.

The Duke of Sussex was a man of fine physique standing considerably over six feet high, but throughout a great part of his life his body was wracked by asthmatic complaints which on several occasions threatened him with an early grave. A susceptibility to chills, whether real or fancied, led to his constantly wearing a skull-cap which figures in several of his portraits and which even ceremonial occasions did not induce him to relinquish, it being recorded that on his way to the wedding of Queen Victoria he "wore, as usual, his black silk skull-cap". Notwithstanding his bad health, he contrived to participate in most of the good things of life, material as well as intellectual, and the John Bull element in him perhaps showed at its most prominent when he shared with good appetite and a healthy thirst in the pleasures of the table, joining in choruses to the destruction of tyranny and the glory of conviviality. So many of those who met him speak of his graceful and amiable bearing, of his kindness, and of the interest of his conversation that these qualities must be accepted as facts and not as conventional tributes to a royal personage. Rush, the American Minister to the Court, was charmed by his manners and conversation. The artist, Benjamin Haydon, one of the many who painted him, was delighted with his kindness and his tact, and found him to exceed all his sitters "for patience and quiet". Among those who had much to do with him, in spite of an imperious temper, he inspired nothing less than affection, and we feel that when Admiral Keppel, his one-time equerry, refers to the death of "my dear old Royal master" that his words found an echo in many hearts and in those of the London crowd which flocked in respectful sympathy to the funeral procession. In his later years the influence of the Duchess of Inverness must have made not

¹ Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was Grand Master from 1729-1730, but this was before the so-called "schism".

only for the preservation of his health but for the softening of the asperities and eccentricities of his character. Against these qualities must be set a certain impulsiveness in speech and action which involved him in difficulties with Court and Ministers, a stubborn punctiliousness which for a time embittered his relations with Dr. Crucefix, an occasional want of dignity, and a proneness to excess in the enjoyment of the pleasures of the table.

In regard to Freemasonry, it is curious to observe in so many ways his aptitude for the institution. Outwardly, save for occasional lapses, he made a graceful, tactful and just chairman, regarding his own dignity, the despatch of business, and the rights of his brethren. With regard to the inwardness of his profession, the lessons of tolerance, of kindness, and of humanity taught within the Lodge were admirably exhibited in one who so warmly advocated outside the removal of religious disabilities, the improvement of the poor, and within the limits of his beloved British Constitution, the rights of man.

Little has been said except incidentally of his patronage of literature, art and science, nor do considerations of space allow of much more. He was on intimate terms with the men of letters, the artists, and the scientists of the day. He was assiduous in collecting a vast library—a catalogue of only a part of which, compiled by his friend and librarian, T. J. Pettigrew, the grandfather of the late Bro. Gordon Hills, runs to three volumes—which was offered after his death to the British Museum for £16,000, but which on the offer to sell *en bloc* being refused, was sold at a public auction lasting several weeks, the Museum buying over 1,150 separate lots, and Sir I. Goldsmidt buying many of the Hebrew MSS. The other effects—plate, furniture, trinkets, clocks, etc.—were sold separately and fetched over £38,000, of which the pipes and cigars brought over £3,600, some of the 50,000 of the latter, as “The Times” exclaimed in surprise, making more than 2s. 6d. each.

One cannot help thinking that had the Duke been a private person, history and biography would have had much more to say of him. Perhaps he has suffered from the ill-repute under which the sons of George III. in some cases have deservedly laboured. His treatment of his first wife, so far as we know the circumstances, certainly does not redound to his credit, but at least he obtained the blessing of the Church, if not the sanction of the State; in contracting the alliance, while his brothers (save in the case of the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert) in their early and middle years at least sought the aid of neither Church nor State. There is in the life of the Duke of Sussex a variety of interests that attracts one, and his kindness and geniality, in spite of occasional faults of temper and judgment, surround it with a certain mellowness. Such a paper as this must of necessity omit much of interest in his career, but in the absence of a full biography it may suggest how true and how complete a picture of his age might be formed by the mere story of his life and actions. His career was a full one; he warmed both hands at the fire of life; his pleasures were not mere selfish pleasures, and his activity in promoting what he considered good causes—and history has in most cases confirmed his judgment—did in truth bring its own reward. As a man and as a mason the Duke of Sussex stands as a figure in history and in the greatest of its departments, the history of progress and enlightenment.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Edwards for his interesting paper on the proposition of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, seconded by Bro. C. C. Adams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. J. Williams, W. K. Firminger, C. Powell, R. H. Baxter, J. Johnstone, F. R. Radice, A. L. Mond and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

In proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his excellent paper I can add little to the material that he has collected and digested with so much care. Such scraps as I have to offer are of little importance. It seems worth putting on record, however, that the Duke of Sussex did not confine his Masonic activities to fostering the Craft in England only; his influence and voice were always at the service of his Brethren in Ireland, and they repaid him with veneration and affection. The Duke of Leinster, who was to serve Ireland as her Grand Master for over sixty years, had been elected to that office the same year, 1813, as His Royal Highness became head of the Order in England; and the two noblemen seem to have consulted together during various crises that affected the fortunes of the Craft in Ireland. Thus in 1821 a friendly conversation between the two Grand Masters smoothed out a difficulty that had arisen, owing to a conflict of jurisdiction between the two Grand Lodges, in one of the colonies; and in other seasons of more serious stress the good will of the Grand Master of England towards the Sister Constitution was made manifest in no uncertain way. It is no surprise then to find the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1836 presenting an address of congratulation to the Duke on the recovery of his sight. In his reply addressed to the Duke of Leinster and the Grand Lodge of Ireland the Duke of Sussex wrote:—

“And now, my Lord Duke, whilst the opportunity is thus favourably afforded me as a Brother of our Ancient and Venerable Order, I avail myself of it to communicate to your Grace, my entire satisfaction at hearing of the distinguished exertions which you had made in the last Session of Parliament during the progress of a Bill, in which the interests of our Fraternity in Ireland were concerned. My unfortunate malady rendered me at that time wholly incapable of seconding, as I otherwise would most gladly have done both by my Views and my Vote, your zealous exertions, nor did anyone more sincerely rejoice than myself at their proud success.”

It is needless to go into detail about the proceedings in Parliament that led to the above paragraph. The matter alluded to, however, seems to have been much in the mind of the Duke of Sussex just then, for in the first speech made to the Fraternity after his sight was restored he said:—

“The worthy Brother who proposed my health said that even in sickness I had not forsaken the interests of the Craft, but my regret was ever that I could not be more actively engaged in the service of Freemasonry; and most of all did I lament that I could not aid the M.W.G.M. for Ireland, the Duke of Leinster, one of the most active and honest of Masons, in his successful efforts to prevent a ban being placed on our Brethren in that country, whose loyalty is as undoubted as yours.” (*American Freemason*, Jany., 1858, page 41.)

The concord that existed between the two Grand Masters of England and Ireland is, curiously enough, responsible for casting a glimmer of light on a matter in dispute, the Duke of Sussex's attitude to the Chivalric degrees and cognate Masonic Rites. In 1819 John Fowler, the D.G.M. of Ireland, wrote to the Duke of Leinster, then in London, informing him that a certain French Brother named D'Obernay or D'Orbenay was in Dublin and had offered to confer a high degree on a selected few for a consideration, in this case two hundred guineas (nominally to be applied to charity, though I cannot avoid the suspicion that with Brother D'Orbenay it may well have begun very near home). These terms appeared too high to the Irish Brethren and the Duke of Leinster seems to have concurred in their decision. At the conclusion of his letter to Fowler announcing that he had put Brother D'Obernay off *sine die* comes the significant passage: “I have had a communication with the Duke of Sussex on the subjects you wrote to me about some time ago, but have not yet received his Royal Highness's answer.” (Letter dated 28 Augt., 1819.)

May we assume from this that the Duke of Sussex did not favour the introduction of such degrees from abroad? Those who have dipped into the history of Europe at that period know that the Continent was suffering from a plague of secret societies, Masonic, Quasi-Masonic, and purely political, sometimes dovetailing into one another, and too often grinding an axe to be used in no speculative sense. So whether or not the Duke of Sussex advised caution, and he may well have done so, for he was no fool, he would have had every warrant to be suspicious of such an envoy. Yet the very next year, 1820, when the Rite of Misraim was introduced into Great Britain by the Masonic adventurers Michel and Joseph Bedarride they claimed that the Duke of Sussex had become head of the Order for England. This Rite was certainly established in Ireland with the Duke of Leinster at its head, but the establishment of an English branch of the Order is not vouched for by any contemporary evidence save that in Marc Bedarride's book, *De l'Ordre Maçonnique de Misraim*, (Paris, 1845). In 1925 Brother Wonnacott made an exhaustive search of all the material available in Grand Lodge to discover if the Rite was actually established here, with a negative result. The evidence from Ireland is also negative; because though mention is made in its minutes of communication with the Scottish branch of the Rite of Misraim not a word is said about a branch in England. Incidentally, this original Succession of the Rite of Misraim in Ireland was mercifully allowed to die out during the last century. In the year 1857 there were but two members remaining, the Duke of Leinster and William Woodhouse, as appears from the calendar issued by the Council of Rites for Ireland of that year.

On the facts, therefore, as disclosed by documents available, it seems to me that the Duke of Sussex probably prevented this Rite from taking any deep root in England; and even *may*, I would underline that *may*, have accepted the headship of the Rite here in order to achieve this end. This is pure speculation, of course.

Perhaps it will be agreed from these scraps of comment, thus huddled together, that, like all good papers, this one of Brother Edwards has had the effect of raising more questions to be answered than ever the author contemplated. For example, I should like to see one of our Brethren setting himself to a comprehensive study of the activities of the Bedarrides.

Bro. CECIL ADAMS said:—

We have had, this evening, a very attractive paper from Bro. Lewis Edwards, and I wish to thank him for placing before us such an interesting account of the life and Masonic activities of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex.

Unlike some of his predecessors, the Duke of Sussex took a very active part in Masonic affairs, and evinced the greatest interest in the Craft during the thirty years that he was in Office. He was Grand Master for a greater period than any of the earlier holders of that Office in either Grand Lodge, and there is no doubt that he did much to enhance the position of the Craft in England during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Bro. Edwards has referred briefly to the Duke's association with the Order of the Temple, but no reference has been made to the degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, with which he was also associated in an interesting way. On the 13th October, 1819, the Supreme Council of France issued a Warrant for a Supreme Council for Great Britain, Ireland, and the possessions in America and India, and conferred the degrees on H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, the Duke of Leinster, Grand Master of Ireland, and H. J. da Costa, Provincial

Grand Master of Rutland.¹ This Supreme Council was never properly organised, and it seems that the Duke took no further action. It has been considered likely that he did not wish the supremacy of the Craft Grand Lodge to be challenged in any way, and tried to prevent others from taking the degrees of the Rite.²

The Supreme Council 33° for England, which is the governing authority of the Rite to-day, was formed, not by the Supreme Council of France, but by that of the Northern Jurisdiction of the U.S.A. It was not constituted until 1845, two years after the death of the Duke of Sussex. The first Sovereign Grand Commander was that Brother who was so active in the formation of the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution against the wishes of the Grand Master, namely Dr. Robert Thomas Crucefix.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

I regret my inability to attend and hear our Bro. Edwards read his paper.

The subject is certainly one of high importance considering the period to which it relates and the essential matters with which it deals.

It is as well that the paper does not purport to deal fully with the various topics arising over the long years of the Grand Master's rule and the virile quality of his governing qualities. He certainly was efficacious as Head of the Craft and his work has left its impress indelibly on its history. Whether masonically or politically he maintained his personality, and always refused to be a mere Registrar of the opinions and wishes of others, and expressed himself as a man who was determined, rightly or wrongly, to call his soul his own.

The paper therefore gives us with adequate brevity a series of incidents connected with his masonic career and with his personal character to such an extent as to enable us to see how the latter throws light upon his masonic doings.

Thus the masonic student is placed in possession of an assembly of facts which have hitherto been scattered in many repositories.

There are a few points which on a first reading occur to me, and perhaps Bro. Edwards will be able to shed light on them.

(1) He records the address of the especial Grand Lodge on the occasion of the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. In the course of this address the Queen is told that the members belong to an Institution which is "Our incorporate Society". Such a phrase used on so important an occasion leads us to ask when and how the Society was "incorporated". Were the Duke and his advisers and Grand Lodge as a whole right or wrong in making such an assertion? It may be remembered that the late Pro. Grand Master a short time before his death used a similar expression as descriptive of our Institution. See also the paper of Bro. Grantham printed in A.Q.C., vol. xlv. The view that the Institution is a Corporation was not then upheld.

(2) Towards the end of the paper we are informed that in 1838 the Grand Master saluted the worthy Brethren by "the Mysterious and Holy Number". Earlier, in a letter to the Lodge of Antiquity dated January 28th, 1834, he signed himself "with the Sacred Number". Can we be told what this Sacred Number is and to what order it belongs?

(3) It would seem from the observations of Bro. Edwards on the religious views of the G.M. that there is no direct evidence of his having excluded from the Craft Ritual certain clear references to the Christian Religion. Are we to take it that the allegations which have been frequently made as to his action in this direction are merely unjustifiable inferences based upon comparison of the ante-union Rituals with those which came into operation after the Union?

¹ *The Origin and Progress of the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted (Scottish) Rite for England, Wales, the Dominions and Dependencies of the British Crown.* Rev. A. W. Oxford, 1933, p. 21 *et seq.*

² See *The Freemason's Manual.* Jeremiah How, 1862, p. 201.

BRO. WALTER K. FIRMINGER said:—

Before putting the resolution to the Lodge there are a few observations I would like to make on our Brother's admirable paper. Firstly as to the Berlin Lodge in which the Prince was initiated. Our Bro. Gould writes: "Almost every writer states that the Prince was made in the Royal York Lodge, which of course is incorrect, as the name applies to the Grand Lodge or Legislative Body. But the mistake is excusable—at least I hope so, having committed it myself—as it is easy to confuse the four allied Lodges with the Grand Lodge. Even Mr. G. W. Speth—I am somewhat relieved to find—in his recently issued *Royal Freemasons*, has fallen into the same error". The facts, as stated by Bro. Gould, are that on 20th December, 1798, the Berlin Lodge *Victorious Truth* initiated H.R.H. Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, sixth son and nephew of the Duke of York, initiated in 1768. It would seem that in 1760 the Berlin Lodge of *The Three Globes*, established under the authority of Frederick the Great, for the benefit of French residents at Berlin, brought into existence a Lodge called *Three Doves*. Encouraged no doubt by the accession of the Duke of York to their number, the Lodge, having adopted the name *Royal York*, entered into alliance with the Modern Grand Lodge of England, and it sought to obtain from that body recognition as itself a Grand Lodge. The reply to their request being that Grand Lodges are constituted by a union of lodges and not by the promotion to higher standing of a single lodge, the brethren subdivided their Lodge. It is not irrelevant to dwell on the Duke's connection with the Berlin Lodge, for he remained on its roll after he had become Grand Master of England, and it is interesting to notice that at the Lodge of Promulgation it is recorded, 29th December, 1809:—"Bro. H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex was pleased to contribute to the accumulation of information a luminous exposition of the practice adhered to by our Masonic Brethren at Berlin". Gould stated that the Duke was passed to the degree of Fellow Craft 19th January, 1799; raised Master Mason 4th February; received the degree of Perfect Scots Architect, 6th March; Master of Mount Heredom, 10th March; and Elect of New Jerusalem. This is of interest in connection with what Bros. Lepper and Adams have told us this evening about the Duke's connection with certain "side" Degrees. For his connection with the Ancient and Accepted Rite may I refer you to our late Bro. Dr. A. W. Oxford's *History* of that Rite?

Secondly, the Duke's letter to the Duke of Norfolk cited by Bro. Edwards is referred to in our Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins' *English-Speaking Freemasonry*. Bro. Edwards notices that His Royal Highness was in error as to the date of "the schisms". The Duke was also in error when he spoke of that Duke of Norfolk who was Grand Master in 1729-30, as the "ancestor" of the Duke to whom he was offering the high office of Deputy Grand Master. Charles, 10th Duke of Norfolk, was in fact a collateral and not a descendant from the Grand Master, the 8th Duke of Norfolk. The 11th Duke was the son of one who had been Provincial G.M. of Hereford. The writer of the article in the [Roman] *Catholic Cyclopaedia* makes a lamentable comment on the personal character of the 11th Duke, and inform us that, though educated at Douai, he had "conformed to the State Religion by 1780". Thirdly, I would wish to congratulate Bro. Edwards not only on his admirable paper, but also on the skilful way in which he has placed before us its salient matter within the time available this evening.

BRO. C. POWELL writes:—

Bro. Lewis Edwards has done a useful service in presenting an account of the life and work of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex in so vivid and impartial a manner. Brethren should be interested to learn what manner of man was he, who was Grand Master for thirty years at a time of vital importance to the

Fraternity. One would have expected to find far more records preserved of one of royal lineage and of considerable activity extending over a long life.

Doubtless Sussex played a great part in the difficult negotiations necessary to bring about the Union, and for that we ought to be grateful to his memory. He had to direct the affairs of the Craft, when few could have felt confident that the former bitter controversies between Brethren who had belonged to the rival jurisdictions would not have broken out on some pretext or another and have caused much trouble. As there was no outstanding personality to assist him during his long tenure of office, we may believe that the Grand Master himself exercised considerable influence in the government of our Order.

Whatever may have been his conduct towards Lady Augusta Murray at a later date, our sympathies must be aroused by the harsh and intolerant treatment Sussex received from his father at the time of his marriage, and it is little wonder if this soured the whole course of his subsequent life. The King, perhaps the more excited by reason of his mental affliction, seemed still to be smarting under the annoyance of his own brothers' marriages—which were the occasion of the Royal Marriage Act—and not only followed up the matter in the Courts of Law, but is said to have limited his son's allowances, so that he could not properly support his wife.

The experience of events in the Province of Bristol is quite in keeping with Bro. Lewis Edwards' masterly conclusion on the character of the Duke, and showed the great interest he took even in details affecting the Craft.

In 1808 William Goldwyer, a man held in the highest esteem, was appointed Provincial Grand Master, and, with the help of certain Brethren, at once brought the condition of the Craft in the city into good order, from a state of sad decay produced partly by the effect of the war and partly through the actions of his incompetent predecessor. All went well for some time, and one of his most active supporters was a namesake of mine. Bro. Powell, incensed it is believed by being refused admission to the Camp of Baldwyn, of which Goldwyer was the head, suddenly began to raise vexatious opposition to him in various ways. A controversy, both savage and persistent, followed, and many irritating things were done by both parties. Powell's Lodge became estranged from the rest of the Province, and the position became most uncomfortable to all. The matter was submitted to the Grand Master, who sent a Commission to Bristol to make full enquiries and to try to compose the quarrel. A tactful arrangement was made, and there was reason to believe peace had been attained. Unfortunately, at a meeting of the Provincial G. Lodge, Goldwyer allowed himself to make some injudicious remarks, which, on a further reference by his opponents to the Grand Master, led to Goldwyer's deprivation of his office of Provincial Grand Master. A second Commission was despatched, and, after due consideration and some expressions of regret, Goldwyer was re-instated in his former position. Throughout this troublesome and painful affair the Grand Master showed the strictest impartiality and consideration to all. The reason for the quarrel, otherwise inexplicable, evidently arose on account of violent religious and political differences, although they were not mentioned. It is a tribute to the fatherly care of Sussex for his Brethren that he treated Goldwyer with greatest possible kindness, although his political views were entirely opposed to his own.

The principal ornament of the Lodge-room in Bristol is a fine portrait in oils of the Duke in his Masonic regalia hanging high above the Master's Chair. It was painted by William Hobday, who enjoyed a considerable reputation at the time. Hobday had lived in Bristol, and was an Honorary Member of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, and to it presented the picture (for which several sittings were given), after he had gone to reside in London about 1817. The addition of the words "Royal Sussex" to the title of the Lodge of Hospitality was made in 1814 at the suggestion of the Duke himself as a mark of His Royal Highness' appreciation of Bro. Husenbeth, one of its members.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

I am sure we must all be delighted with the charmingly written biographical sketch of the first Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England, with which our Bro. Lewis Edwards has favoured us. It is a contribution which must add to the dignity and value of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*.

Criticisms—except those of appreciation—are therefore out of court, but nevertheless we may be forgiven for seeking enlightenment on points that are obscure.

I have frequently read that the Duke of Sussex was an ardent unitarian, but there is nothing in the paper to indicate such a conclusion, except perhaps his Jewish sympathies. To me that is not a sufficient explanation, as I can hardly regard the two things as being one and the same.

And perhaps more details could be supplied as to the circumstances and consequence of his second marriage. How did it come about that the lady was styled Duchess of Inverness, and did some Order in Council confer that dignity, thus regularising, to some extent, the “morganatic” ceremony?

I cannot pretend to any knowledge of the technicalities of the Royal Marriage Act nor indeed of legal procedure generally. Bro. Edwards from his professional attainments may have all these points at his finger ends and will, no doubt, afford enlightenment.

Was the eleventh Duke of Norfolk a freemason at all? The Grand Master in his letter offering him the office of Deputy Grand Master says: “He is well aware he is not a Master Mason”. Is there any evidence that he was either an Entered Apprentice or a Fellow-Craft?

But, however all these things may be, I am certain a hearty vote of thanks will be accorded to the lecturer at our St. John’s Day in Harvest Festival, and it is my especial desire to be associated with the compliment.

W. Bro. J. JOHNSTONE said:—

Were an ordinary member of our craft asked what he knew about the Duke of Sussex, he might, if better informed than the majority of his fellows, reply that the Duke accepted the offer of being Grand Master of the newly formed United Grand Lodge of England in 1813, and discharged that office for many years, with credit to himself and advantage to Freemasonry.

In a word, the members of the craft, apart from the very few who are students of masonic history, are in comparative ignorance of the important part played by the Duke of Sussex. Even members of our Correspondence Circle may be acquainted with only the barest outline of what Bro. Edwards has so generously and lucidly laid before us. His material, studiously gathered from many sources, and presented in an interesting and informative manner, will make a valuable addition to our transactions and so remedy the want, long felt, of an authoritative and exhaustive contribution on the subject. A cordial expression of thanks to Bro. Edwards will, I am sure, be in accordance with the general feeling of my fellow members of the Correspondence Circle.

There are two points on which I would venture to add a few additional remarks to this discussion. They are the association of the Duke of Sussex with the Lying-in Hospital and his relations with Dr. Samuel Hemming, who as master of the Lodge of Reconciliation took the leading part in the re-arrangement, in consequence of the Union, of the ritual as we are now supposed to have it.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE’S HOSPITAL.

Bro. Edwards does “not know whether anyone has yet written the history of Royal Chairmanships”, and proceeds to enumerate a few of the responsibilities of the Duke in that line.

He mentions first the Royal Society and next the Lying-in Hospital. To-day this institution is known as Queen Charlotte's Hospital. Its bicentenary, falling by strange coincidence in this month and in this year, was celebrated just over a fortnight ago by a festival Dinner at the Savoy Hotel, with H.R.H. the Duke of Kent in the chair.

An account of the function in the *British Medical Journal* of June 17th prompted me to make inquiry of the Secretary of the Hospital. He and his assistant (a Freemason) were more than usually interested to hear of Bro. Edwards' paper on the Duke of Sussex and very courteously at short notice furnished some valuable information, found in the Hospital records, covering the time of the Duke's chairmanship.

It appears that the mahogany chair taken to the Savoy Hotel on June 7th for the use of the Duke of Kent was the veritable chair in which his remote Royal relative used to preside at similar functions in the old Freemason's Tavern, as well as at "Board" Meetings in Hospital.

The Duke of Kent said that "Queen Charlotte's" had a special claim to consideration as a pioneer hospital along several lines. In its early history it owed a great deal to the Duke of Sussex, sixth son of George III., who persuaded his mother to be the patron and for many years applied his energies to the organization and expansion of the institution, during which time the in-patients increased sevenfold and the out-patients were trebled. It is now an institution of national importance as a great teaching and training and research centre. The introduction by a member of the medical staff of a new drug in the treatment of puerperal fever in the isolation block led after 1935 to a reduction in the mortality from that disease from a previous 22% to a present 5%. The fact that the maternal death rate in 1938 was the lowest figure ever recorded in this country was due to no small extent to the work at "Queen Charlotte's" isolation block and research department. "Queen Charlotte's" was now the staff college of obstetricians.

There was some years ago, and still may be, a tradition among nurses and staff of the hospital that Queen Charlotte gave her name to the hospital as a token of gratitude for her recovery from a difficult childbirth, in which her life had been in danger.

Another version of the tradition was that the Queen died in childbirth. Against this it may be pointed out that Queen Charlotte was 65 in 1809 and long past childbirth. The disaster to Princess Charlotte did not occur until 1817. Nothing can be found in the Hospital records as a foundation for these traditions. All evidence shows that the Duke persuaded his mother to lend her patronage. He was for 34 years, until his death, President for life and a very active chairman of the management committee, taking the chair and signing the quarterly minutes—which are still in existence. (*Note.*—The secretary of the Hospital writes (September 25th, 1939) that War conditions have depleted the surgical, nursing and administrative staff very seriously and that further investigations of the minutes along these lines will have to be postponed, but gladly re-opened when conditions are happier.)

According to the oldest minute extant, 1809, the hospital was re-established, improved and enlarged under the immediate superintendence, advice and direction of T.R.H. the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge in July, 1809.

The Duke raised £1,000 for the Hospital at a Dinner in 1824, which, as the Duke of Kent said at the recent Savoy Dinner, must have been the most unfortunate on record, for the money was lost through the failure of the bankers. Undismayed, the Duke of Sussex repeated the Dinner in 1825, and raised £1,300. As chairman of committee he attended very regularly the frequent "house" meetings, taking an active personal interest in the details of hospital working and even condescended to inspect the baby-linen.

THE DUKE AND DR. SAMUEL HEMMING.

To the members of the Lodge of Harmony and particularly to myself as its historian, it has long been a puzzle as to why Hemming was singled out to be one of the "nine" moderns to join the "nine" antients in forming the Lodge of Reconciliation, to which was given the difficult task of reconciling opposing interests and "workings" and devising a form of ritual satisfactory to both sides.

Though Bro. Edwards has expressly stated in his paper that he was not proposing, beyond a few details, to set out the story of the Union, some departure from this ruling may be allowed, in view of the above question.

The position, briefly if possible, is this. Hemming had been busy with his Lodge of Harmony at Hampton Court, as Master six times up to the Union. There is no evidence of his having taken active interest in Grand Lodge or having any friends there. Suddenly he comes into the limelight when nominated as one of the "nine" from the moderns, followed by his election to the chair of Master of Reconciliation and all that it entailed.

Here are extracts from the minutes of the monthly meetings of the Lodge of Harmony, relevant to the situation, with comments thereon.

1813. October 12th. Br. Samuel Hemming, R.W.M. an address having been voted at the last Lodge to H.R.H. The Duke of Sussex as Grand Master of Masons the R.W.M. proposed that his R.H. should be waited on to know when and where he would be pleased to receive the same, which was agreed to unanimously.

The last minute of a Lodge Meeting is that of July 29th. No mention is made of an address. August and September meetings, if held, are not recorded. No mention is made in the November minute. The reason for an address is therefore left in obscurity.

Dec. 7th. Bro. Walton R.W.M. Pro Tem.

The R. W. M. (Bro. Hemming) having sent a letter to the S. W. stating the reason of his not being able to attend his duties this evening. It was mov'd seconded and carried unanimously that a copy of the said letter be entered among the minutes of the Lodge held this evening, the members of the Lodge feeling themselves highly flattered by the polite and mark'd attention paid by H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex as G. M. to the R. W. M. of the Lodge of Harmony.

Copy of the Letter.

His Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, having been pleased to command my attendance at the Hall this day, I am consequently prevented from fulfilling my duties in the Lodge, I doubt not these will be amply performed by yourself and the other officers.

You will share with me the honour which H. R. H. has conferr'd on the Lodge of Harmony by selecting me as the Master of a Lodge of nine Master Masons under the constitution of England, to unite with nine Masters (under their selected master) of M.M's under the (late Athol) constitution, for the purpose of forming a Lodge of Reconciliation to carry into effect the measures of the union.

This Lodge will in fact be a Lodge of Promulgation from whence all the future regulations of the craft will flow; and it will be determined by casting lots, which body is first to obligate the other.

With every sentiment of fraternal esteem and regard to you and the rest of the Brethren

I remain

Yrs ever

Sign'd Samuel Hemming.

Hampton.

Dec. 7. 1813.

The R. W. Senior Warden, Lodge of Harmony No. 384.

1814. Feb. 8. Bro. Saml. Hemming. S.G.W. W.M.

The communication from the United Grand Lo. of Antient Freemasons of England was read and a list according to its Instructions was ordered to be made out.

The old form, R.W.M., was changed at the January meeting to W.M. and it has remained so ever since.

April 25. Br. Robert Lawrence W.M. Pro. Tem.

(Hemming was absent)

A Lodge of Emergency was opened in due form for the purpose of making known to the Brethren the resolutions and orders of the Grand Lodge respecting the ornaments aprons etc. to be used in future by the Officers and Brethren of all lodges and to give the Brethren time to prepare the same as they could not be admitted to the Installation or Dinner at the Freemasons Tavern without the said ornaments and aprons.

June 28th. (Inventory taken of Furniture, Jewels etc., the final item being "a copy of the New Book of Constitution")

Dec. 29. Br. Samuel Hemming S.G.W. W.M.

Paid Br. Hemming for Chaise to Kensington

Palace 2. 0. 0.

This requires some explanation. The Lodge of Reconciliation was, in the months preceding December, arranging for instructing lodges "Skirting the town" in the new mode.

Hemming in writing (Oct. 7) to Secretary Harper says

"I propose to call on his Royal Highness tomorrow, and if I see him will endeavour to prevail on him to complete our number".

The journey in the chaise to Kensington Palace to consult the Duke was apparently, from the above, on Grand Lodge business and not in connection with the Lodge of Harmony. But the Brethren paid the bill, it may be with mixed feelings.

These extracts in some measure go to show that the Grand Master, the Duke, was taking an active and personal interest in Grand Lodge and Reconciliation matters.

How Hemming first came under the notice of the Duke and was chosen for his important role in the union arrangements still remains a problem. The Lodge of Harmony was small and unimportant, 13 miles from London, having little or nothing in common with the masonic activities in town.

Travelling facilities by coach between Hampton and London were slow and infrequent. Half a day would be spent in travel and afternoon and evening meetings involved staying in town a night. It was only after the Union that new made masonic friends came down to visit him and his Lodge. He had his Grammar School duties to attend to. We know they suffered from his frequent absences in London. His governors called him to order. It is possible he had come under the notice of the Duke at Hampton and Hampton Court Palace, where several of the Royal Family occasionally stayed. The Duke of Cumberland (afterwards William IV.) resided much at Hampton, mixing with the people and taking part in local councils.

Hemming had shown his ability in mastering the Ritual and Ceremonies in his own lodge, where he had ample scope for practice, being so often in the chair. This, added to his social standing, academic attainments and, according to his will, considerable private means, provided the recommendation for his important appointments.

There is strong evidence that he became an intimate friend of the Duke, whose trust in his counsel and organising ability was not misplaced.

The Lodge of Harmony has as parts of Lodge furniture several pieces associated with the Duke of Sussex.

They are:—

A large portrait in oils. Artist unknown.

Statuette of the Duke—a reduced copy of the Statue by Bailey.

Presented in 1847, but now missing.

Damascus Blade Sword (Solingen) formerly belonging to H. R. H.

Presented by Bro. General J. S. Hodgson.

(Bengal)

Bro. F. R. RADICE *writes*:—

I wish to associate myself with the other Brethren in expressing my appreciation of Bro. Edwards' paper. The meeting of the "Alpha" Lodge at Freemasons' Hall in 1818, to which he refers, was probably that at which the great Lombard nobleman and liberal leader, Count Frederic Confalonieri, was passed to the degree of F t. In the Milan State Archives there are some documents referring to this event, which are worthy to be noted, especially as the Duke of Sussex was personally interested in the Count's initiation; and several of the Brethren referred to in the paper are mentioned in them. On the 21st of August, 1818, Yeats Brown wrote to Confalonieri to tell him that the Duke of Sussex had not found it convenient to make him a Freemason in London before the month of October, but that the ceremony could be arranged for in Cambridge on the 4th of September. On the 14th (? printer's error for the 24th?) of August Yeats Brown wrote to Confalonieri that "H. C. Da Costa, Esq., a particular friend of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex and myself 'would call on him and that Da Costa would look after him generally at Cambridge.'" The letter continues "You will however at any rate meet the Duke of Sussex there," but it is not clear that the Duke was actually present at the initiation, which duly took place on the 3rd of September.

We have also a letter, dated 21st of September, from Da Costa informing Confalonieri that the Duke had called a meeting of the Lodge (which must be the "Alpha" lodge) in order to confer on the Count some further degrees. We have also the certificate, headed "Alpha Lodge. No. 43. Freemasons Tavern London," signed by: William Shatbolt, W.M.; H. C. Da Costa, S.W.; William Mergdrick, J.W. and William H. White, which certifies that the Count was initiated at Cambridge and p d to the degree of F t on October the 1st in the "Alpha" Lodge. The names of Shadbolt and Meyrick seem to have defeated the Italian printers of the documents. We know that the Count was also r d to the third degree, but from this certificate it would appear that this ceremony took place on another occasion.

If we can take it that the heading of the certificate indicates the place where the Lodge was held, it seems that the meeting referred to by Brother Edwards is the one at which Confalonieri was p d, unless of course the dates show that there were two meetings at Freemasons' Hall that year. The No. given, 43, also bears out that the "Alpha" Lodge obtained the No. 16 only after 1818, *i.e.*, in 1823.

This correspondence will be printed in full in a Note appended to Part II. of my paper on the Carbonari.

Bro. A. L. MOND writes:—

In the centenary history (1879) of the Pilgrim Lodge No. 238, for which Bro. Kupferschmidt was largely responsible, it is stated that the Duke of Sussex was a frequent visitor of the Pilgrim Lodge and tradition states that frequently typical German dishes were served to him at the festive board. He was very friendly inclined not only towards the W.M. of the Pilgrim Lodge, Pastor Giese, (a Court clergyman who was W.M. from 1805 to 1817), whom he appointed Grand Secretary for German Correspondence, but also towards the Pilger Lodge which he appointed to a Grand Stewards' Lodge in 1816.

I may also mention that Chevalier Bernhard Hebler who is mentioned in the report of the Quarterly communication of September 4th, 1839, was W.M. of the Pilgrim Lodge (at that time No. 289) for the tenth time when he was appointed P.S.G.W. At the same quarterly communication another member of the Pilgrim Lodge 289, P.M. Henry Burmester who had been W.M. 8 times was also appointed P.S.G.W.

Finally, as regards the circumstances in which the Duke of Sussex entered the craft, I may mention that the tutor of the Duke of Sussex, and of his elder brother, the Duke of Cumberland, and his younger brother, the Duke of Cambridge, was a member of the Pilgrim Lodge. Professor Ludwig Wilhelm Meyer (1759-1840) was librarian at Gottingen from 1785-1788 and an enthusiastic mason, as evidenced by his life work, the biography of the famous masonic reformer, Friedrich Ludwig Schroder (1744-1816) published in Hamburg 1819. Possibly Prof. Meyer's influence contributed to the Duke's decision to become a mason.

I may mention that Prof. Meyer's other pupil, the Duke's elder brother, Ernest August, Duke of Cumberland, afterwards King Ernest I. of Hanover, became a member of the Britannic Lodge No. 28.

For the sake of historical record the Pilgrim Lodge (289), now 238, should be mentioned in addition to the four lodges mentioned in your paper, with which the Duke of Sussex was closely connected.

May I congratulate Bro. Lewis Edwards on his excellent contribution on the biography of August Frederick, Duke of Sussex.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The material collected by Bro. Edwards suggests that the Duke of Sussex was a enthusiastic mason who helped to direct the course of events. There is quite a possibility that he wished for the Union of the Antients and the Moderns. instead of merely acquiescing in the wishes of others for that event.

It was fortunate for the craft that he was in the seat of authority when the Union took place. Its success was undoubtedly due to his masterly dealing with the Lodge of Reconciliation who would have brought about a schism but for the timely withdrawal of their warrant. It is generally overlooked by ritualists that the Lodge of Reconciliation instead of endeavouring to determine the correct ritual from those in existence, preferred, when there were two versions, to invent a third so as to avoid hurting the feelings of any of their members. Any version not represented in their Lodge was ignored altogether. It is absurd to suppose that such a ritual has come down to us. In order to prevent it, the Duke of Sussex withdrew the warrant and the notes of the ritual were destroyed. We owe our antiquity and our unity to his firm handling of the situation.

A paper such as this brings home the necessity for a Dictionary of Masonic Biography. Col. Tynte is mentioned and I know of him only as the Supreme Grand Master of the Masonic Knights Templar in 1850. Other names crop up elsewhere but not enough to give an idea of the Masonic activities of the owners.

Although Hanover at this time was under the sovereignty of the King of England it is curious to note that the Hanoverian Lodges do not seem to have attracted the attention of the Duke.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS *writes*, in reply:—

I should like to say forthwith that the success which its reception assures me this paper has met with is due to its subject, the interest of whose character and career is proof against even a multitude of faults in its presentation. The unusually large number of notes and comments that have been received have not only done much to elucidate the life and character of the Duke but also have afforded further evidence of the wide appeal that he makes as a man and as a Freemason.

I share Bro. Cecil Powell's regret that there have not been preserved more records of the Duke's activities; his correspondence seems to have been scattered and in the archives of Grand Lodge there is a most distressing paucity of his written communications.

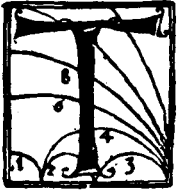
Bro. Baxter has raised the question of religious beliefs. It seems likely that the classing of Sussex as a Unitarian may be due to the rather undogmatic nature of his Christianity to which I have referred, rather than to any definite adherence to the Unitarian faith—at any rate with a capital "U." The Duchess of Inverness was so created by Queen Victoria, the Earl of Inverness being the Duke of Sussex's second title. I know of no evidence that the Duke of Norfolk was ever initiated.

Bro. Williams suggests that there may be some point in the reference to the Craft as an "incorporate Society"; I am rather doubtful about that and would be content to accept the adjective as just ornamental surplusage. There are several "Second Numbers" in Freemasonry—perhaps in this case "Seven" is meant. Suggestions have been made as to the non-Christian character of the ritual and to this being due to the Duke's influence, but I have found no direct evidence of this. I cannot say more than that its character is non-Christian (not, of course, anti—or even un-Christian), that Sussex was naturally influential in the councils of the Craft and that he was somewhat heterodox or unsectarian in his religious views; whether these facts constitute a syllogism each must determine for himself.

I have to thank the other brethren and Mr. Warren Dawson for the valuable information they have supplied on many of the Duke's activities, and perhaps I may also say what a gap the loss of the dear and valued presence of our late Bro. Firminger has left in our midst.



FRIDAY, 6th OCTOBER, 1939.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., W.M.; B. Ivanoff, J.W.; and Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.; F. R. Radice; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.; Major G. T. Harley Thomas, P.G.D.; S. H. Muffett; E. S. M. Perone; *Commdr.* S. N. Smith, *R.N.*; A. F. Cross; F. A. Greene as S.W.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; Thomas North, P.G.D.; R. L. Randall; E. D. Lottin; S. H. J. Prynn; R. M. Strickland; C. F. Waddington; A. F. Hatten; R. S. Baird; S. W. Freeborn; J. R. Cully; F. L. Edwards; A. F. Ford; G. D. Hindley, P.A.G.D.C.

Also Bro. E. F. Harding, P.M., Holmesdale Lodge No. 874, Visitor.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; D. Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.; B. Telepnef; D. Knoop, M.A., P.M.; W. I. Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., S.W.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.D.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby, J.D.; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., I.G.; and H. G. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C.

Bro. Major Cecil Clare Adams, M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D., S.W., was unanimously elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., Ireland, was re-elected Treasurer; and Bro. G. H. Ruddle was re-elected Tyler.

Upon Ballot taken:—

BRO. GILBERT YORKE JOHNSON, residing at Strathmoor, The Mount, York. Printer. P.M. and Librarian York Lodge No. 236. Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. Author of paper published

in Leeds I.M. Assn. Transactions, 1935, on *The Merchant Adventurers' Hall and its connection with Freemasonry*; and paper to be read before Q.C. Lodge, October, 1939, *Subordinate Lodges of the York Grand Lodge*;

and

BRO. FULKE ROSAVO RADICE, residing at 57, Goldington Avenue, Bedford. Home Civil Service. P.M. Old Bedfordian Lodge No. 4732. Author of papers read in Lodge March, 1938, and March, 1939. *An Introduction to the History of the Carbonari*, Part I. and Part II. Also several papers read before the Metropolitan College, S.R.I.A.

were regularly elected Joining Members of the Lodge.

One Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction and Eleven Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Members of the Lodge and the Correspondence Circle who had been honoured with appointments and promotions on the occasion of the Installation of the Grand Master:—Lodge: Bro. David Flather, Past Grand Deacon; Correspondence Circle: Bros. *Rev.* Joseph Johnson, C. H. Jenkins, C. H. Barrington Armstrong, O. Leo. Thomson, and E. H. Middlebrook, Past Grand Deacons; G. D. Hindley, Tom Morgan, G. S. Shepherd-Jones, and *Capt.* Cyril E. Wiles, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies: Herbert H. Galvin, Edward T. Gibbs, Stephen King, and John W. Privett, Past Grand Standard Bearers.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Photograph of Josiah Beckwith, Druidical Lodge, Rotherham.

Photographs of Minutes of the York Lodge of 1703.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition.

BRO. G. Y. JOHNSON read the following paper:—

THE SUBORDINATE LODGES CONSTITUTED BY THE YORK GRAND LODGE.

PART I.

BY BRO. G. Y. JOHNSON, P.A.G.D.C., *Librarian of York Lodge No. 236.*

INTRODUCTION.



ANY papers have been written on the subject of the York Grand Lodge, but so far no full account has been given of the various Subordinate Lodges constituted by that Grand Lodge.

The lead of others has been followed in choosing the title "The York Grand Lodge" instead of "The Grand Lodge of All England", the former being the more comprehensive title in that it alludes to the locality.

The History of the York Grand Lodge may be divided into two parts: (1) From the earliest record (1705) until the dormancy—the last trace we possess of this period is in 1738. (2) From the Revival (1761) until the collapse—the date generally given for this is 1792, but is open to argument. Only one Lodge is known to have been constituted during the first period, but there were ten Lodges in the second period, and these will be given in chronological order as far as possible.

There were also various unsuccessful attempts to obtain Warrants of Constitution for other Cities and Towns, and accounts of these attempts have also been included.

Unfortunately there are not many records of the Subordinate Lodges; there are no original Minute Books in existence—there is a copy of a fragment of the Scarborough Lodge Minutes and a copy of the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham Minutes for two years.

Only two original Warrants of Constitution are still preserved, those of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent and the Lodge of Fortitude at "Hollingwood", but fortunately there are copies of the Constitutions of two other Subordinate Lodges—French Prisoners of War Lodge and the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham. Most of the evidence is taken from the Minute Books of the York Grand Lodge. There are two of these—the first dated 17 March, 1761, to 12 December, 1774, and the second 27 December, 1774, to 31 July, 1780.

There is also a Guard Book or Scrap Book in existence containing, among other papers, some of the original letters written by members of the Subordinate Lodges to the Grand Secretary and other members of the York Grand Lodge, and also copies of the letters sent by the Grand Secretary to the various Subordinate Lodges. This is referred to as the York Grand Lodge MSS. and is numbered 1 to 106.

Lastly we have the old Newspapers which give us announcements and accounts of meetings; in some cases this is the only evidence we possess.

Lists of Subordinate Lodges have been given by Bro. Lane and Bro. Hughan, and as one would expect, these are accurate except that, since these lists were made, a Subordinate Lodge at Halifax has been discovered and the Lodge at Snainton should follow the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham; further it seems doubtful on the evidence whether "A Lodge in the City of York" ever existed. These points are dealt with later.

BRADFORD.

After the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge Meeting held on 28 September, 1778, there is a

Copy of a Letter sent to Mr. Benj^e Bradley Worshipfull Jun^r Warden & Mr Will^m. Preston Worshipfull Past Master of the Lodge N^o. 1 held at y^e Mitre Tavern Fleet Street London—at their request to Bro^r Bufsey, to Sattisfie them &c of the Existance of the Antient Grand Lodge at York. Previous to the year 1717

In this letter,¹ Jacob Bussey, the Grand Secretary of this York Grand Lodge, states that he has "Inspected an Original Minute Book of this Grand Lodge begining in 1705 & ending in 1734". This Minute Book has long been lost, but that it existed is proved by the fact that it is mentioned in the York Grand Lodge schedule of Regalia, Records, &c., dated 15 September, 1779.

In this letter Bro. Bussey, in giving particulars of "a Grand Lodge at York", states that

there is an Instance of its being holden once (in 1713) out of York Viz, at Bradford in Yorkshire when 18 Gentlemen of the first families in that Neighbourhood were made Masons

Bro. Bussey makes no further mention of the incident and there is no record of this meeting in York Grand Lodge Roll No. 7, which Roll seems to have been a register of admissions and the meetings at which these took place, from 1712 to 1730; the inference from this is that these Bradford brethren were not considered members of the Old Lodge in York City. This suggests that these 18 brethren were made Masons with the idea of forming a Lodge at Bradford; at any rate, there seems a possibility of this being the case, but there is no further evidence on the subject and therefore we can only say that a Lodge may have been formed at Bradford about the year 1713 by brethren made in the "Old Lodge in York City".

There is, however, another possibility of a Subordinate Lodge being constituted at Bradford by the York Grand Lodge at the latter end of the eighteenth century.

In the Library of the Grand Lodge of Texas, U.S.A., there is a copy of the *Book of Constitutions* of 1784; part of the description of this book is as follows²:—

The first fly-leaf has on it this inscription:—"Lodge of Hope No. 112539, Bowling Green, Bradford, Yorkshire". The volume to all appearance is in its original binding.

It is obvious that there has never been a Lodge in England numbered 112539, and it is suggested that this is formed by two numbers running con-

¹ There is another draft of this letter which is dated 29 August, 1778 (York G. Lodge MS. No. 30).

² A.Q.C., vol. xliii., page 241.

secutively; fortunately Bro. W. J. Songhurst has added the following note¹ to help us:—

This number is peculiar. The Lodge of Hope at Bradford, now No. 302, was placed on the list of the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) in 1794, with the No. 539. What, then, is the meaning of 112? I suggest the following as a possible explanation. The Grand Lodge of all England at York was revived in 1761 after a long period of dormancy, and in the following year it commenced to authorize the formation of new Lodges, all of which had very short lives. The first of these was a French Lodge at York; the ninth was the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham, and for some unknown reason this was called No. 109; the tenth was the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent; and the eleventh was at Hollinwood, Lancashire, in 1790. We have no record of any further Lodges having been created, but it is at least possible that a twelfth Lodge was formed, at Bradford, and that it bore the No. 112. The final collapse of the Grand Lodge of York about 1792 may have caused the members of this Bradford Lodge to apply for constitution under the Grand Lodge in London. No warrant was ever issued, and the Lodge was permitted to work under a Provincial Dispensation, in company with several other Lodges at that period. It may, however, be noted that the Lodge possesses a copy of the Old Charges, known as the Hope MS., though it is not known how or when this was acquired.—W.J.S.

Since Bro. Songhurst wrote this note the List of Subordinate Lodges of the York Grand Lodge has been slightly altered, the Lodge at Snainton following the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham. The suggested order of the Lodges is as follows:—

- 1778 No. 109 The Druidical Lodge, Rotherham.
- 1778 No. 110 The Lodge at Snainton.
- 1779 No. 111 The Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.
- ? No. 112 The Lodge of Hope, Bradford.
- 1790 No. 113 The Lodge of Fortitude, "Hollingwood".

This would give the date of the Lodge of Hope as somewhere between 1779 and 1790, but it is possible that a Constitution was granted to some Lodge by the York Grand Lodge² on 23 August, 1792; this would place the Lodge of Hope after the Lodge of Fortitude and the number of the former should then be 113.

Bro. Songhurst has raised an interesting point and one that is impossible to answer on the evidence before us. The Lodge of Hope at Bradford did not meet at the Bowling Green Inn until 1797 and remained at this Inn until 1818,³ but the number of the Lodge was changed in 1814 to 565; so the inscription on the fly-leaf could not have been written before 1797 or after 1814.

The original warrant of the Lodge of Fortitude at "Hollingwood" has no number; the only two Subordinate Lodges of the York Grand Lodge to receive a number were the French Prisoners of War Lodge No. 1 and the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham No. 109.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 24 June, 1773, a letter was discussed from James Birkinhough, of Macclesfield, asking for Certificates, and the Grand Secretary was ordered to reply to this letter, the last paragraph being as follows.—

¹ *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliii., page 241.

² See Conclusion.

³ *Lane's Masonic Records*.

that it is not customary for this Lodge to prefix a Number to the Constitutions granted by it.

This instruction was not carried out, as the Druidical Lodge received a number about five-and-a-half years after this resolution was passed. In the meantime there had been several changes of Secretary in the York Grand Lodge.

There is no further evidence on the subject and so we can only say that there is a possibility but not a probability of a Subordinate Lodge being constituted at Bradford by the York Grand Lodge.

HALIFAX.

The first Subordinate Lodge of the York Grand Lodge of which we have definite information was constituted in York on 22 May, 1738, and was to be held in Halifax.

The only evidence of this is found in the newspapers of the period, and we are indebted to the late Bro. W. R. Makins for discovering these references.

In *The York Courant*, No. 662, of 29 May, 1738, the following paragraph appeared:—

York, May 29,
On the 22d Inst. a Lodge of the antient Society of Free Mafons, was held at the White Horfe in Coppergate, when the Grand Mafter was pleas'd to conftitute a new Lodge, to be held at the Talbot in Hallifax; and appointed Mr. James Hamilton Mafter of the fame, and Mr. Francis Benton, and Mr. John Mellin Wardens.

The White Horse in Coppergate where the York Grand Lodge held this meeting is still in existence, but was rebuilt some years ago; this is the only meeting of the York Grand Lodge, of which we have any record, that took place in this hostelry.

Unfortunately the newspaper account does not mention the Grand Master by name and we do not know who held the office at the time, as this is the only evidence that the York Grand Lodge was meeting as late as 1738.

That this new Lodge held meetings, or at any rate one meeting, at the Talbot in Halifax is evident from an extract in *The Leeds Mercury*, No. 647, of 4 July, 1738, as follows:—

Laft Saturday being St. John's Day, there was a Grand Meeting of Free and Accepted Mafons at the Talbot in Halifax, when Mr. Francis Benton was chofen Grand Mafter; Mr. James Hamilton Deputy Grand Mafter, and Mr. Mellin and Mr. Lupton Wardens.

From these newspaper extracts we obtain the names of four members of the Subordinate Lodge at Halifax, and all these four names appear in "A List of the Master-masons in the Lodge at York".¹ This List consists of the signatures of 35 Members in one column and about three-quarters of the way down there is the date "July 7th 1734", followed by eight signatures:—"Step"

¹ York Roll No. 9.

Bulkley,¹ Francis Benton, James Hamilton, John Mellin, George Coats,² Chris: Coulton,³ James Carpenter,⁴ James Lupton". We know that four of these brethren were members of the Halifax Lodge and one might expect that the other four were also members, but this is not so, as three of them were admitted into the York Grand Lodge in 1724 and 1725, and the fourth, James Carpenter, was a Freeman of the City of York.

How long this Subordinate Lodge at Halifax continued to work we have no means of knowing, but two or three weeks after this meeting at Halifax a new Lodge was constituted⁵ in Halifax by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) and met at the Bull's Head, Bull Green.⁶

This Lodge later became the Probity Lodge; it is now numbered 61 and has the honour of being the oldest Lodge in Yorkshire. Unfortunately no records prior to 1762 have been preserved, so it is impossible to say whether any of the members of the Subordinate Lodge of Halifax joined this Modern Lodge.

Bro. T. W. Hanson, of Halifax, states⁷ that James Hamilton, who had been the first Master of the Subordinate Lodge of Halifax, was the landlord of the Bull's Head; that Francis Benton was the landlord of the Talbot; and that the Mellins were also connected with the Talbot, as John Mellin was the landlord in 1759.

HALIFAX LODGE.

List of Members.

Francis Benton
James Hamilton, Landlord of the Bull's Head
James Lupton
John Mellin

FRENCH PRISONERS OF WAR LODGE.

The first Subordinate Lodge constituted by the York Grand Lodge after the revival in 1761 was "French Prisoners of War" Lodge.

There is no mention of this Subordinate Lodge in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge, and the only evidence is a copy of the Constitution or Warrant which appears at the end of the York Grand Lodge Minute Book of 1761-1774. This French Prisoners of War Lodge was numbered 1 and was one of the two

¹ Step. Buckley was sworn and admitted in the York G. Lodge 28 Dec., 1724 (York Roll No. 7); he also signed the Rules (York Roll No. 8).

² George Coates was sworn and admitted in the York G. Lodge 8 Dec., 1725 (York Roll No. 7); he signed the Rules (York Roll No. 8), and helped to revive the York G. Lodge in 1762.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ There is no mention of James Carpenter in York Roll No. 7. He was made a Freeman of the City of York in 1726, "Jacobus Carpenter, painter, fil. Samuel Carpenter, carver" (Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Surtees Soc., vol. cii.). He must have been called both James and Jacob, as in 1758 his son became a Freeman, "Samuel Carpenter, painter, son of James Carpenter, painter".

James or Jacob Carpenter was the brother of John Carpenter, the latter being expunged from the York Grand Lodge 6 July, 1726, for holding a Schismatical Lodge (York Roll No. 7).

John Carpenter was made a Freeman in 1712, "Johannes Carpenter, fil. Samuelis Carpenter, carver (Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Surtees Soc., vol. cii.).

⁵ There is some doubt as to the actual date. Lane gives "Date of Warrant 1 Aug. 1738. Constituted 12 July, 1738".

⁶ *The Lodge of Probity No. 61* by T. W. Hanson.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Subordinate Lodges to receive a number; this number suggests that the Grand Secretary was unaware of the Lodge constituted at Halifax in 1738.

The Constitution or Warrant is dated 10 June, 1762, and there were five petitioners and not six as might at first appear, "Du Frefne Le Peltier" being one man; there is no comma after "Du Frefne" in the Constitution, and further this brother visited the Punch Bowl Lodge No. 259 on 19 April, 1762, with another French Prisoner and the names were entered in the Minutes:—

La Villaine
Du Frefne Le Peltier

The Constitution states that the Lodge was opened on 10 June, 1762, and was to meet "on the Second Thursday in every Month, or oftener if occasion shall require" Of the Petitioners only one visited the York Grand Lodge and that was "Villaine" on 14 June, 1762, that is four days after the date of the Constitution of the French Prisoners Lodge; there were, however, other brethren with French names who visited the York Grand Lodge about this time¹ and may have been members of the French Prisoners Lodge; these were "Two Strangers names unknown" on 3 June, 1762, seven days before the date of the Constitution, "Le Fèvre" on 25 January, 1763, and at the meeting held on 8 March, 1763, "Brother René Bonnett Petitioned for Relief from this Lodge and in consideration of his distress Ordered That One Guinea be given to the said Brother R. Bonnett"; further "Dupont" is entered as a visitor on 8 November, 1763.

The French Prisoners Lodge met at the Punch Bowl Inn in Stonegate, which is still in existence but was rebuilt a few years ago; before the rebuilding there was a crevice at the top of the stairs with a fixed seat, which was said to have been used by the Tyler in the old days.

In 1762 there was a Lodge being held at this Inn called The Punch Bowl No. 259 constituted by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns). This Lodge held its first meeting² on 2 February, 1761, and the last on 2 January, 1764; its members were on friendly terms with the York Grand Lodge and the collapse of the Punch Bowl Lodge was caused by its members joining the York Grand Lodge.

It is hardly surprising to find the members of the two Lodges meeting at the same Inn paying each other visits, and the following three members of the French Prisoners Lodge visited the Punch Bowl Lodge:—"Mon^r. Villefort" on 1 February, 1762 ("Villefort" seems more likely than the "Vilfort" of the Constitution) and "La Villaine" and "Du Frefne Le Peltier" on 19 April, 1762.

In addition to these Petitioners a man named³ "Teeneau" visited the Punch Bowl Lodge on 1 February, 1762, which was the same evening as "Mon^r. Villefort" attended, but whether he was a member of the French Prisoners Lodge it is impossible to say.

It is interesting to note that the York Grand Lodge took care that this French Prisoners Lodge was not to initiate any subject of the King of England, as they inserted the following in the Constitution "Prohibiting . . . from making any one a Brother Who shall be a Subject of Great-Britain or Ireland".

The text of the Warrant of Constitution⁴ is as follows:—

¹ De L'Ainé visited the York Grand Lodge on 8 March, 1762, but he was a Limner or Miniature Painter from London who had "lately arrived in the City"
See Adv. in *York Courant*, 22 Dec., 1761.

² Punch Bowl Lodge Minute Book.

³ This name may be "Tieneau".

⁴ This has been reproduced in *facsimile* in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiii.

Constitutions or Warrants

Granted by **This** Right Worshipful **Grand-Lodge** to Brethren Enabling them to hold Lodges at the places and in the houses particularly mentioned in such Constitutions or Warrants.—

Nº. 1

Anno Secundo

Brother Drake G.M.

On the tenth day of June 1762. A Constitution or Warrant was granted unto the following Brethren French Prisoners of War on their Parol (viz) Du Fresne Le Peltier, Julian Vilfort, Pierre le Villaine, Louis Bruflé and Francis Le Grand. ☉

Thereby Enabling them and others to open and continue to hold a Lodge At the Sign of The Punch Bowl in Stonegate in the City of York And to make New Brethren as from time to time occasion might require **Prohibiting** nevertheless them and their Successors from making any one a Brother Who shall be a Subject of Great-Britain or Ireland **Which Said Lodge** was accordingly opened and held on the said Tenth day of June and to be continued regularly on the Second Thursday in every Month, or oftener if occasion shall require ☉

On 27 December, 1765, there was a visitor at the Britannia Lodge No. 139 of Sheffield called Thomas Gunthorpe, who is described as “Druggist R. Arch” and of Lodge “No. 1 York”. Bro. David Flather, in his paper¹ “Freemasonry in Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century” adds a footnote:—

No. 1 York. Under the Grand Lodge of All England. Called the “French Lodge”, and met at the Punch Bowl Tavern.

Thomas Gunthorpe was made a Freeman of the City of York² in 1757 and is described as “druggist and teaman”; he was made E.A. & F.C. in the York Grand Lodge on 25 May and M.M. on 31 August, 1761. Further he joined the Punch Bowl Lodge No. 259 on 3 August, 1761, having attended as a visitor on 1 June, 7 and 20 July, 1761; he was exalted a Royal Arch Mason in the York Grand Chapter on Sunday 21 March, 1762; Thomas Gunthorpe was therefore a Freemason before the granting of the Constitution to the French Prisoners Lodge.

The explanation appears to be that the Secretary of the Britannia Lodge gave only the number of the visiting brother's Lodge and not the name, and so his description of the York Grand Lodge, which, of course, had no number, was “No. 1 York”.

It is difficult to say when the French Prisoners of War arrived in York. The local Histories are silent on the subject, but, fortunately, the newspapers of the period give us some help. The following is taken from the *York Courant* of 24 July, 1759:—

Yesterday arrived in this City from Kent 99 French Prisoners one having been drown'd on Sunday at Tadcaster, when bathing; this Day 100, and To morrow 80 more are expected. They are to remain here for some

¹ A.Q.C., vol. xlv., page 158.

² The Surtees Society, vol. 102.

Time, on their Parole, and have the Liberty of walking a Mile round the City.

No doubt other parties of prisoners were sent to York and some were confined in the Castle, for in 1761 a daring escape was made which caused some stir in the City. The *York Courant* of 3 November, 1761, gives the following account:—

Laft Tuefday Night fome of the French Prifoners confined in the Caſtle, having found Means to cut the Iron Bars in the Windows, 20 out of the 121 confined there, made their Eſcape over the Walls by the Help of a Rope; but fix of them were taken ſoon after and brought back to their former Lodgings. Forty-fix have found Bail for the due Obſervance of their Parole, and on Thurſday 56 fet out, under a ſtrong Guard of Col. Thornton's Regiment of Militia, for Wincheſter, where they are to be confined. The remaining five, being indiſpoſed, and not fit to travel, continue in the Caſtle.

Hargrove in his *History of York*¹ mentions the incident and adds that ſix of the prifoners were afterwards ſecured, "the remaining fourteen were never more heard of".

Before peace was proclaimed there muſt have been ſome exchange of prifoners. The *Newcastle Journal* of 23/30 October, 1762, gives the following:—

York. Oct. 26. Paſſports are come for 33 of the French Prifoners, as alſo for a Number of thoſe in the neighbouring Market Towns, who are to embark on board a Veffel at Hull for Calais.

The Seven Years' War was terminated by the Treaty of Paris, which was ſigned on 10 February, 1763, and as one would naturally expect, the Prifoners of War were ſoon repatriated. The *Newcastle Journal* of April, 1763, gives the following:—

We hear from York that laſt Week, in conſequence of an Order from the Commiſſioners for Prifoners of War, the French Prifoners on their Parole in the different Market-Towns in the North-Riding of Yorkſhire arrived there, in order to proceed from thence for Hull, where Veffels are ready to carry them to France.

It is fairly ſafe to ſay that the French Prifoners of War Lodge collapsed early in 1763.

It is, of course, poſſible that ſome of the prifoners preferred to remain in England, and one of theſe may have been Michael Denesles, who viſited the York Grand Lodge on 24 February and 10 March, 1766; at the next meeting on 31 March he is entered as a member and he continued to attend the York Grand Lodge regularly as a member until 27 July, 1767, when his name ceases to appear. He inserted an advertisement in the local paper² ſtating that he taught French and was granted a Certificate by the York Grand Lodge in both English and French, dated September, 1767, a rough draft of which we poſſeſs,³ the English version being as follows:—

Grand Lodge at York

We the G M W & S do hereby certify that our worthy Brother Michael Denesles is a regular made free & accepted Maſter Maſon & that he has upon all Occaſions behaved himſelf with Candour Integrity & Honor as becomes a Member of our moſt antient & honorable Society.

¹ Hargrove's *History of York*, 1818, vol. ii., page 234.

² *York Courant*, 19 August, 1766.

³ York Grand Lodge MS., No. 6.

And we do further certify that he may be received into any Assembly or Lodge of Free & accepted Masons on the face of the whole Earth Given under our Hands & the Seal of the . . . Grand Lodge this

Day of . . . A L 5767.

This MS. has been endorsed by John Browne, Grand Secretary 1779-80: "Certificate of a Person being made a Maceon in the Grand Lodge of all England".

Denesles must have died some time in the latter half of 1767, as his widow petitioned for relief and was granted two guineas by the York Grand Lodge on 11 January, 1768, the Minute being as follows:—

On the petition of the widow of Brother Denesles Ordered that two Guineas be given to her by this Lodge the Manner and Time whereof to be left to the G.T.

A fortnight later the Grand Treasurer reported that he had interviewed the widow and she had decided to have the money paid to her when her rent became due; the York Grand Lodge Minute of 25 January, 1768, being as follows:—

At this Lodge the G.T. reported to the G.M. that he had attended Widow Denesles to know how the donation ordered her at the last Lodge could be best applied to her advantage and that she choose to have the [money] paid her against her Rent Day.

FRENCH PRISONERS OF WAR LODGE.

List of Members.

Louis Bruslé
Du Fresne Le Peltier
Francis Le Grand
Pierre le Villaine
Julian Vilfort

SCARBOROUGH.

It is well known that a Lodge of Freemasons was held at Scarborough in 1705, but there is no evidence that this Scarborough Lodge had any connection with the old Lodge in York City, which afterwards became the York Grand Lodge.

In the year 1729 the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) issued a Constitution for a Lodge at Scarborough; this was the first Lodge in Yorkshire constituted by this Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge of England Minutes for 11 July, 1729, are as follows¹:—

Bro^r. Robinson Master of the Lodge at the Ship on Fishstreet-hill acquainted the Deputy Grand Master that several good Masons met at Scarborough in Yorkshire in the summer season and were desirous to meet as Masons, humbly prayed a Deputation for constituting a Lodge there.

Ordered That the Secretary prepare a Deputation accordingly.

It will be noted that no petitioners or officers are mentioned and that no place of meeting is stated; "the Lodge at the Ship on Fishstreet-hill"² was, of course, a London Lodge.

¹ *Q.C. Antigrapha*, vol. x., p. 105.

² Lodge No. 22. See Lane's *Masonic Records* (Second Edition), p. 44.

About four months later in the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) Minutes of 25 November, 1729, this Scarborough Lodge is again mentioned,¹ when it was reported that the Lodge was meeting at the "Three Tuns".

Nothing further is known about this Lodge except that from certain Jewels we find that the following were officers:—

W^m. Thompson Esq^r. Master 1729

O. Rudsell Master 1729

R. Raine Sen^r. Wardⁿ. 1729

B. Mumford Jun^r. Wardⁿ. 1729

The subject of these Jewels is dealt with later in this paper.

Lane in his *Masonic Records*² gives the Lodge as meeting in 1740 and that it was erased on 29 November, 1754, but Bro. Hutton Steel, one of the surviving members, stated³ that the Lodge never met after 1735.

THE SCARBOROUGH SUBORDINATE LODGE.

The next trace of a Lodge at Scarborough is contained in a foolscap sheet of paper⁴ headed "Extracts from a Minute Book of the Lodge at Scarborough". This MS. consists of the dates of meetings and the names of some of the members present; there are seven meetings mentioned, six of these being in 1762 and the last in 1768. This MS. is in the handwriting of John Browne, who was the Grand Secretary of the York Grand Lodge in 1779 and 1780, and must have been copied by him during his Secretaryship from the original Scarborough Minute Book which was presented to the York Grand Lodge on 31 January, 1780.

The first meeting of this Scarborough Lodge took place on 25th May, 1762, no place of meeting being stated. There were nine brethren present, including two candidates, the officers being the Master, Deputy Master, Sen. Warden, Jun. Warden and Deputy Warden.

Unfortunately we do not know the names of the members of the Scarborough Lodge constituted in 1729 by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) except those names engraved on the jewels, so it is impossible to say if any of the brethren at this meeting on 25 May, 1762, had been members of the former Lodge. All we know is that this Lodge possessed no Constitution, but how long it had been holding meetings it is impossible to say. As a list of the members present is given, this may have been the first meeting.

The next two meetings took place on 5 June and 16 July, 1762, so the Lodge was meeting monthly. There are four names mentioned on 5 June and two on 16 July. None of these brethren had attended the first meeting, which suggests that they were candidates or "brethren then admitted", but this is by no means certain.

At the next meeting on 16 August, 1762, the place of meeting, "The Turks Head", is given for the first time. Nine members were present, and there appear to have been no candidates. This must have been an important meeting, as no doubt the question of a Constitution was discussed; at any rate the Lodge met again three days later on 19 August, when the Lodge was opened "by Virtue of a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of free & Accepted Masons at York". Only the four officers are mentioned—the Rt. Wor. Master, two Wardens and the Secretary. This is the first time that the Master assumes the full title of Right Worshipful. Strange to say, no mention of this Subordinate Lodge at Scarborough is found in the York Grand Lodge Minutes.

¹ *Q.C. Antigrapha*, vol. x., p. 107.

² Second Edition, p. 53.

³ York G. Lodge MS. No. 54, quoted in full later.

⁴ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 4.

This entry of the meeting on 19 August, 1762, follows the one dated 6 December. It appears that John Browne made a mistake in copying the minutes, or alternatively the original minute book was at fault.

At the meeting on 6 December, 1762, only two names are entered, but both these could not have been candidates, as Absalom Dinnis attended the meeting six months previously on 5 June, the other brother, George Walker, is marked as Tyler, but his name had not previously appeared.

The last meeting entered took place nearly six years later on 30 August, 1768, when John Burton was admitted a Member; whether the Lodge met in the interval we do not know.

The transcript of York Grand Lodge MS. No. 4 is as follows :—

Extracts from a Minute Book of the Lodge at Scarbrough

May 25th. 1762.

W ^m . Jefferson	}	Brothers then admitted.
Tho ^s . Balderston		

Brothers then present

Francis Harrison, Master.
W^m. Kell — Deputy Master.
Leo^d. Harrison — Sen. Warden.
Joseph Bull — Jun. Warden.
W^m. Steel — Deputy Warden.

John Walshaw
Robert Bigland
June 5th. W^m. Redman
Absalom Dinnis
John Seller
Tho^s. Hart

July 16th. Fran^s. Tevill
Matt^w. Fowler.

Scarbrough 16th. August 1762.
Lodge Opened at the Turks Head

Members then present

Tho^s. Balderston. M.
Tho^s. Hart — S.W.
Jn^o. Walshaw, J.W.
W^m. Jefferson, —
Matt^w. Fowler, Secretary.
Francis Tevill
Rubin Richardson
John Seller.
W^m. Redman

Dec. 6th. George Walker, Tyler.
Absalom Dinnis.

A Lodge Opened on Thursday the 19th. August 1762 by Virtue
of a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of ffree & Accepted Masons at York

Bro^r. Tho^s. Balderston, R^t. Worp^l. M.
Tho^s. Hart — S.W.
John Walsham J.W.
Matt^w. Fowler S.

30. August 1768 John Burton was admitted a Member.

As previously stated, no mention of the granting of the Constitution is found in the York Grand Lodge Minutes. I have searched through these Minutes to see if any of the Scarborough brethren visited the York Grand Lodge, but the only brother with the same name is "Walker", who was a visitor on 27 September and 7 October, 1762. No place of domicile is mentioned, but as George Walker is entered in the Scarborough Minutes on 6 December, 1762, as Tyler it seems unlikely that these two brethren are one and the same person.

Fortunately there is a reference in a York Newspaper to the granting of the Constitution to the Scarborough brethren. The *York Courant* of 21 September, 1762, has the following paragraph:—

We hear from Scarbrough, that a Regular Lodge of Free Mafons was lately open'd there, by Virtue of a Conftitution fent them from the Grand Lodge at York.

This definitely states that the news had been supplied by someone at Scarborough and not by the York Grand Lodge.

The next reference to Scarborough is found in the Minutes of the Punch Bowl Lodge at York. This Lodge had been warranted by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) in 1762. It appears that John Bodens had been made a Mason at Scarborough in an irregular manner and so on 26 September, 1763, he was made a F.C. and M.M. in the Punch Bowl Lodge. The Minutes suggest that he had only received the first and third degrees previously.

The Punch Bowl Minutes for 26 September, 1763, are as follows:—

A Fellow C^t. L: being opened Brother John Bodens (having been made an E.P. & M.M. at Scarbrough in an irregular manner) petitioned to be made a F.C. who being proposed & ballotted for was unanimously approved of and made accordingly. A M.M.^s. Lodge being opened, Brother John Bodens (being made a F.C.) petitioned to be remade a M.M. (which for the reasons above mentioned) was agreed to N.C.

And In Consideration of his having paid for 2 Degrees as before, The R.W.M. & the rest of the Brethren ordered he should only pay for one Degree, which he paid accordingly viz. 10^s/6^d. And to the Tyler 1^s.

John Bodens did not attend the Punch Bowl again and his name does not appear amongst the Scarborough members in the "Extracts from a Minute Book of the Lodge at Scarborough" already quoted.

Most likely John Bodens was the London showman called Boden, who was visiting Yorkshire at this time. In *The York Courant* of 9 August, 1763, the following advertisement appeared:—

This is to acquaint the CURIOUS in general,
THAT Mr. BODEN, from London, has brought to
this City a choice Collection of OPERATICAL MOVING
FIGURES, which he purchased, at great Expence, of the Succeffor of
the famous LACONS, who entertained the Nobility, &c every Seafon at
Tunbridge and Bath. . . .

The last meeting of the Scarborough Subordinate Lodge of which we have any trace was held on 30 August, 1768, when "John Burton was admitted a Member"; he was a mercer and stay-maker¹ and he is the only member of the Scarborough Lodge whose name appears in the early directories.

It is possible that John Burton was a York man, as a Bro. John Burton joined the Punch Bowl Lodge of York on 16 February, 1761. He attended

¹ Burton, John, mercer and ftay maker—Bailey's *Northern Directory*, 1781.

regularly up to 18 January, 1762, when he appears to have resigned; the last time his name is mentioned is on 26 September, 1763, when he is entered as a visitor.

John Burton also became a joining member of the York Grand Lodge on 23 March, 1761, and attended regularly for a few months, up to 24 June, but seems to have resigned, as he is entered as a visitor on 28 December, 1761. His name does not appear again for some considerable time, but seven years later, on 8 February, 1768, he visited the York Grand Lodge.

There were two John Burtons who were made Freemen of York in 1739.

THE SCARBOROUGH JEWELS.

On 15 January, 1772, Thomas Hart, of Scarborough, wrote to Mr. Lakeland, the Junior G. Warden of the York Grand Lodge.

Thomas Hart had attended the Scarborough Subordinate Lodge on 5 June, 16 August and 19 August, 1762, and at the last two meetings he was the S.W. of the Lodge. Thomas Hart states that "there formerly was a Lodge at Scarboro" which possessed "several valuable Jewels"; this was the Lodge constituted in 1729 by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns).

The Jewels came into the possession of a son of one of the deceased members. The surviving members of the defunct Lodge had applied for the return of the Jewels, but were informed that the Jewels would only be returned to a regular Lodge, so a new Lodge was formed under a Constitution from the York Grand Lodge. The Lodge was held at the Turk's Head, Mr. William Jefferson being the landlord.

Jefferson seems to have been one of the principal members of the Lodge, and he appears to have introduced the wrong type of Candidate, who preferred "a large copious bowl of Punch To the inestimable mystery". This proved a drain on the purses of the members, who ceased to attend, and the Lodge collapsed.

Jefferson left the Turk's Head, taking the Lodge Jewels with him, and refused to return them to the surviving members.

Thomas Hart, in his letter, states that frequent applications had been made for the return of the Jewels, but that Jefferson would do nothing until he had consulted some of the Gentlemen of the Lodge at York. The letter closes with a request for advice on what ought to be done in the matter.

Thomas Hart's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 13):—

Scarboro, 15th Jan^y. 1772

Mr. Lakeland

Seeing Your Name subscribed to y^e Advertisment in the York Paper giving notice of the Feast of S^t. John is the reason of my making so free as to trouble You herewth. but hopes Your Brotherly Love & desire of seeing Masonry prosper will plead in my behalf—

There formerly was a Lodge at Scarboro. & pofses'd of several valuable Jewels but by some means was neglected & lost their constitution but the Jewels were preserv'd & kept by a Bro^r. upon whose Death the remaining few applied to his Son for y^e restitution of 'em He was willing to give 'em up in Case a regular Lodge was again open'd w^{ch}. was accordingly done ab^t. 10 or 12 Years ago & a Constitution obtain'd from York The Lodge to be held at the House of Mr. W^m. Jefferson the Turks Head where for some little time Masonry seem'd to thrive but soon again it droop'd & wither'd Occation'd by the Admitance of two or three of Jefferson's intimates who seem'd to prefer a large copious bcwl of Punch To the inestimable mystery w^{ch}. in time tired the most serious part of y^e community so much that rather than have their purses (upon every regular & frequently

Occasional meetings) deeply dipt into; that y^e Lodge was forsook since which Jefferson has left the House & remov'd to aprivate one And notwth. standing the frequent asking of several of the Brotherhood not only of the late made but of those who were members of the Old Lodge he will not deliver nor give any Acc^t. of the Jewels so that we are rather afraid of their being not too safe his pretence is he can't nor won't deliver 'em untill he consult wth. some of the Gentlemen of the Lodge at York

Your Advice herein how or in what manner we ought to proceed will greatly Oblige the remain^g. part of Bro^{rs}. as well as Sr. Yo^r. Hb^e Serv^t. & Bro^r.
Tho^s Hart

This letter was addressed "To Mr Lakeland Attorney at Law York & fav^r. of Mr. Newbold" and has been endorsed by John Browne, G. Secretary 1779-80: "15th. Jan^y 1772. Brother Harts Letter to Bro^r. Lakeland respecting the Jewels belonging a dormant Lodge in Scarbrough".

Mr. Newbold, through whose favour the letter was delivered, was a Scarborough man and had been made an E.A. and F.C. in the York Grand Lodge on 9 October, 1767.

Bro. Hart's letter was inspired by an advertisement in *The York Courant* of Tuesday, 24 December, 1771, as follows:—

GASCOIGNE, GRAND MASTER.

THE FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS are
desired to meet the Grand Mafter at Mr Matthew Kidd's
the YORK TAVERN, on Friday next, the 27th Inft.
DINNER will be upon the Table at Two o'Clock.

HARRISON, }
LAKELAND, } Grand Wardens.

Bro. Lakeland lost no time in bringing the matter before the York Grand Lodge, for at the meeting on 24 February, 1772, the following appears in the Minutes:—

Order'd. That the Secretary do write to Bro^r. Jefferson of Scarbro', demanding his reasons why he detains the Jewells belonging to the Lodge formerly held there under a Constitution from this Grand Lodge and that the Secretary do also write to Bro^r. Hart to acquaint him, that Bro^r. Jefferson is wrote to about the Jewells, and if they are not given up, he will be will be¹ waited on by Deputation from this Lodge to demand a restitution of them.

From this we gather that the members of the York Grand Lodge were going to stand no nonsense and their efforts were most likely successful, for we hear nothing more of the matter for over six years.

Some communication must have taken place during 1776 between someone at Scarborough and the York Grand Lodge, as on 11 March, 1776, three shillings and six pence weekly was granted to Bro. Hutton Steel by the York Grand Lodge until May day next.

The minute of the York Grand Lodge of 11 March, 1776, is as follows:—

Orderd that Bro^r. William Hutton Steel shall receive the Sum of Three Shillings & Sixpence Weekly untill Mayday Next.

In 1778 the question of forming a new Lodge was being discussed by the York Grand Lodge; this new Lodge was to be held at Snainton, a village 9 or 10 miles from Scarborough.

¹ The wording "will be" is repeated in the original Minutes.

On 29 May, 1778, Bro. the Rev. Ralph Tunstall, of Malton, wrote to the G. Secretary of the York Grand Lodge about the matter¹ and in discussing the new Lodge says: "They are to have the Jewels w^h belonged to Scarbro'". This Snainton Lodge, however, was not successful in obtaining the jewels.

During 1779 Bro. Hutton Steel of Scarborough appears to have been in communication with Bro. Coupland and Bro. Bussey of the York Grand Lodge.

Bro. Hutton Steel had been present at the first meeting of the Scarborough Subordinate Lodge on 25 May, 1762, when he acted as "Deputy Warden", but as far as we know he did not attend any of the other meetings.

On 23 November, 1779, Bro. Steel wrote to Bro. Coupland stating that he, together with two other Brothers, had some time previously obtained possession of the jewels &c. and placed them in the hands of Mr. Hall for safe keeping. Mr. Hall does not appear to have been a Mason. Mr. Hall had died some time in 1778 and Wm. Jefferson had tried to obtain possession of the jewels from Mrs. Hall, but had met with a cold reception; it will be remembered that Jefferson had been made a Mason in the Scarborough Subordinate Lodge on 25 May, 1762, and it was at his house "The Turks Head" that the Lodge had been held, and further that it was through his friends that the Lodge became defunct.

Bro. Steel goes on to state that he had been to see Mrs. Hall about the jewels and had been well received, and it appeared that Mrs. Hall was willing to relinquish possession provided that she received some assurance that the jewels were going into the right hands. Bro. Steel then told Mrs. Hall that he would write to the York Grand Lodge on the matter. Bro. Steel states that he was an old man at this time and that he was the only survivor out of four score, suggesting that there had been about eighty Masons in Scarborough. Unfortunately we know the names of only about twenty. He further states that if he is successful in obtaining the jewels it will be the fifth time that he has regained possession of them; truly these jewels must have had a checkered career. The text of the letter, in which the original spelling is retained, is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 53):—

Sir

I send you this With my love and deuty to you and the Rest of
owor Worthy brothers and as I Promist both you and Brother Bufsey
that my Iinteion Wafs to send to the Care of your Worship full lodg
and if Please God to Permit I intend to be as good as my Word
if Ever I lay my hands on them ons more Wee Were three Brothers
Put them into the hands of one mr Hall for Securaty and he hath
been dead about atwelvmonth and Jefferson have been at mrs Hall
about the things but met With a Cool Reception as Shee knew there
Was an Imbost Rim or hoop gon of the Botom of the Bowl an one
of the legs of the Compases brok out I have been twice at mrs Hall
She spok very freely to me bid me Sit down Calld to her maid to
bring a Botl of Wine She hath No obiection to let me have the
things Previd She Come to no trouble I towld her I Wood Write
to your Lodge and I did not dowt but you Woould Satiesfi her So
if you Pleas Master or Wardans or Secratory that if She Pleas to
Liver them to me She ma be Suer to Come to no harm but pray keep
it A Seacret my Intetion of dispozing of them to your Lodg Sihope
you Willnot fail to give asatish factera line as I grow owld and
troubld and troubld With Rhumatick informatys Except you have
them before I die they Will be lost as I am the onely Sirviver owt
of fourscore there is Noman hath arite to demand them after I am

¹ York G. Lodge MS. No. 29, quoted in full under Snainton.

gon and if I lay my hands on them ons more it Will be the fifth time I have helpt to bring them from dark to light Pleas to direct for Mrs Hall Nigh the Owld longroom Scarbrough Pleas to direct for me at Cristopher Coyers Nigh the Midle Cundith Scarbrough November the 23^d 1779

from your Ever obligated Brother

WM Hutton Steel

This letter was addressed "To Mr Cowpland Payment York", which, of course, should be "To Mr. Coupland, Pavement, York", and has been endorsed by John Browne, G. Secretary 1779-80, "23^d. Novem. 1779. Letter from Brother W. Hutton Steel of Scarbrough respecting the Restoration of the Regalia of a Lodge constituted by the Grand Lodge of all England. Direct to Mr^s. Hall nigh the Old Long Room Scarbrough. To Mr. W. Hutton Steel at Christopher Coyers nigh the Middle Cundith Scarbrough".

The letter is so badly written that John Browne has made a partial transcript on the back.

It is cbvious that Bro. Hutton Steel was illiterate, but he was an old man at this time and appears to have been a conscientious Mason.

There seems to have been some previous communication between Bro. Hutton Steel and Bro. Bussey the G. Secretary and Bro. Coupland the Senior G. Warden, but there is no letter in existence and it may have been a personal interview.

The matter was brought before the York Grand Lodge on 13 December, 1779, the minute reading as follows:—

A Letter from Brother W^m. Hutton Steel of Scarbrough respecting the Regalia of a Lodge constituted by this Grand Lodge was ordered to be answered by the G. Secretary.

Unfortunately we have no copy of the Grand Secretary's reply.

A few days later Thos. Simpson of Scarborough, whcse name has not appeared before, wrote to the Grand Secretary at York; this letter paints a sorry picture of the condition of Bro. Steel, who is stated to be lame and past work and obliged to apply for parish relief; this had been granted, but only to the extent of 1/6d per week; Bro. Simpson suggests that if a weekly allowance could be made by the York Grand Lodge it would prove a great help. The text of the letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 65):—

Scarbrough 24th 1779

D^r Sir

I make bold to Inform you of the Situation of Brother Steele he being lame and past Work is obliged to Apply to this Parish for Subsistance which it will allow no more then 1^s/6^d p^r Week which is not Sufficent to Support Nature, he begs leave to Inform you and the Hon^l Lodge that If you will be so kind as to lay the Case before them for any Small Subsistance that they please, Weekly, to what he has, will make his time more Easey whilst with us, and a more Secure Lodge hereafter, and as long as upon this Earth he will Sincearly pray and return his most harty thanks for all your Goodnefs I am Sir with great Respect Your Very Hble Serv^t and Loveing Brother
Tho^s. Simpson

Please to Direct your

Letter as befor to Hutton Steele

This letter was addressed "To Mr John Brown Attorney at Law York" and has been endorsed by John Browne who was now the Grand Secretary "24. Decem. 1779".

In the meantime Bro. Steel must have been successful in obtaining possession of the jewels, as there is a letter from him dated 26 December, 1779, forwarding the jewels etc. to the York Grand Lodge and thanking the Members for their invitation to the Festival, but stating that he is so lame that he has to use a crutch and stick.

He further states that he is the last survivor of the "owld constituted Lodge in Scarbrough", which Lodge has never met since the election between Squire Osbaldeston and Lord Dupplin in 1735.¹ This was the Lodge constituted by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) on 27 August, 1729, at the Three Tuns, Globe Street, Scarborough.

Bro. Steel concludes his letter with a plea for assistance, as he only has an allowance of 1/6d per week, and if he cannot make this do he will be put in the Workhouse. The text of the letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 54):—

Bro^r. Coupland I Return thanks for the kind Invitation to your Lodge on fnt John's day but I hope you Will Excuse me I am fo lame that I am obligd to make use of a crutsh and ftick acording to my Promies I have sent you Compafses Square Level and Perpendackler and A Punsh Bowl as it hath Pleasd God to preserve me to sirvive all the Rest of the Brothers Belonging to the owld Constituted Lodge in Scarbrough Which they have Never had a meeting since the great Contest of Election betwixt Esqr Ozbaldeston and Lord Dewplin Which was In the year 35 Which is 44 years fince So as I am falln Heir to them I freely make apresent of them to the Brothers of the York Taveron Lodge; and I hope you Will make youes of them as your own; and as I am a poor difstrest Bro^r. I hope you Will Consither my Nefesaty I have onely Eighten pence a week & if I doo not like they fay they Will put me Into the Woork howse So if your goodnes Will Pleas to be so good as to Remit sumthing Weekly to help through & Not to hurt your selves for I had Rather fufer my felf then aney should fuffer for me

Scarbrough December the 26th 1779

from your Ever obligated Brother

WM Hutton Steel

Please to direct for me as yusal

at Cristopher Canyers Nigh

the Midle Cundith

Scarbrough

This letter was addressed "To Mr Cowpland Payment York", which should be "To Mr. Coupland, Pavement, York", and has been endorsed by John Browne, Grand Secretary "26. December 1779. Letter from Brother Steel of Scarbrough."

The next day, 27 December, 1779, the York Grand Lodge held their Festival, and the Jewels etc. were presented, the minute reading as follows²:—

Also at this Lodge certain Regalia formerly belonging a Lodge at Scarbrough, constituted by the Grand Lodge of all England were received from Brother William Hutton Steel the only surviving

¹ "The Candidates for the Election in 1735 were Thomas, Lord Dupplin, and William Osbaldeston, Esq.; Lord Dupplin was returned but Mr Osbaldeston petitioned the House of Commons and it was decided that Mr Osbaldeston was duly elected and that Lord Dupplin was not". Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, by Godfrey Richard Park, 1886.

² John Browne made a rough copy of these Minutes—York Grand Lodge MS. No. 55.

Member of the said Lodge, and contained as follows A Pair of Gold Compasses with a Steel Leg (The other Leg being lost) A Silver Square with these Words engraved on it O. Rudsdell Master 1729. A Silver Level with these Words engraved on it R. Raine Sen^r. Wardⁿ. 1729. and a Silver Plumb with these Words engraved on it B. Mumford Jun^r. Wardⁿ. 1729. Also an Honorary Jewel, And a large Ebony Cup or Bowl with a Silver Rim.

Of these jewels the pair of Gold Compasses, the Silver Square and the Silver Level are now in the possession of the York Lodge No. 236, but unfortunately the Silver Plumb Rule, the Honorary Jewel and the large Ebony Cup or Bowl have been lost. The Gold Compasses are engraved "W^m Thompson Esq^r Master 1729", and as the Silver Square is engraved "O Rudsdell Master 1729" there must have been two Masters of the Lodge that year; many Lodges in those days elected the Master for only six months.

Concerning the names engraved on the Jewels:—

The first William Thompson was elected M.P. for Scarborough in 1689, 1701, 1702 and 1705;¹ he was also President of the private Lodge held at Scarborough in 1705;² he died in 1707.³

The second William Thompson was elected M.P. for Scarborough in 1708, 1710, 1713 and 1715; he was appointed Governor of Scarborough Castle in 1715 and Master of the Hunt in 1718, when he vacated his seat but was re-elected; he was also elected M.P. for Scarborough in 1730, 1734 and 1741; he died in 1744.⁴

O. Rudsdell may be "Obadiah Rudsdell, bricklayer", who had been made a freeman of the City of York in 1714;⁵ if so it is possible that he was made a Mason at Mr. Scourfield's Schismatical Lodge held in York on 24 June, 1726.⁶ This suggestion was made by the late Bro. W. R. Makins.

R. Raine and B. Mumford have not been traced.

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 10 January, 1780, the petition of Bro. Steel was considered and a grant of 2/- per week was made, the minute reading as follows:—

Two Letters on the Behalf of Brother W^m. Steel of Scarbrough were then read And it was unanimously resolved and ordered that he be paid two Shillings per week from the Grand Lodge fund till the same shall be Ordered to be discontinued.

Bro. John Browne the Grand Secretary at York wrote to Bro. Steel on 13 January, 1780, informing him of the decision of the York Grand Lodge and asking Bro. Steel to forward any books concerning the Scarborough Lodge; unfortunately we have no copy of this letter, but Bro. Steel replied on 18 January, 1780, sending a book but giving no description, so it is impossible to identify it. He further gives some interesting history of the Jewels—the Gold Compasses were presented by Mr. Thompson of Eberston, and were once pawned for five guineas, but Bro. Cowood of Whitby got to know of this and wrote Bro. Steel, who retrieved them, together with other Jewels. The Medal (Honorary Jewel?) was presented by Wm. Redman and cost half a guinea; Wm. Redman belonged to the Scarborough Subordinate Lodge constituted by the York Grand Lodge and was present at the meetings held on 5 June and 16 August, 1762.

¹ Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, by Godfrey Richard Park, 1886.

² Scarborough Roll.

³ Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, by Godfrey Richard Park, 1886

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

⁶ York Roll No. 7.

Bro. Steel goes on to state that Jefferson spent his time drinking and that was the reason why he, Bro. Steel, did not attend the Lodge; further Jefferson would not admit Bro. Steel unless he paid half a guinea, which he refused to do; the text of the letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 56):—

I Recd Brother Brown's letter dated January 13th 1780 for Which I Return my most Cencear thanks to all my Kind Brothers & benefactors for this great Kindnes done to me & I hope you Will Excuse me for I am but apoor hand at flatry Brother Brown Writs to me to fend What Books I can Concerning the owld Lodge Which I Was glad to doo my indever I have sent you one Which I Was glad to find Which Was awonder as they have been in Number of hands for 40=4 years & the goold Compases Was ons Pawn'd for 5 Gunys But they got Wind at Whitby and Brother Cowood Wrote to me to let me Know then I foon Brout them out of that dark hole for they Were amean to bring owt the Rest & I am hartaly glad they are in your hands While I live or they must have made a bad End. that Medal Which is amongst the other things Was at the Expens of mr W^m Redman Cost him half aguney he belongd to the last that Jefferson got Constituted Which Was Dun in the year 1726 but did Not Continu long for I Was Informd that Jefferson Minded Nothing But fill the Bowl and fwell the Recning I ons Went to the Lodg thought to have been admited but he Wood not let me be admited Except I Wood Subscribe half aguney but I towld him I Was not Willing to make my man my master Before he knew half his trade fo I Never was there Aney more. The goald Compases Was Made apesant to the Lodge by mr thompson Esq^r of Eberston Which fammaly is now Extinct Sir Charles Hutham succed to the Estate Which is Now Created sr Charls Thompson I was As to keep them and mak aprivet Property But I Wood foner fufer the Penalty of my master OBLigation then I Wood afcand upon the fraternaty S I Conclewd With my Kind respects & harty thanks

Scarbrough January the 18th 1780

WM Hutton Steell

This letter has been endorsed by John Browne the G. Secretary: "18. Janry 1780. Brother Steel's Letter." and it is so badly written that Bro. Browne made a partial transcription on the back.

It will be remembered that when the Gold Compasses were received from Bro. Hutton Steel one of the legs was missing. The York Grand Lodge Committee at a meeting held on 27 January, 1780, decided that the Compasses should be mended and made complete. The Minute is as follows (York G. Lodge MS. No. 37):—

Ordered also that the Gold Compafsez lately given to the Gr^d. Lodge by Bro^r. Steel be mended and made compleat for Use.

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 31 January, 1780, the Scarborough Minute Book was presented, the Minute reading:—

A Minute Book of the Dormant Lodge at Scarbrough was received from Brother Steel with a Letter from him which was read.

It is difficult to identify this minute book, as Bro. Steel in his letter of 18 January, 1780, states: "I have sent you one Which I was glad to find Which Was awonder as they have been in Number of hands for 40=4 years". If this means that the minute book was 40 years old, then it originally belonged to the

Modern Lodge constituted in 1729, but the 40 years may allude to the Jewels, and so the minute book may be the one from which the "Extracts from a Minute Book of the Lodge at Scarbrough" were copied by John Browne.¹

The members of the York Grand Lodge realizing that Bro. Steel was in a parlous condition sent him five pounds by the hand of Bro. Kitson, but there is no mention of this in the York Grand Lodge Minutes; fortunately we have Bro. Steel's letter of thanks, dated 10 June, 1780, in which he states that the gift will be very acceptable as he requires new clothes as his present ones are worn out. Bro. Steel further states that he has obtained possession of the Master's Chair, which he is repairing, and also the Sword, which is so rusty that it is not worth cleaning.

Bro. Steel's letter is as follows (York G. Lodge MS. No. 81):—

Bro^r.

I hope you Will be Kind enuf to Return my hearty Thanks to the Right Worship full Lodge for five Guineys Which I Recd from the hand of Brother Kittson & Which Was Verely Acceptable for I designe to lay owt in Cloaths; for I Never Stood more Need being Wore allmost owt for Want of Repairs, I have got the Master's Chair and am Putting it into the best Repair I Can I have got the Sword but it is fo Rusty Like my felf for Want of Pracktise that It Will take more Cleaning than its Worth.

Scarbrough

June the 18th 1780

Sir this Comes With dew Respect
to you and all my Worthy Brothers
from your Ever obligated Brother

WM Hutton Steel

This letter was addressed "To Mr Brown Procter in Beddern York", and has been endorsed by John Browne, the Grand Secretary, "18. June 1780 Bro^r. Steels Letter".

It is pleasing to know that the York Grand Lodge relieved Bro. Steel's necessity. There is no further mention of the Master's Chair or the Sword, and it is not known what became of these relics.

Bro. Steel's letter of thanks was read at the York Grand Lodge meeting on 20 June, 1780, the entry being as follows:—

But previous to the Lodge's Closing a Letter was introduced and read from Brother Steel of Scarbrough Expressing his Thanks for five Guineas subscribed him by the free Masons of this Lodge
Brother Kitson had Leave for one of Brother Parkers Sermons now in the Repository to be transmitted to Brother Steel and another to Whitby.

The Sermon by Bro. Parker ordered to be sent to Bro. Steel was the one preached before the York Grand Lodge at their meeting at Rotherham. This incident is mentioned in the account of the Druidical Lodge, Rotherham.

And so ends the story of the Subordinate Lodge at Scarborough constituted by the York Grand Lodge.

The Lodge does not appear to have been a success, the wrong type of candidate having been introduced.

There is one point, however, which must strike the reader, and that is the generosity of the members of the York Grand Lodge; not only did they make a small weekly allowance to Bro. Hutton Steel, but they also presented him with 5 guineas, which was a considerable sum in those days.

¹ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 4, which has already been quoted in full.

SCARBOROUGH LODGE

List of Members.

Thos. Balderston
Robert Bigland
John Bodens ?
Joseph Bull
John Burton, Mercer and Stay maker
Absalom Dinnis
Matt^w. Fowler
Francis Harrison
Leod. Harrison
Thos. Hart
W^m. Jefferson, Landlord of the Turks Head
W^m. Kelly
William Redman
Rubin Richardson
John Seller
Thos. Simpson ?
W^m. Hutton Steel
Francis Tevill [Tevvil]
John Walshaw
George Walker

RIPON.

Ripon is one of the oldest Cities in England, being the smallest City in Yorkshire, and before the Reform Act returned two members to Parliament. It is situated about 23 miles N.W. of York and its history is mainly that of its cathedral.

In the middle ages Ripon was famous for the manufacture of spurs, hence the proverb¹ "as true steel as Ripon rowels".

The population in 1801² was 3,211 and its interests were chiefly agricultural.

The first mention of Ripon in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge is on 30 January, 1769, and is as follows:—

Mr. William Askwith the Younger of Ripon being proposed to be made a mason was immediated (*sic.*) Ballotted for and pafs'd N C

and at the next meeting on 13 February "Mr. William Askwith was made E.A. and F.C." The York Grand Lodge at that time was meeting every fortnight during the winter months and at the Lodge held on 27 March, 1769, William Askwith was raised M.M. and another man from Ripon, John Atkinson, was proposed, the Minutes reading:—

Mr. John Atkinson of Ripon was proposed to be made a Mason, and being Ballotted for was admitted N.C: . . . Brother Askwith of Ripon was proposed to be rais'd M M who being Ballotted for was admitted N:C and was afterwards rais'd Accordingly

At the next meeting on 10 April, William Askwith was not present, but Mr. John Atkinson of Ripon was made E.A. & F.C.

¹ The New Harrogate Guide . . . 1824, page 47.

² Economic and Industrial History of Yorkshire, by Maud Sellers, Litt.D., page

In the Minutes of the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 29 May, 1769, Atkinson is still called Mr. John Atkinson, although he had been initiated; he was, however, raised at this Lodge, the Minute reading:—

At this Lodge Mr. John Atkinson of Ripon was proposed to be made a M:M he was ballotted for and pafs'd N:C—a Masters Lodge being opened he was Accordingly raised to that Degree—

The next meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 26 June was "The Anniversary of St. John the Baptist" and both Atkinson and Askwith of Ripon attended as visitors. At that time a Mason did not become a member of the York Grand Lodge on being initiated; there was another ballot before he was raised and a third ballot before he became a member of the York Grand Lodge.

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 31 July, 1769, a Petition was presented by John Atkinson for a Constitution to open a Lodge at the Sign of the Royal Oak in Ripon; this petition was approved and the Officers of the new Lodge appointed. The Minutes of this meeting are as follows:—

Visiting Brother—Atkinson of Ripon

At this Lodge the above visiting Brother Petitioned for a Constitution to Open a Lodge at the Sign of the Royal Oak in Ripon which was Unanimously Agreed to and the following Brethren were appointed Officers for the Opening of the same Viz^t.

John Atkinson	M:
George Dawson	S:W
William Askwith	J:W
John Carlisle	Sec:

The "Royal Oak" where the Lodge was to meet is still in existence; it is situated in Kirkgate and has lately been entirely remodelled.

It may be as well to say a word or two about the four founders and first officers of the Lodge.

I have been unable to trace John Atkinson, who was the first Master; he may, however, have been a relative of Henry Atkinson,¹ an Attorney at Law, or of Alderman William Atkinson, Mayor of Ripon in 1798.

George Dawson,² the Senior Warden, was a Tailor.

William Askwith was an Alderman and a most important citizen: he was Mayor three times, in 1758, 1769 and 1782; he was the landlord of the Royal Oak where the Subordinate Lodge held their meetings, and is described as a Common Brewer; ³ further he was responsible for the first water supply for Ripon; most of the Histories of the district mention this, the following ⁴ being typical:—

By means of an engine, erected at the expense of W. Askwith, Esq. the water is conveyed into every house for a small annual rent.

When Mr. William Askwith was proposed in the York Grand Lodge in 1769 he is described as "the Younger", and in the same year William Askwith was Mayor of Ripon, so it seems probable that these two men were father and son; on the other hand, the man that was initiated in the York Grand Lodge is described in 1776 as an Alderman,⁵ so that the two may be one and the same.

¹ Bailey's British Directory for 1784.

² Register for the Prov. G. Lodge for Yorkshire.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York, by John Bigland, n.d., page 681.

⁵ Register for the Prov. G. Lodge for Yorkshire.

William Askwith was still alive in 1805, the following being taken from the *York Herald*, 21 September, 1805:—

On Monday at a meeting of the Corporation of Ripon, Mr. Fairgray was elected an Alderman of that Borough, in the room of William Askwith Esq. resigned.

John Carlisle, the Secretary, has not been traced.

As previously stated, both John Atkinson and William Askwith had been made Masons in the York Grand Lodge, but George Dawson and John Carlisle had not been initiated there, and as this Subordinate Lodge was the first Lodge to be constituted in Ripon it is impossible to say where they were made; however, it is possible that these two men were not Masons at this date but were initiated at the first meeting of the new Lodge.

The Ripon Lodge was constituted on 15 August, 1769, at the Royal Oak, the landlord being Mr. William Askwith; the meeting was advertised in the *York Courant* of 8 August, 1769, as follows:—

FREE MASONRY.

THE FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS are requested to attend at the Houfe of Mr. William Askwith, the Sign of the Royal Oak in Ripon, on Tuesday Evening the 15th Instant, at Six o'Clock, to open a Lodge constituted by the Grand Lodge of York.

The next news we have of the Ripon Lodge is contained in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge of 27 December, 1769, "Being the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist", when five members of the Ripon Lodge attended as Visiting Brethren; they were: "Atkinson — W: Askwith — R: Askwith — King — Campey".

The Accounts and new Regulations of the Ripon Lodge were produced and approved; unfortunately we do not possess copies of these accounts and regulations. The Minute is as follows:—

The Brethren from Ripon produced their Accounts and some new Regulations they had made w^{ch}. were approved of

Of the Brethren attending the York Grand Lodge, Atkinson and W. Askwith have already been mentioned; Robert Askwith was an Attorney at Law who died in 1779. The following is taken from the *York Chronicle*, 16 July, 1779:—

On the 6th inst died at Ripon, lamented by his numerous friends and acquaintance, Mr. Robert Askwith an eminent attorney at law, at that place.

King may have been William King¹ a Whitesmith, or John King² a Stonemason.

Campey has not been traced.

Fortunately the meeting of the Ripon Lodge held on 9 January, 1770, was advertised in the Press—Atkinson is still the Master, but the Wardens are now Dawson and King, the latter in place of William Askwith, the landlord or the son of the landlord of the Royal Oak, where the Lodge was still meeting. One wonders why William Askwith had ceased to be an officer.

The newspaper advertisement is as follows (*York Courant*, 2 January, 1770):—

¹ The Universal British Directory for 1791.

² *Ibid.*

ATKINSON, MASTER.

THE Free and Accepted MASONS are desired to meet at the House of Mr. William Afkwith, the Sign of the Royal Oak in Ripon, on Tuesday next, the 9th Instant.

Dinner will be on the Table at Two o'Clock.

DAWSON, } Wardens.
KING, }

During the next year, 1770, "Atkinson of Ripon", who was the Master of the Ripon Lodge, attended the York Grand Lodge as a visitor on three occasions:—12 March, 26 March and 9 April, but there was no business connected with the Ripon Lodge transacted at any of these meetings.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 17 December, 1770, the Committee appointed "for settling the Order of Procession, and other necessary business" made their report and amongst the various arrangements it was decided to send invitations to the Subordinate Lodges, the Minute being as follows:—

Invitations

To be sent to the several Lodges under the Constitution of the Grand Lodge by the Secretary in the Name of the Committee . . . The expences of the Tylers and Waiters belonging to Ripon, & Knaresbrough Lodges, to be paid by the Grand Lodge at York

Only two Subordinate Lodges appear to have been active at this time; further the arrangements for part of the order of procession were as follows:—

The Brethren of the Inniskilling Lodge
The Country visiting Brethren
The Brethren of Knaresbrough Lodge
The Brethren of Ripon Lodge
The visiting Brethren in York
The Members of the Grand Lodge

The Grand Secretary of the York Grand Lodge had already written on the 3rd December, 1770, to the Subordinate Lodges inviting the members to attend the York Grand Lodge on St. John's Day, but we have no copy of this letter. However, he carried out the Committee's wishes and wrote again on 22 December. This letter was addressed to the "Rt. Worshipfull Master" and desired him to bring a copy of the Rules, List of Members Initiated, and also a Subscription to the Charity Fund. The text of the letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 11):—

Rt. Worshipfull Master York 22^d. Dec: 1770

I wrote you the 3^d of this Month w^{ch}. I hope you rec'd and that the Grand Lodge will be favoured wth. the Company of all the Members of Ripon Lodge on St John's Day when you are desired to produce Copy, of your Rules Orders and regulations a List of the Brethren who have been made in your Lodge, and also that you will at the same time pay such a sum of Money as your Lodge shall think convenient to subscribe towards the General Fund of Charity—

By Order of the Grand Master

I am Rt^t Worshipfull Your faithful Bro^r.
Thos Williamson
G:S

The copy of this letter has been endorsed by Bro. Thos. Williamson the Grand Secretary: "Copy of Letters wrote to Masters of Ripon & Knaresbro' Lodges 22 Dec: 1770" and has a further endorsement by John Browne, Grand Secretary, 1779 to 1780, "requiring their Attendance at York on St. Johns Day and their Payments towards the General fund of Charity".

This meeting on "27th December 1770 Being the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist" must have been the largest meeting ever held by the York Grand Lodge. There is a list of 120 brethren present, the Ripon Lodge being represented by eleven brethren as follows:—

Brethren of Ripon Lodge Brother Atkinson King Campey Pollard
W: Askwith R: Askwith J: Brigham Roy Shepherd Robinson
S Askwith

The names in the York Grand Lodge Minute Book are in single column and unfortunately no Christian names are given.

Of the original four officers of the Ripon Lodge only the two who were initiated in the York Grand Lodge were present. There is a lengthy account of the proceedings of this meeting in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge, but there is no mention of any report from the Ripon Lodge and we possess no copies of their Rules or List of Members, and as there are no York Grand Lodge Accounts we do not know whether any subscription to the General Fund of Charity was made.

Of the eleven Brethren of the Ripon Lodge present at the meeting five have already been mentioned; of the remaining six Shepherd was Richard Shepherd¹ a Bricklayer. Robinson was James Robinson² a Victualler. S. Askwith was most likely a brother of William and Robert Askwith, but I have been unable to find his trade or profession. The other three Brethren, Pollard, J. Brigham and Roy, have not been traced.

For some considerable time nothing further is heard of the Ripon Lodge. Dawson was one of four visitors at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 11 March, 1771, but it is unlikely that this was George Dawson of Ripon.

The St. John's meetings of the York Grand Lodge on 27 December, 1771, and 1772, were duly advertised in the York Newspaper, but no members of the Ripon Lodge attended.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 8 March, 1773, "Askwith, Ripon" attended as a visitor, and on 11 October, 1773, "John Iveson Esq^r. of Ripon" was proposed to be made a Mason.³ He duly passed the ballot, but never attended the York Grand Lodge to be initiated and appears to have had no connection with the Ripon Lodge.

The festival of St. John the Evangelist was duly advertised in the York Newspaper for the years 1773, 1774 and 1775 by the York Grand Lodge, but no member of the Ripon Lodge attended any of these meetings.

The first time that we learn that the members of the Ripon Subordinate Lodge were dissatisfied with being under the Constitution of the York Grand Lodge appears in 1776.

At that time the Apollo Lodge No. 450 of York was the most important Lodge in Yorkshire warranted by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), the officers of the Lodge being the Provincial Grand Officers and the work of the Province being often done at the Apollo meetings.

The Apollo Lodge was constituted in 1773, the Petitioners being some members of the York Grand Lodge who seem to have been dissatisfied and obtained a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns). At the meeting of the Apollo Lodge on 21 February, 1776:—

Bro^r. Hill made a Motion that Bro^r. Askwith the Master of the Ripon Lodge desired to be made a Mason under the constitution of England in this Lodge ❧

¹ Register of the Prov. G. Lodge of Yorkshire.

² *Ibid.*

³ At the same meeting "John Iveson Esq^r. of Bilton" was also proposed. These two men have the same name, and the Grand Secretary most likely made a mistake, giving one the wrong Christian name.

At the next meeting of the Apollo Lodge on 13 March "Rob^t. Askwith" is entered as a visitor, but unfortunately the Minutes do not state whether he took an obligation or underwent any ceremony.

From this we learn that Robert Askwith had become the Master of the Ripon Lodge and the Apollo Minute suggests that the Ripon Lodge was still active or had only lately ceased to work.

At this meeting of the Apollo Lodge on 13 March, 1776, there were besides Robert Askwith the following visitors:—Francis Wardale, Tho^s. Dawson, Matt. Wright and Jn^o. Playter, but none of these four visitors appear to have had any connection with the Ripon Lodge.

It is of interest to note that Robert Askwith of Ripon never became a member of the Apollo Lodge of York.

In the same year, 1776, a new Lodge was warranted in Ripon on 22 June by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns). The place of meeting was the Royal Oak, the same Inn which had been used by the Subordinate Lodge of the York Grand Lodge, this new Lodge being called the Royal Oak Lodge No. 495.

The formation of a new Lodge at Ripon by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) is not mentioned in the York Grand Lodge Minutes; in fact the Grand Secretary does not seem to have been aware of the event, for the usual letter was ordered to be sent to the Subordinate Lodges for the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist; the York Grand Lodge Minute for 25 November, 1776, is as follows:—

Order'd that a Circular letter be sent to the Lodges under the Grand Lodge of all England acquainting them with a Sermon to be preached on St^t. John day by the Grand Chaplain requesting their Attendance

The Grand Secretary wrote on 11 December, 1776, to the Subordinate Lodges which he specifies as Ripon Knaresbro' and Hovingham. In this letter the Grand Secretary states that a Sermon will be preached on St. John's day, 27th December, and that the members and visitors are to assemble in the Lodge room at 10 a.m. The members of the Subordinate Lodges are to produce copies of their Rules, Orders, Regulations and a List of Brethren who have been made in the Lodge and also to make some subscription to the General Fund of Charity. The text of this letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 15):—

Right Worshipful Master

By the Grand Masters Command I am orderd to Acquaint you their will be a Sermon preached at St^t. Helens Church near the York Tavern, in the forenoon of St^t. John day the 27th Ins^t. by the Rev^d Bro^r. John Parker Grand Chaplain, the members of the Grand Lodge and Visiting brethren, to be in the Lodge Room by 10,0,Clock in the fornoon, such of the brethren of your Lodge as can make it Convenient, will add Luster to y^e Numbers at the same time you are desired to produce Copy's of your Rules, orders and Regulations, a List of the Brethren who have been made in your Lodge, and also that you will at the same time pay, such a sum of money as your Lodge shall think Convenient, to Subscribe towards the General Fund of Charity

I am. R^t. Worshipfull your most faithfull Bro^r

Jacob Bufsey G.S.

Copy of a L^r. sent to y^e Ripon, Knaresbro, & Hovingham Lodges under the Grand Lodge of all England 11th. Dec^r. 1776

This letter has been endorsed on the back by John Browne, Grand Secretary 1779-80,—“11. Dec. 1776. Copy of Lres sent to the Lodges of Ripon Knaresbro^r

& Hovingham Requiring their Attendance at York on St. Johns Day and their Payments towards the General fund of Charity ”

There is no record of any reply to this letter being received from Ripon, and as one would expect there was no one from Ripon at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 27 December, 1776.

The original Warrant for the new Lodge at Ripon constituted by the Grand Lodge of England is at the Grand Lodge in London and is dated 22 June, 1776 Given at York and signed by W. Spencer, D.P.G.M. and George Rufsell P.G.S., the name of the Lodge being Royal Oak Lodge No. 495.

The Petitioners were Robert Askwith to be Master, Richard Shepherd Senior Warden, John Dowson Junior Warden, William Askwith, John Atkinson, and several other Brethren residing in or near Ripon.

Of these five Petitioners four are known to have been members of the Ripon Subordinate Lodge, but John Dowson has not been traced. In the Warrant his name is spelt with an “o” and he may have been a relation of Thomas Dawson,¹ Hatter and Furrier, whose name is later given as Thomas Dowson.²

It seems clear that practically the whole of the members of the Subordinate Ripon Lodge constituted by the York Grand Lodge changed their allegiance and formed a new Lodge under the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns); this is borne out by the fact that both these Lodges were held at the same Inn, the Royal Oak.

In the Register of the Provincial Grand Lodge for Yorkshire there is a “List of Members of the Royal Oak Lodge at Ripon No. 401 taken in the Year 1783”, that is seven years after the Lodge had been formed, and no doubt some of the original members would have died or resigned in the meantime.

The list contains 15 names of which four were members of the Subordinate Lodge of the York Grand Lodge. These four names are as follows:—

Members Names	Age	Profesion	Residence	Made
Alderman W ^m . Askwith	43	Com: Brewer	Ripon	1776 June 24 th .
Richard Shepherd	35	Bricklayer	D ^o .	D ^o .
James Robinson	58	Victualler	D ^o .	D ^o .
George Dawfon Sen ^r .	49	Taylor	D ^o .	October 12 th .

Bro. E. Parkin, of Ripon, informs me that there is no known trace of the Subordinate Lodge at Ripon; but that there is a tradition in the De Grey and Ripon Lodge No. 837 that the three candlesticks at present in use were originally used by the Subordinate Lodge of Ripon, and it must be admitted that these candlesticks bear a striking resemblance to those of the York Grand Lodge at present preserved at York.

RIPON LODGE

List of Members.

Robert Askwith, Attorney at Law
 S. Askwith
 Alderman William Askwith, Brewer & Maltster
 John Atkinson
 J. Brigham
 — Campey
 John Carlisle

¹ Dawfon, Thomas, Hatter and Furrier—Bailey’s Directory for 1784.

² Dowfon, Thomas, Hatter—The Universal British Directory for 1791.

George Dawson, Tailor
 — King
 — Pollard
 James Robinson, Victualler
 — Roy
 Richard Shepherd, Bricklayer

KNARESBOROUGH

The town of Knaresborough is situated about 18 miles due West of York and is famous for its Castle, which is mentioned many times in English History. Before the Reform Act, Knaresborough returned two members to Parliament, and in the 18th century was famous for the manufacture of linen. The population¹ in 1801 was 3,388. Knaresborough is only about 13 miles from Ripon, and, as already pointed out, two Ripon men had been made masons in the York Grand Lodge early in 1769 with the obvious intention of forming a Lodge in that city; this would soon be known at Knaresborough, and the Town was not slow in following Ripon's lead, for two or three months later Mr. Robert Revell of Knaresborough was proposed in the York Grand Lodge, the minute of 29 May, 1769, being as follows:—

Mr. Robert Revell of Knaresbro was proposed to be made a Mason who being Ballotted for was admitted N: C —

From the *York Courant* of 24 December, 1765, we learn that Robert Revell was the landlord of the Crown Inn at Knaresborough, the advertisement giving this information is as follows:—

Knaresbrough, Dec. 21, 1765.

ROBERT REVELL,

Formerly Servant to the Earl of Strafford, and lately Servant
 to his Grace the late Duke of Devonshire,

BEgs Leave to acquaint the Public that he has taken
 the CROWN INN in Knarefbrough, lately in Mr. Ayray's
 Poffeffion, . . .

It was five months before Robert Revell attended the York Grand Lodge to be initiated, and before this took place there was a further proposition at the meeting on 25 September, 1769

At this Lodge The Rev^d: Mr. Charles Kedar and Mr. William Bateson both of Knaresbrough were proposed to be made Masons and being severally Ballotted for they were admitted Nem: Con: —

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 9 October Revell, Bateson and Kedar are down as "Visiting Brethren" and all three were made E.A. and F.C.

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 30 October there were five Visiting Brethren present—Morgan, Revell, Bateson, Kedar and W. Williamson; of these Bro. Morgan had been made in the York Grand Lodge in 1768 and W. Williamson, brother of the G. Secretary, was initiated and passed the same evening, and became a member of the York Grand Lodge; neither had any connection with the Knaresborough Lodge.

This meeting on 30 October was important, as not only were Revell, Bateson and Kedar raised M.Ms. but these three brethren presented a Petition which was granted for a Constitution to hold a Lodge at The Crown in

¹ Economic and Industrial History of Yorkshire, by Maud Sellers, Litt.D.

Knaresborough, further the Officers were named. The York Grand Lodge Minutes for 30 October, 1769, are as follows:—

Brothers Revell Bateson & Kedar were severally proposed to be rais'd M:M's and being Ballotted for were all admitted N:C: and raised to that degree accordingly.

The three last mentioned Brethren Petitioned for a Constitution to Open and hold a Lodge at the Sign of the Crown in Knaresbrough which was Unanimously Agreed to and the following Brethren were appointed Officers for the opening of the same

Brother Charles Kedar	Master
- - - William Bateson	S W
- - - Robert Revell	J W
John Brulart	Sec:

As pointed out, the first three brethren had been made Masons in the York Grand Lodge, but I have been unable to trace John Brulart.¹ It is, however, possible that he may have been initiated at Knaresborough after the new Lodge was constituted, as there are no dashes under "Brother" before his name, although there are for the two names above.

The Crown, where the new Lodge was to meet, was one of the principal Inns of Knaresborough; it is still situated in the High Street but has been modernised lately; as already stated Robert Revell the J.W. was the landlord. Fortunately we possess a newspaper advertisement announcing the first meeting of this new Lodge, this meeting being held on 21 November, 1769, at the house of Mr. Robert Revell, the Sign of the Crown; the advertisement is as follows (*York Courant* 14 November, 1769):—

FREE MASONRY

THE FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS are requested to attend at the House of Mr. Robert Revell, the Sign of the Crown in Knaresbrough, on Tuesday Evening, the 21st Instant, at Six o'Clock, to open a LODGE constituted by the Grand Lodge of York.

Whether "constituted by the Grand Lodge of York" means that the Officers of the York Grand Lodge attended at Knaresborough to constitute the Lodge is impossible to say, but the late Bro. W. R. Makins thought that this was likely.

The G. Secretary of the York Grand Lodge generally received instructions in open Lodge to summon the Subordinate Lodges to the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist at York, but no such instructions are entered in the Minutes of 11 December, 1769; however, at the St. John's Day Lodge on 27 December, 1769, five Ripon brethren attended the York Grand Lodge, but there was no one present from Knaresborough and there is no mention of the Knaresborough Lodge in the minutes. At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 27 May, 1770, there were two "Visiting Brethren", Jackson² and Bateson; the latter was William Bateson, the first S.W. of the Knaresborough Lodge.

¹ At the York G. Lodge meeting on 26 June, 1769, "Mr. John Bouttats (or Bouttats) was proposed to be made a Mason upon Emergency and being Ballotted for was admitted N:C: and was made E:A & F.C." This brother never attended the York G. Lodge again and the late Bro. W. R. Makins thought that he might be the same man as "John Brulart". If this be so, then he may be a relative of J. B. Boutats, Citizen of Antwerp, who erected a Monument in Ripon Cathedral c. 1729. (See Gent's *History of Ripon*, page 121.)

² Thomas Jackson had been made a Mason in the York G. Lodge on 27 Nov., 1769, and had no connection with Knaresborough.

The St. John's festival in the summer of 1770 must have been a meeting of importance in the Knaresborough Lodge. June 24 fell on a Sunday, so the Lodge was held on Tuesday, June 26.

It was decided to hold a Church Service and attend in "a regular Procession", the Sermon to be preached by "a Brother suitable to the Occasion". As the Rev. Charles Kedar was the Master at that time he would be the obvious choice; most likely he was a modest man and did not wish his name to appear.

The announcement of the meeting is as follows (*York Courant*, 19 June, 1770):—

K E D A R, Master.

THE Free and Accepted MASONS are requested to meet at

the Houfe of Mr. Robert Revell, the Crown in Knarefbrough, on Tuefday next, the 26th Day of June inf. to celebrate the Anniverfary of St. John the Baptift, and attend a regular Proceffion to the Church to hear Divine Service, when a Sermon will be preached by a Brother, fuitable to the Occafion.

BATESON, } Wardens.
CLARK, }

The Brethren are defired to meet at Nine o'Clock, as Divine Service will begin at Ten.

It will be noted that Clark was now J.W. in place of Robert Revell, the landlord of the Crown, otherwise the officers are the same.

Undoubtedly the Brethren meant to make a day of it as the meeting was called for "Nine o'Clock". The procession obviously made a great stir in the Town according to the newspaper account, and there must have been a large attendance of brethren. The arrangements were most likely altered, as the procession commenced "about Eleven in the Forenoon", whereas Divine Service was advertised to begin at Ten. The proceedings proved a great attraction as "the Church has not been so full these many years".

The newspaper account is as follows (*York Courant*, 3 July, 1770):—

Laft Tuefday being appointed by the Antient and Honourable Lodge of Free and Accepted Mafons held at Knarefbrough under the Conftitution of the Grand Lodge at York, to celebrate the Anniverfary of St. John the Baptift, a great Number of them met at Brother Revel's, the Sign of the Crown in that Town, from whence, about Eleven in the Forenoon, they walk'd in Proceffion, cloathed with the Enfigns of their Order, to Church, where an excellent Sermon was preached on the Occafion by Brother Kedar, Mafter of the Lodge, from 2 Phillip. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. after which they returned in the fame Order to the Lodge, where an elegant Dinner was provided for them, and the Evening was concluded with the ufual Harmony for which their Conftitution is diftinguifhed. The Town was crowded with Spectators, and the Church has not been fo full thefe many Years.

A further account appeared in the Leeds paper, which adds to our information, as it states that the procession was accompanied "with music playing, colours flying". It sounds a gay scene.

This account is as follows (*Leeds Mercury*, 3 July, 1770):—

We hear from Knarefbro, that Tuefday laft, being the Anniverfary of St. John the Baptift, a Proceffion, with mufic playing, colours flying, &c. was made by the Free and Accepted Mafons there, from their Lodge to Church,

where an occasional sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. C. Kedar, B.A. and R.W.M. of the Lodge; when the whole was conducted with the greatest decency and decorum.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 17 December, 1770, the Committee responsible for the arrangements on St. John's Day made their report.

It was decided to send Invitations "to the several Lodges under the Constitution of the York Grand Lodge" and also¹

The expences (*sic*) of the Tylers and Waiters belonging to Ripon, & Knaresbrough Lodges, to be paid by the Grand Lodge at York

One gathers from the above that there were only two Subordinate Lodges working at that time.

In the Order of procession "The Brethren of Knaresbrough Lodge" are to precede those of Ripon.²

On the 22 December, 1770, the Grand Secretary at York, Bro. Thos. Williamson, wrote to the Masters of Ripon & Knaresborough Lodges asking that all the members should attend on St. John's Day³

. . . when you are desired to produce Copy, of your Rules Orders and regulations a List of the Brethren who have been made in your Lodge, and also that you will at the same time pay such a sum of Money as your Lodge shall think convenient to subscribe towards the General Fund of Charity—

In the Account of the Ripon Lodge it has been pointed out that the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist on 27 December, 1770, was the largest Masonic meeting ever held by the York Grand Lodge; this meeting was attended by fifteen members of the Knaresborough Lodge; these were:—

Brethren of Knaresbro: Lodge
Brother Bateson Watson Lowcock Bedford Ackroyd
Clark Marshall Headlam Benson Barker Beckwith
Buck Betham Taylor Clark.

The names in the York Grand Lodge Minute Book are in single column; only one of the four petitioners was present, William Bateson, the first S.W., and there were two members called Clark.

As no Christian names are given it is very difficult to trace these brethren; however, some of the names appear in Directories of the period:—Ackroyd was Cowling Ackroyd⁴ an Ironmonger, Bedford was Francis Bedford⁵ an Attorney at Law, Clark was John Clark⁶ a Mason and Builder, Marshall was Charles Marshall⁷ a Cabinet Maker, and Taylor was Henry Taylor⁸ a Schoolmaster.

Unfortunately there is no mention in the York Grand Lodge Minutes of any Returns being made by the Subordinate Lodges, so we do not know the names of any of the candidates or what By-laws were passed by the Knaresborough Lodge during the year.

In 1771 a Bro. Bedford visited the York Grand Lodge on 24 June and 28 October; this was most likely Francis Bedford of Knaresborough.

¹ York G. Lodge Minutes, 17th Dec., 1770, quoted in full under Ripon.

² Ditto, ditto

³ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 11, quoted in full under Ripon.

⁴ Bailey's Northern Directory, 1781.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Register of the Provincial Grand Lodge for Yorkshire.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ See Information supplied by Edwin Morris.

The St. John meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 27 December, 1771, was duly advertised in the *York Courant*, but no members of the Knaresborough Lodge attended.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 24 February, 1772,

Bro^r. Bedford of Knaresbrough was paid his Bill of Expences (*sic*) amounting to £2.15.5 for procuring Bro^r. Lot Fawcitt his discharge from York Castle.

Bro. Bedford is not marked as being present; he was one of the fifteen brethren from the Knaresborough Lodge who attended the Anniversary of St. John on 27 December, 1770, at York; he was an attorney, and one gathers from a letter¹ he wrote on 26 December, 1777, that he became Secretary of the Knaresborough Lodge.

Bro. Lot Fawcitt² has not been traced, but it seems likely that he was a member of the Knaresborough Lodge.

At the York Grand Lodge meeting on 14 December, 1772, Geo: Watson is entered as a visitor; he was most likely a Knaresborough Brother who had attended the York Grand Lodge on 27 December, 1770.

The next we hear of the Knaresborough Lodge is found in a newspaper paragraph of the period, which states that the Lodge distributed 240 Threepenny Loaves to the poor on New Year's Day 1773. This suggests that the Lodge funds were in a flourishing condition and that the members were exercising the virtue of Charity; the sum expended amounted to £3, which was a large sum for a Country Lodge in those days.

This information is from the *York Courant*, 5 January, 1773³:—

On Friday laft the Lodge of Free and Accepted Mafons
at Knaresbrough diftributed 240 Threepenny Loaves among
the Poor in that Town.

At the York Grand Lodge on 26 April, 1773, there were five visitors, both J. Taylor and H. Taylor attending, the latter, Henry Taylor,⁴ was most likely the Knaresborough Mason; he also attended the next meeting on 31 May.

For nearly three years we hear nothing further of the Knaresborough Lodge; the Festivals of St. John the Evangelist for 1772 and 1773 were ordered to be advertised in the York Press by the York Grand Lodge, but there is no note in the Minutes that this was to be done for 1774; however, there were no visitors from Knaresborough at any of these three meetings.

In 1776 the York Grand Lodge received a visit from "J. Lomas of Knaresbro" on 27 May.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 25 November, 1776, it was decided to write to the Subordinate Lodges informing them that a Sermon would be preached on St. John's Day and requesting their attendance,⁵ and Jacob Bussey, the Grand Secretary, wrote a letter⁶ dated 11 December, 1776, also informing the Lodges that they

¹ York G. Lodge MS. No. 18, quoted later.

² Lot Fawcitt has not been traced in the Knaresborough Register of Births, etc.

³ The *York Courant* was published on Tuesdays, so "Friday last" was 1 Jan., 1773.

⁴ In the York G. Lodge Minutes "Taylor" is entered as a visitor on various occasions: — 10 Dec. and 27 Dec. 1770, 9 Sept. 1771, 26 Apl. and 31 May 1773, 27 Dec. 1775, 12 Feb. and 30 Sept. 1776; also "Tayler" on 27 Dec. 1776. Mr. John Taylor of Thornton was made a mason in the York G. Lodge on 10 Dec., 1770, and another John Taylor was made a mason on 12 Aug., 1771; neither of these brethren joined the York G. Lodge, so most likely attended as visitors. Further Henry Taylor and R. Taylor were members of the Hovingham Lodge.

⁵ York G. Lodge Minutes, quoted under Ripon.

⁶ York G. Lodge MS. No. 15, quoted in full under Ripon.

are desired to produce Copy's of your Rules, orders and Regulations, a List of the Brethren who have been made in your Lodge, and also that you will at the same time pay, such a sum of money as your Lodge shall think Convenient, to Subscribe towards the General Fund of Charity

There were five visitors at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 27 December, 1776, but no one attended from the Knaresborough Lodge unless it was "Tayler".

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 13 October, 1777, there was one visiting brother, "Lomass Senr."; this was John Lomas, Senr., a member of the Knaresborough Lodge and a Papermaker.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 8 December, 1777, the arrangements for the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist were discussed and it was decided to hold this meeting on Monday, 29 December, instead of Saturday, the latter being considered an inconvenient day. It was also decided to advertise the meeting in each of the York papers. The Minutes go on to say:—

Order'd the Grand Secretary do Acquaint the Lodges of Knaresbr'o & Hovingham with the above Resolution to Request their attendance & that they do bring their Accounts along with them a small Contribution agreeable to the Circumstances of their respective lodges towards the Generall Fund of Charity——

No one from Knaresborough attended this meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 29 December, 1777, but a letter was sent from Knaresborough dated 26 December and signed by Fras. Bedford, who was most likely the Secretary.

In this letter Bro. Bedford states that he encloses a copy of the Rules with a List of the Brethren made in the Lodge; unfortunately these have not been preserved. He does not send the accounts as there is nothing in the Bank, but he hopes for better times. Bro. Bedford goes on to state that some of the brethren were indebted to the Lodge and that one brother had been "loosed out of Goal although he was not worthy"; this could not have been Bro. Lot Fawcitt, who was discharged from York Castle early in 1772, as Bro. Bedford is writing at the end of 1777.

The letter goes on to apologise for no one from Knaresborough attending the York Grand Lodge on 29 December, 1777, except it be Bro. Headlam who, by the way, did not attend; the reason for non-attendance is that there is no moon and also the expense of staying the night.

There is a lengthy P.S. in which Bro. Bedford states that the Rev. Charles Kedar's widow has returned to Knaresborough and that a Gentleman in or near London may obtain her some grant; also that she wishes to possess some Certificate or Testimonial that her husband was a Mason. The full text of this letter is as follows¹:—

Knaresbro': 26th Dec^r: 1777

D^r: Bro^r:

I am duly fav^d: with yours of the 11th Inst:—inclosed I send you a Copy of our Rules with a List of the Bretheren made in our Lodge; as to sending a Copy of the Accounts I apprehend it to be very needl^es as we are at present very poor and nothing in Bank, however we are at present in the improving State and in a little Time hope we shall (with a little more Economy) be able to present you with some little Matter towards the general Fund.—You know we have had some unhappy and very unfortunate Brothers who was

¹ York G. Lodge MS. No. 18.

indebted to the Lodge, and one (who was not worthy of the Fav^r :) whom we loosed out of Goal here which has reduced us to the indigent State we are now in.

The Days are now short and no Moon and the Expences of staying all Night &c will I am affraid prevent any of our Bro^{rs} : from visiting you on Monday next (Except it be Bro^r Headlam) I wish you the Complim^{ts} : of the present Season and many happy Returns and am

D^r B^r

Yours very respectfully

Fra^s : Bedford

P.S: Our late worthy Bro^r : the Rev^d : Cha^s Keedar's Widow is since his Death come down to reside at Knaresbro['] : and she has applied to me and says that a Gent^l : in or near London desired her to get some Testimonial of his being made a Mason in your Lodge and he tho^t : he co^d get her something from the Lodge in London. You know he presided sometime here as R^t : W M and also a Master of the R A Chapter (both constituted under your Lodge) therefore sho^d : be obliged to you to inform your Bretheren therewith and send me such Certificate thereof as they may think proper

This letter was addressed to "Mr. Jacob Bufsey in York" and has been endorsed by John Browne G.S. 1779 to 1780 "26. Dec. 1777. Letter from Broth^r. Bedford of Knaresbrough".

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 20 March, 1778, there were six visitors, three of whom being John Lomas, Ch^s. Lomas add Henry Tayler (*sic*), all of whom were members of the Knaresborough Lodge; the Lomas family were Roman Catholics and possessed considerable property.

About a year later, at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 31 May, 1779, John Lomas Jun^r. attended as a Visiting brother.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 13 December, 1779, the usual arrangements were made for St. John's Day and it was ordered:—

that the several Lodges holding Constitutions under this Grand Lodge be requested to make a Return of their Proceedings against next St. John's Day

and, further down the Minutes there is another item of interest:—

And Brother John Clarke late of Knaresbrough and now of York being proposed by Bro^r. Junior Gr^d. Warden to become a Member was ballotted for and admited Nem. Con.

At "the Feast of St. John the Evangelist" of the York Grand Lodge held on 27 December, 1779, there was no one present from Knaresborough; however, Enos Cundall is down as a visitor to the York Grand Lodge on both 20 June and 26 June, 1780.

His name has not appeared before, but as he became a member of the Modern Lodge formed in Knaresborough a few years later he was most likely a member of the Subordinate Lodge at Knaresborough; like the Lomas family, he was a Roman Catholic.

The last Minutes of the York Grand Lodge that we possess are dated 26 June, 1780; John Browne, who was the G. Secretary at that time, unfortunately died on 18 October, 1780, and no further records appear to have been kept; it is therefore impossible to say whether the Knaresborough Lodge continued to meet.

The next we hear is that in 1785 a new Lodge was constituted in Knaresborough by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) by the name of The Newtonian Lodge No. 499.

Fortunately the original Warrant of Constitution of the Newtonian Lodge has been preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge in London and I am indebted to Bro. Edwin Morris, of Harrogate, for a copy; this is dated 14 January, 1785, and was "Given at York" and signed by "Rich. Garland D.P.G.M. W^m. Johnson P.G.C. Chris Wilson P.G.S." It has the Grand Lodge Seal and is the work of Michael Devon, who wrote up the Minute Books of the Grand Lodge and all the Warrants of this period.¹ The Lodge was to meet "at the House of William Ellard known by the Sign of the Elephant and Castle in the town of Knaresborough aforesaid". This was one of the principal inns at the time and is still situated in the High Street and retains many of its old features.

The Petitioners named in the Constitution were "Francis Bedford, Charles Marshall, James Cundall, John Lomas, James Holmes, Enos Cundall Jun^r., Thomas Allison, and several other Brethren residing in or near the Town of Knaresborough".

Of the seven brethren named we know that four were members of the Knaresborough Subordinate Lodge (Francis Bedford, Charles Marshall, John Lomas and Enos Cundall) and as the Constitution states that all the Petitioners were "residing in or near the Town of Knaresborough" it is likely that the other three also were members.

Fortunately we possess "the Register of the Provincial Grand Lodge for Yorkshire", which gives us further details.²

The List of the Newtonian Lodge gives 26 names, but the following only gives the names of the six brethren that are known to have been members of the Knaresborough Subordinate Lodge held at the Crown.

A List of the Newtonian Lodge N^o. — Elephant & Castle Knaresbro'

<i>Names</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Residence</i>				
Francis Bedford	51	Attorney at Law	Knaresbro'	Admitted	January	22 ^d	1785
Charles Marshall	43	Cabinet Maker	Do				
Enos Cundall Jun ^r .	28	Mason	Do				
John Lomas Jun ^r .	34	Papermaker	Do	Made	January	22 ^d	1785
Charles Lomas	28	Do	Do	Made	Feby	28 th	1785
Henry Taylor	43	Schoolmaster	Do				

The Subordinate Lodge of Knaresborough held at the Crown was a Lodge of good standing, the members being professional men and tradesmen in a good position.

The Lodge was constituted in 1769 and the last visit of one of its members to the York Grand Lodge took place in 1780, but as the Newtonian Lodge of Knaresborough was not constituted by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) until 1785 it seems probable that the Subordinate Lodge held at the Crown was still in existence up to 1784 or 1785; in which case the Lodge worked for 16 years.

Bro. Edwin Morris, of Harrogate, has kindly supplied further particulars of some of the members of the Knaresborough Subordinate Lodge:—

Ackroyd—Cowling Ackroyd was an Ironmonger (Bailey's Northern Directory 1781) and is given later as an Ironmonger resident in Bradford (Universal British Directory 1784, page 440).

¹ Letter from W. W. Wonnacott, Librarian of G.L., dated 18 July, 1923:—"I recognise the writing & decoration as the work of Michael Devon, who wrote up the Minute Books of G.L. & all the Warrants of the period".

² This Register is in the possession of the York Lodge 236.

Bateson (William) had a son called Wm. Bateson, born 28 December, 1769 (Knaresborough Parish Church Register).

Bedford (Francis) was an Attorney (Bailey's Northern Directory 1781).

Cundall (Enos) is given as a Builder (Universal British Directory 1784, page 518). He was a Roman Catholic (Catholic Records Miscellanea xii., Knaresborough Register, page 247, in Leeds Reference Library).

Kedar (Rev. Charles) had a son called Chas. Kedar, born 10 July 1770 (Knaresborough Parish Church Register). Unfortunately no further trace has been found of this brother.

Lomas family were Roman Catholics (Catholic Records Miscellanea xii., Knaresborough Register, pages 228, 229, 231 and 234 in Leeds Reference Library). They were papermakers and a family of some note and possessed considerable property, as a Sale by Auction took place on 31 October, 1816, consisting of 39 Lots of property situated at Bishop Monkton, all belonging to Mr. John Lomas (Printed Bill by W. Farrer, Printer, Ripon). John Lomas of Ripon, late of Bp. Monkton, was buried 15 June 1821 age 70 (Ripon Cathedral Burial Register).

Lowcock—No initial is given in the Masonic Records, but Aaron Lowcock was a Surgeon and John Lowcock a Linen manufacturer (Universal British Directory of Trade . . . 1784, page 551).

Taylor (Henry) was a Schoolmaster and was interested in Mathematics, as in the *Leeds Mercury* 16 September, 1788, a problem was set by J. Shutt and the solution was given by H. Taylor in the *Leeds Mercury* 30 September, 1788; further another problem was set by "H. Taylor, Knaresbro" on 8 October, 1788, and answered 2 December, 1788.

KNARESBOROUGH LODGE

List of Members.

Cowling Ackroyd, Ironmonger

— Barker

William Bateson

— Beckwith

Francis Bedford, Attorney at Law

— Benson, Linen Manufacturer ?

— Betham

John Brulart

— Buck

John Clark, Mason and Builder

— Clark

Enos Cundall, Mason

Lot Fawcitt ?

— Headlam

Rev. Charles Kedar

Charles Lomas, Papermaker

John Lomas Senr., Papermaker

John Lomas Junr., Papermaker

— Lowcock

Charles Marshall, Cabinet Maker

Robert Revell, Landlord of the Crown

Henry Taylor, Schoolmaster

George Watson

MACCLESFIELD.

Little is known of the Subordinate Lodge at Macclesfield constituted by the York Grand Lodge. The first evidence we possess is contained in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge at the meeting held on the 24 September, 1770, when a Petition was presented craving a Constitution for a Lodge to be held at the Sign of the Duke of Devonshire Flying Childers,¹ in Goose Lane, Macclesfield, in Cheshire. No names of the Petitioners or Officers of this Subordinate Lodge are given. The Minute is as follows:—

A Petition was presented craving a Constitution for the opening and holding a Lodge at the sign of the Duke of Devonshire Flying Childers in Goose Lane Macclesfield in the County Palatine of Chester which was agreed to——

At this meeting of the York Grand Lodge there were eighteen members present and two Visiting Brethren named Kidd² and Stack,³ but neither of these two Visiting Brethren had anything to do with the Petition for the Lodge at Macclesfield.

The late Bro. T. B. Whytehead, in his paper⁴ “The Relics of the Grand Lodge at York”, states that “there was an unusually large attendance at a meeting on 24th September, 1770, when a petition was presented craving a Constitution for . . . a Lodge . . . at Macclesfield”. This, however, is not borne out by the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge.⁵

For nearly three years we hear nothing further of this Macclesfield Lodge, but on 21 June, 1773, James Birkinhough of Macclesfield wrote a letter to the York Grand Lodge asking for particulars of the Constitution granted to the Subordinate Lodge at Macclesfield.

Unfortunately we have no copy of James Birkinhough's letter, but the matter was discussed by the York Grand Lodge on 24 June, 1773, and instructions were given to the Grand Secretary to send a reply.

After giving particulars of the Macclesfield Constitution granted in 1770, the Minutes state that “the three Guineas for the same” had not been paid by Bro. Sampson, but on the receipt of this sum the York Grand Lodge will grant Certificates to the Officers of the Macclesfield Lodge which will enable them to grant Certificates to the Members.

The instructions conclude by stating that the Antiquity of the York Grand Lodge “is deduced from King Edwin in the Year 926; and that it is not customary for this Lodge to prefix a Number to the Constitutions granted by it.”

The Minutes of the York Grand Lodge meeting of 24 June, 1773, are as follows:—

At this Lodge it was Order'd. That the Secretary do give an Answer to James Birkinhough's Letter of the 21st Inst. to acquaint him a Constitution was granted for opening and holding a Lodge at the Sign of the Duke o'Devonshires Flying Childers in Goose Lane

¹ Flying Childers was the name of a celebrated race horse.

² Mr. Mathew Kidd had been initiated in the York Grand Lodge on the 30 July, 1770, when he is entered as a member. At the same meeting he “desired to become a Member from the first night of the next Quarter”. He was ordered to provide dinner for the York Grand Lodge on the St. John's Days in 1771, 1772 and 1773, and was the proprietor of Kidds Coffee House in Coney Street (*York Courant*, 18 Dec., 1770).

³ Bro. Stack had not visited the York Grand Lodge previously, but he attended the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist on the 27 December, 1770, and took part in the procession on that day when he is listed as one of the “Brethren of the Inniskilling Lodge”.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiii., page 99.

⁵ The attendances (including visitors) at the York Grand Lodge during the latter half of 1770 were:—July meeting 15, August meeting 11, September meeting, 20, October meetings 27 and 20, November meetings 21 and 31, December meetings 50 and 27.

Macclesfield in September 1770, but that the three Guineas for the same to be paid by Bro^r. Sampson has not yet been receiv'd; on remittance of that Sum, this Lodge will grant Certificates to the officers, which will enable them to grant Certificates to their Members—And as to the Antiquity of our Lodge it is deduced from King Edwin in the Year 926; and that it is not customary for this Lodge to prefix a Number to the Constitutions granted by it—

From this it appears that Bro. Sampson had been one of the petitioners and that the three guineas for the Constitution had not been paid; there is confirmation of this in a letter¹ from Abraham Sampson himself, which is unfortunately undated. Bro. Sampson gives no address, but asks for a reply to be sent to Mr. Rich. Motley at the Black Bull, Pettycoat Lane, White Chapel, so he was most likely writing from London. In the letter he asks for a new "Warrant" for a Lodge in London and offers to pay six guineas, being three guineas for the Macclesfield Constitution and three guineas for the new Lodge. He further states "As I have been upon your account at Macclesfield excommunicated & nothing have I done clandestinely"; this most likely means that he had not been permitted to visit the Lodges at Macclesfield, which were under the constitution of the Grand Lodge of the Antients. The full text of this letter is quoted later under London. It seems difficult to give a date to Bro. Sampson's letter, but the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge of 28 July, 1777, may refer to the matter:—

Order for the future when a Constitution is Granted to any Place, the Brother that Petition's for such shall pay the money Charged thereon upon delivery, . . .

This seems rather like locking the stable door after the horse is stolen and it is most unlikely that the York Grand Lodge ever received payment for the Macclesfield Constitution.

At the time that the Subordinate Lodge at Macclesfield was constituted by the York Grand Lodge there was already one active Lodge there; this was Lodge No. 47 constituted by the Grand Lodge of the Antients on 30 January, 1764.²

Nearly four years after the formation of the Subordinate Lodge and one year after James Birkinhough wrote his letter, another Lodge was constituted at Macclesfield by the Grand Lodge of the Antients on 7 June, 1774; this was Lodge No. 189, which met at "Childers, Goose Lane",³ the same Inn as that used by the Subordinate Lodge.

It therefore seems likely that the collapse of the latter Lodge was caused by the formation of Lodge No. 189.

LONDON.

Two attempts were made by Abraham Sampson to obtain a Constitution for a Subordinate Lodge in London, but neither attempt was successful.

Abraham Sampson had been one of the main instigators in forming the Subordinate Lodge at Macclesfield, the Petition for which had been granted by the York Grand Lodge on 24 September, 1770.

Very soon after this Abraham Sampson appears to have moved to London, as six months later an application was made to the York Grand Lodge for a Constitution "to hold a Lodge at the sign of the Vine in the Little Minories London, by the Desire of Brother Abraham Sampson".

¹ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 62.

² Lane's Masonic Records, Second Edition, page 70.

³ *Ibid.*, page 141.

Unfortunately the original letter is missing, but the matter was discussed at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 25 March, 1771; the Minutes state that the Constitution was to be granted to Joseph Martin, Thomas Smith, Samuel Daiar and Isaac Henriques.

It was decided to leave the question in abeyance until Bro. Sampson visited the York Grand Lodge; in the meantime the letter was sent to the Grand Master, Sir Thomas Gascoigne, and nothing further is heard of the matter. The York Grand Lodge Minute of 25 March, 1771, is as follows:—

Application was made to the Lodge by Letter for a Constitution to be granted to Joseph Martin, Tho^s. Smith, Sam^l. Daiar, and Isaac Henriques, to hold a Lodge at the sign of the Vine in the Little Minories London, by the Desire of Brother Abraham Sampson. It was agreed to defer the further Consideration thereof, till Bro^r. Sampson visits this Lodge, and the Letter to be sent to the Grand Master.

Abraham Sampson, however, made another attempt to obtain a Constitution, as there is an undated letter from him in which he asks for a Warrant of Constitution for another Lodge in London, and he appears to have been asked by the Grand Lodge in London where the Constitution for the Subordinate Lodge at Macclesfield was obtained.

Abraham Sampson states that he is a member of "a Society" which pays "no regard to the Lodge in London" and whose members wish to be under the "Jurisdiction" of the York Grand Lodge. The inducement for issuing a Constitution is that six Guineas will be paid to the York Grand Lodge, this sum to include the Macclesfield Constitution, which is still unpaid.

Abraham Sampson goes on to state that he would have attended the York Grand Lodge before, but that he has been ill and is almost crippled; an answer is requested by return of post to be sent "to Mr. Rich^d. Motley at the Black Bull otherwise the Rising Sun Pettycoat Lane White Chappel".

The officers are then given; these are to be Lyon Levy Master, Richard Motley (the landlord) Senior Warden, and John Jenkins Junior Warden.

Abraham Sampson, who does not appear in the List of Officers, seems confident that the York Grand Lodge will grant his request, as he asks how the money is to be remitted and to whom the quarterly dues are to be paid.

There is a P.S. which states that Abraham Sampson has been "excommunicated" at Macclesfield, which most likely means that he had not been permitted to visit one of the Macclesfield Lodges.

There is a further note to say that Richard Motley, the landlord of the Black Bull or the Rising Sun, may move, so the Lodge is to be held there or "elsewhere in London"; a somewhat roving commission.

The York Grand Lodge appears to have taken no notice of Abraham Sampson's letter; there is no copy of any reply and no note appears in the Minutes on the subject.

The text of Abraham Sampson's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 62):—

To the Grand Master of all England

I Abraham Sampson sends my respects to you and all the rest of the Brethren desiring you to send a Warrant from you only as I have been tasked by the Grand in London for a Warrant that I got from you for Macclesfield and as there is a Society at present who would be glad to be under your Jurisdiction as we pay no regard to the Lodge in London provided you would grant us a Warrant for which six Guineas (being the whole due for the old and this for which We hope to have a Book of your Byelaws) shall be remitted to you—I should have been with you before now only God as been pleased

to afflict me with illnefs which has made a Cripple of me—be pleased to send an Answer by return of Post to M^r. Rich^d. Motley at the Black Bull otherwise the Rising Sun Pettycoat Lane White Chappel Lyon Levy—Master—Rich^d. Motley his Sen^r. Warden—John Jenkins—his Jun^r. Warden

you'll be so obliging as acquaint us how the Money is to be remitted before the Warr^t. comes & likewise let us know what Certificates we want for our Members to be registred by you and when to remit our Quarterly dues or who to pay it to, by so doing all our Brethren in General will be obliged to you particularly I Abraham Sampson

Gentlemen & Brethren

As I have been upon your account at Macclesfield excommunicated & nothing have I done Clandestinely you'll be so kind as Answer this Letter immediately & grant a Warrant on the Money being sent to you and am Gentlemen y^r. Affectionate Brother

Abraham Sampson.

Gentlemen & Brethren

as Brother Motley may move this Lodge to be kept here, or elsewhere in London

This letter was addressed "To The Grand Master of all England at York" and has been endorsed "Abraham Sampson's Petition for a Constitution".

The endorsement¹ appears to have been written by Jacob Bussey, who was Grand Secretary from 27 December, 1775, to 11 January, 1779, and the York Grand Lodge Minute of 28 July, 1777, may refer to the matter. This Minute is as follows:—

Order for the future when a Constitution is Granted to any Place, the Brother that Petition's for such shall pay the money Charged thereon upon delivery, . . .

The most probable date for Abraham Sampson's letter seems to be July, 1777.

HOVINGHAM

Hovingham is a pretty village in the North Riding of Yorkshire; it lies on the Malton-Helmsley road and is eight miles from Malton and about sixteen miles from York.

The population in 1801² was 495 and in 1931³ it was 411, so in the latter part of the eighteenth century the population would have been about 500; it seems, therefore, that a Masonic Lodge formed at Hovingham would be doomed to failure.

There are very few records of the Lodge constituted at Hovingham by the York Grand Lodge; there must have been some correspondence or personal interview before a Petition for such a Lodge was presented, but of this we possess no records.

The first information we have on the matter is contained in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge of 29 March, 1773, when a Petition was presented by Bro. Henry Taylor requesting a Constitution to open a Lodge at Hovingham near Malton.

¹ It would be safer to say that the endorsement is in an unknown hand.

² A Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire, by Thomas Longdale, 1809.

³ Census of England & Wales, 1931.

The only Visitor at this meeting was Barrow, but it is unlikely that he had anything to do with the Hovingham Lodge, as he was a frequent visitor to the York Grand Lodge during the year.¹

Bro. Henry Taylor is not marked as being present; he was not a member of the York Grand Lodge and I have been unable to trace where he was initiated. There was a Henry Taylor who was a Member of the Subordinate Lodge at Knaresborough, but it is most unlikely that he was the same man.

Unfortunately neither the names of the Petitioners nor the place of meeting are given in the York Grand Lodge Minutes, which are as follows:—

At this Lodge a Petition was presented from Bro^r. Henry Taylor, requesting a Constitution to be granted to him and others to open and Hold a Lodge at Hovingham near Malton in this County, which was unanimously agree'd to, and the Secretary was Order (*sic*) to inform him of the same.

At the 'next meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 26 April, 1773, the Rev. Ralph Tunstall of Hovingham was proposed and balloted for. There were five visitors present—Barrow, J. Taylor, H. Taylor, Mills and Harrison. Only two of these brethren are known to have become members of the Hovingham Lodge—Henry Taylor the sole petitioner and Harrison mentioned later in a letter from John Parnaby.

The York Grand Lodge Minute of 26 April, 1773, is as follows:—

At this Lodge The Rev^d. Ralph Tunstall of Hovingham was propos'd to be made a Mason; he was ballotted for and admitted:—

The Rev. Ralph Tunstall was made E.A., F.C. and also raised at the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 31 May, 1773, when Taylor is down as a visitor, but again there is no Christian name given in the Minutes.

Nothing is known of the Hovingham Lodge for some years. The festival of St. John the Evangelist was duly advertised in the York newspaper for the years 1773, 1774 and 1775 by the York Grand Lodge, but no member of the Hovingham Lodge attended any of these meetings.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 25 November, 1776, the arrangements for St. John's Day were considered and it was "Order'd that a Circular letter be sent to the Lodges under the Grand Lodge of all England . . . requesting their Attendance" and a notice² was sent to the Hovingham Lodge, but no one attended to represent the Lodge.

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 8 December, 1777, it was decided to hold "the Anniversary of St John the Evangelist" on Monday 29 December instead of Saturday 27 December, and notices were sent to the Lodges at Knaresborough and Hovingham requesting their attendance and that they bring their accounts and also asking for contributions to the Charity fund.

It is interesting to note that only two Subordinate Lodges are mentioned at this time. The Minute is as follows:—

Order'd the Grand Secretary do Acquaint the Lodges of Knaresbr'o & Hovingham with the above Resolution to Request their attendance & that they do bring their Accounts along with them a small Contribution agreeable to the Circumstances of their respective lodges towards the Generall Fund of Charity—

During this time the Rev. Ralph Tunstall had left Hovingham and gone to reside at Malton, as on 29 May, 1778, he wrote to "Mr. Jacob Bufsey Pavement

¹ Barrow visited the York Grand Lodge five times during 1773—29 Mar., 26 Apl., 24 June, 26 July, and 27 Sept.

² York Grand Lodge MS. No. 15, quoted in full under Ripon.

York" asking for information about forming a Lodge at Snainton;¹ in this letter Bro. Tunstall uses the phrase "Mr. George Beswick, made about two years ago at Hovingham." This is the only known Candidate of the Hovingham Lodge; there may, of course, have been others.

The last we hear of the Hovingham Lodge is in a letter from John Parnaby, unfortunately undated, addressed to Mr. Jacob Bussey, who was Grand Secretary of the York Grand Lodge from 27 December, 1775, to 11 January, 1779. This letter commences by acknowledging a letter of "the 11th. Inst^t." so was in reply to one of Bussey's Communications, and the only date that fits this is the meeting of the York Grand Lodge of 8 December, 1777, when the Secretary was ordered to send a notice of the St. John's Day meeting to the Hovingham Lodge. The meeting in 1778 being held on 14 December and in 1779 on 13 December, it would be impossible for Bussey to have written on the 11th in either case. If my supposition be correct, the Hovingham Lodge ceased to work at the end of 1776.

In this letter Parnaby states that the Hovingham Lodge "is quite dissolved" and that a Lodge has not been held for more than twelve months; the reason for this is that Bro. R. Taylor and Bro. Harrison had died, Bro. Arnel had ceased to attend, and Bro. Tunstall and Bro. H. Taylor had removed to Malton.

The letter is as follows (York G. Lodge MS. No. 63):—

Dear Brother

I am just favoured with yours of the 11th. Inst^t. to The Rev^d. Brother Tunstall and am affraid it will not be convenient, for any of us to attend the York Lodge on Monday next, I should be exceeding happy to be with you, but cannot come, am very Sorry to acquaint you that the Hovingham Lodge is quite dissolved, part by Death and part by Removals, have not had a Lodge Open'd gone Twelve months, The last we had, our Acc^{ts}. were closed, poor Bro^r. R. Taylor & Bro^r. Harrison are Dead Bro^r. Arnel quite forsaken us and Bro^r. Tunstall & Bro^r. H. Taylor removed to Malton. I am with proper Respects to the York Bretheren

Your most Obed^t. & Faithfull Brother

Jno Parnaby.

S

This letter was addressed to "Mr. Jacob Bufsey The Pavement York" and has been endorsed by John Browne "Letter from Brother Parnaby respecting the Dormant Lodge of Hovingham." As far as is known this Subordinate Lodge has continued to sleep.

It is somewhat extraordinary that the York Grand Lodge should have constituted a Lodge to meet at such a small place as Hovingham, and it is the only Masonic Lodge that has ever been held at this village.

HOVINGHAM LODGE

List of Members.

— Arnel
George Beswick
— Harrison
Jno Parnaby
Henry Taylor
R. Taylor
Rev. Ralph Tunstall

¹ York G. Lodge MS. No. 29, quoted in full under Snainton.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Johnson for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. S. J. Fenton, seconded by Bro. F. A. Greene; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. B. Ivanoff, S. N. Smith, W. W. Covey-Crump, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. S. J. FENTON said:—

It is my pleasure and privilege to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Johnson for his interesting and valuable addition to our Masonic Records of the York Grand Lodge, and at the same time congratulate him on behalf of the members of this Lodge on his election to full membership. We shall look forward to the continuation of this paper at an early date.

It is a paper which has brought forward some of the points which I suggested in my Inaugural Address of November last, regarding Lost Lodges, and Lost Lodge Property, and shows the value of research amongst old newspapers and records.

The History of the lost Jewels of the Scarborough Lodge was a matter in which Bro. Johnson must have had an enormous amount of trouble in collecting; but perhaps "trouble" is a wrong expression, because such a search, especially when rewarded by success, is really a labour of love and gives the searcher encouragement and inspiration when searching for other lost items of masonic history.

He has brought to our notice some highly interesting and extraordinary Masonic Characters, showing how Lodges were conducted at the end of the eighteenth century.

Bro. Abraham Sampson—what a character!—asking for a warrant for a Lodge to meet wherever the landlord of a certain inn might transfer his business, but Freemasonry was built on the pioneer work of such masons, and we must be grateful to Bro. Johnson for bringing these pioneers to our notice and placing records of their estimates on our *Transactions* for the benefit of posterity.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

I have read with much interest the advance proof sheets of Bro. Johnson's paper. Besides dealing with an entirely fresh side of the activities of York Grand Lodge, it furnishes a valuable record concerning that Lodge—more complete than the previous articles by our esteemed Bros. Whytehead and Hughs in *A.Q.C.*

In Bro. Hughs's article (*A.Q.C.*, xiii., 13) occur two names which have for years puzzled me. They are Bros. "Wm. Tireman and Willm. Musgrave" as members of the York City Lodge in 1724. It so happened that when certain Brethren somehow brought from London to Cambridge about 1760 the charter of a Lodge, which for 5 or 6 years previously had been meeting at the "Bear and Harrow" in Butchers' Row, among those Brethren were two named William Tireman and William Musgrove, who thus became prominent members of what is now "Scientific Lodge" (88) at Cambridge. The interval between the two dates (1724 and 1760) is obviously considerable—too long, one would suppose, for a likely identity. Moreover, the Cambridge Lodge was warranted by and was always loyal to the "Moderns"; but the association of the two names also at York is a curious coincidence, and I have wondered whether any information is obtainable about the subsequent history of the two members of the York Lodge. I fear, however, that the dormancy of the latter after 1738 constitutes an insuperable obstacle; and is certainly foreign to the subject of Bro. Johnson's paper, as the abortive attempt of Sampson to found a "York" Lodge in London in 1770 is too late for Tireman and Musgrove, who were then living in Cambridge.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

I am not quite satisfied with Bro. Johnson's suggestion that the two jewels for Masters of the Scarborough Lodge dated 1729 is explained away by the fact that many lodges elected the Master for six months only.

It is noticeable that one jewel is the square and the other the compass, and as the passing from the square to the compass was a recognised step in masonry, I suggest that the two jewels refer to the mastership of these two different lodges.

Many of the southern lodges up to the time of the Union held a meeting in the third degree on Sundays, which was quite distinct from the meetings in the 1° and 2° held during the week.

My own belief is that these two types of meeting had each their own furniture and methods. I suggest that when the Scarborough Lodge was formed in 1729 the jewels were engraved with the names of the office-bearers who were very possibly the donors. Wm. Thompson being the master of the masters' lodge wore the compasses, and Bro. Rusdell wore the square when presiding over the apprentices and fellows.

The evolution of the modern jewels is an interesting subject, and it is curious that the square, the emblem of the fellow, is now recognised as denoting the mastership of the third degree to which the fellow attained with difficulty.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

WEDNESDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1939.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., W.M.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., S.W.; B. Ivanoff, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M., Treasurer; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.D.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; F. R. Radice.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. T. C. Brice, P.A.G.D.C.; J. R. Cully, P.G.Pt.; F. A. Greene; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; G. H. Green, W. Proctor Wilson; F. E. Gould; G. I. Davys, P.G.D.; R. Henderson-Bland; A. F. Hatten; J. F. Nichols; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; S. J. H. Prynne; Rev. G. F. Irwin, P.G.Ch.; H. G. Warren; H. G. Ridge; G. C. Williams; R. M. Strickland; Commdr. S. N. Smith, R.N.; A. F. Cross; W. J. Mean; S. W. Freeborn; J. B. Ebel; H. M. Ridge; A. F. Ford; L. A. Margetts; and F. S. Barber.

Also Bro. S. C. Grant, L.G.R., Athlumney Lodge No. 3245, Visitor.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; D. Knoop, M.A., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; D. Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.; B. Telepnef; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Armagh; F. L. Pick; and G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.

Three Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Major Cecil Clare Adams, M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D., the Master Elect, was presented for Installation, and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. S. J. Fenton, assisted by Bros. F. A. Greene, L. Edwards, and H. Bladon.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. B. Ivanoff	S.W.
„ L. Edwards	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ J. Heron Lepper	Treasurer
„ F. M. Rickard	Secretary
„ J. A. Grantham	S.D.
„ F. L. Pick	J.D.
„ H. C. Bristowe	I.G.
„ G. H. Ruddle	Tyler

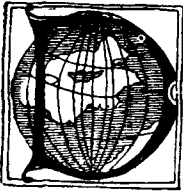
The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“That W.Bro. Sydney James Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwickshire, having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him.”

The WORSHIPFUL MASTER delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

MASONIC LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS.



URING the last ten years I have read three papers at meetings of the Lodge, all of which have been in the nature of bibliographical studies.¹ The preparation of these papers has required a careful examination of a large number of the rarer books on Freemasonry, most of which were published in the eighteenth century, and I found that one of the most difficult problems to be solved was the whereabouts of those books which had to be studied. Many, of course, were in the large and well-known libraries, but some were with smaller libraries and private Lodges, and others were in private hands both in England and abroad.

In order that students should have some notes giving where the scarcer books are to be found, it has occurred to me to incorporate this information, so far as I have been able to acquire it, in this Address, and incidentally to give some account of Masonic Libraries of one sort or another and also, in a lesser degree, of Masonic Museums. These notes will be mainly bibliographical, and I am not proposing to give any account of modern works, or to indicate what books are the most desirable in a Lodge Library. Nor shall I presume to recommend a course of Masonic reading, as I am in no way qualified to give such advice. One student may fancy the history of the Craft; another may hanker after symbolism, and one man's meat may give another indigestion. I will only say that the charlatan is to be found in Masonic literature as elsewhere, and the hungry reader who devours every Masonic, or so-called Masonic, publication which comes to his notice is looking for trouble, and can only blame himself if he is misinformed.

The books with which we are concerned fall into two groups, books about Masonry, and those which have some feature of Masonic interest. The early documents which are known as The Old Charges are for the most part in manuscript, and for that reason should perhaps be regarded as Museum pieces rather than as items in a Library; their interest is, on the other hand, chiefly philological, and they are of the greatest importance to the student of Masonic history. Many of these will be noted when we come to speak of the contents of the large Masonic libraries, and particulars of their locations and those of manuscript catechisms are given in *The "Yorkshire" Old Charges of Masons*² and *The Mason Word*.³ For notes on the rarer Masonic books, reference should be made to Bro. Lionel Vibert's book on the subject,⁴ and Bro. E. H. Dring's Inaugural Address⁵ given at his Installation as Master of this Lodge. The

¹ *The Freemasons' Pocket Companions of the Eighteenth Century*. A.Q.C., xlv., p. 165. *Ahiman Rezon, the Book of Constitutions*. A.Q.C., xlv., p. 239. *Notes on Some Eighteenth Century Masonic Handbooks*, A.Q.C., l., p. 145.

² Rev. H. Poole and F. R. Worts, 1935.

³ Douglas Knoop, 1938.

⁴ *The Rare Books of Freemasonry*, Lionel Vibert, 1923.

⁵ A.Q.C., xxv., p. 345.

latter lists references to Freemasonry prior to 1751, and also gives notes of reproductions of the rare books. Notes on the various issues of the *Pocket Companions*, *Ahiman Rezon* and many of the early handbooks are contained in my papers to which reference has already been made.

There are many early books which are not essentially Masonic, but are of interest owing to one or more references to Freemasons or Freemasonry, and many of the earliest which we shall note are of this category. They deserve a place in a Masonic library, and are of value in giving hints on the nature of the Craft before the Grand Lodge era. Early references to the word "Freemason" are contained in an interesting paper by our Bro. W. J. Williams.¹

Our interest is, of course, almost entirely restricted to books printed in the English language, and very few others are mentioned in these notes. There have been good Masonic libraries and museums on the Continent, but the state of these is at present very obscure, and we are not likely to have news of them until the end of the present war and the advent of a new régime in Germany.

We can place the libraries in which we are interested in three categories, the public library, such as that of the British Museum, which contains a number of books of Masonic interest, the library of a Grand Lodge or other Masonic body, and the private collection. As a rule, books in public or Masonic libraries will not be sold or disposed of in any other way; they are available for the use of students, and the notes which we have made of them may be regarded as reasonably permanent. The private collection does not interest us so much. The books are not available for the public, but it is only fair to say that I have never known a collector refuse to lend his property to the genuine student. The books in such collections cannot be regarded as having a permanent home. They may pass from hand to hand, and in this way we occasionally lose sight of one of the great rarities. There are, of course, thousands of such collections, but only a few will be mentioned.

Of our public libraries, that of the British Museum is the most important, and it contains a fair collection of Masonic books, many of which are catalogued under the heading "Freemasons". An inaccurate list was published in the *Masonic Magazine*, vols. vi. and vii., 1878-1880. The following versions of the Old Charges are in the Manuscript Room:—

Regius MS.

Cooke MS.

Lansdowne MS.

Harris 2 MS.

Sloane 3848 MS.

Sloane 3322 MS.

Harleian 2054 MS.

Harleian 1942 MS.

The following books in the Museum are believed to be unique:—

A New Model for Rebuilding Masonry, etc., Peter Farmer, 1730.

Brotherly Love Recommended, Rev. C. Brockwell, Boston, Mass., 1750.

and they have the only known copy of the second edition of *The Freemasons; an Hudibrastic Poem* of about 1722. Among the rarer Masonic works in the British Museum are the 1st edition of Briscoe's *Constitutions* of about 1723, *The Freemason's Vindication*, a broadside published about 1725 in Dublin,

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xlvi.ii., p. 140.

The Perjur'd Freemason Detected, 1730, *The Generous Freemason*, 1731, and *Masonry further Dissected*, 1738.

The Bodleian Library at Oxford has among its treasures the *Rawlinson MS.* and the following books of which no other copies are known:—

A Full Vindication of the Ancient and Honourable Society, etc., 1726.
The Mystery and Motions of Free-Masonry discovered, a London broadside of about 1730.

Among their rarities are *The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd*, of which they have both the 1724 and 1725 editions, and *The Freemason's Vindication*, the Dublin broadside of about 1725, of which, as has already been mentioned, there is also a copy in the British Museum.

The Guildhall Library has many documents relating to the Masons' Company, but their great Masonic rarity is a broadside dated 1730, entitled:

The Puerile Signs and Wonders of a Free-Mason; with their Ways of Admittance (sic) and Entrance; being found in the Cabinet of MS. [of] a Brother Deceas'd, the 6th of August 1730; Likewise their Oath, and by what Means they know a Brother, &c.

The John Rylands Library of Manchester has the only known copy of a well-known book containing a Masonic reference: *A Booke in English metre of the great Marchaunt man called Dives Pragmaticus*, published in London in 1563.

Turning to Masonic libraries, first and foremost we have that associated with the United Grand Lodge of England. There are about 15,000 volumes, three-quarters of which are Masonic, and the value is probably £20,000. They are the fortunate owners of ten versions of the Old Charges:—

Buchanan MS.
Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.
Clerks MS.
Haddon MS.
Foxcroft MS.
Heaton MS.
Brook Hills MS.
Grand Lodge No. 2 MS.
Fisher MS.
Talents MS.

The Grand Lodge Library has the only known copy of *A Defence of Masonry*, published in London in 1731, and the only perfect copies of two other books, *Roberts' Constitutions* of 1722, and *Bruin in the Suds* of 1751. *The Old Constitutions* published by John Roberts in London in 1722 is the gem of the collection, and, being the earliest printed version of the *Constitutions*, it is of the greatest interest to Masonic historians and students. The rarities of the Grand Lodge collection include the third edition of *The Freemasons*, a poem of about 1722, *The Perjur'd Freemason Detected*, 1730, *Phoenix Britannicus*, 1732, *Dodd's Constitutions* of 1739, the Dublin *Ahiman Rezon* of 1760, *A Defence of Freemasonry*, 1765, and *Masonry Vindicated* of 1768.

The Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland both have libraries and museums. The Irish Grand Lodge owns the Chetwode Crawley MS. of the Old Charges and a number of very rare books including D'Assigny's pamphlet of

1744, the *Dublin Pocket Companions* of 1751 and 1761, George Minty's *A Discourse upon Masonry*, published in Dublin in 1757, the *Dublin Ahiman Rezon* of 1760 and *Sublime Friendship Delineated* by John Donovan, published in Cork in 1789. The Grand Lodge of Scotland is the owner of the Aitcheson's Haven version of the Old Charges.

Turning to the Dominions, there are no really important Masonic libraries at present, but several of the Grand Lodges are building up collections. Three of the nine Grand Lodges of Canada have small libraries, most of the contents of which are modern. The library of the Grand Lodge of New Brunswick was destroyed by fire in 1877. In Australia three of the six Grand Lodges have libraries of reasonable size. That of Victoria owns a copy of Benjamin Franklin's reprint of the *Constitutions* which was published in 1734. This is a rare work of which only sixteen copies are known, almost all of which are in the United States. This Grand Lodge also has a travelling library with six sets of books. These are sent out in sets to Lodges, and are forwarded from one Lodge to another.

We now come to the forty-nine Grand Lodges in the United States of America, each of which collects the reports of the proceedings of the other Grand Lodges; and these in themselves are sufficient to form a small library. Apart from these collections, twenty-four of the Grand Lodges have libraries of reasonable size; and fifteen have collections of 5,000 books, or more, the largest being in Iowa, Massachusetts, New York State, North Dakota and Pennsylvania. Two of these libraries have been destroyed by fire, that of California having been wiped out by the great fire in San Francisco in 1906. The first Masonic library in the U.S.A. was founded by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1787. In the minutes of that Grand Lodge of the 26th March, 1787, it is recorded that "It was ordered that the Treasurer buy every book for the use of this Lodge which may appear interesting on Masonry". The travelling library which has already been mentioned in connection with Victoria, is a feature of the United States, and is also found in Canada. The usual procedure is for a parcel of from ten to thirty books to be sent on loan to a Lodge for about three months. This plan appears admirable, and it would be interesting to know to what extent these facilities are enjoyed. The States of North Dakota and Texas have adopted a scheme for helping the scattered communities in their respective States by a library service, which appears to be most praiseworthy. They maintain large popular libraries which are not of a Masonic nature, and these are in the care of trained women librarians. The books are lent to individuals who need not be Freemasons, and are sent all over the State. In a year, the library of the Grand Lodge of North Dakota lends some 7,000 books to 1,000 borrowers in nearly 200 different towns. The Grand Lodge of Iowa has a library of some 40,000 books and maintains a travelling library. It is the fortunate owner of one of the two copies of Roberts' *Constitutions* of 1722, but unfortunately it is not quite perfect. Among other treasures are Benjamin Franklin's *Constitutions*, 1734, Dodd's *Constitutions*, 1739, and F. D'Assigny's pamphlet, *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry*, published in Dublin in 1744. The library of the Grand Lodge of Maine contains one of the only two known copies of a printed folio copy of De La Motte's work of 1813 denouncing Joseph Cerneau. Massachusetts has a good library and is fortunate in possessing two copies of the Old Charges, namely the *Carson* and *Spencer MSS.* This library owns a copy of the first edition of Pritchard's *Masonry Dissected* of 1730; this is the only copy known outside private hands. It also has three copies of Benjamin Franklin's rare *Constitutions* of 1734. Another rarity in this library is the Belfast *Pocket Companion* of 1751. The library of the Grand Lodge of New York owns a copy of Franklin's *Constitutions* of 1734. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania owns the *Thomas Carmick* version of the Old Charges and a great number of rare books, including Franklin's *Constitutions*

of 1734, the Dublin *Pocket Companions* of 1751 and 1761 and *The Free-Mason's Pocket Companion or Elements of Free-Masonry Delineated*, published by Samuel Green at New London, Conn., in 1794. The two Supreme Councils, 33° in the U.S.A., have notable libraries, neither of which are entirely Masonic. In the Northern Jurisdiction there are some 14,000 books, but the Southern Jurisdiction has no less than 125,000 volumes, and owns one copy of the Old Charges, the *Boyden MS.*

Here, there is one foreign jurisdiction which calls for attention; I refer to the Grand Orient of Holland. Associated with this, there is at the Hague a fine library of some 60,000 volumes, many of which are not Masonic, and included is the famous Klossian Library of 10,000 books. In the latter collection there are a number of great rarities, including both editions of *The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd*, J. Pennell's *Dublin Constitutions* of 1730 and *A Defence of Freemasonry*, 1765. The Klossian Library also contains all the foreign translations of William Smith's *Pocket Companion*, namely the 1738 and 1740 editions of *Gründliche Nachricht* and the *Zakboekje* of 1740.¹

Many of the Provincial Grand Lodges in England own libraries and museums, and some of these are of great value and interest. I propose to select a few for special mention. The library of the Leicestershire Province contains a very fine collection left by our Bro. J. T. Thorp. The *Thorp MS.* is in this library, and among the rare items are John Thompson's *Remarks on a Sermon lately Published*, which appeared in 1768, and George Minty's *A Discourse upon Masonry*, published about 1778 in Dublin. The earlier editions of this book are also extremely scarce. The Warwickshire Province has an interesting general collection, much of which is connected with Lodges in the Province. Worcestershire owns three versions of the Old Charges, the *Lechmere*, *Wood* and *Inigo Jones MSS.* This library has the only known copy of the first edition of *The Freemason Examined* of 1754. Among other treasures are copies of all four editions of Cole's *Constitutions*, an imperfect copy of Pennell's *Dublin Constitutions* of 1730 and the first and second editions of *Solomon in All his Glory*, as well as the Dublin reprint by Wilkinson. Another scarce book in this library is *The Freemason's Companion*, published by T. Angus at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1777. Two more modern items which are very scarce are the *Address to the Lodge of Friendship*, No. 26, by William Platt, 1847, and *An Attempt at Compiling a History of Freemasonry in Stafford*, by T. Ward Chalmers, published in Stafford in 1882. The Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorkshire (West Riding) at Leeds has a wonderful set of local versions of the Old Charges. There are no less than eleven of these:—

Stanley MS.

Thomas W. Embleton MS.

Beaumont MS.

Macnab MS.

William Watson MS.

Hughan MS.

Waistell MS.

Hope MS.

Taylor MS.

Tew MS.

Clapham MS.

This library owns a copy of *The Book M*, which is a version of William Smith's *Pocket Companion*, and was published in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1736, and also D'Assigny's pamphlet of 1744. It also contains a copy of T. Ward

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xlv., pp. 179 and 183.

Chalmer's *History of Freemasonry in Stafford*, 1882, which I have just mentioned as one of the Worcestershire rarities.

The number of private Lodges with small libraries is, of course, legion, but most of these are small and do not call for comment. It is quite usual to find a Lodge owning a number of modern Masonic publications which are available for the members. We must not despise such a collection and it may serve a very useful purpose in encouraging the members to study the history and meaning of the Craft and embarking on Masonic research. Often a Lodge owns a few rare items such as an early edition of the *Book of Constitutions* and *Pocket Companions*. These are of no value to the general reader, and are often relegated to the Tyler's box, where they get into bad condition and may eventually be lost. One cannot help feeling that such books are better in the keeping of a Provincial Grand Lodge, or one of the larger Masonic libraries, where they can be properly guarded.

First and foremost among the Lodge libraries we can claim our own, which has especial interest for us, and is a valuable collection. There are, in the library of Quatuor Coronati Lodge some 15,000 books, many of which are extremely rare, and the total value is probably £5,000. We have five manuscript versions of the Old Charges:—

Woodford MS.

Carna MS.

Strachan MS.

Tunnah MS.

Songhurst MS.

There are two unique volumes in our possession, *A Sermon Preach'd before the . . . Society . . . in the City of Gloucester*, 1750, and the Dublin fourth edition of *Ahiman Rezon* of 1780. We have *An Ode to the Grand Khaibar*, 1726, which is a great rarity, one other copy being known, which is in private hands. Among the scarce books in this library are *The Light and Truth of Masonry explained*, published by Thomas Dunckerley in 1757, the Dublin *Pocket Companion* of 1761, the *Freemason's Companion*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1777, and the later (c. 1778) edition of George Minty's *A Discourse upon Masonry*. Probity Lodge No. 61 owns the *Probity* MS. and a copy of *The Book M* of 1736. The York Lodge No. 236 owns the five Ancient York Rolls and the manuscript documents of the Grand Lodge of All England which met at York in the latter half of the eighteenth century; it also has a very good collection of "Exposures". Among other treasures in this library are Pennell's Dublin *Constitutions* of 1730, *The Book M*, 1736, and the Dublin *Pocket Companion* of 1761. The Manchester Association for Masonic Research owns four copies of the Old Charges, the two *Drinkwater* MSS., Nos. 1 and 2, the *Beswicke-Royds* MS. and the *Holywell* MS. This library owns the version of *The Elements of Freemasonry delineated* published by William Moore at Kingston, Jamaica, in 1782.

The library of the Mark Grand Lodge of England is a useful collection of about eight thousand books. It is hoped that in their new building they will house a representative collection of books on Freemasonry and allied subjects, including comparative religion, anthropology, folklore, and so on. The aim in this case is to have books for the student and not museum pieces, which are of interest only to the collector. A similar library is that of the High Council of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia. It is not quite so large, and now contains about five thousand books, but it is outgrowing the available space at 27, Great Queen Street, where it is housed. The Supreme Council 33° of England has a library of about two thousand books which deal for the most part with the higher degrees. It contains the *Supreme Council* MS. of the Old Charges and

a copy of the first edition of *Gründliche Nachricht*, the German translation of William Smith's *Pocket Companion*. They also own a copy of the first edition of *A Master-Key to Free-Masonry* of 1760.

It seems almost invidious to select private collections, but some of these should certainly be mentioned, and the restrictions of space only permit of a few. Our Brother Wallace Heaton is the fortunate owner of an outstanding library which contains probably the most complete private collection of old Masonic books in the world. An item which is apparently unique is *Bl . . . ke . . . y's Prologue and Epilogue* of 1729, and he owns the only copy in England that I have been able to trace of Benjamin Franklin's American edition of the *Constitutions* published in 1734. Other rare books in this library are *The Grand Mystery*, 1724, *The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened*, a Dublin broadside of 1725, *The Grand Mystery laid open*, another broadside of 1726, *The Generous Free-Mason*, 1731, *Phoenix Britannicus*, 1732, *Masonry*, a poem published in Edinburgh in 1739, *Bruin in the Suds*, 1751, *The Rural Muse*, 1753, *The Light and Truth of Masonry explained*, Thomas Dunckerley, 1757, *A Discourse upon Masonry*, by George Minty, Dublin, 1757, and the first 1760 edition of *A Master-Key to Free-Masonry*. Our Brother Lewis Edwards has a noteworthy collection, including *The Book M*, 1736, and the second edition of *Multa Paucis*. Brother Collins Nice owns some very rare books, including *Horologiographia, or the Art of Dialling*, 1593, *Amasis, King of Egypt*, 1738, Dr. F. D'Assigny's pamphlet, *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry* of 1744, and George Minty's second edition of *A Discourse upon Masonry*, published in 1772. In the U.S.A., Bro. F. H. Marquis, of Mansfield, Ohio, has a fine library, including a complete set of Webb's *Monitors* and all except one of the American *Anti-Masonic Almanacs*. He is also the fortunate owner of a fine series of *Pocket Companions*.

In the Appendix to this Address I have listed some of the rarer books, pamphlets and broadsides printed in the English language, showing where they are to be found. This list is, of course, very imperfect, but it is hoped that it will prove a useful guide. Many of these books are also to be found in private collections which are not mentioned.

I should like to be able to give a full description of some of the more important Masonic Museums, but a few brief notes only are possible in the space at my disposal. The United Grand Lodge of England has a remarkable collection of about 20,000 items, and the value is probably £25,000. The catalogue recently compiled by Bro. Sir Algernon Tudor-Craig gives a full description, and is a most interesting publication. This museum contains the throne used by all our Grand Masters since 1791. The Sword carried before our Grand Master is in this collection, and formerly belonged to Gustavus Adolphus. It was presented by the Duke of Norfolk, who was Grand Master 1729-1730. The museum also contains aprons of Napoleon Bonaparte and Murat, Jewels of the Nine Worthies, and there is a fine representative collection of Masonic glass and china. Turning to the Dominions, the Grand Lodge of Quebec has a good collection, and this includes a gold Square presented by the Duke of Kent in 1795, when he was Provincial Grand Master for Lower Canada. There is also a good collection belonging to the Grand Lodge of Victoria. In the United States, ten of the Grand Lodges have important museums, especially those of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The former owns a good collection of Masonic Medals, some aprons worn by Lafayette, and another treasure is a gold urn made by Paul Revere to hold a lock of George Washington's hair. In the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge museum is a Masonic apron embroidered by Madame Lafayette and given to George Washington. The Grand Orient of the Netherlands has a fine collection of Jewels. A number of the Provinces under the English Constitution have small museums, most of which are chiefly of local interest. In Jersey there is the Daniel Vonberg collec-

tion, which is mainly jewels. The Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent has got together a good collection at Canterbury, one of the most interesting items being a Tracing Board made of straw and painted in gold during the Napoleonic wars by a French prisoner of war at Chatham. The Province of Warwickshire has an interesting collection at Birmingham. The neighbouring Province of Worcestershire has among its treasures the Shackles collection of Masonic Medals. In the Yorkshire (West Riding) museum at Leeds there is the Tew collection of Masonic Medals, and they have a set of three Tracing Boards with lectures in cypher by John Browne, the editor of *The Master Key* of 1798.

Our own Lodge has the nucleus of a small museum, but we cannot claim that it is any way outstanding. The Supreme Council, 33°, at 10, Duke Street, St. James', has a small collection which contains many items associated with the higher degrees. I should also mention that there is a good museum in the hands of the Supreme Council, 33°, of the Southern Jurisdiction of the U.S.A. Turning to private collections, Bro. Collins Nice has one of general Masonic interest, and our Bro. Lewis Edwards owns a good set of Masonic snuff boxes. Our Bro. Wallace Heaton has a collection of Masonic glass and Jewels, including the Sackville Medal¹ and some of the Jewels made by French prisoners of war, as well as a fine set of Masonic prints and certificates.

Before ending these brief notes, I wish to record my thanks to a great number of helpers all over the world, who have so willingly given the information which has enabled me to compile this Address, which I hope will be found sufficiently accurate to be of use. May I end my remarks by quoting our late Bro. G. W. Speth, who wrote the following foreword to the catalogue of a Masonic library which he had compiled:—

“Brethren, you who own this priceless gift, you who use it, see to it that you do not fail in your obvious duty. Cherish and increase this Library, utilise it to its fullest extent, lest, instead of being your pride, it cause the scoffer to shake the finger of derision at you. What is there more saddening than a library which waxeth not, neither doth it profit any man? The dust on whose shelves crieth aloud of cruel indifference, where no bookworm may be found but the noxious plague which tunnels through costly bindings and voraciously feeds its minute carcase on the printed embodiment of unappreciated intellect, appealing to readers, alas, in vain? It is a mournful sight to see a good book carelessly handled to its ultimate destruction; it is a thousand times more pitiable to see it decay in fruitless neglect.”

APPENDIX.

NOTES.

- (a) As the various editions of the *Book of Constitutions* of the “Modern” Grand Lodge and the United Grand Lodge of England are found in all the important Masonic libraries, they are not included. There is a complete set in the Library of the United Grand Lodge of England. For *Ahiman Rezon* see *A.Q.C.*, xlvi., p. 239.
- (b) The *Engraved Lists* of Lodges are omitted. These started in 1723, and the earlier editions are very rare. The Library of the United Grand Lodge of England has those for 1723, 1725, 1729, and many

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xii., 204; xiii., 142; Lepper and Crosslé, vol. I., p. 92.

later. The Library of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire has the only known copy for 1728; the Manchester Association for Masonic Research has the only known copy of the 1734 edition. The "Antient" Grand Lodge issued an *Engraved List* for 1753 only. Copies of this are in the British Museum and in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington. No others have been discovered.

(c) For *Pocket Companions* see A.Q.C., xlv., p. 165.

(d) Libraries to which reference is made in this Appendix.

1. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
2. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
3. British Museum.
4. Cambridge University.
5. Collins Nice Collection.
6. Grand Lodge of England.
7. Grand Lodge of Iowa.
8. Grand Lodge of Ireland.
9. Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.
10. Grand Lodge of New York.
11. Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.
12. Grand Lodge of Victoria.
13. Guildhall Library.
14. Hallamshire College, S.R.I.A.
15. Huntington Library, U.S.A.
16. John Rylands Library, Manchester.
17. Klossian Library, The Hague.
18. Lewis Edwards Collection.
19. Manchester Society for Masonic Research.
20. Marquis Collection.
21. P.G. Lodge of Jersey.
22. P.G. Lodge of Leicestershire.
23. P.G. Lodge of Worcestershire.
24. P.G. Lodge of Yorkshire (West Riding).
25. Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076.
26. Supreme Council 33°, England and Wales.
27. Wallace Heaton Collection.
28. York Lodge, No. 236.

(e) ** Believed unique.

* Extremely rare.

Rarity	Title.	Author.	Place.	Date.	Location.
*	The Pyllgrimage of Perfection	[William Bonde]	London	1526	3. 4. 15. 27
*	The Pyllgrimage of Perfection	[William Bonde]	London	1531	3. 4. 15. 27
*	A Spirituall, and most precious Pearle	Otho Wermuliers	London	1550	3. 4. Editions later
		Trans. by Miles Coverdale			2. 27. 28 (1555). 6 (1593)
**	A Booke in English metre of the great Marchaunt man called Dives Pragmaticus	—	London	1563	16
*	Horologigraphia, or the Art of Dialling	Thomas Fale	—	1593	2. 3. 4. 5. Editions later
*	Muses Threnodie	H. Adamson	Edinburgh	1638	1. 3. 27. Editions later
	Natural History of Staffordshire	Robert Plot	Oxford	1686	3. 6. 14. 17. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 27. 28
	Academie of Armoury	Randle Holme	Chester	1688	3. 5. 6. 22. 23. 25. 28
	Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary Elias Ashmole	Charles Burman	London	1717	3. 6. 17. 22. 24
*	The Old Constitutions	John Roberts	London	1722	6. 7
	An Historical Account of the Blue Blanket	Alexander Pennecuik	Edinburgh	1722	3. 6. 22. 23. 24. 25. 27. Edition later
	Long Livers	Eugenius Philalethes [Robert Samber]	London	1722	3. 6. 19. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28
*	The Freemasons; an Hudibrastic Poem	—	London	(1722)	3 (2nd edition). 6 (3rd edition)
	Elbrietatis Encomium, or the Praise of Drunkenness	Boniface Oinophilus	London	1723	3. 6. 22. 23. 25. 27. 28
*	The secret History of the Free-Masons	Sam. Briscoe	London	(1723)	3
*	The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd	—	London	1724	2. 17. 27
*	The secret History of the Free-Masons	Sam. Briscoe	London	1725	3. 17. 23. 27
*	The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd	—	London	1725	2. 14. 17
*	The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened (broadside)	—	Dublin	1725	27
*	The Freemason's Vindication (broadside)	—	(Dublin)	(1725)	2. 3
*	The Grand Mystery laid open (broadside)	—	—	1726	27
**	A Full Vindication of the Ancient and Honourable Society, etc.	—	London	1726	2
*	An Ode to the Grand Khaibar	—	London	1726	25. One copy is in private hands
	The Freemason's Accusation and Defence	—	London	1726	3. 5. 6. 17. 23. 25. 27. Editions later
*	A Speech Deliver'd . . . y's Prologue and Epilogue	[F. Drake]	York	(1727)	3. 17. 23. 24. 27. 28
**	Bl . . . ke . . . y's Prologue and Epilogue	—	—	1729	27
*	A Book of the Antient Constitutions	B. Cole	London	(1729)	6. 17. 18. 22. 23. 25. 27. 28
*	The Constitutions of the Free-Masons	J. Pennell	Dublin	1730	17. 23. 28
**	The Puerile Signs and Wonders (broadside)	—	—	1730	13
*	Masonry Dissected	S. Prichard	London	1730	9 and in private hands. Later edition 1730 "Dissected" 3. 6. 14. 26. 27. Editions later

Rarity	Title.	Author.	Place.	Date.	Location.
* ** ** **	The Perjur'd Freemason Detected A new Model for Rebuilding Masonry, etc. The Mystery and Motions of Free-Masonry discovered (broadside)	Peter Farmer —	London London London	1730 1730. 1730	3. 6 3 2
* * *	The Mystery of the Freemasons (broadside) The Antient Constitutions The Generous Free-Mason	B. Creake and B. Cole [William Rufus Chelwood] —	London London London	(1730) 1731 1731	2. 3. 27. 28 3. 6. 18. 22. 23. 24. 25. 28 3. 27
** ** * *	A Defence of Masonry Phoenix Britannicus The Constitutions of the Free-Masons A Pocket Companion for Free-Masons The Book M	J. Morgan Benjamin Franklin W. Smith W. Smith —	London London Philadelphia London Dublin Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1731 1732 1734 1735 1735 1736	6 6. 27 7. 9. 10. 11. 12. 27 For the Pocket Companions see A.Q.C., xlv., p. 165
* * * * * * * *	Ancient Masonry The Secrets of Masonry Made known to all Men Masonry further Dissected Amasis King of Egypt, a Tragedy Masonry. A Poem The Beginning and First Foundation A Serious and Impartial Enquiry The Sufferings of John Constos	Batty Langley S. P(richard) — Charles Marsh — Dodd F. D'Assigny —	London London London London Edinburgh London Dublin London and Dublin	1736 1737 1738 1738 1739 1739 1744 1746	3. 27. 28 6. 17. 22. 25. 26 3 5 27 6. 7 5. 7. 8. 24 3. 6. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27
** ** * * * * **	Brotherly Love Recommended Sermon preached in Gloucester The Constitutions of the Free-Masons The Antient Constitutions and Charges Bruin in the Suds The Rural Muse The Freemason examin'd	Rev. C. Brockwell — E. Spratt B. Cole — Alex. Nicol Alexander Slade	Boston, Mass. Gloucester Dublin London London Edinburgh London	1750 1750 1751 1751 1751 1753 1754 1st ed.	3 25 3. 6. 18. 22. 23. 25. 27. 28 6. 18. 23. 25. 27. 28 6. 27 27 23
* * * * *	The Freemason examin'd Ahiman Rezon A Discourse upon Masonry The Light and Truth of Masonry explained A Collection of Free Masons' Songs The Secrets of the Freemasons revealed	Alexander Slade Laurence Dermott George Minty Thomas Dunckerley James Callendar —	London London Dublin London Edinburgh London	1754 2nd ed. 1756 1757 1757 1758 1759	3. 22. 25 Editions later For all editions see A.Q.C., xlv., p. 239 8. 27 25. 27 3. 27 3. 17. 26. 27 Editions later

Rarity	Title.	Author.	Place.	Date.	Location.
**	A Master-Key to Free-Masonry	—	London	1760 2 eds.	26. 27 (1st ed.). 2nd edition is in private hands
*	Three distinct Knocks	—	London and Dublin	1760	6 (Dublin). 1st London edition is identified by name "Srjeant" (sic) on title page
*	Jachin and Boaz	—	London	1762	Editions later
*	A free-mason's answer	—	London	1762	18. 22. 25 Editions later
*	The Antient Constitutions and Charges	B. Cole	London	1762	3. 18. 25 Editions later
*	The Complete Freemason, or Multa Paucis	—	—	(1763) 2 eds.	23. 25
*	Hiram, or the Grand Master Key	—	London	1764	1st ed. 162 pp. 2nd ed. 176 pp.
*	A Defence of Freemasonry	—	London	1765	5. 6. 14. 17. 18. 22. 23. 24. 25. 27. 28
*	Shibboleth	—	Dublin	1765	6. 14. 18. 22. 25. 26. 27
*	Mahabone	—	London	1766	Editions later
*	Mahabone	—	London	1766	6. 17
*	The Excellency and Usefulness of Masonry	—	Dublin	1766	3. 22. 23. 25. 27 Editions later.
*	The Way to things by Words	Thomas Bagnall	London	1766	Also published in London
*	Solomon in All his Glory	John Cleland	London	1766 2 eds.	27 (1st ed.). 6. 23 (2nd ed.)
*	Select Collection of Masonic Songs	—	Dublin	1766	6. 14. 25. 27
*	Masonry the Highway to Hell	Robert Trewwman	Exeter	1767	5. 27
*	Masonry the Turnpike-Road to Happiness	—	London	1768	6. 23. 27
*	Remarks on a Sermon lately Published	—	London and Dublin	1768	3. 6. 17. 23. 24. 25. 27
*	Masonry Vindicated	John Thompson	London	1768	Editions later
*	An Answer to a Certain Pamphlet lately published	John Jackson	London	1768	6. 22. 28
*	A Candid Disquisition	Wellins Calcott	[London]	1768	3. 17. 27 Editions later
*	The Constitutions	G. Kearsly	London and Dublin	1768	3. 6. 22. 23. 27
*	Illustrations of Masonry	William Preston	London	1768	Editions later
*	A Discourse upon Masonry	George Minty	Dublin	1772	3. 22
*	Fraternal Melody	Will. Riley	London	1772	6
*	An Introduction to Free-masonry	W. Meeson	Birmingham	2nd ed. 1773	Location unknown
*	The Spirit of Masonry	William Hutchinson	London	1775	3. 6. 17. 19. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27
				1775	6. 18. 22. 23. 25
				1772	6. 14. 17. 20. 22. 23. 24. 25. 27
				1772	Editions later
				2nd ed.	5
				1773	6. 27
				1775	3. 6. 17. 18. 23. 25
				1775	Editions later
				1775	3. 6. 14. 17. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27

Rarity	Title.	Author.	Place.	Date.	Location.
*	An Oration The Freemason's Companion	William Dodd T. Angus	London Newcastle- upon-Tyne	1776 1777	14. 17. 18. 23. 25. 27. 28 23. 25
*	Tubal-Kain	—	London and Dublin	(1777)	6. 22. 25. 27
*	A Discourse upon Masonry	George Minty	Dublin	(1778)	22. 25
*	A New Select Collection of Masonic Songs	J. Rule	Poole	(1778)	6
*	The Elements of Freemasonry delineated	William Moore	Kingston, Jamaica	1782	19
*	Brief History of Freemasons	Thomas Johnson	London	1782	14. 22
*	The Use and Abuse of Free-Masonry	Capt. George Smith	London	1783	3. 6. 17. 19. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28
*	Brief History of Freemasons	Thomas Johnson	London	1784	6. 17. 25
	The Principles and Practice of Masonry	—	—	1786	6. 14. 23. 25. 27. 28
	The Freemason's Repository	[J. Sketchley]	Birmingham	(1786)	3. 6. 17. 18. 22. 25 Editions later
*	The Elements of Free-Masonry Delineated	R. Ray	Liverpool	1788	6. 14. 25. 27
*	The Institutes of Free-Masonry	John Turnough	Liverpool	1788	3. 6. 17. 23. 25. 26. 27. 28
*	Sublime Friendship Delineated	John Donovan	Cork	1789	8
*	The Philosophy of masons	[Thomas Marryat]	London	1790	6. 18. 27
*	The Principles and Practice of Masonry	—	—	(1793)	22. 27
*	The Free-Mason's Pocket Companion or Elements of Free-Masonry Delineated	Samuel Green	New London, Conn.	1794	11
	The Spirit of Masonry	William Hutchinson	Carlisle	1795	3. 6. 14. 17. 19. 26. 27 Editions later
	Masonic Miscellanies	Stephen Jones	London	1797	3. 6. 22. 23. 25. 26. 27 Editions later
	Masonic Museum	J. Roach and John Cole	London	1799	22. 23. 25. 28 Editions later
	Discourses	Thaddeus Harris	Charlestown, Va.	1801	26. 27
*	Orations Masonic Melodies	Dr. Fred. Dalcho Luke Eastmann	Dublin Boston, Mass.	1808 1818	3. 6. 12. 21. 22. 23. 25. 26. 27. 28 27 Editions later
*	The Cat out of the bag!	Runt and Pitcher	London	1824- 1825	Published in four parts 3. 25 (part 2 only)

At the subsequent banquet, W.Bro. S. J. FENTON, I.P.M., proposed the Toast of the Worshipful Master " in the following terms:—

It is my privilege and pleasure to propose the toast of our newly installed Master, W.Bro. *Major* Cecil Clare Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, *P.G.D.*, and ask you to join me in wishing him a happy year of office.

Today's ceremony has been unique, because on the occasion of my own Installation a year ago W.Bro. Adams (acting as installing master on behalf of W.Bro. Golby), installed me in the chair of this Lodge, and I appointed him Senior Warden. It has therefore been a privilege to "get my own back" and in a brotherly way "give him as good as I got." We all wish him a prosperous and successful year for the Lodge. During my period in the Chair the Lodge has had a disastrous time—the death of our beloved Secretary, Bro. Vibert, and of our Treasurer, Bro. Songhurst, and then the Declaration of War. But our success has been in the general support of the members.

During his year of Mastership we hope our Worshipful Master, despite his Military duties, will be able to carry on his Masonic duties; and, as you will appreciate from the following particulars, he has many.

Bro. Adams was educated at Winchester College, and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich; and was gazetted 2nd Lieutenant, Royal Engineers, 1910.

He served in France and Belgium during the last war, was awarded the Military Cross, and was mentioned twice in despatches. He retired as a Major in 1926, but has now been called up from the Regular Army Reserve of Officers, and is Deputy Assistant Adjutant General for Royal Engineers at the War Office.

He is an Officer of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; and a Liveryman of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

Bro. Adams was initiated into Freemasonry on 8th March, 1912, four days after his 21st birthday, in Pentangle Lodge No. 1174. He is a Past Master of Pentangle Lodge No. 1174; of Mid-Kent Masters' Lodge; and of Connaught Army and Navy Lodge, No. 4323. He belongs also to the Grand Stewards Lodge, Lodge of Antiquity, and the Old Wykehamist Lodge No. 3548. He joined the Correspondence Circle of Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1913, and was elected a member of Q.C. Lodge in 1933.

He holds the rank of P.Prov.G.W., Suffolk, and P.Prov.G.W., Kent.

In 1926 he was appointed Deputy Grand Sword Bearer and in 1932 promoted to Past Grand Deacon. In 1938 he was a Grand Steward.

For the past twelve years he has been Secretary of the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution.

In the Royal Arch he is P.Z., Pentangle Chapter No. 1174, and of Connaught Army and Navy Chapter No. 4323; and P.Prov.G.Sc.N., Kent.

In 1926 he became Deputy Grand Sword Bearer, and in 1932 Past Assistant Grand Sojourner.

In the A. & A. Rite he holds the 33°.

He has attained to Grand Rank in all Masonic branches—Mark—Past Grand Overseer; Knight Templar—Past Grand Registrar; Cryptic—Past Grand Principal Conductor of the Work; Red Cross of Constantine—Past Grand General; Allied Degrees—Past Grand Warden; R.A. Knight Templar Priest—Past Grand VI. Pillar; Secret Monitor—Past Grand Visitor; S.R.I.A.—9th grade and Treasurer-General; Order of Eri—G.C.E.

He is a member of also the Baldwin Rite; the Royal Order of Scotland; the Order of Light; and is A.A.O.N. of the Mystic Shrine.

Bro. Adams' Masonic Papers, given at this Lodge and published in our *Transactions*, have been the following, and are looked upon as valuable from a student's point of view:—*The Freemasons' Pocket Companion of the 18th Cent.*, *Eighteenth Century Handbooks*, *Ahiman Rezon*. Also Bro. Adams was for three years Editor of *Masonic Notes* during the period when *Miscellanea Latomorum* was in abeyance.

Brethren, by a unanimous vote, we have elected Bro. Adams to be our Master—and, at a time like this, we could not have made a better choice. His Military reputation proves him to be a leader of men, and his Masonic record shows that he is a leader and educator of Masons. These qualifications entitle him to our respect, and I therefore ask you to join me in drinking to the health and happiness of W.Bro. Adams, the present Master of our Lodge.



OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren :—

Charles Horton Bestow, *F.R.M.S.*, of London, N., on 27th August, 1939. Bro. Bestow held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1894.

William Suddaby Cooper, *B.Sc.*, of Hull, on 17th July, 1939. Bro. Cooper held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.St.B. (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919.

Henry William Bland Cotterill, *M.Inst.C.E.*, of Cardiff, on 21st August, 1939. Bro. Cotterill held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1928.

Philip Wilberforce Diack, of South Shields, in September, 1939. Bro. Diack was a member of John Redhead Lodge No. 3217, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1913.

William Dickinson, of Leamington Spa, in July, 1939. Bro. Dickinson held the rank of P.Pr.G.Sup.W., Surrey, and was a member of Weyside Chapter No. 1395. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1898.

G. Albert Harris, of Gidea Park, Essex, on 30th September, 1939. Bro. Harris held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1907.

William Henry Hope, of Sunderland, on 22nd July, 1939. Bro. Hope held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1924.

Albert Jennings, *M.I.M.E.*, of Darlington, in 1939. Bro. Jennings was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1926.

Henry Leslie Granham Leask, *M.D., J.P.*, of Glasgow, on 23rd September, 1919. Bro. Leask was P.M. of Lodge No. 753. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1919.

Thomas Logan, of Glasgow, on 3rd September, 1939. Bro. Logan was a member of Lodge No. 3 bis. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

Lieut.-Col. **William Nesbit Ponton**, *M.A., K.C.*, of Belleville, Ontario, on 6th September, 1939, aged 84. Bro. Ponton had held office as Grand Master. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1906.

Johannes Gerardus Maria Rietbergen, of Copenhagen, in 1939. Bro. Rietbergen was a member of Christian Lodge. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1914.

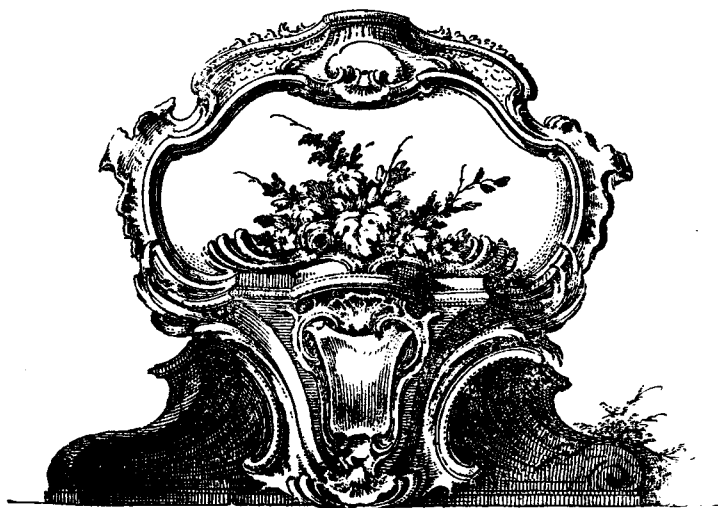
William Scott, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, on 2nd August, 1939. Bro. Scott was P.M. of Cleveland Lodge No. 543 and P.Z. of Dundas Chapter No. 543. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1924.

Rev. **William Solly**, *M.A.*, of West Bromwich, on 11th September, 1939. Bro. Solly held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Chaplain and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He has been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1915.

John William Stevens, *F.S.I.*, of London, E.C., on 1st November, 1939. Bro. Stevens held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1891.

Alfred Henry Summers, *M.A.*, of Portsmouth, in November, 1939. Bro. Summers held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1929.

Lieut.-Col. **Jacob Hugo Tatsch**, of Boston, Mass., U.S.A., on 18th July, 1939, in London while replying to a Toast. Bro. Tatsch held the rank of Past Grand Deacon (Wash.), and Past Grand Orator (Wash.). For many years he acted as Local Representative for us in the U.S.A. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1912.



ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1939:—

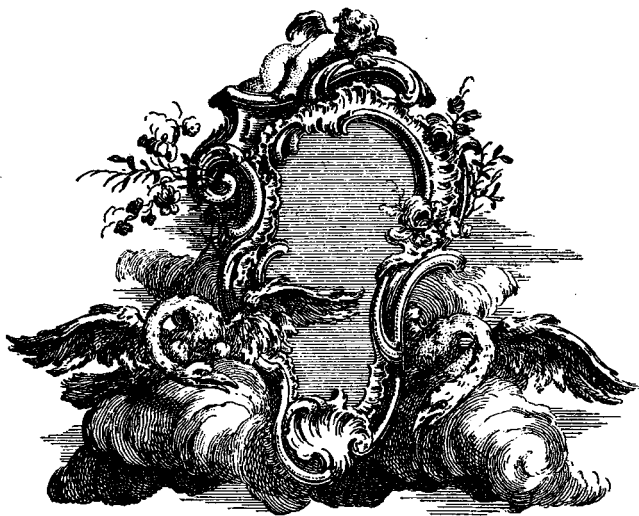
LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Lodge Lakimpur No. 3127, Dibrugarh, Assam; Lodge Jamrud No. 4372, Peshawar, India; St. Claudius Lodge No. 21, Paris; St. Martin's-le-Grand Lodge of Instruction No. 1538, London; King Egbert Lodge of Instruction No. 4288, Dore, Sheffield; Wigan & District

Masonic Study Circle, Wigan.

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