

→* 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.

VOLUME LIII. PART 1.

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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 Antigrapha*, 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.

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,
BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,
No. 2076.

VOLUME LIII.

FRIDAY, 5th JANUARY, 1940.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4 p.m. Present:—Bros. A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M., as W.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., as S.W.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., J.W.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; David Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., P.M.; and F. R. Radice.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Arthur Saywell, P.A.G.D.C.; C. Littler Smith; C. F. Waddington; F. A. Greene; A. W. R. Kendrick; Robt. A. Card; F. S. R. Munn; F. Costin Taylor; L. G. Wearing; T. North, P.G.D.; S. J. Humphries; *Capt.* F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.S.B.; John Lawrance, P.G.St.B.; A. W. Lane, P.G.St.B.; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; *Lt.-Col.* G. I. Davys, P.G.D.; *Commndr.* S. N. Smith, R.N.; A. F. Cross; J. C. Vidler; E. W. Marson; S. W. Freeborn; A. Chichele Rixon; *Capt.* A. Gault-MacGowan; H. G. Ridge; G. C. Williams; C. L. Greenhill; F. E. Barber; W. R. Peterson; F. K. Jewson; S. M. Catterson; J. Rait Bell; S. J. H. Prynne; H. W. Martin; A. F. Ford; J. J. Cooper; and *Capt.* R. Henderson-Bland.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. J. F. Ansell, W.M., and Geo. F. Ansell, Temple Fortune Lodge No. 4378; C. D. Rotch, P.M., Antiquity Lodge No. 2; and S. C. Grace, P.M., Athlumney Lodge No. 3245.

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., B.L., P.G.D, Ireland, P.M.Treas.; *Rev.* Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.; B. Telepneff; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, S.D.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton,

P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, I.P.M.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., W.M.; B. Ivanoff, S.W.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derbys.; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., J.D.; H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; and G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.

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

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 5th, 1940.

Present:—Bro. A. C. Powell, in the Chair, with Bros. J. Heron Lepper, Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, Rev. H. Poole, D. Flather, Douglas Knoop, Lewis Edwards, F. M. Rickard, F. R. Radice, and Bro. R. N. 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 1939.

BRETHREN,

Masonry in general and this Lodge in particular have reason deeply to mourn the loss of Bro. W. J. Songhurst, Secretary from 1906 to 1928 and Master in 1934, and of Bro. Lionel Vibert, Master in 1921 and Secretary from 1928 to 1938, both of whom, though not Founders, to a very considerable extent made and moulded the Lodge for a generation. We mourn also the loss of Bro. George Elkington, Master in 1937, who represented both the Operative and Speculative sides of the Craft. Bros. G. Y. Johnson and F. R. Radice have been elected full members, and the total membership is now 23.

We regret to record a large number of resignations, partly in consequence of the war.

The higher subscription having now been in force for two years, the accounts show that the change was justified; and it has proved possible to commence bringing the *Transactions* up to date. We have issued during the past year Part ii. of Vol. xlviii., and the whole of Vol. xlix; and Vol. l. is well in hand. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge, approximately £1,200 remains in reserve for each of Vols. l., li., lii. Subscriptions amounting to £879 are still outstanding.

A brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the year has been drawn up for record, but owing to the increased cost in printing has not been circulated generally as in former years.

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

During the past year a new district covering Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika was formed and Bro. *Major* W. B. Brook has kindly undertaken the work as Local Secretary. We are sorry to report the deaths of Bro. *Lt.-Col.* J. H. Tatsch, who for many years was Local Secretary-General for the U.S.A.; and of Bro. C. Maple-Polmear, of Johannesburg, and Bro. H. S. See, of Rhode Island. Bro. Frank S. McKee is now Local Secretary in British Columbia, succeeding Bro. *Dr.* W. A. De Wolf Smith, who resigned after 30 years' service; Bro. T. W. Mellows succeeds Bro. F. T. Mager in Northants. and Hunts.; Bro. T. Baldwin succeeds Bro. R. H. Russel in W. Sussex; Bro. S. Pope succeeds Bro. *Dr.* J. A. Topham in E. Kent; and Bro. R. E. Parkinson succeeds Bro. W. Jenkinson for the district of N. Ireland. Bros. W. R. Farmer, in S. China; R. S. Taylor, Stirlingshire; and G. B. Brook, of Argyll and the Isles, have resigned and the vacancies have yet to be filled.

For the Committee,

A. C. POWELL,

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1939.

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
Cash in Hand		800	4 4	Lodge		34	18 6
Lodge		68	9 9	Salaries, Rent, Rates and			
Subscriptions		1996	19 10	Taxes		737	1 3
Cash in Advance for Sub-				Lighting, Heating, Telephone,			
scriptions and unappro-				Cleaning, Insurance, Car-			
priated		65	8 6	riage and Sundries		139	12 9
Medals		12	1 6	Printing, Stationery, etc. ...		1299	17 0
Binding		51	12 0	Medals		9	18 0
Sundry Publications		88	5 6	Binding		42	18 10
Interest and Discount ...		51	11 11	Sundry Publications		40	16 8
Publication Fund		19	4 0	Library		4	15 3
				Local Expenses		5	2 3
				Postages		232	1 9
				Cash at Bank		606	15 1
		£3153	17 4			£3153	17 4

PURE ANTIENT MASONRY.

BY BRO. DOUGLAS KNOOP, M.A.

THE DECLARATION OF THE ACT OF UNION, 1813.

1. By the solemn Act of Union between the two Grand Lodges of Free-Masons of England¹ in December, 1813, it was "declared and pronounced that pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more, viz., those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch."

(*Book of Constitutions.*)



THIS declaration, which bears so closely on the problem of the origin of masonic degrees in general, and of the Royal Arch in particular, was treated by most masonic historians in the nineteenth century, at least so far as the Royal Arch was concerned, not as a statement of an historical fact, but as a mythical claim, not to be taken seriously. Thus the German masonic historian, Kloss, fixed the date of the introduction of the Royal Arch into England as 1744²; his fellow countryman, Findel, writing a little later, stated that the degree was not known or practised in England until the middle of the eighteenth century.³ Hughan claimed that it originated about 1740⁴; Gould and Sadler held similar views.⁵ Gould, like Kloss and Findel, ascribed a continental origin to the Royal Arch,⁶ whereas Hughan distinguished between the *English* Royal Arch and the *continental* Royal Arch.⁷ In what concerns its relation to Pure Antient Masonry, Hughan and Gould appear to have been of one opinion. The former implies that it was an "extra degree,"⁸ the latter states quite definitely that the Royal Arch was the first of the "additional degrees" extraneous to the system of "Pure and Antient Freemasonry."⁹ Findel appears to have held much the same view.¹⁰

Though the weight of nineteenth-century masonic opinion was strongly against the claim of the Royal Arch to be part of Pure Antient Masonry, nevertheless there were contemporary writers who held a different view. A. F. A. Woodford, for example, writing in 1878, stated that the Royal Arch was "entirely indigenous and of ancient existence amongst us,"¹¹ and elsewhere¹² he claimed to have numismatic evidence to show that the second part of the

¹ The premier Grand Lodge (or that of the "Moderns"), established in 1717, and the Atholl Grand Lodge (or that of the "Antients"), established in 1751.

² J. G. Findel, *History of Freemasonry* (2nd ed., 1869), 133.

³ *ibid.*, 184.

⁴ W. J. Hughan, *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry* (2nd ed., 1909), 79, 80. He first enunciated the view in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, 1867-8.

⁵ R. F. Gould, *History of Freemasonry* (1885), ii., 457-8; H. Sadler, *Masonic Facts and Fictions* (1887), 165.

⁶ Findel, 182, 183; Gould, ii., 457.

⁷ Hughan, 83.

⁸ *ibid.*, 73.

⁹ Gould, *Concise History of Freemasonry* (1920), 235.

¹⁰ Findel, 186 n.

¹¹ In *Kenning's Cyclopædia of Freemasonry*, 585.

¹² In the *Freemasons' Magazine*, December, 1867, quoted in Hughan, 80.

Third Degree (which he took to be substantially the Royal Arch),¹ was coeval with the operative lodge of York Masons, and certainly dated from the fifteenth century. According to Hughan² the numismatic evidence had not been traced; but in any case, in my opinion, the appearance on an old medal of a symbol or word now associated with the Royal Arch would not prove that the degree existed when the medal was struck.

A new and more analytical approach to the problem of the origin of the Royal Arch, and of the conditions under which it took shape, has been made by twentieth-century masonic students. The late W. J. Songhurst was a leading exponent of this school. So far as I am aware, he never set down in writing a comprehensive survey of the problem, but contented himself with expressing his views on particular points in comments on papers read before the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. Probably his fullest statement on the subject was contained among his comments on J. E. S. Tuckett's paper, "The Origin of Additional Degrees," read at that Lodge in January, 1919. The statement³ was as follows:

With the knowledge that (*a*) the Royal Arch was known to and worked by the Antients in 1756, and inferentially from their establishment as a governing body in 1751; and (*b*) that the Antients derived their work from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, founded in or before 1725; and with the belief that (*c*) the Grand Lodge of Ireland derived its work from the premier Grand Lodge in London; we seem to have a chain of evidence tending to show that this premier Grand Lodge of 1717 had at its inception some knowledge which was subsequently lost, at all events in its Lodges generally.

In the light of this and other comments of his, as well as of observations made from time to time by other masonic students,⁴ there appears to be ample ground for re-examining the whole problem of the origin of the Craft Degrees and the Royal Arch. This is all the more necessary, because a good deal of new information concerning the Mason Word and pre-Grand Lodge masonic conditions has been discovered since 1926, when the last of the comments or observations in question was made.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE DECLARATION

In order to make clear the nature of the problem with which we are concerned, I propose to examine the implications of the declaration in the Act of Union of 1813, regarding Pure Antient Masonry. For the moment, it will be best to leave aside the Royal Arch, and to consider Craft Masonry alone. If Pure Antient Masonry means a system of masonry in which the three distinct degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason can be shown to have existed, even in their most rudimentary forms, it would probably not be safe to fix a date prior to 1723 or 1725 for the origin of Pure Antient Masonry. In that case, the premier Grand Lodge, during the first six or eight years of its existence, did not practise Pure Antient Masonry, a conclusion which I, personally, am not prepared to accept. If, on the other hand, Pure Antient Masonry means the system of masonry practised by the premier Grand Lodge at its foundation 1717, and by its subordinate Lodges at that time, then it is

¹ Other nineteenth century masonic writers, such as Whytehead, Mackey, and Oliver, believed, like Woodford, that the Royal Arch was originally part of the Master's Degree, but without claiming any great antiquity for it (Hughan, 80, 81). Whytehead based his opinion on certain words and symbols found on the oldest tracing boards, which date from about 1745. The relation of the Royal Arch to the Third Degree is discussed below.

² Hughan, 80.

³ *A.Q.C.*, xxxii. (1919), 34-5.

⁴ E.g., W. Wonnacott (*A.Q.C.*, xxx., 211); Gordon Hills (*A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 32, 33); R. H. Baxter (*A.Q.C.*, xxxi., 33-40); J. H. Lepper (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 28, and xxxix., 148); and H. Poole (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 4-27).

highly probable that it did not consist of the three distinct degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason.¹ To my mind, the only way to reconcile the two statements—

- (i) that the three degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason are all part of Pure Antient Masonry, and
- (ii) that Grand Lodge has practised Pure Antient Masonry from its foundation in 1717,

is to ignore the First, Second and Third Degree ceremonies as we know them to-day, and to think instead of the esoteric knowledge and legends out of which those three ceremonies are built up. The probability is that much of the esoteric knowledge now imparted in the three ceremonies was communicated to "accepted" masons² in 1717, as also at an earlier date, either in *one* ceremony, or in *two*. Once it is recognized that Pure Antient Masonry cannot be identified with the practice of the three degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason, but that it must be identified with the esoteric knowledge associated with those three Degrees, without reference to its presentation in one, two, or three instalments, then the claim of the Royal Arch to be part of Pure Antient Masonry must be examined in that light. It is not a case of looking for a ceremony such as we now know, or even of tracing the use of the name "Royal Arch" in 1717, but of considering whether the principal esoteric knowledge associated with the Supreme Order can be shown to have existed in Masonry at the time of the foundation of Grand Lodge. If that can be shown to have been the case, then the Royal Arch can claim to be part of Pure Antient Masonry with as much justification as the Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason degrees.

RELATIVE AGE OF ESOTERIC KNOWLEDGE AND OF LEGENDS.

In referring to such parts of the Craft degrees and of the Royal Arch as may have existed in 1717, I have laid stress on the *esoteric knowledge* associated with those ceremonies. I have done so quite deliberately, knowing that I hereby run counter to views expressed by various masonic students, who attach great weight to the *legends*. Thus Chetwode Crawley states in one place³ that "we cannot conceive of the [Third] Degree without its Legend"; and in another⁴ that "the Royal Arch . . . is not a separate entity, but the completing part of a Masonic legend". When endeavouring to trace the development of the Mason Word in my Prestonian Lecture,⁵ I felt obliged, in the light of the available information, to conclude that the Five Points of Fellowship and the esoteric knowledge which we now associate with the Third Degree were considerably older than the Third Degree legend.⁶ In the course of this paper I shall give my reasons for suggesting that the esoteric knowledge associated with the Royal Arch is considerably older than the Royal Arch legend.

There can, in my opinion, be no doubt that the survey of the history of building from the earliest times to the traditional establishment of the mason's craft in England, commonly referred to as the Craft legend, was first set down in writing in the fourteenth century.⁷ That, however, does not neces-

¹ It is possible that in some parts of the country three distinct degrees existed before 1717, but there is no evidence of a trigradal system in London (where the original subordinate lodges of Grand Lodge met) until several years after 1717. The subject is discussed on page 27 below.

² For *accepted*, see note 2 on page 22 below.

³ *A.Q.C.*, x. (1897), 141.

⁴ *Caementaria Hibernica*, i. ["The Irish Constitutions"].

⁵ All references to my Prestonian Lecture on the Mason Word are from Knoop and Jones, *The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word* (Manchester University Press, 1939), where the Lecture is printed unaltered from the type of a pamphlet issued for private circulation in the spring of 1938.

⁶ *The Scottish Mason*, 103.

⁷ Knoop, Jones and Hamer, *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, 3 folg.

sarily imply a belief in the antiquity of the particular legends associated with the Third Degree and the Royal Arch, such as Tuckett apparently had when he wrote

that before 1717 Freemasonry possessed a Store of Legend, Tradition and Symbolism of wide extent. That from 1717 the Grand Lodge, *selecting a portion* only of this Store, gradually evolved a Rite consisting of E.A., F.C., M.M. and R.A.¹

In general, I do not agree with the part assigned by Tuckett to Grand Lodge in the evolution of the Craft and Royal Arch ceremonies, but in particular I wish to emphasize here that if we accept the surviving versions of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* (or Old Charges) and of the MS. *Catechisms of Masonry*, written before 1717,² as the repositories of such legends and traditions of masonry as existed in 1717 (and there is no other source of information so far as I am aware), then by no *process of selection* could the legends now associated with the Third Degree and the Royal Arch have been evolved, because no trace of either legend can be found in any *Catechism*, or in any version of the Old Charges, which had made its appearance by 1717.³

That part of Tuckett's statement which relates to symbolism must also, in my opinion, be regarded with caution, as there is little or no trace of symbolism in any masonic catechism, or in any version of the Old Charges, written before 1717. His statement might otherwise encourage attempts to read into early freemasonry ideas which only became associated with the Craft at a much later date.⁴

NATURE OF MASONIC RITUAL AND CEREMONIES BEFORE c. 1717.

The nature of masonic ritual and ceremonies before 1717, or even before 1723 or 1730, is a matter of considerable uncertainty.⁵ In approaching this problem, four essential points must be borne in mind. (1) Masonic working has not a single, but a twofold origin. (2) Masonic working probably varied from generation to generation; it was in a continuous process of evolution, some of the stages of which can be followed with more or less certainty, some by inference only, and yet others probably completely escape our notice for want of even such meagre evidence as might serve as a faint indication of particular lines of development. Consequently, it is impossible to reconstruct *one* pre-1717 ritual: it is rather a case of attempting to trace some of the main changes which took place in the course of two or three hundred years prior to the early eighteenth century. (3) Masonic working probably varied from place to place; there was no such thing as a standard working. The most fundamental differences were undoubtedly those which existed between English and Scottish practices. (4) There are some grounds for thinking that in England operative working and early speculative working may have been different. I propose to examine these four points in some detail.

¹ A.Q.C., xxxii., 5.

² For some account of the MS. *Constitutions* and MS. *Catechisms*, see pp. 8 and 9 below. The earliest known *printed* version of the MS. *Constitutions* (the Roberts) dates from 1722, and of the MS. *Catechisms* (A *Mason's Examination*) from 1723.

³ The earliest references in the MS. *Constitutions* to Hiram Abif, as well as to the building of the Second Temple, occur in those versions which belong to the Spencer family, dating from 1725 or 1726. (H. Poole, *Two Versions of the Old Charges, with an Introductory Note on the Spencer Family*, Q.C. Pamphlet No. 2.) Neither of these earliest references, however, has any bearing on the central features of the Third Degree and Royal Arch legends.

⁴ Cf. Speth, A.Q.C., vii., 173, 174; Dring, A.Q.C., xxiv., 237.

⁵ See E. L. Hawkins, "The Evolution of Masonic Ritual" [A.Q.C., xxvi. (1913)], and H. Poole, "Masonic Ritual and Secrets before 1717" [A.Q.C., xxxvii. (1924)], for endeavours to reconstruct pre-1717 masonic working.

1. TWOFOLD ORIGIN OF MASONIC CEREMONIES.

England and Scotland have both made contributions to the development of present-day Masonic ceremonies. From English sources we have that large group of documents generally called the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* or the Old Charges.¹ These nearly all contain the same two main elements, namely, (i.) the history of the building industry (*i.e.*, the Legend), and (ii.) the regulations to be obeyed by masters, fellows, and apprentices (*i.e.*, the Charges). Although the Old Charges would appear to be the forbears of the *Book of Constitutions*, rather than of our ritual, they almost certainly played their part in any ceremony of admission, and the differences between the versions are important for the study of masonry in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, and of the connection between it and mediæval masonry. The whole idea of introducing a Legend or Traditional History into our ritual would seem to be of English origin, though the particular legends associated nowadays with the Third Degree and the Royal Arch cannot be traced back to seventeenth century or earlier versions of the Old Charges. Furthermore, certain portions of the charge given to the initiate, and of the explanation of the Second Tracing Board, clearly reflect the influence of the Old Charges, as do a few of the phrases which occur in our ritual.

From Scottish sources, or at least from sources with marked Scottish characteristics, we have the few surviving documents best described as the MS. *Catechisms of Masonry*.² The catechisms contain two main elements, (i.) a series of questions and answers to test persons claiming to be masons, and (ii.) instructions for giving the Mason Word. In addition, the *Graham MS.* contains a legendary history, bearing little resemblance to that in the Old Charges, in the form of rather long answers to a number of questions, thus serving as a model in form, though not in matter, for the masonic "lectures" of a later period. Our existing system of test questions and answers for candidates, as also the nucleus of the present Craft ceremonies, can clearly be traced back to the somewhat crude usages and phrases associated before the end of the seventeenth century, and probably considerably earlier, with the giving of the Mason Word, as portrayed in the MS. *Catechisms of Masonry*.

Most of our information concerning early masonic ceremonies is derived from (i.) the MS. *Constitutions* and (ii.) the MS. *Catechisms*. Many of the former, at the end of the History, contain an Instruction, usually in Latin, that the person to be made a mason should lay his hand on the Book (= the Bible), held by one of the oldest masons, while the Charges were read out, the Charges being introduced by an Exhortation that every mason should take heed of the Charges which he has sworn to keep.³ There was, however, nothing peculiar to masons in this respect; a similar procedure was adopted in the Middle Ages by various guilds, which required newcomers to swear to observe the Guild Ordinances.⁴ As the Instruction, when in English in more than one version begins: "Then shall one of the elders . . .", or words to that effect, the presumption is that the History (introduced by the Opening Prayer or Invocation) had previously been read to the candidates. The ceremony depicted in the MS. *Catechisms* is entirely different. The candidate had first to take an oath of secrecy, in which he swore not to reveal by word or writing any

¹ Of the hundred known versions, ten, located in Scotland (to which further reference is made below), are almost certainly copies of English originals. To these, in one or two cases, new regulations have been added. For a general account of the MS. *Constitutions* and their problems, see H. Poole, *The Old Charges*.

² For some account of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* (1696), the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* (c. 1700), the *Sloane MS.* 3329 (c. 1700), the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* (1711), and the *Graham MS.* (1726), see my *Prestonian Lecture on The Mason Word*.

³ A parallel case occurred at York Minster, where the masons had to swear "upon ye boke" to keep the ordinances laid down by the Cathedral Chapter in 1370 (Raine, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, 182).

⁴ Cf. Toulmin Smith, *English Guilds* (*E.F.T.S.*, xl.), 159, 188, 316.

part of what he should see or hear, nor to draw it with the point of a sword, or any other instrument, upon the snow or sand. He then went out with the youngest mason, from whom he learnt the sign, the postures, and the words of entry. On returning, he said the words of entry and was apparently given the word by the Master.¹ It is also not unlikely that the test questions² were asked by the Master and answered by one or more of the members present, for the instruction of the candidate.

So far as is known, the first type of ceremony, namely, that depicted in the MS. *Constitutions*, consisting mainly in the reading of the Old Charges, was originally practised in England, whereas the second type of ceremony, namely, that depicted in the MS. *Catechisms*, consisting mainly in imparting the Mason Word, was originally practised in Scotland. By the second half of the seventeenth century, however, if not before, the two types of ceremony appear to have been more or less combined in Scotland. Thus, in the operative Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670, the Entered Apprentice, in addition to receiving the Mason Word at his entry, had read to him the "Mason Charter,"³ which was the version of the Old Charges now described as the *Aberdeen MS.* As the Lodges at Aitchison's Haven, Kilwinning, Melrose, Stirling and Dumfries all possessed versions of the MS. *Constitutions*, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century,⁴ it is likely that the Aberdeen practice was fairly general in Scotland at that period.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF MASONIC CEREMONIES.

Early masonic ceremonies being mainly derived from the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* and from the formalities concerning the communication of the Mason Word, as embodied in the MS. *Catechisms of Masonry*, it necessarily follows that the evolution of the ceremonies is closely connected with the development of these two sources.

1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE MS. "CONSTITUTIONS OF MASONRY."

Between the late fourteenth and the early eighteenth centuries the MS. *Constitutions* underwent various changes and modifications, which can best be summarized under three heads: (a) changes in the Regulations, (b) changes in the History, (c) changes in form.

(a) *Changes in the Regulations.* The Regulations, relating to various trade matters, are to be regarded as statements of the masons' "customs," those old-established, but by no means unchanging, usages which governed the masons' trade.⁵ These customs corresponded to those of the leadminers and the tinminers,⁶ two other occupations carried on largely outside the towns, and consequently difficult to bring under municipal or guild control. At first, the masons' customs were probably transmitted orally; occasional reference to a particular custom is found in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries⁷

¹ *The Scottish Mason*, 84-6.

² *ibid.*, 82-4.

³ A. L. Miller. *Notes on the Early History and Records of the Lodge, Aberdeen*, 21.

⁴ Poole, *Old Charges*, 15-17.

⁵ In 1539, according to the Sandgate Castle Building Account (B.M. Harl. MS., 1647, f. 109), a jurat of Folkestone was paid his expenses while riding to communicate with the master controller "concerning the use and custom of freemasons and hardhewers."

⁶ For those of the leadminers, see *The Liberty and Customs of the Miners* (1645), 1-3; for those of the Cornish tinminers, see *The Black Prince's Register*, iii., 71-3.

⁷ The building account of Vale Royal Abbey (P.R.O., *Exch. K.R.*, 485/22) shows that a sum of 10s. was paid in July, 1278, to eleven masons carrying their tools with them "because it is the custom that their tools, if they bring any, shall be bought." The accounts for work done at Nottingham Castle in 1348 (P.R.O., *Exch. K.R.*, 544/35) explain that one feast day in the week was not counted towards wages, *ex antiqua consuetudine*.

but the customs in their entirety were probably not set down in writing until the second half of the fourteenth century. These Regulations have come down to us in four distinct forms, which may be set out chronologically as follows:—

(i) As given in the Articles and Points of the *Cooke MS.*¹ (c. 1400). They were probably taken bodily from a document dating from the third or fourth quarter of the fourteenth century. The references to wages varying with the cost of victuals, and to a seven years' apprenticeship, suggest a date in the second half of the fourteenth century.²

(ii) As given in the Articles and Points of the *Regius MS.* (c. 1390). Although the MS. itself is older than the *Cooke*, the Regulations appear to be later; they represent a revision and amplification of the *Cooke* regulations. In the main, the regulations as they occur in the *Cooke* and *Regius MSS.* are very similar, but the latter have certain new provisions, e.g., the prohibition of night work, and the warning of craftsmen before noon if their services should no longer be required.

(iii.) As given in the Charges General and Singular of the *William Watson, Thomas W. Tew and Henery Heude MSS.*³ These MSS. date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, but their Charges are probably based on a late fifteenth or early sixteenth century document, and possess more affinity to the Articles and Points of the *Regius MS.* than do those in the remaining modern versions. Thus the provisions in the *Regius MS.* regarding holidays, serving as warden, being a mediator between master and fellows, acting as steward, and helping a fellow who is less skilful, are also found in these three MSS., but they are not found in the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.*⁴ of 1583, or in any other seventeenth or eighteenth century version.

(iv.) As given in the Charges General and Singular of the remaining modern versions of the MS. *Constitutions.* These new Regulations differ from those in the *Cooke* and *Regius MSS.* not merely by the omission of many provisions, such as those concerning the fixing of the apprentice's wages, the substitution of a more perfect for a less perfect craftsman, the prohibition of night work, and the fixing of wages according to the cost of victuals, but also by the addition of various fresh provisions, of which the most striking is one allowing fellows, as well as masters, to take apprentices.

(b) *Changes in the History.* That part of the MS. *Constitutions* which is nowadays described as the legendary account of the origin of the building industry is really a mediaeval version of the history of the industry, based on the materials then available, and written in the same manner as that in which the history of other institutions was written in the Middle Ages. Just as in modern times the histories of countries and of their institutions are re-written or revised, from time to time, in the light of new material, and from new standpoints, so the history of masonry was re-written and revised on more than one occasion in the Middle Ages and early modern times. How often that happened is unknown, but the history has come down to us in five main forms, apart from the version prepared by Dr. James Anderson for *The Constitutions of the Freemasons* early in the eighteenth century⁵:—

¹ This, together with the *Regius MS.*, is printed in Knoop, Jones and Hamer, *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*

² *ibid.*, 21.

³ The *Watson* and *Tew MSS.* are printed in Poole and Worts, "Yorkshire" *Old Charges of Masons*; the *Heude MS.* in A.Q.C., xxi.

⁴ Printed in Q.C.A., iv., and in Sadler, *Masonic Facts and Fictions.*

⁵ According to Anderson himself (*The New Book of Constitutions*, 1738, p. 113), Grand Lodge in 1721, finding fault with all copies of the Gothic Constitutions, ordered Anderson "to digest the same in a new and better Method." Actually, Anderson partly digested and partly amplified the History. I have used the facsimile reproduction of *The Constitutions of Freemasons*, 1723, published by Quaritch, and the facsimile reproduction of *The New Book of Constitutions*, 1738, in Q.C.A., vii.

(i.) As it appears in the *Regius MS.*, II., 1-86, and in the *Cooke MS.*, II., 643-726. These texts are descended from a common ancestor, which was probably in existence by c. 1360. According to this version, which may be styled the Old Short History, and can be regarded as the ancestor, or common original, of all surviving versions, geometry (= masonry) was founded by Euclid in Egypt, and came to England in the reign of Athelstan, who ordained congregations and articles.

(ii.) As it appears in the *Cooke MS.*, II., 1-642. This version, which may be styled the New Long History, after dealing with the biblical invention of geometry and other sciences, with the Two Pillars, and the Tower of Babel, explains how Abraham taught geometry to Euclid and founded the craft of masonry. It then refers to the Israelites learning masonry in Egypt, and to Solomon building the Temple in Jerusalem. It goes on to explain how masonry was organized by Charles II. in France and by St. Alban in England. Finally, it states that Athelstan and his son gave English masons their charges. It was probably written after 1350 but before c. 1390.

(iii.) As it appears in the *Henry Heade MS.* (1675) and the *William Watson MS.* (1681). This version, which is descended from the *Cooke MS. Original* (in which the Old Short History and the New Long History were first brought together), differs from the New Long History of the *Cooke MS.*, which it follows very closely for the first 596 lines, in its amplification of the English portion of the History, and in particular by the addition of the statement that the Charges had been seen and approved by our late sovereign lord, King Henry VI., and his council. The biblical names also appear with post-Reformation spelling, but it is possible that this represents a second revision, and that the main changes had been made in an earlier pre-Reformation revision. The first revision [the *Watson MS. Original*] probably dates from the first half of the reign of Henry VIII. (1509-47).¹ The Charges are prefaced by a brief summary of the history, doubtless the remnant of the Old Short History of the *Cooke MS. Original*.

(iva.) As it appears in the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.* and most of the later MSS., including those of the *Sloane* and *Roberts* families. Strictly speaking, we are here concerned with several versions differing slightly from each other, but nevertheless sufficiently alike, so far as the main features are concerned, to be regarded for our present purpose as constituting one version of the History. They all apparently spring from an expansion of the Old Short History, an expansion which, so far as its biblical history is concerned, is very similar to that of the New Long History of the *Cooke MS.*, though freer from ambiguities and contradictions. On the other hand, its French legend is different: first, Charles II. is replaced by Charles Martel; secondly, it introduces "a curious (= skilful) mason called Naymus Grecus",² who is said to have been present at the building of King Solomon's Temple and to have brought the craft to France. The name "Naymus Grecus" has come down to us in nearly as many forms and spellings as there are surviving texts, which strongly suggests that it has been copied and miscopied many times, thus making it possible that the particular expansion of the Old Short History (or the revision of the New Long History, as the case may be), from which these versions are descended,

¹ The reference to "our late sovereign lord, King Henry VI." is generally assumed to date the *Watson MS. Original* as falling in the reign of his successor, Edward IV. (1461-83), but this does not necessarily follow. Had Henry VI. been the previous sovereign, he would probably have been described as "our late sovereign lord, King Henry." The fact that "VI." was added, seems to imply that Henry VII. was dead.

² E. H. Dring's identification of Naymus Grecus with Alcuin ("The Naimus Grecus Legend," *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 179; xix., 45) is contested by Douglas Hamer ("Naymus Grecus: a New Identification," *A.Q.C.*, xlv., 63), who identifies him with Nehemiah.

was made about the same time as the *Cooke MS. Original* was prepared, i.e., towards the end of the fourteenth century. How many intermediates there are between the expansion (or the revision) on the one hand, and the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.* of 1583 on the other, it is impossible to say. Obviously the *Grand Lodge MS. Original*, from which the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.* was copied, is older than 1583; the language and style, however, hardly suggest a date before the first half of the sixteenth century.

(ivb.) As it appears in the *Thomas W. Tew MS.* and other members of the *Tew* family. In this version the historical account of masonry, including its French legend, is in the revised form which we find in the *Grand Lodge* versions, but in two respects it differs from the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.* and bears a marked affinity to the *Watson* and *Heade MSS.*: first, both Pillars are found after the Flood, instead of *one*, as in the *Grand Lodge* versions; secondly, the Charges are prefaced by a brief summary of their history.¹ It seems likely, either that the *Tew* family derives from the *Cooke MS. Original*, by a line other than the *Grand Lodge* family, or that the *Tew MS. Original*, from which the *Tew MS.* was copied early in the eighteenth century, was built up from two different sources. In any case, the *Tew MS. Original* appears to be older than the other versions containing the *Grand Lodge* account of the History, but that does not necessarily imply that it is the ancestor of those versions.

(v.) As it appears in the so-called *Spencer* family. This version is probably a revision of the *Grand Lodge* version, brought about principally by omitting Naymus Grecus and Charles Martel, by introducing the Second and Third Temples and other prominent building operations, and by expanding the narrative leading up to Athelstan and Edwin. Other modifications are the naming of King Solomon's Master Mason as Hiram Abif, the description of Edwin as *brother* of Athelstan, and the fixing of the year 932 as the date of Edwin's assembly in York. All the texts of this family date from 1725, or shortly afterwards.

(c) *Changes in the form of the MS. Constitutions* In an endeavour to trace these, I propose to leave aside the *Regius MS.*, which is in a class by itself,² and to treat as the oldest version the *Cooke MS.* This consists of five elements:

- (i.) a statement of man's debt to God;
- (ii.) the New Long History;
- (iii.) the Old Short History;
- (iv.) the Articles and Points;
- (v.) a brief Closing Prayer.

The first element is replaced in most of the later versions by an Invocation to the Trinity.³ The second element, the New Long History, in one or other of its revised forms, is found in nearly all versions.⁴ The third element, the Old Short History, tends to disappear in the course of revisions, and can be traced, in a very abbreviated form, in only a few of the later versions.⁵ Between the History and the Regulations most of the later versions have two

¹ As previously mentioned, the Charges of the *Tew MS.* itself (as distinct from those of other members of the family) closely resemble those of the *Watson* and *Heade MSS.*, in being intermediate between those of the *Regius MS.* and the ordinary seventeenth century version.

² It is a poem giving the Old Short History, together with (i.) an account of the Four Crowned Martyrs; (ii.) a description of the building of the Tower of Babel; (iii.) an account of the Seven Liberal Arts; (iv.) portions of John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*; (v.) the whole of the *Urbanitatis* poem.

³ It is omitted from Abstracts, such as the *Plot MS.* and the *Ralph Poole MS.* It is also omitted from the *Tew MS.* The *Watson* and *Heade MSS.* follow the *Cooke MS.*

⁴ The *Gateshead MS.* and *Crane No. 2 MS.* are exceptions.

⁵ In the *Watson* and *Heade MSS.*, and in the versions belonging to the *Tew* family.

new elements, an Instruction regarding the administration of the oath to observe the Regulations, and an Exhortation to take heed of the Charges.¹ The fourth element, the Articles and Points in their new guise of Charges General and Singular, constitute the second principal portion of most of the later versions.² The fifth element, the brief Closing Prayer, is prefaced, in those later versions which contain the Charges, by a brief Admonition to keep well and truly the Charges which have been rehearsed. Thus the commonest form of the later versions of the MS. *Constitutions* is as follows:—

- (i.) an Invocation to the Trinity;
- (ii.) the History of Masonry;
- (iii.) an Instruction regarding the administration of the oath to observe the Regulations;
- (iv.) an Exhortation to take heed of the Charges;
- (v.) the Charges General and Singular;
- (vi.) a brief Admonition to keep the Charges;
- (vii.) a brief Closing Prayer.

Certain important further additions, however, appear in some versions. First, there are nearly a score which contain an Apprentice Charge³ of a definitely operative character, similar in content to the conditions in an apprentice's indentures. Secondly, of the versions which contain an Apprentice Charge, there are four or five which also contain a code of New Articles of a definitely speculative character, laying down the conditions on which a person can be accepted as a freemason.⁴ Thirdly, there are at least five versions which contain a special reference to masonic secrets.⁵ Finally, three versions have Orders appended of a definitely operative character, fixing the fines to be paid for various offences.⁶ Thus the MS. *Constitutions*, in their most complete form, consist of the previously enumerated seven elements, together with

- (viii.) the New Articles;
- (ix.) the Oath of Secrecy;
- (x.) the Apprentice Charge.

The *Harleian* MS. 1942 and the *Grand Lodge No. 2* MS., for example, each contain these ten elements. The remaining element, the Orders, does not appear in versions which have the New Articles or the Oath of Secrecy, and there is, consequently, no single version which contains all eleven elements.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASON WORD.

During a period of two hundred years or so immediately preceding the early eighteenth century, the Mason Word, as an operative institution in Scotland, almost certainly underwent various changes; but the information available, by which to trace such changes, is unfortunately far scantier than

¹ The *Watson* and *Heade* MSS. have neither Instruction nor Exhortation, nor have those versions which are merely abstracts. The *Teir* and *York No. 5* MSS. have the Exhortation, but no Instruction.

² It is missing from those versions which have survived merely as abstracts.

³ E.g., the *Embleton*, the *Colne No. 1* and the *Hope* MSS. (Poole and Worts, and the *Trans. Leeds Installed Masters' Assoc.*, 1934-5), each of which belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century.

⁴ E.g., the *Grand Lodge No. 2* MS. (*Q.C.A.*, iv.), the *Harleian* MS. 1942 (*Q.C.A.*, ii.), and the *Macnab* MS. (Poole and Worts).

⁵ The *Harris No. 1* (*Freemasons' Chronicle*, 30.12.1922) and the *Dumfries No. 3* MSS. (J. Smith, *History of the Old Lodge of Dumfries*) provide for the appointment of a tutor to instruct the candidate in secrets which must never be committed to writing. The *Grand Lodge No. 2* MS. and the *Harleian* MS. 1942 give the oath of secrecy to be taken by a person before he can be accepted as a freemason. Bound up with *Harleian* MS. 2054 (*Q.C.A.*, iii.), and in the same handwriting, is a scrap of paper referring to the several signs and words of a freemason to be revealed to the candidate and kept secret by him.

⁶ The *Taylor* MS. (Poole and Worts, 917); the *Alnwick* MS. (Knoop and Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason*, 276), and the *Gateshead* MS. (Gould, i., 70; ii., 261).

that relating to the corresponding changes in the Old Charges in England. I propose to discuss the changes and modifications under four heads:—(a) the reason why the Mason Word came into existence; (b) the machinery by which it was communicated and preserved; (c) the persons to whom it was communicated; and (d) the nature of the secrets imparted.¹

(a) *The reason why the Mason Word came into existence.* The Mason Word came into existence because it was useful. It served to demonstrate, not so much the skill of the person who was in possession of it, as the fact that he had been trained in accordance with the rules of the organization which guarded it, that he accepted those rules, and that he was entitled, on account of his membership of the organization, to certain privileges in the matter of employment and relief. The need for secret methods of recognition among masons in Scotland arose from two peculiar conditions which prevailed in that country. In the first place, there were plenty of stoneworkers, because readily accessible stone, not unsuitable for building, was widely available. On the other hand, there were relatively few skilled stoneworkers, owing to the dearth of freestone capable of being carved or undercut. As a consequence, a test of skill would hardly suffice to distinguish masons from semi-qualified or unqualified stoneworkers, such as cowans.² In the second place, the system of entered apprenticeship,³ which, so far as I am aware, occurs in operative masonry in Scotland only,⁴ by creating a distinct class of semi-qualified ex-apprentices, further threatened the position of the fellow craft or fully qualified mason. Whereas originally a young man, on completing his apprenticeship, became a fellow, and was at liberty to work as a journeyman, or even to set up as a master, the establishment of the category of entered apprentices, intermediate between apprentices and fellow crafts, postponed the date when an apprentice could be made free of his craft, and added a period of semi-servitude to the original period of full servitude. An entered apprentice, having been properly trained, though officially but semi-qualified, might well be as competent as many fellow crafts, and consequently able, in a district where his status was unknown, to command a journeyman's wage and to compete successfully with the fellow crafts for employment. Thus it was not unlikely that the Mason Word, as an institution, was intended from the outset to serve a double purpose, namely, (i.) to protect fellow crafts and entered apprentices from the competition of cowans,⁵ and (ii.) to protect fellow crafts from the competition of entered apprentices.⁶ The conditions likely to lead to its adoption, namely, the

¹ The various problems are discussed more fully in *The Scottish Mason*.

² Originally *cowan* meant a drydiker, or builder of drystone walls. It was only at some later, but unknown, date that it came to be applied derogatorily to one who did the work of a mason without having been regularly apprenticed or bred to the trade. It was sometimes used in the latter sense by 1598. See *The Scottish Mason*, 28-30.

³ See *The Scottish Mason*, 87 folg.

⁴ An isolated case at Swalwell, Co. Durham, is referred to on page 21 below, where I suggest that it was due to Scottish influence.

⁵ *O.E.D.*, under "cowan," states that "in 1707 Mother Kilwinning Lodge defined the Cowan as a Mason 'without the word'." This statement, however, is not strictly accurate, as the expression "*Mason* 'without the word'" does not occur in the original minute, which runs "that no meason shall imploy no cowan which is to say [one] without the word to work" (W. Begemann, *Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Freimaurerei in Schottland*, 250). I have to thank Mr. A. L. Miller for drawing my attention to this first-hand study of the records of the older Scottish Lodges, which was unknown to G. P. Jones and myself when writing *The Scottish Mason*.

⁶ Cf. *Dumfries MS.* No. 3, where it is laid down that a mason or fellow "shall not make any mould, square or rule for any who is but a lewis," a *lewis* being defined as one who has served an apprenticeship to a mason, but has not been admitted afterwards according to the manner and custom of making masons. (*The Scottish Mason*, 59.)

In my Prestonian Lecture (*ibid.*, 92-3) I made the surmise that the Mason Word originally concerned fellow crafts only, and that the participation in it of entered apprentices was of a later development. Further study of the conditions prevailing

establishment of the system of entered apprenticeship, and the menace of the unqualified mason or cowan, probably both date from the second half of the sixteenth century.

(b) *The machinery to communicate and preserve the Mason Word.* Three kinds of authority would seem to be required to communicate and preserve the Mason word: (i.) local organizations operating the system of recognition in their own areas; (ii.) co-operation among the local organizations, if the system was to frank a mason moving from one region to another; (iii.) some central authority to control its working, if the system was to apply uniformly to the whole country.

(i.) The local organization which operated the Mason Word was what may be described as the "territorial" lodge, to distinguish it from the temporary or permanent workshop, or lodge, associated with a particular building operation. Thus the word *lodge*, as used in the Schaw Statutes of 1598 and 1599, appears to refer to an organized body of masons associated with a particular town or district. How old this type of organization was is uncertain. The earliest minute book of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge begins in 1598, and that of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1599. The Schaw Statutes of 1599, however, describe the Lodge of Edinburgh as the principal lodge in Scotland, *as of before* which obviously implies that it was in existence before 1599. The Incorporation of Masons and Wrights in Edinburgh was established by seal of cause in 1475, but it may well be that the Incorporation was older than the Lodge at Edinburgh, as was certainly the case in the neighbouring burgh of Canongate.¹ Possibly the Lodge of Edinburgh grew out of the lodge at St. Giles, Edinburgh, for which regulations existed as early as 1491.² Similarly, the Lodge of Aberdeen may have grown out of the lodge at St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, where an agreement amongst the masons existed as early as 1483.³ In any case, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the system of "territorial" lodges appears to have been fairly widely established in Scotland.

(ii.) By the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth, century, there are various indications of co-operation among Scottish lodges. Amongst these indications, the so-called St. Clair Charters of 1601 and 1628 show that five lodge united in 1601, and seven lodges in 1628, or nine lodges in all, to support the claim of the St. Clairs of Roslin to exercise jurisdiction over the Masons of Scotland; the Schaw Statutes of 1599 prove that the Lodge of Kilwinning exercised certain supervisory powers over other lodges in the West of Scotland; and a minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, under date of 27 November, 1599, with reference to a general meeting to be held at St. Andrews, implies that the Lodge of St. Andrews exercised some kind of supervision over Fifeshire lodges.

(iii.) The central authority which, in conjunction with the masters from the various lodges, controlled and supervised the "territorial" lodges, was the King's Principal Master of Work and Warden General. Thus it was William Schaw, Warden General, who, "with the consent of the masters after specified," issued what are known as the Schaw Statutes of 1598. Originally the appointment of a King's Master of Work related to a particular work, such as Stirling Castle, but at a later date the authority of the official sometimes extended to all royal works, in which case the holder was usually described as Principal Master of Work. The earliest of these wide appointments appears to have been that of Sir James Hammyltoun in 1539.

in the Scottish building industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, disposes me to think that the entered apprentice and fellow craft secrets, in their primitive forms, were established simultaneously, as I have suggested above.

¹ The incorporation can be traced as early as 1585; the Lodge was not established till 1677 (*The Scottish Mason*, 63 n., 64).

² *ibid.*, 16.

³ *ibid.*, 61.

The available evidence suggests that the threefold machinery, which ultimately served to communicate and preserve the Mason Word, grew up gradually during the course of the sixteenth century; it was certainly fully established by the end of that century.

(c) *The persons to whom the Mason Word was communicated.* The Laws and Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670, name six categories of worker:—

- (i.) *Handicraft apprentices*, who presumably served seven years in accordance with the Schaw Statutes.
- (ii.) *Entered apprentices*, who, if unable to pay their fees, had to serve their masters without wage for three years before being admitted to the fellowship.
- (iii.) *Fellow crafts*, ex-entered apprentices who had received the fellowship or been made master masons.
- (iv.) *Master masons*, who were the fellow crafts under another name. The members of the Lodge, who subscribed their names to the Statutes, always described themselves as “the Master Masons and Entered Apprentices of the honourable Lodge of Aberdeen.”
- (v.) *The Master of the Lodge.*
- (vi.) *The Warden of the Lodge*, was next in power to the Master of the Lodge, and supplied his place in the Master’s absence.

Of these, the handicraft apprentices, as boys and youths, were not members of the Lodge, though doubtless bound by their indentures not to disclose their masters’ trade secrets. The entered apprentices constituted one of the two classes who shared in the government of the Lodge, the other class being the master masons or fellow crafts. From amongst the master masons or fellow crafts the Master of the Lodge and the Warden of the Lodge were presumably chosen.¹ Thus there appear to have been only two grades among the members of the Lodge, (i.) the master masons or fellow crafts, and (ii.) the entered apprentices, and it was they, according to the first statute, who received the benefit of the Mason Word “at their entry.” It is quite clear, from the Statutes of the Lodge of 1670, that one set of fees was payable when a man was admitted an entered apprentice, and another when he was admitted a fellow craft or master mason, but it is not clear from the Statutes whether each of these admissions constituted an “entry” for the purpose of receiving certain esoteric knowledge. From the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, however, we learn quite definitely that there were two sets of secrets in 1696, one imparted to entered apprentices and the other to fellow crafts or master masons. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to show that this was probably the case at Aitchison’s Haven Lodge as early as 1598.²

According to the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* (1696) and the Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670) the persons to receive the benefit of the Mason Word (whether in one instalment or in two, is immaterial for our present purpose) were (i.) the entered apprentices and (ii.) the fellow crafts or master masons (these being interchangeable terms in Scotland at this period). In view of the possibility that some of the esoteric knowledge associated with the Royal Arch was imparted to certain masons before 1717, we have to ask ourselves

¹ According to the Schaw Statutes of 1598, the Warden of the lodge was to be one of the six masters in whose presence a new master or fellow craft was to be received. Lyon’s statement (*History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 53), that an entered apprentice was chosen Deacon or head of the Lodge of Kilwinning in 1672, was due to an error, which he corrected in the Addenda (*ibid.*, 486). Cf. Begemann, *op. cit.*, 282, 283.

² See my Prestonian Lecture (*The Scottish Mason*, 92); also R. J. Meekren’s paper, “The Aitchison’s Haven Minutes and Early Scottish Freemasonry,” to be read very shortly before the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

whether there was any other category of masons likely to have secret methods of recognition. One possibility is that masons who were serving, or had served, as Masters of Lodges constituted such a category. Another possibility is that those fellow crafts or master masons of the lodge who were also freemen or burgesses of a burgh, by virtue of their membership of an Incorporation of Masons, constituted such a category. These men were doubtless recognized by the municipal authorities as masters, in the sense of master tradesmen or mason contractors. It is probably they who are referred to in the Schaw Statutes of 1599, when it is stated that "no masters but [of] the Lodge of Edinburgh" were convened. The Deacon and Masters of the Lodge of Edinburgh, who controlled the Lodge in the seventeenth century, were all members of the Incorporation of the Masons and Wrights; it was against the authority of these Masters of the Lodge that the journeymen or fellow crafts rebelled in the early eighteenth century.¹

If any section of the mason community, apart from entered apprentices and fellow crafts or master masons of the lodges, possessed esoteric knowledge, it would seem most likely to be either (i.) the Masters, or other presiding officers, of lodges, or (ii.) the master tradesmen or master masons of the various Incorporations of Masons. Just as entered apprentices and fellow crafts only required the Mason Word to prove themselves when working, or seeking work, *outside* their own areas, so Masters (whether presiding officers of lodges or master tradesmen), supposing they did possess special esoteric knowledge, would only require it to prove themselves *outside* their own areas, where, as Masters of Lodges, they might be attending masonic conferences, or, as master tradesmen, they might be seeking, or executing, contracts. In the latter case it would be part of an attempt by the freeman masons of the burghs to extend their local monopolies of trade² to other areas.

(d) *The nature of the secrets imparted.* The subject is not unnaturally surrounded by considerable uncertainty; at best we have but a modicum of fact, supplemented by a certain amount of surmise. The first fact is that no legend closely linked up with the esoteric knowledge imparted to fellow crafts or master masons can be traced before 1726, in the case of the Noah legend, or before 1730 in the case of the Hiram legend.³ Though the two legends differ entirely in their *dramatis personæ* and in their setting, both have, in their earliest known forms, the same main *motif*, namely, the attempt to obtain a secret from a dead body, and both have the same subsidiary *motif*, namely, the intention to provide a substituted secret, failing the discovery of a genuine one. The second fact is that in 1696 the Mason Word consisted of something substantially more than a mere word: to the entered apprentice there were communicated a word, a sign, and postures; to the fellow craft or master mason there were imparted a word, a sign, a grip, and postures. Further, the person to be "admitted a member of fellowship" was made acquainted with what are called "the five points of the fellowship."⁴ The third fact is that the Schaw Statutes of 1598 required two entered apprentices, in addition to six masters, to be present at the admission of a fellow craft or master mason. This, in conjunction with the probability, previously mentioned, that in 1598 entered apprentices and fellow crafts had distinct sets of secrets, strongly suggests that fewer secrets were communicated to fellow crafts in 1598 than in 1696, as it is very unlikely that the sign and postures appertaining to fellow crafts, or the "five points of the fellowship," would be imparted in the presence of entered apprentices.

¹ Lyon, 42, 148 folg.

² On free and unfree craftsmen, see *The Scottish Mason*, 50-2.

³ For the Noah legend, see the *Graham MS.*, reproduced photographically in *A.Q.C.*, 1. (1937); for the Hiram legend in its earliest known form, see Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, 1730 (Leicester Masonic Reprints, xii.); on both, see *The Scottish Mason*, 93-8.

⁴ See the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*; also *The Scottish Mason*, 81-5.

This consideration leads to my first surmise, namely, that the secrets and ceremonies associated with the imparting of the Mason Word developed slowly over a considerable period. It is not improbable that originally there existed literally only a word or words, which would explain why the institution, however elaborate it may have become in course of time, was apparently always referred to as the Mason Word, *tout court*. Gradually, the sign and the postures of the entered apprentice and the grip of the fellow craft may have been added, to be followed at some date in the seventeenth century by the postures and the "five points of the fellowship" of the fellow craft, the origin of which, I am disposed to think, must be sought in necromancy or witchcraft.² About the middle of the seventeenth century, to judge by the dates of the surviving Scottish versions of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*, the practice of reading the history of masonry to candidates on their admission as entered apprentices was begun. Thus an existing legend, having some bearing on the esoteric knowledge imparted to entered apprentices, was added to the ceremony. Once this had been done, the idea of supplying the fellow craft with a comparable legend, linked up with the esoteric knowledge imparted to him, may well have taken root. How long it was before the seed germinated is problematical, because in this case, so far as we can tell, there was no existing legend ready at hand which could be incorporated in the fellow craft ceremony of admission.

The fact that the legend communicated to fellow crafts or master masons had a much closer bearing on the esoteric knowledge imparted to them, than was the case with the history communicated to entered apprentices, and the further fact that the legend has come down to us in two very different forms, both suggest that the story communicated to fellow crafts did not represent an existing fully developed legend, but was especially constructed for the purpose, very possibly, in part at least, by the utilization of existing traditions. Exactly when this happened there is no evidence to show, but it cannot be traced before 1726 or 1730. It is not impossible that the Noah legend originated in Scotland and the Hiram legend among accepted masons in England.

My second surmise in a sense arises out of the first. I have suggested reasons for thinking that the legends or stories, which ultimately came to be imparted to fellow crafts or master masons, to explain the origin of the "five points of the fellowship," were constructed especially for the purpose at a relatively late date. Both the Noah and the Hiram stories, by indicating that the secrets of a fellow craft or master mason were substituted secrets, seem to imply the existence of another set of secrets in masonry, which, by contrast, may be described as the genuine secrets, though probably there is no question of the one kind being more genuine than the other: one belonged to the fellow crafts or master masons and the other to the Masters of the Lodge, or to the master tradesmen who were members of the Incorporation of Masons. Had there not been some further esoteric knowledge, which in the first instance was not imparted to fellow crafts or master masons, it is difficult to understand why the specially constructed stories should not have been complete in themselves, instead of hinting at further knowledge to come. It therefore seems to me that the particular form given to the stories was to show the existence of some further esoteric knowledge, possibly dating from about the same period as the Mason Word, to which the candidate might ultimately attain.

As to the nature of this further esoteric knowledge which may have been imparted to "Masters," we are obliged to rely on such indications as can be gathered from early eighteenth century evidence. It points to two different things, namely, to the Word, or the Primitive Word as it is designated in one place, and to the Rule of Three.

The two earliest references to the Word, so far as I know, both belong to 1725. One is contained in a skit on masonry embodied in a letter of "Verus

¹ *The Scottish Mason*, 97-8.

Commodus,"¹ concerning the Society of Freemasons, in which he states that the Doctor² pretends that he has found out a mysterious hocus-pocus Word, which belongs to the anathema pronounced against Ananias and Sapphira in Acts, v. The other occurs in a masonic catechism, *The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons opened*,³ of which I quote the relevant paragraph:—

Yet for all this I want the Primitive Word, I answer it was God in six Terminations, to wit I am, and Jehova is the answer to it, and Grip at the Rein of the Back, or else Excellent and Excellent, Excellency is the Answer to it, and Grip as aforesaid, or else Tapus⁴ Majester, and Majester Tapus is the answer to it, and Grip as aforesaid, for proof read the first of St. John.

An undated endorsement, in a relatively modern hand-writing, on *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.* of 1583, commences "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God" (St. John, i., 1). The endorsement has been ascribed to Thomas Dunkerley (1724-95), but this is probably not so.⁵ The seal on the "Deputation to constitute," granted by Lord Montague, Grand Master in 1732, to St. John the Baptist Lodge at Exeter, bears the motto in Greek: "In the beginning was the Word."⁶ The same motto occurs on the contemporary warrants of lodges at Bath and Bury.⁷ In my Prestonian Lecture on the Mason Word,⁸ I referred to the possibility that, in addition to the words of the entered apprentice and of the fellow craft or master mason, there might be another secret somewhere in the background, which might conceivably be THE Mason Word, and drew attention to the fact that the idea of a Demogorgon, so dread that his name was not to be mentioned, occurs in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature both in Scotland and England. Thus, although no specific reference in masonry to the Word has been traced before 1725, it is not unlikely that the idea is much older and that it may conceivably go back to the seventeenth or even the sixteenth century.

The earliest reference I know of to the Rule of Three occurs in 1723 in a masonic catechism, *A Mason's Examination*⁹: "If a Master-Mason you would be, Observe you well the Rule of Three." An advertisement of 1726, quoted by Bro. Sadler,¹⁰ refers to "the necessity there is for a Master to well understand the Rule of Three." The account in the *Graham MS.* of 1726 is fuller; it explains how Bezaleel agreed to instruct the two brothers of King Alboyn in the theoretical and practical part of masonry, conditionally on their not disclosing it "without another to themselves to make a treble voice"; and how, after his death, the secrets of masonry were lost, because they were known to none "save these two princes and they were so sworn at their entering not to discover it without another to make a treble voice."

In addition to the Word and the Rule of Three, which suggest the rudiments of the esoteric knowledge now associated with the Royal Arch, there are also in the masonic catechisms of the 1720's slight indications of the esoteric knowledge nowadays imparted to Installed Masters. How much, if any, of the secrets supposedly communicated to "Masters" dates from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, there is no evidence to show.

¹ Reprinted in Gould, iii., 480.

² Hughan (*Origin of the English Rite*, 72) suggests Rawlinson; Songhurst (*A.Q.C.*, xxx., 210) suggests Desaguliers, which seems much more likely, as he was far more prominent in Masonry. According to Hawkins (*Cyclopædia of Freemasonry*, 188), Rawlinson was only initiated about 1726.

³ Reprinted by Poole in *A.Q.C.*, i.

⁴ Possibly the word *Tapus* is connected with the devil Gaap or Tap. See *The Scottish Mason*, 97, n. 3.

⁵ See introduction by Speth to the reproduction in *Q.C.A.*, iv.

⁶ Hope, *A.Q.C.*, xxx., 50.

⁷ Hughan, *English Rite*, 115.

⁸ *The Scottish Mason*, 100.

⁹ Reprinted in Gould, iii., 487.

¹⁰ *A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 325.

3. LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MASONIC WORKING.

In discussing the twofold origin of masonic ceremonies, attention has already been drawn (i.) to the great differences which originally existed between English and Scottish working, and (ii.) to the introduction of English Versions of the Old Charges into Scottish working in the second half of the seventeenth century. Reference will be made shortly to the likelihood that about the same period a knowledge of the Scottish Mason Word was imparted to persons admitted as "accepted" or "adopted" masons in England. In so far as that was the case, English and Scottish working, in what concerns all masons in Scotland and accepted masons in England, may have been very similar in general character towards the end of the seventeenth century. I shall make further reference to this matter when discussing the possible differences in the admission of operative and of speculative masons in England at that period. For the moment it is necessary to concentrate our attention on the various versions of the *MS. Constitutions* which were used in connection with the making of masons in England in the second half of the seventeenth century. Since copies of the *MS. Constitutions* of the *Watson*, *Tew* and *Grand Lodge* types were being made, and presumably used, at that period, there were obviously some differences regarding the History and the Regulations. The greatest differences, however, must have been in connection with the *form* of the *MS. Constitutions*, to which attention was drawn in a previous section. The addition, in certain cases, of an Apprentice Charge, a code of New Articles, and an Oath of Secrecy, introduced entirely new elements into a ceremony which otherwise consisted primarily in the reading of the History of Masonry and the Charges General and Singular. The considerable variations in the early manuscript and printed versions of the *Catechisms of Masonry* also point to divergent practices in the particular lodges in which they were used, or whose working they reflected. It is not unlikely that the differences were local, as was the case with masons' customs in the Middle Ages,¹ and as is the case with various masonic workings to-day, but too little is known about the provenance of the surviving versions of the Old Charges² and of the *Catechisms of Masonry* to venture on any generalization.

4. DIFFERENCES IN OPERATIVE AND SPECULATIVE WORKING.

Scottish lodge records of the seventeenth century contain numerous examples of non-operative members,³ the earliest case so far traced being that of John Boswell, Laird of Auchinleck, who was present as a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh in June, 1600.⁴ Of the forty-nine fellow crafts or master masons who were members of the Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670, only ten were operative masons. The other thirty-nine consisted of four noblemen, three gentlemen, eight professional men, nine merchants, and fifteen tradesmen.⁵ From the Laws and Statutes of the Lodge, adopted 27 December, 1670,⁶ we learn that the admission fees were higher for a "gentleman mason" than for a "handicraft apprentice," but there is nothing to suggest a difference in the ceremonies of admission. The first clause of the fifth Statute provided that, among other payments, a "gentleman mason" had to pay for a dinner when he was admitted an entered apprentice, and for another dinner when he received his fellowship, so that he was obviously not admitted an entered apprentice

¹ The customs regarding the purchase of tools and payment for holidays, referred to in note 7 on page 9, above, were by no means universal in their application; the practice in both respects varied considerably from one building operation to another. See *The Mediaeval Mason*, 62 *folg.* (for tools), and 118 *folg.* (for holidays).

² A table in Poole and Worts, 39-41, indicates the provenance of the surviving versions of the Old Charges, so far as they are known.

³ Lyon, 54.

⁴ Minute of 8 June, 1600, printed in *ibid.*, 52, 53.

⁵ Miller, 21. In other Scottish Lodges the non-operative element appears to have been distinctly smaller than at Aberdeen (*ibid.*, 23).

⁶ Printed in *ibid.*, 57 *folg.*

and a fellow craft on the same occasion, though probably he would not have to wait three years before he became a fellow, as might be the case with a "handicraft apprentice," according to the second clause of the same Statute. In 1716 the Lodge of Dunblane resolved that non-operatives should no longer be entered and passed on the same occasion,¹ which had undoubtedly happened in 1699 and 1700.² In 1727 we find two instances of non-operative entered apprentices, who had been admitted elsewhere, being received as fellow crafts in the Lodge of Edinburgh,³ though the usual arrangement at Edinburgh in the seventeenth century was undoubtedly for a non-operative to be admitted entered apprentice and fellow craft on one and the same occasion.⁴ This was also the case in the "sixteen seventies" at Kilwinning⁵ and Aitchison's Haven,⁶ in 1687 at Dumfries⁷ and in 1702 at Haughfoot.⁸ Thus the practice of telescoping the two ceremonies for the benefit of non-operatives appears to have been fairly general in Scotland in the seventeenth century.

In England, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it is difficult to find much, if any, connection between operative and non-operative masonry. But for the "Orders" associated with three versions of the Old Charges, two of which are actually entered in the minute books of early eighteenth century operative lodges at Alnwick and Swalwell, one would be disposed to say that the Old Charges had probably ceased to have any interest for operative masons as such, and that this heritage of mediæval operative masonry had passed entirely into the possession of the accepted masons. The Lodge at Alnwick, whose "Orders" are dated 29 September, 1701, and whose minutes relate to the years 1703-57, remained operative in character until 1748, when it was apparently reorganized as a speculative lodge,⁹ though it was never linked up with Grand Lodge. The "Orders" of the Lodge at Swalwell,¹⁰ Co. Durham, date from c. 1730; the earliest entry in the minute book relates to 29 September, 1725, and is so suggestive that I quote it in full:

Then Matthew Armstrong and Arthur Douglas, Masons, appeared in ye lodge of Freemasons, and agreed to have their names registered as "Enterprentices," to be accepted next quarterly meeting, paying one shilling for entrance, and 7s. 6d. when they take their freedom.

The use of the term "Enterprentice" in the minutes of an English operative lodge points to very strong Scottish influence; the minute very possibly indicates that two Lowland Scots or borderers (to judge by their names), described as masons by trade, though presumably only entered apprentices in their own lodges, joined the Lodge at Swalwell with the rank of entered apprentice on payment of 1s., it being provided that they should pay 7s. 6d. when they took their freedom or became fellows. If this interpretation is correct, it follows that the Lodge at Swalwell was very closely linked up with Scottish masonry. This was probably the case, for members of the Lodge appear to have possessed a knowledge of the Mason Word as an operative institution. This is clear from clause No. 8 of the "Penal Orders" of the Lodge:—

If any be found not faithfully to keep and maintain the 3 fraternal signs, and all points of fellowship, and principal matters relating to the secret craft, each offence, penalty 10 - 10 - 0.

¹ Begemann, *op. cit.*, 476.

² *ibid.*, 475.

³ *ibid.*, 300.

⁴ *ibid.*, 271, 276, 287, 288.

⁵ *ibid.*, 209, 210, 211.

⁶ *ibid.*, 327, 329, 330.

⁷ *ibid.*, 534, 535.

⁸ *ibid.*, 548.

⁹ Rylands, "The Alnwick Lodge Minutes," *A.Q.C.*, xiv., 4 *folg.*; Hughan, *Old Charges* (1895), 114 *folg.*; Gould, ii., 260.

¹⁰ Gould, ii., 261 *folg.*

The Lodge, like the older Scottish lodges, gradually turned from an operative into a speculative lodge; in 1735 it accepted a "deputation" or warrant from Grand Lodge. It continued to meet at Swalwell until 1844, when it removed to Gateshead, where it recently celebrated its bicentenary as the Lodge of Industry, No. 48. The lodge which adopted the "Orders" associated with the *Taylor MS.* of c. 1690 is unknown; there is said to be some ground for thinking that it may have been located at Wakefield.¹ Personally I should expect to find it was situated a good deal nearer to the Scottish border.

Such evidence as we find, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, of the organized existence in England of accepted masons (whether masons or non-masons by trade) points to their association not in operative, but in non-operative, lodges or in lodges of accepted masons.² Five such lodges can be traced. (i.) The earliest lodge of accepted masons was the so-called "Acception" connected with the London Masons' Company, to which members and non-members of the Company were admitted, implying that the ceremony of admission to the Acception was different from any ceremony of admission to the freedom of the Company. The Acception can be traced in the records of the Company. There is a fair likelihood of its having existed since 1619-20, when the surviving records begin; from 1630 to 1677 it certainly existed; and it was very probably identical with the Lodge held at the Masons' Hall, London, to which Elias Ashmole refers in his diary on 10 and 11 March, 1682. On that occasion he and some other non-members of the Masons' Company were present, together with the Master and several other prominent members of the Company. Items in inventories of 1665 and 1676 make it appear that the Company possessed at least one version of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, or *Old Charges*, in which case it was very possibly used in connection with the ceremony of admission to the Acception.³ (ii.) Our only knowledge of a lodge at Warrington is derived from the famous entry in Elias Ashmole's diary, under date of 16 October, 1646: "I was made a freemason at Warrington in Lancashire." None of the persons whom he mentions as present appear to have been masons by trade. There is some reason for thinking that the version of the *Old Charges* known as *Sloane MS.* 3848, which was completed on the very day on which Ashmole was made a freemason, was used at this ceremony of acceptance.⁴ (iii.) Randle Holme the third, the herald and genealogist, was made a freemason at a lodge at Chester about 1665. In a list written c. 1673, preserved in *B.M. Harl. MS.* 2054, Holme gives the names of twenty-six persons

¹ Poole and Worts, 193-4.

² Where a man who was not a mason by trade joined a lodge of working or operative masons, he may best be described as a *non-operative* mason, or simply as a "non-operative." Where masons met in a lodge which discharged no trade functions and was entirely or predominantly controlled by non-operatives, though the working and the tenets were purely those of an operative lodge, seventeenth century writers such as Aubrey and Plot speak of *accepted* or of *adopted* masons. In the early eighteenth century we find the expression *free and accepted* masons, as, e.g., in the title of the *Roberts* print of the *Old Charges* (1722), and in several verses of the "Enter'd Prentices Song" of Matthew Birkhead (died 1722). During the eighteenth century, *speculative* largely took the place of *accepted*. The word "speculatyf" occurs in the *Cooke MS.* (c. 1400) in the sense of speculative knowledge, or theory; eighteenth century masonic writers employ the word in a similar sense, as the opposite of operative or practical, although by that date its general use in such a sense was more or less obsolete. Gradually the connotation of the word has changed: nowadays the term "Speculative Masonry" is practically synonymous with "Freemasonry" in its modern acceptance, as a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols.

³ Unfortunately, the *MS. Constitutions* recorded in the inventories of 1665 and 1676 can no longer be found among the muniments of the Company. On the subject of the Acception, see Conder "The Masons' Company of the City of London and the Lodge of Accepted Masons connected with it," *A.Q.C.* ix.; Conder, *The Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons*; and Knoop and Jones, "The London Masons' Company," *Economic History*, Feb., 1939.

⁴ Tuckett, "Dr. Richard Rawlinson and the Masonic Entries in Elias Ashmole's Diary," *A.Q.C.*, xxv.; and W. H. Rylands, "Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century," *Masonic Magazine*, Dec., 1881.

who had paid various sums to be admitted freemasons. Subsequent investigations have shown that only six of these were masons by trade, the rest belonging mostly to other trades. As Holme also made a copy of the Old Charges, which is preserved among his manuscripts in B.M. Harl. MS. 2054, it is not unlikely that this particular copy, or the original form from which it was made, was used at ceremonies of acceptance in the Chester Lodge.¹ (iv.) The first minutes now extant of the Old Lodge at York are contained in a parchment roll endorsed "1712 to 1730." All the entries point to the Lodge being purely speculative. From the original minute book, now unfortunately missing, it is known that Sir George Tempest, baronet, presided over the Lodge in 1705 and 1706. It is quite likely, however, that this, or some other, Lodge existed at York before 1705. A version of the Old Charges, *York No. 4 MS.*, copied in 1693, bears below the signature of Mark Kypling, the copyist, five names set out under the heading, "The names of the Lodg." Unfortunately, it is not stated where the Lodge met, nor can Kypling's name, or that of any of the five members of the Lodge, be traced in the roll of the Freemen of the City of York. The manuscript was presented to the York Grand Lodge in 1777, very possibly because of its previous association with the city of York.² (v.) Our knowledge of a lodge at Scarborough in 1705 rests on an endorsement on the version of the Old Charges known as the *Scarborough MS.*,³ to the effect that at a private lodge held at Scarborough, 10 July, 1705, before Wm. Thompson, Esq., president of the said Lodge, and several other freemasons, the six persons whose names are subscribed thereto were admitted into the Fraternity. It is possible that the Lodge had no permanent existence, and that on 10 July, 1705, Wm. Thompson and some other freemasons formed themselves into a lodge for the special purpose of admitting half-a-dozen friends into the Fraternity, the *Scarborough MS.* being used in connection with the ceremony of admission. It is also possible that the lodge at Warrington on 16 October, 1646, was of the same occasional character. The London Acception, the Lodge at Chester, and the Lodge at York appear to have been more permanent organizations. In each of the five cases, the Lodge, whether occasional or semi-permanent, appears to have been organized for the purpose of admitting accepted masons, and in at least four of the cases a version of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* appears to have played a part in the ceremony of admission.

Of these four versions of the *MS. Constitutions*, the *Masons' Company MS.* is unfortunately missing; the other three, *Sloane MS. 3848*, *Harleian MS. 2054*, and the *Scarborough MS.*, all belong to the *Sloane* family (as does *York No. 4 MS.*), and contain only the seven elements commonly found in the later versions of the Old Charges, and none of the more speculative additions associated with the *Roberts* family. But, as indicated previously, there exists in the handwriting of Randle Holme, bound up in B.M. Harl. MS. 2054, a fragment referring to the several words and signs of a freemason which are to be kept secret and never revealed except to the masters and fellows of the Society of Freemasons. This, in conjunction with the version of the *MS. Constitutions* copied by him and the fact that he is known to have been a freemason, strongly suggests that in the lodge of accepted masons at Chester about 1670, as in contemporary Scottish operative lodges, the two original types of admission ceremony, based respectively on the reading of the Old Charges, and on the imparting of the Mason Word, were combined. The same is equally true of the unknown lodges which used the two late seventeenth century versions

¹ Rylands, *ibid.*, Jan. and Feb., 1882; and S. L. Coulthurst and P. H. Lawson, "The Lodge of Randle Holme at Chester," *A.Q.C.*, xlv.

² Gould, ii., 270 *folq.*; Hughan, "The York Grand Lodge," *A.Q.C.*, xiii.; T. B. Whytehead, "Relics of the Grand Lodge at York," *A.Q.C.*, xiii.; Poole and Worts, 221.

³ Printed in Poole and Worts.

of the Old Charges belonging to the *Roberts* family, *Grand Lodge No. 2 MS.* and *Harleian MS. 1942*, with their Apprentices Charge, their code of New Articles and their Oath of Secrecy.

That this combined type of ceremony probably characterized the admission of some, if not all, accepted or adopted masons in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, would seem to be confirmed by the contemporary statement of John Aubrey, the antiquary, that members of "the Fraternity of adopted masons" were known to one another by certain signs and watchwords, and that the manner of their adoption was very formal and with an oath of secrecy.¹ It does not follow, however, that the combined type of ceremony applied equally to the admission of operative masons; in fact, it is not at all clear that any kind of ceremony applied to operative masons in England in the late sixteenth or in the seventeenth century, unless it were in places relatively close to Scotland, such as Alnwick and Swalwell. The character and organization of the building industry were changing in the later sixteenth century, and the old system, prevailing outside London, of regional assemblies administering customs, embodied in the Charges General and Singular, was being, or had been, displaced by newly established municipal companies, equipped with Charters or Ordinances, or by such regulations as the Justices of the Peace were able to impose under the Statute of Apprentices of 1563.²

By the time that a combined type of ceremony was introduced in Scotland, c. 1650,³ and adopted in England by lodges of accepted masons, the whole system of government amongst operative masons in England had so changed as to leave no place for the Charges General and Singular as practical rules regulating the trade. Furthermore, the Mason Word was a Scottish operative institution, which was both useful and necessary in Scotland, but could fill no practical function outside that country. In so far, however, as the North of England had a close connection with the Lowlands of Scotland, more particularly after the Union of the two Crowns in 1603, masons from one country may have worked in the other, and usages prevailing north of the Tweed may have become known to masons south of the Tweed, and vice versa. The *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* were very possibly introduced amongst operative masons in Scotland in this way, but I know of no evidence to show that the Mason Word was ever in use amongst English operative masons, apart from the possible exception of the Lodge at Swalwell, nor does there seem to have been any need for it, nor any machinery to administer it, in the seventeenth century. It seems much more likely that a knowledge of the Mason Word came to England in one, or both, of the following ways:—(i.) by English travellers in Scotland being entered as "gentlemen masons" in Scottish operative lodges, or (ii.) by Scottish masons, travelling or working in England, making "gentlemen masons" at a distance from their lodges, either with or without the previous or subsequent approval of their lodges. In the well-known case of Robert Murray, quartermaster-general of the Scottish army, who was made a mason at Newcastle on 20 May, 1641, by members of the Lodge of Edinburgh, the fact was subsequently reported to the Lodge and recorded in the Minute Book.⁴ In a later case, where a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh entered several gentlemen in Ayrshire in 1679, without licence or commission, disciplinary action was taken against the offender.⁵ Traces of the custom of granting written licences to enter masons at a distance from the lodge are found in the minutes of the Lodges of Kilwinning, Dunblane and Haughfoot.⁶ Under such dispensations, or without, it seems not unlikely that Englishmen were made masons in England by operative or non-operative

¹ John Aubrey, *Natural History of Wiltshire*. The relevant passages are printed in Gould, ii., 6.

² See Knoop and Jones, *The Sixteenth Century Mason*, 20.

³ See p. 9 above.

⁴ Lyon, 103-4.

⁵ *ibid.*, 106.

⁶ *ibid.*, 107.

members of Scottish lodges. If that was so, the person favoured are probably "gentlemen masons," as the practical operative privileges connected with the Mason Word could only be enjoyed in Scotland and would doubtless be jealously guarded. Nevertheless, in the case of an operative lodge situated close to the border, such as the Lodge at Alnwick or the Lodge at Swalwell, the members may have been acquainted with the Mason Word, even though presumably it was of no practical value to them, unless they worked in Scotland.

ORGANIZATION OF SPECULATIVE MASONRY BEFORE c. 1717.

That there existed in England, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, certain non-operative lodges, or lodges of accepted masons, either occasional or semi-permanent in character, is a fact about which there can be no question. That there was possibly a wider organization of some description behind such lodges of accepted masons is not always admitted. Thus Gould, for example, flatly denies it when he states¹

if the symbolism (or ceremonial) of Masonry is older than the year 1717, there is practically no limit whatever of age that can be assigned to it. After the formation of a Grand Lodge, there was centralization. Before it there was none. Each Lodge then met by inherent right, and even if we go so far as to admit the possibility of new and strange practices being introduced with any one of them, there was no higher body by whose authority these innovations could have been imposed on the other Lodges.

In my opinion, no widespread and effective system of secret methods of recognition—the essence of our esoteric knowledge—could exist at any period without some central authority, or at least co-operation among the local organizations, to control such system, a problem discussed, so far as Scottish operative masonry is concerned, in a previous section.² To my mind, the only doubt is whether the machinery which regulated the Mason Word as an operative institution was sufficient to control it when widely used by non-operatives. In Scotland, where the non-operatives belonged to operative lodges, there was probably no need for a special central authority, but in England the position was different. If we are right in thinking that the English lodges of accepted masons adopted most, if not all, of their esoteric knowledge from Scottish operative lodges, then the more frequently such lodges of accepted masons were established in England, outside the official jurisdiction of the Scottish central authority, the greater the likelihood of diversities being introduced. Although there were undoubtedly local differences in masonic working, yet, to judge by the surviving *Catechisms of Masonry*, there appears to have been considerable uniformity in the matter of the esoteric knowledge imparted by the various lodges. This points to the possible existence of some central control in this country in the second half of the seventeenth century, when accepted or speculative masonry was spreading.

The evidence in favour of the existence of some central or district authority in England is briefly as follows. In the first place, Robert Padgett, who in 1686 made the copy of the Old Charges known as the *Antiquity MS.*,³ describes himself at the end of that MS. as "clearke to the Worshippfull Society of Freemasons of the City of London." It seems unlikely that he was referring to a single or local lodge. In the second place, the code of New Articles, found in the versions of the Old Charges belonging to the *Roberts* family, provides for the future regulation and government of "the Society, company and fraternity of freemasons" by a Master, Assembly and Wardens. According to the *Roberts* print of 1722,⁴ the "Additional Orders and Constitutions" (= the New

¹ A.Q.C., iii., 24.

² See p. 15 above.

³ Printed in Hughan, *Old Charges* (1872), 64 *folg.*

⁴ I use Spencer's reprint of 1870.

Articles), were made and agreed upon at a General Assembly held 8 December, 1663. The fact that the *Grand Lodge No. 2 MS.* and the *Harleian MS. 1942*, the two earliest versions of the Old Charges to contain the code of New Articles, are both assigned to the second half of the seventeenth century, may perhaps be regarded as confirming this date.

The evidence is not conclusive, especially as no piece of it reveals the actual existence of a governing body. Nevertheless, English lodges of accepted masons, since they derived their working directly or indirectly from Scotland, may have looked to Scotland for guidance on fundamental points. The proceedings in London in 1716 and 1717, which resulted in the formation of the Grand Lodge of England by four London and Westminster lodges, pointed to the recognized need for central authority, without indicating that one had previously existed.

TRANSITION TO SPECULATIVE WORKING AFTER c. 1717.

In the course of this paper I have endeavoured to show that in the second half of the seventeenth century operative and non-operative working in Scotland, on which accepted or speculative working in England was apparently largely based, consisted of (i.) a ceremony of admission of entered apprentices, including the imparting of a sign, a word, and postures, and the reading of the Old Charges, and (ii.) a ceremony of admission of fellow crafts or master masons, including the imparting of a word, a grip, a sign, and (perhaps at a rather later date, but in any case prior to 1696) postures and "the five points of the fellowship," to which was ultimately added an explanatory legend, which may have originated among accepted masons in England. Further, I have suggested that, quite apart from these two ceremonies, there may have been a third and entirely independent ceremony of admission for the benefit of "Masters," either presiding officers of lodges, or master tradesmen who were mason freemen of burghs by virtue of membership of Incorporations of Masons. In the former case, the esoteric knowledge, including information about the Word and the Rule of Three, was presumably imparted by Masters who had passed through the Chair of their Lodge; in the latter case, it was presumably communicated at a meeting of the mason members of the Incorporation.

Thus there were certainly two, and possibly three, sets of esoteric knowledge in the possession of some operative masons in Scotland, but it does not necessarily follow that the whole of this esoteric knowledge was imparted to accepted masons in England, or that it was communicated in more than one ceremony. In Scotland, as previously indicated,¹ the two ceremonies by which operative masons were admitted as entered apprentices and as fellow crafts were, in some cases at least, telescoped into one for the benefit of non-operatives. To judge by the early printed catechisms of masonry, some accepted masons in England in the third decade of the eighteenth century seem to have had communicated to them in *one* ceremony most, if not all, of the esoteric knowledge imparted to operative masons in Scotland in two, or possibly three, ceremonies. It is probable, however, that such telescoping of operative ceremonies for the benefit of accepted masons was by no means universal.² The *MS. Catechisms of Masonry*, as distinct from the printed versions, suggest either two, or three, ceremonies. If we leave aside the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* (1696) and the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* (c. 1700) as being definitely operative, and the *Sloane MS. 3329* (c. 1700) as being a collection of notes on the Mason Word, rather than a mason's *aide-mémoire* (each of which indicates *two* ceremonies),

¹ See p. 20 above.

² It is necessary to be very guarded, because it is doubtful how much reliance should be placed on early printed catechisms, and how, exactly, they should be interpreted. A *Mason's Examination* (1723) [Gould, iii., 487] at one place seems to suggest three ceremonies, at another two; but the manner in which the esoteric knowledge is mixed up gives the impression that everything was communicated on one occasion.

there remain, the *Trinity College, Dublin*, MS. (1711), very possibly of non-operative origin, and the *Graham* MS. (1726), with a definite speculative character. Both of these MSS. suggest *three* ceremonies. In view of the local differences in working in the seventeenth century, to which reference has already been made, and to the varying practices which prevailed after 1730, to which attention will be drawn shortly, it would be indeed amazing if any great uniformity of working prevailed during the intervening period from 1700 to 1730.

In those cases between 1700 and 1730, and earlier, where the esoteric knowledge imparted to masons, instead of being telescoped into one ceremony, was divided between either two or three ceremonies, the surviving indications suggest that the division was not always the same. The working envisaged in the *Graham* MS. (1726), with its threefold scheme of (i.) entering, (ii.) passing,¹ and (iii.) raising or conforming candidates by three several lodges, appears to have followed fairly closely what I have suggested was possibly Scottish operative practice in its fullest development, namely, (i.) the admission of an entered apprentice, (ii.) the admission of a fellow craft or master mason, and (iii.) the admission of a "Master." A similar close correspondence to Scottish operative practice appears to have been observed by Grand Lodge in 1723, to judge by Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* (1723), which apparently recognized three categories of masons, each, so far as one can tell, with its own esoteric knowledge, namely, (i.) apprentices, (ii.) fellow-crafts, and (iii.) the master of the lodge.² On the other hand, the *Trinity College, Dublin*, MS. (1711), with its secrets divided between (i.) entered apprentices, and (ii.) fellow craftsmen, and (iii.) masters, and Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730), which describes (i.) the Entered Prentice Degree, (ii.) the Fellow Craft's Degree, and (iii.) the Master's Degree, differ from the *Graham* MS. and Anderson's *Constitutions*, in that the esoteric knowledge shared between their *three* classes corresponds to that imparted to *two* classes in Scotland, namely, (i.) entered apprentice, and (ii.) fellow craft or master mason.

Other early references to a trigradal system in masonry occur in *The Book of the Fundamental Constitutions and Orders of the Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas*, B.M. Add. MS. 23202,³ from which we learn that certain persons were (i.) made masons, (ii.) passed fellow crafts, and (iii.) passed masters in London in 1725. There is nothing to show, however, what esoteric knowledge was communicated to candidates at any particular ceremony.

The trigradal system of the *Trinity College, Dublin*, MS. and of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* was obtained (a) by treating fellow crafts and master masons as two distinct classes, and (b) by splitting the esoteric knowledge imparted to Scottish operative entered apprentices among accepted entered apprentices and accepted fellow crafts. By this device three classes of accepted mason

¹ Until 1738 the term used to denote the conferring of the Third Degree was "passed" and not "raised" (Vibert, *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., 145). Cf. Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730): "Are you a Master Mason? I am. . . . Where were you passed Master? In a perfect Lodge of Masters."

² According to Regulation No. 37, the Grand Master was to allow any Brother (Fellow-Craft, or Apprentice) to speak at Grand Lodge, which implies *two* categories. Regulation No. 13 states that Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Crafts only in Grand Lodge, unless by dispensation. This also implies *two* categories, on the assumption that "Masters and Fellow-Craft" represent one category, in accordance with Scottish operative practice, which identified fellow craft and master mason. On the other hand, it may represent *three* categories, (i.) apprentice, (ii.) fellow-craft, and (iii.) master [of a Lodge]. A third category, immediately superior to a fellow craft, was certainly recognized by Grand Lodge, as is clearly indicated in the Postscript describing the manner of constituting a New Lodge: the Master Elect, "being yet among the fellow craft," was presented to the presiding officer, after which he had to agree to submit to the Charges of a Master, which were rehearsed to him. He was then installed "by certain significant ceremonies and ancient usages." Finally, he was presented with the *Constitutions*, the Lodge-Book and the Instruments of his Office.

³ Printed in *Q.C.A.*, ix.

were created. These corresponded, however, only very superficially to the three classes of mason recognized in the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*, or *Old Charges*, namely, apprentices, fellows, and masters. The apprentice of the *Old Charges* corresponded to the "handicraft apprentice" in Scotland, who at the end of his period of servitude was admitted an entered apprentice, a category unknown in English operative masonry. The "master" of the *Old Charges* was either the master mason who organized the building operations on behalf of the Crown, the Church, or other employer, where the direct labour system was used, or the mason contractor who erected a building for a proprietor. He corresponded more or less to the "master" in Scotland, *i.e.*, the master tradesman, member of an Incorporation of Masons, and not to the master mason or fellow craft of a lodge. The fellow craft, or "fellow of the craft," to give him his full description as it appears in the Schaw Statutes of 1598, was a member of the Fellowship or Craft of Masons¹; and, in the words of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, the person "admitted a member of fellowship" was made acquainted with "the five points of the fellowship." So far as we can tell, the "fellow" of the *Old Charges* was also a full member of the Masons' Fraternity. Similarly, in the seventeenth century, the highest rank to which an accepted mason could attain was apparently that of "fellow." Referring to the Lodge held at Masons' Hall, London, in March, 1682, Elias Ashmole wrote: "I was the senior fellow among them (it being thirty-five years since I was admitted); there was present besides myself the Fellows afternamed . . ." It would seem that, in some cases at least, the same was true in 1723, for according to *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*,² the offices of Master and Wardens of a Lodge were filled from "among the Fellow Craft." According to *The New Book of Constitution*, 1738,³ the New Master, in choosing his Wardens, called forth "two Fellow-Crafts (Master Masons)," which suggests that even as late as 1738 no very clear distinction between fellow craft and master mason was as yet recognized by Grand Lodge.

The trigradal system pictured in the *Trinity College, Dublin*, MS. and in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* undoubtedly reduced the status of the fellow craft, or fellow, by giving him merely a part of the esoteric knowledge which originally belonged to an entered apprentice, and by restricting to the master mason the esoteric knowledge originally given in Scotland to the fellow craft. To this extent, it was a departure from early operative practice, a departure which gradually became firmly established, and which has continued in Masonry ever since. The division of the original entered-apprentice ceremony among entered apprentices and fellow crafts has apparently not been the same in the workings of all masonic jurisdictions. This suggests that the final division in this country was not made until after accepted masonry had spread from Great Britain to Ireland and other parts. Thus what was at the outset an innovation has become, in course of time, a landmark. On the other hand, the innovation apparently introduced by some accepted masons in some localities, of telescoping into one the two Scottish operative ceremonies of entered apprentice and fellow craft or master mason, *plus* any ceremony associated with admitting a "Master," was given up when the new trigradal system became firmly established. So far as one can tell, that system was introduced only slowly. In various lodges after 1730 two degrees appear to have been given on one occasion; in some cases it was the new First and Second Degrees, which were conferred together,⁴

¹ Cf. "the Hole Crafte and felawship of masons" to whom a grant of arms was made in England in 1472 (Conder, *Hole Craft*, 84).

² p. 71. For the present purpose we may ignore the higher rank of "Master of a Lodge" previously mentioned.

³ p. 151.

⁴ E.g., in the Dundee Lodge, No. 9, at Wapping, as early as 1748 and as late as 1808 (Heiron, *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., 119). In the minutes (1732-35) of the Old Lodge at Lincoln, No. 73, only two degrees, Apprentice and Master, are met with (Dixon, *A.Q.C.*, iv., 98).

in others, the new Second and Third Degrees.¹ In practice, therefore, if not in theory, a system of *two* ceremonies prevailed in some lodges long after the trigradal system had been introduced elsewhere.

The fact that the three degrees of (i.) Entered Apprentice, (ii.) Fellow Craft, and (iii.) Master Mason were made out of the two degrees of (i.) Entered Apprentice and (ii.) Fellow Craft or Master Mason, by dividing the esoteric knowledge originally belonging to the Entered Apprentice between the Entered Apprentice and the Fellow Craft, and by transferring to the Master Mason that which originally belonged to the Fellow Craft or Master Mason, appears to be unquestionable, though the date of the division is uncertain. The reason why this division was made is, however, a matter for surmise only. Vibert, in his Prestonian Lecture for 1925,² suggested that it was done by private lodges between 1723 and 1725, technically to enable them to give their members the rank of Fellow Craft. This, he suggested, would qualify them for the Chair, and would make it possible to circumvent the Regulation, approved or re-approved by Grand Lodge in 1723³ and repealed in November, 1725, that apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Craft only in Grand Lodge. This suggestion, however, met with little acceptance when placed before the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1926⁴; in any case, there is very little evidence of the adoption of the trigradal system before 1730, and even after that date its introduction was but slow.⁵ Other possibilities are that the creation of three degrees out of two was due either to failure to recognize the equivalence of the terms "Fellow Craft" and "Master Mason" in the above-mentioned Regulations of 1723,⁶ or to a desire to have three classes of speculative mason to correspond with the three classes of operative mason mentioned in the Old Charges, even though the correspondence was only very superficial, as previously indicated. However uncertain the cause leading to the establishment of the trigradal system, there can be little doubt that its adoption received a great stimulus from the rapid sale of successive editions of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, first published in October, 1730.

How long the reading of the whole, or portions, of the Old Charges continued to form part of the ceremony of admitting an entered apprentice is uncertain. From *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, 1723, we learn that the History of Masonry (as "digested" by Anderson) was to be read "at the admission of a New Brother"; also that the Charges (similarly edited) were to be read "at the making of New Brethren or when the Master shall order it." According to *The New Book of the Constitution*, 1738, the History of Masonry (as further revised and much extended by Anderson) was to be read at the admission of a New Brother, but that apparently no longer applied to the Charges. How far these instructions were carried into effect it is impossible to say. The earliest minute book (1733-56) of the Old King's Arms Lodge, No. 28, records that parts of the *Constitutions* were read on various occasions between 1733 and 1744,⁷ and this was done also in the Old Lodge at Lincoln, No. 73, in 1733 and 1734⁸; but in the latter case certainly, and in the former

¹ E.g., at the Dundee Lodge in 1765 (Heiron, *op. cit.*, 130) and in Lodge No. 111 in 1737 (Songhurst, *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., 141).

² *The Development of the Trigradal System*; see also his Prestonian Lecture for 1926, *The Evolution of the Second Degree*.

³ The General Regulations compiled by George Payne in 1720 and approved by Grand Lodge in 1721, were "digested" by Dr. James Anderson, at the request of the Grand Master, and printed in his *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* (1723), with the approbation of Grand Lodge. Whether the sentence "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here, unless by a Dispensation," was originally introduced into the lengthy Regulation No. 13 by Payne in 1720, or inserted by Anderson in 1723, it is impossible to say (*Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, 58, 73).

⁴ "The Second Degree: A Theory," *A.Q.C.*, xxxix. (1926).

⁵ Hughan, "The Three Degrees of Freemasonry," *A.Q.C.*, x. (1897).

⁶ Gould, *A.Q.C.*, xvi. (1903), 32.

⁷ Heiron, *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., 134, 135.

⁸ Dixon, *A.Q.C.*, iv., 104, 105.

case probably, the readings took place on nights when there were no candidates. The fact that several versions of the Old Charges were copied or printed after 1723 suggests that the reading of the Old Charges in their older forms may have continued well into the eighteenth century.

THE ROYAL ARCH AND A TRIGRADAL SYSTEM.

During the third decade of the eighteenth century, and very possibly earlier, when, for a time, *all* the esoteric knowledge imparted to operative masons in Scotland was, in some cases, apparently telescoped into one ceremony, for the benefit of accepted masons in England, a primitive form of the esoteric knowledge now associated with the Royal Arch may very possibly have been mixed up with a primitive form of the esoteric knowledge now associated with the Third Degree. If so, as previously mentioned, it was an innovation, and by no means universal at that. How long this all-inclusive one-ceremony system for accepted masons continued to be used is unknown. Nor is it known at what date the supplementary esoteric knowledge very possibly imparted to a "Master" in Scotland (the prototype of what ultimately became the ceremony of the Royal Arch, and possibly also the ceremony of installing a Master) was separated from the esoteric knowledge appertaining to entered apprentices and to fellow crafts or master masons, and restored to its proper place. The process was probably gradual, and it is quite possible that the ceremony was split into three, or perhaps at first only into two, without immediately lopping off the accretion of esoteric knowledge which belonged only to masters. The distinction which apparently existed in Scotland between the master masons of a lodge, the master of a lodge, and the masters who were members of an Incorporation of Masons, was probably not appreciated in England, and thus esoteric knowledge properly belonging to a master may quite well have been imparted to master masons, even after the all-inclusive one-ceremony system had been abolished. In that way, *esoteric knowledge* now associated with the Third Degree, and *esoteric knowledge* now associated with the Royal Arch, may sometimes temporarily have been mixed up in one ceremony, but it was an innovation of limited application, and not part of antient masonry; nor, so far as one can tell, was it in any way sanctioned by Grand Lodge. Further, it should be stressed that there is no evidence, so far as I am aware, that the *legend* now associated with the Third Degree, and the *legend* now associated with the Royal Arch, were ever combined in one ceremony. In my opinion, the legend now associated with the Royal Arch was not adopted until after 1751, by which time the combining of a rudimentary Third Degree and a rudimentary Royal Arch in one ceremony had probably ceased. When the two sets of esoteric knowledge, in so far as they had been combined, were finally severed; that was done not by mutilating the ceremony of admitting a master mason, but by restoring the position, in the matter of esoteric knowledge, to that which had existed under the original plan of masonry. In origin, the Royal Arch was not the completion of the Third Degree.

THE ROYAL ARCH AND MASTERS' LODGES.

Failure to recognize the difference which apparently existed in Scotland between a master mason, a master of a lodge, and a master probably led not only to the continuance, for a time, of the innovation of lumping together, for the benefit of accepted master masons, of esoteric knowledge, some of which properly belonged only to masters of lodges, or to masters, but also to variations in the use of the expressions "the Master's Part," and "Masters' Lodges."¹ In Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* the terms "Master's Part" and "Master's Degree" are synonymous. At the head of the section concerned are the words

¹ My main authority for this section is John Lane. "Masters' Lodges," A.Q.C., i.

"The Master's Degree," and at the close the words "The End of the Master's Part." The lodge in which the candidate was "passed Master" is described as "a perfect Lodge of Masters." A study of Prichard's pamphlet shows that his "Lodge of Masters," his "Master's Part," and his "Master's Degree" were all concerned with master masons; the ceremony depicted can be described as the prototype of the present Third Degree ceremony.

The Regulation of Grand Lodge that "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft" only in Grand Lodge was rescinded in November, 1725, after which date presumably any lodge could pass Fellow Crafts and Master Masons, and most, if not all, lodges considered that they had full authority to work each of the degrees by virtue of their constitution or warrant.¹ On the other hand, some old lodges failed to work the Third Degree; thus the By-Laws, dated c. December, 1732, of Lodge No. 73 at Lincoln show that it was customary for that Lodge to confer the Third Degree on members of other lodges. The fact, too, that some Masters' Lodges met as often as once a week, whereas ordinary lodges met not more than twice a month, makes it likely that their candidates came from more than one lodge. In the various lists of lodges published between 1733 and 1813 there are enumerated about three dozen which are described as Masters' Lodges; of these, three occur for the first time in the enumeration of 1781-91 and eight for the first time in the enumeration of 1792-1813. Whilst in the early years after 1725 it is quite possible that these Masters' Lodges conferred the Third Degree on members of ordinary lodges, which were either unable or unwilling to work the Degree,² it is very difficult to believe that Masters' Lodges were established as late as the end of the eighteenth century for the special purpose of conferring the Third Degree. In addition to Masters' Lodges, there existed a Scots Masons' Lodge in London in 1733; further, there are records of brethren being made Scots Master Masons at the Bear Lodge at Bath in 1735 and at the Lodge of Antiquity in London in 1740.³ In Scotland, as I have already endeavoured to show, masters, as distinct from master masons of the lodge, probably had esoteric knowledge of their own which appears to have been the prototype of that now associated with the Royal Arch, and possibly of that now associated with Installed Masters.⁴ It therefore seems not impossible that the work done in the Scots Masons' Lodge, and the degree of Scots Master Mason conferred on masons at Bath and in London, were the Royal Arch in a rudimentary form.

In connection with the Masters' Lodges which can be traced between 1733 and 1813, attention may be drawn to two points. (i.) These Masters' Lodges, like early Royal Arch Chapters, frequently met on Sundays, whereas ordinary lodges did not. (ii.) These Masters' Lodges were all connected with ordinary lodges on the register of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, which did not officially recognize the existence of the Royal Arch, whereas no Masters' Lodges have been traced in connection with the Grand Lodge of the Antients, which permitted its subordinate lodges to confer the Royal Arch under their Craft warrants. These points taken by themselves prove nothing, but, taken in conjunction with the other information available, they do suggest that, in some cases at least, Masters' Lodges were concerned with working a ceremony other than the Third Degree, very possibly some rudimentary form of the Royal Arch, which was perhaps the same as the ceremony described elsewhere as Scots Master Mason.

¹ Lane, *A.Q.C.*, i., 172.

² As pointed out previously, it is not unlikely that the Third Degree *legend* was only coming into use c. 1730, which may explain why many lodges were loath to work the Degree during the seventeen-thirties.

³ *Somerset Masters' Transactions*, 1917, 305, and Rylands, *Lodge of Antiquity*, 105, quoted by Lepper, *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., 148.

⁴ That there was a close connection between the Royal Arch and Installed Masters is shown by the fact that under the Grand Lodge of the Antients a candidate had to be an Installed Master before he could be admitted to the Royal Arch.

EARLY REFERENCES TO THE ROYAL ARCH.

Casual references to an "Arch" can be traced in masonic literature from 1723 onwards. Thus at the end of the historical section of *The Constitutions of The Free-Masons*, London, 1723, Anderson refers to the Royal Art being duly cultivated and the cement of the Brotherhood preserved, "so that the whole Body resembles a well-built Arch." John Pennell, in *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, Dublin, 1730,¹ remodels Anderson's last paragraph and concludes: "Let the cement of the Brotherhood be so well preserved, that the whole Body may remain as a well-built Arch." Two of the early printed masonic catechisms have questions relating to an arch, the one²: "Whence is an arch derived? From the Rainbow"; the other³: "Whence is an arch derived? From Architecture." The earliest mention of "Royal Arch" appears to be in a newspaper account of a masonic procession at Youghall on St. John's Day in Winter, 1743,⁴ when the Master was preceded by "the Royal Arch carried by two excellent masons." Which, if any, of these references relate to, or imply the existence of, a masonic ceremony, is problematical. It may well be that the word was used merely in a symbolical sense. Various masonic writers, including Gould,⁵ hold that the word "arch," in connection with Royal Arch, had originally nothing whatever to do with the noun "arch" (= a curved structure or vault), but was the adjectival prefix "arch" (= chief, pre-eminent, as in archangel, archbishop, archduke). The fact that the word "arch" in eighteenth century masonry was not infrequently used in association with the words "excellent" and "superexcellent" seems to support this interpretation. Against this interpretation it can fairly be urged that all the early references quoted above relate to the noun "arch," which was very possibly introduced into Masonry because the arch was regarded as the supreme achievement in architecture, and because its erection was the work of the most skilled craftsmen.

The first definite reference to Royal Arch as a degree appears to be that of Dr. Dassigny in 1744⁶; he refers to an assembly of master masons at York "under the title of Royal Arch Masons"; to a certain imposter in Dublin, who pretended to be "Master of the Royal Arch"; and to a brother who had "attained that excellent part of Masonry in London." After 1750 references become more common,⁷ but they are outside the scope of this paper.

THE ROYAL ARCH AND THE GRAND LODGE OF THE ANTIENTS.

I wish now briefly to examine Songhurst's threefold statement quoted early in this paper. The first proposition, *that the Royal Arch was known to and worked by the Antients in 1756, and inferentially from their establishment in 1751*, is a conclusion about which I feel there can be no question. The second proposition, *that the Antients derived their work from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, founded in or before 1725*, was proved by the researches of Henry Sadler,⁸ in what concerns the relationship, and of Chetwode Crawley,⁹ in what concerns the date. From this proposition, in conjunction with the fact that the Irish Royal Arch Legend (relating to the repair of the Temple under Josiah)

¹ Reproduced in Chetwode Crawley, *Cæmentaria Hibernica*, i.

² *A Mason's Examination*, London, 1723 (reprinted in Gould, iii., 487).

³ *The Grand Mystery of the Free Masons Discovered*, London, 1725 (reprinted in Gould, iii., 475).

⁴ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 10-14 Jan., 1743; the paragraph is printed in full in *Cæmentaria Hibernica*, i.

⁵ *History*, ii., 458.

⁶ Fifeild Dassigny. *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the Present Decay of Free-Masonry in the Kingdom of Ireland*, Dublin, 1744. The relevant paragraphs are printed in Hughan, *Origin of the English Rite*, 74-5.

⁷ See Hughan, 73 folg.

⁸ *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, 120 folg.

⁹ *Cæmentaria Hibernica*, ii., 9 folg.

is quite different from the English Royal Arch Legend (relating to the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubbabel), it seems to follow that no Royal Arch legend had been adopted by 1751. Had the Josiah legend existed in Irish Masonry in 1751, it would doubtless have been adopted by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, the leading spirit of which, Laurence Dermott, had been made a Royal Arch mason in Dublin in 1746. In that case it would almost certainly have been adopted by the United Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of England, when established in 1817, if the Antients in the Arch at all resembled the Antients in the Craft in the matter of pertinacity. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that the Zerubbabel legend existed in Irish Masonry in 1751, as that would imply that at a later date Irish masons switched over from one legend to the other, something entirely contrary to the ultra-conservatism which characterized the Irish in their masonic practices. The third proposition, *that the Grand Lodge of Ireland derived its work from the premier Grand Lodge in London*, I am inclined somewhat to question, in any case in the form in which it is put. In view of the facts that the earliest reference to a Lodge of Freemasons in Ireland relates to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1688,¹ and that the MS. *Catechism of Masonry* known as the *Trinity College, Dublin*, MS. bears the date 1711 in an endorsement, I should put the proposition somewhat differently, namely, "that Irish masonry derived its work from English accepted masonry at some date prior to the establishment of the premier Grand Lodge in 1717." There is also another possibility, which, in view of the close connection between Scotland and Northern Ireland, cannot be excluded, namely, that Irish masonry derived its working direct from Scottish operative masonry during the second half of the seventeenth century. It is also conceivable that Ireland obtained its masonry through both these channels. It is not impossible that some of the differences between English and Scottish masonic practice on the one hand, and Irish masonic practice on the other, are accounted for by the survival in Ireland of ancient Scottish or English usages, adopted long prior to 1725.²

CONCLUSION.

In bringing to a close this tentative, and necessarily somewhat speculative, study of Pure Antient Masonry, I would remind the Brethren that any attempt to write the history of masonry before c. 1730 is very similar to trying to solve a large jigsaw puzzle of which many essential pieces are missing. From time to time new pieces are discovered; sometimes they fit in very well with previous ideas, and sometimes they fit in very badly. In the latter case it is often necessary to reconsider the way in which the old pieces have been combined. Early masonic history is not a simple statement of facts, but an attempt to frame a scheme, or schemes, into which such facts as have been ascertained can be fitted; often no more is possible than balancing probabilities and choosing the most likely. There is, consequently, frequent need of revision as new material becomes available, or as the significance of old material is more fully appreciated. Of such new material, the *Graham MS.* is much the most important discovery of recent years, both on account of the light it throws on the possible origin of the Five Points of Fellowship, and because of the implication that the legend now associated with the Third Degree was very far from being firmly established by 1726. The importance of a new appreciation of old material may be illustrated from the recent realization of the distinction between an apprentice and an entered apprentice, which has undoubtedly helped to clarify various problems connected with masonic degrees and with the Mason Word. It is greatly to be hoped that from time to time further important discoveries will be made, which will either tend to confirm the working hypotheses

¹ Lepper and Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge . . . of Ireland*, 36.

² Cf. Lepper, *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 28.

put forward in this paper, or provide masonic students with more adequate material to construct new and better ones. The day when it will be possible to write anything approaching a definitive history of masonry before c. 1730 lies in the distant future.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. H. Poole, seconded by Bro. L. Edwards; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, W. J. Williams, F. R. Radice and J. W. Saunders.

Bro. Rev. H. POOLE writes:—

I was very glad to have the privilege of proposing the vote of thanks to Bro. Knoop for this most interesting and intriguing paper. Not so very long ago, when I had the temerity to put before the Lodge a "work of imagination," Bro. Knoop led the attack on my unsupported possibilities: it is not often that one is able so soon to "get one's own back" as I was, when I asked how "may" on page 26 became "very possibly" on page 30, and "probably" on page 31.

I am, in fact, by no means satisfied that we have anything like adequate evidence for the general thesis which Bro. Knoop puts forward: though—let me say this at the outset—I am strongly inclined to agree with him as to the early existence of some, at any rate, of the material which we now know in the Royal Arch. There will, no doubt, be more than one opinion as to the evidential value of what we may call the "incompleteness" of the 3° legend—for my own part I am inclined to believe that it must always have implied more to follow. But Bro. Knoop's very good point about the Masters' Lodges—a new one to me—will, though inconclusive, probably carry more conviction than any other. In this connection, however, it would be unwise to overlook the possibility that some of the material of the Royal Order of Scotland, which at certain times and in certain places was mixed with the Royal Arch, may have been the basis of their work.

By the way, among his suggestions as to the significance of the word "Arch," Bro. Knoop has possibly overlooked one which has always seemed to me an attractive possibility. I do not know who first made it, but I fancy it dates from the earlier days of this Lodge—that the Greek word for "beginning" is ἀρχη (arche) and so we might almost legitimately read "In the Arch was the Word: and the Word was GOD."

I am not sure of the importance of the point for this argument; but I am not inclined to agree with Bro. Knoop in his emphasis on the "twofold origin" of Masonic ceremony; nor am I prepared to admit, without a good deal more evidence (and at present I venture to say it is negligible), the suggested provenance of the two types as England and Scotland respectively.

In 1723, we find from the *Mason's Examination* that a part of the ceremony was read, and presumably a part was not. Moreover, we have several references suggesting that it was a matter of principle (probably long before the end of the seventeenth century) that certain matter must never be put into writing. The fact that part was read and part was not does, perhaps, suggest that the whole was not homogeneous—that one part (and we may possibly be inclined to think that it was the written part) was earlier than the other; but the fact that, on the one hand, only one of the "exposures" or catechisms refers to a reading, and, on the other, only one group of MS. Constitutions contains the remark about the secrets, does not, to me, suggest that the complete ceremony was the result of the combination of two more or less independent "workings." I would rather be inclined to suppose that the statement in the *Masons' Examination*,

which is really a sort of "running commentary" on the ceremony, is the key to the puzzle—that the "Catechism" begins where the "Constitutions" ends, exactly as the *Harris MSS.* suggest; and there appears to be no evidence that this was not always so. I am the more inclined to take this view, because the very catechism which mentions the reading is among those most closely related to the *Chetwode Crawley* group, with its reference to the "Thousand . . . Postures and Grimaces." It is interesting, too, to find remarkable resemblances between the forms of oath given in the *Old Charges* and those in the *Catechisms*.

The case for the different ceremonies in England and Scotland commends itself even less to me. If one country had a part, and the other had the whole, of the complete ceremony, there would be a strong case for some such view. But we are asked by Bro. Knoop to believe that, in the course of gradual evolution, each country borrowed the ceremony peculiar to the other; and, presumably still independently, each country combined the two in substantially the same way. This, I think, is asking rather too much, unless supported by some show of evidence. But of this there is literally none, beyond the facts that the earliest surviving catechisms are of Scottish character, while the earliest surviving MS. Constitutions are English. We have, by the way, no reason to cast doubt on the date (1581) given for the lost *Melrose No. 1 MS.*; though the charge of allegiance to the "King of England" (which appears in the *Melrose No. 2*) raises a further pretty point as to evidential value.

I do not for a moment suggest that there are no differences between the Masonry of the two countries, any more than I would deny wide differences locally within either country. But such differences would seem to me likely to be just such differences as we actually find between the surviving catechisms—such differences as are bound to occur in the general detail of matter which, on principle, was never to be committed to writing; and which, as a matter of fact, we do not find written until 1696—perhaps a symptom of a rapid growth of non-operative Masonry. As to this, I am strongly inclined to agree in the main with Bro. Knoop, and to see in the "Apprentice Charge" and the "New Articles" evidence for something new in the way of the introduction (or subdivision) of a "degree" and of an extended or revised organisation.

Even the Noah-Hiram variation I cannot see as Bro. Knoop sees it. If I read him aright, he suggests that, by way of communicating to the F. C. a legend bearing on the already existing F. P. O. F., the two countries independently arrived at these two results. I am stating this crudely: but, soften it as we will, it seems to me to be asking too much. For the legend has *not*, as Bro. Knoop says, come down to us "in two very different forms"—the forms are all but identical, and the only difference lies in the setting and the characters concerned. Only the deliberate substitution of one setting for the other—whether for disguise, or for the benefit of a rival organisation, or for any other purpose—could, so it seems to me, have produced such close parallels.

In conclusion, let no reader be misled into thinking that I am trying to belittle the value of Bro. Knoop's paper. Any such constructive theory has its value—whether further evidence, or the re-grouping of what we have already, tends to establish or to shake it, it will have done its very valuable part if it makes us go back to our sources, to analyse and sift once again the still unexhausted mass of material which even now accumulates faster than we can adequately deal with it.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

We have all listened with interest and edification not only to the paper but to the controversy between Bro. Knoop and Bro. Poole, which has been carried on over as wide a tract of country as a lacrosse match of the old days and with equal vigour.

The few facts that are known about the early history of the Royal Arch leave much room for conjecture, both intelligent and ill-advised, and it is distinctly refreshing to hear from Bro. Knoop hypotheses at least well worthy of consideration. We are faced with the problem so common in the history of institutions, and particularly in that of Freemasonry, of how far a system precedes the first recorded mention thereof, and to what extent it is a development of older systems and how much of it is spontaneous. It is perhaps unfortunate that Dassigny's reputation as an historian is not of the best, and that his reference to the Royal Arch is so tantalizing, but I think that on general grounds the order is not to be accepted as a spontaneous growth.

Further, we would like to know whether in Bro. Knoop's opinion there was any justification for what seems to have been the obvious antipathy of the "Modern" Masons to the Royal Arch, and how far his theories accord with that antipathy.

BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Our Past Master Bro. Douglas Knoop has favoured us with a paper not only of exceptional merit, but of great interest. So fine a piece of work is it that it would be ungenerous to offer any kind of criticism. Anything that I may have to say about it must, therefore, be regarded as mere thoughts or ideas that its perusal has incited.

In the first place I would like to express pleasure that a new work on the MS. *Constitutions* and the *Catechisms* is contemplated. I only hope it may be as good as the same authors' *Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*

The quotation from the *B.C.* with which Bro. Knoop begins is not the full text of the second of the Articles of Union. The fact that Lodges and Chapters were permitted to hold meetings in other degrees according to the Constitutions of these Orders is important. It is, however, too late in date to have had much effect on what our author has to say now, but it is not altogether without some bearing on the point. What may have been meant by "Pure Antient Masonry" in 1813 can be only guessed at, but one thing is clear—it included the Holy Royal Arch. Our present Third Degree, being so obviously incomplete, necessitates a completion and all intelligent Freemasons must seek further enlightenment.

The crux of the matter seems to lie in the nature of the Mason word. Several students have stated that the word is now unknown, but the late Bro. Alfred A. Arbuthnot Murray, Grand Scribe E. of Scotland, was of a different opinion. He said there were several references which quite clearly pointed in only one direction, and in response to an inquiry he wrote to me in September, 1919, telling me unequivocally what the word was.

I am sorry I did not carry the matter further by asking for a list of these references, as they would undoubtedly have been useful. Perhaps some other student will now come to our assistance.

Caution is necessary in writing on such matters, but it is obvious that if the word were really lost—in a particular sense—it is not difficult to conceive how a search would become necessary, and a legend would grow up around it.

What Gould called the epoch-making paper of the Rev. C. J. Ball on *The Proper Names of Masonic Tradition* in its full text should be consulted in this connection. Nor should the MS. Ritual of 1740, now in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, be neglected. It purports to give the Third Degree Ceremony before the splitting-off of the R.A.; and, whilst there may be some doubts about the authenticity of some of the statements concerning the document, I personally believe it fairly represents one of the many workings of the period.

Still more significant is the passage in *Solomon in all his Glory*, wherein we are told not only of the substitute word decided on at the "raising" of our third G.M., but what it had been before that time.

In my comments on the Masonic Poem of 1390 c. in the Leicester Transactions for 1914, I raised a point concerning the M.M. degree, which, so far as I am aware, no one has ever followed up.

It is, in my opinion, a mistake to talk of Grand Lodge "work." Our author tries to avoid that error by criticising Bro. Tuckett's suggestion that Grand Lodges organised ceremonies. On the few occasions any interference with ritual has been attempted by the authorities the results have generally been disastrous.

Only casual reference is made to the *Sloane MS.*, 3329, but our author says it gives evidence of only two degrees. Bro. Woodford, who brought out three editions of the MS., was of a different opinion, and I agree with him.

The reference to the Mason word in the *Muses Threnodie*, 1638, is, I am assured, not the only Masonic allusion in that work. It would be interesting and probably useful to have these tabulated.

Until Bro. Knoop suggested it, it had never occurred to me that the "Rule of Three" referred to the method of sharing and communicating the S. and M.W., but it has distinct possibilities.

These few scattered thoughts may not help much in elucidating the problem with which our author is dealing, but, if they stimulate further search, something may accrue.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

The commentator on such a subject as this must, by virtue of his obligations, be hampered in his statements not made in a Chapter of the Holy Royal Arch, and by the fact that in a Master Mason's Lodge he is debarred from stating anything esoteric made known to him as a result of his being exalted to Companionship in a Chapter.

I am not aware of any authority for the discussion of such esoteric matters in a Lodge. They have been deliberately excluded from Lodge material by the fact that a separate organisation has been formed to deal with all matters pertaining to the H.R.A. In reference to this I may be permitted to state that when on one occasion I was invited to address Grand Chapter on *Some sources of the Ceremony of Exaltation* it was subject to the proviso that no publication should be made of the contents of the address. It therefore remains unpublished.

It therefore appears that anything like a discussion of the contents of the Ceremonies of the H.R.A. is not permissible in a Craft Lodge. There are, of course, certain *external* matters associated with the H.R.A. which can be dealt with by students if they walk warily. If any have transgressed in the past that is no excuse for further transgression.

A further observation is pertinent.

Although the main lines of masonic ceremonies may have been the same in the past as they are now, it cannot be denied that extensive and important alterations and additions have from time to time been made in the contents of the ceremonies themselves, and that even now there are different versions used not only under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge in this country, but in other parts of the world. Freemasonry may be universal but it is certainly not uniform.

Bro. Knoop in his paper takes for his theme the Declaration of the Act of Union, 1813, whereby it was "declared and pronounced that pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more." . . . This declaration was the basis on which the Union between "Antient" and "Modern" Grand Lodges was made.

At page 5 he makes this statement:—

“If Pure Antient Masonry means a system of masonry in which the three distinct degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason can be shown to have existed even in their most rudimentary forms, it would probably not be safe to fix a date prior to 1723 or 1725 for the origin of Pure Antient Masonry.”

So far from assenting to this proposition as to the date of origin I deny it entirely.

The 1813 Declaration is not professedly dealing with esoteric matters. They are only the appendages of Masonry; but, without the appendages, the essence of the thing itself did exist, and must of necessity have existed ever since Masonry, *i.e.*, the Art of Building, was practised as such.

An *apprentice* is merely another name for a learner. How could Masonry begin to be practised without learners?

A *fellow Craft* is one who has actually made progress in the practice of Building, having been taught the Art by one qualified to do so.

A *Master Mason* is one who, having learned the art and practised it, has so developed his knowledge and skill as to be competent to undertake the management and direction of Building operations.

These three steps are obviously “degrees” however else they may be designated. The first use of the word “Degree” as applied to esoteric Freemasonry is probably that contained on the Title page of Prichard’s celebrated “exposure.” The word “degree” however is frequently used in the “Oldest Masonic Manuscript” which may be deemed as written about 1390 or earlier.

The precise application of the word “degree” must be governed by the context.

The Books of Constitutions have for many years prefaced their general regulations by a concise account of the Old Charges. The Old Charges themselves, together with the *Regius* MS., are clear evidences of the existence of Masonry, all alleging the Antiquity of the Craft and forming consecutive links in its History. The masonic works executed long before, as well as during the period of the publication of these old Charges, and the references in Statutes and other documents relating to the Craft amply attest the purity of the Masonry as well as its antiquity and superb efficiency.

The King’s Master Masons have been traced in the Public Records of this land for several centuries. Those Master Masons clearly had wardens and day workers under them and provisions were made for Apprenticeship, and Apprentices were made and employed as such. Thus the three grades are established as existing for a period which would in itself justify the word “Antient.”

The works of Masons in those and prior ages should convince us all that their Masonry was both Pure and Antient. We even have the word “speculatyf” applied to a member of the Royal Family.

Will anyone who is called a Mason deny that the Builders of the First and Second Temples practised Pure and Antient Masonry?

By a clause on page 5 Bro. Knoop seems to confirm his statement referred to at the beginning of these observations, for he says, “Once it is recognised that Pure Antient Masonry cannot be identified with the practice of the three degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason” . . . (thus inferring that it ought so to be recognised). Esoteric knowledge and attempts to exhibit that knowledge through the ages are things associated with Pure Antient Masonry, but they are not of the essence of Masonry, and may possess more or less of credibility without detracting from the validity of the assertion that Pure Antient Masonry has existed for many hundreds of years, and that present and past Ceremonies and particulars of secrets do not affect

the substance of the Purity and Antiquity of our Freemasonry. We and our predecessors may have decorated the Columns but the essence and ideal of the Columns still remain as landmarks we are bound incessantly to maintain.

One other thing seems abundantly clear to me. Pure Antient Masonry is not the same thing as the Freemasonry which we define as a peculiar system of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols. Having before us the materials and products and implements of the Masonic Art we have moralised thereon, and allegorised, and symbolised, because, as we aver, we meet not as operative but rather as speculative masons realising how fittingly the processes and tools of the building art can be adapted to the exposition of such things as a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens.

The relevant facts as to the documents relating to masonic ceremonial in its many variations are very usefully collected with references in Bro. Knoop's paper, which in many respects brings that part of the subject up to date, but the Lodge will probably consider that it is not necessary for me to do anything further now than to thank him for the way in which he has collected and expounded his materials and brought the valuable results of his researches to the notice of the Craft.

Bro. F. R. RADICE said:—

I wish to add my thanks to Bro. Knoop for his very interesting and illuminating paper. There are only two points on which I wish to make any comments. The first is on the effort made by the Masters in Edinburgh to form an inner circle. In the course of my investigations into the Carbonaro Society I have come across this tendency repeatedly. The Carbonaro informer, Doria, says that the higher degrees in the Carboneria were created partly to secure a better control over the formation of new Vendite, partly to satisfy the vanity of the senior Carbonari, who wanted some differentiation to distinguish them from the common herd. Another reason, which is very apparent in the doings of the Adelfi, is that as the numbers of Adepts increase, the chiefs feel the necessity of guarding their intentions from the multitude.

The other point on which I wish to make a comment is King Alboyn. Though some Brethren have suggested an identification with St. Alban or St. Alban, a historical student will at once turn to Alboin, King of the Longobards, who invaded Italy in the middle of the VIth Century, A.D. Alboin, son of Andoin, would no doubt have been called Ealwyn or Ealfwyn, son of Eadwyn, had he been an Anglo-Saxon. Though a mighty man he was a particularly unpleasant type of barbarian: though chief of a Germanic tribe, he allied himself with the Hunnish Avars treacherously to overwhelm the Gepidae, an offshoot of the Gothic nation, the noblest of the Germanic peoples at that time. Out of the skull of the slain King of the Gepidae he made himself a drinking cup. He married the Gepidian chief's daughter and later compelled her to drink out of her father's skull.

The question arises: how can this talented ruffian be connected with Freemasonry. The impossible chronology leaves me quite undisturbed. Though it is fantastic to imagine a VIth Century A.D. Germanic chief in the midway between Noah and Solomon, it is no less fantastic to imagine one who was a Saint, and therefore living in the Christian Era, as a contemporary of Bezaleel of the Exodus. Historically we can find a connection between Alboin, or at any rate his second successor, Anthari, and Masonry. The region round Lake Como remained an oasis under Byzantine rule surrounded by the territories conquered by the Longobards. The island of Comacina was the last stronghold to fall to Anthari. It is from this region that the guild of the mysterious

Magistri Comacini came, who took such a prominent part in the building operations of the Longobardic Kings. These operations gave rise to the architectural style known as Lombard, a forerunner of the Italian Romanesque. The church of St. Michael in Pavia is one of its earliest examples; and architects have found that its form and decoration expressed the gloom and terror of the Germanic forests.

I have not been able to find out whether the real Alboin had any brothers. Hodgkin in *Italy and her invaders* mentions a nephew; but he may have been a sister's son.

I wish to add only that I have deliberately used the Italian form "Longobard" to denote the barbarous Germanic tribe, leaving the later "Lombard" to denote the inhabitant of the country known as Lombardy of all ages of history.

Bro. J. W. SAUNDERS writes:—

I have read with absorbing interest and keen appreciation the excellent and able lecture on this subject from the pen of Bro. Douglas Knoop. I admire the restraint which he has imposed on himself in refraining from making an even more assertive statement that the Royal Arch Degree was actually practised in the Ancient Lodges. His seeming determination not to recognise any ceremony as the Royal Arch unless two conditions are satisfied, viz. (1) that it was described as such and (2) that it was practised as a separate grade, may be justified from his cautious attitude as a purist, but it has nevertheless imposed a severe limit on his investigations. There is concrete written evidence still extant that a ceremony which contained the prototype or prefatory points of the Royal Arch was practised in Scottish Lodges much earlier than 1751. I cite the instance of Stirling Rock R.A. Chapter No. 2 which proudly claims to be the oldest Chapter in the World. While admitting that the minute on which that claim was originally based cannot be substantiated I still think that the experience of Stirling has been too lightly dismissed by responsible historians. It happened to fall to my lot to investigate this claim recently to satisfy a request from the Grand Scribe E. of the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland. I attach a copy of my Report which may interest Bro. Knoop. Therein it is demonstrated that the points of the ceremony were described in 1745 as Excellent Master, Super Excellent Master and a further grade as Knights of Malta. Lodge Stirling Ancient Kilwinning adopted Byelaws in 1745 regulating the Fees to be charged for these grades. They are definitely described as separate ceremonies. This esoteric knowledge could not have grown up overnight. It must have been known and practised for a period beforehand, before the necessity for regulation arose. Unfortunately the previous Minute Book is missing and it is impossible to determine when these ceremonies were first worked. It is regrettable to note that this Minute Book was lost and presumably destroyed through a petty quarrel with a Past Master and these precious records lost to Masonry. Still the evidence of these grades is there. Possibly they were "telescoped" with other grades as mentioned by Bro. Knoop in other instances, but here is a record of separation in the charging of different fees. The ceremony may have changed by evolution—the Legend of the Second Temple may have been grafted on later; but to assume that the Royal Arch as we know it to-day has nothing whatever in common with these ceremonies of 1745 or earlier in a place like Stirling, which has had a continuous existence as a Lodge, is too much for credibility.

I shall be interested to hear later what opinion Bro. Knoop has on these extracts from the Minute Book of the Lodge of Stirling Ancient now No. 30 S.C.

MEMORANDUM ANENT THE WORKING OF THE ROYAL ARCH
DEGREE BY LODGE ANCIENT 30 STIRLING IN 1743.

The evidence of the Royal Arch Degree having been worked in Stirling in 1743 has hitherto rested upon a sworn declaration, duly attested as copied from the original record then existing and deposited in 1818 with the Grand Scribe E. for the time being of the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland in Edinburgh. The minute so attested is in the following terms:—

STIRLING, July 30th, 1743.

“Which day the Lodge of Stirling Kilwinning being met in the
“Brother Hutchison’s house, and being petitioned by Mungo Nicol,
“shoemaker and brother James McEwan, Student of Divinity at
“Stirling, and being found qualified, they were admitted Royal Arch
“Masons of this Lodge, have paid their dues to the Treasurer, John
“Callendar, R.W.M.”

It is essential to place on record however that the first Minute Book of Stirling Rock R.A. Chapter No. 2 has not been examined because it is understood to have been placed in the custody of Supreme Grand R.A. Chapter. Records were for a period kept apart from the Minutes of Lodge Ancient 30 and quite possibly some further information may be traced therein, but when these records commenced it is impossible to say in the absence of that missing Minute Book. With that reservation the following excerpts are transcribed from the Minutes of Lodge Ancient 30:—

1. There is no such Minute as that attested to be found in the Minute Book for 1743.
2. John Callendar was not Master of the Lodge in 1743. George Munro was the Master in 1742 and 1743. Walter Stirling was elected Master on 27th December, 1743, and held office till 27th December, 1744, when John Callendar was elected for 1745.

Note:—Two possibilities arise here—first, that 1743 is an error for 1745 and second that although John Callendar was not Master of the Lodge in 1743 he may have presided in the Royal Arch Degree attached to the Lodge. In the absence of written record this cannot be verified.

3. The following Minute is engrossed in 1745. Actual spelling is given.

STERLING July 30, 1745.

“The Which day the Lodge of Sterling Kilwinning having meet in
“Brother Hickson’s hous And being Petitioned by Mr. Mungo Nicoll
“Shoe Maker & Mr. James McEuen Student of Devenitie at Sterling
“& they being found qualified were accordingly Admitted as prentices
“& payed the accustomed dues accordingly to the trer:—
“Jo. Callendar M.”

The similarity which this Minute bears to the attested Minute of 1743 will be noted. The question is whether these two persons received the Royal Arch on the same day with the same Master in the Chair. In the absence of the missing Minute Book this cannot be verified.

4. In 1747 the following Minute is engrossed.

Brother Hicksons Sterling 30th November 1747.
Being St. Andrews Day.

“The same day Mr. James McEwan & John Forrester prentices in
“this Lodge begged to pass from being prentices to be Fellow Crafts
“in this Lodge and the Lodge finding them qualified do admitt them

“ as Fellow Crafts accordingly and they have instantly payed all dues
 “ as such to the trer: agreeable to the regulations. Hugh Seton M.”

Note.—This Minute of conferring the Fellow Craft on James McEwan one of the persons mentioned in the Minutes of 1743 and 1745 does not necessarily preclude the possibility of his having previously received the Royal Arch Degree. The sequence of the Degrees and the regulations for conferring them were not fixed or rigid in 1743 and 1745.

5. There is no record of passing and raising Mungo Nicoll in the period from 1745 to 1747.
6. There is no record in such of the Treasurer's Accounts as are engrossed in the Minute Book of any fees paid for the conferring of the Royal Arch Degree.
7. The following Minute is engrossed in 1784 and a few similar Minutes appear later.

STIRLING, Feby. 5th, 1784.

“ Advanced Brother John Hair to Excellent and Super Excellent
 “ and Brother Alan MacDonald ”

8. During the search in the safe in the Masonic Temple, Craigs, Stirling, there was discovered a separate Book containing the Byelaws of Lodge Stirling Kilwinning dated 1745. These Byelaws are signed by the members. These Byelaws mention Fees for conferring Excellent and Super Excellent Degrees and prove conclusively that the Royal Arch Degree in its essentials, though not described by that name, was known to at least some of the Brethren of Ancient Lodge Stirling Kilwinning at that time. Further, that knowledge must have been acquired some time previously even before 1743, because the Byelaws were decided upon to regularise proceedings and to stop abuses which had become prevalent, such as non-payment of fees. These abuses were of gradual growth and some time must have elapsed to cause irritation sufficient to harden the resolve to take action. Again, unless the Degree was known and the Office-Bearers were able to work the ceremonial the Fees for conferring it would not have been included in these Byelaws.
9. The Minutes dealing with the Byelaws are as follows. The Minute of 14th February, 1745, records an Act appointing a Committee for Byelaws for the better regulation of the Lodge. The Committee reported on 14th May, 1745, and the Lodge unanimously approved and appointed the same to be engrossed in a book apart.
10. The relevant extract from that Book is as follows.

“ Excellent and Super Excellent Five Shillings Sterling and Knights
 “ of Malta five shillings Sterling.”
11. A number of members who signed the Byelaws prefix the Templar Sign Manual to their signatures.

Bro. KNOOP, in reply, *writes*.—

In the space at my disposal I cannot deal with all the interesting points raised in the discussion and must content myself with touching on some which seem more particularly to call for comment. As he has very kindly proposed the vote of thanks I turn first to Bro. Poole's remarks. (1) The way in which “ very possibly ” on p. 30 became “ probably ” on p. 31 is simple. On reading the proofs I realised that “ possibly ” occurred twice in the same sentence on p. 31, and, in order to avoid repetition, but perhaps incautiously, I changed it to “ probably.” (2) Bro. Poole has apparently misunderstood my

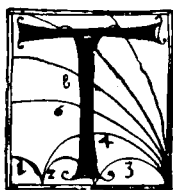
expression "twofold origin of masonic ceremonies." I do not wish to suggest that two entirely independent systems of masonry grew up and ultimately proved to be more or less alike, but that the system of masonry as we now know it, is built up out of two elements, one of English origin—the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*—and one of Scottish origin—the formalities associated with the imparting of the Mason Word. The available evidence suggests that it was operative masons in Scotland who first combined the two elements. So far as I am aware, there is no evidence that operative masons in England (with the possible exception of those in Northumberland and Durham) made use of the Mason Word; such evidence as there is rather points to the contrary. My suggestion is that English accepted masons derived their working not from English operative masons but from operative or non-operative members of Scottish lodges. English documents, such as the *Harris No. 1 MS.* and *A Mason's Examination*, which suggest the imparting of secrets, in addition to the reading of the Old Charges, would appear to have belonged to English accepted or non-operative masons, and not to English operative masons. (3) Bro. Poole, in drawing attention to a phrase on p. 18, where it is stated that the legend [explaining the F.P.O.F.] has come down to us in "two very different forms," has overlooked the fuller statement on p. 17: "Though the two legends differ entirely in their *dramatis personæ* and in their setting, both have, in their earliest known forms, the same *motif* . . . and the same subsidiary *motif*." In my Prestonian Lecture I suggested that the Noah story, with its distinctly necromantic flavour, was formulated first, and that the Hiram story, further removed from witchcraft, followed later. That idea I somewhat developed in this paper by saying that it is not impossible that the Noah legend originated in Scotland [among operative masons] and the Hiram legend among accepted masons in England. Bro. Poole has clearly not grasped my meaning when he says that "by way of communicating with the F.C. a legend bearing on the already existing F.P.O.F. the two countries *independently* arrived at these two results." The F. P. O. F., being part of the formalities associated with the Mason Word, were, in my opinion, of Scottish origin; at a later date a legend explaining them—the Noah legend—was formulated in Scotland. English accepted masons borrowed the F. P. O. F. from Scottish operative masons and, on the formulation of the Noah legend, acquired a knowledge of that also. My suggestion is that they may have found the story too gruesome and so elaborated another, with the same *motifs*, to serve as explanation. To my mind there is no possibility of the stories being of independent growth. Bro. Poole's observations on this matter, as on the previous one, seem to rest upon the assumption, which I do not accept, that operative masons in England were in possession of the Mason Word and all implied by it, including the F.P.O.F. My contention is that it was a Scottish operative institution introduced into England by accepted masons, and that, except possibly in Northumberland and Durham, it was not in use among English operative masons.

On the interesting points raised by Bro. Baxter I must limit myself to three observations: (1) Not being a Semitic scholar, I can form no judgment as to the soundness or consequent importance of Bro. Ball's paper on the *Proper Names of Masonic Tradition*, but I disagree entirely with the conclusion that, since the names in question are found in the Old Testament, strength is lent to the supposition that Masonry, as we know it, either originated among the Jews or was transmitted through them to the nations of modern Europe (*A.Q.C.*, v., 136). (2) As readers are probably aware, *Sloane MS. 3329* does not appear to be a mason's *aide-mémoire*, but a collection of notes on the Mason Word, probably compiled from various sources. Thus it would hardly be surprising if in some places it were self-contradictory. In one place it states that a just and perfect lodge consists of two "Interprintices," two fellow crafts and two masters, which might seem to imply three degrees. As the Scottish

expressions entered apprentice and fellow craft are used, this particular section is probably of Scottish origin. In the seventeenth century, there were entered apprentices, fellow crafts and masters in the Lodge of Edinburgh, but the masters were merely those fellow crafts who were members of the Incorporation of Masons. Thus, although there were three classes of masons, there were only two degrees recognised by the lodge, namely E.A. and F.C., and the same may be true of the *Sloane MS.* reference. In another place, where the MS. refers to secrets, it appears to contemplate a twofold series, one relating to fellow crafts and one to masters—in this case, judging by the context, master masons. This section is presumably of English origin, since in Scotland master masons and fellow crafts were identical. It is in this reference to secrets that I take the *Sloane MS.* to indicate two ceremonies. (3) I have examined Adamson's *Muses Threnodie*, more particularly the fifth Muse, which, according to Crawford Smith (*Lodge of Scoon and Perth*, 41) offers internal evidence "which we cannot specify," that the writer of the poem was a mason. There is undoubtedly one point suggestive of matters associated nowadays with the first degree ceremony; but I know of no reason to think that these matters played any part in the ceremony of admitting an entered apprentice in the seventeenth century. There is certainly no indication of them in the early *MS. Catechisms of Masonry*. I feel that there is some danger of reading into Adamson's words more than they were intended to convey.

I am afraid that I cannot answer Bro. Edwards's question regarding the antipathy of the "Moderns" to the Royal Arch; possibly it arose from the fact that the Royal Arch was so warmly embraced by the "Antients." I do not think that it affects my conjectures one way or another. Bro. Radice's first comment seems to support the possibility that "masters" had their own secrets. His second, concerning King Alboin, whom I mention quite casually, hardly arises directly on this paper; but it is perhaps worth observing that there may have been some confusion of this character, whoever he was, with the Albanach or Albanactus whom Geoffrey of Monmouth, and those who followed him, made out to be a son of Trojan Brutus, and King of Albania or Scotland. Since the uncle of Brutus is represented as a contemporary of Eli the priest who governed in Judaea, and Albancht as more or less contemporary with Samson, we have a character chronologically much near to Bezaleel than the barbarian mentioned by Bro. Radice. [See e.g. Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 109; *Original Chronicles of Andrew of Wyntoun* (Scottish Texts Soc.) vol. ii., p. 309.] I am grateful to Bro. Saunders for drawing attention to the Stirling records; the by-laws of 1745 certainly provide ground for thinking that the Royal Arch in its essentials, though not described by that name, was known at least to some of the brethren of Ancient Lodge Stirling Kilwinning as early as 1745. With reference to the observations of Bro. Williams, as I understood the Declaration of 1813, the three distinct degrees of E.A., F.C. and M.M. relate to "degrees" in the present masonic sense, and it is solely with that type of "degree," and the esoteric knowledge associated with such "degrees," that I am concerned in this paper. The large subject of grades among medieval masons, including the question of apprenticeship, I regarded as definitely outside its scope, and I have no space to enlarge on these questions here.

FRIDAY, 1st MARCH, 1940.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, P.M., as W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M., Treas., as S.W.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., J.W.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; and F. R. Radice.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. F. Hatten; R. W. Strickland; F. Spooner, P.G.St.B.; Rev. G. Freeman Irvin, D.D., P.G.Ch.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; J. R. Cully, P.G.Purs.; Capt. R. Henderson-Bland; E. D. Lottin; H. Johnson; A. F. Cross; F. Coston Taylor; T. C. Brice; C. D. Rotch; W. H. Peterson; R. A. Card; L. G. Wearing; Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, P.G.D.

Also the following Visitor:—Bro. J. S. Ballance, P.M., South Norwood Lodge No. 1139.

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, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; D. Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff; D. Knoop, M.A., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., W.M.; B. Ivanoff, S.W.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derbys.; F. L. Pick, J.D.; H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; and G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.

The W.M. read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

WALTER KELLY FIRMINER.

BRETHREN,

We have quite recently suffered a great loss by the death of V.W.Bro. Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger, D.D., who died on 27th February, at the age of 69.

Bro. Firminger came of a learned family; he was the youngest son of the Rev. T. A. Firminger, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company. Bro. Firminger was born at Edmonton in 1870, and was educated at Lancing College and Merton College, Oxford. He matriculated in 1889; graduated as B.A. in 1893, and took Honours in Modern History; became M.A. in 1896; B.D. in 1905; B.Litt. in 1917; and D.D. in

1920. He was ordained at Hereford in 1893, the year he graduated, in which year he went to Mombasa, and afterwards served in the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Zanzibar. When he returned to England in 1897 he held for a year the appointment of Curate at Margate; after which he went to India, becoming Junior Chaplain at Calcutta Cathedral; and later, Chaplain at Kidderpur; and, in 1914, Archdeacon of Calcutta, where he remained till 1923. On his return to England in 1923 he was appointed to the benefice of Padbury in Buckinghamshire; and in 1926 he became Chaplain to the King at Hampton Court, which office he held till his death.

He was a keen student of Modern History, and a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, for whom he edited several volumes of Records. He published many treatises on theological subjects: and among his other works were:—

Guide to Calcutta
 Essays on Zanzibar, and Kashmir
 Narrative of a Gentleman Long Resident in India
 The Genuine Letters of Asiaticus
 Diaries of three Surgeons in Patna.

Bro. Firminger travelled widely, in the East, in Canada, and in Europe, and acquired knowledge and experience of peoples which fitted him in every way for his research work.

In Freemasonry also Bro. Firminger's experience was wide. He was initiated in 1898 in the Yeatman Biggs Lodge No. 2672; and became Master of Lodge Humility with Fortitude No. 229 in Calcutta in 1903. In that year Bro. Firminger was appointed District Grand Chaplain, Bengal; and in 1905 District Grand Warden. In 1931 he became Grand Chaplain.

In the Royal Arch Bro. Firminger was exalted in Chapter No. 234 in Calcutta, and installed as First Principal in Chapter Fortitude No. 229. He was appointed District Grand Registrar; and later, in 1931, Grand Chaplain.

In the Mark Degree he was advanced in Lodge No. 80 in Calcutta; he was Deputy District Grand Master in Bengal from 1918 to 1921; and became Past Grand Chaplain in 1925.

In the Ancient and Accepted Rite Bro. Firminger was P.M.W.S. of Adoniram Chapter, and held the rank of 30°.

As a Knight Templar Bro. Firminger was Preceptor of Alfred Preceptory, Cambridge, and Past Great Prelate in Great Priory.

He was a member of the Royal Order of Scotland, and held the rank of Past Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Southern Scotland.

The Red Cross of Constantine, the Allied Degrees, the Cryptic Degrees, and the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia were all included in his activities.

In connection with Quatuor Coronati Lodge remembrance of Bro. Firminger particularly appeals to us. He joined the Correspondence Circle in 1900, and became a full member in 1929; he was Master of the Lodge in 1933. His work as a member of the Lodge was extensive and varied. Among the papers he contributed are:—

The Old Bengal Lodges
 Eighteenth Century Continental Masonry
 Freemasonry in Savoy
 Freemasonry in France in 1725-1735
 Members of the Lodge at the Bear and Harrow
 The Romances of Robison and Barruel
 A short History of Lodge Humility with Fortitude
 A History of Freemasonry in Bengal
 The early days of Lodge Industry with Perseverance.

In his Inaugural Address he dealt with the early records of Freemasonry. In addition to all these valuable papers his contributions in the way of Notes, and Comments in the discussions of papers read before the Lodge, were frequent and very useful additions to our store of knowledge.

Two Masonic Libraries and ten Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By the Lodge.

A.Q.C., Vol. XVI., marked at page 163—a paper by Bro. F. J. W. Crowe on “A Curious Carbonari Certificate”, showing reproductions of three certificates.

Copy of Carbonari Certificate, similar to one mentioned by Bro. Crowe; dated 1707 and mentions Fmy; but is of doubtful authenticity.

Copy of Carbonari Certificate, which is genuine—with a translation by Bro. F. R. Radice.

Manual by Saint-Edme, which gives a copy of the above certificate. (In French).

Memoirs of Secret Societies of South Italy, particularly the Carbonari. Anonymous. (In English.) This has illustration of a Vendita meeting and also of a couple of Certificates.

By Bro. F. R. RADICE.

A wooden cross containing a dagger. This particular sample is not original, but an exact copy of that used by monks in medieval times. On the dagger is, on one side, the word “Misericordia”, which meant that the dagger was supposed to be intended for use in putting severely wounded men out of their pain after absolution. On the other side is the word “Rosicroce”—but it is not clear to what this refers.

The cross is made of olive wood; and the article has a double use—

1. Cross
 2. Dagger.
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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 III.

CHAPTER XX.—THE RITUAL AND SYMBOLISM OF THE CARBONERIA.



Y 1820 the Carboneria had attained to the height of its power and was ready to try conclusions with Absolutism. It was able, in some parts of Italy at any rate, to hold its meetings and conduct its ceremonies without much interference from the authorities. I will, therefore, now consider its rites and its symbolism as they were at this period, when the Society exercised its greatest influence and its esoteric side reached its highest development, before circumstances inevitably compelled the curtailment of the ritual and, eventually, its practical abandonment.

Originally the Carbonarian degrees were but two, those of Apprentice and Master. *The Memoirs*,¹ which quote Article 3 of the "Chapter on the general doctrine of the Order" in the Carbonarian Statutes, prove this as regards Naples; the depositions of Maroncelli² bear this out as regards the Papal States. The number of degrees soon grew, in order to gratify the vanity of the senior Good Cousins and to establish a firmer control over the creation of new Vendite, according to the depositions of Doria in 1832.³ The creation of new degrees was, no doubt, also due to a process not uncommon in the case of secret societies, of which the Adelfi give us an example. As the Sect becomes popular and its numbers increase, it becomes necessary to preserve its more esoteric objects and its more secret aims from the lower ranks of its own members, as well as from outsiders. This became especially necessary as regards the Carboneria's political aims, a point which will be considered in due course.

As regards the third degree, the authorities differ. Pardi⁴ tells us that Maghella invented a third degree, but we know no details. *The Memoirs*⁵ give us a ritual which was contained in a pamphlet, which deals with the death of one Philomelus of Thebes. This name appears in the third degree referred to, but not named, by Doria³; and he also figures in a catechism published from a Neapolitan document by Luzio.⁶ Dito gives us as the name of the third degree

¹ p. 22. Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 355, Doria's depositions.

² Dito, pp. 325, 327.

³ Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 356, 369.

⁴ Ottolini, p. 43.

⁵ pp. 33-35.

⁶ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 397, note.

"Knight of Thebes", and we shall probably not be very far wrong if we regard all these fragments of evidence as referring to this degree. On the other hand St. Edme¹ gives us, in addition to a ritual of the first two degrees, one of a third degree, which he received from Father P . . . , a member of the Ricolti, a branch of the Franciscans, in 1807, who conferred on the author at Verona the first two degrees only, stating that he was not empowered to confer that of Grand Master Grand Elect. The presence of Austrian soldiers as enemies of the Good Cousins in this third degree ceremony shows that this version of the third degree must have been altered after 1814, and it may have been confined to North Italy. Bro. Irwin gives us this same degree of Grand Elect, but in his most complete ritual he calls it the Fourth degree and interpolates, between the degree of Apprentice and that of Master, a degree which he calls *Compagnon Fendeur*. From the internal evidence of the ritual I am of the opinion that this degree is a variant of some Fendeur ceremony and is not Carbonarian; and I cannot therefore accept it in the absence of corroborative evidence. In the Romagne,² "Grand Master", which elsewhere is merely the title of the president of the Vendita, is the name of a separate degree, which in that region is the third. In Naples this degree seems sometimes to have been called "Perfect Master".³

The number of the higher degrees is uncertain. St. Edme⁴ says that the total number of degrees in the Carboneria was seven, but the four higher were conferred only on the seven rulers of the Order. Witt⁵ also says that degrees were seven: but of the higher ones he gives only the names of the fourth, "Apostle", and of the seventh, "Princeps summus patriarchus". Doria⁶ says the number was nine, but does not give their names and admits that he never received the three highest. According to him, the fourth, fifth and sixth degrees were conferred on him in Genoa in 1814, and, therefore, must have existed at that date. Thayer states that there were eleven in Sicily, but gives no evidence and can be disregarded.⁷ Nicolli⁸ mentions a "Union of the Committee of the Mountain", but apart from not giving any evidence, does not say if this was a last degree or a controlling administrative body.

The most complete list is given by Dito⁹ and runs as follows: Symbolical degrees: 1, Apprentice; 2, Master. Sublime degrees: 3, Knight of Thebes or Perfect Master³; 4, Disciple; 5, Apostle; 6, Evangelist. Assemblaic degrees: 7, Patriarch; 8, Archpatriarch; 9, Most powerful Archpatriarch. The degree of "Apostle", which, as we have seen, was known in Naples in the time of Murat as that of the "Holy Apostle",¹⁰ has become in this list the fifth. In the Papal States there seem to have been variations. Munari gave the progression after the degree of Master as: 3, Grand Master; 4, Light; 5, High Light; 6, Patriarch, and added that he thought the full number was eight. In the Papal States the ruler of the Vendita was often called the "Regent"; and "Grand Master" could be used for a degree's name. On the other hand "Light" is used to denote the three highest officers of the Vendita and "Grand Light" to denote the highest dignitaries of the Society. Confortinati¹¹ the impostor, on whose statements therefore little reliance can be placed, gives another list: 3, Grand Master; 4, Deputy of the Grand Master of Equality;

¹ pp. 1-7.

² Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 247; vol. ii., pp. 281-282. Nicolli, pp. 33-36.

³ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 397, note. The name "Perfect Master" is applied to a Knight of Thebes in the catechism of the degree, which is headed: "Catechism of the Perfect Master".

⁴ p. 184.

⁵ p. 21. Ottolini, p. 112.

⁶ Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 298, 356, 364.

⁷ *Dawn of Italian Independence*.

⁸ Nicolli, p. 62.

⁹ Quoted by Ottolini, p. 112, note.

¹⁰ *A.Q.C.*, vol. li., p. 75.

¹¹ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 330. Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 295.

5, Member of the Council of the Grand Master of Equality; 6, First Companion of the Grand Master of Equality; 7, High Light; 8, Grand Patriarch.¹

It remains to add that, according to Dito,² promotion from one degree to another in the Carboneria did not mean, as in Freemasonry, successive, more ample revelations of the Truth, but the acquisition of wider powers and the knowledge of the more intimate political aims of the Society. It is clear that the number of Good Cousins admitted to the highest degrees was very small, and there is reason to think that this more esoteric Carboneria held principles and favoured objects which often ran counter to those of the ordinary members.³

Originally any Master, apparently, could form a Vendita; later, as we have seen, it was found necessary to establish a stricter control. According to the Constitution of the Order found in the Milan Archives,⁴ a High Vendita ruled over Mother Vendite, and these over Daughter Vendite. A Daughter Vendita could be set up only at the request of a Mother Vendita, though the High Vendita could act on its own initiative if there was no Mother Vendita in the district in which the new Vendita was to be formed. The only condition seems to have been the existence of the requisite number of Good Cousins, of whom three had to be Masters, to fill the three highest offices in the Vendita. If necessary, these three Masters could be created specially. The Grand Master of a new Vendita took the oath to the Mother Vendita or its representative, but his officers took the oath to him personally. Each Vendita had its own district, which was called in the Milan document⁴ *Ordine*, another use of that unusual word; and no Good Cousin could belong to the Vendita of a district other than that in which he lived, unless it had no Vendita of its own.

A Mother Vendita could be formed in any district in which there were three Daughter Vendite, but there had to be seven Masters available before it could be set up. Mother Vendite had representatives of the grade of Master in every Daughter Vendita and each Daughter Vendita sent a representative to its Mother. Similarly each Mother Vendita had to admit a representative of the High Vendita, a High Light, and sent a representative of her own to the High Vendita. The presence, or at any rate the consent, of the representative of the higher authority was essential before any business could be transacted in a Vendita. In this way control was exercised throughout the Order.

The number of the Good Cousins in a Vendita varied. Cantù⁵ says the Society was constituted in "tenths", which seems to imply that it was organised on a decimal basis, a limit observed in the Sons of Mars in the Romagne⁶ and in other instances. The Milanese document²¹ merely says that ten Good Cousins were sufficient to justify the formation of a Vendita, and Doria⁷ confirms this when he says that a Vendita had to be composed of not less than nine members. De Atellis⁸ on the other hand states that the "Society of Charbonniers" (*sic*), which he calls Masonry in two degrees, was divided in nuclei of twelve workers. We know that the membership of some Vendite in Naples was very numerous.

According to Rinieri and Doria's depositions⁹ the word "Capanna" (Hut) was used to denote an Assembly to perform the lesser labours of the

¹ It is interesting to note that Ragon called himself in 1805 "Maître Parfait" and "Maître Elu", terms used in the Carboneria and the Adelfia. *A.Q.C.*, vol. xviii., p. 98, "Ragon" by Songhurst.

² pp. 178-182.

³ Witt, p. 21.

⁴ This document is quoted in Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 397, note.

⁵ *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 124.

⁶ See also *A.Q.C.*, vol. li., p. 84, as regards the "Sans Compromission". The membership of the Ventes of the French Charbonniers were limited to 12, according to Nicoll, p. 24, and Ottolini, p. 40.

⁷ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 369.

⁸ Ottolini, p. 40.

⁹ *Pellico*, vol. ii., pp. 4-5. Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 356.

Apprentice's degree, which are not specified; all other Assemblies were called Vendite. This may have been a late development, possibly introduced from Spain. Doria uses the term in his version of the Carbonarian Constitutions.

A Vendita had Dignitaries and Officers. The Dignitaries were the Grand Master and two Assistants, known as the three Lights, the Orator, Secretary, Treasurer and Archivist; and the Officers were the Expert and the Coverers. Their duties were briefly as follows: The Grand Master ruled the Vendita and could be addressed only through the Assistants, who acted as his substitutes when he was absent and ruled each over a row, or Ordono, of Good Cousins in the Vendita. The Orator summed up the debates, made the formal speeches, gave the lectures and conducted the catechisms; the Secretary kept the Minutes, drew up the Agenda or "Table of the Labours" and carried on the correspondence; The minutes and items of correspondence were called "Pezzi di Fornello" (Fragments of the Oven); the Treasurer collected the dues and fines and paid the dues or "Medals" to High Vendita; the Archivist kept the furniture and regalia; the Expert looked after the Candidates; and the Coverers were the Inner and Outer Guards of the Vendita. The Lights could hold office for three years, the other Dignitaries could be re-elected annually, but only with the consent of High Vendita; the ordinary Officers could hold office for only one year and could be deposed after three absences. This is the arrangement given in the Milan document. St. Edme¹ varies it slightly. Both he and *The Memoirs* call the Expert the "Adept", and both add a Master of Ceremonies. We hear also of an Almoner.

The depositions of the Carbonari given in Pierantoni are of particular interest, as they give us what actually took place on certain occasions, and not merely what was prescribed. At a meeting in Count Saffi's house, Maroncelli said² the Officers present were: the Regent, Secretary, two "Sorveglianti" (Overseers), Orator, Master of Ceremonies, a "Temibile" or "Terrible" (Fearful or Terrible One), who performed the duties of the Expert, and an Archivist. At another meeting at Saffi's house held on the 20th of July, 1817,³ the Orator was also called a "Luce" or Light, and the Terrible was called the "Cavaliere o Maestro temibile" (the fearful Knight or Master), and the Coverers were called "Guardatari" (Guards). The Grand Master was called the Regent by Casali⁴; and Foresti designates him as the "Visibile" (Visible one) as in Guelfia.⁵ We note the use of the title of "Regent" for the ruler of the Vendita, as this Vendita met in the Papal States. As regards the "Terrible or Fearful One", Delfini⁶ said that among the Officers of a Freemason's Lodge were the Principal, two Wardens, the Orator, the Secretary, the Master of Ceremonies, and the Terrible Master. This designation was used to denote an Office of the Sublime Elect Degree⁷ of the Adelfi. As far as I can see, the Offices of a Vendita could be held by Good Cousins of the degree of Apprentice, except, of course, those of the Lights, who had to be Masters.

Heckethorn mentions among the Officers "Insinuators, Scrutators, Censors and Coverers". We know nothing of the first two. There were Censors in French Charbonnerie after 1820. Among the ordinary Good Cousins he refers to "Forlorn Hopes", chosen for dangerous enterprises, and "Sta bene" (All right), who never advanced beyond the first degree. Again we know nothing of these two classes of ordinary members, and we do not know from what source

¹ pp. 41-44.

² Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 24.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 70. It may have been the same meeting as that referred to by Maroncelli.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 275.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 202.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 317.

⁷ Record Office FO, 70/92.

Heckethorn derived his information. There were such classes in "Young Italy" according to Cantù, and Heckethorn must have mixed up the two Societies.

The political and social qualifications of Candidates are dealt with elsewhere. Here it is only necessary to emphasise the privileged position of the Freemasons, who were admitted simply by ballot, and did not have to pass through any of the usual tests, beyond swearing to secrecy.¹ A Freemason of a degree higher than the first three could become straightaway a Master Carbonaro, but he had to be properly initiated into the Carboneria before he could become a Grand Master. As we have seen,² the highest degrees in the Carboneria were conferred only on Good Cousins who possessed a degree in the Scottish Rite, which, in Italy, indulged in political³ activities. Fidanza⁴ tells us that when the formation of the Carboneria was still being debated, the three highest Offices in the proposed Society, which it was then intended to call Grand Master, Grand Missionary and Grand Visitor, were to be reserved for High Lights in Freemasonry. We hear no more of the Grand Missionary and Grand Visitor. According to Doria,⁵ after 1815 Freemasonry resumed its former activities in Italy and added to them by adopting the aims of the Carboneria. This is almost certainly an exaggeration.

The Carbonari and the members of kindred societies were expected to provide themselves with a musket and fifty cartridges. Doria says they were expected to carry two pistols and a dagger in the Vendita and to have on them fifteen francs—probably a late, and possibly a local, development.⁶

The ordinary man, or "Pagan", as the Carbonari called him, had to be properly proposed and his qualifications stated in a Vendita, or sometimes to a "Light" out of the Vendita.⁷ A single well-founded objection would cause his rejection. If he was accepted the Grand Master deputed three Good Cousins to examine the Candidate's moral character and his political opinions and render separate reports. The proposition was then put to the vote. According to the Milan document, only if he obtained three quarters of the votes would his case be considered further. The Grand Master then asked any remaining objectors to state their reasons in writing and, if their objections were not considered justified, the Candidate was accepted. In later years the test was still more rigorous.⁸ After the examiners' reports had been received one blackball was sufficient to secure rejection, but the ballot could be repeated three times and the Grand Master could call on the objectors to state their reasons to him in private. Unless, however, the objections were withdrawn, the result of the last ballot was final, the Candidate's name was entered in the "Black Book" and he could not be proposed again until a year had elapsed. Casali⁹ tells us how candidates were proposed after the Macerata failure, when the Vendite in the Marches had ceased to meet and had split up into Sections of 6—10 members. The Head of a Section had to put the name of the Candidate to the Section for approval and, after it had been accepted, it had to be submitted to a meeting of the Heads of all the Sections of the dormant Vendita. We have also instances of receptions made, under the stress of circumstances, in most irregular fashion, with no formal proposition or acceptance, like those of Pellico, Porro and Canova, all by Maroncelli. After acceptance, the Candidate received notification

¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 165.

² A.Q.C., vol. li., p. 48-49.

³ Ottolini, p. 31, quoting Gyr and Pacci's "*Il libro del Massone Italiano*", p. 226.

⁴ Ottolini, p. 44.

⁵ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 414.

⁶ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 359.

⁷ Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 356-358, and Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 281-330.

⁸ Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 356-358.

⁹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 281-282.

from his proposer of the date and place of his initiation and was led to the Vendita by a devious route.

The compilers of the ritual had the rituals of the Charbonniers, the Fenderie, the Compagnonnage, the Happy Pauls, the Illuminati and the early nineteenth century rituals of the various Masonic degrees, including those of the Old Knights Templar and the Rosicrucians, to draw on; and we shall find continually imitations of their features. For our information we are indebted to *The Memoirs* for excerpts of the first two degrees, a very defective ritual of what seems to be the Knight of Thebes' ceremony and an invaluable illustration of a Vendita at work, reproduced at the end of this paper. Bro. Irwin gives us complete versions of the first two degrees and of that of Grand Elect with their catechisms. St. Edme has a summary of the first degree ceremony, and the most complete and extensive versions of the Masters' and the Grand Elects' ceremonies and the catechisms of all three ceremonies, of the Labours of the Table or ritual used at the banquets and of the clothing worn by the Good Cousins; Dito gives us the fullest version of opening and closing the Vendita and other useful information. Luzio in his *Giuseppe Mazzini Carbonaro*, gives us much of the information derived from Doria's statements, with numerous excerpts from his depositions before the Austrian authorities, as to alternative, and probably later, versions of the first two ceremonies and in a note,¹ the catechism of the Knight of Thebes. In his *Processe Pellico Maroncelli* Luzio gives at length extracts from the papers in the Milan archives and comments derived from those seized from Oroboni, as will be related in another chapter—all originals which give us the ceremonies of the first two degrees and the labours of "mastication" and some additional details. Gyr's book also gives us the ceremony of the Grand Elect's degree, summarised in parts. In the "*Annales Maçonniques des Pays Bas*", vol. i., we have, with slight variations, the same ritual that St. Edme gives us, and the author clearly had read St. Edme's book.

Before describing the ceremonies of which we have information, I will give a few details about the Charcoal burner's craft, which may not be so familiar as that of the Mason. The Charcoal burner first felled the timber, cut it up into billets of the requisite shape and sometimes tied these up in faggots. The timber was then often charred in a pit in the ground, but more usually it was stacked in the form of a flat cone about twelve feet high and forty feet in diameter. The stack was then covered with twigs, leaves, nettles, ferns and other brushwood and then a layer of earth or turf was laid on the top. A vent at the apex and others in the sides, as required, controlled the rate of burning. The pile was fired at the top and burnt downwards and outwards. The various implements used were the axe, the rake, the pole, the spade, an Italian mattock which consisted of the blade of a spade fixed to a handle like the blade of an adze, and small baskets. From these processes and implements the Carbonari derived their symbolism.

The premises in which the Vendita met were known as the Barracca or Shed. It² contained the room in which the Vendita itself was held, the Chamber of Contemplation and other rooms, which were called generically the Foresta or Forest, a term which can be used in a wider sense, even to include the whole world.³ The meeting of the Carbonari was known as the Vendita or sale, which would be the most natural place for operative charcoal burners to meet their colleagues and clients. Maroncelli⁴ gives us alternative terms embodying the same idea, namely "*Mercato*" (market) and "*Adunanza*" (assembly).

¹ p. 397, note.

² *Memoirs*, p. 25.

³ Dito, p. 141.

⁴ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 19.

We must now consider the lay-out of the room in which the Vendita was held, a word which, like "Lodge", is used in several senses. In describing it and the Carbonaro ceremonies, the signs, words and clothing, I will give first what I conceive to be in each case the normal arrangement and refer afterwards to such variations and departures from normal of which we have cognisance. The Vendita's room was oblong in shape, panelled with timber and paved with tiles, usually, as was customary in South Italy, unglazed. On either side of the room were benches for the Ordoni¹ of Good Cousins to sit on, the Masters in the South and the Apprentices in the North. At the East end there were three tree boles, or tree-trunks, each supported on three stumps, to serve as pedestals for the Grand Master, the Orator and the Secretary. Two more boles for the two Assistants were placed at the West end, on each side of the door, the first Assistant sitting in the South and the second in the North. About half-way down the Vendita sat the Master of Ceremonies in the South and the Adept or Expert in the North. The various decorations of the Vendita according to *The Memoirs* were: Behind the Grand Master, a radiant triangle containing the initial letter of the password of the Master's degree; on one side, it is not clear which, a triangle bearing the badge of the Vendita, and on the other three triangles, each containing the initial letter of the sacred word of the Apprentices' degree. All these were transparent and could be illuminated by means of lights placed behind them. On the Grand Master's trunk were placed: a linen cloth, water, salt, a crucifix, leaves, firewood, a light, earth, a crown of white thorns, a ladder, a ball of string and three ribbons in the colours of the Sect, as well as a Bible and the Constitutions of the Order.

The illustration in *The Memoirs* shows a somewhat simpler arrangement, there is only a picture of St. Theobald behind the Grand Master's chair and no triangles, and the Master of Ceremonies and the Adepts are shown sitting nearer the West than half-way between East and West.

The arrangement of the ornaments and furniture was not always the same. Bro. Irwin mentions an altar in the middle of the Vendita and places a symbolical picture behind the Grand Master's chair and radiant triangles behind those of the Orator and Secretary. In his "Compagnons Fendeurs" he places on a bench in the West across the entrance, a most inconvenient arrangement. Doria² gives us somewhat different details, which may be of a later date. The walls of the Vendita were painted to represent a forest. The Grand Master's "throne" was backed by a black cloth, which formed also a kind of awning. To this black cloth a cross was attached and under it two hands crossed in the manner described as "in faith". On the East wall there were: towards the North a transparency representing the Moon and a picture of St. Theobald, towards the South a transparency representing the Sun and a picture of King Francis I. of Naples. Later King Francis was replaced by a picture of the Grand Master. On the South wall of the Vendita were seven stars surrounding the letter G,³ which, Doria says, may have meant "Gesù" (Jesus) or Geometry. Instead of tree trunks, triangular tables were used by the officers. The Grand Master sat in the East as before, but all the other officers sat on his right and left, among them, on his right, the Orator. On the North of the Grand Master's table was the "Trunk of the Oath", a log about four ells high, sharpened at both ends by diagonal cuts, standing upright on a pedestal. A snake made of laurel leaves was twined round it; from its mouth hung the symbols of Our Lord's Passion, and at the foot of the pedestal was a cloth with a bundle of firewood on it. On the South of the Grand Master's table

¹ Maroncelli once called the row of Masters a "Colonna" (column), Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 70.

² Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 356-358.

³ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 374.

was an oven with glowing embers showing within, pictured on a transparency. Nearer to the West end of the Vendita sat the Treasurer in the North and the Secretary in the South. Near the Treasurer's table was another trunk, the "Trunk for Assistance", where the contributions and alms were deposited. Near the door sat the Assistants. Round the walls ran the inscription: "Death to the perjured".

At a Vendita held at Ferrara in November, 1817, at which Tommasi presided as Grand Master, there was at the East end a niche, in front of which was placed a structure like an altar front, beneath which were placed the tables of the Grand Master, Orator and Secretary.¹ Each table had one light, except that of the Grand Master, which had two. The benches, one for the members and the other for the guests, were placed half-way down the room, presumably along the walls.² This arrangement may have been due to the fact that the occasion was a special one, when the Good Cousins of the recently set up Vendita at Rovigo were being entertained by their Mother Vendita at Ferrara. In the middle of the Vendita was an oven containing coal, which was not burning, however. Other emblems present were a picture of St. Theobald, a wolf's head and other objects, presumably those already described in *The Memoirs*. Delfini³ mentions that, on another occasion, he saw in the Vendita a picture of St. Theobald standing over some flames, a cross, a crown of thorns, an axe and other symbols. Guidati⁴ tells of a picture surrounded by laurel leaves representing an old man, probably St. Theobald, a cross, the head of an animal, probably a wolf, and a cave or furnace. Count Laderchi⁵ also refers to a picture of St. Theobald and a wolf's head, and Casali⁶ tells of a picture in which St. Theobald is shown near a wood and a pile of logs. These details given by the Carbonarian prisoners, when examined by the Austrian authorities, are invaluable, as they refer to Vendite which were actually held, and not merely to rules and rituals.

The constitutions in the Milan archives show the Orator and first Assistant as sitting at the two ends of the Masters' Ordone, while the Secretary and the second Assistant sat at the two ends of the Apprentices' bench. The Treasurer and Archivist sat next to the Orator, and the Expert next to the Secretary at the East end of the Ordoni. The Master of Ceremonies sat just below the Grand Master on a separate seat. The Grand Master's trunk bore two vipers and two green twigs of different lengths, the other trunks were bare. Behind the Grand Master hung a picture showing the symbols of the Order or the patron Saint. If both pictures were displayed, St. Theobald hung above or to the right of the symbolical picture. In the rooms outside the Vendita proper, where the Candidates were prepared, a trunk was placed bearing emblems of death and a paper with questions on moral subjects, which the Candidate would have to answer during the ceremony.

Before being opened the Vendita had to be properly "covered", for which purpose one Coverer sat outside and one inside the door. Sometimes the door was provided with a wicket to avoid unnecessary opening. We have one instance of a free use of the word "covered". Caporali met Gallina and other Carbonari, all of the Papal States, at an inn and Gallina told Caporali that they could talk freely, as they were "covered", which meant that no Pagan was present.⁷ The presence of a Pagan, St. Edme tells us, was indicated by saying "It rains" or "It is windy" or "There is some smoke".

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 302.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 164-173.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 328-335.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 115-116.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 56.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 182.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 136.

Strict discipline was enforced in the Vendita. The Good Cousins were to keep silent; if they wanted to speak they had to obtain permission from the Assistant of their Ordono. Requests and proposals had to be passed from the Second to the First Assistant and by him to the Grand Master; there was no direct communication in many Vendite between the Grand Master and the Junior officer. Members were fined if they missed compulsory meetings, and, if late for meetings, had to stand between the Assistants until the Grand Master allowed them to sit down. Various misdemeanours were punished by fines; and there were fees for initiation and advancement to higher degrees. Meetings were summoned by passing a "sample" of wood from hand to hand. There were compulsory meetings every three months, which were devoted chiefly to business and instruction. Only one ceremony could be performed on these occasions and only one Candidate initiated or promoted. There were also compulsory banquets every two months and one on the feast of St. Theobald. St. Theobald's Day was also the day for the election of officers for the ensuing year.

The Vendita was opened in due form "when the sun lights up the forest". The Grand Master was saluted and the ordinary business followed. First the Minutes were read. *The Memoirs*¹ give us a form of these Minutes or "Table of Labours". After the intestation, which ran "To the Great God, Grand Master of the Universe and our protector St. Theobald", followed the date and place of meeting and the degree in which the Vendita was opened. Then came the list of members who filled the offices on the occasion, the Grand Master being described as holding the "first axe" and the Assistants as holding the second and the third axe. The remainder of the Minutes followed the pattern of those of our Lodges. Features which should be noticed are that everything was said to be done "after regular notice": for instance, "the Grand Master, after regular notice, opens the labours with the usual signs, etc." The details of the ceremony are recorded at greater length than in Freemasons Lodges, each separate part of the ceremony of initiation being recorded, and not only a brief notice that the Pagan "So and so" was initiated, with the names of the officers who took part in the ceremony. The ordinary business transacted in Vendite was the business normally transacted in assemblies of this kind, namely²: arrears of subscription, admonitions, exhortations to keep good order and to be obedient, reports from Heads of Sections where these existed, propositions for new members, etc.

The ceremony of initiation was conducted as follows:—The Candidate was announced as "a pagan found wandering in the forest". He was asked in the room set aside for preparation to give his name, religion, country, profession and place of residence, and in his turn he asked for light and for admission to the Carboneria. He was then admitted to the Vendita blindfold and repeated his answers. He was informed that frankness, contempt of danger, morality and benevolence were required of him, frankness consisting in informing members of the Order of all that might be to the Society's advantage and to warn them of danger. He also was warned of the perils he was about to encounter and was advised to make his will. Two perambulations followed which took place outside the Vendita. During the first the Candidate was made to step over obstacles and he heard the rustling of leaves; during the second he passed through a fire and was shown a head recently severed. On his return to the Vendita after each "journey" he was asked what he had heard and was told that the first journey indicated that he could attain virtue by means of good works, while in the second the fire represented Charity and the severed head warned him of the fate of traitors. He was made

¹ pp. 230-235.

² Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 315.

to kneel on a white cloth, to place his hands on the Holy Volume and the Constitutions of the Order and to take the Oath of the Degree, which ran as follows: "I . . . do promise and swear upon this Holy Volume, the Statutes of the Order, and this steel, the instrument which punishes perjurers, scrupulously to keep all the secrets of the Order of the Carboneria and not write, engrave or paint anything concerning it without the written permission from the proper authority so to do. And I solemnly swear to assist all Good Cousins in case of need to the best of my power and ability whenever they may require it, and never to attempt anything against the honour of their wives or other female relations. All this I promise under the penalty of having my body cut to pieces and burnt to ashes and those ashes scattered to the winds of heaven and my name and memory held up to the execration of all Good Cousins throughout the Universe. So help me God, our Grand Master Jesus Christ and good St. Theobald to keep this oath".

Then he was led out for the third "journey", during which he went three times round the Barracca. After the first round he was given a small faggot, after the second a bunch of leaves and after the third a basket full of earth. He was instructed to stamp his foot three times and cry three times "A l'avantage", the salutation of the Carbonari. He was readmitted and stated his wishes, which were to vanquish his passions, subdue his desires and learn the Carbonarian mysteries; he said he brought wood for the charcoal pile, earth and leaves to damp it down and that he desired light. The Good Cousins then surrounded him with uplifted weapons and his eyes were unbandaged. He was told the weapons would slay him if he turned traitor, but would protect him if he was faithful to his Obligation. The Grand Master then made him a Good Cousin by holding a piece of wood called a "sample"¹ on his head with his left hand and striking it three times with his axe. The signs, grip and words were then communicated.

The Orator then informed the Candidate that the Carboneria was founded on Religion and Virtue and that the principal obligations of a Good Cousin were benevolence, help for the unfortunate, and docility. Conversation contrary to Religion and Virtue and other offences were forbidden, those against women being specially mentioned. He was also told the meaning of various Carbonarian terms, that he could not become a Master until six months had passed, and also that three years must intervene before he could become a Grand Elect in localities where that degree was worked.

Then followed two lectures: the first was on the traditional history of the Order, explaining how King Francis I. of France and St. Theobald became Protector and Patron of the Order respectively. As Dito points out,² this lecture made it clear that the Carboneria was favourable both to the monarchy and to the church. The second lecture pointed out how nature intended men to be free and virtuous and equal, but the strong enslaved the weak; and secret societies were formed by sage men to educate mankind and lead it back to virtue. Then followed a very long catechism, an examination and amplification of what had already been said to the Candidate. Throughout the symbolism referred to Religion and ethics. The Vendita was then closed in form, the formula being that the sun no longer lighted up the forest.

Doria gives some variations.¹ When the Pagan was brought in, he was asked if he was ready to abandon his religion, should that be a condition for his initiation. An affirmative answer would cause his rejection on the score of his being a man of light convictions and untrustworthy. He was also asked what was due to his country, to himself and to his family and finally how he would arrange his will. The answers to these three groups of questions were to be given

¹ Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 359 363.

² p. 141.

without prompting. Then he was divested of all metal objects and the Oath was administered to him, while he held a dagger pointed at his heart.

We are fortunate in having accounts of this ceremony as it was actually carried out in times of stress, when it was desirable to curtail proceedings. At the Vendita held at Ferrara in November, 1817,¹ which has been already referred to, there were present Tommasi, Landi, Foresti and Villa, all Grand Masters; Taveggi the informer, who sat with the Grand Masters, though he had not attained that rank; the Masters Carravieri, Amari, who acted as Expert, Bacchiega and about 40 others of different ranks. Tommasi addressed the meeting on the subject of fraternal duties and read part of the Constitutions. Then Lombardi and Greppi were initiated. They were led out for the perambulations and on their return the Oath was administered. While this was being done Amari and Bacchiega placed their hands on the Candidates' shoulders. When the bandages were taken off their eyes, the Good Cousins present all pointed their daggers at them. Some questions were asked, it is not clear whether before or after the Oath, and then Zanini gave an address on the courage shown by the initiates during their reception, Taveggi one on their social duties and Agnelli one on the Order in general, comparing it with the Jesuits'. The proceedings seem to have been concluded with a collection for the poor.

Villa² said that, when he was received by Foresti on the 2nd of August, 1817, he had to kneel, while Foresti and Viviani held him and pointed their knives at him, while the remainder of the Carbonari present stood round, also with their knives drawn. The Oath he swore ran as follows: "I swear obedience and fidelity to the Constitutions of the Grand Vendita (an unusual expression) and that I will not paint, read, engrave or write anything concerning the Society without the permission of the Grand Master; and, if I fail, may my name be execrated by all Good Cousins scattered over the earth and may I be killed by the same Good Cousins and may my ashes be scattered to the winds. God help me". Then he was raised up and informed that he was an Apprentice.

Primo Uccellini tells us in his *Memoirs*³ that he was taken to the house of one Louis Ghetti, where the "presidency" of the Carboneria was assembled. He was blindfolded and, after an exchange of words between his Proposer and the Guardian of the door, he was admitted. An imposing voice asked several questions and, after Uccelli had given his word to be ready to sacrifice all for the good of the country and to help in suppressing tyranny, he took the Oath on a naked dagger. The bandage was then taken from his eyes and he saw himself surrounded by a hedge of daggers. Then old Andrew Garavini, who presided, said in a loud voice: "All these daggers will be drawn in your defence in every fight, if you observe the sanctity of the Oath you have sworn; they will be drawn instead to your hurt and wound you, if you betray your Oath. The penalty for a traitor is death". Then he was told the squad to which he belonged, he was given the passwords whereby the members recognised each other and all other necessary instructions.

Gobbetti⁴ took an Oath at his initiation, then some of the secrets were communicated to him and later he received the jewel. Casali⁵ had to sign the Oath, after which the paper on which it was written was burnt, he thinks. Orselli⁶ is more definite on this point; he said that the Candidate was questioned as to his motives for joining, wrote out the Oath, swore on the axe, and then the paper on which the Oath was written was torn up. He also added that in full Vendite the formalities were more complicated, but at the time he was referring

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 164-173, 302-312.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 96-98.

³ Ottolini, p. 119.

⁴ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 162-163.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 275.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 315.

to they had ceased to meet. Niccoli¹ states that at an initiation the Candidate drank blood, or some substitute, and swore to kill tyrants, but seems mistaken here. Dito² on the other hand says, on the authority of Maroncelli's depositions, that the ceremonial in the Papal States did not differ at first from that in Naples, except that there was no trial by the dagger and no severed head. He also seems to be mistaken as to the head, as *The Memoirs* definitely mention the severed head.³ We do not know what is meant by the trial by the dagger, unless what has already been described is intended. Torta⁴ has a different version of the Oath: "I swear to employ every moment of my existence to ensure the triumph of the principles of Liberty, and Equality, and of hatred against tyrants and princes, namely of the principles which are the mainspring of the secret and public actions of the Respectable Carboneria". The Oath taken by Landi⁵ was more purely patriotic: he swore to strive to set up a national king in Italy or die in the attempt.

In addition to these fairly formal receptions we have several instances of some which were informal to the point of reducing the ceremonial almost to vanishing point. We know that in South Italy at the time of the French persecution five Masters could receive a Pagan into the Society.⁶ After the Macerata fiasco, when the Vendite had split into Sections, the Candidate⁷ appeared before four or five Good Cousins, he was informed how the Carboneria had been established, of the amount of the fees, and then he had to sign an Oath, which was burnt. He was then informed of his duties, namely, secrecy and mutual help. By then the catechism was seldom used, nothing was ever put on paper and the Apprentice was told nothing of the Society's political objects. The *Memoirs*⁸ tells us that three Grand Masters sufficed to receive a Candidate. Still more irregular were some of Maroncelli's receptions. Pellico and Porro were received in Porro's garden. On the 24th of August, 1820, Maroncelli showed Canova⁹ some emblems, including the picture of an oven, without explaining their meaning, taught him the knocks and then informed him that he was a Carbonaro, though he had communicated no words or other secrets.

We have also the testimony of Doria¹⁰ that, after a very strict scrutiny, a single Dignitary, or a Master, could be deputed to seek out the Candidate and receive him in some convenient place, often unspecified, by making him kneel on a handkerchief on which a piece of wood was placed, and by making him repeat the Oath while holding a dagger. Then the signs and words were explained to him.

We also know the initiation of the most distinguished of all Carbonari, Joseph Mazzini, as told by himself. He was conducted to a house in Genoa near St. George's Church, where he was led into the presence of Passano,¹⁰ who informed him that persecution had made the holding of frequent assemblies of the Good Cousins impossible, and that he would be exempted, therefore, from some of the rites and ordeals. Mazzini was questioned as to his willingness to act, obey and sacrifice himself, if necessary, for the Carbonarian cause. He was then made to kneel. The Grand Master unsheathed a dagger and administered the Apprentices' Oath. Mazzini was then entrusted with the signs and words.¹¹ He tells us that one of the ordeals he escaped was to fire at his own head a

¹ pp. 33-36.

² pp. 325-327. Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 19-27.

³ p. 195.

⁴ p. 34.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 180-184.

⁶ A.Q.C., vol. li., p. 74.

⁷ Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 281-282.

⁸ p. 34.

⁹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 66. Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 113.

¹⁰ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 376. 2-3. pp. 36-37. Mazzini erroneously says Doria initiated him.

¹¹ Mazzini, vol. i., p. 15.

pistol which had been loaded before his eyes, and he says that he would not have submitted to it, as he would have realised that it was a mere trick and, therefore, useless as a test, while if the pistol had been really loaded, he could not have imagined a more fatuous beginning to his career as a Carbonaro than to blow out his brains and thus rendering himself unable to be of the least use to the Society or anyone else.

The resemblance of the full first degree ceremony to a Masonic ceremony must strike all Brethren, especially when we remember that we must compare the Carbonarian rites to the Masonic rituals of the first two decades of the Nineteenth Century and not with those of to-day. The position of the Assistants in the West and of the Apprentices in the North is clearly in imitation of a Masonic Lodge. The penalties for violation of the pledge of secrecy show clearly the origin from which they were derived; and the search for Light is found in several Masonic degrees as well as in the Rosicrucian ceremonies. The influence of the Templar ceremonies and especially of the Old Templar rituals is also clear to those familiar with those rites, more particularly in the symbols used by the Carbonari, just as the ladder and some of the words remind us of the Rose Croix. The influence of these last mentioned degrees is also evident in the ceremonies of the Carbonaro Master and Grand Elect.

After his initiation the "Pagan" became a "Good Cousin". Doria tells us that "Good" and "Very good" were technical terms in the Carboneria, "Good" being applied to all members and "Very Good" to those who had distinguished themselves or were of exalted rank.¹

For the degree of Master the same form of Vendita was used and the same Officers officiated. The nature of the ceremony was different, its lessons were inculcated by means of a dramatic representation reminiscent of the medieval Passion plays and of certain Masenic degrees. It represented in abbreviated form the trial of Our Lord. The Vendita became a College, the Grand Master and the two Assistants the President and the Counsellors of the College. The College was opened "when the cock shall have crowed thrice" and the usual preliminaries followed. On the arrival of the Candidate the President put on a scarlet cloak and assumed the name of Pilate, the Counsellors becoming, the first Caiaphas and the second Herod, the Master of Ceremonies the Captain of the Guard and the rest of the Good Cousins soldiers and the Jewish crowd. The Candidate entered blindfolded and was asked for the signs, grip and words of an Apprentice. He was told that what he had done was not enough, he must submit to further trials before he could gain promotion. He was then conducted to the Forest to listen to the rustling of the leaves, to pass between two fires and to cross a stream of water barefoot. He re-entered the College, which had now become the Chamber of Honour, and, on declaring his willingness to submit to further trials, was led to the Mount of Olives in the West of the Chamber, where he knelt and said he was willing to suffer, if his sufferings could be of use to mankind. From this point on he personated Our Lord. He was led before Pilate and accused of sedition and of calling himself the Son of God. Pilate referred him to Caiaphas, Caiaphas to Herod and Herod back to Pilate, who, at the instance of the people, had him stripped, robed in scarlet, scourged and provided with a reed and crown of thorns; and he was made to carry a cross round the Chamber. The Good Cousins now asked for mercy for him and the Candidate took the Oath. The senior Counsellor stood on his right with a red hot iron, the junior on his left with a phial containing a red liquid said to be poison. The Candidate knelt again on the white cloth, placed his hand on the Holy Volume and the axe and swore: "I . . . do solemnly promise and swear, before the Grand Master of the Universe, upon my sacred word of honour, this Holy Volume and this avenging

¹ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 403.

instrument of the Carbonari, to keep scrupulously all the secrets entrusted to me and never to mention the secrets of an Apprentice before a Pagan or those of a Master before an Apprentice or a Pagan. I further promise not to initiate any person or to establish a Vendita without proper authority and only when assisted by a just and perfect number of Good Cousins, never improperly to reveal any of the secrets of the Carbonari by writing, engraving, by word of mouth or in any manner whatever; and, further, that I will be ready to shed my blood in the defence of any Master Good Cousins and that I will not attempt ought against the honour of any of their female relatives or dependents; and I consent, should I perjure myself, to perish in fearful agony by poison and have my flesh torn with red hot pincers, in addition to the penalties of the former degree, that my name may be execrated by all Good Cousins spread over the face of earth and water. So help me our Grand Master Jesus Christ". Then the bandage over the Candidate's eyes was removed, the Good Cousins cried "Viva" (Hurrah) three times, and the secrets were then communicated.

Then followed¹ a very long catechism on the symbolism, which alluded to the Passion of Our Lord and the death and funeral of all men. The symbols on the President's bole were given fresh meanings and the expression "the Touch Stone" or "Stone of comparison" was introduced. Its use is described as "to recognise Good Cousins", and later it was said to represent Our Lord. The object of the Carboneria was stated to be to make men virtuous. Additional signs were explained and the working tools were given as the axe, the hammer, the rake, the shovel, the saw, the basket and the barrow.

In this degree also we have variations. According to the ritual obtained by Salvotti in the course of his investigations in July, 1821,² the Candidate swore on the "Steel the destroyer of tyrants", instead of "destroyer of the forsworn" as in Naples,³ and in the catechism, which had to be learnt by heart, he was ordered to help in the destruction of tyrants and despots. Under the stress of persecution, the Masters' ceremonies also were curtailed, like those of the Apprentices. Casali,⁴ after the Macerata discoveries, was made Master Carbonaro at a picnic in an orchard. He had to swear an Oath to maintain secrecy, even towards Apprentices, and he was shown a catechism. Delfico⁵ says that hardly any Masters' ceremonies took place in the Papal States after 1817. Doria says that the Grand Master assumed the role of Herod, not that of Pilate.⁶ Mazzini⁷ refers to the occasion on which he conferred the Master's degree on Cottin, a government agent who later betrayed him. Cottin knelt before Mazzini in Cottin's locked bedroom; Mazzini drew the sword out of his swordstick and administered the Oath. No one else was present and we cannot tell if Mazzini's brief reference can be taken as a description of all that occurred.

Doria gives us an alternative version of the Oath of a Master Carbonaro. It runs as follows:—

"I . . . , a free citizen, congregated under popular laws, which I pledge my whole life to reestablish, even if it were necessary to shed the last drop of my blood, swear and promise in the presence of the Grand Master of the Universe and of St. Theobald, general Protector of the Order, to keep scrupulously the secrets which are to be communicated to me, and not to receive as a Carbonaro, when I am allowed to do so, anyone except persons of

¹ It is not clear whether this catechism preceded or followed the ceremony. From St. Edme, p. 62, it would appear that it was given as a preliminary instruction.

² Cantù, *Conciliatore*.

³ Dito, pp. 325-327.

⁴ Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 281-282.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 328-335.

⁶ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 367.

⁷ Mazzini, vol. i., p. 26.

good morals, known for their liberal opinions; to protect my Good Cousins in every case of necessity, and to live in obedience to the orders of my superiors; and, if I become forsworn, I consent that my body be cut to pieces, that it be burnt and that my ashes be scattered to the wind and that my name be an object of execration to all my Good and dear Cousins scattered over the face of the earth. So help me God."

Of the degree of Knight of Thebes *The Memoirs*¹ give us a short badly written account. The object was stated to be "to procure information concerning the signs and sacred words understood by men of different nations on the whole surface of the globe, towards the East and the West, towards Midday and Midnight". The Vendita represented a cave in a mountain; in a corner stood a funerary urn bearing the inscription "Here lies the Hero". The ceremony apparently represented the death of Philomelus of Thebes, who according to the Carbonarian tradition, was elected leader of the Thebans when they were attacked by Philipp of Macedon. He was defeated and some of the Thebans declared for Philipp. To distinguish his faithful followers and conceal their identity, Philomelus gave them special signs and words. After a second defeat he exhorted his followers to preserve the secrecy of their signs, to scatter over the world and make war on tyranny, falsehood and prejudice, and then cast himself from a cliff.

Luzio² has been able to obtain an old Neapolitan document which gives the catechism of the degree, in the course of which Philomelus' sacrifice was described as an imitation of Our Lord's sacrifice. Doria³ tells us there was no ceremony in this and in the higher degrees, as in the case of the first two. Perhaps *The Memoirs'* ritual had fallen out of use or had never been practised. The Oath in every degree above the Master's was: "I swear and promise on this steel, which punishes the forsworn, to keep scrupulously the secrets which are going to be entrusted to me; and if I become perjured, I consent that my heart be pierced and burnt and that the ashes be scattered to the winds".

In the ceremony of Grand Elect,⁴ given by St. Edme and Bro. Irwin, the political nature of the Society and its revolutionary intentions are revealed open and unabashed. The ceremony connected the Crucifixion of Our Lord with popular insurrection. Only carefully selected members, who had given every proof of the steadfastness of their principles, were admitted. The Vendita, known as a Chapter in this degree, represented a dark cave, triangular in shape, with blunted corners. The Venerable Grand Master Grand Elect sat on a throne covered with a red cloth in the East corner of the Chapter. The Assistants were now Expounders, known as Sun and Moon, and sat in the West in the other two corners of the Chapter. The Orator was called the "flaming one" or the "Star". The entrance was in the middle of the base of the triangle, in the West, and was guarded by two "Flames" with drawn swords. The three principal Officers carried the usual axe, the other Grand Elects swords. The members who attended on the Candidates were Servers or Slaves. The ceremony was represented as taking place while the revolutionary forces were assembling outside. The Chapter was opened when "the tocsin has sounded on all sides and the general awakening of the people's consciousness of its rights is taking place". First came a sevenfold salutation: 1st. to the Creator of the universe. 2^d. To Our Lord who came to establish Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and to His Envoy who came to reestablish Philosophy, Liberty and

¹ pp. 33-35.

² Mazzini, p. 397, note.

³ *ibid*, p. 367.

⁴ Brother Chetwode Crawley in "*Templar Legends in Freemasonry*", A.Q.C., vol. xxvi., mentions a degree of vengeance "elevated under the title of 'Grand Elu' into a prominent place in the Rite of Perfection", which developed into the 30° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, but preaching a different moral than was originally intended.

Equality. 3^d. To all Apostles and Preachers. 4th. To St. Theobald, the Grand Patron. 5th. To Francis I. 6th. To the extinction of tyranny. 7th. To the establishment of true liberty.

After the usual business the Orator gave an address explaining how tyranny came into the world, referred to the desolate state of Italy and how the Good Cousins had plotted in secret to free her. The moment of rising had now come, he said, and the Secretary was ordered to read out the instructions said to have been issued to the leaders, who were at that moment supposed to be marshalling the masses outside. The Expounders proposed on behalf of their respective ranks or *Ordoni*, that the oath of the degree be repeated. This ran:—

“ I, A.B. a free citizen of Ausonia, united under one government and under the same popular laws, which we have bound ourselves to establish with our blood, do solemnly swear, in the presence of the Grand Master of the Universe and of the Grand Elect Good Cousins, to devote every moment of my existence to endeavour to ensure the triumph of the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and always to hate tyrants; and I promise to use my best efforts to propagate the love of freedom in all those persons, over whom I am able to exert any influence. I promise to establish the reign of liberty without violence, if possible; but, should I find it necessary, to fight for it to the death, to spend my fortune and, if necessary, shed my blood to spread the system of government and the code of laws formulated by the citizens of Ausonia. I consent, should I violate this oath, to be punished by the Good Cousins Grand Elects in the most frightful manner, no less than that of being crowned with thorns, beaten with many stripes, then to be nailed to a cross while still alive, to have my breast cut open, my heart and entrails torn therefrom and burnt to ashes, and those ashes scattered to the winds of heaven, my limbs dispersed to the four quarters of the world and my body deprived of burial and left to the wild beasts as prey. To all this I solemnly swear”. Then the Pact of Ausonia was read out in full. It was a constitution for a free Italy on the republican pattern and will be considered later. The Banner suggested for the new state was identical with that of the “Centres”. The constitution was then put to the vote and approved.

The Candidate was then prepared, he was blindfolded and marks to represent the wounds of Our Lord were drawn on his hands, feet and body. On being admitted his eyes were unbandaged for a moment so that he could obtain a glimpse of the Chapter. Before the Grand Master Grand Elect were two figures in chains and two crosses were set up behind them. The “*Annales Maçonniques des Pays Bas*” say that two corpses of persons recently dead were obtained for the ceremony! He was then blindfolded again and made to carry in a third cross. He knelt before the throne, and he was then accused of treason and condemned to be crucified, together with the other two figures he had seen, which were dummies, whose words were spoken by two Grand Elects. The Candidate heard all the sounds accompanying the crucifixion of his companions, who acted like the two thieves in the Gospel. The penitent thief acknowledged his guilt and declared the Candidate innocent, while the stubborn thief threatened all present with the vengeance of the tyrants. The Candidate was then tied to the cross, but after an interval was declared innocent and swore the Oath already given, his right hand on the Holy Volume while his left hand held a crucifix, and the stigmata of the degree were traced on him by means of pinpricks, his eyes were unbandaged, and the seven salutations were given in his honour. At this point the secrets were communicated, but St. Edme declares himself unable to give them, as these were restricted to initiates only. Nevertheless he does give some signs whose derivation he does not explain.

Sounds of fighting were then heard, men in Austrian army uniforms rushed in and the Grand Elects disappeared through a trapdoor, but the Candidate was told by the Grand Master, before he vanished, to continue to

hope. The Austrians then decided to shoot the three crucified figures, but were surprised by a sudden return of the Grand Elects and pretended to fall dead. The knocks of the degree were given and the Candidate was unbound, the Grand Elect placed a Crucifix on his head, gave with his axe the seven knocks and ordered again the seven salutes. A messenger then rushed in announcing the victory of the revolutionaries. The Grand Elects put on the uniforms decreed for the officials of the new state, formed a chain, gave each other the kiss of Good Cousins and left the Chapter in a triumphant procession.

In the ritual of the third degree discovered by Salvotti, the Grand Master spoke more freely and the candidate had to drink a red liquid, "the blood of a tyrant," from a skull and swore: "Before the remains of the slain tyrant and on this sacred plant, fatal to kings, I swear eternal hate against tyrants, I swear to destroy them to the last scion with all the strength of my mind and arm; I swear to establish the real kingdom of Liberty and Equality". He was then baptised with the red liquid and told: "May your ears hear nothing but the groans of tyrants and the shouts of a freed people. May your eyes see nothing but the annihilation of tyrants and the freedom of the earth: remember the famous saying: The dead body of an enemy always smells good. Be your lips sealed with the blood of the tyrant". The reply was: "I will support with all my strength and at the cost of my life the promulgation and the execution of the agrarian law, without which there is no liberty, as private property is an attempt against the rights of the human race". The catechism of this degree inculcated the destruction of all governments made "with hands". Dito¹ is of opinion that this degree was not Carbonarian, but a Masonic perversion of the ceremony of the Sublime Perfect Masters, practised at Velletri in the Papal States.²

The constitutions in the Milan archives give us the regulations governing the Labours of Mastication or of the Table. All members had to contribute to the expenses of the banquet, whether they attended or not, except the poorest. On the other hand the number of main courses was limited to three. The table was semicircular and the Officers sat as in the Vendita. The Master of Ceremonies sat opposite the Grand Master, and there was a special small table, placed between the horns of the main table, for the Good Cousin, usually the Expert, who was in charge of proceedings at the banquet. The table was decorated with a red ribbon on which were placed the "Vani" (baskets), as the tumblers were called. The proceedings were formally opened with the usual signs and salutations, if the meal was not held in the Vendita itself. The toasts were given according to the following form: Take up your "vani", raise the "vani", "vano" two inches from the "oven" (Mouth), then they drank—"vani away from the oven". The "Avantages" were four: "1. To St. Theobald (a) may he protect us, (b) may peace reign among us, (c) may all our labours be directed towards their proper objects. 2. To the Vendita. 3. To the Grand Master (given by the First Assistant). 4. To all Vendite and all Good Cousins". At the end of the banquet the proceedings were formally closed.

At the banquet held at the Vendita of Rovigo in 1817, when Tommasi attended to see how the creation for which he was largely responsible was progressing, he was not able at first to give the toasts, as Pagans were present, but the difficulty seems to have been got over. When the diners drank the toast was given as follows: "Bevete vivaci, più vivaci, vivacissimi"³ (Drink in a manner lively, more lively, most lively), or, according to another account, "Allegri, più allegri, allegrissimi"⁴ (Jolly, more jolly, most jolly).

¹ p. 327.

² Cantù, *Conciliatore*.

³ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 139.

⁴ Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 28-29.

St. Edme also gives the procedure of the "Labours of the Table".¹ The Vendita "of the Table" was formally opened and the usual signs and salutations were given. The regular toasts were six: St. Edme omits to give the first, which was probably to the Grand Master of the Universe. The second was to King Francis I. 3^d, given by the First Assistant, to the Grand Master. 4th. to the First and Second Assistants. 5th. to new entrants. 6th. to all Good Cousins generally. The procedure was as follows: The Grand Master called on the Assistants to see that all glasses were filled. The Good Cousins were then called to order, the Apprentices with their napkins over the left shoulder and the Masters with their napkins over their left arm. The Grand Master then, axe in hand, gave the three "Avantages", taking a sip each time, and the third time emptying his "basket". All then made the sign of the ladder and repeated the process. They clinked together their glasses and put them down simultaneously, made the sign and repeated the salutations. At the end of the banquet the Table Vendita was closed again in proper form.

The signs and grips were as follows: The Apprentices' sign was given by drawing the right forefinger from the left shoulder to the right hip, which was answered by drawing a C or broken circle on any handy object and placing a dot within it, the C alluding to the Order and the dot to the Apprentice. The grip was an ordinary handshake, during which the middle finger gave one long, followed by two short taps on the other Apprentice's right thumb.

Doria² gives a variant. The middle finger described, he says, a circle in the middle of which was placed a cross. These marks, as we shall see, were originally those of the Masters.² St. Edme in describing the Labours of the Table, gives two Apprentices' signs: the first, the sign of the ladder, was given by placing both fists, thumbs extended upwards, in front of the shoulders and drawing them down to the hips; the second, the sign of the belt, by placing both fists, thumbs extended upwards, close together in front of the left hip, drawing them across to the right hip and back again.

The Masters stood to order with the arms crossed across the chest, right arm uppermost. The sign was threefold. 1. Sign of the ladder: The right hand, fingers extended, was brought to the left shoulder, then the thumb was drawn diagonally across the body, then the right hand was drawn first across the chest, then across the waist, then across the stomach. 2. A circle was drawn on any convenient object and a cross was placed within it, the circle signifying that the Master's knowledge of the Order was complete and the cross was to remind him of his Obligation. 3. The hands were placed opposite each other in front of the body, backs to the breast, the thumbs in a straight line with each other, the other fingers at an angle, forming a triangle with the thumbs as base. The grip was given by grasping the right hands and reciprocally tracing a cross, or a cross within a circle, on the wrists.

St. Edme again gives variants: the sign of the ladder was given by drawing the open right hand, thumb extended upwards, from the left shoulder to the right hip, and the sign of the belt by drawing the right hand, fingers extended, thumb bent in the form of a triangle, from hip to hip. He also gives the manner of standing to order as: arms across the stomach, one hand over the other, while Dito adds the detail that the right hand was to be over the left, thumbs on the top of each other. According to Doria, the Master's signs were the same as the Apprentices', except that they were carried out with both hands, which indicated a trend towards simplification.

The signs of the Knight of Thebes were given by placing the open right hand on the heart, while the left was extended at right angles to the left side. The right hand was then placed on an imaginary sword hilt and the left on the

¹ p. 87.

² Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 363.

heart. The grip was given by clasping the index and little fingers of the other Knight's hand with the same fingers of one's own, keeping the second and third fingers bent and drawing the hands three times towards one's own stomach. Doria gives the sign as follows: Cross the hands over the breast, finger tips on the shoulders, then form a right angle on the breast with the arms, point of the angle towards the chin, then drop the hands to the side.

Though St. Edme tells us that he does not know the signs of the Grand Elects, he gives some which Bro. Irwin also describes:¹ The "Calling" sign or "Sign of appeal" was given by extending both arms so as to represent a cross, which was answered by placing the two fists one above the other against the breast, the little fingers pointing towards the heart and the two thumbs and forefingers in the shape of two circles or of an R, the first of the Carbonarian stigmata. These stigmata were as follows:—1. The double circle or "mysterious mark" or R; 2. the TLS or horizontal mark; 3. the ALF or perpendicular mark; and 4. the O^A C or common mark or mark of the heart.² They were arranged as follows:—

The first three were traced on the left arm, thus:—

ALF	R
TLS	C

The common mark was traced on the right arm, thus:—

The mark of the heart was placed on the left breast.

The letters contained in the first three signs were interpreted as follows:—

1. R=Religione (religion).
2. T=Trinità (Trinity), L=Luce (light), S=Saggezza (wisdom).
3. A=Amicizia (friendship), L=Legge (law), F=Fraternità (fraternity).

The first secret meaning of these initials was:—

1. R=Re (king).
2. T=Tiranni (tyrants), L=Licenziati (dismissed), S=Segreto (secret).
3. A=A (to), L=La (the), F=Forca (gallows).

The second secret meaning was:—

1. R=Riunione (reunion).
2. T=Travaglio (labour), L=Libertà (liberty), S=Sicurezza (safety).
3. A=A, L=La, F=Forza (literally "to the strength", an idiom for "go on" "set to").

The third secret meaning was:—

1. R=Repubblica (republic).
2. T=Terra (land), L=Liberata (freed), S=Salvata (rescued).
3. A=Alleanza (alliance), L=Libertà (liberty), F=Felicità (happiness).

According to St. Edme the knowledge of the meaning of the stigmata on the right arm and over the heart was confined to the seven highest chiefs of the Order, although all Grand Elects had to bear them, presumably only in open Chapter. In Vendite of Adoption, which were for Giardinieri, or women members, the same stigmata were used with the addition of D I O across the forehead, under a bandeau, signifying:—

D=Dio (God), D=Divozione (devotion), O=Onestà (honesty).

St. Edme says that these Vendite of Adoption were restricted to women belonging to a religious sisterhood. It is not clear if these Vendite were special bodies, for among the Giardinieri we find some of the greatest ladies of the land, who certainly were not "religieuses".

¹ St. Edme, pp. 181-184.

² In the *Annales Maçonniques des Pays Bas* this mark is given as O^A C

The grip was given by a member placing the right hand on the other Grand Elect's head and the left fist on his heart, to show that enemies are to be struck down. In answer the first Grand Elect was embraced by the second, who dug his fists into his back in allusion to the striking down of a fleeing foe.

The sevenfold salutation of the Grand Elect in the ceremony was accompanied by the following sign:—The sword was raised in front of the body, hilt level with the mouth, then the hand, still holding the sword, was brought over the left shoulder, drawn across to the right shoulder and then dropped to the carry. The salutation was followed by the sign of submission, given by: crossing the arms over the chest, placing the sword on the ground, and touching the knees. This sign was not given by the Grand Master Grand Elect and the Sun and Moon, who bore axes.

The Grand Masters in the Papal States seem to have had a sign of their own, according to Confortinati¹: they placed their right hands on their hearts, then on an imaginary sword hilt and went through the motions of drawing and brandishing the sword. Their grip was: clasping each other's middle fingers and then the first Grand Master drew both hands towards himself. Liard² tells us of yet another sign, but does not say to which degree it belonged: one gave a tug to the lapel of one's coat and then placed the tips of the thumbs and index fingers of one hand against those of the other and moved them in a circular motion.

The knocks were as follows:—For the Apprentices, one long and two short; for the Masters, one short, one long, two short, one long, two short; for the Grand Elects, one long, two short, one long, two short, one long; for the Knights of Thebes, six given in regular time.

Landi gives us in addition a Carbonaro greeting, in which both Apprentices and Masters saluted each other by taking off their hats, giving the grip and exchanging three kisses. St. Edme, as we have seen, also mentions the Carbonarian embrace, which was used at the end of the ceremonies. The general salutation for the Order was: "A l'avantage", repeated three times. In the Knight of Thebes' degree the "Avantages" were given by sliding the hands over each other six times in regular time.

Perhaps the greatest variety occurs in the Words used by the Carboneria. The normal Words, we are told in the *Memoirs*, are as follows:—In the Apprentices' degree there were no Pass Words and the Sacred Words were: "Fede, Speranza, Carità" (Faith, Hope, Charity). Doria³ says that after these came the words "Costanza, Perseveranza" (Constancy, Perseverance), and lastly, "Onore, Virtù, Probità" (Honour, Virtue, Honesty), which were often given in syllables. He adds a call for help: "A me, a me, a me, figli della terra" (Come to my aid, come to my aid, come to my aid, sons of the earth), the three "A me" being given in the time of long, short, short. The Masters' Pass Words were "Felce, Ortica" (fern, nettle)—from the Apprentices' catechism given by St. Edme we learn that traditionally the first charcoal was made from ferns and nettles—and the Sacred Words were "Onore, Virtù, Probità" (Honour, virtue, honesty). To these words Doria⁴ adds "Libertà o Morte—Morte ai tiranni" (Liberty of Death—Death to the tyrants), which is a late development, indicating the growth of republican, and even subversive, intentions in some sections of the Society, as will be explained later. The Sacred Words of a Knight of Thebes were "Filomeno-Tebe" (Philomenus-Thebes), which were given in the following formal dialogue:—"Give me the sacred word".—"I can only give it in syllables".—"Give me the first syllable".—

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 180-184, 282-290.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 462-464.

³ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 363.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 366.

"Fi" and so on. The Pass Words were the same as those of the second degree. The Grand Elects' degree does not seem to have had any words beyond those of the stigmata. According to Doria temporary Passwords were given for periods of three or six months; and these, for a time, could only be communicated by Grand Masters, a restriction imposed, not only for the sake of security, but to give Grand Masters an opportunity to make the acquaintance of new Initiates. This practice ceased in 1829.¹

As already stated, we hear of the Words "*Nomos, Autonomos*" given by Mme. Arnaud to Villa, not, apparently, in connection with the Carboneria. Later they were adopted by the Society in the Papal States and seem to have been used to distinguish groups of Good Cousins, according to Landi.² Caprara³ mentions a Word "*Celse*", which means nothing. Landi² says that the Words for the first two degrees were "*Selce*" and "*Ortica*", but owing to the treason of a Good Cousin in 1817, possibly at the Macerata trial, alterations were made. "*Selce*" and "*Ortica*" were restricted to the Apprentices, and the Masters adopted the Words "*Virtù, Onore*", which were subsequently altered again to "*Forza, Coraggio*" (strength, courage). St. Edme adds the further variants of "*Libertà o Morte*" (liberty or death) and "*Morte ai tiranni*" (death to the tyrants).

The Grand Masters had, throughout in the Papal States, the Words "*Libertà vendicata*" (liberty avenged). Landi² also mentions a Word "*Cofita*" of which he did not know the use. It has no meaning. I believe that "*Celse*" and "*Selce*", which means a cobble and has no reference to the charcoal burner's craft, were merely misreadings for "*Felce*", though, of course, simple variations like these may have been adopted in time of need. The mistake of "f" for "s" was a very easy one to make, clear to anyone familiar with the long form of "s" used in printing and writing over 100 years ago.

According to Munari,⁴ the revelations at the Macerata trial led the Carbonari of Rovigo in the Polesine to change their Words in 1818 to "*Offidassige, Flos, Agetas*", none of which means anything. According to Confortinati,⁵ the first degree Passwords were "*Selce, Ortica*", and the Sacred Words "*Fede, Speranza, Carità*". The second degree had no Passwords, but used the Sacred Words "*Virtù, Onore, Probità*", and the Grand Masters "*Vincere o morire*" (conquer or die). Later, he says, they were changed as follows:—For the Apprentices, the Passwords became "*Costanza, Perseveranza*" (constancy, perseverance); the Sacred Words "*Forza, salute, coraggio*" (strength, health, courage); for the Masters: "*Cofila*" or "*Cofitta*"⁶; for the Grand Masters, "*Libertà vendicata*". At Chieti in the Abbruzzi Liard⁷ heard that the Passwords, it is not known of which degree, were "*Libertà, concordia, amicizia*" (liberty, concord, friendship), and states definitely that they were in use in the Papal States and that they differed from those used in Naples. The Sacred Words, however, remained the same as those in Naples, namely, "*Fede, Speranza, Carità*". Niccoli⁸ gives us, without, however, stating his derivation, the Sacred Words "*Libertà, egualità*" (liberty, equality) for the third degree and the Word "*Acacia*", without stating in what connection it was used. At Comacchio⁹ in Venetia, Liard was given in the Austrian passport office the Carbonaro sign but with the Word "*Gioacchino*", Murat's Christian name.

¹ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 394.

² Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 180-184.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 155.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 239.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 279.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 293.


⁷ *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 462-464.

⁸ pp. 33-36.

⁹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 465.

Passwords were chosen in the later days of the Carboneria by the High Committee in Paris and sent to the Vendite through representatives or commercial travellers.¹ The expenses of these and indeed of all Carbonari sent on missions were borne by the Society.²

At first the symbolical weapon of the Carbonari was the axe, and it remained throughout the distinguishing implement of the Grand Master and the Assistants. According to Dito,³ when a matter was open to discussion, it was said to be "under the axe". In the Papal States the dagger was soon adopted instead of the axe, except for the "Lights". Caprara mentions daggers with green sheaths and Count Laderchi saw at Ascoli in the Marches triangular stilettos with yellow boxwood handle, crossguards and green sheaths. The signs of the Grand Masters, on the other hand, suggest the use of a sword. The sword was actually the weapon of the Grand Elects, except that the Principal Officers still kept the axe. The Flames' swords were gilt and shaped like flames. As an exception, the Master of Ceremonies often carried a shovel or spade.

The jewel of the Order was the "Echantillon", a word which was retained in its original French form and was never translated into the Italian "Campione", but spelt "esciantiglion" to ensure correct pronunciation. It represented a sample of wood, and was always cut diagonally at each end, thus:  Probably it was a copy of an actual trade sample. The Apprentices' jewel was this sample, usually black, tied with a silver band and hung by a blue, black, red ribbon from the buttonhole. Sometimes, instead of a single sample, a little bundle of sticks was used. The Masters' Echantillon was of silver; sometimes a miniature axe was used. The jewel of the officers was a cross according to Doria.⁴ Variants of this jewel will be described together with the officers' clothing. Examples of actual use of these Echantillons are given us by Gobbetti,⁵ who was given one at his reception, Count Laderchi,⁶ who called it a small cylinder cut slantwise, and Cadolini⁷ of Bologna. It was⁵ used at the Vendita of Ferrara in 1818.

The clothing worn by the Good Cousins, as might be expected, varied considerably. In the illustration in *The Memoirs*, which is of early date, the Apprentices wore no special clothes beyond the Echantillon, while the Masters and Officers wore a scarf over the left shoulder in the usual three colours, and they kept their hats on. The Knights of Thebes' regalia were a sash in the three colours and a white rosette at the breast, from which hung a miniature dagger.

Sometimes the Masters seem also to have worn an apron of sheepskin edged with tricolour ribbon, and they seem to have adopted the crowing cock as symbols of the degree. St. Edme gives the following details⁸: The Apprentices wore a blue, black, red ribbon over their ordinary clothes, either over the left shoulder or across the chest, according to the Office they held. On great occasions they had to wear short blue breeches, a black coat reaching down to the knees and a hood, which, however, they were not allowed to pull over their heads in open Vendita. A red handkerchief was tied round their heads, knot on the forehead and point to the back. The waistcoat was blue, their legs were bare, and sandals were worn on the feet. The Masters wore a similar dress, with the difference that the handkerchief was in the shape of a turban

¹ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 364, Doria's depositions.

² *ibid.*, p. 411.

³ p. 146, *et subseqq.*

⁴ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 369.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 162-173.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 56.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 165.

⁸ pp. 159-165. He also gives the clothing which the officials of the new state would have to wear under the Pact of Ausonia.

and they could raise their hood, when required or ordered to do so. The Grand Master wore a long, monkish, black cowl, with a train and hood, a cape with very wide sleeves, a wide red belt with sky blue fringes, tied on the left side by cords falling as far as the ground. His turban was especially big, his hood was usually up and he always wore a sky blue tunic. Under the cowl he wore a second belt made of three horizontal strips of leather. He also wore sandals, and his legs were bare.

The Grand Elects had most elaborate regalia, and I doubt if they were ever worn, just as I doubt whether the degree was ever actually worked; Maroncelli gives an authentic instance of a meeting at which no insignia were worn.¹ The Venerable Grand Master Grand Elect, to give him his full title, wore the same clothing as the Grand Master of the ordinary Vendita. His belt seems to have been more elaborate. The three strips were held together in front by a cross strap. On the belt were seven pockets, one on the vertical cross strap and the others in pairs, one pair on each of the three horizontal strips on each side of the cross strap. The pocket on the cross strap was used to hold the most secret documents of the Order. Of the other six pockets, those on the left of the cross strap were used for the local currency and those on the right for foreign money. The pair on the uppermost strip held jewelry, the pair on the middle strip gold and the pair on the lowest strip silver. The Grand Elects wore the same dress as the Venerable, except that they seldom put up their hoods. Their axes, when worn, hung from their belts on the left, the daggers on the right side. The insignia of Office were: Grand Master, a shot silk collar of sky blue, yellow and green, the blue being uppermost, and from it hung an azure triangle representing the sky, a golden sun and a green globe, representing the earth. The First Exponent wore a blue collar with a yellow edge on one side and a green edge on the other and jewels similar to those of the Grand Master, but half the size. The Second Exponent's collar was yellow with blue edges, and he had jewels similar to those of his colleague. The Orator's collar was green with blue edges, and he wore jewels like the Exponents'. The ordinary Officers had a double sash of the same three colours, crossed on the breast and on the back, with a three coloured fringe seven inches wide, falling to the knees, with emblems like the jewels embroidered on the part of the sash which covered the breast. The Ordinary Grand Elects had a single sash over the right shoulder with the same embroidery. The Servers or Slaves wore small turbans only and a robe reaching down to the ankle. The Candidates were given their sashes at the foot of the throne after the accolade.

Turning again to records of actual happenings, we are told by Lombardi² that at the Vendita held in Ferrara in 1818 he was given a black linen hood and a collar with a red cord at his reception. Some³ of the Good Cousins on that occasion wore blue and red aprons, daggers, and blue ribbons edged with red, from which hung the Echantillons. At Rovigo in 1817⁴ the Apprentices wore black hoods, aprons coloured light blue, dark blue and black and Echantillons of black wood hung on ribbons of the same colours; the Masters wore dark blue aprons shot with red and bronze Echantillons. Count Laderchi⁵ tells us of aprons of the more usual blue, black and red colours, black cloaks and hoods, and Cadolini⁶ also mentions the black hoods.

I have only now to refer to the gaudy regalia described by the impostor Confortinati,⁷ which may never have existed outside his own imagination. The Apprentices had purple, blue and black aprons, and ribbons of the same colours.

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 25.

² *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 150-154.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 119.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 104.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 56.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 165.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 295.

The Masters had a red diagonal sash with two silver stripes. The Grand Masters had a blue diagonal sash with an opening for a sword and a pocket. The fourth degree had a black sash shot with red, from which hung a picture of St. Theobald. The fifth degree had a white sash shot with red, from which hung a picture or medal showing St. Theobald with a lion under his feet and Brutus embracing the statue of Liberty. The sixth degree, that of Grand Master of Equality, had a white sash bearing the head of Brutus and a bloody dagger under the heads of a lion, a wolf and a bear, animals which allude to the murderers of H——— A———. The seventh degree had a white and blue sash, from which hung a medal showing on one side Brutus standing on a triumphal car of liberty and on the other Astraea giving him the Carbonarian Constitutions. The eighth degree, that of Patriarch, had a picture of St. Theobald ascending to heaven surrounded by clouds handing to some Carbonari the Constitutions of the Order.

I have left consideration of all the points concerning the higher degrees until now, as we know very little about them. St. Edme's statement that they were only conferred on the seven rulers of the Order, whose symbol was S : : , seems to confirm Doria when he says that there were no ceremonies for the higher degrees. The common Oath has already been given in connection with the Knight of Thebes' degree. Its only variation was in the sixth degree, where the penalty involved piercing the entrails instead of the heart.¹ The Password of the fourth² degree, according to Doria, was "Alovecs", the Word Scevola reversed, that being the name of the Roman who attempted to murder Lars Porsena of Clusium and, on being discovered, placed his hand in a burning fire to show his indifference to the tortures with which he was threatened. The sign, which alluded to this act, was given by stretching out the hand horizontally.

The fifth degree's Password, Doria tells us, was "Suturb", which is Brutus reversed, the name of the murderer of Caesar; and the sign, in allusion of that act, was advancing the right foot and raising the clenched fist, as though about to stab.

The words of the sixth degree were "Lilium pedibus destrue", given in the tempo long, short, short, a tap with the foot between each word and a third tap at the end. Doria adds that this degree had as Sacred Word "Airam", which is "Maria" reversed. The connection is not clear. The Password shows the growing hostility of the Sects to the Bourbon dynasties. All these higher degrees had for jewel a silver cross instead of the miniature specimen of wood.

Nicolli's³ "Union of the Committee of the Mountain" was stated to have as its object the establishment of a Jacobin republic.

Nothing further is known of these degrees.

Attached to the ordinary Carboneria there was a female Carboneria. The members were known as Giardinieri⁴ (Female Gardeners) and met in a Giardino (Garden). They had two degrees, Apprentice and Master or Mistress, and had their own signs and grips. The words of the Apprentices were: "Costanza, Perseveranza"; those of the Mistresses, "Onore, Virtù, Probità".⁵ The grips were those of the male Carbonari, except that the circle and cross were not traced, only the taps were given on the other member's hand. The signal was given by passing the right hand from the right to the left shoulder with a semicircular movement and then placing the hand on the heart and giving the three taps. The task of these ladies was to persuade government officials to join the Society, carry messages and do nursing, etc., when required. They were admitted to the inmost secrets of the Sect.⁵ St. Edme refers, as

¹ Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 298, 367.

² *ibid.*, p. 368.

³ Nicolli, p. 62.

⁴ Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 345, 381-382.

⁵ Rinieri, pp. 10-11. Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 345.

we have seen, to Vendite of Adoption, whose members had to belong to a religious body and had to bear the stigmata of the Grand Elects.

As we have seen, the symbolism of the Carboneria was particularly rich and varied. The central symbol was, according to Foresti, the oven or furnace, which was particularly associated with the educative and ethical part of Carbonarism, as will be explained later. Casali¹ said it represented the Carbonari's ardour. The wolf's head² was an early symbol, dating back to the French period, and was political in significance. It alluded to the Carboneria's object of purging³ the Appennines, the chief haunt of the charcoal burners, and Italy in general from wolves and especially the Great Wolf, Napoleon.⁴ This symbol came to be applied more generally at an early date. Botta⁵ tells us that the wolf represented the slayer of the Lamb, Our Lord, whom the Carboneria strove to avenge. The wolf thus became one of the symbols of tyranny and Christ one of the earliest and The Most Illustrious of the tyrants' Victims. Botta also states that in some ceremonies a bleeding body was shown representing Our Lord, but I have found no corroboration for this statement. The ordinary symbols shown in the Vendita are explained as follows :—

The tree bole represented the earth and the sky; the white cloth, purification (when this was mentioned in the ceremony a white garment was placed on the Candidate); the water, cleansing from vice; the salt, preservation from taint; the crown of thorns, the sorrows resulting from illconsidered actions; the Cross, the tribulations of life, and it also taught to imitate Our Lord and to gain eternal salvation; the earth, most important of symbols, the greatest purifier, represented the tomb; the ladder, the gradual steps by which virtue is obtained; the bundle of sticks, the Good Cousins; the ribbons, the three Cardinal Virtues, black being Faith, blue Hope and red Charity; the sample of wood, the badge of the Order; the ball of thread, the mysterious tie which bound all Good Cousins; and the axe, shovel and mattock, the working tools of the charcoal burners. The colours, I am informed by Bro. Rickard, whose assistance on points concerned with these rituals I gratefully acknowledge, appear in early Knight Templar rituals and other degrees.

The catechism of the degree gave different explanations of the symbols. The trunk meant the roundness of the earth, the cloth, water, fire, salt and the Crucifix were called the five bases and were explained as follows: The cloth served to enwrap man and dry him at birth; the water to wash him and purify him from sin; the fire to dry and enlighten him as to his first duties; the salt made him Christian; the Crucifix alluded to Our Redeemer. The remaining objects were explained as follows: the white handkerchief represented the linen which received Our Saviour at birth; the bundle of sticks the raw material for charcoal; the leaves were used to cover the furnace; the earth to cover the coal and keep in the heat; the thread was that which was spun by the Virgin Mary; the crown of thorns represented the trials of this world.

At the trial of Macerata⁶ we have an interpretation of the symbols, which is by no means so innocent as that of the ritual.⁷ It is not clear whether this interpretation was that of the first or of the Master's degree. If the first's, it shows that even in the degrees adapted for the masses there was a sinister aspect for those who knew the inmost secrets of the Sect. It ran as follows:—"The cross should serve to crucify the tyrant who persecutes us and

¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 162.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 56.

³ St. Edme, p. 203, quoting a letter of the 12th July, 1819, published by the Bibliothèque historique in "Lettres sur l'Italie".

⁴ Ottolini, p. 54.

⁵ Vol. iv., p. 285 *et subseq.* Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. i., p. 808; vol. ii., p. 124.

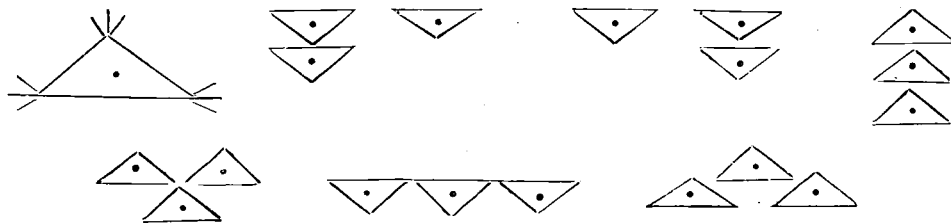
⁶ *Memoirs*, p. 32.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 34.

troubles our sacred operations. The crown of thorns should serve to pierce his head. The thread denotes the cord to lead him to the gibbet. The ladder will aid him to mount it. The leaves are nails to pierce his hands and feet. The pickaxe will penetrate his breast and shed the impure blood that flows in his veins. The axe will sever his head from his body, as the wolf disturbs our peaceful labours. The salt will prevent the corruption of his head, that it may last as a monument of the eternal infamy of despots. The pole will serve to carry the skull of tyrants on its point, the furnace will burn his body. The shovel will scatter his ashes to the wind. The Barracca will serve to prepare new tortures for the tyrant. The fountain will purify us from the vile blood we shall have shed. The linen will wipe away our stains and render us clean and pure. The Forest is the place where the Good Cousins labour to obtain so important a result. The trunk with the single branch signifies that, after the great deed, we shall become equal to the N.C." No wonder the Romagnols had a reputation for fierceness and bloodthirstiness above all other men!

Heckethorn has a different explanation of the symbols, for which as usual he gives no authority. The furnace represents the collective work of the Carbonari; the sacred fire, kept alive by these labours, was the flame of liberty with which they wished to light up the world; the coal was the fount of light and gave out the warmth that purified the air; the forest, infested with wild beasts, was Italy under foreign oppressors; the tree bole with its roots turned up in the air represented destroyed kingdoms and overthrown thrones.

We have seen that the triangle, and more particularly its radiant form, was a Carbonarian symbol. At the time when the Austrians were threatening war against the Neapolitan revolution state, threatening letters were sent by Carbonari to Papal officials,¹ especially at Spoleto, which bore variants of the triangle, as follows:—



In the Masters' catechism the symbols were explained differently, and were connected for the most part with funeral rites. The cloth represented the cerecloth wrapped round the dead body, the water was that thrown over the body at death, the fire represented the candles round the bier, the salt the earth in which man was buried, the Cross the Cross carried by Our Saviour, the Kerchief St. Veronica's handkerchief and also the rope by which Judas hung himself, the wood the tree from which the Cross was made and the earth that which gave the tree its birth and its growth.

Barbiera² states that a document called "Model of the Carbonarian Guelf Lodge as used in Naples, Bologna, Ferrara, Reggio and Ancona", which was circulated among the students of the university of Pavia, showed a plan of the "Lodge" and gave various information. The symbols in this case were: a crown, a ladder, two long nails placed crosswise, a pair of pincers, an arrow, a hammer, and a cross. Their symbolic meaning was as follows:—The crown: "To trample under one's feet the despotism of monarchies and to set up the standard of the independence and the constitution of Italy". The ladder: "To set up as a government a constitutional King, elected by the Italian people, the people to be divided into four classes or Parliaments, and sacred, beneficial and

¹ Gualterio, *Documents*, pp. 320 *et* *subseqq.*

² Figurine, p. 118. Ottolini, p. 113.

unalterable laws to be laid down for the independent sovereignty, which will be explained at the proper moment in the Carbonic Guelf constitution". The two nails: "To punish and pierce those individuals who lay false plots and pitfalls for the constitution and independence of Italy". The pincers: "To tear out and deprive of life all the successors of the European monarchies". The arrow: "To protect and set up the constitutional standard, even with bloodshed, if it is rejected by the opposed party". The hammer: "To overthrow and raze all the principal fortresses of Italy for the benefit of the people". The Cross: "To destroy the Roman Catholic faith and substitute for it that which will be explained in the constitution". So far I have not been able to find a full copy of this document.

The symbols were reproduced on the Certificates which were issued to Good Cousins when it was safe to do so. Specimens of those for the first two degrees are contained in the *Memoirs* and are reproduced in Bro. Crowe's Paper in *A.Q.C.*, xvi., pp. 163-170, which also contains the reproduction of that shown as frontispiece of St. Edme's book, which has some peculiarities of its own. An additional Master's Certificate in the *Memoirs* which Bro. Crowe has not reproduced is annexed hereto. Bro. Rickard has also found in the A.Q.C. Library what appears to be a genuine, original Certificate, which will be reproduced on another occasion. The Apprentice's Certificate has no border. At the top we have, on the left, the crown of thorns and the ladder; in the middle, the Cross surrounded by Faith, Hope and Charity; and on the right, the sun and a bundle of sticks. At the bottom we have: on the left, a wood and the Barracca, then St. Theobald sitting by a tree bole, out of which a green shoot is growing; then a wicker basket full of coal, a ball of string and, on the right, the spade, pole and mattock leaning against a rock. At the bottom edge of the Certificate is a description of the owner and his signature. The legend is as follows:—

To the Great God Grand Master of the Universe.

In the name and under the auspices of the High Vendita and of our Protector
St. Theobald.

The Respectable Vendita under the distinctive title of of the
Ordine of

To all the Vendite and the regular Good Cousins scattered over the earth
S S S

We, Grand Master and Officers of the Respectable Vendita S . . . the T . .
D regularly constituted in the Ordine of certify that the
Good Cousin native of Province of , years old
. occupation , is a member of this Respectable Vendita in the degree
of We beg all Vendite and regular Good Cousins scattered over the
earth to recognise him as such and in that capacity to give him the consideration
which is due to him and afford him all the assistance which he may need,
promising that we shall do as much for those who will make a claim on us in
the name of a Good Cousin Carbonaro. On which understanding we have issued
to him the present Certificate, signed by us and furnished with the stamp and
seal of this Respectable Vendita after he had duly signed it here on the margin
in our presence.

Ordine of the . . . of the month of

The 2d Assistant The Grand Master The first Assistant

The treasurer

The Orator

The Stamp and Seal Keeper By order of the Respectable Vendita,
The Good Cousin Secretary

The Master's Certificates are more elaborate. They have a border all round on which the symbols are placed; and the signature and description of the owner are on the left margin. The symbols shown on one specimen are,

beginning from the top left corner and going first to the right: the crown of thorns, Faith Hope and Charity, the Cross with the napkin, a ladder, a spear and a sponge at the end of a reed,—all implements alluding to the Passion,—Force, Virtue, and Uprightness and the sun. Going down the right side, we have three nails of the Cross, the Echantillon hung from a tricolour ribbon and the mattock, spade and axe tied together. Along the bottom edge we have, from right to left, a rock with a stream gushing out, sprigs of shrubs intended to represent a fern and a nettle, a coal basket, an oil lamp, a cock crowing on a pillar (the emblem of the degree), a ball of string, an oven, St. Theobald sitting near a tree trunk with a green shoot, the Barracca and the wood. On the left margin we have: below, the bundle of sticks, and above, a glove or severed hand and a scourge. Another specimen of the Master's Certificate has a globe in place of the crown of thorns, which is placed round the Cross; on the left margin the bundle of sticks is bound up with an axe and below it is the ladder. On the bottom margin the rock is omitted and we have instead, going from right to left, the fern and the nettle, the ball of string, the lamp, a broken pillar against which the Carbonaro standard is leaning, a rock with a bird on it, a basket, a flaming oven, a basin, a tree trunk and shoot, but without St. Theobald, and the usual Barracca and wood. The legend is exactly the same as that on the Apprentice's Certificate. The Certificate given in St. Edme has features of its own. It omits St. Theobald and Faith, Hope and Charity, and the axe, spade and mattock are replaced by two pairs of implements, axe and spade, axe and mattock. It has also a moon, a cloth, a ladder and pole crossed, two objects which it is not easy to recognise, and a candle, none of which are shown in the other specimens. The order of the symbols round the border, beginning from the top left hand corner, is: the sun, a ladder and pole crossed, a crown of thorns, the Cross with a lance and a sponge at the end of a long reed, a white cloth, crossed fern and nettle twigs, the moon, crossed axe and rake or mattock tied by a ribbon, three pieces of wood tied together, a rock (?), a billet with some grey moss on it (?), a waterfall, a furnace, a ball of string, a tree trunk with a bough, a Barracca, a basket of coal, a crossed axe and spade tied together with a ribbon and a lighted candle. It will be noticed that I differ in some instances from the interpretation given by Bro. Crowe.¹

¹ In his translation of the Certificate in *A.Q.C.*, xvi., Bro. Crowe has made several mistakes; and I give here a revised version of the legend and suggestions for filling up the blanks: "To God Almighty, Grand Master of the Universe and great St. Theodore, our Patron, greetings and friendship. To all the Respectable Vendite and Good Cousins; I, the signatory, Arnold Damoride, Baron of Villa Buona, Good Cousin Apprentice and Master of the Respectable Vendita named "Apostolate" of the Ordone of Mola di Bari; Grand Master elect of the Respectable Vendita named "Philosophical Resurrection" of the Ordone of St. German, situated at Parco Moriello in the Kingdom of Naples, certify that, after becoming fully acquainted with the excellent moral qualities and liberal sentiments which grace signor Charles Clement, Count Teodoro, born in Naples in the year 1685, who also holds high degrees in Freemasonry, which he obtained at the time that he travelled in France, I have initiated him { col P(asso) e S(egno) G(enerale) della R(ispettabile) V(endita) S(uprema di C(apitanata) } with the Password and General Sign of the Respectable Supreme Vendita of the Capitanata } * by administering to him in a Chamber of Honour the Oath prescribed in the Statutes of the degrees of Apprentice and Master Good Cousin Carbonaro; and I beg all Good Cousins of the Universe to recognise him as such. This Certificate is written out and signed by my own hand and is also signed in my presence by the said Charles Clement, Count Teodoro. Issued from the Ordone of Naples, the 1st day of the 2d month of the year 5707 of the True Light."

This Certificate has two unusual features. The first is the date. It is very suspect, as I have not found any other instance of the use of Masonic chronology being used in the Carboneria. The simplest explanation is that even if the original Certificate is genuine, the printer who printed St. Edme's frontispiece made an error of 100 years in both dates. The other unusual feature is the script. That the print is not a facsimile reproduction is shown by the fact that, though Villabuona says that he wrote out the original himself in manuscript, his signature and that of the Count are in precisely the same beautiful copperplate style. The legend itself,

The Certificate found by Bro. Rickard bears the following emblems, beginning at the top left corner and going right: a crown of thorns, Faith, Hope, Charity, a wooden cross with a cloth over it on a mound, Force, Virtue, Uprightness, the Sun; then going down the right hand side: a specimen with a ribbon in the shape of a loveknot, an axe, shovel and adze tied together; then along the bottom from right to left: two twigs, probably of fern and nettle, an oil lamp, a cock on a pillar, a ball of string, a basket of coal, a flaming oven, a small pot, a tree stump with one shoot, the Barracca, the Forest, and finally on left side from the bottom to the top: a ladder and a bundle of sticks. The legend is practically the same as that set forth above, and is:—

To God Most High, Grand Master of the Universe.

In the name and under the auspices of the High Vendita of Naples and of our Protector St. Theobald.

The respectable Vendita with the distinctive title of the "Followers of Zeno of Elaea" in the Ordone of Naples

To all the Vendite and regular Good Cousins scattered over the earth.
Greetings.

We, Grand Master and Officers of the Respectable Vendita with the distinctive title of "Followers of Zeno of Elaea", regularly constituted in the Ordone of Naples certify that the Good Cousin Elisha Robinson, born at. . . . in the Province of years of age, a merchant by trade, is a member of this Respectable Vendita in the degree of Master. We beg all Vendite and regular Good Cousins scattered over the earth to recognise him as such, and afford him the consideration due to his rank and to give him all the assistance which he may need, we promising to do the same for all those who will appeal to us in the name of Carbonaro Good Cousin. In virtue of which we have given him this certificate, signed by us and sealed with the seal of this Respectable Vendita, after he had signed it on the margin in our presence. Ordone of Naples, the 2d of the month of October 1820.

The 2d Asst.

Ruggiero Colonnelli

The Treasurer

Emanuele Valboa

Registrar

Raffaelle Venlesse

The G.M.

Leopoldo Penna

The 1st Asst.

Gennaro Colonnelli

The Orator

Francesco Gargani

The Good Cousin Secretary

Agto. Aillaud

(Augusto)

Each signature is followed by five dots thus

as stated, is clearly not the normal printed form for such Certificates as shown on that found by Bro. Rickard. We can therefore believe Villabuona when he says that he wrote out the original text himself, but what we have before us is merely a reproduction. It may be noted that the figures 5707 appear on the seal of the "Risurrezione filosofica", where it is not usual to find a date, and the figure may have referred to something quite different and been mistaken for a date by the reproducer. It is also worthy of note that the two seals on the Certificate, though of different Vendite in different Ordoni are practically identical.

As regards the seal, of which Bro. Crowe reproduces an impression, I am not at all sure that it is Carbonarian, though apparently it was thought to be so in Naples, where Mr. Neville Rolfe, whom I knew when a boy and remember very well, obtained it. The only connection that I can see with the Carboneria is the V on the margin, which I presume is taken to signify "Vendita", unless we can regard the object on the left of the symbols as a shed and the nest of the young pelicans as a coal basket. On the other hand SOV.CAP. could be interpreted as "Sovrano Capitolo", Sovereign Chapter, or Sovereign of the Chapter of "Courage in adversity" at the V. of Monteleone. This would connect the seal with the Rose Croix. Monteleone is a town in Calabria and a closer knowledge of the locality might enable us to give us the meaning of the V. It may only refer to the name of a place. It could be Valle (valley) or Vergine (Virgin) which would make it the name of a shrine, or even the prosaic Via or Viale (Road or Avenue). I cannot connect the letters on the scroll with any Carbonaro expression and cannot suggest any interpretation. LIB may refer to Libertà (Liberty) and LA may be no more than the appropriate definite article.

* A part of modern Apulia.

The owner of the Certificate was Elisha Robinson, probably an English merchant, belonging to the Vendita "Followers of Zeno", which explains probably how it found its way to England.

A Carbonaro patent entrusted by Passano to Captain Sgarzolo for transmission to Gibraltar and seized on his ship, the "Spartano", is described by Doria¹ as made of parchment and bearing the following emblems: the symbols of the Passion, the sun, the moon, seven stars, Faith represented by a Host over an irradiated pyx, Hope represented by a sailor leaning on an anchor, Charity represented by a woman suckling two babies, a burning oven, and St. Theobald. The seal was attached by means of a blue, black red ribbon and enclosed in box of gilt brass.

Casali² was given the task of printing the Carbonaro Certificates for the Papal States, but owing to police action few were used and he destroyed his stock. No doubt these Certificates served largely as passports.

Guidati³ tells us of a curious document he received from Tommasi. It stated that he belonged to the society of the "Ardone e scortico" words which mean nothing, and it was indented on one side. Its heading was "Vendita dell'ordone". On it were the initials of Villa followed by that of his office, G.V.M., *i.e.*, G. Villa Maestro (Master), those of Oroboni, F.O.S., *i.e.*, F. Oroboni Segretario (Secretary), those of Zerbini, V.Z.T., *i.e.*, V. Zerbini Tesoriere (Treasurer). The incomprehensible words may have been a pseudonym for the Society, or they may have been a corruption of "Cardone e Ortica" (Thistle and Nettle). Liard⁴ tells us that sometimes the Good Cousins' degree was indicated by a number after his signature. No. 3 indicated Grand Master; No. 17 a Master, one who possessed the sacred word and had taken the oath; No. 21 with a dot in the loop of the 2 indicated an Apprentice. Another passport, used especially by Carbonaro messengers, was a gold ring bearing the badge and name of the Carbonaro Province, followed by five figures in arabic numerals, to denote the Vendita.⁵

St. Edme tells us that the document handed to him by Father P . . . had seven coloured illuminations, as follows:—1. The entrance to a grotto into which the Grand Elects went for their meetings, with a background of mountains. In front were three Apprentices with spades, working at an oven. In the middle distance was a Grand Master Grand Elect on the watch and another at the entrance of the cave. On the right was a fire. 2. The interior of a Vendita at the moment that the obligation was administered. 3. A map of Ausonia. 4. The triangular flag of Ausonia. 5. The interior of the cave at the moment that the foreign soldiers had been overthrown. 6. The various dresses worn by the Carbonari and the officers of Ausonia. 7. The seal of Ausonia, which was triangular in shape. At each point was a gold crown on a green turban with a blue aigrette. In the middle, on silver ground, was a bundle of 21 sticks surmounted by three axes standing on a rock surrounded by the sea. On the left, the naval flag of Ausonia held up by a dolphin, on the right the land flag of Ausonia held up by a greyhound. The scroll round the triangle bore the words: Republic of Ausonia, and an allseeing eye was placed on the knot which held the bundle together.

On documents, three dots, in a line, after a signature usually indicated a Carbonaro.

Among other unclassified points of interest I may mention an instance of an exceptional meeting. The Carbonaro statutes reached Cesena only after the Macerata rising, and a special meeting was held to read them. Fattibuoni, the

¹ *Lazio, Mazzini*, p. 427.

² *Pierantoni*, vol. ii., p. 275.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 112.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 2.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 202.

founder of the Vendita, was First Overseer. The Vendita was opened with three k . . . s with the axe and an invocation to St. Theobald, and then the documents were read.¹

According to St. Edme² the Carbonari had a special calendar. The year began on the 10th of March for mystical reasons connected with the creation of the world. The number of days was the same as ours, but the months numbered eleven, nine of 33 days and two of 34, one of them having 35 days in leap years. The seasons were the same as in our calendar, three months in each, except that winter was composed of the two longer months. The week was also of seven days. The names of the months were as follows:—Spring: Verdure, Growth, Flowers; Summer: Meadows, Harvest, Dog Days; Autumn: Fruit, Vintage, Sowing; Winter: Carnival, Lent. Several feasts were also prescribed. The three principal ones were: The feast of God, the feast of the people and the feast of the Magistrates. There was a leap year feast, and four feasts of the seasons. The minor feasts were twenty-two, held in honour of such things as Birth, Youth, Marriage, Courage, Fraternity, Men, Women, Agriculture, etc. This calendar does not seem ever to have been used.

The *Memoirs*³ also show that in certain instances a special numeration was used. The specimen Minutes given in the *Memoirs* begin: "To day being the first of August in the year 300 of the True Light". The first year of the Carbonarian Era in this instance would fall in the reign of Francis I. of France. The journal of the West Lucanian Republic is dated "the 19th of the 11th month, year 3", which is the 19th of August, 1820.⁴ The years may have been dated from the foundation of the West Lucanian Republic. The Hirpinian Republic's year II. was 1820. The Certificate given as a frontispiece to St. Edme's book on the other hand has a Masonic date. Other documents in the *Memoirs* show the ordinary dates.

The three Carbonaro colours are variously interpreted. The black alludes to coal, the blue to the smoke and the red to the fire. They are explained in the ritual of the first degree as black=Faith, blue=Hope and red=Charity. In the Masters' catechism red stands for Faith and the knowledge received at Pentecost, and black for charity and also hell, blue again stands for Hope. A Carbonaro, who was prominent in the forties, La Cecilia,⁵ interpreted the colours: red, the ardour of every Carbonaro for liberty; blue, the hope of seeing all Carbonari striving towards the goal of the virtuous; and black, hardening as though through fire.

Tommasi⁶ signed himself Spartaco, possibly in imitation of Guelfic practice, but the use of classical names for persons seems to have remained rare among the Carbonari, though pseudonyms were frequently used at a later date.

The word Ordone has already been referred to. It seems to have meant originally the district of a Vendita, but came to mean also a row of Good Cousins. Taveggi tried to make it mean on one occasion a commission, but he seems to have confused it with "Ordine", the Italian for an order, or behest.

Such were the ceremonies and the symbolism of the Carboneria at the period of their greatest development. The ethical, social, religious and political ideas underlying them can be best considered when these in their turn have passed through their successive phases; but, if I may be allowed to anticipate future events, I will describe here what we know of the changes introduced in the Carbonarian secrets after the revelations consequent on the failure of the revolutions of 1820-1821 and the arrests and trials of the subsequent ten years.

¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 127.

² pp. 176-180.

³ p. 230.

⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 110.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

⁶ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 328-335.

Indirizzo.



D.

S.

M. V. W. Mazzoni Prandi



Morte.



L. D. D. T. G. S. A. F. G. C. J. J. D. W. G. T. C. D.

Il Mortale Gaudano Caffieri è un F. D. Numero L'unto appartenente alla D. e del Jonaphe dove

spazza sulla superficie della Terra, per la sua D. e avuto il piacere di far parte in questa R. S. D.

Non dunque invitiamo tutte le Società Filantropiche a prestare il loro braccio forte al medesimo ed a soccorrerlo

ne suoi bisogni, sperando egli giunto alla D. e di acquistare la L. iberia o Morte.

29 Ottobre 1817

Regg.

Pietro Gargiulo

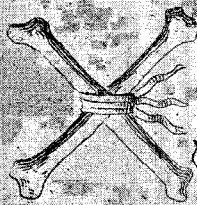
M. G. M. D. W. 1

V. o de servo 2. o Denaro

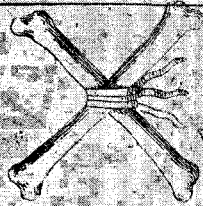
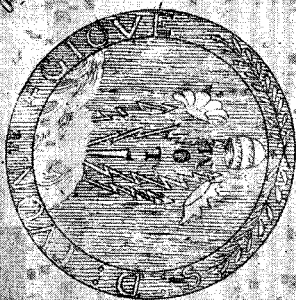
Gaudano Caffieri

Registratore de

Morte



Morte.



Salto

The red letters in the Original are written in Blood.

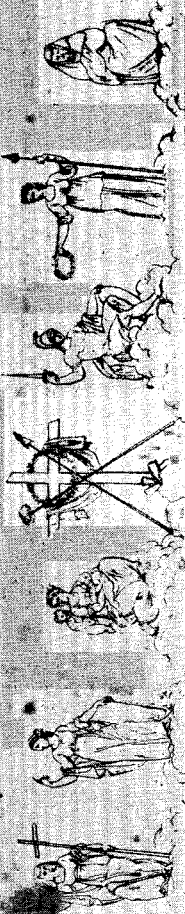
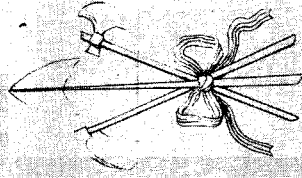
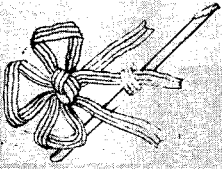
St. Edmund's Library

Certificate of Caffieri a Chief of the Decisi

Filiazione

Statura
Inipelli
Ponte
Opelli
Moro
Homo
Mondo
Carriaguar
Barba
Marche app.

Ne Varietur



In nome e sotto gli Auspici dell'A. V. di
La R. V. sotto il tal. d'at.

A tutte le VV. e BB. CC. regolari sparse sulla Terra.

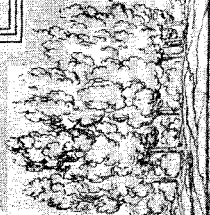
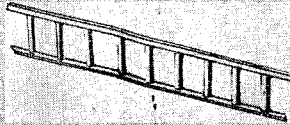
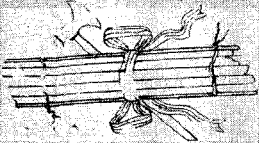
S... S... S...

Noi G. M. ed Ufficiali della R. V. S. al T. D.
di... certificiamo che il B. C.
Provincia di...
e membro di questa R. V. al grado di Maestro. Preghiamo tutte le VV. e BB. CC.
regolari sparse sulla Terra di riconoscerlo per tale e nella Detta qualità accreditargli la considerazione, che gli è
dovuta e vinti ingaggi tutti i soccorsi di cui può avergli di bisogno promettendo di fare noi altrettanto per quelli
che si interesseranno col nome di B. C. Carbonaro. In fede di che gli abbiamo rilasciato il presente Diploma di Noi
Sottoscritto e munito del Bollo e Suggello di questa R. V. dopo avergli apposta la nostra firma qui al margine in nostra
presenza. Ord. di... del mese di...

Il 2° Uffiz. ...
Il 1° Uffiz. ...

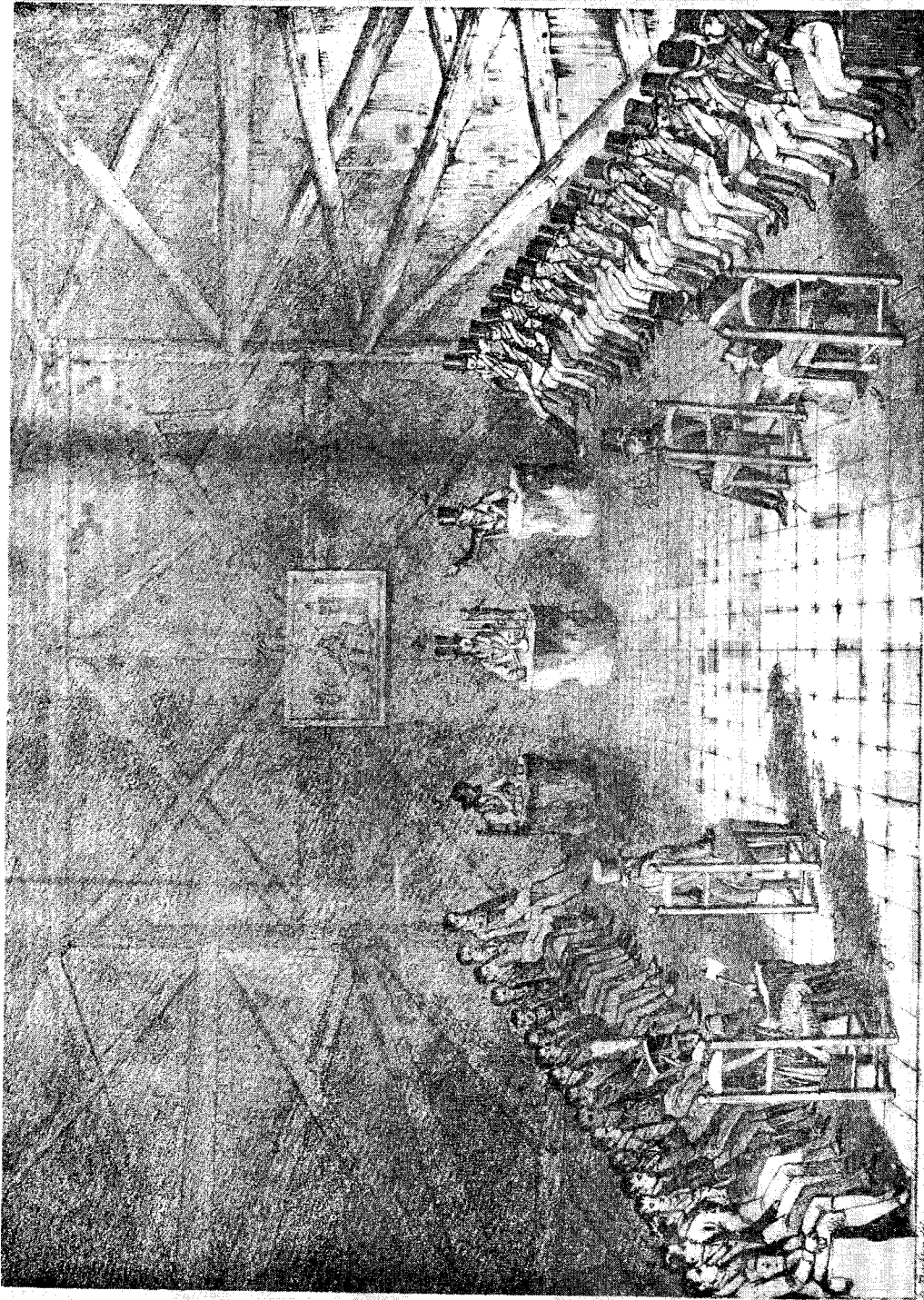
Il Governatore R. e Reg.
Il Provvisorio
Il Viceré

Pro-Mand. della R. V.
Il B. C. Sottel.



Londra, Published by J. Murray, Albemarle St. No. 20. 1804

Form of Certificate for Master Carbonaro.



1. Place of the Masters. 2. Place of Apprentices. 3. Grand Master. 4. Doctor. 5. Secretary. 6. the Alder. 7. Master of the Ceremonies. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

A Vendita in Session.

Copy of the Printed Patent of the Reformed European Patriots.

H. G. D. G. R. D. V. E. S. A. D. A. N. N. -

C. D. Q. D. C. C. Salentina

Certifichiamo Noi qui sottoscritti, come il Cittadino Porquale Massimo del Comune di Lecce è un F.P. al Grado di Legionario, quindi rinunziamo tutte le P.P.E.E. di qualunque luogo a riconoscerlo per tale ed a riconoscere i suoi bisogni, svenuto il medesimo quanto a questo Grado per le sue ottime qualità.

In Lecce dal Campo della Lib. rivendicata, di 23 Novembre, Anno quinto.

Il Capitano Relatore

Michele Angelo Loggieri

Il Presidente Comandante

Francesco Panetti

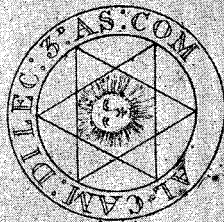
L'Ajutante di Campo

Augusto Francot



Per il Segretario G. B. S.

Il 2° Cons. A. Farnina



The badge¹ adopted was a triangle containing two eyes. The sacred words were: "Fraternità, Amicizia, Carità" (Fraternity, Friendship, Charity); the password "Vendichiamo i Polacchi" (Let us avenge the Poles), who had revolted in 1830. The sign of recognition among the Carboneria's dignitaries was: scratch the right thumb with the left thumb; to which the answer was, to take out one's handkerchief and blow one's nose twice. Then the following question was asked: "Do you love the Birboni (rascals)?" which was meant to allude to the Bourbons. The reply was: "I would hang them all". Then one asked: "Do you like le corna (horns)?" which was intended to mean "corone" (Crowns), and the answer was: "God preserve me". A spy who discovered a Carbonarian headquarters at Bologna in Ercolani's palace² tells us, in a report of the 31st of October, 1832, that the candidates were called "Speranzisti" (members of "Speranza" (Hope) the name of the High Vendita in Genoa which was suppressed in 1830); that the expression for a Sectary killed for betrayal was "esperzo" and that members were said to be "fermati alla setta" (made fast to the Sect).

Andryane tells us that, though the Carbonarian symbolism and its Oaths were of a very extreme character, this was due to the fact that they dated from the old Jacobin days; no one took them seriously at the time when the Carboneria was in its fullest vigour, they were regarded as mere formulæ, and no one had taken the trouble to alter them when the Carboneria's aims had become more moderate. As we shall see, however, the character of the Society tended to assume again a more extreme aspect after the failures of 1821 and 1831; and this tendency must be regarded as manifested in the revised secrets which have just been described.

XXI. THE NEAPOLITAN REVOLUTION OF 1820.

On the 1st of January, 1820, the revolution broke out in Cadiz. By the month of April its success was assured and Ferdinand VII. of Spain had taken the oath to the Spanish Constitution. Ferdinand of Naples, as Infante of Spain and a member of the junior branch of the Spanish Bourbons, had also been obliged to swear to that very imperfect instrument of government. Since the Aragonese conquest of Sicily, towards the end of the 14th Century, South Italy had been particularly susceptible to the influence of events in Spain; and the country, as we have seen, was ripe for revolution. The capriciousness and increasing arbitrariness of the government, especially since the appointment of the ex-Carbonaro Giampietro as director of police, had caused widespread discontent; and, full of hope, the Carbonari resumed their attempts to bring about a rising.

Within the liberal party were at least two principal divisions. The Murattists, who had served under the French régime and supplied the most efficient part of the civil and military services, being regarded with suspicion and seeing the less competent Fedeloni preferred for office, were discontented but not ready to take open action. The driving power of the liberals lay in the Carboneria. The Carboneria itself was divided into several sections, working largely independently of each other. Apart from the machinations of the High Vendita, the Salernitan leaders were planning and plotting; and, more active than either, was a group led by Gagliardi, Curci and De Blasi. More important at the moment, and indeed essential to any open action, was the military side of the Carboneria with William Pepe at its head. In his *Memoirs* Pepe appears to claim that he was chiefly responsible for the success of the revolution; and, despite other claims and the views of other authorities, I agree with Vannucci⁴ in regarding that claim as justified. Though the General did not actually bring

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 310.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 1261.

³ Colletta, bk. viii., ch. 27, p. 211.

⁴ p. 160.

about the outbreak, and his conduct was at times open to the charge of vacillation, he prepared the military force without which the rising could not have succeeded; and nothing of importance could have been planned in his military district without at least his connivance.

The growing agitation alarmed the authorities; they considered the grant of an enlargement of the Council of State and a modicum of free institutions as a concession.¹ In order to secure the loyalty of the army and, to make a show of force to overawe the discontented, it was decided to form a military camp at Sessa,² where the old King could appear in the midst of the troops and appeal to them for their support. The camp was duly held, the King appeared and was cheered, but from the government's point of view the camp proved a failure. So far from strengthening the loyalty of the troops, the various regiments, in close contact with each other, were able to realise how deeply the Carboneria had penetrated into the army; and the Good Cousins in the different units were able to arrange means of intercommunication.³

The plotters had already begun their activities. Even before the camp had been formed the Gagliardi group had planned a mutiny, which was to have been begun by the Regiment of Dragoons. The Regiment's orders to attend the camp, however, were cancelled, and the other mutineers, who were waiting for it to make the first move, did not stir. Before the camp had broken up, the same group had begun a plot to kidnap the whole Royal family in Naples and force the King to grant a constitution. All participants had to swear not to harm either the King or his relations. Over 2,000 troops infected with Carbonarism were to have taken part. On the 23rd of May, after the camp had broken up, a committee of seven was appointed to settle the final details; but a traitor, appropriately called *Acconciagiucoco* (which means one who gerrimanders the whole game), informed the police, and several of the plotters were arrested. Gagliardi, Curci and De Blasi escaped.⁴ As a result of these failures the ministry took heart; and nothing more was heard of the proposed reforms.⁵

Pepe also had been at work. In his *Memoirs*⁶ he says that, as soon as he had heard the news of the Spanish revolution, he had begun to plan a revolt. He had suggested to the authorities that he should lead 6,000 of his militia to join the camp at Sessa, but his offer was refused.⁷ He then made a tour of his districts and was received everywhere with acclamations, bonfires and fireworks showing the Carbonaro colours. The Giardinieri, as well as the men, turned out to welcome him. The General had begun to reveal his intentions to some of his officers: De Concili, his chief of staff, who possessed large estates near Avellino, Pepe's headquarters, had been in his confidence from the beginning; and Pepe now sounded Colonel Russo, who commanded the mounted Chasseur regiment in the Capitanata. Russo sent one of his officers to Nola, which lay outside Pepe's command, to sound the cavalry Regiment of Bourbon and received a favourable reply. Pepe hoped to have at his disposal two regiments of horse, a squadron of Gens d'Armes and four battalions of infantry, all of the regular army, and his militia.⁸ Leti⁹ tells us that he had even entered into relations

¹ Colletta, bk. viii., ch. 53, p. 234.

² Niccoli, p. 116. Colletta gives a different reason. On the authority of a Neapolitan statesman he says that Ferdinand had come to an agreement with Austria to divide the Pope's territories at the death of Pius VII. The Pontiff fell ill and a concentration of troops was ordered in the Abruzzi to be in readiness to carry out the joint scheme. Pius, however, recovered, and when he asked for explanations was informed that nothing more was intended than military manœuvres; and, to calm his apprehension, the camp was moved to Sessa. Colletta, bk. viii., ch. 54, pp. 234-235.

³ Colletta, bk. viii., ch. 54, p. 235. Pepe, vol. ii., p. 196.

⁴ *Memoirs*, Appendix vi., pp. 223-226.

⁵ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 28 *et subseqq.*

⁶ vol. ii., p. 194.

⁷ *Pere Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 197 *et subseqq.*

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 198-199.

⁹ p. 106.

with the garrison of St. Elmo, the frowning fortress which dominates Naples. The first rising was to take place at San Severo in North Apulia,¹ a strong military position and remote enough from the capital to be out of reach of a sudden attack by the Royal Guard, which was expected to remain loyal. Avellino was too near Naples to enable Pepe to collect his forces before the royal troops fell upon him. Once the rising had taken place Pepe intended to inform Naples that he was going to suppress it, order the militia and the disaffected regulars to march on San Severo and, once his concentration was complete, throw off the mask and proclaim the constitution.

At the end of May Pepe was in the capital to attend the celebrations for the King's birthday. He received several spontaneous offers of support, notably from Zurlo and Campochiaro, Murattist ex-ministers, but General Carascosa hung back. Pepe's brother Florestano merely gave him the good advice to keep out of mischief, remarking that, though his sentiments were noble, those of the Knight of La Mancha were no less so.² This was the moment chosen by the Salernitans to break out into activities which nearly wrecked the whole enterprise. On the 29th of May a riot took place at Salerno,³ the pavilion prepared for the festivities was burnt down and a crowd of Good Cousins raised the cry of "Long live the Constitution." The Grand Diet solemnly passed a resolution appointing William Pepe Captain General of all the Carbonaro forces in the Kingdom, printed it and sent Macchiaroli, the chief of the West Lucanian Carbonarian Magistracy, to carry a number of copies to Avellino, greatly to Pepe's embarrassment.⁴ Luckily De Concili kept his head, buried the compromising documents and warned Pepe.

In the meantime indefatigable Gagliardi was trying to raise a mutiny at Nocera, while De Blasi was to seize St. Elmo. A high Officer had been persuaded to head the rising, which was to take place on the 10th of June, but at the critical moment he drew back and the scheme came to nothing.⁵ A few days later it was again the turn of the Salernitans.⁶ On the 17th of June five Good Cousins clothed themselves in the regalia of the Order and drove in a carriage to Nocera. On arriving there they shouted in favour of the Constitution, but no one took any notice and they fled to Avellino. This incident led General Campana, who had just taken over the command of Salerno, to arrest several officials; and his action caused a panic among the Carbonaro leaders and a stampede to Avellino followed.

More effective was the action of two Carbonaro officers of Avellino, Major Bianchi and Captain Preziosi, who, probably at the instance of De Concili, approached through an intermediary Lieutenants Morelli and Silvati of the Bourbon Regiment at Nola on the 15th of June and decided to fix the date of that Regiment's rising for the 1st of July.⁷ We have seen how Russo had already prepared the way. This Regiment offered particularly favourable ground to the conspirators, for its discipline had been notoriously lax and a new Colonel had been appointed recently to restore order in the unit, which consequently was seething with discontent.⁸

On hearing from De Concili the state of affairs Pepe decided to execute his own plan on the 24th of June. He returned to Avellino and summoned Russo to meet him on the 23rd of that month. He also asked the Carbonari of Salerno to send 300 men on the evening of the 24th to a place between Salerno

¹ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 199.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 208-210.

³ Leti, p. 108. Dito, p. 240. Pepe, vol. ii., p. 218.

⁴ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 211. Vannucci, p. 292. It is not clear if the High Vendita or the Grand Diet was responsible. The prominence of Macchiaroli suggests the Grand Diet.

⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 199. Niccoli, p. 114.

⁶ Leti, p. 108.

⁷ Cavallotti's translation of the *Memoirs*, pp. x-xvi.

⁸ Johnston, vol. ii., pp. 79-80.

and Avellino with orders to light bonfires, attract the attention of the authorities and divert it from the more vital points.¹ The plan miscarried: Russo did not appear and pleaded later that he had not received Pepe's letter, and the 300 did not move.

On the government side nothing at all was done beyond the action taken by Campana. In fact it is difficult to estimate which were more futile, the ill regulated attempts of the liberals or the feeble efforts of the government. After the failure of his plan Pepe thought it wisest to return to Naples: nothing could as yet be proved against him and by remaining in the capital he disarmed suspicion,² while in his absence the Carbonari at Avellino steadily continued their preparations. Amid all the failures and vacillation, however, there were some men prepared to stand by their pledges. The time fixed by Bianchi and Preziosi for the rising of the Bourbon Regiment at Nola was now very near; and, in anticipation, bands of armed Good Cousins began on the 28th to gather round the house of the Intendant of Avellino, it is said at De Concili's call. They were not disappointed this time.

We have two versions of the events of the 1st of July. The more usual one says³ that Lieutenants Morelli and Silvati persuaded 127 of their men to saddle on that day and ride to Avellino, where the Constitution was to be proclaimed; and they took along with them 20 local Carbonari led by the Abbot Menichini. The other version⁴ says that Menichini took the initiative and persuaded the officers to act. The "Memoirs"⁵ suggest that the real chiefs of the Sectaries usually kept in the background and worked through instruments who were often ignorant of the fact that they were being used; but on this occasion, possibly owing to the many miscarriages, some of the chiefs themselves took the lead, to avoid further irresolution and ignominious failure. This version would place Morelli, Silvati and Menichini among the highest of the Sect and invest Menichini with the supreme authority. If it is correct, Pepe, De Concili and all the others were but the tools of these secret chiefs; and it must be admitted that this view would explain much of what happened. On this assumption these chiefs realised that Pepe with his troops held the key to the situation and, as his determination seemed doubtful, they decided to compromise him.

The rebel squadron adopted the cry of "God, the King and the Constitution." An officer, Carriero, rode after it, but, on being greeted with the revolutionary cry, turned back and brought the news to Naples. Next morning, the 2nd, the mutineers reached Mercogliano, their numbers increased to 350.⁶ Morelli met there Lieutenant Pelosi and, hearing that Pepe was away from his Headquarters, sent Pelosi to De Concili calling on him to rise and assume the command of the insurgents. De Concili, uncertain as to what to do in his commander's absence, told Morelli to halt where he was, ordered Captain Prezioni to join him with a company of militia to protect the mutineers in case of attack, and Major Bianchi to arrange for supplies for them. He also sent an officer posthaste to Naples to summon Pepe back. On the same morning, the 2d, Lieutenant de Donato, of the Engineers, passed through Avellino and undertook to go to Foggia and induce there the King's cavalry regiment to revolt. He reached Foggia at 4 a.m. on the morning of the 3d. and, after a meeting at Major Pisa's house, at which Colonel de Rosa, Commanding Officer of the militia of the Capitanata, was present, the Constitution was proclaimed at 5 p.m. and the constitutional flag, the work of de Donato's wife, was hoisted.⁶ By now the

¹ Pepe, vol. ii., pp. 211 *et subsequ.*

² Colletta, bk. ix., ch. 2, pp. 238-239, thinks Pepe was not yet committed to the revolt and thinks that Pepe hoped to gain credit by suppressing the revolt of the 1st July and only later changed his mind.

³ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. i., p. 237.

⁴ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 175. Vannucci, p. 141.

⁵ p. 87.

⁶ Cavallotti, pp. x.-xvi.

Sectaries were pouring into Avellino from all directions, and in the evening of the 2nd, De Concili, satisfied of the widespread character of the movement, decided on his own responsibility to call out the Militia of the neighbourhood and raise the constitutional standard. On the 3d Morelli's band entered Avellino at 11 a.m., the local authorities, military, civil and religious, took an oath to "God, the King and the Constitution" and Morelli handed over the command to De Concili, who at once occupied the strong position of Monteforte, which dominates the approaches from Naples and Salerno.¹ After all the bungling and blundering of the liberals, the action of a few determined men had brought about the revolution and carried along with it the waverers.

Meanwhile Carriero had brought his news to Naples, and the next move lay with the Government. Marshal Nugent, after consulting other generals, sent for Pepe, as the outbreak had occurred in his command, and ordered him to return to Avellino to deal with it. While Pepe was with Nugent, the officer sent by De Concili arrived and in Nugent's presence Pepe sent back orders to call out the militia and occupy certain points.² Nugent evidently had no suspicion of Pepe's loyalty.³ The King at that moment was at sea meeting the Duke of Calabria, his eldest son, who was returning from Sicily. On being informed of events by his ministers, he took fright, as usual, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was induced to land. After consultations with the ministers he vetoed Pepe's departure, as he distrusted him. In fact, it was difficult for the government to know whom it could trust. The Sicilian generals were unpopular with the Neapolitan soldiery and more likely to drive it into mutiny than to persuade it to suppress the rebellion, the Neapolitan generals were mostly either Murattist, and therefore suspect, or incompetent;⁴ and the troops were clearly unreliable. Carascosa was chosen to deal with the rebels, but as he was a Murattian and a liberal, he was not given any troops. Carascosa went to Nola on the 3d, but being powerless to act, opened negotiations with the rebels. Late that evening he had collected no more than 600 men.

Two other generals were facing the rebels, Campana at Salerno and Nunziante, who had just arrived from Calabria, at Nocera. Campana⁵ advanced towards Monteforte on the same day, the 3d; some firing took place, but no one was hit. Seeing the hills covered with crowds displaying the Carbonari insignia, the general withdrew. On the 5th⁶ Nunziante in his turn advanced, but many of his troops promptly deserted and he wrote that the wish for a constitution was universal, resistance was hopeless and begged the King to yield. No attempt had been made to bring about a junction of the forces of three generals, as it was feared that, if the soldiers of the different corps came together, they would join the rebels. As Campana's and Nunziante's moves had been taking place while Carascosa was trying to negotiate, the rebels naturally regarded his action as insincere. On the 5th Carascosa received 300 more men, was joined by Nugent and was at last able to plan an advance. While on the side of the government there was nothing but bungling and hesitation, the rebels had displayed more energy. On the 4th a rising took place at Balvano in the Basilicata, the Carbonarian province of Eastern Lucania. Though checked for a moment by General Del Carretto, who became notorious a few years later, and a few cavalry, the rebellion spread and on the 7th Potenza, the provincial capital rose.

Before this last event Salerno, unable to move owing to the presence of General Campana, asked for help from De Concili. He sent a small column under

¹ Pepe, vol. ii., pp. 219-220, 225. Colletta, vol. ii., bk. ix., chs. i., iii., pp. 237, 238, 240.

² Pepe, vol. ii., p. 223.

³ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. ii., pp. 238, 239.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 239.

⁵ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 225. Colletta, bk. ix., ch. iv., p. 241, says he moved on the 4th.

⁶ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. iv., p. 241. Dito, p. 241, says on the 4th,

Captain Paoella which succeeded in evading Campana, who was then making his abortive advance against Monteforte, and in a moment Salerno was up in arms, cutting communications between the Capital and Calabria and Basilicata, ensuring the unhindered development of the revolution in those provinces.¹ A provisional government was appointed, of which Avossa and Sessa, the Secretary, were members.

In Naples, Pepe, in imminent danger of arrest, had been considering how to run the gauntlet of the police and the Royal troops and make his way to Avellino. On the evening of the 5th General Napolitano² called at his house and informed him that the Dragoons and the mounted Chasseurs had mutinied, an infantry regiment from Catellammare, a few miles away, had joined them and they were only waiting for Pepe before setting out for Monteforte. Pepe entered the general's carriage, duly found the troops at the rendez-vous and next day safely reached Monteforte to take command of all the insurgents there.

The events in the provinces had aroused a certain amount of agitation among the Carbonari in Naples and, on hearing of Pepe's flight, five of the most important, including the Duke of Piccoletti, called at the Royal Palace at midnight of the 5th and demanded an immediate audience with the King. They were met by Piccoletti's father-in-law, the Duke of Ascoli, and informed him that unless the Constitution was granted at once there would be a revolution in Naples the next day. Ascoli consulted the King. Ferdinand had received Nunziante's despairing letter and the petitioners were informed that the King had decided to grant their wish and was even then considering the terms of the Constitution. On being asked how soon the announcement would be made, Ascoli said "In two Hours." Piccoletti then drew Ascoli's watch out of his pocket, and showing him the time, one a.m., said that the announcement must be made by three o'clock. Resistance was useless and at three o'clock the grant of the Constitution was duly announced and also that its provisions would be promulgated in eight days.³ It was now the morning of the 6th, and orders were sent to the Royal Commanders to lead their men back to quarters.

The insurgents at Monteforte stood fast. By now not only was all the militia of Avellino in arms, but the Carbonari of all the neighbouring regions had arrived—Pepe puts their numbers at 60,000.⁴ On the same day new ministers were appointed, all Murattians, including Zurlo, a Freemason,⁵ Campochiaro and Carascosa, and the King, following his normal practice, resigned all authority in the hands of the Duke of Calabria and went to bed.

The Carbonari in Naples were not yet satisfied. They said that a period of eight days were too short to draft a fresh constitution and too long to select an existing one, and demanded the immediate promulgation of the Spanish constitution to which the King had already sworn allegiance⁶ as Spanish Infante. The delay, they feared, was intended to give time for the assemblage at Monteforte to disperse; and treachery was suspected. When the decree agreeing to the demand was found to be signed by the Duke of Calabria only, as his father's Vicar, the King's own signature was insisted on.

On hearing of events in Naples the leaders at Monteforte opened negotiations with the Vicar. It was agreed that a Giunta (committee) of fifteen should be selected by one of those complicated methods so dear to medieval constitutionalists to act as a provisional government until elections under the provisions of the Spanish constitution could take place, that Pepe should be in command of all the forces of the kingdom until Parliament met, that most of the forts should be handed over to the mutineers and that the muster of

¹ Cavallotti, pp. x.-xvi. Leti, p. 109.

² Pepe, vol. ii., p. 229.

³ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. iv., p. 243.

⁴ vol. ii., p. 241.

⁵ Dito, p. 205.

⁶ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. vi., p. 247. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 181.

Monteforte should march into the capital.¹ Colonel Russo became a member of this Giunta.²

On the 8th the Monteforte leaguer in full force marched to the Field of Mars, the great parade ground outside Naples, and gave itself up to oratory and rejoicing. In the city the bank and the command of the forts was taken over by the Carbonari and the war vessels in the harbour were dismantled.³ On the 9th the triumphal entry took place. At the head of the procession was the Squadron which had first risen at Nola, now known as the Sacred Squadron. Then came Pepe, accompanied by Napolitano and De Concili, then the Militia of Avellino, followed by Regular troops and last the Pagan Vendite, 7,000 strong, that of Nola being led by Menichini himself. The priest was in his clerical robes, fully armed, and wore the Carbonaro insignia.⁴ The Vicar and the Royal family wore Carbonaro ribbons while watching the procession from the balcony of the Royal Palace. After the march past Pepe entered the palace and paid homage to the King, who was still in bed. On the 13th Ferdinand was at last induced to get up and take the oath to the Constitution in the Church of the Spirito Santo (Holy Ghost); and the revolution was completed, after the arrival of the Militia of the Capitanata, Pepe's second province, by a grand review of all the troops, at which the army took the oath of allegiance to the new constitution.⁵

At first sight the Neapolitan revolution of 1821 appears to be the rising of a whole people. Actually it was the work of a section. As in the case of most of these earlier movements in Italy, the masses took very little interest in forms of government. The population of the provinces as a whole approved and welcomed the prospect of lightened taxation, but remained lukewarm. The populace of Naples remained indifferent and perhaps some sections were slightly hostile.⁶ The revolution was the work of the Carbonari, their greatest and most complete success. They had prepared the ground by ceaseless propaganda, they had won over the educated and propertied classes and attracted them into the Sect, they had made all the earlier, unsuccessful attempts and had given the first impulse to the culminating movement. Pepe had prepared the force necessary to carry the revolution to its successful conclusion, but had done this by "Carbonarising" the troops. He seized the direction of the movement once it had declared itself, but those he led were Carbonari.

The result, however, was that the Murattists came into power.⁷ No new men of political ability came forward, and those available had been in office under the French régime.

A noteworthy feature is the small part played by the Abruzzi and Calabria, the two regions which had been most turbulent in Murat's time. Probably the distance from the capital explains the backwardness of the Abruzzi, especially in view of the short time in which the revolution attained its object, while Calabria probably still felt the effects of Nunziante's pacification, the result of a skilful mixture of firmness and conciliation.

No revolution was effected in a more peaceful manner.⁸ There were some deeds of violence, but these were extremely few, and of a minor character. It

¹ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. viii., pp. 249-250. *La Farina*, vol. iv., p. 183. According to *La Cecilia*, p. 20, Gen. Napolitano wanted to give up this triumphal entry and rush on Rome, but was overruled by Pepe.

² Pepe, vol. ii., p. 243.

³ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. viii., p. 249.

⁴ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 252. Colletta, vol. ii., bk. ix., ch. ix., pp. 250-251, puts the regulars after Pepe.

⁵ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 268.

⁶ Delfico, who is a contemporary, quoted by Dito, p. 251. Niccoli, p. 119. Pepe, vol. iii., p. 206. Most of the populace did not know what constitution meant and called it "Cauzione", a summons. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 41.

⁷ Sig.^a Cavallotti thinks (Preface, pp. x.-xvi.) that the militia were not the first to initiate the movement, but were dragged into it by the Sectararies.

⁸ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 238.

is a fact that not one life was lost in the whole movement from beginning to end. Colletta, the Freemason, who was a hostile witness, says that on the Campo di Marte on the night before the triumphal entry in Naples, "the discipline of the army, already poor, dissolved completely through the mingling of the soldiers with the disorderly Sectaries,¹ no orders were obeyed, no punishment was possible, the chiefs were at loggerheads and were not obeyed," and "worse misdeeds were committed by them in various parts of the city,"² yet he admits that when the provinces rose "the laws were sacred, order was maintained, life was safe, properly respected, hatreds suppressed";³ and in Naples "not a drop of blood was shed, there was no crime, good order remained undisturbed, private and public business were transacted as in times of peace."⁴ A Court, the British envoy, wrote "Not a handkerchief has been stolen, not a knife drawn from first to last,"⁵ and Metternich himself stated: The high character of the Carbonari, the party which leads the others, embarrasses us.⁶

XXII. THE REVOLUTION IN SICILY.

In Sicily, it was among the convicts at Palermo that the first signs of trouble were discovered.⁷ The authorities found in the boot of one of the convicts two Carbonaro rituals. Soon afterwards a plot was detected for a simultaneous rising of all the convicts of three prisons. When the news of the revolution in Naples reached Sicily, Colonel Costa, Commanding Officer of the Regiment Principessa (Princess), an ardent Carbonaro, who had been marching with his regiment from Naples to Sicily, had just reached Messina.⁸ While passing through Calabria he had done his best to revive the Society in that region. He entered at once into relations with the Grand Master of the Vendita "Virtù" (Virtue) and the constitution was proclaimed in the town of the Straits on the 9th of July. Similar proclamations followed at Catania and Syracuse and the Carboneria, now able to come out into the open, made rapid progress. Thirty-five Vendite were formed in Messina alone, which became the chief centre of the Carboneria in Sicily.⁹

The news was not made public at Palermo until the 14th,¹⁰ when tumults arose. General Church, sent to Sicily after his good work in Apulia, was mobbed by militia men of the regiment of the Crown, which owed him a grudge for his disciplinary action against it in Apulia, and he barely escaped with his life to Naples. The fort of Palermo was yielded to the mob; and, when the troops tried to retake it, they were overwhelmed. Violence broke out everywhere, the gaols were thrown open, several murders were committed and much valuable property destroyed. The nobles, who wanted Bentinck's Constitution of 1812, with its second chamber, and the bourgeoisie, which wanted the Spanish Constitution, were at loggerheads and both feared the mob, which was more intent on pillage than political institutions. The Carbonari¹¹ had not taken any prominent part in the events in the Sicilian capital, though of course they joined the insurgents, but even among them separatist ideas prevailed and to the three usual Carbonaro colours they added yellow, to mark Sicilian independence. Eventually the chiefs

¹ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. viii., p. 249.

² *ibid.*, ch. ix., p. 256.

³ *ibid.*, ch. iv., p. 241.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. vi., p. 247; ch. viii., p. 250; ch. ix., p. 253.

⁵ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 91.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 109.

⁷ Leti, p. 107.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 108. Nicolli, pp. 121-123.

⁹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 207. Leti, p. 108.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 192-202. As La Farina was a Sicilian, he is probably the best authority for events in Sicily, except those in which Colletta himself was concerned.

¹¹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 249, says they were comparatively few in Palermo. The Carboneria only flourished in the parts of Sicily which were under Neapolitan influence.

of the Maestranze or guilds elected as provisional government a giunta of seven, among whom was Colonel Requesens, a Carbonaro.¹ This giunta decided to open negotiations with Naples and at the same time, to be ready for eventualities, Requesens began to raise six battalions of infantry and 15,000 civic guards.

The negotiators² demanded independence under the same King as Naples, the Spanish Constitution and an amnesty for all that was past. But the news had caused intense anger in Naples; and the answer given by Zurlo and Campochiaro styled the Sicilians as rebels and demanded their submission. After some haggling and journeys to and fro between the capitals saner counsels prevailed and the Vicar offered through new emissaries, one of whom was Colonel Russo, an independent parliament elected in accordance with the Spanish Constitution, if a majority in the island voted for it. The same King was to rule over both Sicily and Naples and there was to be but one army, one navy and one administration for the foreign affairs of both countries. Simultaneously an army of 12,000 men, including the Sacred Squadron of Nola,³ was sent to reduce the island by force. After some persuasion Pepe's brother Florestano, the best Neapolitan general, was persuaded to accept its command and was empowered to make peace on the terms stated.

During these negotiations civil war had broken out in Sicily. The Giunta of Palermo had called on the rest of the island to join in its demand for independence and, when only Girgenti agreed under the threat of an attack from an armed bands of Palermitans, similar bands, largely composed of released gaolbirds and malefactors, were sent to the recalcitrant localities, mostly under the leadership of eager Carbonari. Caltanissetta was sacked and pillaged, but Trapani and other places repulsed them. Messina revived her old feud of the Middle Ages with Palermo and declared her adherence to Naples; and her lead was followed by Syracuse and Trapani.

On arriving in Sicily, Florestano Pepe advanced straight on the capital along the North coast, while Colonel Costa swept through the interior. At the approach of the Neapolitan forces the latent antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the populace in Palermo became acute. The Giunta, at the head of the moderate party, delighted at the terms offered by the Vicar, sent its president, the Duke of Villafranca, by sea to Pepe to arrange the details of the pacification. Unfortunately the Neapolitan fleet had not been warned of this mission and fired on the convoy. The Palermitan mob accordingly began a riot which led next day to open fighting with the civic guard, which ended on September the 27th with the extremists in power. Pepe at once attacked and fought his way into the city, only to realise that his troops were insufficient for his task. He withdrew and cut off the rebels' supplies. After a few days of bombardment and rioting in the city he sent an officer under a flag of truce to negotiate with anyone who might be deputed to speak on behalf of the Palermitans. They called on the octogenarian old Duke of Paternò, who knew his fellow citizens as well as King Ferdinand knew his Lazzaroni. Playing skilfully on the feelings of the mob, he obtained a mandate for peace. The negotiations took place on the English vessel "*Racer*," and the Vicar's proposals were accepted on October the 5th. Paternò himself led two Neapolitan battalions to garrison the forts, acting before the people as though he had scored a great triumph and was leading in the soldiers as captives. Through the skill of this old psychologist the eighty days of mob rule were brought to an end.

Though the news of Pepe's victorious attack greatly heartened the Neapolitans, their joy was turned to anger when they heard that the insurgents had obtained practically all they had asked. Messina asked pointedly whether its faithful self was expected to submit to rebel Palermo, if the elections in Sicily

¹ *La Farina*, vol. iv., p. 201.

² *ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 202-218.

³ *Pepe*, vol. iii., p. 3. Pepe says the number of troops was 9,000 in all.

resulted in a majority for independence. In Parliament at Naples, which had assembled on October the 1st, Colonel Pepe, no relation to the generals,¹ carried a motion rejecting the treaty. Before the rising anger Zurlo adopted the not unusual expedient of repudiating his own instructions and blaming the general for carrying them out. Pepe was recalled and General Colletta² sent to take his place. The historian found himself in possession of the forts of Palermo and the people tired of rioting. He had no difficulty in enforcing discipline on soldiers and civilians; he dissolved the Giunta and forbade the wearing of the yellow colour of independence. He admits freely that he was loved by but few, but claims that he was obeyed by all and had restored true liberty by suppressing licence. Florestano Pepe was offered the cross of St. Ferdinand by the King, but refused it with cold dignity, writing to the King that only by refusing rewards and resigning his commission could he prove to the Sicilians "that he had not betrayed their trust in his honour."³

The civil war was in every way a disaster. Twelve thousand of the best Neapolitan troops had been engaged in fighting fellow citizens when they were badly wanted to help in training the new levies, and they did not return in time for the crisis, West Sicily was hopelessly alienated and the nine deputies elected under the Constitution to the Parliament in Naples refused to take their seats. Later when universal ruin was threatening, Palermo stood coldly aloof, sent no help to the mainland and ultimately shared the common disaster.

XXIII. THE NEAPOLITAN REVOLUTION STATE.

The difficulties of the new régime fell under three heads, Sicilian, foreign and domestic. With Sicilian affairs I have already dealt. As regards the foreign situation all that need be said at present is that as early as the 7th of July Campochiaro⁴ had announced the political change to all the foreign courts; and it was ominous that Prince Cariatì could only report a very unfavourable reception in Vienna.⁵

The new government was composed, as we have seen, of Murattists. The disparity in force between the Holy Alliance and Naples was obvious, and it became the first care of the ministers to disarm the absolute sovereigns' hostility by giving the Revolution State a respectable and moderate character. The Carbonari had placed them in power, it was very difficult not to defer to their wishes,⁶ yet it was the Carbonari who were most likely to arouse the antagonism of the great Powers. The Murattist ministry were prepared to leave a considerable amount of power in the hands of the King: at heart they favoured a limited constitution.⁷ The Carbonari were mostly constitutional monarchists, but they were wedded to the democratic Spanish Constitution, though hardly anyone had ever read it.⁸ Among them were also survivors from the early days who cherished republican ideas⁹ and seemed to wish to imitate the tactics of the Jacobins during the French Revolution. Zurlo was condemned to death in two Vendite¹⁰ for not holding sufficiently advanced views.

The following incidents illustrate the government's difficulties in their relations with the Sectaries: In July a riot occurred in Toledo, the Regent Street of Naples, when a crowd of Sectaries demanded the punishment of the ex-ministers

¹ Poggi, vol. i., p. 295.

² Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xxi., p. 273.

³ Pepe, vol. iii., pp. 19-20.

⁴ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. vii., p. 249.

⁵ *ibid.*, bk. ix., ch. xv., p. 260.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 152, says: A revolution carried out by Secret Societies soon becomes their prey.

⁷ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 41.

⁸ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 87.

⁹ Pepe, vol. iii., p. 29. According to Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 31, Major de Atellis cried "Long live the Republic", and was put under arrest by Pepe.

¹⁰ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 42.

Medici and Tommasi. The tumult was easily quelled, according to Pepe, by his haranguing the rioters, according to the "Memoirs," by the efforts of Menichini.¹ On another occasion some Carbonari rescued a prisoner who was being led off to gaol when he showed the Society's signs.² On another occasion Pepe's threat to use the provincial militia to close the Vendite induced the High Vendita to give up another prisoner who had escaped.³ Shortly after the revolution the Carbonari decided to celebrate their victory by holding a parade and a service in the church of the Carmine, and sacred images were displayed, doubtless to disarm the superstitious feeling of the mob. This parade caused serious misgivings to the authorities.⁴ Another cause of trouble was that Pepe⁵ had demanded promotions and rewards for many of his followers of Monteforte. Further, in order to restore some measure of efficiency, he ordered a commission to investigate the qualifications of all officers, a sound step in view of the character of many whose promotion had been due more to fidelity to the Bourbons than efficiency.⁶ But both these measures led to deep discontent on the part of those who had been loyal and had been passed over by rebels and on the part of those who feared they would lose their posts. A protest of the discontented was held in the church of Santa Maria at Portici near Naples and there were rumours of a plot against Pepe's life. The commission of inquiry had to be given up and the Carbonari of their own accord renounced their promotions. Soon afterwards the Vicar wanted the army to resume its old red cockade instead of the Carbonaro tricolour adopted at the revolution, and Pepe thought it wise to write a circular to the Vendite first in order to avoid trouble.⁷ At this time Pepe seems to have done all he could in helping the government in its dealings with the Sectaries. The public spirited act of the Carbonari in giving up their promotions was not isolated. The wiser party in the Society, represented by the High Vendita, recognised the needs of the moment and did its best to meet the government's wishes to display moderation.

In view of the ominous news from Vienna, it became essential to reorganise the army. Its discipline, always weak, had grown weaker in consequence of recent events. The Farnese Regiment was ordered to the unpopular station of Gaeta and 300 of the men mutinied. They were pursued by the Dragoons, the regiment which was to have started the rising at the camp of Sessa, and after some fighting they were brought back to reason. The mutineers were pardoned by the Vicar, to the disgust of Pepe and other generals.⁸

In this work of reorganising the army the Carbonari exercised a great influence, both for good and evil. To fill up the gaps in the regular forces and raise the numbers to 52,000,⁹ all soldiers discharged since 1806¹⁰ were invited to volunteer for service. The Carbonari did everything in their power to make this appeal successful. Article 14 of an enactment of Western Lucania states that "exact registers should be kept, in which the names of such as come forward willingly shall be entered as those of honourable and brave men; while those who refuse to march, unless they be lame or otherwise disabled, shall be stigmatised as men without honour and cowards."¹¹ As a result the number of volunteers exceeded all expectations, and the provisions for their reception were so inadequate,

¹ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 281. *Memoirs*, p. 88. La Cecilia, p. 34, says that one of the Vendite discussed a proposal to put to death Medici and Giampietro, the late Director of police.

² Colletta, bk. ix., ch. ii., p. 256.

³ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 285.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 287-8. Colletta, vol. ii., bk. ix., ch. 11, pp. 255-256. Dito, p. 248.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 304. Colletta, vol. ii., bk. ix., ch. xii., pp. 256-267.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 181.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 274-5.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 271. Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xi., p. 259.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 310.

¹⁰ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 186.

¹¹ *Memoirs*, p. 53.

that many of them deserted and returned to their homes. Here again the Carbonari helped in persuading the deserters to return to duty. Pepe wrote specially to the Carbonari of Avellino ordering them to help in sending back 3,000 men who had fled from Naples.¹ The provincial militia and the National Guard of Naples were reorganised on the lines of Pepe's militia of Avellino and the Capitanata and about 50,000 men were raised.² In addition a kind of Home Guard was formed. About 200,000 men between the ages of 21 and 40 were to be enrolled in three classes: the youngest were formed into a Legion³ and were to act as reserve to the regular army, the middle aged class were to be called out only to defend the territory of their province and the oldest were to serve only in defence of their own cities and villages.⁴ The Carboneria, therefore, did excellent work in stimulating recruiting and rousing enthusiasm for the national service; but the same cannot be said as regards discipline.⁵

Pepe denies that Carbonarism had any bad effect on the army and points to the fact that his division, in which the Sectaries were welcomed, did put up a stand against the Austrians, while the others, where they were coldshouldered, dispersed without fighting;⁶ but the facts are against him. I have already related the incident of the cockade, and he has stated himself that Menichini made the maintenance of discipline difficult by stirring up trouble among the younger Carbonari. Colletta⁷ draws a more faithful picture, when he states that the officers, who were mostly the latest recruits to the Sect, were in the Vendite junior to their own men. In Carbonarian meetings officers and even generals were freely criticised, accused of lukewarmness and even treachery, with the result that, feeling their position insecure, they lost confidence and authority. There was, for instance, a Vendita in Fort St. Elmo, in which the commander of the garrison had to sit beside the prisoners under his custody in open Vendita.⁸ La Cecilia⁹ supports Colletta and says that the methods copied by the Carbonari from the French Revolution destroyed discipline. Some of the Generals, however, were strong enough to check such tendencies, notably Florestano Pepe, whose army in Sicily was full of Good Cousins, yet he had the firmness to meet a deputation from his troops with the threat of decimation;¹⁰ and Carascosa replied to an unreasonable request from Carbonarian officers with: "I do not care a hang for St. Theobald and the Great Architect of the Universe."¹¹ It is unfortunately a fact that the army, which had fought well under Napoleon and Murat, after a period of Bourbon and Carbonarian rule collapsed ignominiously before the Austrians.

Moreover, there is usually a tendency for jealousy to arise between the regular army composed of professionals and forces like the militia and the volunteers, who are more subject to political influence. Carascosa, as minister for War, was placed in an invidious position by the appointment of William Pepe, his junior, to the supreme command. Pepe was nominated to the command of the subsidiary forces after he had laid down his command, when Parliament had assembled, an appointment which identified him more than ever with the more popular forces, in which Carbonarism was strong, while the Murattist

¹ Pepe, pp. 355-357.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 278; vol. iii., pp. 54-55. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 189.

³ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 71, makes it clear that the Legion was additional to the militia. The provinces were to place on foot for each battalion of militia one of the Legion. By 1821 there were about 120 battalions of militia and Legion. Pepe, vol. iii., p. 81.

⁴ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xv., p. 261.

⁵ Pepe, vol. iii., p. 73.

⁶ Pepe, vol. iii., pp. 26, 138, 139.

⁷ Bk. ix., ch. xv., p. 261.

⁸ *Memoirs*, p. 43.

⁹ p. 39.

¹⁰ Pepe, vol. iii., p. 8.

¹¹ *Memoirs*, p. 119.

Carascosa, of the regular army, was adverse to the Sect; a rivalry arose between the two generals, which did not help co-operation in professional matters.

The Carbonari proved no less helpful in collecting the taxes, which the government had reduced, than they had been in filling the ranks of the army. In Naples itself, where the police had been disbanded, order was kept at first by the Sectaries, and their motley appearance, their insignia and the display of daggers, which they carried for want of better weapons, was looked on with misgivings by the ministry, anxious to impress the powers favourably, as savouring too much of Jacobinism,¹ a difficulty which was not surmounted until the Guard of Security, with its fine green and maroon uniforms, composed of the best elements of the capital, was constituted out of the older National Guard, as the militia of the capital was called.² The police duties were entrusted to Borelli, a Carbonaro who had been recommended by the High Vendita for the office of Director of police.³ He carried out his duties well and later became one of the most eloquent and distinguished members of the Parliament or Congress. In politics he was a moderate; but he was also a trimmer, despite his Carbonarism, and tried to keep in favour with all parties.

As regards the countryside Colletta tells us that at the beginning of the revolt several provinces like Salerno, set up provisional governments, which were abolished when the constitution was accepted by the King. Perhaps this does not mean much more than that the Carbonaro authorities in the several localities imitated the example of Salerno and seized power locally. They were qualified to exercise it, as we can see from the organisation outlined in the West Lucanian Statute of 1818. It is more doubtful whether they did abdicate their power when the new central government was formed. The action of the Ministry in the provinces seems to have been somewhat ineffective, except where the Carbonari gave it their support.

Most authorities are agreed that with certain exceptions the duty of keeping order was well carried out by the Sectaries. Carascosa, a hostile witness, says: "Le désir qu'on eut de donner à la révolution un aspect de moralité fit disparaître des campagnes tous les malfaiteurs . . . (ils) craignaient et se gardaient bien d'enfreindre ses (the Carboneria's) injonctions de ne pas troubler la tranquillité des campagnes."⁴

The Carboneria, partly to secure the permanency of what had been gained, partly to exercise a greater control over the government, tried to augment its power both by increasing its membership and by improving its organisation. The success of the revolution had made membership of the Carboneria a very desirable object and thousands flocked to partake of its privileges and to secure⁵ its powerful aid. Officers/ civil and military, were initiated in large numbers. The Society not only welcomed this influx but tried to increase the number of initiations. The Grand Diet of Salerno urged the Vendite to relax the severity of their scrutiny of new candidates and suggested that all who were not actually guilty of crimes should be admitted, as the good influence of Carbonarism would no doubt correct such faults as had caused the candidates' previous rejection.⁶ On the 19th of August a fresh admonition was issued complaining that blackballing was excessive, an instance of thirty blackballings in a single Vendita being quoted.⁶ Western Lucania, the Pagan Province of Salerno, laid down in its statute of 1818, article 80, section 5, that the ideal to aim at was: "in every Ordene (district) of not more than 1,000 inhabitants (there was to be) one Vendita," in every district from 1,000-2,000 inhabitants, two Vendite; from

¹ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 315.

² *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 55.

³ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 289.

⁴ Carascosa, *Memoirs*, quoted by Pepe, vol. iii., p. 26.

⁵ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 187.

⁶ *Memoirs*, pp. 84-85.

2,000-4,000, three Vendite; from 4,000-6,000, four Vendite; from 6,000-8,000, five Vendite; from 8,000-10,000, six Vendite; and from 10,000-18,000, eight Vendite.¹ No less than 182 Vendite existed in Western Lucania.² In Naples there were, according to Carascosa, 95, one of which had 28,000 members, which seems a clerical error.³ Another authority gives the number of Vendite in the capital as 340.⁴ The newspaper "*L'Amico del popolo*" (the friend of the people) gives the total number of Carbonari at the beginning of the revolution as 642,000,⁵ which is obviously an exaggeration,⁶ even for the whole of Italy. Pepe gives 300,000 in all⁷ with about 1,000 Grand Masters,⁸ which means in South Italy an identical number of Vendite. Vannucci⁹ gives 400,000 in all, of whom more than half in the Neapolitan kingdom. The Society even tried to gain adherents among the Lazzaroni and fishermen of Naples, whose reactionary tendencies it feared.¹⁰

One of the effects of this enormous increase in membership was that the character of the Carboneria as a Secret Society tended to be destroyed;¹⁰ its activities became public. At the same time it must be remembered that the mass of new entrants did not rise above the degree of Apprentice, to whom little of the esoteric objects of the Society was communicated. There is reason to think that an inner Carboneria continued to exist. Its influence on events is very difficult to estimate, as we have only the records of the doings of the Order's visible authorities, but there is a good reason to think, as will be discussed in a separate chapter, that once the revolution was effected, the respectable elements asserted their supremacy. This vulgarisation of the Society caused a revulsion towards Freemasonry for a short time.¹¹

In addition to increasing its membership, the Carboneria revised its constitution, of which the details will be described in the next chapter. The High Vendita convoked an assembly which took the name of "High and Most Potent Assembly of the Order", which met in the convent of St. Dominick the Great in Naples on the 31st of August. This assembly seems to have been intended to take over the control of the Society's scattered organisations and to set up proper provincial "zones" corresponding to the "Republics". It represents a centripetal tendency, which Colletta has noted in his work.¹²

The Grand Diet of Salerno had always been jealous of the High Vendita and this jealousy was extended to the High Assembly. The High Assembly, like its parent body, was moderate; it represented that section of the Carbonari which considered its task finished with the establishment of the constitutional government. Salerno and other outlying organisations, which were inclined to press the revolution to its climax on the model of the French Revolution, thought it too subservient to the Ministry and too subject to government pressure.¹³ Eastern Lucania became so violent as to give rise to fears that it

¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 86-87.

² *ibid.*, p. 87.

³ Dito, p. 246.

⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 84.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁶ Dito, p. 243.

⁷ Pepe, vol. ii., p. 283.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 29.

⁹ p. 140.

¹⁰ *Memoirs*, p. 89.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 117.

¹² La Cecilia gives us an account of the political business transacted at this Assembly. He himself proposed that the Royal family should be kept as hostages in the Fort of St. Elmo and put to death if a foreign power intervened—a proposal he himself describes later in life as foolish and due to the impetuosity of youth. The Assembly did decree that (1) all valid Carbonari, estimated at 200,000, be called to arms; (2) a loan of 20 million ducats (90 million lire) be contracted; (3) a new ministry with dictatorial powers be set up; (4) the gate between the royal palace and the harbour be walled up. None of these proposals were accepted by the government.

¹³ *Memoirs*, pp. 24, 162.

meant to break away and set up a separate State of its own.¹ Its Magistracy thought it wise to explain in its Journal of the 20th of July, 1820, that when it spoke of democracy it used the word in its modern sense, as we would use it nowadays, and not as it was used in 1820, when it was synonymous with "republic". Despite this turbulence there must have been a very considerable moderate element even in Eastern Lucania, as is shown by two very interesting documents, quoted in the *Memoirs*.² The first, dated 6th of July, was issued by the Senate of the East Lucanian "Republic" and is certified as an accurate copy by the Grand Orator. The document is headed "Declaration in the name of God and under the auspices of the Neapolitan people" and states that the aim of the revolution was to "render the monarchy constitutional". The King was to retain only the executive power, the ministers were to render an account of their actions at the end of every year and the citizens were to enjoy full freedom of thought and of the press. All magistrates, officers, etc., were ordered to remain at their posts, good order and quiet were enjoined and punishment was threatened against those who opposed the constitutional cause. These provisions were emphasised in an "Announcement" in the journal of the East Lucanian Republic dated the 8th of July, which also nominated commanders of the constitutional forces in the province. From these documents it appears that in Basilicata the aim, at the beginning at any rate, was a constitutional monarchy and not a republic. They also shed an interesting light on the manner in which the Carbonari seized power in the various districts.

The *Memoirs*³ also give us extracts from the penal statute of West Lucania, enacted in 1820,⁴ which not only laid down a code of Carbonarian offences, but also set up courts and juridical procedure and forbade Good Cousins to have recourse to the "Pagan", that is government, courts unless the Carbonaro Courts had first tried the case and had granted leave for it to be brought before the ordinary tribunals. From this we see what difficulties the Ministry must have had in trying to give effect to government decisions and how great the control exercised by the Carbonari over the country must have been.

Western Lucania was more moderate than the Eastern province. It did not arouse any fears of secession, but the Grand Diet discussed the High Assembly's efforts at centralisation and set up a committee to examine the question whether the authority of the Assembly should be recognised.⁵ The committee recommended that two delegates should be sent from each Tribe to the capital to organise a "real" General Assembly with powers more circumscribed than those arrogated by the Assembly already in session. If the High Vendita refused to entertain the idea, the deputies were to be authorised to negotiate with the other "Republics" with a view to setting up a confederation of all the provinces and a central assembly. The proposal was never carried into effect; the High Assembly succeeded in beating off the attack and maintaining its moderate character.

The ministry naturally found the supervision of an outside body intolerable. Ricciardi on two occasions proposed the suppression of the Sect,⁶ but Borelli suggested the more subtle method of introducing his own agents into the Vendite to induce the Good Cousins to make foolish proposals and commit acts which would discredit them, a dangerous policy which met with some success but did a great deal of mischief at critical times.⁷ We have one definite instance of these tactics. The Grand Master of a Vendita, Grimaldi,

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 102.

² pp. 103-108.

³ pp. 47-52.

⁴ Leti, p. 88.

⁵ *Memoirs*, pp. 23-24.

⁶ Colletta, bk. x., ch. ii., p. 307. Dito, p. 249.

⁷ *ibid.*, bk. ix., ch. xv., p. 262.

was induced by the Prefect of Police to stir up some of the Carbonari to march on Capo di Monte, one of the King's shooting lodges on the outskirts of Naples, where the King was at the time, by telling them that the King intended to fly, in order to force him to return to the city, an obvious imitation of the march on Versailles by the Paris mob. The demonstrators were dispersed by cavalry, but Grimaldi, the agent provocateur, escaped.¹

By the month of August the rift between the moderates and the "ultras" in the Carbonaro ranks had grown appreciable, and the Grand Assembly, under the leadership of its president Giuliano, an old police officer, supported by some of the provincial Diets, came to an agreement with Borelli to repress the extremists.²

After a vain attempt to raise a tumult in Naples in August another plot was hatched to kidnap the King and to raise a revolt in the provinces. Three extremists, Paladini, Vecchiarelli and Maenza, set out from Salerno on the 2nd of September and visited Avellino and other places, but on their return their carriage was stopped on their entrance into Naples and they spent 67 days in gaol, after which they were released owing to the lack of proof against them, the only evidence being a warning from the Intendant of Avellino.³ Colletta regards this plot as an invention of Borelli and an attempt on his part to curry favour with the King by making a great display of the excellent care he took of his safety.⁴ Although Menichini had rendered fresh services in calming the people, who demanded the slaughter of all Sicilians on the arrival of the news of the Sicilian revolt, it was found necessary to get rid of him. He was first given a post in the department of public security and later was sent to Messina to organise the Carboneria in Sicily. By this time he and Pepe had fallen out.⁵

On the 1st of October Parliament met. It was composed largely of moderates. The Carbonari had only 17 members.⁶ The King swore once more to maintain the Constitution and the Chamber was solemnly opened. Liberty of the press had been granted on the 26th of July. To the flood of newspapers and pamphlets, which had long been poured out to educate the public in political matters, and some ill-considered criticism which had not made the government's task easier,⁷ was added the spate of that oratory so dear to the Italian temperament and especially to the South Italians. The question whether the Chamber was legislative or constituent was discussed at length and the provinces were given their ancient names in place of their modern ones, in imitation of Carbonarian practice. The new Parliament in fact showed all the characteristics of a new and inexperienced assembly, and public business suffered in consequence. The Carbonari invaded the public galleries. The President, in his inexperience, welcomed a demonstration of the public in his own favour during a debate, with the result that such demonstrations came to be regarded as a right, even when they were unfavourable. Jacobin examples were being copied.

One of the problems Parliament had to deal with was an increase in crime. The existence of two authorities in most parts of the countryside and the illegal power wielded by the Carbonaro assemblies led to a general slackening of effort on the part of those responsible for the maintenance of order. The great influx of new members into the Carboneria, many of whom were of doubtful character and ready to seek the cloak of the Society for their own nefarious doings, was partly responsible for this deterioration. Possibly the

¹ Dito, p. 257.

² *ibid.*, p. 250.

³ *Memoirs*, pp. 161-164. Dito, p. 257.

⁴ bk. ix., ch. xviii., p. 268. Pepe, vol. iii., p. 30, is of the same opinion.

⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 88. Johnston, vol. ii., p. 122. Pepe, vol. ii., p. 348.

⁶ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xxvii., pp. 265-268.

⁷ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 46.

division between the General Assembly and the extremists also contributed to this result. The General Assembly had by this time beaten off the attack of the "Ultras", the ascendancy of Salerno was beginning to wane and that of the Hirpine Republic was not yet established, but the more Jacobinical elements began to form new Sects of their own. We hear of the Figli di Epaminonda (Sons of Epaminondas),¹ Amici di Aristide (Friends of Aristides), Eraclidi (Heracleidae), Società del Sangue di Cristo (Society of the Blood of Christ)²; but the character of these Sects is not certain, nor is it definite that they were anything else than Vendite bearing those names. The Solitary³ or Scattered Greeks however became so obnoxious that they were refused all communion with the rest of the Sect. The Pythagorean Vendita, of which we have the oath and an address given in the Vendita, may have belonged to this offshoot. In the province of Teramo, the Carbonaro Lucente, Secretary of the Intendant, found it necessary to suppress them.

This increase in crime gave the Carbonarian authorities much thought. The Grand Diet of Salerno issued as early as the 16th of August, 1820, an address,⁴ which gives us some insight into the attitude of the Carbonaro leaders. It says that though the Magistracy exercising the executive power of the West Lucanian Republic had been well satisfied with the good conduct of the Carbonari, some unpleasant reports had been received that private revenge, discord and dissension divided the Good Cousins, personal ambition had manifested itself and the abuse of arms had increased, that the public authorities were despised and that the property of the people and the Royal Demesne was violated. The Magistracy enjoined the Grand Masters to admonish their subordinates "with paternal tenderness", and where that did not suffice, to order the "Orators" of the Vendite to bring to trial the offenders. The address ended with an "Admonition" which advised "aggrieved parties to repair to the authorities, in full confidence that they will obtain immediate redress. He who cannot control his own passions is unworthy of the name of Carbonaro." On the 24th of October of the same year the High Assembly⁵ issued another address to all Good Cousins, once again reproving the disorderly, urging those Carbonari who belonged to the public forces to arrest evildoers and all members to maintain perfect order among themselves and make no distinction of persons. These documents show that by then the Carbonarian authorities had realised that the State magistrates must be upheld. As a result, by the end of October crime had greatly diminished.⁶

Though crime diminished, mob action became more prominent. Parliament was debating modifications of the Spanish Constitution in order to adapt it to local Neapolitan conditions and at the same time disarm if possible the hostility of the Great Powers. Before the question was taken up, 14 eminent men, including tried Good Cousins, had discussed it⁷; but the Constitution by now had become a fetish and the attempt to alter it excited the extremists' suspicions, and the attempts to dominate the Chamber by demonstrations from the galleries⁸ were increased. On the 15th of January, when an amendment was discussed which dealt with religion, the mob became so rowdy that the deputies themselves turned against it with bitter reproaches and eventually induced it to disperse and allow the debate to proceed.⁹

¹ It is unlikely that this sect was named after the Theban hero. One of the early republicans was a Marquis Antony Ferrara di Epaminonda, Mayor of Cosenza, at whose house republicans used to meet. It is more likely that the sect was named after him.

² Johnston, vol. ii., p. 98. Dito, p. 250, omits the Friends of Aristides.

³ *Memoirs*, p. 164. Dito, p. 270. Note.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 230-232.

⁶ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 105.

⁷ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 52.

⁸ Nicolli, p. 119. We have seen that the High Assembly of the 31 August had tried to lay down certain measures, to be taken by the Government.

⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 165. Dito, p. 261.

The extremists also had gained a following in the Legion, of which Pepe was now in command after laying down his Office as Head of the army, as he had promised, on the assembly of Parliament. The new post suited his somewhat demagogic methods which gave so much offence to some of his colleagues in the regular army. At first there had been some scuffles between the Legionaries and the old Royal Guard, in which the citizen Guard of Security assisted in keeping the absolutists in order. When the extremists stirred up the Legionaries to riot and bring pressure to bear on the government, the Guard of Security remained staunch and after a few skirmishes suppressed the disturbers of the peace.¹ The responsibility for some of these disorders must rest on Borelli and his agents, who did their work of discrediting the Good Cousins too well. As a result of these divisions national action was weakened in the crisis that lay ahead.

XXIV.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARBONARIAN CONSTITUTION DURING THE REVOLUTION.

The High and Most Potent Assembly of the Order convoked by the High Vendita in Naples at the beginning of the revolution consisted of 72 Archpatriarchs,² corresponding in number to the Deputies of the Mainland constituencies for the Parliament set up by revolutionaries. It represents an attempt, which was fairly successful, to place all the Carbonarian organisations throughout the country under one control; but it is not clear whether the High Vendita itself ceased to exist. The authority of this assembly was unsuccessfully challenged by the Grand Diet of Salerno, as we have seen, which had a scheme of its own. This was published in the journal of the West-Lucanian Republic of the 19th of August, 1820,³ and is very interesting, especially as it expresses views as to the function of the Carboneria within the State which were gradually adopted and put into practice as far as was possible.

The object of the proposal is stated in Article IV. to be "The consolidation and preservation of the constitutional government of the monarchy. 2. The defence of our most holy religion, as well of the august reigning Bourbon dynasty. 3. Our mutual defence against the blind enemies of the Order of the Carbonari. 4. The impulsion of the public spirit towards the principles of sound morality by means of education and instruction, in order that religion and the legitimacy of thrones may be respected. 5. The active and efficacious co-operation of all our moral and physical efforts to obtain such important objects".

We may note once more the moral objects of the Society, which are given as much importance as the political ones. To attain these objects a confederation was to be set up consisting of all existing Carbonarian republics, all of whom were to remain in full control of affairs within their own territories, a proviso obviously aimed at the encroachments of the High Assembly. Future adhesions were also provided for, but new provinces could only be admitted after they had been properly constituted. As a temporary measure, individual tribes could affiliate themselves to neighbouring "Republics." The government of the confederation was to consist of a Congress of three representatives from each "Republic," one third of the members to retire every year, and a Permanent Deputation of one member from each "Republic," to be chosen from the members of the Congress. The duties of the Permanent Deputation are significant: "To pronounce sentence upon the acts of the Government (by which was meant the National, not the Sect's. government); to watch over the conduct of its agents. . . . To keep an eye upon every attempt which may be made against the

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 166.

² *Dito*, p. 246.

³ *Memoirs*, pp. 110-117.

welfare of the nation from within or without. . . . To put in motion the whole or part of the forces of the Carbonari, and to appoint a temporary commander in chief". Clearly the Carboneria was to form a state within a state with a government, judiciary and army of its own; and I need not point out to Brethren the numerous parallels, especially that of the French Jacobin Clubs. Yet Article xiii. provides that "neither the Congress nor the Deputation should ever oppose the deliberations of Parliament or the acts of the government by active measures, but merely watch over them and inform the 'Republics' and await their decisions." The acceptance of this most interesting programme would have involved the deposition of the High Assembly and of the High Vendita, or its reduction to the level of a provincial High Vendita, its sphere being confined to the affairs of the Capital.

Turning now to the provincial organisation, we find from a document of 1820 that the four Carbonaro "Republics" of 1818 had grown to eight, the new ones being Hirpinia (Province of Avellino), Lecce, Cosenza, Catanzaro. Daunia is no longer mentioned, it was probably replaced by other units to which I shall refer shortly. Possibly the use of the ordinary denomination for the three last districts, instead of a classical name, indicates that they were as yet only in the process of being constituted. As regards the country in general, Madame Cavallotti, who has translated the *Memoirs* into Italian, gives us the following picture, which probably represents the Society's utmost development, in the preface to her translation.

Western Lucania (Province of Principato Citra or Salerno) was divided into four tribes: Picentina (Salerno), Pestana (Campagna), Consilina (Sala) and Velina (Vallo). Each tribe had a council consisting of 5 officers and 6 councillors. The whole region or Republic was governed by a Senate, a popular assembly of the Sectaries of the province and a Magistracy. The Senate consisted of 12 members, 3 for each tribe. The assembly consisted of deputies from each tribe and was called the Grand Diet. In 1820 there were 182 members, one from each Vendita. The internal affairs of the Order were managed by a Grand President, a Grand Orator, a Grand Secretary, two Grand Experts or Adepts, two Grand Masters of Ceremonies. The supreme power was entrusted to the Magistracy composed of 5 "Dignitarii" (High Officers). The deliberations of the Magistracy had to be entered in a journal which bore the name of its province, *i.e.* Journal of Western Lucania. This province was the best organised and most developed.

Eastern Lucania (Basilicata), with its chief centre at Potenza, had an organisation similar to that of Western Lucania, but we are given no details.

The Hirpinian Republic (Province of Principato Ultra or Avellino), which was part of Pepe's command, consisted of three tribes, which are here called Ordoni: Partenia (Avellino), Giannicola (Ariano) and Gracca sull'Ofanto illuminato (Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi). This "Republic" decided in its sitting of the 3d month of the year II. (September, 1820) to adopt the West Lucanian statute until its Senate could draft for the province a "fundamental, organic, basic, practical statute, a financial statute of the same description," a penal code and a ritual. For this task the Senate was given three months. The province of Avellino, which had taken such a large part in the rebellion, and where liberals were more numerous than in any other region, did not intend to play second fiddle to West Lucania.

The organisation in Apulia was less developed. In the Capitanata, the other province under Pepe's command, Foggia had originally formed a liberal society of 13 members, which entered into relations on the 19th of March, 1820, with Western Lucania. By the 1st of June of the same year the Society had grown sufficiently to hold a district assembly, which decided to form a Tribe and to join the Hirpine "Republic"; and a deputation was sent to that republic. We are told that in 1820 there were in the Apulian districts of Foggia, Bari,

Lecce, 65 Vendite and 8,546 Good Cousins. Bari was the seat of the local High Vendita; and the most important Vendite were "Il trionfo della virtù" (the triumph of Virtue) and "L'Osservanza" (Observance). It is not clear what the sphere of this High Vendita was, perhaps it covered the defunct Republic of Daunia. Bari also sent a deputation to Hirpinia.

In addition we know of the following tribes: Pretuziana (province of Teramo), Amiternana (Aquila), Marrucina (Chieti), all three in the Abruzzi, and we hear of a West Samnite tribe (province of Isernia).

The influence of Hirpinia grew steadily, while that of Western Lucania, possibly in consequence of its failure against the High Vendita, declined. Towards the end of the liberal régime in Naples a scheme was mooted under which all the unattached tribes of the Abruzzi and Apulia were to form with Hirpinia a Samnite-Hirpinian League. Sulmona was chosen as its capital and a Grand Diet was elected, among whose most prominent members were William Pepe and Lucenti,¹ secretary of the Intendant of the Principato Citra, a zealous Good Cousin. This league was rapidly gaining the ascendancy when the revolution state fell and it continued to act for a time even after the restoration of Ferdinand.²

XXV. THE COLLAPSE OF THE NEAPOLITAN REVOLUTIONARY STATE.

While at home parties were squabbling, the foreign situation was growing serious. Metternich and the Tsar took the view that to recognise the revolutionary government would encourage the germs to spread to other countries hitherto free from them and destroy the very basis on which the safety of other states rested, which consisted in keeping old institutions unchanged and repressing innovators.³ The Tsar accordingly convened a Congress at Troppau.⁴

Though he had intrigued with the Italian liberals to check Austrian expansion,⁵ Alexander paused, now that his protégés, the Neapolitan Bourbons, had been involved, and said that the affairs of Naples required the intervention of the "leaders of European order." The Powers of the Holy Alliance, in fact, had been thoroughly alarmed, especially in view of the discovery of Carbonarism in the Italian provinces of Austria and of the trouble brewing in Piedmont.⁶ When the Neapolitan government sent Prince del Gallo to represent it at Troppau, he was stopped in Lombardy and not allowed to proceed. But the Holy Alliance met with a check. Castlereagh had never been in favour of indiscriminate intervention by the Concert of Europe in the internal affairs of states. He now affirmed categorically that England would not take part in any alliance against Naples⁷; all he was prepared to agree to was that Austria should intervene by herself, if she found the safety of her possessions threatened, provided that she did nothing to increase her own power and upset the equilibrium. He even blamed Metternich for making the Neapolitan revolution a European question. The Sovereigns, therefore, contented themselves with inviting Ferdinand to meet them at Laibach.⁸

In Naples the news caused great excitement. The government had become aware of Austrian troop movements in the North and of a request to the Pope

¹ Leti, p. 87.

² *Memoirs*. Translated by Cavallotti, pp. x.-xvi.

³ Bianchi, vol. i., p. 31.

⁴ Marriott, Castlereagh, p. 313.

⁵ Johnston, vol. ii., p. 74.

⁶ The position in France also was uncertain. Pepe tells us (vol. iii., p. 84) that the officers of the French Fleet at Naples in 1821 were thinking of hoisting the tricolour and raising a revolution in France.

⁷ Marriott, Castlereagh, p. 313 *et subsequ.* Makers of modern Italy, p. 36.

⁸ Poggi, vol. i., p. 291.

to allow the Austrians to pass through his territories. Campochiario protested vigorously to Metternich, but it had been evident for some time that the danger of war was becoming more serious. At this juncture France, opposed as ever to any extension of Austrian power in Italy, offered to mediate and suggested that the Neapolitan Constitution should be remodelled on the lines of the French Charte, which provided a second Chamber, an arrangement which the Holy Alliance might be induced to accept.¹ Intervention would then be avoided. Ferdinand was only too glad to snatch at the excuse of the invitation to Laibach to escape from the clutches of the liberals; and as, under the constitution, he was not allowed to leave the country without the sanction of Parliament, he sent the Chamber a letter offering to go to Laibach and setting out vaguely the constitutional principles for which he would do his best to obtain the concurrence of the Great Powers.² The terms approximated closely to those set forth in the French offer of mediation and departed in several respects from the Spanish Constitution. The Carbonari suspected with good reason that a Thermidorian coup was being planned against the Chamber—Carascosa³ tells that only the King's timidity thwarted the attempt. According to La Cecilia⁴ Carascosa foresaw that the King's departure for Laibach would be disastrous. He suggested that the adoption of the French Constitution be put before Parliament and, if the Chamber rejected it, he would dissolve it by force with his troops. The King refused the offer. The mere whisper of amendments to the pet obsession of most European liberals⁵ was enough to cause riots. The High Assembly of the Carboneria declared itself in permanent session,⁶ the Sectaries, who had left off wearing their emblems in the streets, resumed them and the Good Cousins of the Provinces were summoned to the capital. Angry groups threatened Parliament and the ministry with daggers. On the 6th of December the French proposals, the invitation from Troppau and the King's letter were read out in Parliament. Next day the French proposal was rejected, but in spite of Gabriel Pepe's opposition, Joseph Poerio's eloquence persuaded the Chamber⁷ to let the King go on condition that he upheld the full Spanish Constitution. Ferdinand, frightened as usual, hastily agreed that that was precisely what he had meant from the beginning. The compromise was fatal. The King, a useful hostage, was allowed to escape, yet he was deprived of all power of negotiating terms. When Carascosa heard of the decision, he said: "We are lost."⁷

In the face of danger two opinions predominated. The Carbonari in general, who were likely to get short shrift from a re-established autocracy, were in favour of fighting it out, a view shared by William Pepe. This view was not altogether absurd. A resolute advance or a determined resistance might have led to risings in other parts of Italy—preparations were actually being made, as we shall see—and even in other parts of Europe, and the Holy Alliance would have been faced with grave difficulties, even though the result might have been the same. The Murattist ministers and nearly all the other generals, who had no faith in the fighting power of the Neapolitans, preferred to negotiate for the best terms obtainable and save as much as possible of the liberal system, a course wise enough in itself, provided the Holy Alliance was prepared to accept anything short of complete submission. The ministry decided to refrain from all action outside the borders of South Italy, a strictly logical attitude.

Its term of office was drawing to a close. Parliament had just completed the task for which it had been elected, that of adapting the Spanish Constitution to Neapolitan needs; and it was prorogued on the 31st of January. Wearied by

¹ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xxiii., p. 275.

² *ibid.*, bk. ix., ch. xxiv., p. 277.

³ Carascosa's *Memoirs*, quoted by Pepe, vol. iii., p. 39.

⁴ pp. 24-27.

⁵ Nicolli, p. 115.

⁶ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xxiv., p. 278, Pepe, vol. iii., pp. 40-42. Dito, p. 258.

⁷ La Cecilia, pp. 27-28.

the continual assaults and accused of having inspired the King's unpopular message the ministry also decided to resign.¹

At Laibach Ferdinand readily agreed that all the oaths which he had sworn had been imposed by force and declared himself prepared to repudiate them all, in fact nothing would please him better than his restoration as absolute monarch. The Sovereigns accordingly decided to invade South Italy and overthrow the constitutional government. The British representative, Stewart, on Castlereagh's instructions, refused to sign the protocol, but said that his government regarded with dismay the conspiracies of Sects and military rebellions. A letter from Ferdinand announcing the decision was received in Naples on the 9th of February and Parliament was recalled on the 13th. For a moment a wave of enthusiasm swept over the country: recruits poured in and most prominent in urging measures for the safety of the Kingdom were the Carbonari. The journal of the West Lucanian Republic published a fierce hymn to be sung in the Vendite; and a new oath of fidelity to the Constitution was prescribed for all Carbonari who were going to the war, to be taken before the Grand Master and all members of the Vendita.² Colletta³ is sceptical as to this enthusiasm and wonders whether it was really patriotism or fear of Carbonarian violence, which gave rise to such zeal. The hunt for traitors, usual at such times, led to one of the very few serious crimes of the revolution.⁴ Giampietro, the late director of police, who had persecuted the Good Cousins before the revolution, was condemned to death in one of the Vendite, dragged from his house in the middle of the night by a band of ruffians and stabbed to death. A cartel bearing the ominous legend "No. 1" was pinned to his breast. If La Farina is right in stating that Giampietro had been a Carbonaro, this may have been an instance of Sectarian vengeance on a renegade.

In support of their claim to be left to work out their salvation undisturbed, the government made no attempt to seek allies, an action which might have been construed as meddling in the affairs of neighbours; it even refused the help offered by the two pontifical enclaves in Neapolitan territory, Benevento and Pontecorvo.⁵ Before he had resigned his post as Commander in Chief, Pepe⁶ had sent three emissaries, Major Pisa⁷ Captain Blanco and Colonel Tapputi to find out what they could about the situation in the rest of Italy. They reported that general opinion regarded war as inevitable; but Pisa brought back a message from Piedmont that the liberals of that Kingdom were not ready and counselled delay, the Milanese felt unable to move until Piedmont had risen, while the Napoleonic veteran, General Zucchi, who was acquainted with the Austrian preparations, thought that the Neapolitans would court destruction if they took the offensive. In the Papal States the mild Consalvi did his best to keep the Carbonari quiet in order to give no pretext for Austrian intervention,⁸ while in Parma and Bologna Count Ercolani,⁹ who was turning away from Carbonarism back to Freemasonry, dissuaded, as we shall see, the local Secretaries from taking open action. In spite of a mission by Menechini,⁹ who went North under the

¹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 228.

² Cavallotti's translation of the *Memoirs*, pp. x.-xvi.

³ bk. ix., ch. xxxii., p. 295. Pepe, vol. iii., p. 129, strongly repudiates this suggestion, as might be expected.

⁴ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xxvii., p. 284. Pepe, vol. iii., p. 91. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 153, note. Johnston says Colletta's account of this incident is pure phantasy. As it does not differ materially from his own, the reason for this criticism is not apparent. La Cecilia, p. 33, states that the reactionary priest Arcamone was also murdered by the Carbonari.

⁵ Nicolli, p. 126. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 255.

⁶ Pepe, vol. ii., pp. 337-339, 344. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 3.

⁷ Pepe, vol. iii., p. 61, says that up to the end of 1820 the Neapolitan Carbonari had received no communication from Piedmont, nor did he know himself to whom to write in that country. Pisa was sent to Piedmont in September, 1820. See Pepe's article in the "Pamphleteer", 1824, vol. xvii., p. 255.

⁸ Nicolli, p. 127.

⁹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 564. Report to Strassoldo of 28th February, 1821, from Rome. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 265. Johnston, vol. ii., p. 131.

assumed name of Cerruti, it became clear that the Neapolitans would have to face the first onset single handed, in fact the only promise of any kind which was given was obtained by Count Giurioli, another Neapolitan who went North seeking for help. It was that if his countrymen held out stoutly, the Piedmontese would invade Lombardy and stir all North Italy into revolt.¹ The Piedmontese revolution actually broke out a few days after the disaster of Rieti.

The campaign was brief. The frontier of the Garigliano was held by Carascosa with the main army, while a smaller corps under Pepe with Delcarretto, then a Carbonaro, later a renegade, as his chief of staff,² defended the more advanced Abruzzi. The plan was to retreat before the invader from one fortified position to another as far as Sicily,³ if need be, and resort to that guerrilla warfare which had given the French so much trouble in 1808, a plan of doubtful wisdom, considering the rawness of the troops available and the poor equipment. Pepe⁴ would have preferred to retreat straightaway to Calabria and defend in addition only a few strong points and make full use of the superior Neapolitan sea power, a scheme remarkably similar to that propounded by Sir Sidney Smith for his "Knights Liberators."⁵ To raise the morale the High Assembly⁶ of the Carboneria tried to effect a reconciliation between the moderates and the extremists, viz., the Officers of the Regular Army and those of the Militia, by asking all the leaders to a great banquet, given by Casigli, the President of the High Assembly, at which Gabriel Rossetti improvised verses. But as the Austrian army advanced and seemed more irresistible, enthusiasm evaporated.⁷ Hardly anyone in fact anticipated success; all were more eager to save what was possible from the wreck than to fight; and royalist agents were busy spreading disaffection and discouragement.⁸ Even in Pepe's corps, where the Carbonari were in favour, some of the militia began to desert.⁹ It may have been this fact that impelled Pepe to attack at Rieti an advanced Austrian brigade, on the 7th of March, when an accommodation, according to Colletta,¹⁰ might still have been possible. He was repulsed in a sharp fight, in which, after the first encounter, only Russo and a few regulars could be brought to face the enemy; and in a few days the whole of the advanced corps disbanded. Carascosa's men did not even wait for a sight of the Austrians before imitating their example, and some simply went over to the enemy. After a fruitless effort to rally a force at Salerno¹¹ an armistice was signed on the 18th of March.

The fact that Neapolitan liberalism was tumbling to pieces in no way dismayed the gallant General Rossarol, who commanded at Messina. He had fought for the Parthenopean Republic at Marengo, in Russia under Murat. The Piedmontese revolution had begun and he determined to sacrifice himself, if need be, by holding out in Calabria and Sicily as long as possible and divert all enemy troops he could from the North. He did secure Messina; but the troops in Sicily preferred to join the royalist Nunziante at Palermo, Rossarol's flotilla deserted and Calabria refused to answer his call. Prince Colloreale, who had always been a staunch royalist and had remained at his post throughout, though surrounded by Carbonari, raised the royal Standard on the citadel of Messina and completed the Carbonaro débacle. Rossarol was abandoned by everyone and only saved by his chivalrous enemy, who had prepared a ship to bear him and his family away from Ferdinand's vengeance.

¹ Nicolli, p. 130.

² Poggi, vol. i., pp. 312, 522.

³ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xxxi., pp. 291-292.

⁴ vol. iii., p. 107.

⁵ A.Q.C., xxx.

⁶ Pepe, vol. iii., p. 119. Dito, p. 260

⁷ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 238.

⁸ Nicolli, p. 131.

⁹ Pepe, vol. iii., p. 158.

¹⁰ Colletta, bk. ix., ch. xxxii., pp. 295-296.

¹¹ Nicolli, p. 132. Pepe, vol. iii.

The Neapolitan Revolution was "municipal, dynastic and constitutional."¹ Its object was to obtain a constitution. The usual Carbonarian object, the independence of Italy from foreign domination, had been specifically disclaimed. The rising was the work of the professional classes and property owners,² from whom the Carboneria obtained its recruits and who filled the ranks of the militia, which ensured the success of the movement. The ineptitude of the Bourbon government allowed it to develop and its feebleness made its success certain; it was only through foreign aid that the revolt was mastered. The dominating influence throughout was the Carbonarian Society. In form the revolution was a military pronunciamento, a type of rising in which the Neapolitan generals had had some practice in Murat's time. The Carbonari did not prove strong enough to seize power for themselves and their attempts to control the liberal government weakened rather than strengthened it.³

We need not look further for the failure of the liberal movement than to the disparity of the forces engaged on either side, a disparity increased by the inexperience of the liberals, their ignorance of foreign affairs, their inability to effect a co-ordination of effort and their policy of isolation from the rest of Italy. As the Sicilian rebellion shows, the wish for a constitution was not strong enough to unite the whole of the South Italy, and, as the final collapse proves, to induce its supporters to fight for it with determination. The revolution was a well meant effort by sober, honourable and enlightened men. Its value lies not so much in its temporary success, which was due to fortuitous causes, but in that it kept alive and helped to spread the desire for better things and for the example it gave of a good conduct and moderation rare in revolutionary movements.

XXVI.—PRELIMINARIES TO THE NORTHERN REVOLUTION.

The revolution in Piedmont was neither so prolonged nor so successful as that in Naples; and, in the history of Carbonarism pure and simple, it takes the second place; yet, on account of its effect on Italy's future, the character of the conflict and of the protagonists on either side, it was the most important of all the movements before 1848.

The Piedmontese people, as we have seen, were thoroughly loyal to their rulers: even among the Sectaries the subversive elements were greatly outnumbered; and the liberals were perhaps even more attached to their Royal House, owing to the antagonism to Austria which animated both, than the absolutists, who, like Charles Felix, regarded Austrian predominance as preferable to liberalism. The Piedmontese liberals were the first to realise that, to attain their national and constitutional objects, an alliance with the House of Savoy and its compact State and stout army was essential. The revolutionaries in Piedmont never intended to overthrow or harm their ruling House: their most cherished hope was to persuade their monarch to lead them in their crusade.

The rulers were equally attached to their subjects: Victor Emanuel was so lenient as to leave his ministers in doubt whether he favoured or opposed the liberal cause⁴; he only took measures against the liberals with the greatest reluctance. But he and his brother, no less than the liberals, remained faithful to their principles to the end: they considered themselves bound to absolutism both because they thought it their duty and because they were pledged to the Holy Alliance to refuse all constitutional change.

In Piedmont the struggle between constitutionalism and absolutism reached the greatest spiritual height, the nobility of mind and spirit of self-sacrifice of the liberal leaders being met with a devotion to principle as selfless and honourable as their own. And when this mighty moral conflict came to be waged in the soul of one man, and he not a hero, but one subject to all the weaknesses

¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 31.

² Colletta, bk. ix., ch. vii., p. 248. Croce, p. 235.

³ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 247.

⁴ Torta, pp. 56-58.

and passions of lesser men, then our story touches the sublime height of Shakespearean tragedy.

Fate had ordained that the chief part was to be played by Charles Albert: on him depended Italy's future. We have seen the circumstances which led the liberals to court the young Prince. Liberal influence¹ led to the appointment of the barrister Nota,² who was reputed to be a Carbonaro,³ as his private secretary. General Giffenga thought it safe to place before Charles Albert some of the writings of Angeloni⁴; and the Prince sent the old Sectary his thanks through his equerry, Collegno, for his efforts to "inspire the Italians with that union of thought which alone could give them what they had hoped in vain to obtain from the foreigners". Yet the Prince's affection for the liberals seems to have cooled in 1819, possibly when he realised the strength of Sectarian influence in the movement. The liberals seem to have ceased to court him for a time and a certain mistrust of his intentions seems to have arisen. Valtangoli,⁵ the Tuscan agent, reported to his government that the Prince was known to be averse to all Sects and their plotting, "as the liberal leaders well knew".

Foreign influence, as we have seen, was strong in Piedmont, owing to its geographical position, and it is probable that the earliest impulse towards an actual rising was given by the Grand Firmament.⁶ The revolutionary authorities in Paris seem to have come more into the open at this time.

The Parisian Directing Committee and the Grand Firmament would have preferred to start a revolution in France, but the murder of Kotzebue by Sand on the 23rd of March, 1819, and the attempt of Löning on Ibell, the president of the regency of Nassau, on the 1st of July in the same year had led to such stringent measures on the part of the police as to render the chances of a successful rising hopeless; and the prospect was not rendered brighter by the indignation aroused by the murder of the Duc de Berry by Louvel on the 13th of February, 1820. When, therefore, the Spanish revolution broke out, the Grand Firmament decided that the only country where there was any opportunity for action was Italy, where the revolution had caused a ferment throughout the peninsula; and steps were taken to prepare the ground. Buonarroti was ordered to set up a centre at Geneva, from which communications were established with Lombardy as well as Piedmont,⁷ and another centre was set up at Coire in the Grisons by Joachim Prati,⁸ whom Witt describes as a violent extremist,⁹ while Angeloni pursued his own machinations. From Piedmont the Carbonaro Count Bianco di San Jorioz, Lieutenant in the King's Dragoons, a very notable Sectary of whom we shall hear again, was sent to Paris¹⁰; and he was followed later by the Prince of Cisterna. Preparations were also made in Lyon and Grenoble, within easy reach of the Piedmontese frontier.¹¹ According to an Austrian police report dated the 12th-13th of March, 1820,¹² a Carbonaro club was formed in Paris consisting of two Neapolitans, one Swiss, eight Piedmontese and some Spaniards, who met in a restaurant and spent part of the night in writing pamphlets, one of which was addressed to the Emperor of Austria himself. Witt is said to have been a member.¹³ The Piedmontese revolution in fact formed part of the general revolutionary movement in Europe.¹⁴

¹ Torta, p. 22, says Santa Rosa, Provana and Ornato brought about this appointment. All were liberals.

² Torta, p. 22.

³ *Simple récit*, p. 6.

⁴ Romano Catania, p. 25.

⁵ Nicolli, pp. 138, 140.

⁶ Torta, p. 42.

⁷ Nicolli, p. 102. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 376.

⁸ Nicolli, p. 103.

⁹ pp. xvii., 12.

¹⁰ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 86. Torta, pp. 38, 89. Vannucci, p. 210.

¹¹ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 44-45.

¹² Canth, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 570.

¹³ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 98. Note.

¹⁴ *Simple récit*, p. 2. Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 82.

The outbreak of the Neapolitan revolution decided the Grand Firmament to rouse North Italy in support of the Neapolitans,¹ and it gave orders to that effect to its dependents. A special decree was issued in July, 1820, and Angeloni urged Giffenga, Collegno and Charles Albert himself to take action.² Confalonieri was designated by the Grand Firmament as leader of the Lombard revolutionaries and the Sectaries were advised to await his signal.³ As none of the younger Lombard nobles possessed his influence, the choice was inevitable, but the Count had serious defects. Bolton King describes him as wanting in stability and unscrupulous; he was certainly arrogant and too self-reliant. Co-operation was also arranged between the Societies of Piedmont and Lombardy: the details of the negotiations will be related later. Yet the influence of the Paris authorities in shaping the course of events remained, in my opinion, comparatively small, largely on account of the character and aims of the men on whom everything depended.

During the progress of the revolutionary year, 1820, liberal ideas gained considerable ground in Piedmont among the upper classes; and the various constitutions of Europe were freely discussed. The ambassadors of some of the foreign Powers played a considerable part. Already in 1817 the Russian ambassador Kosslovski is said to have worked for revolution until his recall.⁴ In 1820 the French ambassador Dalberg, who had married a Genoese lady of the Brignole family,⁵ the Spanish ambassador Bardaxi and their Bavarian confrère allowed liberals to meet almost openly under the protection of the embassy premises.⁶ Three liberal Clubs were founded⁷ and the number increased during the year.⁸ Dalberg was prominent in these clubs and in their discussions, while Bardaxi was a regular conspirator, despite his position. As liberalism spread, it became fashionable even among the ladies to pose as revolutionaries. The Parisian liberal paper "*Minerve*", edited by Benjamin Constant, and another similar publication called the "*Yellow Dwarf*" were passed from hand to hand and freely quoted.⁹ After the theatre meetings were held in salons, notably at the houses of the banker Musquetti and General Giffenga.⁸ Rivalry arose between those who favoured the Spanish and those who favoured the French Constitution, and these differences were expressed in the clothes they wore. The more democratic "*Spaniards*" wore brigand cloaks and white sombreros, affected rugged manners and voices, so that Costa de Beauregard¹⁰ says that the streets of Turin had been turned into a lions' pit. The "*French*" party, led by the Marquis de Prie, whom Napoleon had called the most fatuous man in the Empire and was known in Piedmont as "*Brutus à la rose*",¹¹ affected frock coats and silk hats. The superficiality of these demonstrations is attested by Pepe's envoy Colonel Pisa, who found no encouragement.¹² It is not perhaps surprising, therefore, to find the government very supine towards these activities, in fact three of the ministers, Saluzzo, minister for War, Prosper Balbo, minister of the Interior, and Lodi, minister of Police, were known to hold advanced views; but this inactivity may also have been due to the fact that the movement was patriotic and anti Austrian, a tendency which the government was unlikely to discourage.

¹ Nicolli, p. 136. Rinieri, *Pellico*, pp. 40, 56-57.

² Romano Catania, p. 25.

³ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 83. Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 71.

⁴ Witt, p. 80. Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 99.

⁵ Witt, p. 81. Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 94.

⁶ Dito, p. 339.

⁷ Costa, p. 92.

⁸ *Simple récit*, p. 20.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁰ p. 104.

¹¹ *Simple récit*, p. 39.

¹² La Farina, vol. iv., p. 256.

But liberalism had its more serious supporters, chiefly among the younger nobles, the upper middle class, the officers and the students. Among these were several parties. Some like Colonel Caesar Balbo,¹ the minister's son, would have nothing to do with open revolt, and pointed out that in ten years' time Charles Albert would be King and his friends would hold all the principal offices of State. But a waiting policy found little favour when the Neapolitans were in arms. Those in favour of vigorous measures found their centre of action in the Secret Societies. The Sectaries themselves were divided. The Federates in Turin tended to be lukewarm, while the Carbonari, who predominated in Alessandria, were resolute. The two groups differed in character, as to their objective and even as to their flag. What is remarkable is that the leaders of the Sects who became prominent in the revolution were all men who could be described as amateur Sectaries, nearly all army officers, who joined the Secret Societies from patriotic motives. The real Sectaries remained almost wholly in the background. We have instances of tumults by the populace, and these may have been the work of the real Sectaries, but these tumults were very few and there are hardly any traces of really subversive action. The rioters seem in nearly every case to have been loyal to the ruling House. The subversive elements, however, did exist, as we, who have some acquaintance with the intimate objects of the Adelfi, are aware; and these were represented almost entirely by the Adelfia. Witt² tells us that in 1821 and 1822 he found groups of Supreme Perfect Masters in almost every locality of Eastern Piedmont through which he passed during his flight from Austrian captivity. Yet these subversive elements seem to have exercised remarkably little influence on the movement. It is important, however, to remember that they existed when we come to weigh up the conduct of Charles Albert and his relations to the revolutionaries.

On the other side the old nobility was opposed to innovation and the lower classes were entirely indifferent to liberalism; the populace miscalled the Spanish Constitution, beloved by the Carbonari, as "Spanish constipation",³ a misnomer which led to ribald jokes at the expense of the liberals. The Sanfedists also were influential in the country. This society, it will be remembered, was at this time anti Austrian, though reactionary.

The leaders who controlled the liberal movement were Santa Rosa and his friends, nearly all army officers, young men of good family, who gave the Piedmontese movement its particular character. Fired largely by the writings of the Piedmontese tragedian Alfieri, they, more than any other group in Italy, felt that all Italians were kin,⁴ yet it is probable that even they did not envisage at this time a closer union than a federation or league of Italian states.⁵ Though sincere in the desire for a constitution, their main object was the expulsion of the Austrians, and the constitution was the more valued in that it presented a challenge to the dominant power.⁶ They were the first to realise that the constitutional question was inextricably involved in that of Italian independence.⁷ The plan adopted by them was to persuade the King to grant the constitution and lead them in a war against Austria: they were prepared even to bring pressure to bear on him if necessary. Santa Rosa thought that in the absence of a Parliament, which could inform the King of the national wishes, the army should take upon itself to do so.⁸ He remembered the action of the Prussian general Yorck, who, by going over to the Russians in 1813, practically committed his King to the German war of independence. In this

¹ Torta, p. 45.

² pp. 109-111.

³ Torta, p. 59.

⁴ Colombo, pp. xl-xli.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

⁶ Torta, p. 45.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 72-79, 88-91.

⁸ Torta, pp. 44. Colombo, pp. lxxi., 64-65, 102-103.

manner the Carbonarian leaders hoped to make the army their instrument, a dangerous policy, as Caesar Balbo¹ pointed out and as the sequel was to show.

The adoption of the Spanish Constitution by the Neapolitans did not further co-operation among the liberals. The Piedmontese nobles would have preferred the French model with its chamber of Peers, while Santa Rosa admired the English pattern. Charles Albert's own views are uncertain, Santa Rosa² says that he heard the Prince say that Piedmont did not possess the elements for an Upper Chamber, a remarkable statement if true. Santa Rosa probably heard wrongly, or perhaps Charles Albert, as he often did, was merely agreeing with the last speaker or mocking. At a decisive moment the Prince opted for the French constitution. This unthinking enthusiasm of the Spanish Constitution's propounders did harm to the liberal cause.

As the year progressed and the prospect of intervention by the Holy Alliance in Naples became more certain, the liberals saw that some action was necessary, and the question of selecting a leader became urgent. Giffenga might have filled the part: he was the reputed chief of the Adelfi in Piedmont, he had connections with France and he was Piedmont's leading soldier; but he was cautious and would not commit himself. He told the conspirators: "If you act quickly and succeed, I shall be with you; but if you are slow and fail, I shall thrash you"³; and he was true to his word. The conspirators were, therefore, compelled to revert again to Charles Albert; and his conduct since the outbreak in Naples gave them encouragement. On hearing of the rising he asked a bystander, who happened to be Federate: "What are we going to do?" He also said to Collegno: "I do hope we shall do something"⁴, and he expressed strong Italian sentiments to San Marzano di Caraglio,⁵ when he saw him at Court. When, on New Year's day, 1821, he dined in the mess of the Artillery, of which he had been Grand Master since March, 1819, when his son Victor Emanuel was born,⁶ and heard a patriotic poem recited, he asked for the author's name and on hearing it was Radice,⁷ he warmly congratulated him. Rumours again began to circulate: Charles Albert was said to be a Carbonaro and in the Romagna he was even reputed to be an Adelfo.⁸ In Lombardy and the Papal States the most extravagant hopes were placed on him: the poet Monti⁹ referred to him as a "Sun which has arisen on our horizon". The Adelfi had a special number for him, $21\frac{1}{4}$ = Charles, $21\frac{1}{2}$ = Albert.¹⁰ Yet in spite of this enthusiasm there were many who did not trust him. Cisterna wrote in 1821: "We must get the Prince on our side, but not trust him, as his sentiments are not lofty enough for our enterprise", and Perrone wrote: "All my efforts with the Prince have been vain".¹¹ Charles Albert was not the only subject of the rumour mongers. Santa Rosa writes that the King was reported to have said: "Si mes sujets désirent véritablement une constitution, je ne demande mieux que de les satisfaire",¹² and he remarked to Collegno at Alessandria: "Who will ever rid us of these Austrians?"¹³

It was clear that, in view of the prospect of vigorous action, the state of affairs in Lombardy was becoming important; and both the Carbonari and Charles Albert had for some time been taking steps to enter into relations with the liberals in the Austrian territories.

¹ Colombo, p. 72.

² Santa Rosa, p. 47.

³ Torta, p. 48.

⁴ Dito, p. 344.

⁵ Santa Rosa, p. 37.

⁶ Zerboni, p. 17.

⁷ Radice papers.

⁸ Nicolli, p. 140. Luzio, *Salvotti*, pp. 91-92. Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 206, 247, 483.

⁹ Costa, p. 83. Torta, p. 19.

¹⁰ Torta, p. 19.

¹¹ *Simple récit*, p. 22.

¹² Torta, p. 29.

¹³ Torta, p. 31. Note.

XXVII.—THE NEGOTIATION WITH THE LOMBARDS AND
EVENTS UP TO THE OUTBREAK.

There was already some connection between the Lombards and Piedmontese by the time that Tartaro visited Confalonieri in the summer of 1820, as we know from the visit of two Piedmontese officers, the brothers Del Campo, to Lombardy. Tartaro had also called on Mompiani and Porro,¹ and perhaps it was then that it was decided to make definite arrangements for co-operation. On the 22nd of July Count Confalonieri asked the Tuscan Capponi for a reliable introduction to Charles Albert²; and the reason cannot have been merely to discuss education, as the Count said at his trial,³ for in his letter to Capponi he wrote that fresh Austrian troops were arriving in Lombardy and asked what was the Prince going to do. On the 28th of August he wrote to Capponi⁴ that Piedmont was utterly unready for a rising, which seems to indicate that he had obtained information. By the autumn we hear of more definite steps. Radice, who was then closely attached to the Prince's service—he was his adviser in professional matters and may have been his private secretary⁵—arrived in Milan⁶ and was fêted everywhere; some discussions of a general nature also took place. It is probably to this visit that Capponi refers when he wrote to Confalonieri, "You have seen his (Charles Albert's) Mentor in Milan".⁷ It is also about this time that Count Bossi, a prominent Lombard, and Vismara, a Piedmontese lawyer who had settled in Lombardy and was a fiery Sectary, went to Piedmont and entered into relations with the Chevalier di Castiglione, surnamed the "Fierce".⁸ Both Vismara and the Chevalier became prominent in the movement.

On the 5th of September Count Hector Perrone, Colonel of the Lancers and head of the Piedmontese Federates, came to Milan⁹ bearing a letter for Confalonieri said to have been written by Saluzzo, Minister for War, on behalf of Charles Albert. The Count was absent and Perrone was arrested in mistake for a Colonel Peron. On being set free he hurried back to Piedmont and the letter remained undelivered. Another messenger, Captain Marengo, had no better success a month later. Not till the 11th of November did Perrone and Confalonieri meet at Vigevano in Piedmont through the intervention of the sculptor Comolli and Count Philibert di Brême. Perrone drew a rosy picture of affairs in Piedmont, though he had to admit the divisions existing between the adherents of the French and the Spanish Constitutions, and said that if the King proved to be too committed to the Holy Alliance, he was to be persuaded to abdicate in favour of Charles Albert. This statement makes it clear that on this occasion Perrone was not speaking on behalf of the Prince. Confalonieri seems to have promised help,¹⁰ though at his trial and on other occasions he said that he regarded any idea of a Piedmontese invasion of Lombardy as chimerical.¹¹ He then went on a journey to Tuscany in connection with his schools.

In his absence the Lombards continued their activity and sent¹² to Turin Count Joseph Pecchio, one of the most impetuous Federates, who wanted

¹ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 115-116.

² Gallavresi, p. 300.

³ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 68.

⁴ Gallavresi, p. 321.

⁵ He was professor of mathematics at the Military Academy of Turin and drew up for the Prince a scheme for refortifying Genoa. Radice family papers show that he was Charles Albert's private secretary after Nota, but the matter is not free from doubt.

⁶ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 67.

⁷ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 124.

⁸ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 203, 582.

⁹ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 52-54. It is not certain if this visit preceded or followed Radice's.

¹⁰ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 84.

¹¹ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 54. Gallavresi, pp. 309, 321.

¹² Torta, p. 53.

to compromise as many people as possible, so that success should become everyone's interest. He promised freely and in his turn gave optimistic assurances, and then, with Count Trecchi, joined Confalonieri in Tuscany.¹ Confalonieri returned to Milan on the 10th of January, 1821, and almost immediately became dangerously ill. The Sectaries' activities continued, however, and especially that of the Carbonari, who, under the energetic leadership of Colonel De Meester, once more became prominent. The Lombards also opened up connections with the Duchies of Modena and Parma. Manfredini of Mantua² was sent to confer at Reggio in the Duchy of Modena with the old Napoleonic soldier and patriot, General Zucchi. De Meester and Vismara also considered a scheme for kidnapping the Austrian commander, Marshal Bubna.

In Piedmont itself signs of trouble began to manifest themselves as the year 1820 advanced. Already in August³ the commander of the fortress at Alessandria had become anxious as to his troops' attitude towards the Neapolitan revolution, and later signs of unrest were noticed in the Regiment of the Light Horse of Piedmont, commanded by Colonel Morozzo, Count of San Michele, at Fossano. Count Moffa di Lisio of the Regiment of the King's Light Horse, stationed at Pinicola, one of Santa Rosa's colleagues, resigned his commission, but his resignation was not accepted.⁴ Collegno, Radice and three other Captains were also busy in canvassing for support among the Artillery.⁵ In September some incendiary proclamations were disseminated, and towards the end of the year, when it had become clear that war between Austria and Naples was inevitable, two pamphlets⁶ were published in Piedmont and even, it is said, presented to the King,⁷ one called "*Des desseins de l'Autriche sur l'Italie*", written for the Carbonari by Sismondi the historian, who had contributed to the "*Conciliatore*", and one called "*Des devoirs du Piémont*" issued by the Federates. Rumours were spread of unreasonable Austrian demands on Piedmont.⁸

An event which occurred on the 11th of January, 1821, shows us how the strain was growing. A few students appeared at the theatre D'Angennes in Turin wearing red caps with tassels, like those worn by the Greek insurgents, on the occasion when one of the Marchionniss was acting.⁹ The caps were mistaken for republican bonnets and the wearers were arrested. The other students then claimed that their privileges of being tried by their own authorities had been infringed and barricaded themselves in the University. The Governor of Turin, Count di Pratolongo, sent two companies of the Guards, who stormed the building, and 34 students were wounded. The general opinion was that unnecessary violence had been used; and Charles Albert himself sent money and sweets to the sufferers.¹⁰

On the 28th of January the Austrian army crossed the Po on its way to Naples and it became imperative to take definite measures. The secretary of the French ambassador,¹¹ M. Rouen, visited Genoa and reported that an excellent spirit prevailed. As the Genoese still resented the loss of their independence and were regarded as disaffected, the Piedmontese conspirators had left them out of their calculations, lest they should endanger the dynasty.¹²

¹ Dito, p. 348.

² Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 85.

³ Torta, p. 47.

⁴ *Simple récit*, pp. 11, 17, 20.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 20. Radice suggests that the Sectaries in the Artillery were by no means as numerous as was supposed.

⁶ Torta, p. 54.

⁷ Dito, p. 349.

⁸ Torta, p. 57. Throughout the Liberals tried to obtain support by exciting hatred against Austria by attributing to her intentions which however could not be proved.

⁹ Costa, p. 105. Torta, p. 69.

¹⁰ Torta, p. 68. La Farina wrongly says the Prince visited the wounded.

¹¹ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 85. Torta, p. 61.

¹² Torta, p. 61.

Yet it was through a Genoese, we are told, that one of the chief differences among the Sectaries was removed. At the instance of Maghella,¹ Murat's old minister, the French party renounced its predilections and all agreed to demand the Spanish Constitution, which was favoured by the Lombard Federates.² To cement the new alliance Perrone and other Federate leaders were received into the Carboneria and Carbonarian committees sprang up all over the country.³ The Alessandrins⁴ even nominated members of a future provisional government. On the other hand this union finally estranged Balbo and the moderates.⁵

On the 4th of February, as Confalonieri was still ill, Pecchio came to Turin and through Bardaxi⁶ obtained an interview with Charles Albert. Only Collegno was allowed to remain in the room. Though Pecchio is said to have offered to proclaim Victor Emanuel King of Italy as soon as the Piedmontese invaded Lombardy, the Prince demanded definite assurances from Confalonieri, but allowed Pecchio to see the liberal leaders and speak frankly to them. Pecchio saw Giffenga, Caesar Balbo, Caraglio, Perrone, Collegno, Dal Pozzo, cousin of the Prince of Cisterna, Colonel Ciravegna and Radice.⁷ It seems that a plan of operations was then adumbrated, but as it was faulty and never carried into effect I will not describe it. Pecchio brought back to Milan the statutes of the "Federation" and a proclamation to be distributed among the Austrian soldiers, and stressed that the Lombards would have to take definite action if the Piedmontese were to be persuaded to move.⁸ With Count Arese and Charles Castiglia, a most unfortunate choice as it turned out, Pecchio drew up a Giunta of government of twelve members and a list of Officers for a national guard, which was to be formed in Lombardy. At the end of February at a meeting at Pecchio's country house at San Siro,⁹ Pecchio, Castiglia, Bossi, Borsieri and Arrivabene chose seven leaders, whose names were submitted to Confalonieri and after some alteration,¹⁰ forwarded to Turin. The Lombards having had a taste of mob action on April the 20th, 1814, and wishing to avoid its repetition, intended on the first move of Piedmont, to make an offer to the Austrian governor to form a national guard to keep order. Once it was formed it was to join the Piedmontese invaders. Confalonieri then had a relapse and was unable to do anything until after the outbreak.

On the invitation of De Meester, the Brescian leader Count Philipp Ugoni and, later, Count Ducco and Tonelli came to Milan, were shown the papers received from Turin by Confalonieri and told of the intending rising¹¹; and Ugoni even went to Turin.¹² The Brescians elected seven leaders to settle the final details, including Olini, Moretti and Mompiani and the priest Marini.¹³ who was in close relationship with the Paris committee; and Arrivabene was sent to organise the Sectaries in his own Mantua.¹⁴

The Duchies also were preparing to rise when the Piedmontese should move. The Adelfi had formed a new variety of the Carboneria to cover their machinations, in which the obligation bound the Good Cousins to strive for the freedom of Italy. In Modena the Sublime Perfect Masters were stirring. The general object in these regions was a constitution and some even toyed with

¹ Nicolli, p. 97.

² Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 51.

³ Leti, p. 122.

⁴ Torta, p. 79.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 60.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 215 *et* subseqq.

⁷ Torta, p. 74.

⁸ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 59. Torta, p. 76.

⁹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 201. Confalonieri, *Memoirs*, pp. 108 *et* subseqq.

¹⁰ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 582. Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 57-58. Dito, p. 348. Confalonieri, *Memoirs*, p. 27.

¹¹ Luzio, *Salvotti*, pp. 79-80.

¹² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 214.

¹³ Cantù, *Conciliatore*. Austrian report of 10 April, 1822.

¹⁴ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 145.

the idea of fusion with Piedmont, though most were content with a federation.¹ In February emissaries came from Parma to Lombardy to plot against Bubna²

Towards the end of February Radice³ was again in Milan, again probably sent by Charles Albert, but, according to Confalonieri's account at his trial, got very cold comfort, as the Count told him that no reliance could be placed on Lombard support, whatever some "smoke merchants" might say. But by now things had gone too far to draw back. Bardaxi⁴ advised Cisterna to return to Turin from Paris with all the assistance he could gather. Priez also returned on hearing the erroneous information that Charles Albert was now ready to play his part. Angeloni had managed to obtain the Austrian plan of campaign against Naples⁵; he handed it to Cisterna with 500 copies of Sismondi's pamphlet and other documents. Cisterna sent the papers ahead in the charge of one Leblanc,⁶ but the Paris police had warned the Piedmontese authorities and Leblanc was arrested. On the 5th of March Cisterna also suffered the same fate.⁷ Among the papers were found letters of Priez, Perrone and Giffenga, and the capture led to the arrest of Priez and Perrone. Giffenga, after a very awkward interview, abjured all relations with the Sectaries. Cisterna's papers were placed under seal, but Caraglio succeeded in making his way into his house and removing the most compromising.⁸ These arrests brought matters to a head; further delay could only mean danger and the conspirators decided to act.

XXVIII. THE RISING IN PIEDMONT.

On the 6th of March Santa Rosa, Collegno, Lisio and Caraglio called on Charles Albert, gaining admission to the library by a private staircase⁹ and explained to him in the presence of Robert d'Azeglio¹⁰ their scheme, which was to seize certain important points in Turin, while Colonel Morozzo was to march with his Light Horse of Piedmont from Fossano to Moncalieri, where the King was going the next day.¹¹ They also hoped for support from insurrections in Prussia and Greece. This seems to have been the first direct approach to Charles Albert by the Piedmontese conspirators; the Prince appears at first to have attempted to dissuade the conspirators, but in the end they left him under the impression that he had thrown in his lot with them. The Prince¹² then summoned the minister for War, Saluzzo, but could obtain no useful suggestion from him. He then proceeded to visit the various barracks, spoke to the officers and even some N.C.O.'s and exacted from them a pledge to make no move without his orders. He is even said to have warned the King,¹³ without however giving any details of the plot, but his story was not believed.

The next morning, the 7th, the King duly left for Moncalieri. Charles Albert summoned Giffenga and Caesar Balbo, who was Colonel of the Montferrat Infantry Brigade,¹⁴ to inquire as to the state of the army and was told that

¹ Nicolli, p. 145. Dito, p. 345.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 214.

³ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 67.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵ Romano Catania, p. 26.

⁶ Witt, p. 92.

⁷ Witt, p. 92, says that Cisterna was a friend of the wife of the governor of Nice. He told her his intentions and she informed the police. This may be mere scandal.

⁸ *Simple récit*, pp. 38-39.

⁹ Fiorini, pp. 11-12. Charles Albert is wrong over his dates here.

¹⁰ Leti, p. 122.

¹¹ *Simple récit*, p. 43.

¹² Fiorini, p. 12.

¹³ *Simple récit*, p. 48.

¹⁴ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 548. In Piedmont the infantry was organised so that at the outbreak of war each regiment expanded into a Brigade. Following the practice of the time, I have called Infantry regiments Brigades. All other arms remained regiments on mobilization, and are called accordingly.

it was in no condition to enter on a campaign; and there was, moreover, no prospect of inducing the King to go to war against his old Allies. Charles Albert then called together the officers of his own Corps, the Artillery, and again made them promise not to move without his personal orders and sent two Captains to inform the conspirators that he and all his subordinates in the Artillery withdrew from the plot.¹ Caraglio and Collegno went to see him, but failed to make him change his mind; and the two conspirators countermanded the rising on their own responsibility.

On the 8th Charles Albert again seemed hesitant; and the conspirators, now joined by Morozzo and Bianco di Jorioz, and later by Col. Ansaldi from Alessandria.² resumed their schemes and informed the Prince of the fact, but did not tell him the details. On the 9th Santa Rosa again saw the Prince, but could not move him to take a decision. Other attempts by other conspirators proved equally fruitless, even Radice,³ who was asked to intervene because he was supposed to possess great influence over Charles Albert, found him, in his own words, like "a sack of mud" on which no impression could be made. Giffenga, who was consulted, advised them to give up the attempt. Accordingly they sent off messengers in all directions to cancel the rising; and Charles Albert was informed by Giffenga through Balbo that the Federate leaders had pledged their word to desist from their schemes.⁴

Meanwhile Morozzo had returned to Fossano. He had already tried to stir his regiment to revolt when he received the counter order. He dismissed his men, but was himself put under arrest. A garbled report of this event reached Turin. Charles Albert was informed that the Light Horse were marching on the Capital by Pratolongo and Saluzzo, but he merely remarked that it must be a misunderstanding, the order cancelling the move could not have reached Morozzo in time.⁵ He then went to the King and obtained his pardon for the conspirators, including Morozzo. It is not clear whether he mentioned any names beyond Morozzo's. The conspirators on the other hand, on hearing the false news, concluded that their message had miscarried and the revolt had broken out; and as there seemed nothing to be done now except to carry the matter through, rode off in different direction to control the rising.

Ansaldi had reached Alessandria on the 9th and the same evening read to his colleagues a remarkable order of the day signed by Charles Albert's aide-de-camp Omodei, ostensibly on the Prince's behalf, calling on the soldiers to rally round the Prince, to resist the Austrian demands and to raise the cry in favour of the Constitution.⁶ It is most unlikely that Charles Albert knew anything of the document. Next day, the 10th of March,⁷ Captain Palma and Lieutenant Garelli, a Sublime Perfect Master, both of the Infantry Brigade of Genoa, which was garrisoning the citadel, mustered their men, raised the cry of "the King and the Constitution" and gained possession of the Keep of the fortress. The senior officers were arrested. In the town Captain Baronis and Lieutenant Bianco di Jorioz, the Carbonaro emissary to Paris, mustered 300 of the King's Dragoons and a number of civilian Good Cousins and marched to the citadel. At the bridge over the Tanaro, which they had to cross, they found the guard under the command of Lieutenant Barandier of the Savoy Brigade, a Carbonaro selected for that post out of his turn by his Colonel, Regis, another of the conspirators. Barandier allowed them to pass into the citadel. Baronis received the order cancelling the movement as he was riding through the gate, but said it was too late now, as indeed it was. Three cannon shots, Napoleon's usual

¹ Fiorini, p. 14.

² Torta, p. 87.

³ Fiorini, pp. 17, 14 *et subseqq.*

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 185.

⁵ Costa, p. 113.

⁶ Torta, pp. 95-97.

⁷ Santa Rosa, p. 41. *Simple récit*, p. 61. Torta, p. 98.

signal for the beginning of a battle, announced the revolutionary success and by the end of the day the town had risen and the provisional government previously appointed consisting of Colonel Ansaldi, Captains Palma and Baronis, Lieutenant Bianco and the civilians Doctor Rattazzi, uncle of the future Prime Minister, Appiano, Dossena and Luzzi had been set up. The blue, green, red flag of the old Kingdom of Italy was hoisted. A traveller in those parts at that time says that red was regarded as symbolical of the Spanish Constitution, green of Italy and blue of Victor Emanuel.¹ The Spanish Constitution was proclaimed and the oath of fidelity to it was taken by all officers. All acts and documents of the new Giunta were headed "Kingdom of Italy"² and war was even declared against Austria.³ Next morning Collegno and Radice arrived from Turin and found the revolution accomplished. The governor, de Varax, marched out with all the loyal troops under a convention concluded with Regis. San Marzano di Caraglio, had ridden to Vercelli, but failed to induce his regiment, the Queen's Dragoons, to follow him. He then rode to Asti, where he found Santa Rosa and Lisio, who had easily persuaded on the 10th two squadrons of the King's Light Horse at Pinerolo to follow them by telling them that the Austrians were invading the country. At Carmagnola Santa Rosa issued a proclamation containing the following remarkable passage: "We depart for a moment from our usual military obedience, a course which the needs of our Fatherland renders unavoidable and of which the Prussian army gave us an example in 1813."⁴ On the 12th, after meeting Caraglio, they entered Alessandria. and the men who formed the nucleus of the conspiracy were all gathered in this way at that place.

The news from Alessandria reached Turin on the afternoon of the 10th; and the King at once returned to the Capital and summoned his Council. Caesar Balbo saw Charles Albert and told him two ministers, Saluzzo and Vallesa, had suggested that he should propose the grant of a constitution, in order to appease the people, which, however, had made no move so far. At the council that evening the Prince proposed the proclamation of the French Constitution,⁵ but opinions were divided and the King decided against the suggestion. A proclamation was drafted, stating that the rumours circulated about Austria's hostile intentions were false and calling the soldiers to their obedience. It was duly issued next day. Next morning the King, impelled by a sound instinct, wanted to ride out and show himself,⁶ but was persuaded not to take the risk.⁷ No doubt he hoped by his presence to recall the troops to their loyalty, but curiously enough some of the Carbonari thought that he meant to lead his troops against Austria.⁸ Radice writes: "Si le roi eût paru, l'Italie serait libre." On the request of Pratolongo the citadel of Turin was reinforced that evening. Its garrison was composed of three companies of the Brigade of Acsta, whose loyalty was doubtful and one of Artillery under Captain Enrico, an ardent Carbonaro.⁹ The reinforcements consisted of three companies of Guards, and two of Artillery chosen by Charles Albert himself.¹⁰ These gunners also were commanded by conspirators, one of whom was Gambini. It is obvious, therefore, that at this time Charles Albert still hoped the movement might take its course as originally intended, or he would not have selected troops infected with Carbonarism for so important a post. Shortly after, however, he realised that the King could not be moved from his resolution and he tried to undo the mischief by sending Colonel Des Genèys, of the Artillery, whose loyalty was beyond

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 572.

² *Simple récit*, p. 64. La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 266-267.

³ Zerboni, p. 54, on the 11 March, 1821.

⁴ *Simple récit*, p. 67.

⁵ Fiorini, p. 25.

⁶ Torta, p. 106.

⁷ *Simple récit*, p. 80.

⁸ Santa Rosa, p. 46. Radice papers.

⁹ *Simple récit*, pp. 77-78.

¹⁰ Radice papers.

reproach, to the citadel, warning him especially against Enrico.¹ Des Geneys was confident he could manage Enrico; and perhaps his confidence would have been justified if he had had to deal only with his own men. My account of Charles Albert's action on this occasion and his motives is based on the evidence contained in the Radice papers. If it can be accepted, as I believe it can, it is very illuminating as to his attitude towards the revolution and helps us to understand the part he played.

On the morning of the 11th, Captain Ferrero² of the Royal Legion of Chasseurs heard the news of the rebellion at Alessandria and marched on Turin with his company, probably in accordance with a prearranged plan, but finding everything quiet, he halted outside the city at San Salvario and waited for the expected rising in the capital, not knowing anything about the various misunderstandings which had taken place. He was only joined by Fecchini³ and about 100 Federate students. The Carbonaro flag was hoisted and the cry raised for the Spanish Constitution and war with Austria. Loyal troops arrived, but they had orders to take no action, and after a short time they were withdrawn. Raimondi, the Colonel of the Legion, tried to persuade the men to return to their quarters, but was fired at by one of the students with a blank shot⁴ and rushed back to the palace, where he asked for a few soldiers to settle the whole matter. Nothing was done, however, and Ferrero marched off to Alessandria. The same evening the barrister Malinverni started a rising in Vercelli.⁵

The Ferrero incident shows that the Council could come to no conclusion. On the evening of the same day, the 11th, Count San Marzano, father of Caraglio, and Piedmontese envoy to Laibach, returned with the news that the Holy Alliance had decided to suppress all liberal movements in Italy. Accordingly a fresh proclamation was drafted for issue next morning, and it was decided that the King should march against the rebels himself. In the meantime however the conspirators had been active and especially the Secret Societies. It is very probable that Ferrero's move had been intended to form part of a larger scheme, which was now carried into effect. From the country round, and even from France, Carbonari and Federates were streaming into Turin and next morning groups of men with "forbidding countenances" according to the "Simple Récit"⁶ appeared in the streets. On the morning of the 12th the proclamation had not yet been issued and the government was still dallying when about noon three cannon shots, the same signal as at Alessandria, announced that the citadel was in the hands of the insurgents.⁷ During the morning three sergeants of the Guards⁸ had ordered their men to unscrew the cocks of their muskets on the pretext that an inspection of arms was to be held, disarming in this way the most reliable element in the citadel. Then Enrico and Gambini and three officers of the Aosta Brigade mustered their men and placed two guns before the entrance to the Guards' quarters. Des Geneys rushed out to quell the mutiny; but Sergeant Rittatore of the Guards stopped him and asked him to return to his quarters. Des Geneys rushed at him, both drew their swords, and after a scuffle Des Geneys fell to the ground, dead. Gambini then hoisted the blue, black, red Carbonaro flag.⁹

In the town crowds began to assemble and to demonstrate, but in an orderly fashion.

¹ Fiorini, p. 20.

² *Simple récit*, pp. 75-77.

³ Torta, pp. 101-105. Fecchini was the Free Italian whom Santa Rosa advised to fuse with the Federates. Santa Rosa, p. 44.

⁴ Radice papers.

⁵ Torta, p. 109.

⁶ p. 85.

⁷ *Simple récit*, pp. 86-91. Fiorini, p. 21.

⁸ Torta, p. 110.

⁹ Santa Rosa, p. 45.

At the Royal Palace it was decided to send Charles Albert to parley with the mutineers. On his way he met an officer who warned him that the citadel was in an uproar and his own orderly had been shot down. The Prince¹ continued to pass through the crowds as far as the ramparts, but the shouts of the soldiers within the citadel and of the crowd without prevented him from making himself heard. Eventually a soldier was sent to inform him that the garrison was still faithful to the King, but demanded the Spanish Constitution and war with Austria. Among the crowd the banker Musquietti, who carried a Carbonaro flag, and Antonelli made the same demand. Charles Albert accordingly returned to the Palace where the cavalry of the Regiment Royal Piedmont charged the crowd and dispersed it. Two people were injured.²

Several regiments had now gathered near the Palace, but it was evident that the troops in general were bewildered. When the King asked the commanding officers of the units round the Palace how far their men could be relied on, some had to admit that their attitude was doubtful. Alarming rumours were pouring in from the provinces and in Turin itself the agitation had grown to such alarming proportions, that the Decurions, heads of the Turin districts, came to beg the Council to make some concession. One Galvagno is said to have used very revolutionary language. The crowds were bellowing for the Spanish Constitution and the garrison of the citadel was threatening to open fire. Towards evening the poor old King, worn out through lack of rest, unwilling to shoot down his own subjects and aware of the danger of foreign intervention if he yielded, decided to abdicate; and as the heir to the throne, Charles Felix, was absent in Modena, where he had gone with his wife to meet his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Naples,³ Charles Albert was appointed Regent until the new King should return. Victor Emanuel's abdication was a fatal blow to the hopes of the liberals. Santa Rosa wrote of this event:⁴ "O fatal night! a night which plunged us all into mourning, which deprived Piedmontese liberty of the support of so many arms and which dissipated the dream of our dearest hopes. The country, no doubt cannot die; but our hearts were identified not only with the throne, but with Victor Emanuel and our fatherland. Our glory, our success, our triumphs—all were bound up with his name and his person. . . . No greater misfortune could have befallen Piedmont." This cry of anguish from the heart of the noblest of the liberals explains not only the views of the constitutional leaders but also the full tragedy of the situation. At 2 a.m. the King accompanied by General Giffenga left for Nice.

The situation which confronted Charles Albert on the morning of the 13th might well have unnerved a young man of 22. The new King was personally hostile to him, and, as Regent, it was his duty to make no change until Charles Felix's wishes could be ascertained. Yet a refusal of the revolutionaries' demands might lead to the overthrow of the dynasty. The ministers had resigned and the troops regarded themselves as freed from their allegiance by the King's abdication and were deserting; 800 left from the Guards and the Brigade of Aosta alone. In spite of the efforts of the moderates to induce the rebels to accept the French Constitution and so gain French support,⁵ Castiglione and Vismara, speaking on behalf of Alessandria, demanded the Spanish model. Soon a crowd composed of students and lower elements⁶ of the population led by the Sectaries and especially the Carbonari⁷ gathered round the Palace of Carignano, where Charles Albert resided. The mob had been reinforced by a

¹ Torta, pp. 113-114, says Giffenga accompanied him.

² Santa Rosa, p. 46. Torta, p. 114.

³ Poggi, vol. i., p. 328.

⁴ p. 47.

⁵ *Simple récit*, p. 115.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 116. Decent citizens are said to have shut their doors at their approach.

⁷ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 570. Torta, p. 134.

strong body from Ivrea,¹ which had arisen at the instance of Count Palma and had set free Priez, who was carried in triumph through Turin. Doctor Crivelli, a noted liberal who had no connection with the conspiracy,¹ and some of the Secret Societies' leaders made their way into the Palace by a door left open by the treachery of someone within and pointed out that the citadel was threatening to fire on the town, the mob was out of hand and the safety of the dynasty was at stake. In the evening, at the Prince's request, a more formal deputation arrived, composed of the two syndics of Turin and the sixty Decurions, the town's governing body, in fact. By this time many Federates² had forced the way into the palace. The crowd outside, orderly at first, grew restive at the delay,³ and finding no support anywhere, Charles Albert yielded. At 8 p.m. he appeared on the balcony and announced the grant of the Spanish Constitution. This announcement satisfied the people and the crowds went home quietly. That same day Biella rose in revolt.⁴

It seems clear that the popular demonstrations of the 12th and the 13th had been engineered by the Sectaries, though we have little actual proof beyond the few facts I have stated. The extremists seem to have caused some alarm to the more peaceful citizens, but even in this turmoil they do not seem to have exercised any real control. If there was any real danger of subversive action on the part of the Adelfi, it soon passed away. With the dispersal of the crowd and the grant of the Constitution such leadership as had been exercised by the Societies seems to have ceased; and the direction of the movement remained in the hands of Santa Rosa and his friends, who, though members of the Societies, were not at the beck and call of the subversives. Even they did not actually enter the government of the Revolution state, but remained largely in the background, at Alessandria. Unfortunately a deep impression had been created in the mind of Charles Albert of the power and the violence of the Sectaries, an impression which led him to misunderstand the real character of the liberal leaders and undoubtedly led him to exaggerate incidents and increased the hostility between him and the constitutionals in subsequent years. A similar impression had been created in the minds of Metternich and the rulers of the Holy Alliance, who had gained some knowledge of the Grand Firmament's activities and saw its subversive influence behind the Piedmontese rising.⁵

On the 14th⁶ a new Council was appointed; and the members were mostly very respected men, like Emanuel dal Pozzo, who, like Santa Rosa, had been a Freemason and had become a Carbonaro. A Giunta was also elected to act until elections could be held. Its president was Marinetti. With these appointments the revolution was accomplished and we must now consider the fate of the Piedmontese revolution state.

XXIX. THE PIEDMONTESE REVOLUTION STATE.

The men to whom had been entrusted the task of ruling the new state were nearly all intellectuals, little qualified to meet the emergencies of troubled times. They were inclined to be moderate and to avoid rash action; and their difficulties were great. They did not have to meet the pressure of a powerful Carboneria backed by a mob, as in Naples. There were hardly any instances of popular action after the proclamation of the Constitution: a demonstration before the house of the Austrian ambassador Binder and a demand for his dismissal, which was refused by the Regent,⁷ and a gathering when it was suspected that Charles Albert was about to desert Turin were the only instances

¹ Santa Rosa, p. 48. Note. Ivrea had been the first Carbonaro stronghold in Piedmont.

² Fiorini, p. 33. Costa, p. 125. *Simple récit*, p. 120.

³ Torta, p. 125.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 123.

⁵ Poggi, vol. i., p. 368.

⁶ Fiorini, p. 35. Santa Rosa, p. 48.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 37.

recorded. On the other hand the Government had to undergo pressure from the very active Carbonaro centre of Alessandria, where the authors of the revolution had congregated and set up a Giunta and a government of their own. It also had to meet with the passive opposition of the Regent himself. He had written to Charles Felix an account of the events; but he knew his cousin well enough to be apprehensive as to the course he was likely to take. Moreover, though the principal demand of the revolutionaries was war with Austria, and he himself had shared that wish, he was now fully aware how unprepared Piedmont was; and his whole activities were directed towards avoiding foreign intervention and ensuring the peaceful assumption of the throne by the new King. While therefore as Regent he signed decrees calling up the militia and similar measures, by his acts he tended to undermine the Constitutional State.

Soon he found a rallying point for an absolutist reaction. General La Tour, who had served with the English under Bentinck against Napoleon¹ and favoured a government on an English model,² had remained strictly loyal and had secured Novara for the King. He was forming there a centre for all loyalists. On hearing from him³ Charles Albert wrote to the governors⁴ of the various provinces that no act of the government could be regarded as valid until confirmed by Charles Felix; and he also began to give the preliminary orders for a general concentration of all loyal troops at Novara.

At Alessandria the true leaders of the movement had consolidated their position, and preparations were pressed on for the intended war. As the insurgents had little field artillery, Radice⁵ went to Genoa to the artillery barracks there and tried to persuade the commander of the artillery park to join the insurgents. On his refusal, he ordered the gunners to turn out and led them himself to Alessandria, where they were placed under the command of Collegno. At Alessandria these energetic leaders were roused to anger by the apathy displayed by the Turin government. When Charles Albert granted an amnesty, they signed a strong protest,⁶ as they claimed they had done nothing to be forgiven, and Lisio, Baronis and Luzzi brought it to Turin, together with demands for supplies for the fortress of Alessandria and for confirmation of the promotions awarded to those who had done good work for the revolution. On their return they brought such a gloomy account of the state of affairs in Turin that it was decided to send Santa Rosa to the capital to see what he could do.

Meanwhile Caraglio had set out on the 12th, before the abdication, with a small force towards Novara. Though at first La Tour refused to admit him, he allowed him to enter after he had heard of the King's abdication.⁷ Though Caraglio could have assumed the command, he preferred to give an example of discipline and submitted to La Tour's orders. For a moment it appeared as though an invasion of Lombardy might be feasible. The Austrian authorities at Milan had fallen into a panic and were preparing to evacuate the city. De Meester⁸ wrote to the Brescians to rise, seize the Austrian treasure, then on its way to Mantua and surprise various fortresses, but in spite of strong urging from Moretti, the Brescians preferred more prudent courses and sent Ugoni to confer with the Milanese Federates. Pecchio had already gone to Turin⁹ and was present when the abdication took place. De Meester and Bossi¹⁰ were now

¹ British Record Office, WO. 1/311. Letter of 5.10.12.

² Torta, p. 138.

³ *Simple récit*, p. 132. Torta, p. 144.

⁴ Fiorini, p. 36.

⁵ Radice papers.

⁶ Santa Rosa, p. 53. Fiorini, p. 52. Torta, pp. 132, 137.

⁷ Santa Rosa, p. 53. Torta, p. 123.

⁸ Luzzio, *Salvotti*, pp. 80-81.

⁹ Torta, p. 110.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 128.

sent to Piedmont to find out what Charles Albert was going to do. Confalonieri himself sent a letter by Pallavicino and Gaetano Castiglia to Caraglio at Novara stating that Milan was undefended and urged him to hasten, as Austrian reinforcements were on the way.¹ Ugoni also found his way to Piedmont. La Tour could only reply by pointing out his lack of stores and ammunition. Even Caraglio had to yield to the logic of facts and sent Pallavicino and Castiglia on to Turin, accompanied by Perrone, who introduced them to the Regent. To De Meester Charles Albert had replied by asking why the Lombards had not risen. He received Pallavicino in uniform and referred him to the Giunta. In the evening he saw the Lombards again and stated that Piedmont was in no condition to act and bade them hope in the future.² The plan for joint action was breaking down. Pecchio, who had returned to Milan, confirmed these gloomy reports, with the result that Confalonieri wrote a second letter to Caraglio, which was brought to Novara by Countess Fracavalli concealed in her hair, to the effect that an isolated raid could have no good result, only an invasion in force would be of any use. The only Piedmontese who crossed the Ticino were an officer and two N.C.O.'s who were sent to Milan, it is not known by whom or for what purpose. In the reverse direction a few students from Pavia enrolled in the Piedmontese army in a battalion called "Minerva."

Charles Felix had already given orders to La Tour to assume the Lieutenancy of the Kingdom at Novara³ when he received from the hand of Count Silvano Costa the Regent's letter. He was so furious that he threw it into the envoy's face. On the 16th of March he handed the Count a proclamation declaring all acts since the late King's abdication null and void and a private message to Charles Albert to report at once at Novara with all faithful troops. He also sent orders direct to the governor of Genoa, another to Des Genèys. The receipt of this reply caused consternation in Turin.⁴ Charles Albert declared his resignation, as the King had not recognised his regency; but as it was feared that such a step might result in anarchy, he was induced to remain at his post; and a deputation was sent to Modena to represent the true situation to the King. The King's message, however, removed any lingering doubt Charles Albert might yet have had as to his future course; he had no choice but to obey his orders.⁴ He had reason to think that a frank avowal of his intention to leave Turin would merely lead to his arrest, if not his death, for twice, according to his own account, attempts had been made to kidnap him.⁵ He therefore assigned a rendezvous outside Turin on the 21st at midnight to the loyal troops in the town and sent away to France his wife and his infant son, the future Victor Emanuel II.

On the 19th Santa Rosa with Lisio and Collegno⁶ arrived to protest against the government's hesitations. The Regent refused to see them, but agreed to Santa Rosa's nomination as minister for War by the Giunta. On the 21st suspicions of his departure had led to the collection of angry groups round his Palace; and he was warned that his life was in danger. Costa de Beauregard⁷ says that the revolutionary committee had arranged to arrest him and keep him as a hostage. Accordingly he set out before the appointed time, accompanied by Costa and La Marmora and made his way through the city pistol in hand, but he was not molested. He found the troops at the rendezvous and made for Novara. At that place he received a fresh order from the King to go into exile at the court of his father-in-law, the Grand Duke of Tuscany: and his part in the revolution of 1821 was over. His departure was the second fatal blow to the liberal cause: it deprived the movement of the last pretence

¹ Torta, p. 139.

² Poggi, vol. i., p. 345-346.

³ Costa, p. 132.

⁴ Fiorini, p. 36.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶ Santa Rosa, p. 54.

⁷ p. 136.

of that legality to which the Carbonarian leaders had clung so desperately; they were now rebels pure and simple.

At first Santa Rosa intended to withdraw with all liberal troops to Alessandria;¹ but he was encouraged to stay in Turin by the defection of the Queen's Dragoons from Novara² and a rising in Genoa. Moreover, the Russian ambassador Mocenigo, urged by the French government,³ which wished to avoid Austrian intervention, which would also have been against Russian interests, now offered to mediate; and all hostilities were suspended. Santa Rosa, therefore, issued a proclamation that Charles Albert had been misled owing to his youth and inexperience and that the new King, surrounded by his country's enemies, was unable to express his real will. He also pressed on warlike preparation and appointed new commanders to the most important posts.⁴

In Genoa, as we have seen, the Carboneria had made considerable progress; and students from Pavia, who had enrolled in the regiments stationed there some time previously, had been tampering with the allegiance of the troops.⁵ On the receipt of Charles Felix' orders on the 20th, followed by a letter from Charles Albert that he intended to go to Novara, the governor Des Genèys published the King's orders, announced Charles Albert's departure and exhorted the citizens to keep quiet, with the result that nothing happened for the next two days beyond some rioting, which was easily put down, though nearby Savona had already rebelled,⁶ Colonel Pastoris and the Free Corps having mutinied. On the 23rd however another messenger arrived from Turin, who reported that Charles Albert had not departed at the time he had left the capital. The governor was accused of lying and the people rose in tumult demanding that, as the Constitution was still in force in Turin, it should be proclaimed in Genoa also. Three N.C.O.'s of the Light Legion called the troops to arms, imprisoned their Adjutant and killed an officer who tried to resist. They were joined by the Carbonaro, Major Crezia, and raised the cry of the Constitution. People and mutineers made for the palace of the governor, who was saved with difficulty. A governing Committee was appointed under the presidency of General Ison,⁷ who had lately retired from the command of the troops in Genoa, and Crezia was made a member. The authority of the Giunta of Turin was acknowledged, but close relations were entered into with Alessandria; and Regis came over and marched the troops to that fortress, leaving a national guard in charge in Genoa.⁷

The Carbonari were also successful to some extent in Savoy. A rising had taken place in France at Grenoble, not far from the frontier, at the same time as the Piedmontese revolution. The Congregazione cattolica apostolica romana had been responsible for it or had taken a prominent part and, on the revolt's suppression, as we have seen, had been obliged to change all its signs and words. Some of its members escaped to Chambéry in Savoy. These events excited unrest, and the authorities, as elsewhere, hesitated to take any action against the liberals, who held meetings without interference. Some Carbonaro officers, Gattinara of the Light Legion, Pacchiarotti, Vigna and Ceppi of the Brigade of Alessandria tried to plan a rising; and, after one unsuccessful attempt, a favourable opportunity occurred. Santa Rosa ordered the Brigade of Alessandria to march to Turin and, on its way, at St. Jean de Maurienne, Pacchiarotti, with the assistance of Lieutenant Laneri of the local Carabineers, a Sublime Perfect Master,⁸ arrested the Colonel, Righini, who had thwarted the previous attempt

¹ Santa Rosa, p. 56.

² *Simple récit*, pp. 142-143. Fiorini, p. 46.

³ Poggi, vol. i., p. 357.

⁴ Torta, p. 160.

⁵ Leti, p. 120.

⁶ *Simple récit*, p. 156. Witt, p. 149, says Pastoris was a scoundrel.

⁷ *Simple récit*, p. 164.

⁸ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 93.

and brought the Brigade to Turin. After the departure of this disaffected unit royal authority was quietly restored throughout Savoy.

Though the arrival of the Alessandria Brigade in Turin strengthened the government, it led to a scuffle between the new arrivals and the Carabineers,¹ who had largely remained loyal to the King; and, at the instance of their commanders, the greater portion of the Carabineers rode off to Novara. Drawn this way and that by appeals from both sides the soldiers were completely bewildered and knew not whom to obey, nor could their commanders foretell how they would act and no one could place any reliance on them.

The short career of the revolution state was drawing to a close. The revolutionary authorities were still divided, the Giunta of Alessandria was only persuaded to dissolve itself just before the collapse.² Mocenigo's efforts at mediation proved abortive and the arrival of the news of the Neapolitan disasters spread discouragement. As a last throw Santa Rosa ordered the army at Alessandria under Regis to march on Novara, hoping that when the two forces came face to face the royalists would refuse to fire on their comrades. A last attempt to come to an agreement with La Tour failed and on the 8th of April the constitutionalists were before Novara. Charles Felix, however, in doing what he thought was his duty, never shrank from any measures, however unpleasant, and had called on the Austrian commander to support La Tour if necessary. When therefore Regis advanced, he was not only met with cannon-shot from Novara, but attacked in flank by Bubna's Austrians, and by the loyalists in front under Giffenga. The insurgents, who had been assured that their opponents were only waiting for an opportunity to fraternise with them, lost all hope. The infantry fled without a shot, the gunners cut their traces and left Radice to face the enemy by himself; only the cavalry under Lisio put up a fight in covering the retreat before being overwhelmed. It was a complete débâcle: only twenty casualties occurred on both sides.

On the arrival of the news of Novara, the provisional government in Turin resigned its authority into the hands of the Municipality. Enrico marched with part of the garrison to Alessandria, but some units refused to follow him. On the 10th La Tour entered Turin and the capital returned to its allegiance. Bubna marched on Alessandria and at the prospect of a siege the troops mutinied. The Austrians occupied all the principal places along the Lombard frontier. Abandoned by all their followers the leaders fled.

The Piedmontese failure ruined the liberals' hopes in the other parts of Italy. In the Duchies only one small rising which collapsed of itself³ took place at fort Bardi near Parma on May the 24th. The situation in the Papal States will be dealt with separately; and the fate of the revolutionaries also deserves a chapter to itself, especially in view of the fact that it is so much bound up with the future of the movement for Italy's regeneration.

The points of similarity between the Neapolitan and the Piedmontese movements are obvious. Both were principally the work of the army, though the prime influence which caused them was undoubtedly that of the Secret Societies, and particularly the Carboneria. Neither movement was anti-dynastic: the aim was a constitutional monarchy, not a republic. In both cases the men who had carried out the revolution did not gain power; the governments, composed of moderates, were weak, harried by more determined elements and mistrusted. When faced with the might of the Holy Alliance both governments tried to temporise; and, weakened by internal divisions, both revolution states collapsed ignominiously.

On the other hand, apart from the prominence of the moral issue of Piedmont, there were conspicuous differences. While the Neapolitan liberals

¹ Santa Rosa, p. 65.

² *ibid.*, p. 62.

³ Niccoli, p. 145.

only asked, with a few exceptions, to be allowed to work out their fate in peace, the primary object of the Piedmontese was to expel the Austrians. For us, who know the sequel it is easy to see, as was clear also to the wiser contemporaries in Piedmont itself, that a war in 1821 would have been fatal and the State that was to become the rallying point and fulcrum of the whole Italian movement would have been destroyed. Yet, while the Neapolitan rising was on the whole an isolated episode, the Piedmontese revolution, though ill-timed, was the first act in the drama of the Risorgimento. Great though its importance was in the history of Piedmont, it occupies a yet greater place in the history of united Italy.

The immediate consequences for those concerned were wholly tragic. For all their nobility of mind and self sacrifice, the ardent young idealists who led the insurrection had misjudged the times and their spirit. Constitutionalism made as yet no appeal to the masses, whose support, even if passive, was essential to such a movement. Confalonieri in fact says that the conspirators would have been better advised to have based their appeal on hatred for the foreigner.¹ Convinced of the righteousness of their cause, they failed to see that there was another side to the case, no less deserving than their own; and in this manner they misjudged the character of their rulers and misjudged their probable attitude. From writings of the period, it would appear that they did not even earn the regard of their Italian contemporaries for their idealism and their misfortunes. Cantù² for instance blames them for raising the prestige of the Whitecoats by their defeats and lowering the great reputation gained for Italian arms by the old Napoleonic armies. Cardenas³ writing to Confalonieri on the 27th of April, 1821, describes them as schoolboys without money or means or common sense, without a recognised chief or even a common plan. Among the Federates, he writes, were all the rag tag, spies, bankrupts, murderers, who set up the flag of liberty without even having agreed on its colours. They had to wait ten years before one of their number,⁴ a Piedmontese arrested and tried in Lombardy, proved to the world their true character. Santa Rosa and his friends were forerunners, sowers where others were to reap and met with the fate of such.

Most tragic of all was the fate of him on whom they had placed their hopes. Misunderstood by both sides, accused by both of betrayal, Charles Albert had to submit to one humiliation after another, discard his aspirations in order to maintain his right to the succession, dissociate himself from those who alone could help him to realise his ideals and place round his own neck a millstone which hampered him all his life and ultimately dragged him down to ruin.

In view of the great influence it had on the future and its effect on the Risorgimento, and also in view of the misunderstandings which exist on the subjects, it is necessary to consider briefly Charles Albert's conduct in 1821.⁵ The Carbonari had no doubt that he betrayed them: he wormed their plans out of them, they said, encouraged their hopes, even promised to lead them, only to reveal their designs to the authorities, to hamstring their efforts and deliver them over to their enemies. Berchet apostrophises him "Execrated, oh Carignano, thy name shall be". Santa Rosa, more moderate and understanding, clearly thinks that the Prince's conduct was unworthy. Charles Albert himself admits that he was fired with the ideal of freeing Italy and that he believed in good government based on sound laws and a free judiciary, and also that in his enthusiasm he may have talked much more freely than he

¹ Gallavresi, vol. ii., p. 420.

² *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 248.

³ Gallavresi, vol. ii., pp. 418-419.

⁴ Silvio Pellico.

⁵ The last two paragraphs of Bro. Heron Lepper's invaluable and authoritative chapter on the Carbonari in "Famous Secret Societies" represent the extreme liberal view of Charles Albert's conduct and give therefore a picture altogether too biased.

intended or than was wise. But he denies that he encouraged the revolutionaries; on the contrary, he says he did what he could to dissuade them and he even thought he had obtained their word of honour that they had given up their scheme. Both sides, therefore, accuse each other of betrayal.

Charles Albert's charge is easily answered: whatever the intentions of the conspirators were on the 9th of March, the false news from Fossano led them to regard the matter as taken out of their hands and they felt compelled to see it through, regardless of any pledges they might have given. Charles Albert could not know this. The charge against Charles Albert cannot be met so easily. No proof of collusion with the Sectaries was ever discovered against him by his reactionary enemies, in spite of extensive research, and on the whole his version of the events has been accepted. His relations with the Lombard Federates do not prove anything more than that he foresaw the possibility of war and wished to have reliable information as to the state of affairs in the country where fighting was likely to take place. The evidence provided by Radice in my family papers, however, especially that as to the Prince's responsibility for sending disaffected units to the citadel of Turin on the 10th of March, make it clear that Charles Albert was far more deeply committed than he has admitted or than has been supposed hitherto; and to this extent the charges against him seem justified. The true explanation in my mind is that given to me by my Father, who must have heard some of the details from Radice himself, when a boy, and heard my Grandmother's version of the events. He thinks that the dominant motive in Charles Albert's conduct was affection for the King, the only being who had been kind to him, and loyalty to his House. Everything else yielded to this. As long as there was any hope that the King might agree to lead the revolutionaries against Austria, Charles Albert did what he could to help their movement. If we scrutinise closely his actions from the 6th to the 12th, we find that, though he advised caution and withdrew his promises, he never gave the troops direct orders not to rise, but only to await the signal from himself. We shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that he disliked the Sects and was determined to prevent their obtaining control over the movement, but favoured the movement itself and wished to keep control of it in his own hands. This explains his shilly shallying, his blowing hot and cold, his "being willing and yet not willing" to use Santa Rosa's own words, his "sack of mud" attitude, to use Radice's expression. Once the King's decision was clear and definite, the course marked out for Charles Albert was also plain; and he followed it steadily. But the unfortunate circumstance that he was Regent during days of great danger and that he had to safeguard the throne for the new King made it necessary for him, at any rate in his own opinion, to dissimulate. He did save the dynasty, if indeed it was really threatened, and as long as he was in charge he did avoid foreign intervention, one of his principal aims, but only by means which savoured of disingenuousness and were only too liable to misunderstanding. As a result he earned the distrust of both sides, a distrust which was not diminished by his habitual reluctance to commit himself and concealment of his real opinions. Once his motives and his position are understood, he must be acquitted, in my opinion, of the charge of treachery; at the same time we can understand how Santa Rosa and his friends, prone to believe what they wished and blind to the other side's case, came to make that charge.¹

For Italy the result was disastrous. Owing to the fact that Charles Albert was to be the future King of Sardinia, the mistrust and hostility with which he was regarded by those who should have been his most ardent supporters

¹ Poggi, vol. i., p. 334, holds both parties guilty. He says the conspirators must have known that the heir to the throne could not accept all their ideas, and Charles Albert, once he had withdrawn from the conspiracy, and still more after he knew Charles Felix's views, ought to have told them he would oppose them.

became of paramount importance and the greatest issues came to be dominated by personal factors. The alliance between the two forces which were to achieve unity was fatally postponed.

XXX.—THE PAPAL STATES DURING THE REVOLUTIONS.

It remains to explain how the Sectaries in the Papal States failed to do anything of importance to assist their brethren in Naples and Piedmont in 1820 and 1821. The arrest of the Polesine Carbonari caused great perturbation in Ferrara, which was occupied by an Austrian garrison; and Tommasi and his followers seem to have refrained from doing anything which might attract the attention of the authorities. The Carbonari of the Marches were cowed after the failure of Macerata. It is accordingly to the Legations and Bologna that we have to turn to find Sectarian activity at this time.

We have seen how the Macerata fiasco had led to recriminations and how in the Legations divergent tendencies manifested themselves. Gallina of Ravenna and Caporali of Cesena were consistently on the side of action, while Laderchi of Faenza and Orselli of the predominant Forlì were always urging caution. The same divided tendencies can be observed in Bologna; and we must now consider developments in that important Sectarian centre.

The town, as we know, had been the headquarters of the Guelfia; and besides that Sect and the Carboneria, there seem to have been some vestiges of the old Freemasonry left. As the Carboneria grew more powerful and the Guelfia waned, dissension arose between the old Guelfs and the Carbonari, an antagonism made sharper by the personality of the Carbonaro leader, Zuboli. He was energetic and eager for action, but suffered under the disadvantage of being a stranger to Bologna. He was a contractor by profession whose financial standing was not considered sound,¹ and he aroused distrust, especially among the nobles led by Prince Ercolani. As might be expected, Zuboli and his Carbonaro following became the partisans of vigorous action, while Ercolani's party, who had tried to discourage the Macerata attempt, preferred prudent courses. Gallina of Ravenna,² the hothead, accused the Bolognese nobles of lack of energy and selfishness, preferring their own advantage to the common good. Ercolani was becoming estranged by Carbonaro violence and he disapproved of Zuboli's policy of admitting the lower classes in large numbers to the Society and in this way increasing the undesirable element in it; and some of the Carbonari, among them Crescimbeni and Cadolini, agreed with him.

There followed a series of attempts to undermine the Carboneria and supplant it by other societies. Zuboli suspected that Ercolani had founded a club which was to have no connection with any popular Secret Society, and with good reason.³ As a reaction against the more extreme Carbonarism an attempt was being made to revive Freemasonry.⁴ It is not clear from our authorities what actually happened. A meeting was held to discuss the proposal in August, 1820, when the outbreak of the Neapolitan revolution was bringing matters to a head. Zuboli was not averse to a revival of Freemasonry but, as he claimed to possess the degree of Rosecroix and to be a Knight Kadosh, he favoured the Scottish Rite.⁵ He also suggested affiliation to Paris, as there was no longer a Grand Orient of Italy.⁶ This revival of Freemasonry found some support in the Romagne, but for a different reason. By reviving a society so widespread as Freemasonry had been, it was hoped to improve the channels of communication between the Sectaries

¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 33.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 78.

³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 243.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 107.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 24; vol. ii., p. 180.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 157.

of the various Italian States.¹ The attempt failed. The Carboneria, which had already thrown off Guelfic domination, was too strong to be affected by an attack of this description, and the excitement caused by the Neapolitan rising did not favour moderate counsels. Moreover, the Adelfia, which had been showing some activity in these regions, by professing similar objects, attracted to itself some of the support which might have been given to the Masonic revival.

Cadolini proposed an alternative method of combating Zuboli, namely, by founding a society without signs or secret words, which was to absorb all the Sects. We may perhaps trace here the influence of Federate ideas, as this suggestion followed the mission, to be referred to later, of Pasquali to Piedmont, the Federate stronghold. The Society, variously known as Etruria riunita (United Etruria), Enotria or Italia riunita (United Italy), was actually founded, but it only lasted from October, 1820, to February, 1821.² In consequence of all these attempts by the moderates to overthrow him, Zuboli's influence waned, he even came under the suspicion of being a Papal or Austrian agent,³ and he retired to Forlì. But these disputes weakened Sectarian action and the important commercial and strategic centre of Bologna remained ineffective during this crisis in Italy's fortunes.

Zuboli was also connected with the attempt made about this time to extend the Adelfia into these regions.⁴ We have already seen how the Adelfia spread from Piedmont to Parma in 1816, absorbing any remnants of the Philadelphes which may have still existed there. In 1820 its members were more numerous in Parma than any other city.⁵ During 1820 and 1821 they spread to Modena, Bologna,⁶ Ferrara⁷ and the Romagna generally, where an attempt was made to set up an Adelfian Metropolis in Forlì,⁸ or Sykion in Adelfic nomenclature. Among the Adelfi in that town Pasquali is mentioned, who, possibly for that reason, was chosen for a mission to Piedmont.⁹ The Adelfi professed that they wished to bind together the disjointed Sects throughout Italy and to set up an improved system of communication. To gain support they posed as a kind of reformed Freemasonry and by this clever move attracted followers from Ercolani's movement. But where the Guelfia had already failed, the Adelfia was unable to succeed and the Carboneria's predominance in the Papal States remained unshaken. The only result of this rivalry of Sects was that all attempts to arrange joint action, as will now be related, came to naught.

After the outbreak of the revolution in Spain men of liberal ideas tried to join the Secret Societies in large numbers and many were indignant at being rejected. The first step taken by the committee which ruled the Carboneria in the Romagna was to send an emissary to Piedmont.¹⁰ Count Orselli was to have gone himself, but fell ill, and the choice fell on Pasquali, who, as we have seen, was an Adelfo. He started in May with a letter of introduction to Professor Michael Gastone, the well known Piedmontese Sectarian Leader. Pasquali found that, though the Adelfia was widely spread, it possessed little influence, in fact no one of real importance belonged to it,¹¹ and the other Piedmontese Sectaries were disunited and had no real leader.¹² This unfavourable report represented correctly the situation at that time.

¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 273.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 107, 249, 365-368.

³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 327.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 176, 280.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 301.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 254-255.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 170.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 301.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 297, 303.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 311.

¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 298-299.

¹² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 270.

A little later, in July, 1820, came the Neapolitan revolution. Three meetings took place to discuss what action was to be taken. The first was held at Ancona,¹ a fact which may indicate a renewal of Carbonari activity in the Marches, where it had been quiescent since Macerata. The proposal was to demand a constitution and, in case of refusal, the Carbonari were to seize power and then call a Congress of all states of Italy. The second meeting took place at Bologna,² apparently the same meeting at which the revival of Freemasonry was discussed. Zuboli was anxious to start a revolt with the object of obtaining a constitution, but was opposed by Cadolini and Crescimbeni. Zuboli then left Bologna for the Romagna. In August, 1820,³ the four Romagnol leaders met for the third time at Cesena. Gallina and Fabbri, the representatives of Ravenna and Cesena respectively, urged an immediate rising and a march on Rome; they thought they could count on 2,000 men from Faenza, 3,000 from Ravenna and the same number from Forlì, besides those of Cesena, who Fabbri said would follow him in a body. They had a double purpose in view: firstly, as at the other two meetings, to obtain a Constitution, secondly, to anticipate a possible invasion by the Neapolitans, who might pose as liberators and make themselves masters of the Papal States, where they were hated since the excesses perpetrated by Murat's soldiers. Even in these times of stress did such antipathies hinder joint action. Orselli was much less optimistic, and Laderchi, according to his own story, was very doubtful about the existence of any enthusiasm for warlike operations when it came to the test. Besides, he argued, the object of the Carboneria was not violence, but the establishment of the internal security of the State, resistance to the reactionary sects and the attainment of free institutions by peaceful means. Zuboli⁴ happened to be at Cesena and was called into consultation. He strongly supported the proposal to rise at once and added that Parma was also eager to revolt. In the meantime Crescimbeni⁵ had arrived from Bologna and he roundly denied that Zuboli had any right to speak for the Bolognese, and said he was no longer even head of the Sects in that city; the Bolognese actually deprecated a rising, as the enterprise was likely to turn out disastrously.⁶ It was decided eventually to postpone the rising, but to hold everything in readiness to act at once, if circumstances should compel any one particular group to take action. The heads of the Turba societies were accordingly warned,⁷ without however disclosing to them what was intended. The respite was used to send Benedetti⁸ to Bologna to find out the real state of opinion there, while Gallina was to go to Naples to open communications with the Southern revolutionaries. Benedetti returned with a message from Ercolani fully confirming all that Crescimbeni had said with some uncomplimentary remarks about Zuboli.

In spite of all counsels of caution, a crisis was very nearly precipitated by the arrest of some Sectaries at Rimini. This was just the occasion which had been foreseen at the Cesena meeting. Gallina cancelled his journey to Naples, and at first a rising was decided upon late in August or at the beginning of September.⁹ The plotters put forward a scheme for a provisional government: a representative from each of the four principal Romagnol cities was to serve on a Giunta and Prefects were to be set up in Forlì and Ravenna. Similar arrangements were suggested for the Marches.¹⁰ But again Laderchi and the

¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 239.

² *ibid.* vol. ii., p. 234.

³ *ibid.* vol. ii., pp. 14-17.

⁴ *ibid.* vol. ii., pp. 344-349.

⁵ *ibid.* vol. ii., pp. 355-356.

⁶ Gualterio. Documents, pp. 320 *et subsequa.*

⁷ Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 351, 370.

⁸ *ibid.* vol. ii., pp. 37-39.

⁹ *ibid.* vol. ii., p. 311.

¹⁰ *ibid.* vol. ii., p. 351.

Faentines urged a postponement, and they carried the day. This decision was confirmed when some emissaries arrived from Parma with renewed requests for a rising. As Gallina had been unable to go to Naples owing to the sudden crisis, Professor Cicognani was sent in his stead, chiefly because he had just attended a mineralogical congress in Paris and possessed a suitable passport.¹

The policy of Cardinal Spina and the other Legates helped the moderate Sectaries. Spina suspended repressive measures in order to avoid giving occasion for vendette against officials, and he declared his intention of treating all parties, liberals and reactionaries, alike. Among those most carefully watched by the authorities was Francis Maroncelli, brother of the captive of the Spielberg.² Spina held, and rightly at that time, that the Sects were more antiAustrian than antipapal.

Towards the end of the year the Austrian troops began to move through the Legations towards Naples. It was on this occasion that Byron wrote "The Barbarians are advancing on Naples. If they suffer one defeat, all Italy will rise against them". Byron was himself a member of the American Rifles and his house was used as a secret armoury. In January, 1821, the four Romagnol leaders held yet another meeting at Cesena³ to consider a rising in the rear of the Austrians. Again Gallina and Fabbri urged vigorous action; they pointed to cases of Sectarianism in Valmoden's Tyrolese regiment, which contained some men from Trent, and pleaded that Piedmont was about to revolt and that the Austrians were sure to be beaten in the South. Gallina suggested the formation of a flying column to act on the Austrian lines of communication. Orselli and Laderchi were less confident about the inevitability of the Neapolitan victory and it was agreed to send Gurioli,⁴ an eminent merchant of Forlì, to Turin, and to await his return before taking a final decision. The Bolognese also held a meeting and they sent emissaries to ask the Romagnols for an alliance, but the request was refused, as the Romagnols by that time had lost all confidence in the Bolognese.⁵ Latin pamphlets, the work of Sanvitale and Maestri and printed by Linati of Parma, were actually scattered among the Hungarian troops. Sanvitale was a Sublime Perfect Master.⁶

In the meantime, removed from his comrades' influence, Cicognani had kicked over the traces. During the Neapolitan revolution the inhabitants of Benevento and Pontecorvo, small enclaves belonging to the Pope surrounded by Neapolitan territory, had offered, as we have seen, to make common cause with the Carbonari of Naples⁷; but the Neapolitan government, true to its policy of non-interference with neighbouring states, refused the offer. Nowise abashed, the inhabitants of the enclaves planned to spread the revolution in the Papal States. They wanted to separate the temporal from the spiritual power and offer the crown to Prince Leopold, second son of King Ferdinand of Naples.⁸ Though the idea of offering the crown to Leopold was given up when the Austrians advanced, the Beneventans and their colleagues of Pontecorvo persisted in their design: they hoped to obtain help from Piedmont and other parts of Italy and from Greece. In the meantime a group had been formed at Teramo in the Abbruzzi under the protection of General Pepe, who,

¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 131.

² Gualterio. Documents, pp. 320 *et* subseqq.

³ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 76.

⁴ To be distinguished from Count Giurioli, a Neapolitan sent from Naples also. curiously enough, to Piedmont. See p.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 357.

⁶ Leti, p. 146.

⁷ Niccoli, pp. 126, 129.

⁸ Dito, p. 346. Several wild proposals were bruited abroad at this time. It was said that Charles Albert and the Duke of Calabria, Ferdinand's eldest son, had agreed to set up two Italian constitutional kingdoms. A report from Rome to Strassoldo of 28th February, 1821, quoted in Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 564, said that the Neapolitans intended to set up six kingdoms under Bourbon Princes, each with a Spanish constitution.

as we have seen, was in command there, which was called the *Unione patriottica per lo stato romano* (Patriotic Union for the Roman state), by some Good Cousin from Avellino and Naples under Palmaroli and Ricciotti,¹ which seems to make this group a kind of offshoot of the Carboneria. Cicognani arrived at this moment, was received by Pepe, and eagerly took direction of this group. The Carbonari of Benevento and Pontecorvo agreed to join forces with him, arms were collected and preparations were made for a raid on Papal territory. Cicognani² issued a most incendiary proclamation, of which he sent copies to the Romagne, calling on all subjects of the Pope to rise and gather in four camps, at Frosinone near Rome, at Macerata, Spoleto and Pesaro, and he even published the names of the officers who were to be in command, greatly to their embarrassment, as they were in the Papal service. The date for the rising was to be the 15th of February, 1821.³ The scheme was regarded in the Romagne as a piece of lunacy; but Cicognani did invade the Papal States. His band was easily dispersed by the Prelate Zacchia⁴ with 600 soldiers and *gens d'armes*.

At the outbreak of the actual war between Austria and Naples, yet another meeting was held in the Romagne, in March,⁵ but as Gurioli had not yet returned from Piedmont the only event was a quarrel because Cesena had not paid its quota of the expenses of his journey.⁶ Gurioli had reached Turin in April, just after Charles Albert's departure for Novara. The Giunta of Alessandria still assured him all would yet be well, and he saw the Minerva battalion of the Pavian students on his way through and two emissaries from Parma,⁷ but he had not reached home before the débacle of Novara had taken place, and all idea of taking action was given up. In this manner the Carbonari of the Papal States missed all opportunities for helping their colleagues. The only activities which took place in Central Italy were a petty tumult at Macerata, which collapsed on the approach of the Austrian troops, another in the Island of Elba, where a few Good Cousins were arrested and tried in secret, as the Grand Duke of Tuscany wanted to conceal the news from the Austrians who might have interfered, and an attempt to set free from prison some Carbonari at Civita Vecchia, the port of Rome.⁸ At the same time the Papal Carbonari preserved their strength for future occasions and continued their fierce struggle against the reactionary sects until the time came for the Carboneria to make her last effort.

XXXI.—THE GREAT TRIALS.

The suppression of the revolutions was followed by the punishment of the rebels. The fate of the Neapolitans and of the Piedmontese need not detain us long: they were caught red handed, so to speak, and summary procedure was sufficient to deal with them.

On his return to Naples Ferdinand brought back his faithful henchman Canosa to resume his evil work of persecution.⁹ The Holy Alliance merely wanted all acts of the Revolutionary Government declared void and a few chiefs punished: the majority were to be allowed to escape. But though Marshal Frimont succeeded in saving some of the victims, he could not avert the King's vengeance. *Giunte di scrutinio* (Investigating Commissions)¹⁰ were set up in all the provinces and all previous amnesties were annulled. About 800 Carbonari

¹ Leti, p. 118.

² Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 324.

³ *ibid.* vol. ii., p. 266.

⁴ Dito, p. 346. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 137.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 353.

⁶ *ibid.* vol. ii., p. 304.

⁷ *ibid.* vol. ii., p. 360.

⁸ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 137.

⁹ Colletta, bk. x., ch. 12, pp. 322-323.

¹⁰ Dito, p. 265. Colletta, bk. x., ch. ii., p. 315.

were executed, including Mcrelli and Silvati, the originators of the revolt, who were captured after an adventurous flight, and four of the five Carbonari of Salerno who drove out to Nocera.¹ Five hundred and sixty were imprisoned. Macchiaroli² tried to raise a band of followers, but was overtaken and killed while resisting arrest near Eboli. Pepe, Carascosa, Zurlo, Rossetti, Pisa, Rossarole and countless others went into exile, and most of them were condemned to death in their absence.³ Flogging was used, but after three Carbonari had suffered this penalty, the Austrian Commander in chief, Frimont, protested vigorously and this method of punishment was stopped. One of them was the officer Angioletti, who was seen by the patriot of later years, Louis Setterbrini, flogged with a whip with nails tied in the lash through the Street of Toledo in Naples on the back of an ass. The army, which had proved a broken reed, was dissolved and re-constituted, and some Swiss regiments were hired. An amnesty was declared on the 30th of May, but the leaders of Monteforte were excepted.

In Piedmont Charles Felix was in no hurry to ascend the throne. Count di Revel⁴ was given instructions and full powers to carry them out. A mixed delegation of magistrates and officers was set up to try those guilty of rebellion. In five months 71 insurgents were condemned to death, five to penal servitude for life, twenty to periods between five and twenty years. Another purely military commission inquired into the conduct of 565 officers and 123 N.C.O.'s, of whom 243 and 75 respectively were dismissed or reduced in rank. Only three death sentences were carried out, those on Lieutenant Laneri⁵ of the Carabineers of St. Jean de Maurienne, Captain Garelli, an old officer of the Italian army who had been among the first to rise at Alessandria, and Private Rosanino of the Chasseurs. Revel allowed many of the rebels to escape, among others Pastoris, the author of the rising at Savona, whom Witt calls a rogue⁶; and nearly all the leaders, Santa Rosa, di Caraglio, Dal Pozzo, Lisio, Collegno, Radice, Regis, Ansaldi, Priez, Cisterna, Luzzi, and even Sergeant Rittatore went into exile.⁷ There was little real persecution: Charles Felix was strict, but not cruel, in spite of his narrow views. Stricter rules were applied to the universities and all degrees conferred during the revolutionary régime were annulled. On the 30th of September all Secret Societies were banned; and on the same day an amnesty was declared; but, as it excluded almost everyone who had taken a prominent part in the rising, it was almost wholly nugatory. Charles Felix entered his kingdom when all was over on the 18th of October, 1821.

In the Austrian territories no rising had taken place; and under Austrian law, although it was possible to detain suspects almost indefinitely, proof of guilt was required before a severe sentence could be inflicted. The authorities had therefore to bring the accused to trial; and to understand the story of the Carbonaro trials some slight knowledge of the Austrian penal code is necessary. The trials were conducted in camera and the defendants were examined individually. They were not allowed legal aid or the assistance of Counsel, nor were they permitted to see the evidence against them. The manner in which the examination was to be carried out was strictly laid down in Article 353.⁸ Every effort was to be made to trip up the accused, to make him contradict himself; and article 345⁸ gave the questioner power to conduct the inquiry at any hour and for as long as he liked, and even suggested an intensification

¹ Leti, p. 119.

² *ibid.*, p. 114.

³ Colletta, bk. x., ch. ix., p. 321; ch. xii., p. 322; ch. xvi., p. 326. La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 245, 287, 291, 296.

⁴ Torta, pp. 199-200.

⁵ Witt, p. 145, was imprisoned with Laneri and says he was called out at a moment's notice and executed.

⁶ Witt, p. 149.

⁷ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 575-578.

⁸ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 147.

of the interrogatory if the defendant showed any sign of giving way or of being on the point of making an important avowal. Under articles 329, 363, 365¹ flogging was allowed, if the defendant was contumacious or offensive or pretended to be mad. The dice, therefore, would have been heavily loaded against the accused, if it had not been for some provisions which seem utterly preposterous, and seriously hampered the inquiring judges. Under article 430² the death penalty could not be inflicted unless the defendant confessed. In default of confession the only alternative proof sufficient for the purpose, which was prescribed in article 410,³ was an agreed deposition on oath by at least two accomplices concerning the crime they and the accused had committed, to which they adhered, not only when confronted with the accused, but even after they had heard their own sentence. It is not surprising that, unless a prisoner confessed, the alternative proof required could hardly ever be obtained. This explains all the efforts made by the Austrian judges to obtain these confessions and the lengths to which some of them proceeded in their interrogatories. A confession was regarded as deserving a mitigation of the penalty, while making a false statement was likely to aggravate it.

As the Polesine Carbonari were the first to come under the eye of the authorities, they were also the first to be tried; and straightaway the authorities found themselves confronted by an opponent well able to find the chink in the armour.

Just before his arrest Foresti had given orders to his fellow Carbonari to destroy all papers, but this order was not carried out completely. Villa⁴ had entrusted some of them to Count Oroboni, who hid them in a tomb in his family chapel, and told Villa where they were. Foresti himself entrusted his copy of the Constitutions to Carravieri, who in turn, with Foresti's consent, handed it on to Elisabeth Tosi. She hid them in a crack in the wall under an arras in her house. She died shortly afterwards and the secret seemed well guarded, but unfortunately she had confided it to her sister Rosa Tosi, who informed her husband. Foresti had forgotten this document when he gave the order for the destruction of the Carbonaro papers.

The arrested Sectaries were first examined at Fratta by the Commissary Lancetti, a Freemason, and most of them admitted they were Carbonari. On the 20th of September, 1819, the German diet at Mainz decreed, in consequence of the assassination of Kotzebue and the attempt on Ibell, the establishment of a special commission⁵ to inquire into the subversive activities of the sects. Following this model the Emperor ordered the constitution of a similar commission to inquire into the case of the Fratta Carbonari. It began its work at Venice on the 9th of December, 1819. As membership of the Carboneria had not yet been made a penal offence, the commissioners could only act under article 52 of the penal code, which dealt with high treason. The death penalty was prescribed for rebellion even if it was unsuccessful, penal servitude for five years for mere seditious tumults and six months' imprisonment for political transgression. The death penalty was therefore applicable to those who had plotted and knew the political objective of the Carboneria, which meant, according to Foresti, that it could not apply to anyone below the rank of Master Carbonaro, for the political object was not communicated to Apprentices.⁶ The second penalty applied to those who desired Italian independence, but had no knowledge of any concrete plot, and the third to those who merely belonged to the Society.⁷

¹ Luzio, *Salvotti*, pp. 142-143.

² *ibid.*, p. 133.

³ *ibid.*, p. 138.

⁴ Vannucci, p. 612.

⁵ Rinieri, p. 5.

⁶ Vannucci, p. 610, 613.

⁷ Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 33-34.

As Lancetti, the police magistrate, had already obtained nearly all the necessary information, the commission hoped to end its labours in a very short time. But in the interval the prisoners had been transferred to the prison on the isle of Murano in the Venetian group, where there is a famous manufacture of glass. A storm caused considerable damage to the prison and in consequence discipline became relaxed and gave the prisoners an opportunity of communicating with each other. Foresti bribed some of his guards, old soldiers of the Italian army, to obtain for him a copy of the Austrian penal code; and he at once discovered its weak spot. According to his own account¹ he arranged for all the prisoners to retract the depositions made before Lancetti and to accuse Lancetti of lying. They were not to admit anything more than that it had been intended to form a Carbonarian Society, but its objects were to be mutual help and charity, and, moreover, it had never come into actual existence, as the project had been given up. To bear out this last statement Foresti forged a letter addressed to Lombardi informing him of that pretended decision and disclosed where this letter would be found. Proceedings soon reached a deadlock.²

Unfortunately one of the judges appointed to the commission was the notorious Salvotti, who, like several other eminent lawyers, was an Italian of Trent. His name became an object of loathing to all Italians, because of his reputed cruelty and his supposed infamous methods towards the Carbonaro prisoners; he is the Italian Judge Jeffries. Luzio, who has studied most of the documents of these trials, has now proved that Salvotti was very unlike the picture drawn of him. The letters of the prisoners themselves thanking him for numerous kindnesses are sufficient proof.³ He was an honorable man, devoted to his government; but he had no sympathies whatever for the Italian cause, and he remained a faithful and upright Austrian servant all his life. During the inquiries he never exceeded his powers, on the contrary he observed the rules of procedure pedantically,⁴ though he disliked and found grave fault with the whole Austrian code.⁵ At the same time he took every advantage which the law gave him. In his eyes the Carbonari were criminals whom it was his duty to bring to book; and he regarded it their duty to confess their crime, like good subjects. It was really the Austrian penal code and procedure which were to blame, not Salvotti who applied them. His only fault was that he did not differentiate between men like Solera, Pellico and Confalonieri and robbers.⁶ It must be remembered also that in 1820 it was very difficult for most persons to envisage a United Italy; and most Austrian subjects in Italy regarded the Austrians as their rulers and were faithful to them, as they could see no prospect of a change. Yet the Italians' hatred of him is justified in that he was their most dangerous and most successful foe.

Salvotti soon realised that a dangerous conspiracy was on foot and devoted all his energies to tracking it down. He suspected that collusion had taken place between the prisoners and directed his inquiries to proving this fact. Lombardi in due course admitted that Foresti's letter was a blind. Then Tommasi, who was interrogated by the Papal authorities, lost his head and confessed that he had given to Foresti the task of setting up Vendite in the Polesine. Moreover, under legal procedure, the confessions made before the police could only be retracted for some valid reason, such as forgery on the part of the police or extortion by violence.⁷ Salvotti proved that no such valid reason existed and also discovered new facts to support the truth of the retracted confessions: Villa had turned King's evidence and had disclosed the existence of the documents and insignia concealed by Oroboni. The Count, confronted

¹ Vannucci, p. 616-618.

² Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 17-21.

³ Luzio, *Salvotti*, passim.

⁴ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 95.

⁵ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 15.

⁶ Niccoli, p. 154.

⁷ Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 20-21.

by this disclosure and brought face to face with Villa,¹ confessed what he could not deny and admitted that the Carboneria's object was the independence of Italy. But this was not all. Tisi had been confined in the same cell as Villa and had told him of the Latin Constitution hidden in the Tosi palace and Villa disclosed this fact also to the Commission. The other prisoners were confronted with the evidence obtained in this way and questioned about it. Salvotti pursued cleverly what was the normal method of inquiry; by putting together various small isolated facts and by skilfully drawing from the prisoners further admissions, which, though harmless in themselves, confirmed other facts or opened up profitable fresh lines of investigation, the judges gradually elicited the whole story. Under Salvotti's merciless questioning all the accused faltered and confessed. Although Salvotti himself and some of his colleagues, in these investigations did not transgress beyond what the law allowed, some of the inquisitors were guilty of gross abuses. In this trial Mazzetti was so brutal and violence as to cause the aged Munari's² mind to become temporarily deranged. Foresti³ cast bitter aspersions against his comrades for confessing and especially against Solera. The charges against Solera were repeated by Andryane, and Solera gained the reputation of being an informer and was never quite able to clear himself during his lifetime. He was only guilty of weakness. Actually Foresti⁴ himself collapsed on the 24th March, 1820, after two days' interrogation and made a full confession two days before Solera, and even agreed, on condition that he was reinstated in his post as Pretor of Crespino, to reveal all he had been told in Ferrara by Tommasi and Solera and to become an Austrian agent. Later we shall see Foresti capable of even greater meanness. Of the other persons accused by him, Taveggi was a spy pure and simple who had induced the Good Cousins to trust him; Greppi, so far from confessing, perjured himself on Foresti's behalf. Those whom Foresti praises for their constancy were Bacchiega, the old soldier of Crespino, Poli and Canonici. Canonici was not even an Austrian subject and was arrested towards the end of the trial while journeying through Venetia.⁵ Most sad was the case of the priest Fortini. He was a simpleton, in fact his interrogators described him as being exceedingly timid and characterised by "Conspicuously imbecility." He had been dragged to a Carbonaro meeting as a joke and there he was subjected to a kind of mock trial, which so frightened the poor priest, that he agreed in the end to sign a paper, at the point of a dagger, in which he abjured the Roman Catholic Faith. Villa, to curry favour, denounced him for apostasy, and Fortini was condemned, though he kept on asking what on earth this Carboneria was, of which he was accused.

By August, 1820, the trial was over, but the findings and the sentences had to be passed in review by the Court of second instance,⁶ then by the Senate and finally confirmed by the Emperor. By the time the Emperor had the reports before him the revolutions had taken place and the edict of the 20th of August, 1820, had made Carbonarism a capital offence: he commuted most of the death sentences but the various terms of imprisonment were very severe. Some of them horrified Salvotti. Neither the informer Villa nor Foresti received the reward they had hoped for as both⁷ were condemned to 20 years' penal servitude with Munari and Solera. Bacchiega, Fortini, of whom Salvotti said: "I would not have given that poor priest one year's imprisonment,"⁸ and Oroboni were condemned to 15 years; Canonici and Delfini to 10 years; Rinaldi, Monti,

¹ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 25.

² *ibid.*, p. 33.

³ Vannucci.

⁴ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 26.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 35-42.

⁶ Witt says, p. 338, that this consisted of the President of the Tribunal and two Councillors.

⁷ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 35.

⁸ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 23.

Carravieri to six years' imprisonment. Sentences of fifteen years and more were served in the gloomy and notorious Moravian fortress of Spielberg, the shorter sentences at Laibach. For the journey the prisoners were chained in pairs. Bacchiega and Fortini formed one pair and the irascible old soldier and the silly priest must have tried each other sorely.

The trial is in many details typical. All were dominated by the skill, energy and ruthlessness of Salvotti, who nevertheless did not lack consideration and kindness. The methods are typical and the victims do not differ except in detail from those of the other trials. We seldom reach the depth of infamy reached by Villa and Foresti or the imbecility of Fortini; on the other hand the sturdy resistance of Bacchiega, the honourable punctilio of Canonici, the unselfishness of Greppi are often repeated. We find ignorance of the law almost universal among the defendants, they were characterised usually by inability to maintain a discrete silence and a creditable but disastrous honesty, poor weapons with which to confront the searching analysis of Salvotti. The Papal authorities gave the Austrians what assistance they could, allowing their own subjects to be arrested and questioned and often handing them over themselves, and the Austrians in turn gave the Papal authorities what information had been elicited.

We must now turn to Milan, where Maroncelli had initiated Pellico and Count Porro in a somewhat irregular fashion. Possibly it was a desire to rectify this irregularity as well as that of spreading the Society which impelled him to try to found a regular Vendita, a step which led many historians to regard him as the first introducer of the Carboneria into Lombardy, wrongly, as we have seen, for he had himself presided over a Carbonaro meeting, though possibly not a regular Vendita, in Pavia in 1819,¹ and had initiated some students in an irregular fashion, as he hoped it would help them, if they went to the Papal States for any purpose. Maroncelli wrote to his brother Francis and Zuboli at Bologna on the 29th of August, 1820, the date of the Edict against the Carboneria, stating his intentions to form a Vendita and asking for the necessary documents. The letters he entrusted to the actor Canova, another of Maroncelli's irregular initiates.² Canova did not manage to meet either Francis Maroncelli or Zuboli and brought the letters back,³ and Maroncelli wrote again later. On this occasion the cut out card invented by Bianca Milesi was used.

While waiting for a reply Maroncelli and Pellico were busy trying to gain new initiates. Maroncelli enrolled some candidates at Como, while Pellico went to Venice with Porro on the first steamboat seen in Italy. Maroncelli had been present at the initiation of young Camillo Laderchi at Faenza in 1818 by his father, Count Laderchi, the Faentine Carbonaro chief, and had acted as Orator at the ceremony. Camillo Laderchi happened to be on holiday in Milan⁴ at this time, and Maroncelli urged him to try and win Professor Ressi, under whom he was studying, to join the Carboneria, while Pellico approached Professor Romagnosi, who refused, thinking the time inopportune. In ways which need not concern us Maroncelli's correspondence, containing a description of his recent activities and the names of actual and probable initiates,⁵ fell into the hands of the police and he and Pellico were arrested early in October. The situation had been changed since the Fratta trials by the issue of the Edict of the 29th of August, 1820. Alarmed by the Neapolitan revolution the Emperor had decreed that mere membership of the Carboneria was to be henceforth a crime punishable by death; and failure to denounce members of the Society became punishable by penal servitude. It was no longer necessary to prove high treason.

¹ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 55.

² *ibid.*, p. 113.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 56-74.

⁴ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 263.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 49.

From the very beginning¹ the two friends worked at cross purposes. Maroncelli admitted that he was a Carbonaro, but pleaded that he had been initiated in Naples where such an act was not illegal. He also admitted some of the facts already known to the police. Unfortunately he also took the line of action of taking all the blame on himself and exculpating his friends. He admitted that several of his friends in the Romagna were Carbonari, but maintained that they were working on behalf of Austria against the abhorred Papal government.² The only safe course, as we have seen, was a flat denial, as any confession was sure to implicate others; and it was easy for the authorities, by comparing notes and the statements of various prisoners, to piece together most of the story. Pellico adopted that course of denial, with the result that by January, 1821, though Maroncelli was deeply implicated, nothing had been proved against Pellico and his release seemed probable. Hitherto the authorities had not been deeply interested, as the young men were regarded as people of no importance, though connected with others who might be dangerous.

In January, 1821, however, Salvotti's commission was given the task of inquiring into all cases of Carbonarism; and the two friends came before the formidable judge. Salvotti had already convinced himself of their guilt and he thought that Pellico might prove to be the link between Lombardy and Piedmont.² He traced their activities, arrested Laderchi³ and Canova and soon wormed out their evidence. Maroncelli was helpless in his hands, Castiglia's revelations in November, 1821, to be referred to later, proved most damaging and finally on the 28th of April, 1821, Maroncelli broke down. He disclosed the plan of turning the "Conciliatore" circle into a Carbonarian directorate and of setting up its members as Grand Masters of the Vendite to be formed, he implicated Porro and admitted Pellico's share. He was accused of treachery by some of the liberals, but unjustly. Though flighty and unbalanced—he ended his life in a lunatic asylum—he had withstood the inquiry for seven months when stronger men had given way far more easily. He had his revenge, for in a nation renowned for its eloquence, Maroncelli was endowed with a verbosity beyond imagination; and Salvotti and his colleagues must have suffered agonies in having to listen to his endless outpourings, not daring to miss a word, in case some important point were overlooked.

Maroncelli's confession was fatal to Pellico, all the more as Laderchi,³ whom Salvotti had also arrested, lost his head. Canova also confessed all he knew. The two witnesses required by the law were now available against Pellico. Yet his firmness endured; and he won the admiration of his judges. Finally Salvotti appealed to him as a man to whom honour was dear, not to persist in a falsehood but to confess what was already proved. Touched in his weakest spot, Pellico at last admitted his guilt. Unfortunately, owing to his ignorance of the law, he implicated Porro, who had already fled, causing his condemnation in his absence, and Romagnosi and Arrivabene. Salvotti had won his hardest fight, not knowing that for him and his cause it was a Pyrrhic victory, for this gentle, honourable young man, so unfit to be a conspirator and in no way a fighter, was destined to deal to the whole edifice of Austrian domination in Italy a blow more deadly than all the machinations of the Carbonari and the Sects allied with it.

The information he had obtained led Salvotti to suggest combined action by all Italian governments against the Carbonari;⁴ and the idea was adopted in modified form by Metternich, as we have seen.

¹ Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 67-86.

² *ibid*, p. 98. This was supported by a report of 3rd April, 1919, by an Austrian agent. Maroncelli's revelations formed the basis for the Rivarola trial of 1825.

³ *ibid*, pp. 149-150. Laderchi was released but was later tried at the Rivarola trial.

⁴ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 65.

It remains to deal briefly with the persons implicated by the revelations. Fortunately several had been able to escape. Porro himself crossed the Swiss border after lying in hiding in Alps in North Lombardy for two months.¹ Among the others were Philipp Ugoni, Arrivabene, De Meester, Vismara and Arconati. Forgetting that there was a severe penalty for failure to disclose the names of persons known to belong to the Carboneria, both Pellico and Maroncelli had mentioned several of their acquaintances, among others Professor Romagnosi, who was a Freemason.² He came³ before the Commission on the 12th of June, 1821, on a charge of failing to disclose that Pellico was a Carbonaro. Being well acquainted with the law, he denied all knowledge of Carbonarism and the interrogation developed into a learned discussion between Salvotti and the prisoner on the Austrian code, in which they found themselves mostly in agreement. Romagnosi admitted he knew Pellico, but regarded him of no consequence. When Salvotti pointed out that Maroncelli as well as Pellico had mentioned that Romagnosi was aware of Pellico's membership of the Carboneria, Romagnosi rejoined that such hearsay was not evidence, and that to prefer the word of such a nonentity as Pellico against his own argued a lack of discernment on the part of Salvotti. Completely baffled, Salvotti tried to obtain evidence of subversive teaching against Romagnosi, but with no success. Among those who testified most strongly on behalf of their professor was Count Cattaneo of Saluzzo,⁴ who became one of the leaders of 1848. This was Salvotti's first defeat.

Professor Ressi,⁵ who had been approached by his pupil Laderchi, but had tried to dissuade this young man from such dangerous and untimely courses, made no attempt to deny his knowledge, but based his defence on moral principle and impugned the whole Austrian penal system. He was condemned but died before promulgation of the sentence.

The revelations of Charles Castiglia led to the most famous of all the trials. It was not clear whether Castiglia was an Austrian agent, or whether he was at first a sincere Sectary, who became an informer through fear or accident. Bubna⁶ and the Milanese authorities had been aware of the Carbonarian machinations but had not been able to find out anything definite, though some of the Pavian students, who had joined the "Minerva" Battalion in Piedmont had been arrested. Confalonieri in particular was the object of Austrian suspicions, but he merely laughed at their efforts to implicate him, as his letters to Brescia show.⁷ Castiglia informed Pagani,⁸ an officer of the police, that his brother Gaetano Castiglia had been to Turin during the revolution. Gaetano was arrested and questioned in November, 1821.⁹ On hearing of this, his companion on that journey, the young Marquis George Pallavicino, rushed to the police and said that Gaetano Castiglia was innocent, he himself had been the leading spirit in that enterprise. The police had not yet any proof, and Pallavicino's impulsive generosity and his admission gave them the evidence they required and led to the most disastrous consequences. It gave them the proof they were searching for of relations between the Lombards and the Piedmontese revolutionaries. Some of the investigating judges in Milan were unscrupulous and not above the meanest trickery. After stirring Pallavicino's feelings by reminding him of his mother's distress, they subtly suggested Confalonieri's name to him, with the result that the distracted young man

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 578.

² Tivaroni, 1789-1814, vol. ii., p. 421.

³ Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 133-138.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 153-157.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 188.

⁷ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 74.

⁸ Barbiera, p. 122.

⁹ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 75.

admitted that the Count had sent him on the fatal journey, had participated in the plot and had urged San Marzano di Caraglio to invade Lombardy.¹

It had been clear for some time that the Count was in danger. Bubna, who was his personal friend, had meaningfully suggested that a change of air would benefit his health, and a day or two later expressed astonishment at finding the Count still in Milan. But Confalonieri was arrogant and confident and thought no one would dare to touch him and took no precautions beyond arranging for an opening in the roof of his house. When the police called, on the 13th, the day of Pallavicino's admission,² the lock of the trap door was found to be rusty and would not turn, and the Count was arrested. He relied however on his subtlety, his eloquence and his great intellectual powers, which were acknowledged later by his questioners, to save him condemnation.³ Unfortunately, like most of his comrades, he was ignorant of the law, and in his ignorance he tried to be too clever.

At first he had to deal with the Commission which had been set up in Milan with the same object as that in Venice and chiefly with the treacherous De Menghin, another "Tyrolese," as the Italians from Trent were called. Confalonieri denied all complicity, even when confronted with Pallavicino,⁴ only admitting vague talk with no definite object; but even at this early stage he mentioned the names of people with whom he had discussed matters, with the result that Borsieri, Marquis D'Aragona, Count Trecchi and Comolli the sculptor were arrested.⁵ Pallavicino, having now realised the full extent of his folly, repudiated all that he had said and, to give colour to his repudiation, simulated madness and pretended he thought he was a blackbird. His depositions, therefore, could not be confirmed and Confalonieri's case was making no progress.

De Menghin now took a personal part in the proceedings. He managed to gain the Count's confidence and acting as devil's advocate,⁶ informed him that his execution had been decided on and his only chance of safety was to reveal what he knew. In his blind self confidence, Confalonieri did not suspect the treachery of his counsellor, but formed a plan of defence which was to bring him down and ruin many of his colleagues. He began to admit knowledge of a plot and even a participation in it, but asserted that his object in joining it was in order to thwart it.

In June, 1822, the Emperor ordered the amalgamation of the two Commissions of Venice and Milan; and this brought Salvotti into the Confalonieri trial.⁷ From the Fratta trial Salvotti had gained much information as to the Carboneria. After studying the depositions already obtained in Milan, he decided to find out the state of affairs in the country in general, and called for reports from the local officers.⁸ The report from Brescia, which cast deep suspicion on several eminent Brescians, seemed to offer a most promising line of investigation, especially as in one of his depositions Borsieri⁹ had stated that he had seen the Brescian Tonelli receive in Confalonieri's house a sum of money from the Count. The two Counts Ugoni, Tonelli, Count Ducco and others were called to Milan for interrogation and it was not long before they yielded to Salvotti's severe questioning.

No less damaging than the Brescians' admissions were those of Count Arese, who was questioned because he was known to be a close friend of Confalonieri.¹⁰

¹ Luzio, *Salvotti*, pp. 73, 75.

² *ibid.*, p. 72.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 77.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 107.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 71.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 77-80, Salvotti's own account.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 89.

Confalonieri had maintained his denial of active participation in the plot when confronted with Pallavicino and the Brescians, but Arese shook him visibly—he had himself described him as a thoroughly honourable man—and he agreed at last to confess. He disclosed the action of the revolutionary centre in Paris on Italian affairs, described its farflung connection throughout Europe and predicted a rising in Russia, which actually took place in 1825, at the death of Alexander I.¹ He also admitted his part in spreading the Federation in Lombardy, the scheme for forming a national guard and of setting up a Giunta. He even revealed what the judges could not have discovered without great difficulty: the presence of a Piedmontese² officer and two N.C.O.'s to assist in the plot against Bubna, which De Meester had revealed to him, the names of the Federates contained in the list Pecchio had given him, and the full story of the visits to Charles Albert. In his memoirs Confalonieri admits that his ignorance of the law was fatal and he also attributes his ruin to his admission that he had written to Caraglio.³

A legend has grown up in Italy, which makes Confalonieri refuse resolutely to reveal what he knew about Charles Albert's relations with the revolutionaries and in this way preserving him from the absolutists' wrath, to become Italy's future leader. Luzio gives good evidence to show that actually the Count did reveal all he knew about the Prince's negotiations with the Lombards, and maintains that, far from resisting all Austrian wiles and remaining silent, to him own disadvantage, he revealed far more than was necessary and the strictures levelled at him by other Sectaries, notably the Princess of Belgioioso, were justified.

On his way to the Spielberg Confalonieri had an interview with Metternich himself, in which he was stated to have resisted all Metternich's attempts to induce him to compromise Charles Albert. Metternich's own Memoir of the interview, which he prepared for the Emperor, shows that Charles Albert was never even mentioned. It shows Confalonieri as ready to make a full disclosure of Sectarian activities throughout Europe. The disclosures were never made, as far as is known, and Luzio suggests that the Count, in the five months' interval which elapsed between Metternich's interview and the Emperor's authorisation of the compilation of Confalonieri's report, realised what he was doing and refused to go further with the matter. If we accept Luzio's view,⁴ which I cannot yet regard as wholly proved, we must regard Confalonieri, in spite of his pride, as no stronger or better advised than most of his colleagues and, as far as his conduct goes, he compares unfavourably with such men as Pellico and especially Moretti.

In the Confalonieri trial, apart from the Count's own mistakes, the weakness of the Brescians, quite unworthy of that sturdy old city, was chiefly responsible for the melancholy result.⁵ They ruined Confalonieri and themselves and also the one man among them who stands conspicuous amid all the Carbonari for steadfastness and determination. That fine old soldier Moretti⁶ regarded the conspiracy as a war à outrance, in which no quarter was given or asked, in which it was necessary to use every means available. He adopted a stern denial and never deviated one inch from his resolution. When he was arrested, he tried to cut his throat with a penknife while sitting in the carriage which bore him to prison between two police officers, without their noticing anything, until they arrived at their destination and found he had fainted through loss of blood. He then coolly denied the charge of attempted suicide and no amount of evidence made him yield. Unfortunately for him, his foolish companions

¹ This was the Dekabrist rising.

² Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 100.

³ *Memorie*.

⁴ Luzio, *Salvotti*, pp. 101-104.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 135-137.

added one more mistake to those they had made. They knew he had been near Como at the time that Rezia was initiated and they did not know that Maroncelli had visited Rezia. Accordingly they jumped to the conclusion that Moretti was the only one to know of Rezia's membership of the Carboneria and that he had denounced the Comasque Sectary. They all, therefore, denounced¹ him to Salvotti as a Carbonaro, providing the evidence of two sworn witnesses. Not even confrontation with his accusers shook the old soldier; Salvotti obtained no confession from him and suffered his second defeat. Moretti went down fighting to the last, overwhelmed by odds, but with his flag still flying. Before leaving for the Spielberg, he asked the famous judge for an interview, just to ask him how he had succeeded in persuading all his colleagues to confess. "If they had all done like me," he said, "we should all have escaped you." No wonder Salvotti was astounded.

Salvotti was to take part in yet one more trial. Caporali,² the leader of the Cesena Carbonari, had fled, but was arrested at Pordenone in Venetia. While he was awaiting examination, he was visited by Foresti, who was awaiting his sentence and was allowed a certain amount of liberty. To him the Romagnol confided the scheme of 1820 for setting up two independent kingdoms in Italy; and the treacherous Foresti, now only intent on obtaining an alleviation of his sentence, revealed to Salvotti on the 15th of December, 1821, what he had heard from Caporali, with the result that Count Orselli and Casali were arrested by the Papal police and handed over to the Milan commission, to be tried in May, 1823.

The other trials possess no features of particular interest. In the Duchy of Modena, several persons were imprisoned, but there was no serious persecution. The saintly priest Andreoli was condemned and executed in the trial known as that of Rubiera, from the fort in which the prisoners were bestowed; and people thought they saw miraculous happenings to show heaven's displeasure. Others, including Panizzi, librarian later of the British Museum library, were hounded out of the country. Under pressure from Duke Francis of Modena Marie Louise imprisoned in Parma Professor Gioia the economist and the poet Berchet and others. Berchet was released soon afterwards and exiled. Linati had already fled and was condemned in his absence.³

The Papal Authorities were not content with handing their own subjects over to the Austrians for examination and even imprisonment. Maroncelli's and Laderchi's revelations, duly handed to them by the Austrians, led to the establishment of a commission of inquiry under Cardinal Rivarola which in 1825 resulted in a great trial in which no less than 525 Carbonari were condemned, 7 to death and the rest to various terms of imprisonment, Count Laderchi among them.

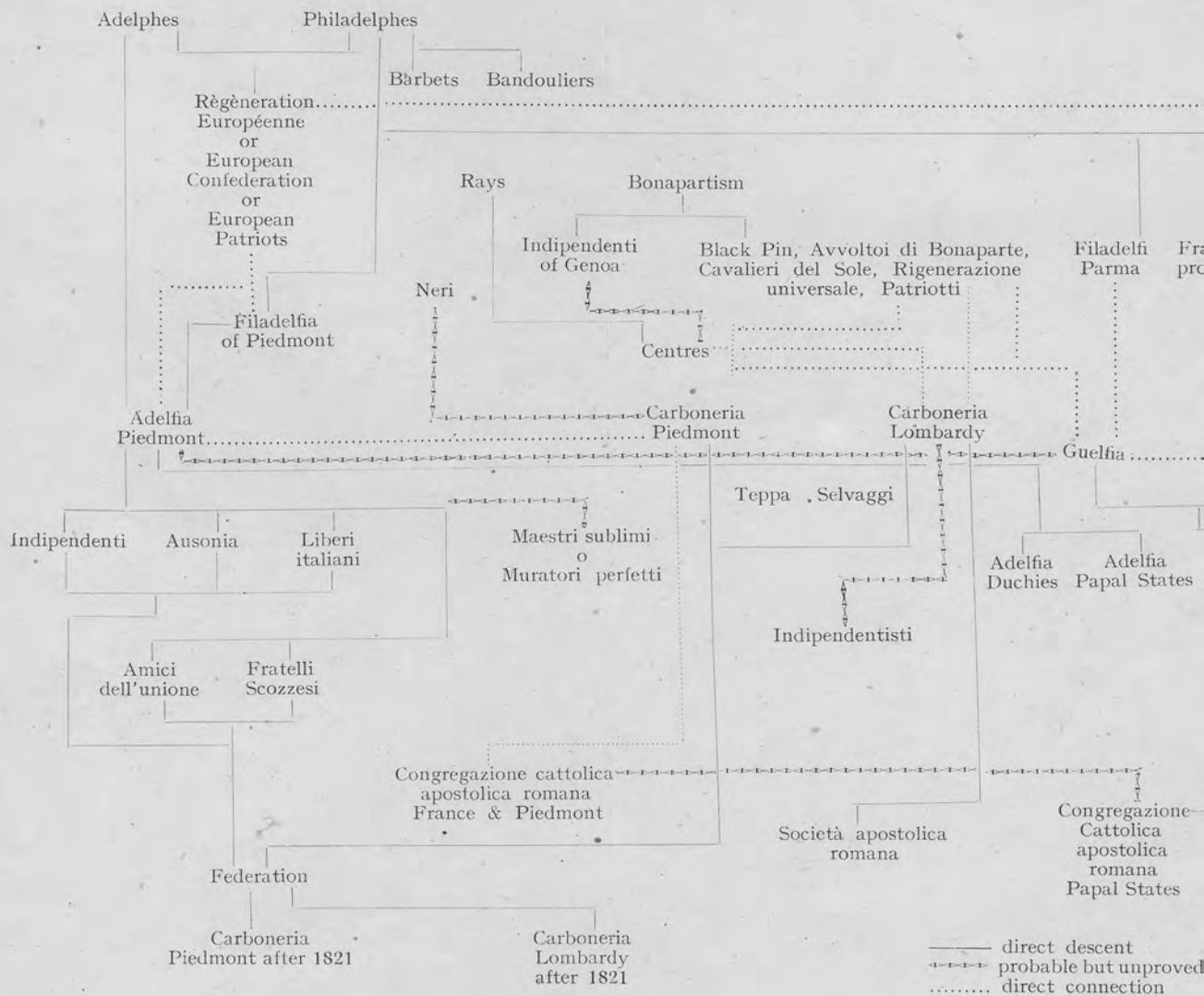
There is one more of those arrested who should be mentioned, Witt von Doering or Buloz Witt. He came to Piedmont during the revolution and was deported after it by Thaon di Revel. He foolishly crossed the frontier again, was imprisoned in Turin, where he met Laneri and several others of the revolutionaries, and was later handed over to the Austrian authorities. According to his own account Marshal Bubna befriended him. He succeeded eventually in escaping and had many adventures in Piedmont, being helped at every stage by Sublime Perfect Masters, and eventually succeeded in crossing the frontier.

In this way the great trials ended. As Austria was the dominating power in Italy, those of her subjects exceeded all the others in historical importance. No one could question Austria's right to try her subjects who plotted against her, nor, with few exceptions, did her judges abuse their power. What proved so damning to her cause was the stupidity of her penal system and the utter

¹ Luzio, *Pellico*, p. 203.

² *ibid.*, p. 202.

³ Leti, p. 146.



lack of sense in which it was administered. The Emperor commuted the death sentences into various terms of penal servitude, but he applied his justice with such lack of perspicacity as to shock even his own officials. He inflicted sentences on the informers like Villa and Foresti, who had rendered him signal service, no less heavy than on those who had defied him. Castiglia alone escaped.

Still worse was the treatment accorded to the prisoners in the Spielberg and elsewhere. As Pellico testifies, there was hardly any deliberate brutality on the part of officers or wardens, only rigid and oppressive regulations. The least concessions required imperial sanction. The prison fare was disgusting, the conditions unhealthy and the treatment harsh, the same as that for criminals. The whole system was antiquated, and its rigidity caused suffering where none was intended. Some writers inform us that the Carbonari did not excite any great sympathy among the population of Lombardy and Venetia. Confalonieri himself was regarded by many with hostility, and the others with indifference and even in some cases with dislike, as men who had come under the Pope's ban. We have seen them during their trials, very ordinary men, made up of virtues and defects, with many weaknesses; some were cowards, some knaves, others honourable, upright and a few even heroic, in fact there was little to distinguish them from the mass of humanity. After many years, at intervals, the survivors emerged, starved, ruined in health, prematurely aged, their lives broken. Not till after Pellico wrote his famous book were they regarded with sympathetic respect as martyrs of the cause that was becoming sacred to the majority of Italians, an incitement to others to suffer and endure that their country might be freed from foreign domination.

APPENDIX III. (continued).

B. Original authorities for the period and incidentally for the Carboneria.

Anonimous. Simple récit.

V. Fiorini. Gli scritti di Carlo Alberto sul moto piemontese del 1821. Alighieri. Rome. 1900. In London library.

Gallavresi. Carteggio del Conte Federico Confalonieri. Ripalta. Milan 1910. In London Library.

Rinieri. I costituti del Conte Confalonieri e il Principe di Carignano. Streglio e Cia. Turin, 1902.

Santa Rosa. On the Piedmontese Revolution. In Vol. xix., No. 37 ii. of the "Pamphleteer." Sherwood & Co., London, 1922. In London Library.

D. General works.

Rinieri. Della vita e delle opere di Silvio Pellico. Streglio. Turin, 1898. In British Museum.

Rovini. Relazione del capitano Zerboni di Sposetti. Dante Alighieri. Rome, 1906. In London Library.

Torta. La rivoluzione piemontese nel 1821. Albrighi, Segati e Cia. Rome, 1908. In London Library.

APPENDIX IV.

The rituals of the reactionary societies show distinct similarity to those of the Carboneria. They are not less fragmentary than those of the liberal Sects.

We know nothing about the details concerning "Pacifici," "Santa Unione" and "Crociferi," and a description of the Jesuits would be out of place here.

As regards the Santa Fede, all that we know of its constitution is that there were three degrees and that each member was under obligation to report to his superiors any matter of interest to the "Santa Fede."

Witt does not give us the signs of the society, but tells us that they were changed later to one in which a Cross was traced almost imperceptibly over the left breast. The sacred words were: "Father, Son and Holy Ghost." The passwords were "Peter, Paul."¹ As badge the society had a medal² on which was represented the Virgin Mary supported by angels, holding out to an angel a bunch of palm leaves with one hand and with the other smiting a devil with a sword. The certificates bore the initials C+M+D+B, which may be signified: Chiesa or Congregazione militante di Bologna (Church or congregation militant of Bologna, which was in later times the chief centre of the sect).² It had several other symbols in addition. These were: An eye with the legend "God sees"; a heart with "Faith" inscribed on it; an angel upholding a Cross with "God loves us" on it; another Cross with the inscription "God thundered out death, keep Faith to the Roman Catholic Church"; the severed head of an ox, denoting Freemasonry; and also a thunderbolt striking the columns of a ruined temple and Masonic instruments; a crane and an Angel with a fiery sword saying "Omnia ad Majorem Dei gloriam."² The oath, which is regarded by some authorities as spurious, ran as follows: "In the presence of the Omnipotent God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost and Mary, Immaculate Virgin, and the whole celestial Court, and you, honoured father, I desire my hand to be cut off, my throat slit, to die of hunger, to undergo the most atrocious torments and the eternal punishment of hell, if I betray or deceive one of the honoured fathers or brethren of the Catholic and Apostolic Society, which at this moment I join, or if I do not scrupulously follow its laws or help my brethren in their need. I swear to uphold with steadfastness of heart and arm the holy cause to which I am consecrated, not to forgive anyone who belongs to the infamous tribe of liberals, without regard to birth, family or fortune; not to have pity for their children or old people; to shed the last drop of blood of the infamous liberals without regard to sex or degree. I swear undying hatred towards all enemies of the Holy Roman Catholic Religion, the only true one." We have a catechism, which ran as follows:—

"Viva.—Viva.

Is it a fine day?—I hope it will be better to-morrow.

That will be well, as the road is bad.—Soon it will be mended.

How?—With the bones of liberals.

What is your name?—Light.

Whence comes light?—From Heaven.

What are you thinking of doing?—Always to persevere in separating the grain from the chaff.

What is the word of the day?—xyz.

What is the profession of Faith?—The destruction of the enemies of the altar and the throne.

What is the length of your stick?—Long enough to overthrow them.

What plant produces it?—A laurel sown in Palestine, grown in the Vatican, under whose foliage all the faithful are sheltered.

Are you going on a journey?—Yes.

Where to?—To the shores of fidelity and religion in the boat of the fisherman."

There was an addition to this catechism for the higher degrees:—

"Viva. Welcome. Tell me for the second time, who are you?—A brother of yours.

Are you a man?—Certainly, and I consent to have my right hand cut off and my throat slit, to die of hunger and among the most atrocious torments, if I ever deceive or betray a brother.

¹ Dito, pp. 288-289.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 135.

How do you recognise a man faithful to his God and his sovereign?—
By these three words, Faith, Hope and indissoluble Union.
Who admitted you into the Santa Fede?—A venerable man with
white hair.
How did he receive you?—He made me kneel on one knee, swear on
the most Holy Eucharist and armed me with a blessed steel.
Where did he receive you?—On the shores of Jordan, in a place not
polluted by the enemies of our Holy Religion and Princes, in
the very hour our Divine Redeemer was born.
What are your colours?—I cover my head with yellow and black and
my heart with white and yellow.
Do you know how many we are?—We are certainly sufficiently
numerous to destroy the enemies of our Holy Religion, or
monarchy.
What is your duty?—To hope in the name of God and the only true
Roman Catholic Church.
Whence comes the wind?—From Palestine and the Vatican; it will
disperse all the enemies of God.
What are the bonds that bind us?—Love of God, our country and
truth.
How do you go to sleep?—Always in peace with God, with the hope
of awakening at war with the enemies of His Holy Name.
How are your steps called?—The first is Alpha, the second Noah's
ark, the third Imperial Eagle, the fourth the keys of Heaven.
Courage, Brother, and persevere."

Nothing is further known of the branches of the Santa Fede, the Piedmontese "Viva Maria," "Figli di Maria" and the "Società Cattolica" or of the "Massa Cattolica"; and Witt alone mentions the "Crousignati" (*sic*), "Società della Fede dell'anello" and the "Bruti." He alone mentions the "Crociferi" as a branch of the "Santa Fede" and is probably wrong on this point. The "Congregazione cattolica apostolica romana" has been already mentioned among the liberal Societies.

The constitution of the "Concistoriali" appears to have been as follows. the smallest unit was a Camera (Chamber) of five members, and these composed tribes. The Central authority was the Grand Consistory in Rome. Their leaders were called Capicamera (Heads of Chambers), Vescovi (Bishops) and Presidents.¹

Many priests were among its members.² Members assumed biblical names. The sign was:³ describing a Cross by clasping the hands across the breast. The reply was to make a Cross with the thumbs. The Cross could be also traced with the hands or the feet or even the eyes. The salutation was given by lifting the hat holding the hand downwards and touching the crown with the four fingers. The sacred words were: "Peter, Paul." There were besides many symbols. Tommasi⁴ obtained a picture which he gave to Foresti, who in his turn gave it to the Austrian authorities. On it were depicted:⁵ An eye with the motto "God sees all"; an ox with his throat pierced by an arrow and a yoke on his neck, a symbol of wickedness conquered; an angel with a flaming sword in his right hand and a shield in his left, and the legend "Sant'Angelo custode ci assiste e protegge" (the Holy guardian Angel helps and protects us); three hills, two on the same level below and one on a higher plane and bearing a cross, all being within two concentric circles, and between the circles the legend "Fede, Speranza nella santa religione cattolica" (Faith and hope in the holy Roman

¹ Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 182.

² Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 28, 265-267.

³ Dito, pp. 288-289.

⁴ Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 265-267.

⁵ Dito, pp. 288-289.

Catholic religion). Tommasi also saw in Ferrara a medal of the Order which bore the twelve Apostles and a triangle,¹ which alluded to God the Father. Another medal was also given² to members which bore the heads of the Forty Martyrs and S Q M, which probably meant Società dei quaranta martiri (Society of the Forty Martyrs). The main emblem of the society was a red Cross.

The society was most widespread in the Marches, Romagna and Bologna³ in addition to Ferrara; but it seems to have died down, probably owing to political developments, and the more extreme Santa Fede was left alone in the Papal States to rage against the liberals.

There is nothing to add about the "Sus" and "Cuore di Gesù" to what has been stated in the text; and the same applies to the South Italian reactionary sects, the "Real Corpo degli urbani realisti di Carolina," the "Società del colonnello Palmieri," the "Confederati," and the "Trinitarii" or "Veri Amici." As regards the Calderai, Orloff⁴ tells us that they were divided into Curiae, under a central Curia for each province. Their oath ran as follows:⁵ I, N . . . , swear by the Trinity, the Supreme Director of the universe, upon this Cross and upon this steel, the avenging instrument of the perjured, to live and die in the Roman Catholic and Apostolic faith and to defend with my blood this religion and the society of true friendship to which I belong. I swear never to offend the life honour or property of the children of the true friendship; I promise and swear to all Knights of the true friendship all the succour it is in my power to give. I swear to initiate no person into this society before I reach the fourth degree. I swear eternal hatred against all Masonry and its atrocious protectors as well as against all Jansenists, Materialists, Economists and Illuminati. I swear, as I value my life, never to admit any of them into the society of friendship. Lastly I swear that if, through wickedness and levity, I perjure myself, I shall submit to loss of life as the punishment of my sin and to be burnt; and my ashes scattered to the winds, to serve as example to the children of friendship throughout the world. So help, me God, for the happiness of my soul and the repose of my conscience." This oath is obviously modelled on that of the Carbonari and, if accurately recorded, must be the work of persons ignorant enough not to know the names of the more learned sciences.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Radice for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. J. Heron Lepper, and comments were offered by or on behalf of Bros. L. Edwards and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

Our Bro. Radice left off Part II. of his Historical Monograph with an indication that he had arrived at a climax which in due course would be followed by a disastrous continuation and conclusion of the efforts of the Carbonari.

Some of us were probably expecting that Part III. would narrate the incidents concerning that continuation and conclusion, but for the present he has chosen what is probably the wiser plan, of giving us, at some considerable though unavoidable length, a concise statement as to the Statutes, the Administrators, and Officers of the Society and the general body of the membership. He has also shown how the original two degrees of the Society were developed

¹ Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 455.

² Dito, pp. 288-289.

³ Luzio, *Pellico*, pp. 265-267.

⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 72.

⁵ *ibid*, p. 70.

during the course of years by the addition of a third degree, followed by a number of higher or additional degrees, which, as Bro. Radice tells us, were vehicles not for conveying more ample Revelations of the Truth, but for conferring the acquisition of wider powers and the knowledge of the more intimate political aims of the Society.

It is not surprising to find that as many men and many minds with objectives, not always harmonious, but varying and indistinct, tampered with the original simplicity of the Society. The whole structure of the ritual was in a continual state of flux, so that, looking back upon the results with the knowledge now given to us, the confusion is apparent, although the main objects of the Society continued more or less to survive all such chances and changes.

Doubtless the prime movers in the Society were very willing to link themselves with Freemasons, though Freemasonry itself as we know it and define it, differed in the most momentous and essential ways from Carbonarism. We are told of the privileged position accorded to Freemasons who were admitted without passing through any of the usual tests. Furthermore it is made very clear that the framework of the Society was in many respects an imitation of the structure of Freemasonry and its degrees and the so-called higher or additional degrees which have become, as it were, appendices to Craft Freemasonry.

Our Brother gives us in considerable and interesting detail what the materials for the Carbonari degrees were, and states that they included the early nineteenth century rituals of the various Masonic degrees, including those of the Old Knights Templar and the Rosicrucians.

From the heterogeneous mass thus drawn upon and the fertile brains of the Italian folk, who have never been accused, so far as I know, of lacking fertility of imagination, the confused medley of ceremonies, signs, tokens and words now set forth for our instruction was compiled, and we are left wondering how and to what extent such a multitude of minutiae was ever capable of being assimilated by any person or persons.

The details given to us are in themselves of considerable interest to those of our number who are proficient ritualists, but probably some of us cannot help feeling that the methods of the Carbonari must have left many of its aspirants in a bewildered and befogged condition if ever they were called upon upon to give anything like a full account of some of the ceremonies.

There we must leave the matter for the time being, but must remember that the Society into which we are enquiring was an active Society of men terribly in earnest, and suffering, as many of them undoubtedly did, from the conviction that they were banded together for a highly patriotic purpose, calling for their unremitting labours and the sacrifice of life for the cause of liberty and for the downfall of tyranny. We await the further development of our Brother's theme with interest and expectancy, and at the same time thank him heartily for his arduous labours.

Bro. Geo. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

It is interesting to note the view put forward by Bro. Radice that the multiplication of degrees in secret societies was sometimes due to the necessity for concealing the esoteric objects and secret aims of the society from the rank and file of the members. Such a reason may have been operative in English Freemasonry after the Commonwealth and in Jacobite times. With the spread of Freemasonry to the Continent we may have imported some of the Continental additions.

The close connection between Freemasons and the Carbonari shown by the terms of admission of the former amongst the latter is rather curious. Does it mean that the qualification was possessed only by Freemasons of Italian

initiation, or was it operative irrespective of the country in which the secrets had been communicated? Does it indicate that the two societies had a common object, or was it a very clever piece of camouflage?

One of the facts which seems to emerge from Bro. Radice's labours is that originality is a scarce product. Prehistoric man probably evolved something new in the matter of initiation, but since then his ideas have been steadily copied.

BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I rise with great pleasure to support the vote of thanks for a paper which deals in so interesting a fashion with a subject so little known to English students of the present day.

In the present circumstances and in this assembly I refrain from using any expressions which may have a tendentious or question-begging character, and I shall not speak even of the "liberation" of Italy, common as that expression once was. The Napoleonic Wars were to such an extent the highlights of Continental history that they blind us to many of the political changes of nineteenth century Italy, and we are tempted to forget what enthusiasm they once aroused among men like A. C. Swinburne and George Meredith.

In reading of the political character which Masonic and quasi-Masonic institutions assumed among the Latin races and of the struggles for a constitution in France, Spain, and Italy, we cannot but be struck by the great difference which seems to divide the "Anglo-Saxon" from the Latin mind. As to the details of Bro. Radice's paper, I should be glad to know whether in his view the letter "G" represents Gesù or is another appearance of an old friend of Masonic students. Further, was the newly-severed head a real one (which is improbable), a dummy, or a mere figment of the imagination? The motto "*Lilium Pedibus Destrue*" occurs, if I remember rightly, in one of the romances of Alexandre Dumas dealing with Cagliostro—perhaps Bro. Radice can throw some light on this.

BRO. RADICE *writes* in reply:—

Again I have to thank Brethren for the kind way in which they have received this portion of my paper. I agree with Bro. Williams in thinking that the ceremonies of the Carbonari, as set forth in their rituals, were hardly ever carried out in full. I have quoted such accounts as I have found of ceremonies which were actually performed, and it is pretty clear that there were large cuts. I should say in fact that the only time when a ceremony might have been worked in full was the short period during which the Carbonari were all powerful in Naples.

As regards the catechisms, even allowing for the fact that membership was restricted largely to the educated classes, I doubt whether many Good Cousins had the time or patience to learn them. When Carbonari were made by the hundred in Naples after the revolution, the majority of the new members could hardly have been sufficiently educated to make the effort. As will appear in Part IV. of my paper, most of the elaborate ceremonial was discarded soon after the failure of the revolutions in 1820-21; and we have seen from the adventures of Maroncelli, Mazzini and others that an initiation was often very perfunctory and hardly worthy to be called a ceremony.

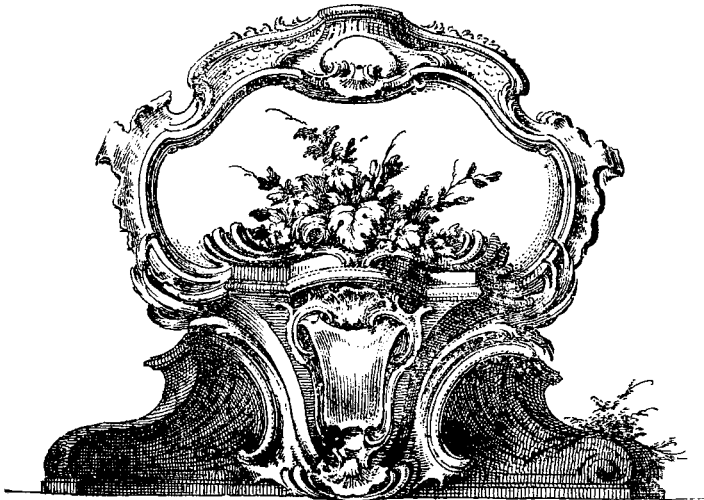
As regards Bro. Edwards' queries, the use of the letter G for "*Gesù*" (Jesus) is possible. The Italian word for geometry is *geometria*. G can be used for either word, and was in the Carboneria, as Doria suggests—see text, page 54.

The use of the latter made in English Freemasons' Lodges is impossible in Italian as the corresponding word starts with D. So far as I remember, I do not think the letter was used by the Good Cousins. The severed head was certainly a dummy, I think, and those who know Italian, and especially South Italian, tastes, can be assured that the apparition lost nothing in horror and grisliness through being artificial. I am afraid I do not know in which of Dumas' novels the motto "*Lilium pedibus destrue*" is mentioned.

Both Bro. Williams and Bro. Bullamore have commented on the close connection between the Carboneria and Freemasonry. I do not know whether free entry into the Carboneria was restricted to Freemasons of Italian initiation, but I should say it was not. Several Englishmen, Byron, Bentinck and Wilson for instance, are said to have become Carbonari. Confalonieri was initiated into Freemasonry in England, but then he never admitted that he had been a Carbonaro. In Part IV. I shall refer to an authenticated instance of two French Freemasons who were initiated in Naples and were largely instrumental in introducing a new "*Charbonnerie*" into France.

Freemasonry and the Carboneria had not a common object, as I explained in Part I., but the point is not clear. I am convinced that the Carboneria was established at first largely to enable Freemasons to work for their political objects, *quâ* Carbonari, without involving Freemasonry. We have a few examples of attempts to use Freemasonry politically, but Freemasons as a whole remained true to their obligation, *quâ* Freemasons.

As regards the framework and ceremonial of the Carboneria, I have little doubt that this was largely an imitation of Freemasonry, as would be natural, since the Carboneria was largely a creation of Freemasons.



FRIDAY, 3rd MAY, 1940.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, P.M., as W.M.; H. C. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C., as J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., Treasurer; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. R. W. Strickland, as S.W.; H. Wintersladen; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; C. D. Rotch; J. H. Smith; R. A. Card, P.G.St.B.; H. Johnson; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; H. Boutroy; Rev. M. Rosenbaum; W. Smalley; S. H. Muffett; F. Spooner, P.G.St.B.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; F. A. Dale; L. G. Wearing; Geo. C. Williams; H. E. Gartside; A. F. Cross; A. F. Ford; F. E. Barber.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. I. Logette, Wessex Lodge No. 5297; H. A. Whitcombe, St. Vincent Lodge No. 1404; F. H. Woodger, Holmesdale Lodge No. 874; and W. Clarence Williams, P.M., Arcadian Lodge No. 2696.

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, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; D. Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff; D. Knoop, M.A., P.M.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., W.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., J.W.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., J.D.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.; F. R. Radice; Wing Comdr. W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., I.P.M.; and B. Ivanoff, S.W.

Fourteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—

Bro. J. Heron Lepper, Past Assistant Grand Registrar.

Bros. F. W. Roques and F. J. H. Coutts, Junior Grand Deacons; Col. Astley H. Terry, E. C. Dunlop, and F. Hawkesworth, Past Grand Deacons; A. E. Baylis, H. S. Bell, W. H. Crang, W. A. Gayner, E. W. Jackson, and H. E. Vincent, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; W. E. A. Candy, R. A. Card, E. J. Fish, A. G. Harper, J. Lawrance, and G. Stevens, Past Grand Standard Bearers; E. S. Heatcote and J. O. Manton, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers.

Upon Ballot taken:—

BRO. RICHARD EDWARD PARKINSON, *B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E.*, residing at Damolly, Newry, Co. Down, Ireland. P.M., Antiquity and Integrity No. 80 (I.C.) and Union St. Patrick No. 367 (I.C.).

and

BRO. GEORGE STODART KNOCKER, *M.B.E.*, residing at Bushey Ruff, Beaumont, Jersey, C.I. Consulting Engineer (Retired). Viator Lodge No. 2308. P.M., Lodge of Unity, No. 71, and P.M. Suffolk Installed Masters' Lodge No. 3913. Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works. Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). England;

were regularly elected Joining Members of the Lodge.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. G. C. WILLIAMS.

Wooden Box with inlaid masonic emblems and trick opening.

Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. W. A. SERVICE.

Photograph of a K.T. Certificate dated 1802. The recipient was admitted to the Order in recognition of preventing an attempt on the life of H.R.H the Duke of Kent in Halifax.

By Bro. N. W. J. HAYDON.

Two photographs of an Apron, with hand-painted design.

By Bro. A. C. POWELL.

Two Levels, apparently intended for attachment to one apron, showing S.W.'s emblem.

By Bro. J. R. RYLANDS.

Royal Arch Chapter Jewels, Unanimity Chapter No. 154.

The Jewels are believed to be those used by the old Unanimity Chapter in the period before 1848, which was the date of the formation of the Wakefield Chapter (now) 495.

The Jewels were found in the present Wakefield Masonic Hall in Zetland Street, in an oval cardboard box 7in. by 4½in. by about 6in. deep. The box was accidentally destroyed, but the lid remains: it bears the inscription:

Dut 1/8

Mr Rich. Linnecer

2 Wakefield

Richard Linnecer (or Linecar) was the first "Z" of the Unanimity Chapter on its formation in 1790.

Jewels:—

- (a) Two triangular Jewels, silver (?), no hall mark.
5½in. side, 7/16in. bare wide, suspended from faded silk ribbons 2in. wide, which may have been a deep purple.
Inscribed on one side "Omnipresent, etc.", on the other "In the beginning, etc."
- (b) Three silver (?) Jewels, Trowel and short Sword. No hall mark.
Sword 4-7/8in. long; trowel 4¼in. long, suspended from faded light red silk ribbons, 1-3/16in. wide.
- (c) One hall-marked silver Jewel, Book with "G" on triangle.
3-3/16in. side; book 1in. by 1½in.; apparently not one of the original jewels; may even have belonged to Chapter 495, but they do not claim it. Hall-mark may establish date. No ribbon.
- (d) One H.P.'s Breastplate with 12 Jewels on blue velvet pad.
Pad 3¾in. by 2¾in. Ribbon 2-5/8in. wide, with two 3/32in. white stripes 1-5/16in. apart. Ribbon faded, but may have been dark blue or purple.

The "jewels" are of glass, faceted, oval in shape, on brass mountings. Approx. 9/16in. by 7/16in. by 3/16in. thick.

Colours arranged thus:—

White	Purple	Green
Red	Yellow	Red
Blue	Purple	Blue
Yellow	Green	White

- (e) Brass Triangle, polished one side and lacquered.
3-11/16in. side, 3/8in. bare wide, 1/16in. full thick. Probably used on pedestal, V.S.L., or floorcloth.
- (f) Brass Trowel and Sword, polished one side and lacquered.
1/16in. full thick. Sword 6¼in. long; Trowel 4-7/6in. long. Probably used on floor (?)
- (g) Thirteen Brass Letters, with spring clips soldered on.
Polished and lacquered one side; thickness same as (e) and (f).
The set may not be complete, and other letters may yet be found.

Those found so far are all approx. 15/16in. high, and are:—

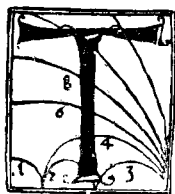
A B E G H H H J L N O U V

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

The following paper by Bro. R. J. MEEKREN was read:—

THE AITCHISON'S HAVEN MINUTES AND EARLY SCOTTISH FREE MASONRY.

BY BRO. R. J. MEEKREN.



THE purpose of this paper is to re-open the question whether one or two "degrees" were practised in Scotland prior to the era of Grand Lodges. While the discovery of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*¹ may have somewhat shaken the view generally accepted for many years—that Scottish Lodges used only one esoteric ceremony in which the Mason Word was communicated to the Entered 'Prentice,—yet this document is not conclusive for various reasons. It might be regarded as later than its inscribed date, 1696, as the *Trinity College MS.* has been. It might be regarded as abnormal, as Gould regarded the Haughfoot Minute. But it is inconclusive chiefly on the ground that stray documents of unknown origin cannot have the weight that authentic minutes, statutes, regulations and other records of old Lodges have. And it is upon these that the accepted view is supposed to be based. The thesis to be maintained is that these records, in so far as they bear on the question in hand, have been misunderstood, and that in consequence unsound inferences have been drawn from them. An attempt will be made to show that they are all, even the most obscure, open to an interpretation different from that which they have received; and, in particular, that the earliest minutes of the old Lodge of Aitchison's Haven are so clear on the point in question that they make it almost imperative to interpret the other old records in the same sense.

These minutes were not known to the first investigators of the subject and it seems very probable that, if they had been, quite different conclusions would have been reached. Although, on the other hand, it must be said that when Bro. R. E. Wallace-James published in 1911² excerpts from the then newly-discovered MS. their significance as bearing on the question of degrees went unnoted. This was pointed out in a series of articles³ written by Bro. Al. L. Kress and myself in collaboration and published in 1929, and the present discussion is really an expansion of the argument there presented.

It would appear that David Murray Lyon, author of the *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, was the first to propound the view that the old Scottish lodges knew no more than a single ceremony of "entering". This was very naturally accepted by Hughan and others, who with him maintained that the esoteric tradition inherited by the London Grand Lodge in 1717 was comprised in one "degree" only. And the effect of this was much increased by the fact that Lyon's conclusions in regard to Scotland were also admitted by Speth, the chief advocate of the theory that in England pre-Grand Lodge Masonry comprised two "degrees". Gould, who was Speth's weightiest supporter in advancing this hypothesis, not only admitted that Lyon was right in regard to Masonry in

¹ *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliii., p. 153. An account by J. Mason Allan and a photographic reproduction of the MS.

² *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiv., p. 30.

³ *The Builder*, vol. 15, pp. 167 and 196. "The Degrees of Masonry; Their Origin and History".

Scotland, but also actively supported the latter's contention at every opportunity. For example, in his review of Fred W. Vernon's *History of Freemasonry in the Province of Roxburgh, Peebles, etc.*, he refers to the election in 1736 of Alexander Madder and Robert Finley as Wardens of Lodge St. John, Jedburgh, who were apparently "taken in as Maisters or fellowcrafts" at the same time, and he goes on to say: "From the above, it will be clear, as remarked by the compiler, that Master and Fellowcraft were interchangeable terms; also that as apprentices were elected Wardens there could have been only one degree with a ceremony and that the passing Fellowcrafts or Masters was a mere form".¹ Though it is a digression, it may be noted that this case has a parallel quoted by Hughan² from the minute book of the old Lodge meeting at the Swan and Rummer, where "At a particular lodge held for passing of Masters" a number of brethren are recorded as having been "admitted Masters" on 31st March, 1729. Hughan notes, in reference to this, that "Two of the six who were thus made 'Masters' or 'Master Masons', viz., Nelthorpe and Aynsworth, had been elected as Wardens at the *previous* Lodge held on the 26th of the same month, and were so invested immediately after their becoming Masters, but certainly not because thereof, the third degree not being a qualification for office at that period". In all deference to the opinions of these two eminent authorities it has to be said that in each case the conclusion is a *non sequitur* from the premises. However, to return to the subject, in view of the fact that all authorities agreed with Lyon's conclusions in regard to Scottish Masonry, it is not to be wondered that the question came to be taken as *une chose jugée*, and almost an article of orthodoxy in Masonic history.

The Craft in Scotland is enviably rich in the possession of treasures of old Lodge records—treasures which are unfortunately almost entirely inaccessible to Masonic students. For the most part they are known only in scattered excerpts in histories of Lodges and the like. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Bro. Wallace-James for giving us all the earliest minutes of the old Lodge of Aitchison's Haven; we can only wish he had given us more, so that the progress of some of the individuals mentioned could be traced in their entirety. Who can say what illumination might not result if someone among our Scottish Brethren were to emulate Bro. Songhurst's work on the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of London?

The following passage from his *History* gives Lyon's own statement of the basis of his opinion:—

"It is upon Schaw's regulation anent the reception of fellows or masters that we found our opinion that in primitive times there were no secrets communicated by Lodges to either fellows of craft or masters that were not known to apprentices, seeing that members of the latter grade were necessary to the legal constitution of communications for the admission of masters or fellows. Confirmation of this opinion is found in the fact . . . that about the middle of the seventeenth century apprentices were not only eligible for, but actually filled, the offices of Deacon and Warden in the Lodge of Kilwinning: and that about the close of the same century (1693) the Lodge recognised 'passing'—i.e., a promotion to the fellowship—simply as an 'honour and dignity'."³

It seems as if there must be some mistake in the date given in the last statement, as in another place⁴ he tells us, in noting various breaks in the

¹ *A.Q.C.*, vol. vi., p. 74. See also Gould: *Hist. of Freemasonry*, vol. ii., pp. 431, 432.

² *A.Q.C.*, vol. x., p. 135.

³ *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1*, Edinburgh and London, 1873, p. 23.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

Kilwinning records, that there are no minutes for the year 1693. In any case the statement that the fellowship was an honorary distinction would be inconclusive in itself. That it was more on the operative side is obvious as the Mason's status as a free workman depended on it. It would seem, therefore, that the reference must have been to "theorick" Masons. If so, the statement would be true, but would not necessarily carry the consequence Lyon supposed. It is quite possible that it was as a matter of honour and dignity that non-operatives were passed or received as fellows without either in logic or in fact implying that it was nothing more than a title or distinction.

Nor is the fact alleged, that in the Lodge of Kilwinning Entered Apprentices were eligible to the highest office, conclusive on the point at issue. The much later case at Jedburgh, cited above, where the two entered apprentices were elected as Wardens may be recalled. It is a matter of opinion only that their being "taken in as Maisters or fellowcrafts" at the same communication of the Lodge at which they were invested was not to qualify them for office. The inference that it was to qualify them is equally valid without further information. It is one thing that an apprentice was eligible to office and quite another that he was qualified for office as an apprentice. And as the question whether he was, or was not, is the point at issue, it cannot be alleged in proof. In any case it would be highly anomalous to have one of a distinctly inferior and only partly enfranchised grade presiding at the conferring of a higher rank on another of his own class, even if the proceeding consisted of no more than putting a motion and declaring it carried. However, without the full text, not only of the minutes of the entering of the Earl of Cassillis as an Apprentice in Kilwinning and his election as Deacon, but also of the acts of the Lodge under his presidency, it is hardly worth further discussion. The suspicion remains that even if the case were in all respects as it has been represented, the election was chiefly a compliment to an entrant of very high social rank and so implies nothing in respect of the regular and normal procedure.

The provision of the Schaw Statutes to which Lyon referred is well known, but it may be as well to cite it in full:—

"Item, that na maister or fallow of craft be ressaute nor admittit w^out the numer of sex maisteries and twa enterit prenteissis, the wardene of that ludge being ane of the said sex, and that the day of the ressaung of the said fallow of craft or maister be ord^lie buikit and his name and mark insert in the said buik w^t the names of his sex admitteris and enterit prenteissis and the names of the intendaris that salbe chosin to everie persone to be alsua insert in thair buik. Providing alwayis that na man be admittit w^out ane assay and sufficient tryall of his skill and worthynes in his vocation and craft." ¹

In comment on this Lyon says:—

"Beyond providing for the 'orderlie buiking of apprentices', the Schaw Statutes are silent as to the constitution of the Lodge at entries. On the other hand, care is taken to fix the number and quality of brethren necessary to the reception of masters or fellows of craft—viz., six masters and two entered apprentices. The presence of so many masters was doubtless intended as a barrier to the advancement of incompetent craftsmen,—and not for the communication of secrets with which entered apprentices were unacquainted; for the arrangement referred to proves beyond question that whatever secrets were imparted in and by the Lodge were, as a means of mutual recognition, patent to the intrans. The 'trial of skill in his craft', the production of an 'essay-piece', and the insertion of his name and mark in the

¹ Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

Lodge book, with the names of his 'six admitters' and 'intendaris', as specified in the act, were merely practical tests and confirmations of the applicant's qualifications as an apprentice, and his fitness to undertake the duties of journeyman or master in Operative Masonry; and the apprentice's attendance at such examinations could not be otherwise than beneficial to him because of the opportunity it afforded for increasing his professional knowledge."¹

Just what is really meant by the sentence "for the arrangement referred to proves beyond question that whatever secrets were imparted . . . were . . . patent to the entrant" seems rather obscure, but presumably we must interpret it in the sense that the apprentice who was being passed was already in possession of all the secrets there were, at least all that were known in Scottish lodges at that period. But is it proved? Are we forced by any logical or grammatical canon of interpretation of this article of the Statutes to any inference at all about secrets? If we bring into it the assumption, from whatever source, that there were secrets, it is to be admitted that Lyon's conclusion is very plausible on a first consideration of the question. But Lyon has in effect assumed that there were no secrets peculiar to the higher grade; and, using this as a key to interpret the clause, says that thereby the assumption is proved. That there were Masonic secrets is properly not an assumption at all, but an inference based on explicit statements in other documents of the class which alone we are bringing into court. But the further assumption is again precisely the question at issue. We can allow, however, that the inference drawn by Lyon, and generally accepted, is a possible one, though not a necessary one nor the only possible one.

We can admit also that the presence of six masters would have the practical effect of preventing the admission of incompetent workmen to the status of master and fellow of craft, though this does not explain why the number six was specified as a minimum; but the assumed reason for the presence of two apprentices is plausible only on the most superficial consideration. How could an apprentice increase his professional knowledge by being present at the formality, as Lyon describes it, of receiving a new fellow? The work done on the essay piece would be completed and judged beforehand by those appointed to inspect and superintend it. In the case of John Hamilton the task set was the building of a house, and he had from January, 1686, to Lammastide in the same year, a period of about eight months, in which to complete it.² And if the proceedings consisted in no more than the formal approval of the six masters, and the registration of the new fellow and the taking of his fees and the eating of the banquet provided by him for the occasion, it is hard to see how anyone could acquire any technical knowledge by being present. But if that were possible, why should the beneficiaries be limited to only two? Why not all the apprentices within reach?

In another place³ Lyon dissents from a suggestion made at the Conference on the Mark Degree held in London in 1871, that the apprentices "were merely present at the constitution of the Lodge", but were not present during the time the business of passing fellows or masters was going on. He says that the minutes of Mary's Chapel for 26th November, 1601, and those of several subsequent years confirm the attendance of apprentices in the Lodge "during the making of fellow crafts". In a footnote⁴ he gives the names of the apprentices who were present on the first of these occasions. Unfortunately, he does not give the minute in full, and we are left to conjecture how it is worded, so that it is made certain that the named apprentices were present in the Lodge during

¹ Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

the *whole* of the proceedings. Judging by such excerpts as he has given us it would appear that generally those present signed the minutes, frequently appending their marks as well. And, in order to know the status of any individual so signing, the preceding records would have to be searched. But the point to be insisted on is that these particular minutes would have to be drafted quite differently from any examples given, to make it necessary to infer that apprentices could not have been, at any stage in the proceedings, temporarily absent from the room.

It has been admitted that the construction placed by Lyon on the provisions of the Schaw Statutes, and after him accepted by Gould, is possible and even plausible. And its being accepted would also make such an interpretation of these and other minutes of the same kind natural enough. Nevertheless, the conclusion remains a hypothetical one, depending on the original assumption. That this is so will be seen upon reflection. For example, the name of an E.A. may appear in the attendance Register of a Lodge to-day, upon an occasion when the minutes would show that there was a Passing or Raising. We would know that the E.A. might have been, and probably was, present at some of the proceedings, but certainly not at all of them. So long, however, as we think of a ceremony like our present Fellowcraft, or Master Mason, degree it will doubtless seem more possible that Lyon was right in his conclusion. This would not be true in the U.S.A., where due to an innovation that came into general use *circa* 1845, the Lodge is always opened and closed in the third degree, and never opened in a lower degree unless there be a passing or initiation. Gould says in reference to this question:—

“The ‘Masonic Word’ is frequently mentioned, and, as we have seen, a grip is also alluded to, but only and always in connection with the apprentices. Therefore as it is evident that the Freemasons of old had no objection to declare publicly that they had a *secret word*, which was entrusted to apprentices on their solemnly swearing not improperly to divulge it—the entire absence of any allusion whatever to *words* or *secrets* imparted at the passing of fellow-crafts or the admission of master masons—is conclusive, to my mind, that no such *degrees*, in the sense we now understand that term, existed.”¹

With the proviso in the last sentence, the contention Gould here sets forth would seem most probable, even while we might insist that the evidence adduced does not preclude the possibility that the fellows of craft possessed secrets peculiar to themselves alone, and that the two apprentices required for the passing or reception were not present at all that was done. The ceremony may have been more closely analogous to the installation of the Master of a Lodge rather than to our modern passing and raising. In other words the two—there were only two—apprentices whose presence was required by the Schaw Statutes, which probably only embodied earlier custom and tradition, may have had a necessary, even if subordinate, part at some stage of the proceedings. Whether such an hypothesis is probable or not depends on evidence and indications apart from the records that alone are under consideration here.

It is not wholly pleasant to pursue the subject so insistently, yet as Lyon advanced it in support of his opinion, and Gould also followed him, another argument must be considered. In the charter granted to the Freemen Masons and Wrights of Edinburgh in 1475, it is provided that “four men”, two of them Masons and two Wrights, should exercise powers of supervision and inspection over the two crafts. The clause relevant to the question runs thus:—

“ . . . and allswa, quhen ony prentissis has completit his termis and is worne out, he sall be examined be the four men gif he be sufficient or nocht to be a fallow of the craft, and gif he be worthy to be a fallow

¹ Gould, *Hist. of F.M.*, vol. ii., p. 432.

he sall pay half a merk to the altar and brouke the priuilege of the craft, and gif he be nocht sufficient he sall serf a master quhill he haf lirit to be worthy to be a master, and than to be maid freman and fallow." ¹

Upon this Lyon remarks:—

"The presence of wrichts equally with masons at the passing of their apprentices to the rank of fellow, as provided for by the charter of 1475, favours the opinion which we have elsewhere expressed—viz., that 'the Word' and other secrets peculiar to masons were communicated to apprentices on their admission to the Lodge, and that the ceremony of passing was simply a testing of the candidate's fitness for employment as a journeyman. From minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh we find that the Incorporation had in the early part of the seventeenth century ceased to examine apprentice masons for advancement to the rank of fellow, and that this ceremony, then within the special province of the Lodge, was participated in by entered apprentices—probably on account of the beneficial effect such examinations were calculated to produce upon their professional character." ²

Here we have the suggestion once more that his presence at the passing of a fellow would be in some way of educational value to the apprentice. As a matter of fact the stipulation that two apprentices should be present raises, on Lyon's hypothesis as to the nature of "passing", a very real difficulty, and some reason had to be found for it. Once it is admitted that the purpose of their presence was not severely practical the way is open to suppose it to have been formal and traditional. And the reason that Lyon assigns appears to be the only practical one that could be imagined with any plausibility, impossible in itself as it essentially is. It may also be noted in parenthesis that the above quoted clause from the 1475 charter *does not* say anything about the apprentice's fitness for employment as a journeyman, but to be a master and fellow of the craft. Neither does it say anything at all about a form of passing or reception; it is concerned only with technical qualifications and the examination necessary to establish them. Lyon says that "the ceremony of passing was simply a testing of the candidate's fitness", which is a curious statement. I am not so surprised, however, at his having made it, for he was so convinced of the correctness of his opinion that he could easily (as most of us also do in like cases) fail to see its absurdity; but that no exception has hitherto been taken to it is a matter for wonder, or would be were it not that so often it is the obvious that is the last thing to be seen. An examination may be formal, or even part of a ceremony, at least in Speculative Masonry, but how could the practical testing of a man's technical knowledge and skill, such as the charter plainly provides for, be a ceremony? The craftsman's examination in all trades was the production of a masterpiece, and in reality no better kind of examination could be devised for the purpose. But a masterpiece requires work as well as skill and knowledge, and work requires time. University examinations may take two or three weeks, and if the undergraduate passes them he receives his diploma and degree formally in Convocation. The two things are intimately related, but they are not the same. Wrights could have been among the examiners to test candidates for the mastery in the mason's craft, but it does not follow they were therefore present at the "passing" in the Lodge. How could they be present in the Lodge unless they belonged to it? If they did, *cadit questio*.

In thus clearing the ground I have gone to the fountain-head. No one since his time has advanced any new arguments, or at least arguments new in

¹ Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

² *Ibid.*, p. 233.

kind, in favour of Lyon's hypothesis, and he is the authority upon whose word it has been accepted, and upon whom all who have accepted it eventually rely. To attempt to show that in this he was mistaken is in no way to detract from the great merit of his work as a whole, or to lessen his honour as the historian of Freemasonry in Scotland. As was said in the first place it is very possible that if he had had the oldest records of the Lodge of Aitchison's Haven before him he might well have taken quite a different view of the matter.

The assumption, unconscious and uncriticised, that entered apprentice and fellow of craft were terms synonymous with indentured apprentice and journeyman has stood in the way of a proper understanding of the old records. I have to confess myself that I was long oblivious to the many indications that these pairs of terms designate quite different things. And it is obvious enough, and we have only to stop to think of it, that fellow-craft and journeyman are not the same. Yet even Lyon, in spite of his wide and intimate knowledge of the records, very easily puts journeyman where his source says fellow. It appears that already in the seventeenth century the master employers of Edinburgh had established themselves as a class distinct from the journeymen although there was no distinction in the Lodge corresponding to their real economic status. This may have been one reason why so many journeymen neglected to pass as fellows of craft. It gave them no practical advantage and was an expense. It did not enable them to get higher wages, or give them greater opportunities of becoming employers or of taking work on their own account. So they remained as they were—entered apprentices. And this also shows, and it too is obvious, that an entered apprentice was not the same as an apprentice still under his indentures, though there might be, and probably normally was, a period when the youthful craftsman was both. But we need not rely in this on inference, it is clear enough on the face of the evidence. There is the provision in the Schaw Statutes:—

“*Item, it sall not be lesum to na enterit prenteiss to tak ony gritter task or wark vpon hand fra a awnar nor will extend to the soume of ten pounds . . . and that task being done they sall Interpryiss na mair w^out licence of the maisteris or wardene q^r thay dwell.*”¹

This expressly provides for the entered apprentice working for himself, and the point of the article is in the restrictions placed upon him, without which we may surely assume he could take at will any work he could get. And it is to be observed that permission is to be obtained from the warden or masters, not his own master. He, therefore, is assumed to be out of his time. And, when we come to think of it, a boy or youth still in tutelage and servitude is not likely to have so many opportunities of working on his own account as to make it necessary to restrict him by regulation from doing so, any more than he is likely to be elected to offices of responsibility. In either case he must have been of an age, skill and ability sufficient to have established his credit and general fitness to undertake work or bear office.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that though both Lyon and Gould make a good deal of apprentices being eligible to office, only two cases are adduced in evidence. In the one, Gould tells us,² the entered apprentice so elected was passed as a fellow craft a year later, and we do not know whether he was even present in the Lodge during the interval. At least, I have not been able to find any further information on the subject. But Gould gives some references that I have never had the opportunity to look up. In the other case, which has already been referred to, the two officers elect were thereafter passed as fellows before being invested in their offices. Not even two swallows will make a summer. But to return to the Schaw Statutes: there are other articles that are relevant to the question under consideration. We may take this first:—

¹ Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Gould, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 394.

"Item, that na maister ressaue ony prenteiss bund for fewar zeiris nor sevin at the leist, and siclyke it sall no^t be lesum to mak the said prenteiss brother and fallow in craft vnto the tyme that he haif seruit the space of vther sevin zeiris efter the ische of his said prenteischip w^tout ane speciall licenc . . ."¹

There is nothing said here about entering, and it might be taken that to receive an apprentice was the same thing as entering him. But even so he would be working for seven years after he had served his time, and externally and in the ordinary way he would be a journeyman, although in the Lodge he would remain an entered apprentice. Whether this extended probationary (as I suppose we may call it) period was ever generally enforced I do not know. No one in a position to refer to the records seems to have been interested in finding out. But from what Lyon gives us² we learn that in Edinburgh, in 1681, the Lodge was trying to force such men to pass as fellows not more than two years after the discharge of their indentures. The Statutes, however, assume that a fellow of the craft is equivalent to a master employer, if not actually so, at least potentially, that is, the status of fellow implies having the freedom or right to employ others. Whereas in Edinburgh apparently the fellow had also to be a freeman and burghess in order to exercise these rights. Therefore the entered apprentice who was not a freeman's son, or without capital, had no great inducement to incur the expense of passing. On the other hand, the master class wanted him to pass in order to augment the funds of the Lodge.

But, returning to the Statutes, are we to take it that the term "receiving" was equivalent to "entering" an apprentice? The following two short articles appear to answer the question quite decisively:—

"Item, that na maister ressaue ony prenteiss w^tout he signifie the samyn to the wardene of the ludge quhair he dwellis, to the effect that the said prenteissis name and the day of his ressauyng may be ord^rlie buikit.

"Item, that na prenteiss be enterit bot be the samyn ord^r that the day of thair enteres may be buikit."³

It is evident from this that the entering is distinct from the receiving, and that normally it is expected that they will occur at different times; and the inference seems justified that reception comes before entrance. The latter can surely be given the meaning that it has in the Lodge records generally, namely, that it was a form or ceremony in which the secrets of the Mason word were communicated to the entrant. Thus we must understand receiving, to "ressaue" an apprentice "bund", to mean taking an apprentice, under indentures or their equivalent, which may originally have been a registration in the Lodge book. We must be careful, however, not to assume that the phrase "to receive an apprentice" always means this wherever it may occur in the various records, for there was no standard terminology and each scribe used his own, or that current in his Lodge at the time.

Such additional delays as the seven years of service as an *entered* apprentice after the expiry of the young craftsman's indentures are to be found in various forms in many places, and are not entirely unknown at the present day. The ostensible purpose is to ensure adequate knowledge and skill in the members of a trade or profession, but it is to be suspected that the driving motive is monopolistic. Under colour of ensuring the interests of the public those who have arrived seek to delay the arrival of others. The general line of development, as the social structure became more complex and trades became more specialized, was the growth of class feeling among the masters, who more and

¹ Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

more used their influence and power in the trade organisation, gild or whatever it was, to serve their own special interests, and to exploit the members of their craft who were not employers, or were such only occasionally and in a small way, and to reduce them to the status of journeymen merely, with less and less chance of becoming anything else. The latter in self-defence, and with more or less success, sought either to evade or to resist the restrictions that held them down. The Journeyman's Lodge of Edinburgh formed in 1712, originated in such a rebellion. But this is not relevant to our subject. It may be remarked in passing that here we have a possible field of speculation opened up. In view of such evolution it is possible to suppose that at a much earlier period, perhaps at the time the Old Charges took the form we know, perhaps earlier still, there was only one ceremony of admission into the lodges of masons, which came at the end of the period of servitude and pupillage, and marked the entry of the young craftsman into the full privileges and freedom of his occupation; and that it was due to subsequent social and economic changes, such as those that have been referred to, that the one ceremony became two, being divided along lines analogous to those by which (as is now generally supposed) the original "entry" was, after 1717, divided to form the substructure of the first two of our present system of three degrees.

The Schaw Statutes were promulgated at about the same time that the oldest Lodge records begin. Lyon gives us a number of minutes from the oldest record book of the Lodge of Edinburgh that fall within the same decade. Some of these it will be useful to quote, but first we may take the following from the oldest minute book of the Mason's Incorporation of Glasgow, under date 31st December, 1613:—

"Compeared John Stewart, Deacon of Masons, and signified to David Slater, Warden of the Lodge of Glasgow, and to the remnant Brethren of that Lodge, that he was to enter John Stewart, his apprentice, in the said Lodge."¹

There follows a record of this having been done on the first day of January thereafter. Aside from prepossession, the natural construction to be put on this is that John Stewart junior was already an apprentice, bound, we must presume, to his father.

From the Edinburgh Minutes we may take this:—

"xviij Decembris, 1599. The qlk day the dekin & maisteris of the ludge of the brut. of Edr. promittit to enter Thomas Tailzefer prenteiss to Thomas Weir, betwix and Candilmes next to cum; q'vpoun the sd Thos. Weir tuke Instrumentis."²

The Purification of the B.V.M., or Candlemass, is celebrated on 2nd February, so there is a possible interval of more than two months between the time that Tailzefer is said to be an apprentice and his entry in the Lodge. This, of course, is not a limit, for all we are told he may have been apprenticed years before this. Lyon does not give us the subsequent minute, if there be one, of his being entered.

Another minute of the same date is this:—

" . . . Item, the samyn day the dekin & maisteris of the ludge of Edinr. ordanit Johnne Watt, sone to Thomas Watt, to pay to the commoun effairis of the craft ten pundis money befor he be enterit prenteiss; and the sd prenteiss to be enterit to the warden becaus the said Thomas Watt hes his full numer of prenteissis (to wit thrie) enterit of befor; . . . "

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 412.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Then after several other transactions have been recorded we have this:—

“ . . . The warden & maisteris, with the consent of the ludge of Edr., decernis Paull Maisson to pay to Jhone Watt xl shellingis for his servand wagis, and alsua to deliver to the said Johnne ane mell and ane haimer; . . . ”¹

In commenting on this Lyon, having informed us that Paul Mason was Deacon of the Lodge, makes the assumption that John Watt was “one of his unbound apprentices”.² Informal apprenticeship usually does not appear until the craft organisation is considerably advanced in decay. And as the young man's father was a member of the Lodge, and most probably a master and burgess, as he had had his quota of apprentices, it would seem unlikely that his son should not have been regularly bound. It was probably the very assumption that indentured and entered apprentice were identical (which it is the object of the present argument to remove), that led Lyon to hazard this explanation. But however this may be, what does appear quite plainly is that John Watt had been working for his master as a journeyman; for the money due to him was for his “servand wagis”, and servant is the usual term for a journeyman in all these old records.

On the third day of February in 1601, the Lodge of Edinburgh

“ . . . consented to the buking and entring of Andro Hamiltoun. prenteiss to Johnne Watt, and hes presentlie at the wrytting heiroff enterit the said Andro Hamiltoun, a past prenteiss to the said Johnne Wat his Mr. W'vpoun followis the subscryvaris names in sign of the admissoun . . . ”³

The phrase “past prenteiss” is curious and intriguing. Does it mean that Hamilton had served his time and was discharged from his indentures before this date? It could be so construed. This Andrew Hamilton, by the way, is the only individual that I have been able to find, of whom sufficient record has been given us to show both when he was entered and when he was passed. On 2nd December, 1607, he was “admittit and ressavit in fallow of ye maissoun craft amang the friemen & bourgesses of yis burt of Edr.”⁴

One more citation may be taken from Lyon before we proceed to consider the minutes of the Lodge of Aitchison's Haven. This is the very curious “Contract and Agriement betwixt the Masson Lodge of Hadingtoun and John Crumbie”. It is dated 29th May, 1697, and so is very nearly a hundred years later than the minutes we have just been considering. It is too long to quote in full, and for our purpose not necessary. It purports to be between “Archbald Dauson, masson in Nungate, present Decon of the Mason Lodge of Hadingtoun, with and in name of the remnant Massons of the sd Masson Lodg one the ane part and John Crumbie masson in Stenton one the uther part”. And the party of the second part proceeds to bind himself not to work in company or fellowship with any Cowan at any kind of building or mason work, or to take work on his own account of value above six pounds Scots “during the time he is ane entered prentice”. And the Deacon and brethren of the Lodge on their part “oblidges them to accept of (and) receive the forsd John Crumbie as ane entered prentice, he keeping and observing the forsd conditions. . . . ”⁵

Two things are remarkable about this. First, Crumbie is described as a mason in the same terms as the Deacon of the Lodge. Secondly, he is not entered to any one of the fellows or masters of the Lodge, but to the Lodge itself. Lyon only remarks that it is an instance of an apprentice being entered

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

to a Lodge and not to an individual. I cannot say if we are to understand from this that there were other instances on record of a like arrangement.¹ But the fact that a special agreement or contract was entered into by the parties seems in itself to make it very exceptional. If one may be pardoned for speculating, the circumstances might be reconstructed thus. Crumbie was a working mason, adequately but irregularly trained, that is, outside the old organisation. For some reason he desired to regularise his position, and the Lodge was willing that he should in order that all working masons in the area it governed might be brought into the fold. Owing to his maturity and experience it was ridiculous to apprentice him even in form, so he was entered to the Lodge. During the time he was to be an entered apprentice, which is not stated, he was to submit to certain restrictions, in return for which he would in due course become a fellow and master of the Lodge.

If this at all corresponds to the facts the case was exceptional; though this we must surely admit in any case. It may not therefore have much bearing on the question. But, if the entered apprentice were normally a trained craftsman, even though perhaps a not very experienced one, this method of achieving the end in view was a natural and obvious one to adopt, for it would bring an exception within the form at least of the traditional procedure.

Before going further I should like to say that I do not regard any of the above evidence as in any way conclusive. The instances given seem to be fairly typical, and it is probable that, if we had more of the record available, many more such minutes could be adduced. One thing does seem clear, at least to myself, and that is that there is nothing, either in the phraseology or in the sense, that prevents us from construing them in the way I suggest. The minutes of these old Lodges were not standardised; they were laconic, abbreviated, sparing of words and punctuation alike. The clerk put down what he deemed essential, or what took his attention. Each clerk had his own peculiarities and his own formulas. This being so, it seems that we should read them each in the light of the others, bearing in mind Bro. Tuckett's protest against the assumption, not infrequently made, that what cannot be proved could not have happened.

The Aitchison's Haven Minutes—that is the earliest of them—have one peculiarity, a very helpful one, and one that, so far as available information goes, is unique. The clerk was most punctilious in setting down the names of those present at enterings and passings, and not only that but also of giving their respective rank or grade. And also he always gives the names of the Intenders chosen. That is, he follows closely the instructions laid down in the Schaw Statutes. But there are other unusual features too. In the third entry, that of 28th May, 1599, we are informed that

“ . . . Johne Petticrief hes payit his x sh to ye buiking of himself his prentisship being expyrit upone ye viii day of Mairch ye zeir of God 1599 and hes payit bot x sh becaus he was ane free manys sone and hes payit his gluifis to ye companie yat was conwinit . . . ”²

• There are several points in this that are obscure. John Petticrief's “time” is said to have expired nearly two months before the date of the entry in the book. This must refer to the period of his servitude under indentures, for later on, under date of 2nd January, 1600, his name appears in the list of entered apprentices when Andrew Patten was entered to the Lodge, and he was chosen by the latter as one of his intenders. Incidentally, when I use the term indentures or indentured, I would not be understood as offering any opinion as to whether it was customary in Scotland at that time for apprentices in the craft

¹ There is a case in the Aitchison's Haven Minutes, under date 3rd April, 1604.

² R. E. Wallace-James, *Minute Book of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge, 1598-1764*, A.Q.C., vol. xxiv., p. 30 *et seq.* And so for all subsequent citations from these minutes.

of masons to be bound by such an instrument, but merely to distinguish the status of the practical apprenticeship to the trade from that of an entered apprentice.

The minute of 28th May, 1599, has nothing further to say of John Petticrief, and in view of the characteristics of these minutes for the first few years, and the care shown to put in all essential details, it seems almost certain that he must have been entered at some time before the minute book begins, that is before 7th January, 1598. Apparently then, he was entered without paying his fees at the time, and also, of course, that he was entered before he had served his time. The overlapping would thus be nearly a year at least, though, of course, possibly more. How long he remained an entered apprentice, or how long any other of the apprentices, who were entered in these years, remained such, we do not know, as there is no complete record of any of the individuals in question in the minutes so far published.

Another case of an overlapping is that of Andrew Patten. Of date, 7th June, 1599, we have this:—

“ . . . Andro Pattene payit xx sh to his buiking and had servit
VI zeiris of his prentischip and had II zeiris to serve . . . ”

This minute will have to be considered again in another connection, so we may pass it by for the present.

At the same date as the entry concerning John Petticrief, 28th May, 1599, there is a cancelled note or memorandum to the effect that James Fender, son of the Warden of the Lodge (the John Fender who signed the St. Clair Charter as one of the three delegates representing the Aitchison's Haven Lodge), had paid also ten shillings for his booking. Perhaps the entry was cancelled because after all the money was not forthcoming. Four years after this, on 3rd April, 1604, he “ was enterit prenteis to his father ”, who was still Warden, and it is added that he had paid the ten shillings required as a fee from a freeman's son. Did the earlier note refer to his registration as an indentured apprentice? If only we knew when he was passed as a fellow we might have something to go on, but as it is the question is unanswerable.

There are a number of notes of a similar kind. From the way they are phrased they do not appear to be minutes of the proceedings of the Lodge at a regularly convened meeting, and possibly may refer to action taken by groups forming an occasional Lodge, to use Dr. Anderson's phrase. Such proceedings, it will hardly be necessary to say, were perfectly regular so long as they were reported, and the fees transmitted to the proper custodians of the Lodge funds. There is an entry sandwiched between the minute of 2nd January, 1600, already cited, and one that precedes it in the book, though it records a meeting held five days later, on 7th January, 1600. This informs us that

“ The zeir of God 1599 Gabriell Lithgow payit his XX sh for his
bukinge and also his glufis upone ye fift day of Agust.”

As twenty shillings appears to have been the regular fee for an apprentice to be registered, this may be deemed to be for his entering at some time or other, though whether on 5th August is doubtful. The two following items are more definite:—

“ The zeir of God 1602 Archbald Cowie was maid enterit prentyc and
payit his xx sh for his bukin ”

“ The zeir of God 1602 Thomas Nisbet payit his enteries silver quhilk
is bot x sh becaus he was ane fre manys sone.”

It seems as if Nisbet may not have been actually entered on the same occasion as the money was paid, seeing that in Cowie's case this is definitely stated.

The following entries are more enigmatic:—

“ XXVII day of Decr. 1612

Alex^r Petticruiff befoir ye faice of yis sufficient ludge buikes my self
XXVII day of december ”

and under the same date:—

“ Walter Waker hes payit his buiking.”

Then we may take the two following, though they precede the above in the book:—

1613

“ Williame Pedden salbe buikit upone the secound day of February the
zeir of God Jm sex hundreth and twelf zeiris.”

1613

“ I Alex^r Aittoun beffoir ye faice off yis sufficient Lodge buikes my self ”

The first of these is curious in that while it appears to be headed by the date 1613, it speaks of the booking as to be done, or else as having been done, the year before. There are other notes of the same kind, and these two may be given:—

“ Upon the XXVII day of descember David Lowe was boukit and payit
his bouking silver 1625.”

“ Upon the 27 day of desember Jho. Hisllipe was bukit and payit his
buking silver 1626 ”

These minutes and memoranda taken together give an impression that “ buiking ” (presumably what we would call registration) was separable from entering. And this leads to the question,—as what was the individual booked or registered? The term is used both at entering and passing, but some of the above quoted records may not be either. They may be registrations of the taking of an apprentice by a master or fellow of the Lodge, and perhaps such registration may have taken the place of indentures, or may have been concurrent with the execution of such an instrument. This seems to be almost certain in the following records. The date is given above each:—

Aug. 12, 1604.

“ . . . Wm Aitten of Mussilbrugh hes payit Thomas Aittaines
buking x sh ye quhilk he hes fun catioun Thomas Petticrufe vii
zeiris to serve his father . . . ”

Dec. 27, 1612.

“ Ye quhilk day befoir ye said ludg Johne Aytone soun to W. Aytoun
and hes bund him self to his said father ye space of vii zeiris and
ane zeir swa . . . (some illegible words here) . . . and hes
payit his buik silver and Johne Petticruif casione
Johne Aytoun with my hand (Mark) ”

Jan. 3, 1614.

“ The quhilk day befoir ye said ludg Johne Petticruif soun to Hendrie
Petticruif and hes bund him self to his said father ye space of aucht
zeiris and to serve his mother during his prentischip gif his said father
sall inlek and hes payit his bukin ye zeir of god 1605 ye first of
Januarie

John Petticruif with my hand . . . ”

In these three cases the record almost certainly refers to the taking of apprentices in the ordinary way common to all trades. In the last of the three reference is made to the year 1605, when the fee was paid. The term of the apprenticeship would have expired, or was soon to expire, when this entry was

made in the book. Unfortunately there are no minutes given for 1605, so that the question must remain undetermined. On 3rd January, 1614, we have:—

“The quhilk day befor ye said Ludge Ninian Muogumerie sone to
Niniane Mungumerie hes bound him self to ye space of nyne zeiris
and shall serve his father . . .

Ninian Montgomerie with my hand . . .”

Ninian Montgomery senior is probably the same Ninian who was passed as a fellow of craft on 20th December, 1603. If he had married about that time he could have had a son nine or ten years old. If Ninian junior was as young as this, it appears that he was able to write, which would speak well for the educational facilities of Aitchison's Haven. If the boy were older than this, then his father must have been married before he was passed in the Lodge, that is while he was still an entered apprentice.

The two following notes are a check on the preceding ones, for they record booking and entering together, though otherwise in the same form:—

April 3, 1604.

“The quhilk day James Fender was enterit prenteis to his father and
is payit x sh for his buiking to his admitteris . . .”

Jan. 3, 1614.

“ . . . Thomas Aytoun enterit and payit his buikin ”

Was this the same Thomas Aytoun whose booking was paid by William Ayton of Musselburgh on 12th August, 1604? As ten years is long for the period of servitude, he may have been booked before he was bound, on a kind of waiting list, or on the other hand he may have been out of his time some years before he was entered. In any case the two minutes here given help us to interpret the others that have been cited. Had there been no mention of the entering at all the natural inference would be that “booking” included it in the record, or as an alternative that in the sixteenth century the Scottish Lodges knew of no ceremony of entrance. But this is hardly to be accepted seeing that the Schaw Statutes refer to it. On the other hand, had the “entering” in all cases been recorded without mention of “booking”, and “booking” spoken of without the “entering”, the inference would be that the clerk used the one or the other word for the same procedure as the whim took him. As it is we are entitled to suppose that the two things were distinct enough to be separated not only in the record but also in the performance.

There are two minutes that are rather curious and which seem to refer to what we should call affiliation. The first is dated 27th December, 1624.

“Upon the first day of May Hendrie Aittoun was abceped in the
Lodg and payit his buiking silver”

A Hendrie Aitene is said to have been the “dykin” at the meeting of the Lodge on 23rd January of the same year. If he were the same man, how did he become Deacon before he was “abceped”? Was the action taken three months afterwards, and recorded a year later, to correct an irregularity in his having been elected to office before he had become a member of the Lodge?

The date of the second of these two minutes of affiliation is uncertain. It follows the booking of John Hislip on 27th December, 1626, but that is no indication of when it actually occurred. However, this is of no consequence for the present purpose. It runs as follows:—

“Upon the XVIII of Januar John Aytoun Mason in Dumfries hes
bookit himself be consente of the hoall brethrine of the Lodg”

This affiliation of a member of another old Lodge ties up the usages of Aitchison's Haven with those of the Scottish Craft generally at that time, and confirms the inference that can be drawn from the fact that the St. Clair Charter was signed by three delegates from the Lodge.

The minutes that have so far been quoted do not give us conclusions that are clear and definite, or quite certain. I would contend only that they are consistent with the view suggested. The case of Andrew Patten may have been quite exceptional, as is the note in the minute about the length of time that he had served. The rule of the operative Lodge at Alnwick was that the apprentice was to be entered and "given his charge" within a year after he had been "taken" by his master. At Swalwell the interval was shorter still, being only forty days.¹ It is true these were not Scottish Lodges, but they were not far from Scotland. What may make more difference is that the date of these rules is a century later. But even so, the two things, the taking the apprentice under indentures and the entering in the Lodge are different things; and it could be argued that the fact that the period was limited by express legislation shows that longer intervals were sufficiently frequent to require the enactment, which for some reason or other was deemed desirable. The old Lodges were very much a law unto themselves.

The supposition that the apprentice was not entered until towards the end of his time would explain a difficulty, perhaps an insignificant one, which I have often felt, though no one else has apparently. And that is the fact that from the very beginning of the Grand Lodge era, that is after 1717, there is no indication anywhere of a tradition contrary to the requirement that the Candidate must be of mature age. The old exception in favour of the Lewis, that he could be entered at the age of eighteen, is not really one at all. Our present culture is all directed to lengthening the period of juvenility and immaturity. Yet, even so, most boys of eighteen will prove mature enough to qualify as men if they have a man's responsibilities thrust on them. Now if the apprentice had been normally entered at or about the time that he was bound, and assuming also that he was bound at the age of twelve or thereabouts, it seems as if some traces of making Masons at an earlier age than eighteen would have appeared somewhere or other. But I have never been able to find any.

The argument so far has been directed to showing a possibility that the records can be understood in a different sense from that which has hitherto been given to them. But there are some minutes in the Aitchison's Haven book that appear to be more conclusive. We will take up the case of Andrew Patten that was left over for further consideration. There is another minute referring to him. The two may both be given here.

"The VII day of Junii 1599

Upon ye quhilk day Andro Pattene payit xx sh to his buiking
and had servit VI zeiris of his prentischip and had II zeiris to
. "1

"The Secun day of Januarii the zeir of God 1600

The quhilk day Andro Pattene was enterit prenteis to Johne Craford
his maister and hes payit his xx sh for his boukin and payit his
gluifis to his admitteris thare namit "

There follow the names of seven fellows of craft and four entered apprentices, and of the latter Patten chose John Petticruif and Alexander Cubie as his intenders. Now Cubie was himself entered on 11th January, 1598, about two years before this; the minute recording this is the second in the book. Cubie also had chosen two intenders, and they likewise were entered apprentices. And so

¹ Gould, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 262, and note 6.

in every case where the record gives the names of those present and their grade, we find that the entered apprentice's instructors were of the same rank as he was himself. This raises a question; what was it that the intenders had to teach their pupil? There is a vague idea that they were to instruct him in the art and craft of masonry. But these to us are rather hazy terms. We are used to thinking of them in a speculative sense for ourselves, but in a more material and practical sense for our operative predecessors. It will be as well to try and clear this up. The mason apprentice was, so far as we can judge, bound in the same way as in other trades. But the agreement between the master and the apprentice (or his parents or guardians for him) was that he should serve his master, and in return that his master was to teach him the craft, its art and mystery. But let us suppose for the sake of argument that the teaching the master had contracted to give was supplemented by the intenders; then why should the intenders be themselves tyros, but little more experienced than their pupil? The case just cited is not so striking as another in this respect. James Fender was entered on 2nd April, 1604, and on 12th August of the same year, four months later, he was himself chosen as intender by John Ayton when the latter was entered. It follows almost of necessity that what the intenders had to teach was something that could be fully learned in a short time. The regulations of the Lodge of Aberdeen give us some help here. In the second paragraph of the seventh statute it is ordained

" . . . that non of our lodge teach or instruct ane entered printise untill such time as he be perfyted be his Intender . . . but when his Intender and his Maate gives him over as being taught then any person hath libertie to teach him any thing he forgates
 . . . " ¹

and the regulation provides that if "when he is interrogat at our publict meetings" he forgets anything of what had been taught to him he is to be fined, unless it be shown that it was something he had not been told, in which event the Intender was to be fined instead. So that both the instructor and the instructed were on trial.

In the Schaw Statutes of 1599 there are some peculiar expressions which it will be relevant to notice here. Provision is made in one article for an examination of all the masons within the bounds of the Lodge of Kilwinning. The examiners are to "tak tryall of the qualification of the hail masonis . . . of thair art, craft, seyance and antient memorie". In a subsequent article it is ordered that no fellow of craft is to be admitted "without ane sufficient essay and prufe of memorie and art of craft". And later still is another regulation respecting examinations in which it is ordered that the Lodge "tak tryall of the art of memorie and science thair of, of everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss according to ather of their vocationis; and in cais that thai have lost onie point thair of, eurie of thame to pay the penaltie as followis. for their slewthfulness . . ." ² The fine for the fellow who was forgetful was more than for the apprentice.

Lyon suggests ³ that the Schaw Statutes were the result of, and intended to correct, a state of disorder and disintegration into which the mason craft had fallen at the time. This seems very likely, and in such an effort it is probable that the attempt was made to return to the good old traditional customs and usages their predecessors had followed in the golden age of a generation or so before. One of the articles of the 1599 Statutes speaks of putting "furth of their societie and cumpanie all personis disobedient to fulfil and obey the hail actis and antient statutis sett down of befor of guid memorie". This is

¹ Miller, *Notes of the Early History and Records of the Lodge, Aberdeen*, p. 64. These rules are also given by Lyon with some small differences. *Op. cit.*, p. 423.

² Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

important. The intention to reinforce the old traditional laws and customs of the craft could hardly be more forcefully expressed. And if the disorder and irregularities which Lyon assumes were in part due to the existence of masons outside the society of the Lodges, un-entered masons, who perhaps had trained apprentices of their own and were in course of creating a new group of craftsmen, fully proficient technically, then the possession of the Mason Word and its secrets, would assume a definitely practical importance in respect of employment and wages to those within the old organisation. In the light of this supposition let us consider the citations from the Schaw Statutes given above. The article first quoted calls for a general testing of the qualifications of all men using the mason's trade, a sort of separating the sheep from the goats. It would appear to be the first step towards bringing the craft back to a wholesome state of order and discipline, as these were then understood. And in such an inquisition it is practically certain that not only technical skill and knowledge would be required, but also regularity of status from the point of view of the old organisation. The subjects of the examination, so to speak, were the art, craft, science and memory of Masonry. Art, craft and science can all be understood as referring to purely technical matters, but memory is curious.

The second passage is from the clause that deals with the qualifications for fellows. After the craft had been purged of the "cowans" and those classed with the cowans proper, the unentered masons, the "drops" of the *Mason's Confession* of a century and a quarter later, the next step was obviously to see that they did not creep in again. So the candidate for the fellowship is not to be admitted without, first of all, a sufficient essay. This would establish the craftsman's proficiency in his occupation. When John Hamilton, in 1686, had completed the house one hundred and twenty feet long, with walls twenty feet high, and its staircase, he would surely have most completely demonstrated his ability and knowledge as a mason and builder, not only to the essay masters appointed to inspect the work, but also to any prospective employer or patron.¹ And this being so, what was the "Pruife of memorie" that was also to be required of him according to the Statutes?

The third of the articles cited seems to be intended to establish annual examinations for all the members of the Lodge, and presumably other masons within its bounds or jurisdiction. It is not definitely said that it is to be annual, that is, in the article itself, but as it follows immediately one that requires a yearly renewing of the oath by all masters and fellows of craft, that they would not work with cowans, nor allow their men or apprentices to do so, it seems only reasonable to suppose that this trial is to be yearly, too. Otherwise the stipulation would be no more than a weak duplication of the first one quoted.

Both fellows of craft and apprentices were to be examined, according to either of their vocations. It is to be noted that Lyon did not seem to be quite clear about what was ordered. In commenting on the document as a whole he says that

" . . . in his anxiety for the loyalty of master masons and fellows, and the perfecting of the professional skill of journeymen and apprentices, the Warden-General provides in the case of the former for their annual renewal of the oath of fideilty, and in that of the latter for their periodical examination in practical masonry, and for the punishment of the wilfully ignorant."²

There is a confusion here that obscures the full purport of the two articles. He renders the phrase "haill masonis" as "master masons and fellows" and "everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss" as "journeymen and apprentices". The term "haill masonis" must certainly include all the

¹ Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

fellows of craft, both those who were master-employers and those who were not, but who worked as journeymen. And it is not too much to go further and say that it would naturally include those journeymen or "servands" who were entered apprentices, but were out of their time. "Fellow of craft" cannot be construed two ways in the same document in closely connected clauses. Lyon should therefore have said that the masters and journeymen (whether fellows or entered apprentices) had to renew annually their oath, and journeymen (with the masters) and apprentices were to be examined annually. The distinction he makes, in short, simply does not exist in the document itself.

Lyon's prepossessions probably led him into making another slip. He says that "No traces of an annual 'tryall of the art and memorie and science thairof of everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss' are to be found in the recorded transactions of Mary's Chapel or in those of the Lodge of Kilwinning"¹. It is only the change of a very small word, but "art and memorie" is not at all the same thing as "art of memorie", and trifling as the change may at first seem, it makes a good deal of difference in the interpretation of the clause.²

It is fair to assume that those who drafted these codes intended to convey some meaning, and that they were not merely indulging in empty verbiage. "Antient memorie" and "art of memorie" are obscure enough, but they at least suggest some knowledge of a traditional kind. And it was also some kind of knowledge that could be divided into "points". It was further something that was apt to be forgotten. Now skill in handicraft, and the technical knowledge of the trade, could hardly be divided in any useful way into points, and further, once learned it could hardly be forgotten. One never forgets how to ride a bicycle, or to swim, once these arts have been acquired, nor does one forget how to handle tools, though naturally with disuse skill may be lessened. But the presupposition here is that those who were to be examined were daily employed in their trade, so that this contingency would not arise.

Lyon also, in a passage that has already been quoted, seems to have missed another point, the full significance of which is destructive of his hypothesis. He says (it may be repeated for convenience):—

"The 'trial of skill in his craft', the production of an 'essay-piece', and the insertion of his name and mark in the Lodge book, with the names of his 'six admitters' and 'intendaris', as specified in the act, were merely practical tests and confirmations of the applicant's qualifications as an apprentice, and his fitness to undertake the duties of journeyman or master in Operative Masonry."

The question is that of the intenders. Were they those who were assigned to the "applicant" when he was entered as an apprentice? It does not actually and definitely say in this passage that this was so, but the impression given is that Lyon assumed that it was the instructors of the apprentice who were referred to. It is also true that the clause itself in the Statutes could be so construed without undue violence. But, read without any preconception, the most natural meaning is that the intenders are those to be chosen by or for the newly passed fellow as such:—

"... and his name and mark insert in the said buik w^t the names of his sex admitteris and enterit prenteissis, and the names of the intendaris that salbe chosin to everie persone to be alsua insert in thair buik."³

All that is here said would appear to be in reference to the passing, and it would be a curious procedure to wait till the apprentice was passed before recording

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

² Curiously Gould (vol. iv., p. 305) quotes Lyon verbatim, yet gives the passage correctly in a note. Evidently he also failed to see its significance.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

the names of the instructors given him when he was entered, years before, if we may judge from the case of Andrew Hamilton, the only instance made available to us (though there must be many more) where both the records, of the passing and entering of one individual, are given. And this is supported by the extra seven years an apprentice was to serve after his time had expired before he could be passed that was required by the Schaw Statutes.

But Lyon himself gives us an instance of intenders being appointed for a newly passed fellow, though of much later date. In the excerpts from the minutes of the Lodge of Peebles Kilwinning in the last chapter of his *History* we find the following under date of 27th December, 1716:—

“Alexr. Veitch, enter'd prentise, made application to this lodge & was received, who choose for his intenders David and Richard Whyts.”¹

It is very strange how easy it is to miss the obvious, even when it stares one in the face, if we are not expecting it or are expecting something else. When Bro. Wallace-James presented his paper to Quatuor Coronati Lodge on the old Minutes of the Lodge of Aitchison's Haven, although the subject of intenders was mentioned, no one remarked that the very first entry in the book records explicitly the choosing of intenders and instructors for a newly made fellow then received or passed. Robert Widderspone was “maid fellow of Craft” and he “chois George Aytons John Pedden” to be “his intenders and instructouris”. And those present are all definitely said to have been fellows of craft; there were, it would seem, no apprentices present on this occasion. We could hardly have hoped to find a record so clear and unequivocal; though it is possible that a search in other minute books would result in the discovery of confirmatory records. But we do not have only one case in these oldest extant minutes of the Craft. There are four other entries, from 28th May, 1599, to 28th December, 1603, in which the same form of recording the receiving or making of a fellow is used. In each case two intenders were chosen and named in the record, and in each case they are from the fellows of craft present. The additional and explanatory word instructor is used but once. After 1603 the form of the minutes changes and the intenders are no longer mentioned. It does not follow from this that the procedure of passing was changed. It would appear to be simple negligence on the part of the clerk.

It is particularly worthy of remark that with the exception of the first of these entries respecting the making of fellows the names of two entered apprentices are recorded as being present. In one case, that of 20th December, 1603, it is not quite clear from the minute itself just how many apprentices were there, but by reference to other minutes to determine the grade of each member named it can be established that there were only two. It is also curious to note that in three of the five cases exactly seven fellows were present, and in no case were there less than seven. The six “admitteris” of the Statutes appear to have been an irreducible minimum and not the normal number.

During the same period, and up to August, 1604, there are four full minutes of apprentices being entered. In these we find respectively in order of their date that there were present nine, seven, six and eight fellows of craft, and of apprentices, four, four, four and two. It would appear that the Lodge was following a tradition rather than obeying a newly promulgated regulation. The fact that, excepting the last entry, there were four entered apprentices in the Lodge at an entering, gives added significance to there having been in no case more than two at the making of a fellow. Whether there be any significance in the fact that at the first recorded passing there were no apprentices present, and that between the date of this event and that of the next one, John Fender, the Warden, George Aytone and Thomas Petticrief, all three of whom were present at both the two meetings of the Lodge, had been in Edinburgh as

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 418.

delegates to represent the Lodge, and had signed the St. Clair Charter as such, is not easy to say. It is at least a curious coincidence.

The newly passed fellow of craft, then, had two intenders or instructors, who had something to teach him: obviously something that he did not know before. Further it was something that could be perfectly learned in a short time. We have already seen that the entered apprentice could learn his lesson, whatever it was, very quickly; but there is much more striking evidence in regard to what was required in the superior grade. Ninian Montgomery was passed on 20th December, 1603, and a week later, on St. John's Day, he was himself selected, as one of his intenders, by James Petticrief. It did not take long for a fellow to be "perfyted"!

We may now see to what conclusion the argument is leading. The "entered apprentice" was not a tyro; he was normally entered towards the end of his term of servitude to his master, if not in some cases after it had expired. Andrew Patten had served six years and had two more to serve. If we put his age at twelve years when he was bound, he would have been eighteen years old when he was entered, and could hardly have failed to become (at the most modest estimate) a reasonably proficient workman. But if this makes it unlikely that his intenders were supposed to give him further technical instruction, what is to be said of the newly passed fellow of craft? He was in theory, and doubtless to a reasonable extent in practice, a master of his trade. In what, then, did these instructions consist? We have indications that they were ancient, traditional and divisible into points; a word with a distinctly Masonic flavour. It would seem that something akin to the "secrets of the mason word" embodied in a catechism would fill the conditions perfectly. In such a body of doctrine it would be quite possible for anyone to become proficient in a very short time; it would be quite possible to examine everyone annually; and in such an examination it would be at once apparent if those examined had forgotten anything. A technical examination under the conditions of an annual Lodge meeting would simply be out of the question. No one with the least acquaintance with what constitutes craftsmanship would ever imagine such a thing. Would the fellows be set new essays every year? But it is absurd to labour the point.

What then is the conclusion we have reached? The apprentice was entered in the Lodge with some ceremony or ritual. Certain secrets were communicated to him, and he was afterwards coached by his intenders in this secret knowledge, and later examined in it. Later still, the entered apprentice was passed as a fellow, and there must have been some formality about this at the very least. He then, as a fellow, was coached by intenders of his new rank, and afterwards examined in what they taught him. And it would be very forced to suppose that this new lesson was of a totally different kind from the former one, or that its matter was something that he could have learned as an apprentice. It follows almost of necessity that there were secrets belonging to the fellows that were not known to the apprentices.

But what then of the two apprentices who were required to be present at a passing? This is a question that cannot be answered from the evidence we have been considering, nor, for that matter, from any other that we have in our hands, even if all the extant information, good, bad and indifferent, concerning ancient Masonic usages were to be brought into court. But the difficulty is an entirely imaginary one. It springs from the assumption, not at all required by the evidence, that because these two apprentices were present at some part of the proceedings they were therefore present at all of them. My own opinion, for what it may be worth, is that the form of passing was a traditional ceremony, and that two apprentices were required to take some part in it, it may be a minor and passive part, but nevertheless, from the point of view of the rite, a necessary one. The necessities of a ritual are quite other than those of practical everyday affairs. As has already been suggested, so long as we think of the

early Masonic ritual in terms of the ceremonies that Speculative Freemasons perform to-day it is not possible to obtain any just idea of what the primitive ritual may have been. We must go to folk rites. Such observances as "crying the neck", the "need-fire", the "baal-teinn" May Day and Midsummer festivities, were all traditional, they were observed because they always had been, about them was an aura of good-luck, or conversely it was unlucky to neglect them, and above all, they were the occasion of feasting and rejoicing. Whatever the free-masons may have been in the Middle Ages, Companions of Kings or as brothers to great lords (if they ever were so) it is apparent that the operative members of the Scottish Lodges in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came from the same strata of the population as furnished the participants in the public field and seasonal ceremonies of the folk. And often enough strangers or outsiders were not so warmly welcomed if they intruded on these observances. In the case of the need-fire, for example, the stranger who refused to put his hand to the machine improvised to produce fire by friction was likely to be roughly handled. By doing this he participated in the rite, and became as it were initiated and free to be present.

The entering of apprentices and passing of fellows were *rites de passage*. There are manifest fossil survivals of primitive magic to be found in the Masonic ritual to-day, in spite of all the editing, expurgating, modification and expansion it has been subject to; and the same reasons that kept the folk rites alive down to the nineteenth century in the British Islands would be equally operative in preserving the secret ceremonies of the masons down to the time that they were transformed into high moralities and mystical speculations in the eighteenth, and possibly in the seventeenth century too.

All this is however beside the mark. The purpose of this paper was to show reason for the reversal of the accepted opinion that only one "degree" was practised in the old Scottish Lodges before the era of the Grand Lodges, by a reconsideration of the evidence upon which it was based. It is the contention here maintained, that this evidence really points to the same state of affairs which (as is generally admitted) existed in the southern part of Great Britain, namely, that there were two primitive degrees. This contention is strongly supported by the Minutes of the Lodge of Aitchison's Haven, which were not known to exist when the opinion here controverted was first propounded. But if the Masonic usages in the two countries are thus shown to be externally identical, the vestiges of ritual that have come down to us in another set of documents, for the most part of very dubious provenance, may be considered on the basis of their contents rather than on their antecedents, and it becomes just so much more probable that in essentials the Masonic ritual is of an indefinite antiquity.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge very gratefully the painstaking and comprehensive assistance that Bro. A. J. B. Milborne has given me in the preparation of this paper. Indeed, he has done so much that he might well be named a joint author. He has read it twice in MS. and made many valuable suggestions as well as verified all the quotations and references, into which it is so easy for errors to creep. He also drew my attention to the note on the Swallow Lodge and the Harodim by John Yarker in volume xv. of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*. In this the six Quarter Masters of Kilwinning Lodge are mentioned, who were, it seems, in the 1699 minutes of that Lodge, also called "Men of Ancient Memory". Here the phrase would appear to mean, "men versed in the traditions and usages of the Craft". This is quite compatible with the suggested interpretation of the phrase where it appears in the Schaw Statutes, the version, by the way, drawn up for the Lodge of Kilwinning, and which was discovered in its archives.

Bro. Milborne also pointed out that the Calendar was reformed in Scotland by an order in council passed in December, 1599. By this enactment the discrepancy between the old Julian Calendar and the true date of the equinoxes

was corrected, and, which is much more important in dealing with documents of the period than this discrepancy of a few days, the beginning of the civil year was changed from March 25th to January 1st.

It would seem that George Ayton, Clerk of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge, was cognisant of this order in council and changed his dating accordingly, as otherwise the minutes of 2nd and 7th January would have been put in 1599 instead of 1600, as they are. Furthermore, while by our accustomed mode of reckoning years the two minutes of January, 1598, would be separated from those of 28th May, 1599, by an interval of seventeen months, they were actually, by the old way, only five months apart. That is, they fell in the January that would have been the first month of the year 1599 had it been reckoned according to the reformed Calendar.

It follows that when it was recorded under date of 28th May, 1599, that John Petticrief's apprenticeship expired on 7th March, 1599, it was not the March preceding that was referred to, but the month that became by virtue of the order in council March, 1600, for the last three months of 1599 by the old style became the first three months of 1600 under the new.

In discussing this I had taken the phrase "being expiryt" as equivalent to "having expired", but I do not profess any great competency in construing Scottish idiom, and it may be that this interpretation is incorrect in any case. It is clear that in this place what was intended was "is to expire" or "will expire". However, this correction makes no material difference to the main argument.

I would have been glad to have had Bro. Milborne bring out these points in the discussion, but he preferred to have me use the material in the paper itself. I have therefore put it here as a kind of addendum, leaving the body of the paper as it was, in order that he might have the full credit of setting me right in regard to these dates.

Some tables and notes are given in an Appendix, the last item of which may, I hope, be useful to anyone who wishes to investigate these minutes further. I feel quite sure that much remains to be drawn out, of things both interesting in themselves and useful in advancing our knowledge of the early organisation of the Craft. I have limited myself as strictly as possible to the one question propounded at the beginning of the paper, but I hope others will go further.

APPENDIX A.

Analysis of the attendance at the Meeting of May 28, 1599.

"Upon the XXVIII day of May Johne Petticrief hes payit his x sh to ye buiking of himself his prentischip being expyrit upone ye viii day of Maich ye zeir of God 1599 and hes payit bot x sh becaus he was ane free manys sone and hes payit his gluifis to ye cumpanie yat was conwinit Johne Crafurd Thomas Petticrief George Aytone Hendrie Petticrief enterit prentiss Ordainit [illegible] James Petticrief Wilzame Petticrief [illegible] the said James Petticrief.

1599

"Upun ye XXVIII day of Maii the zeir of God 1599 James Fender hes payit x sh to ye buiking of his self sone to John Fender Warden for ye present.

[This Minute has been cancelled]

The XXVIII day of May 1599

"Upone ye quhilk day Johne Low was maid fellow of Craft in ye presence of Johne Fender Warden for ye present Wilzame Aytone elder deasone Thomas Petticrief John Crafurd Hendrie Petticrief Wilzame Aytone zounger Georg Aytone all fellowis of Craft also of enterit prentis Richart Petticrief James Petticrief also ye said Johne Low did chuis George Aytone and Wilzame Aytone

younger to be his intendar and hes payit xx sh and his gluifs to ye said cumpanie."

Name	I.	II.	III.
Fellows of Craft			
Ayton, George	...	P	P
Ayton, William, Sr.	...	P	P
Ayton, William, Jr.	...		P
Crafurd, John	...	P	P
Fender, John	...	P	P
Low, John	...		P
Petticrief, Henry	...	P	P
Petticrief Thomas	...	P	P
Entered Apprentices			
Petticrief, James	...	P	P
Petticrief Richard	...		P
Petticrief, William	...	P	
Petticrief, John	...	P	
Apprentices			
Fender, James	...	P (?)	

The Minutes for this date record three transactions. The second refers to the booking of James Fender, and is cancelled. The inference is that the intention was to book or register him, but that for some reason, that does not appear, this was not put into execution. We do not know that he was present, the reason for the cancellation may have been that he was not. If apprentices were booked when bound, their presence may not have been necessary; though in general I believe it was in other trades. But leaving him out of account, we have the names of *twelve* persons who were at the place of meeting on that day, eight fellows of craft, and, assuming that John Petticrief had been entered before, *four* Entered Apprentices; or if we take the other view, then three Entered Apprentices and an apprentice who was booked and entered as the first recorded transaction, though only the booking is mentioned. This seems to me to be the least probable alternative.

The table shows that the list of those present at the booking of John Petticrief does not coincide with that of those present at the passing of John Low. One Fellow, William Ayton Jr., appears in the second list whose name is not in the first, while of five apprentices, including John Petticrief and John Low, who were somewhere at hand, and might have been present, only three are named in the first list; while only two, but with an exchange William for Richard Petticrief, were present at the passing of Low.

This might be explained in two ways. Either it was considered necessary to put down on the record only a sufficient number of those present to show that the Lodge was properly constituted for the purpose, using our modern terminology, or else the entering and passing was customarily done by a group apart from the general meeting in the way that was not uncommon in Speculative Lodges in the eighteenth century. The first alternative has some support in minutes elsewhere, as that of 28th March, 1603, in the records of Mary's Chapel (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 74), where, after a list of names, is added: "with consent and assent of certane others alsweel of the same ludge, and alsua of enterit prenteisses".

In either case this minute opens up the possibility that the attendance at other assemblies may sometimes have been larger than appears on the record. And it in no way supports the supposition that because the name of an individual appears in the minutes of a meeting of a Lodge he was therefore actually present at everything that was done on the occasion.

APPENDIX B.

Table of Enterings, Passings and Bookings.

Page					Intenders	Present	
34	1598	Jan.	11	Alexander Cubie	Archibald Glene James Petticrief	F.C. E.A. 9 4	"enterit prenteis to Georg Aytone".
36	1600	Jan.	2	Andro Pattene	Alexander Cubie Johone Pettocruif	7 4	entered to John Crafurd "his maister".
37	1602	Jan.	2	Archbald Cowie	—	— —	"was maid enterit prentyc and payit his xx sh for his bukin."
38	1604	April	3	James Fender	Wm. Pettersone James Pedden	6 4	"enterit prenteis to his father".
38	1604	Aug.	12	Johne Attaine	James Pedden James Fender	8 2	"enterit prenteis to ye haill Ludge". The words "to his father" cancelled.
34	1598	Jan.	9	Robert Widderspone	George Aytone John Pedden	8 0	"maid fellow of craft."
35	1599	May	28	Johne Low	George Aytone Wilzame Aytone, Younger	7 2	" " " "
35	1599	Dec.	14	Edwart Ramage	(illegible)	12 2	" " " "
38	1603	Dec.	20	William Macumrie	Robert Widderspon	7 2	" " " "
38	1603	Dec.	28	James Petticrufe	Robert Wodderspone	7 2	" " " "
38	1609	May	25	Willame Peddene	Ninian Magumrie	— —	"maid fellow off crafft in presens off ye generall Ludge".
34	1599	May	28	Johne Petticrief	paid his booking	6 2	He is an E.A. in Jan. 2, 1600. His time expired in March 1599.
35	1599	June	7	Andro Pattene	" " "	4 —	had served 6 years and had 2 to serve.
38	1604	Aug.	12	Thomas Aittaine	booking paid	— —	by Wm Aitten of Mussilbrugh. Thos. Petticrufe caution.
39	1612	Dec.	27	Alex Petticruiff	books himself	— —	"befoir ye faice of yis sufficient ludge".
39	1613			Alex Aittoun	" "	— —	" " " "

The minutes and notes of "bookings" in the above table present a problem not easy—if possible—to solve. The first of them appears to be very exceptional, yet on further consideration it possibly is not so much so as might seem. The second one, concerning Andrew Patten, is really in the same form. The amount paid, the date of the expiration of the individual's apprenticeship, and the names of those present when he was "booked". There is, however, something at the end of the first of these two minutes which is not clear owing to some words being indecipherable. It is possible that this addendum did not concern John at all, but only the two entered apprentices named, James and William Petticrief.

The cancelled note of James Fender's booking, had it stood, would have been taken, it may be assumed, as done in the presence of the same witnesses as were present when John Petticrief was booked. The two Alexanders, Petticrief and Ayton, are each booked in the presence of a "sufficient" Lodge. No details are given, but by that time the character of the minutes had changed in this respect. The booking of Lithgow appears to be a note made at some time subsequent to the actual payment. Perhaps it was made to some officer of the Lodge because Lithgow wished to go elsewhere and to discharge his indebtedness before leaving. The minute referring to Thomas Ayton is almost certainly the

booking or registration of his being bound, or taken as an indentured apprentice. Apparently a cautioner or cautioners were required when a boy was apprenticed. And the fee, of course, was paid by his relatives or friends. No surety seems to have been demanded when an apprentice was entered, or when an Entered Apprentice was passed as a Fellow of the Craft. And these fees were paid by the individual himself.

It has been assumed in the above that Lithgow and the two Alexanders were Entered Apprentices, although this is not stated. Lithgow was booked only a few months after John Petticrief; and, like him, might have been entered before the minutes begin. In respect of the other two there are some large gaps in the record (so far as it is available) and it is quite possible that they were entered at some time between 1604 and 1612. This, of course, could easily be determined were it possible to refer to the Minute Book itself. But as no one of the three is heard of again the inference seems almost certain that they had gone elsewhere, and so must at least have been out of their indentures.

There are some other cases that have not been included in the tabulation, such as the payment by Thomas Nisbet of his "entries silver". And there is the puzzling case of William Pedder, who was passed in 1609, and yet was to be booked in 1612. It does not seem as if it could be the same person referred to. Several enticing avenues of possible exploration are opened up which we cannot follow for lack of material.

APPENDIX C.

Aitchison's Haven Lodge.—Minutes of 28th December, 1601.

"At Mussilbrugh Kirk ye XXVIII day of December, 1601

"The zeir of God 1602 zeiris at Mussilbrugh we beand convenit and rasaivit fra our brither Wilzame Aytoun younger xxx lib xiii sh as also we payit all our quarter countis first Wilzame Aytoun elder payit, Johone Fender payit, Wilzame Aytoun of Mussilbrugh payit, Johone Peden payit Thomas Petticruif payit, Wilzame Aytoun payit Johone Crafurd payit Wilzame Miles payit Johone Aytoun payit George Aytoun payit, Robert Widderspoon payit, Thomas Scheill elder payit George Clark payit Thomas Thomas payit Hendrie Petticruif unpayit Thomas Abell, Johone Abell, Wilzame Abell all unpayit, Johane Nisbet unpayit, Johane Low absent and unpayit, Edwart Ramage absent and unpayit.

"Of enterit prentisses payit James Aytoun payit James Gyler payit, Richart Petticruif payit, James Petticruif payit, Jhone Petticruif payit Adam Robesone payit Wm. Patterson payit Georg Baxter payit Archbald Glene payit."

The minute of 28th December, 1601, is of considerable consequence in spite of its unpromising appearance. It deals only with the "quarter counts" of the members of the Lodge, with a note of whether they were paid or not. Two Fellows of Craft are noted as absent, while apparently all the Entered Apprentices were present. The inference seems justified that these two lists of names may be taken, to all intents, as a roll of the "active" members of the Lodge of both grades at that time. That is, of all who were supposed to be there, or, what amounts to almost the same thing, of all those domiciled within the limit of distance which made attendance obligatory.

On this assumption it would appear that the Lodge at that time was composed of twenty-one Fellows of Craft and nine Entered Apprentices, making a total "active" membership, in the sense defined above, of thirty.

The following table shows all the names mentioned in the minutes up to and including that of 28th December, 1601. The next column gives the number of times the name of each individual appears prior to 1st June, 1601, if it does

so appear of course. This meeting in June seems also to have been one of obligation, although the only names mentioned are the absentees, and three concerned in a matter of discipline. The warden and deacon were present, but we cannot be sure who held those offices that year. It has been taken that those whose names appear before and who were also noted as present in December were probably present on 1st June. This probability is indicated by a "P" in brackets. The last column gives the number of times each name appears after 28th December, if at all.

There are several names that are doubtful, but they have been included for the sake of completeness. The surname is illegible in four cases, in another, that on 2nd January, 1600, it appears to have been inadvertently omitted; while it is possible that the peculiar name, Thomas Thomas, in the December list is another clerical error. The scribe might have written the first name twice in a moment of distracted attention and omitted to put down the surname.

FELLOWS OF CRAFT

Name	Earlier Minutes	June 1 1601	Dec. 28 1601	*Later Minutes	Remarks
1 Abell, John		A	P		
2 Abell, Thomas		A	P		
3 Abell, William, in Leswade		A	P		
4 Ayton, George	6	(P)	P		
5 Ayton, John		A	P		It is uncertain whether he is mentioned again, or whether he was John A. Jr.
6 Ayton, William, Sr.	7	(P)	P	6	Perhaps other later mentions.
7 Ayton, William, Jr.	5	A	P		
8 Ayton, William, of Musselburgh	3	(P)	P	2	
9 Clark, George			P		
10 Clark, Thomas		P			
11 Crafurd, John	6	(P)	P	2	
12 Fender, John	9	(P)	P	5	
13 Low, John	2	(P)	A		
14 Miller, William	3	(P)	P	1	
15 Nisbet, John			P		
16 Pedden, John	5	(P)	P	5	
17 Petticrief, Henry	5	(P)	P	7	
18 Petticrief, Thomas	8	(P)	P	7	
19 Ramage, Edward	2	(P)	A	1	Next mention is in 1625, if same man. It may be his son V. <i>infra</i> .
20 Schiell, Thomas, Sr.		P	P		
21 Schiell, Thomas, Jr.		P			
22 Widderspoon, Robert	4	(P)	P	3	

UNCERTAIN

23	Henry	—	—	—	—	May have been Henry Petticrief.
24	Thomas	—	—	—	—	Could have been Abell, Clark or either Schiel.
25	Thomas, Thomas			P		May be an error, and if so, might have been Thos. Schiel, Jr.

ENTERED APPRENTICES

26	Ayton, James	1	A	P	1	Does not again appear till 1624.
27	Baxter, George	1	(P)	P	1	Not till 1624.
28	Cubie, Alexander	2	A			
29	Faireme, Thomas	1				
30	Glen, Archibald	1	A	P	1	
31	Gyler, John			P		

ENTERED APPRENTICES (*Continued*)

	Name	Earlier Minutes	June 1 1601	Dec. 28 1601	Later Minutes	Remarks
32	Jax, Walter		A			
33	Lithgow, Gabriel	1				
34	Montgomery, Ninian	1			5	The last time in 1624.
35	Patten, Andrew	2				
36	Patterson, William			P	1	
37	Petticrief, James	4	A	P	6	The last time, if it is the same man, in 1642.
38	Petticrief, John	2	(P)	P	5	
39	Petticrief, Richard	1	A	P	1	
40	Petticrief, William	1				
41	Ramage, Edward, Jr.		A		1	Not till 1625.
42	Robison, Adam		A	P	1	
43	Widderspoon, Simon			A		
44	Michael		A			
45	George	—	—	—	—	May have been George Baxter.
46	James		A			The only E.A.'s named James otherwise known are noted as absent.
47	Fender, James	—	—	—	—	Not entered till 1604.

It will be seen that some rather unexpected conclusions are indicated, though perhaps we should not be surprised by them. Out of forty-two names, omitting Thomas Thomas and the other doubtful names which possibly are identical with others mentioned, seventeen do not occur prior to 1st June, and twenty-one do not appear again after 28th December. Some of those that do, not for a considerable period. Two do not re-appear till 1624, more than twenty years later. The membership of the Lodge thus seems to have been very transient, with a small nucleus that was permanent, or relatively more permanent. It illustrates very vividly, what we of course know very well, the mobility of those engaged in the trades connected with building. It points also to a type of organisation, simple and flexible, and apparently adequate. The mason was under the jurisdiction of the Lodge within the bounds or district of which he was domiciled. He was subject to its discipline, he was bound to attend its meetings of obligation, or any to which he was summoned, and apparently had to pay dues into its box. Thus to all intents he became a member automatically of the Lodge nearest to the place where he was at work. Another paper could be written on the implications, probable and possible, of this minute in conjunction with the rest of the record. It seems to open up new ways of approach to other questions of organisation, and its evolution into our modern systems, as well as shedding a gleam of light on the Old Charges. For it supports the hypothesis that the Assembly was not any great and conspicuous convention, embracing a kingdom or a province, but was merely the annual meeting of an established Lodge. However, all this is aside from the special purpose in making the tabulation, which was to show the fluctuating nature of the membership of the Lodge, and to exhibit the fact that the Entered Apprentice was as mobile as the Fellow of Craft. John Gyler was present and paid his quarter counts—it is the first and last time he is heard of. Walter Jax was fined for absence on 1st June, but apparently he had already gone. Ninian Montgomery was entered in 1598. He is not again mentioned till December, 1603, when he was passed, and thereafter, it would seem, settled down; and in 1614 his son was apprenticed. And as has been mentioned before, Andrew Patten's time expired somewhere about June, 1601. Whether he was present at the meeting of 1st June we have no way of telling, but by December he had gone, and is no more heard of. The only conclusion possible, it would seem, is that the Entered Apprentice whose time had expired became, as such, a journeyman, and went where he would to find work.

APPENDIX D.

Analytical Table of Names

Including all mentioned in the Minutes from 1598 to 1612.

Surname	Name	Name as given in Minutes	Page	Year	Date	Rank	Office	Action taken in the Lodge	REMARKS
—	George		36	1601	June 1	E.A.		Absent fined	Surname illegible
—	Henry	Henre	„	1600	Jan. 2	F.C.		Patten entered	The surname is omitted. John Pedden follows
—	James		„	1601	June 1	E.A.		Absent fined	Surname illegible
—	Michael		„	„	„	„			
—	Thomas		„	1600	Jan. 7	F.C.		He was fined	Had a Cowan in his company
Abel	John	Abill	Jno	„	1601	June 1	„	Absent fined	
		Abell	Johne	37	1601	Dec. 28	„	Quarter counts	Did not pay
Abel	Thomas	Abell	Thomas	36	1601	June 1	„	Absent fined	
		„	„	37	„	Dec. 28	„	Quarter counts	Did not pay
Abel	William	Abill	Wm in Leswade	36	„	June 1	„	Absent fined	
		Abell	Wilzame	37	„	Dec. 28	„	Quarter counts	Did not pay
Ayton	Alexander	Aittoun	Alex'r	39	1613	—	(?)	Books himself	Probably an E.A.
Ayton	George	Aytone	George	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.	Intender Widderspoon passed	
		„	Georg	„	„	Jan. 11	„	Cubie entered	G.A. was Cubie's Master
		„	„	„	„	„	Clark		Second mention in the Minutes
		„	George	35	1599	May 28	„	Jno. Petticrief booked	Was he also entered?
		„	Georg	„	„	„	„	Jno. Low passed	Third Minute of May 28.
		„	George	„	„	June 7	„	Patten booked	
		„	„	„	„	Dec. 14	„	Ramage passed	
		Aytoun	„	37	1601	Dec. 28	„	Quarter counts	Paid.
Ayton	James	Aytone	James	35	1599	Dec. 14	E.A.	Ramage passed	One of the two E.A.'s present.
		Aiton	„	36	1601	June 1	„	Absent fined	
		Aytoun	„	37	1601	Dec. 28	„	Quarter counts	Paid.
		Aitton	James elder	39	1624	Jan. 31	F.C.	Clunie passed	Assumed to be same man.
Ayton	John	Aiton	Johne	36	1601	June 1	F.C.	Absent fined	Paid.
		Aytoun	Johne	37	1601	Dec. 28	„	Quarter counts	
Ayton	John (Jr)	Attaine	Johne	38	1604	Aug. 12	E.A.	Entered	To the whole Lodge 2 years to serve. He was the son of Wm. Ayton.
Ayton	John	Aytone	Johne	39	1612	Dec. 27	E.A.	Bound to his father, Wm. Ayton.	
Ayton	John	Aitton	Jno	39	1624	Jan. 31	F.C.	Clunie passed	These last four names may all be of different indi- viduals.

APPENDIX D.

Surname	Name	Name as given in Minutes	Page	Year	Date	Rank	Office	Action taken in the Lodge	REMARKS
Ayton	John	Aytoun	41	1626	Jan. 18	F.C. (?)		Books himself	
Ayton	Thomas	Aittaine	38	1604	Aug. 12	—		Booked	Paid by Wm. Ayton of Musselburgh.
		Aytoun	39	1614	Jan. 3	E.A.		Entered	
		Aitton	39	1624	Jan. 31	F.C.		Clunie passed	Assumed to be the same.
		Aytoun	40	1624	Dec. 27	F.C.	deacon	Officers chosen	
		Aittoun	"	1625	Dec. 27	"	warden	" "	In the same Minute.
		Aittoun	"	"	"	"	to hold key	" "	
		Aytoun	41	1641	Oct. 31	Mr.	Collector		In charge for Mortcloth.
		Aytoun	"	1642	July 7	"			Contributor to fund.
Ayton	Wm. Sr.	Aytone	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.		Widderspoon passed	
		"	"	"	Jan. 11	"	deacon	Cubie entered	
		"	35	1599	May 28	"	deacon	Jno. Petticrief booked	
		"	"	"	"	"	deacon	Jno. Low passed	Third minute of May 28th.
		"	"	"	June 7	"		Patten booked	This is probably Wm. A. Sr., as this name follows John Fender, Warden.
		"	"	"	Dec. 14	"	deacon	Ramage passed	
		Attoun	36	1600	Jan. 2	"		Patten entered	
		Aytoun	37	1601	Dec. 28	"		Quarter counts	Paid.
		Aiken	38	1603	Dec. 20	"		Montgomery passed	Aiken is probably meant for Ayton.
		eiten	"	"	Dec. 28	"		Petticrief passed	
		Aittone	38	1604	April 3	F.C.		Jas. Fender entered	
		Aitten	"	"	Aug. 12	"		Jno. Ayton entered	Son of Wm. Ayton.
		Aytoun	39	1612	Dec. 27	"		Jno. Ayton bound	Is this same as above?
		Aiten	39	1624	Jan. 31	"		Clunie passed	It is not certain that the last three are the same as the first Wm. Sr.
Ayton	Wm. Jr.	Aytoun	41	1641	Oct. 31	"		Collector for mort cloth	
		Aytone	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.		Widderspoon passed	
		"	"	"	Jan. 11	"		Cubie entered	
		"	"	"	Jan. 11	"		Cubie entered	
		"	35	1599	May 28	"	intender	Jno. Low passed	
		"	"	"	Dec. 14	"		Ramage passed	
		Attoun	36	1600	Jan. 2	"		Patten entered	This is Wm. Jr., as Wm. Sr. is also mentioned.

APPENDIX D.

Surname	Name	Name as given in Minutes	Page	Year	Date	Rank	Office	Action taken in the Lodge	REMARKS
		Aiton	Wm. Younger	36	1601	June 1	F.C.	Absent fined	
		Aytoun	" "	37	"	Nov. 30	"		His obligation to the Lodge is mentioned.
		Aytoun	Wilzame younger	"	"	Dec. 28	"	Quarter counts	He paid £30. 13. 0 to the Lodge.
		"	" "	"	"	"	"	" "	Paid. Two mentions in same Minute.
Ayton	William of Musselburgh	Aytone	Wilzame of Mussilburgh	35	1599	Dec. 14	F.C.	Ramage passed	
		Aiton	Wilzame of Mussilburgh	35	1600	Jan. 7	F.C. Warden	Thomas . . . disciplined	
		Attoun	Wilzame of Mussilburgh	36	1600	Jan. 2	"	Patten entered	
		Aytoun	" "	37	1601	Dec. 28	"	Quarter counts	Paid.
		"	William of Mussilburgh	37	1602	?	"	Ordered days of obligatory attendance	Absent.
		Aitten	Wm. of M.	38	1604	Aug. 12	"	Jno. Ayton entered	Paid Thos. Ayton's booking.
Baxter	Geo.	Baxter	George	35	1599	Dec. 14	E.A.	Ramage passed	
		"	Georg	37	1601	Dec. 28	"	Quarter counts	Paid.
		"	"	39	1624	Jan. 31	F.C. (?)	Clunie passed	Probably as F.C.
Clark	George	Clark	George	37	1601	Dec. 28	F.C.	Quarter counts paid	Only mention.
Clark	Thos.	Clark	Thomas	37	1601	June 1	(?)	Complained against Scheill	" "
Cowie	Arch.	Cowie	Archbald	"	1602	?	E.A.	He was entered	This is a mere note.
Craford	Jno.	Craford	John	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.	Widderspoon passed	
		"	Johne	34	1598	Jan. 11	"	Cubie entered	
		"	Johne	35	1599	May 28	"	John Petticrief paid for booking	
		"	Johne	35	1599	"	"	John Low passed	3rd minute of this date.
		"	"	"	"	Dec. 14	"	Ramage passed	
		"	Johne	36	1600	Jan. 2	F.C.	Patten entered	He was Patten's master.
		Craford	Johne	37	1601	Dec. 28	"	Quarter counts	Paid.
		"	Johne	38	1603	Dec. 20	"	Montgomerie passed	
		"	"	"	"	Dec. 28	"	Jas. Petticrief passed	
Cubic	Alex dr	Cubie	Alexander	34	1598	Jan. 11	E.A.	Entered to Geo. Aytone	
		"	"	36	1600	Jan. 2	E.A. Intender	Patten entered	
		"	Alex r	"	1601	June 1	"	Absent fined	
Faireme	Thomas	Faireme	Thomas	"	1600	Jan. 2	"	Patten entered	
Fender	Jas.	Fender	James	35	1599	May 28	"	Booking paid	Minute cancelled.
		"	"	38	1604	April 3	E.A.	Entered to his father John	
		"	"	"	"	Aug. 12	" Intender	Jno. Ayton entered	

APPENDIX D.

Surname	Name	Name as given in Minutes	Page	Year	Date	Rank	Office	Action taken in the Lodge	REMARKS	
Fender	John	Fender	Johne	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.	Warden	Widderspoon passed	
		"	"	"	"	Jan. 11	"	"	Cubie entered	
		"	"	35	1599	May 28	"	"	Petticrief booked	1st Minute of May 28.
		"	"	"	"	"	"	"	His son Jas. booked	2nd " cancelled.
		"	"	"	"	June 7	"	"	Jno. Low passed	3rd " of May 28.
		"	"	"	"	Dec. 14	"	Warden	Patten paid booking	
		"	"	"	"	Dec. 14	"	"	Ramage passed	
		"	John	"	1600	Jan. 7	"	"	Thomas . . . (?) fined	For employing a Cowan.
		"	Johne	36	"	Jan. 2	"	"	Patten entered	
		"	Johne	37	1601	Dec. 28	"	"	Quarter counts	Paid.
		"	Johne	38	1603	June 13	F.C.	Caution	Pedden Sr. & Jr. agreed	Son bound to his father?
		"	"	"	"	Dec. 20	"	Warden	Montgomery passed	
		"	"	"	"	Dec. 28	"	"	Jas. Petticrief passed	
		"	"	"	1604	April 3	"	"	James Fender entered	To his father.
		"	John	"	"	Aug. 12	"	"	Jno. Ayton entered	
Glen	Arch bd.	Glene	Archibald	34	1598	Jan. 11	E.A.	Intender	Cubie entered	
		Glen	Arch d	36	1601	June 1	"	"	Absent fined	
		Glene	Arch bald	37	"	Dec. 28	"	"	Quarter counts	Paid.
		Glaine	Ar d	38	1604	April 3	"	"	Jas. Fender entered	
Gyler	Jas.	Gyler	James	37	1601	Dec. 28	"	"	Quarter counts	Paid.
Jax	Walter	Jax	Walter	36	1601	June 1	"	"	Absent fined	
Lithgow	Gabriel	Lithgow	Gabriell	36	1599	Aug. 5	(?)	"	He paid 20/-	A note merely.
Low	Jno.	Low	Johne	35	1599	May 28	F.C.	"	He was passed	3rd Minute of May 28.
		Low	Johane	"	"	Dec. 14	"	"	Ramage passed	
		"	"	37	1601	Dec. 28	"	"	Quarter counts	Absent and unpaid.
Miller	Wm.	Miler	Wm.	35	1599	Nov. 20	"	"	He was fined	
		Miller	Wilzame	"	"	Dec. 14	"	"	Ramage passed	
		Miler	Wilzeam	36	1600	Jan. 7	"	"	Thomas . . . had employed a Cowan	
		"	Wilzame	37	1601	Dec. 28	"	"	Quarter counts	Paid.
		"	Villiam	"	1602	"	"	"	Obligatory attendance	He was absent.
Montgomery	Ninian	gumerie	Ninian	34	1598	Jan. 11	E.A.	"	Cubie entered	
		Macumrie	Ninian	38	1603	Dec. 20	F.C.	"	Passed as F.C.	
		Magumrie	"	"	"	Dec. 28	"	Intender	Jas. Petticrief passed	
		"	"	"	1604	April 3	"	"	Jas. Fender entered	
		Mungumerie	Niniane	39	1614	Jan. 3	"	"	Ninian Jr. entered	To his father Ninian Sr.
		Mcgombrie	Minian	39	1624	Jan. 31	"	"	Clunie passed	
Montgomery	Ninian Jr.	Mnogumerie	Ninian	"	1614	Jan. 3	E.A.	"	Entered to his father	Signs his name Ninian Montgumerie.
Nisbet	John	Nisbet	Johane	37	1601	Dec. 28	F.C.	"	Quarter counts	Unpaid.

APPENDIX D.

Surname	Name	Name as given in Minutes	Page	Year	Date	Rank	Office	Action taken in the Lodge	REMARKS
Nisbet	Thomas	Nisbet	37	1602	?	—		Paid enterie's silver	This is a note only. John Nisbet's son?
Patten	Andrew	Pattene	35	1599	June 7	E.A.		Paid booking	Had served 6 years and had 2 more to serve.
Patterson	Wm.	"	36	1600	Jan. 2	"		Was entered	To John Craford his Master.
		Pattersone	37	1601	Dec. 28	E.A.		Quarter counts	Paid.
		Petterson	38	1604	April 3	"	Intender	Jas. Fender entered	
Pedden	James	Pedden	38	1603	June 13	"		He and his father agreed	Was he bound to his father?
		"	"	"	Dec. 20	"		Montgomery passed	
		"	"	"	Dec. 28	"		Jas. Petticrieff passed	
		"	"	1604	April 3	"	Intender	Jas. Fender entered	
		"	"	"	Aug. 12	"		Jno. Ayton entered	
Pedden	John	Pedden	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.	Intender	Widderspoon passed	
		"	"	"	Jan. 11	"		Cubie entered	
		"	35	1599	Dec. 14	"		Ramage passed	
		"	"	1600	Jan. 7	"		Thomas . . . disciplined	
		"	36	"	Jan. 2	"		Patten entered	
		"	37	1601	Dec. 28	"		Quarter counts	Paid.
		"	38	1603	June 13	"		His son and he agreed	
		"	38	"	Dec. 20	"	Deacon	Montgomery passed	
		"	"	"	Dec. 28	"		Jas. Petticrieff passed	
		"	"	1604	April 3	"		Jas. Fender entered	
		"	"	"	Aug. 12	"	Caution	Jno. Ayton entered	A second entry of his name.
Pedden	Wm.	Peddene	"	1609	May 25	F.C.		Passed	In presence of general Lodge.
Pedden	Wm.	Pedden	39	1613	(?) Feb. 2	(?)		"Salbe buikit"	Surely not the same?
Petticrieff	Alex r	Petticriuff	39	1612	Dec. 27	(?)		Books himself	A note only.
Petticrieff	Henry	Petticrieff	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.		Widderspoon passed	
		"	"	"	Jan. 11	"		Cubie entered	
		"	35	1599	May 28	"		Jno. Petticrieff paid booking	
		"	"	"	"	"		Low passed	3rd entry May 28.
Petticrieff	Henry	Petticrieff	35	1599	Dec. 14	F.C.		Ramage passed	
		Petticrieff	37	1601	Dec. 28	"		Quarter counts	Unpaid.
		"	38	1603	Dec. 20	"		Montgomery passed	
		Petticrufe	"	"	Dec. 28	"		Jas. Petticrieff passed	
		"	"	1604	April 3	"		Jas. Fender entered	
		Petticruife	"	"	Aug. 12	"		Jno. Ayton entered	
		Petticruiff	39	1614	Jan. 3	"		His son John bound	
		Peticruife	"	1624	Jan. 31	"		Clunie passed	
		Peticrufe	40	"	Dec. 27	"		Takes mortcloth	
Petticrieff	James	Petticrieff	34	1598	Jan. 11	E.A.	Intender	Cubie entered	

APPENDIX D.

Surname	Name	Name as given in Minutes	Page	Year	Date	Rank	Office	Action taken in the Lodge	REMARKS
Petticrieff	James	Jno.	35	1599	May 28	E.A.		Jno. Petticrieff time expires	
"	"	"	"	"	"	"		Low passed	3rd entry on May 28.
Petticruif	"	"	36	1600	Jan. 2	"		Patten entered	
Petticruif	"	"	37	1601	June 1	"		Absent fined	
Petticruif	"	"	37	"	Dec. 28	"		Quarter counts	Paid.
Petticruif	"	"	38	1603	Dec. 20	"		Montgomery passed	
Peticruife	"	"	"	"	Dec. 28	F.C.		Was passed	
Peticruife	"	"	39	1624	Jan. 31	"		Clunie passed	
Peticrowe	"	"	40	"	Dec. 27	"		To hold the key	
Peticruf	"	"	41	1641	Oct. 31	"		Collector for mortcloth	
Petticruif	"	"	41	1642	July 7	Mr.		Contributed to mortcloth	
Petticruif	John	John	34	1599	May 28	(?)		Time expired Mar. 8	He may have been entered.
Petticruif	"	"	36	1600	Jan. 2	E.A.	Intend'r	Patten entered	Paid.
Petticruif	Johne	Johne	37	1601	Dec. 28	"		Quarter counts	
Petticruif	Jhone	Jhone	39	1612	Dec. 27	F.C.	Caut'ion	John Ayton bound	Son of Henry, bound.
Petticruif	Jhone	Jhone	39	1614	Jan. 3	"	Caut'ion	John Petticrieff (2)	These 3 entries probably the elder John but possibly John (2).
Petticrowe	"	"	40	1624	Dec. 27	"	Warden	Officers chosen	Probably a Minute of his entering exists between 1614 and 1624.
Peticuf	"	"	41	1642	July 7	Mr.		" "	
Petticruif	John	John	39	1614	Jan. 3	—		Collection for mortcloth Bound to father, Henry	
Petticruif	John (2)	John	40	1624	June 20	F.C.		He was passed	
Petticruife	Richard	Richard	34	1598	Jan. 11	E.A.		Cubie entered	
Petticrieff	Richard	Richard	35	1599	May 28	"		Jno. Low passed	
Petticruif	"	"	36	1601	June 1	"		Absent fined	
"	"	"	37	1601	Dec. 28	"		Quarter counts	Paid.
Petticruif	Thomas	Thomas	38	1603	Dec. 28	"		Jas. Petticrieff passed	
Pettencrieff	"	"	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.		Widderspoon passed	
Petticrieff	"	"	35	1599	Jan. 11	"		Cubie entered	
"	"	"	"	"	May 28	"		Jno. Petticrieff's time expired	
"	"	"	"	"	"	"		Jno. Low passed	3rd entry May 28.
"	"	"	"	"	June 7	"		Patten paid booking	
"	"	"	"	"	Dec. 14	"		Ramage passed	
"	"	"	36	1600	Jan. 7	"	Deacon	Thomas . . . disciplined	
Petticruif	"	"	37	1600	Jan. 2	"	"	Patten entered	
"	"	"	37	1601	Dec. 28	"	"	Quarter counts	Paid.
Petticrieff	"	"	38	1603	June 13	"	Caut'ion	John. Pedden agreed with his father	

APPENDIX D

Surname	Name	Name as given in Minutes	Page	Year	Date	Rank	Office	Action taken in the Lodge	REMARKS
Petticrief Ramage	Wm. Edward	Petticruif	38	1603	Dec. 20	F.C.		Montgomery passed	
		Petticruf	"	"	Dec. 28	"	Deacon	Jas. Petticrief passed	
		Petticruffe	"	1604	April 3	"	"	Jas. Fender entered	
		Petticruife	"	"	Aug. 12	"	"	Jno. Ayton entered	
		Petticruife	"	"	"	"	Caution	Thos. Ayton's booking	
		Peticruife	"	"	"	"	Warden	Clunie passed	
		Petticruff	41	1642	Jan. 31	Mr.		Collection for mortcloth	
		Petticrief	35	1599	July 7	E.A. (?)		Jno. Petticrief's time expired	
		Ramage	35	1599	May 28	F.C.		He was passed	
		"	36	1600	Dec. 14	"		Thomas . . . disciplined	
Ramage	Edward Jr.	"	37	1601	Jan. 7	"		Quarter counts	Unpaid and absent.
		Ramasch	40	1625	Dec. 28	"		Officers chosen	He is absent and fined. (May be Edward Jr.)
Ramage	Edward Jr.	Rammadge	36	1601	Dec. 27	E.A.		Absent fined	
		Younger							
Robison	Adam	Robesone	36	1601	June 1	"		" "	
		"	37	1601	June 1	"		Quarter counts	Paid.
		Robiesone	38	1604	Dec. 28	E.A.		Jas. Fender entered	
Scheil	Thos. Sr.	Scheill	37	1604	April 3	F.C.	Caution	For his son Thos. Jr.	
		"	37	1601	June 1	F.C.		Quarter counts	Paid.
Scheil	Thos. Jr.	"	"	"	Dec. 28	"		Disciplined	May have been E.A.
		Thomas, elder	"	"	June 1	"	(?)		
Simson Thomas	Andrew Thos.	Simson	38	1604	Aug. 12	F.C.	Caution	Jno. Ayton entered	
		Thomas	37	1601	Dec. 28	F.C.		Quarter counts	Paid. Is this name correct or a double?
Waker Widderspoon	Walter Robert	Waker	39	1612	Dec. 27	(?)		Paid booking	A note merely.
		Widderspone	34	1598	Jan. 9	F.C.		He was passed	
		"	34	"	Jan. 11	F.C.		Cubie passed	
		"	35	1599	Dec. 14	"	Intender	Ramage passed	
		Widderspoon	36	1600	Jan. 7	F.C.		Thomas . . . disciplined	
		"	37	1601	Jan. 7	"		Quarter counts	Paid
		Wodderspoone	38	1603	Dec. 28	"	Intender	Montgomery passed	
		Woderspone	38	1604	Aug. 12	"		Jno. Ayton entered	
		Widderspone	39	1614	Jan. 3	"	Caution	Jno. Petticrief bound	
		Wadderspone	36	1601	Jan. 3	E.A.		Absent fined	
Widderspoon	Simon	Symont							

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Meekren on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. H. C. Bristowe; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, H. Poole, W. J. Williams, D. Knoop and G. W. Bullamore.

BRO. BAXTER writes:—

I have read Bro. Meekren's paper with much pleasure and interest, but am sorry that I cannot agree with his contention that the Aitchison's Haven Minutes demonstrate the use of two separate esoteric degrees—nor even one for that matter. That at least two degrees—comprising the whole of Pure Antient Masonry—were in use in Scotland before the era of Grand Lodges I do firmly believe, but that is another story.

Why should our author throw doubts on the authenticity of the *Edinburgh Register House MS*? It confirms not only the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, but the *Haughfoot* fragment. The only reason that the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* was ever suspected of being later than 1711 was that the matter was *supposed* to be too early for that date. In view of recent finds we have no longer any reason to call its genuineness into question.

The difference between receiving and entering an apprentice is fairly well established by the Minutes under consideration; but there is nothing to indicate that either of these events was accomplished by any esoteric ceremony.

It has long been a pet theory of mine that Old Regulation XIII. originally bore a different interpretation from that usually placed on it, although members of Grand Lodge soon regarded it in the light that Bro. Meekren has placed on the Aitchison's Haven Minutes at the present day. Grand Lodge never conferred any degrees, so far as there is any record, neither did the Guild or Company at Aitchison's Haven. These things were done in other places and on other occasions.

One has to have a thorough knowledge of Scots to understand perfectly these Minutes and other venerable records of Scottish Masonry.

In spite of Bro. Meekren's assurance that Bro. Milborne has checked all the quotations, I am inclined to think some errors have crept in.

In spite of these somewhat harsh criticisms of his work, I hope Bro. Meekren will accept my assurance that I have thoroughly enjoyed the perusal of his paper and that I regard it as a valuable addition to A.Q.C.

BRO. H. POOLE writes:—

I am very sorry that Bro. Meekren is not present to read this most interesting paper, and that I am not able to congratulate him in person. I have a special interest in this paper, for I read it over when it first came to the Lodge several years ago; and I then pleaded strongly for its being read in the Lodge, when our late Bro. Secretary was inclined to keep it for printing only. And I want to take this opportunity of assuring to Bro. Meekren the credit for his important discovery, which was later made independently by Bro. Knoop and has already found a place in his Prestonian Lecture.

The "Battle of the Degrees" (as Bro. Baxter has called it) has not raged so furiously of late as it did, say, 40 years ago; but we have still not reached any sort of finality; as is indicated, for example, by Bro. Knoop's paper of last January. And we must welcome here what must surely be the "last word" on this particular matter; for Bro. Meekren has made his point so thoroughly and so exhaustively that I, for one, cannot see how it can fail to carry complete conviction.

I would like especially to commend the masterly, and at the same time entertaining manner in which he has marshalled his evidence; and particularly that relating to the "tryall" of the "art, craft, scyence and ancient memorie". Here I think it is possible to add one small piece of evidence—that of the Harris group of MSS. May I quote the short paragraph which concludes those MSS. and which is peculiar to them:—

"Then let the person w^{ch} is to be made a Mason chuse out of the Lodge anyone Mason who is to Instruct him in those Secrets w^{ch} must never be Committed to Writeing which Mason he must always call his Tutor then let the Tutor take him into another Room and shew him all the whole Mistery that at his return he may Exercise wth the rest of his fellow Masons". (*Harris No. 1 MS.*)

This must not, perhaps, be taken too literally as regards "the whole Mistery"; but it certainly emphasises strongly the probability that what was taught by the "Tutor" (as he is called here) to the novice had little to do with the operative side of the Craft.

We are probably as far as ever from any sort of understanding of the functions of the two Entered Apprentices who were, according to the Schaw Statutes, to be present at the making of a Fellow. But it is hardly necessary to labour the point that they may not have been present at the whole of the proceedings; for on this matter we have an unusually close agreement between MS. Constitutions and Catechisms as to what actually happened. That the instruction was given in "another room" (*Harris MS.*), or that "he must go out of the Company with the youngest Master" (*Chetwode Crawley MS.*); while the latter MS. agrees with the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* that "First all the apprentices are to be removed and none suffered to stay but Masters". It is perhaps worth while adding that, in spite of this removal, the "word" of the Master is whispered, though the "sign" seems to have been made openly.

May I commend, too, Bro. Meekren's most pithy statement of a principle of the highest importance, contained in the very last sentence of the material part of his paper—that "the vestiges of ritual that have come down to us in another set of documents, for the most part of very dubious provenance, may be considered on the basis of their contents rather than on their antecedents, and it becomes just so much more probable that in essentials the Masonic ritual is of an indefinite antiquity".

Lastly, I cannot refrain from suggesting a small piece of research which might prove of the greatest interest. I know nothing about the Scottish equivalent of our Parish Registers; but if such records should exist for Aitchison's Haven, and the dates of birth of the Apprentices of the Lodge could be ascertained, considerable light might be thrown on what appear to be irregularities in the records of "entering", which may well have taken place at a definite age.

BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS *writes*:—

When Bro. Meekren's paper was read before the Lodge by our W.Bro. Secretary I proposed a vote of thanks to Bro. Meekren for his treatise, and to Bro. Secretary for his condensation of the same into a form which, while not sacrificing any of the essential facts or arguments of the paper, enabled it to be read in the time at our disposal. That resolution was duly seconded and supported and carried unanimously.

We have on other occasions had good cause to thank Bro. Meekren for his contributions to our researches and the care with which he presents them to us both as regards the collection of the evidence and the deductions to be drawn therefrom.

He has also made a valuable distinction between two classes of documents and has pointed out the superiority of such matters as authentic minutes, statutes, and other records of old Lodges as contrasted with what he describes as "stray documents of unknown origin".

By the latter he evidently means such documents as the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, and the *Sloane MS.*, which purport to give details of the Ceremonies practised in Lodges in or about the end of the seventeenth century. These documents on the face of them are clandestine and illicit in origin, as they profess to reveal things which had originally only been communicated under a solemn oath of secrecy.

To rely on such documents except so far as they are corroborated by authentic and admissible documents would be entirely contrary to the rules of evidence laid down in legal procedure.

The student of masonic antiquities must perforce consider all types of evidence in drawing his conclusions, and therefore if he has before him such questionable documents he does not forthwith reject them, even though they need such corroboration, but considers their contents and the extent to which they agree among themselves, and then for the time being sets them aside and continues his search for and consideration of the documents which are not tainted or dubious for the reasons suggested.

The short and easy way of receiving the questionable documents as of themselves being sufficient evidence is one which is greatly to be deprecated, and which Bro. Meekren rejects, although, if corroborated, they would and do confirm the conclusions which in my opinion he rightly draws from the really authentic documents.

I therefore commend our Brother for his method of dealing with the subject under consideration and so fortifying the conclusions which have for some years past been drawn, without the full justification derived from authentic sources.

As the subject really deals with Scottish Masonry it would be beneficial if we could have a statement from some of our Brethren of the Scottish Constitution setting forth the effect of Bro. Meekren's submissions and showing where, if at all, he fails to convince them that the views expressed by Bro. D. M. Lyon and others need revision in the light now thrown upon the subject, by a re-consideration of the old evidence.

The argument based by former writers to the effect that the presence of entered apprentices at the advancement in rank of other masons is inconsistent with the communication of secrets does not seem at all strong. Probably most of us have been at certain ceremonies where secrets have in our presence been communicated to promoted brethren without the least chance of our knowing what was in fact communicated. Whispered words are not at all unknown, I think.

Some years ago I drew attention to the fact that in the 1723 *Constitutions* the word "degree" does not occur, though the thing itself was indicated by the titles entered apprentice, fellow craft, Master Mason, &c.

I fear that too much attention has occasionally been given to the word "degree", which after all only means a step. Prichard (whose credit is none too good) was apparently the first to print the word "degree" after the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717.

Although it is not necessary to the support of his thesis, we are indebted to our Brother for presenting us with the records showing the methods by which the advancement of operative masons from one stage to another was delayed. We have often been told that in our present non-operative masonry we give promotion from one stage to another with a swiftness which is to be deprecated. Here however our Scottish Brethren appear to have gone to the utmost limits

in the contrary direction. These facts are interesting, but do not, as non-operative masons, concern us.

Many examples might be given showing the difference between being taken as an apprentice and being booked as such. The one most obvious to me is that of a Solicitor taking an articulated Clerk for a term of years. The articles are signed by all parties, but it is required that within a certain time thereafter they must be produced to and registered by the Registrar of Solicitors, who on the proper fees being paid registers the document.

Bro. KNOOP, on behalf of his colleague, G. P. Jones and himself, writes:—

We cordially welcome Bro. Meekren's paper, to the forthcoming appearance of which, and its main conclusions, we referred in *The Mason Word* two years ago. Until now Bro. Meekren's work has been known to most English students only through his comments on papers which have appeared in *A.Q.C.* His series of articles written in collaboration with Bro. Kress, on the Degrees of Masonry, published in 1929 in the American Masonic paper, *The Builder*, was inaccessible, if not entirely unknown, on this side of the Atlantic. As we are in general agreement with Bro. Meekren's conclusions and have placed our views on the question of Degrees before the Brethren on more than one occasion during the last two or three years, and because we hope very shortly to have an opportunity of re-stating them in a more complete setting, we content ourselves here with commenting briefly on certain points of detail raised in the paper.

1. Murray Lyon's statement, quoted by Bro. Meekren from the 1873 edition, that an apprentice was chosen Deacon or head of the Lodge of Kilwinning in 1672, was repeated in the tercentenary Edition of the *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* (see p. 53), but corrected in the Addenda to that edition (see p. 486), where it is explained that the statement arose out of an error in the transcription of certain notes. Bro. Meekren's doubts about the "fact alleged" is thus fully justified.

2. More emphasis might have been laid on the provision in the Schaw Statutes of 1598, that every new fellow-craft should have intenders, a provision which the early minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh show to have been effective (see Begemann, *Freimaurerei in Schottland*, p. 264). As the new fellow-craft had to give proof of his technical skill before admission, it is hard to see for what purpose he needed intenders or instructors upon his admission, unless to instruct him in the esoteric knowledge associated with his new rank. Thus the Schaw Statutes of 1598 strongly suggest, if they do no more, that fellow-crafts possessed certain esoteric knowledge which was not shared by entered apprentices.

3. The provision in the Schaw Statutes of 1598, that two entered apprentices, in addition to six masters, must be present at the reception of a fellow-craft or master, would not necessarily prevent secrets from being imparted to the candidate. One possibility is that suggested by Bro. Meekren, that the entered apprentices retired for a time when this stage of the proceedings was reached; another is that the candidate retired with his intenders and had the esoteric knowledge communicated to him outside the Lodge, as was to some extent the practice portrayed in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* of 1696. A third possibility is that about 1600 the fellow-craft secrets could be imparted in the presence of entered apprentices without their being any the wiser. That could be done, for example, with a word given in a whisper, or with a grip.

4. The occasion on which a fellow-craft was admitted in the Aitchison's Haven Lodge with no entered apprentices present occurred early in 1598/99, less than a fortnight after the Schaw Statutes of 1598 had been approved, and quite conceivably before they had been promulgated. Possibly, therefore, the

Statutes introduced a new practice in this particular, though in general they were probably a written statement of old-established customs.

5. Other evidence than that cited by Bro. Meekren exists to show the distinction between an entered apprentice and an apprentice.

(i.) A minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, of 27th December, 1636, records that an apprentice was made an entered apprentice (see Lyon, p. 85).

(ii.) A minute of Aitchison's Haven Lodge, of 27th December, 1655, records that apprentices were not to be made entered apprentices under the sum of twelve pounds Scots (see *A.Q.C.*, xxiv., 41).

(iii.) The statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670, differentiate between handicraft apprentices and entered apprentices.

In warmly supporting the vote of thanks to Bro. Meekren we should like to congratulate him on his zeal and enthusiasm for Masonic research carried on under the serious difficulties arising from his being resident in Canada, at a distance of more than 3,000 miles from most of the sources required for the study of early Masonic history. He takes his place with the late Bro. C. C. Howard of New Zealand in demonstrating that, under the handicap of distance and partial isolation, a competent Brother can, with patience and perseverance, make an invaluable contribution to Masonic knowledge.

BRO. BULLAMORE writes:—

The view that Freemasonry consisted of one Degree probably owes its origin to the fact that Anderson attributes the formation of Grand Lodge to honorary journeymen or accepted masons. These were undoubtedly of one degree, and we have been a long time escaping from the conclusion that all Freemasonry came to us through the bottleneck of the four old Lodges and then expanded. The facts have been interpreted to fit.

It is only by ignoring the entries that an entered apprentice was free to undertake work that we can identify him with the apprentice to the trade who was under a master and would not be free until his apprenticeship terminated. And, as he could not be an entered apprentice until the age of 25, it is difficult to identify him with the tyro of about fourteen years of age.

I think it safe to assume that the apprenticeship finished at a definite age and that this explains the varying periods served. In London this age was 25 and the London apprentices served any period from 7 to 14 years according to when they started their apprenticeship.

The Ninian Montgomery item, as I should interpret it, suggests that Montgomery senior, as he was made a fellow in 1603, completed his apprenticeship in 1596. He then served his seven years probation as an entered apprentice and was able to undertake small work for himself or work for a master as a journeyman. Assuming that he married shortly after he gained his freedom, his son in 1614 would be 16 years of age with nine years apprenticeship ahead of him to the age of 25.

The Schaw Statutes I regard as a compilation made to bring into line the charges of a number of foreign mason guilds that were established in Scotland. According to the Old Charges, King Athelstan did the same thing for Saxon England, where the masons were using charges in various languages. The necessity arose from the peculiarities of the guild system.

With regard to the appointment of entered apprentices as wardens, the explanation may be that it was a form of pressure to compel them to pay certain fees and qualify for the fellowship. I believe there is a case in the London Company's records where a mason, called to the Livery, paid the preliminary fee. It was years after when he was nominated for warden that he completed

the payments and went on the Livery. He was thus able to carry out the duties of the office, the refusal of which would have resulted in a heavy fine.

I have doubts about a mason guild of one degree. References to the mason word do not necessarily refer always to the same word. Something may have been communicated to the entered apprentice, and, at the end of his seven years as journeyman, it could be augmented. The system was of practical value as the knowledge of the word would be the equivalent of a certificate.

I have doubts also about a degree having been cut up to make two. I think it more likely that the two degrees were telescoped for the benefit of honorary or "speculative" candidates and that the two versions of the ceremonies came by different channels.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes in reply:—

It is difficult to express my sense of gratification at the very cordial reception of my paper, and especially at the considerable measure of acceptance by the members of the Lodge of the thesis therein maintained, though I feel quite sure that the work of Bros. Knoop and Jones has done a great deal to create a predisposition to accept it. Even Bro. Baxter (whose fraternal criticism I myself would never have dreamed of calling "harsh") apparently holds all that I was contending for.

As the purpose of the paper was a very limited one, it would seem better to confine my reply as much as possible to those comments only which bear directly upon it, for if every lead were followed up I fear the reply would be longer than the paper itself.

Some misconception seems to have arisen in the minds of some of those who took part in the discussion, quite possibly due to lack of clarity on my part. The position as I saw it was this: while a pre-Grand Lodge system of two grades or degrees had come to be very generally accepted for England, it was denied for Scotland upon the grounds that the old records of the Craft in the latter country positively prohibited its possibility. As the simpler form would, no special reason appearing to the contrary, be probably the older and more primitive, or less evolved, it would follow that at some earlier period the "single initiation" arrangement had prevailed in England also. If this were so we of course would have to accept it and prosecute our investigation upon this basis. Personally I for a good many years accepted this view, though the *Haughfoot* minute always recurred to create doubt. When (in 1923) I first became acquainted with the text of the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* this doubt became very insistent, and led me to a reconsideration of the evidence advanced by Murray Lyon, and used by Gould, in support of their contention, and this brought me to the conclusion that while this evidence, or most of it, could be interpreted in the sense that these brethren took to be obligatory, it was, without strain upon either grammar or logic equally patient of exactly the contrary interpretation. So that when later still I came upon the Aitchison's Haven Minutes a flood of light suddenly illuminated the whole problem.

I trust that these somewhat personal details may be pardoned, seeing that they exhibit a concrete case of how the erroneous interpretation of these records could not only obstruct, but also positively mislead the inquirer.

I do not ask anyone to suppose that the Aitchison's Haven Minutes or any other extant record of the period, proves that two degrees, in the sense of two sets of ceremonies with accompanying secrets, then existed in Scotland, for this they do not do. All I would maintain is this: if we on any grounds whatever postulate the existence at that time of any secrets at all pertaining to the Fraternity, then we can hardly avoid the conclusion that some of them were communicated to the Entered Apprentice, and others reserved to the higher

grade of Fellow of Craft. In other words, that the "two degree" hypothesis must be accepted for Scotland as well as for England.

To put it briefly, the object of the paper was purely negative; the removal of a misleading obstruction to further investigation.

I do not quite understand Bro. Baxter's reference to Old Regulation XIII., so I must let that pass; nor do I know just what Bro. Bullamore means in saying that the members of the four old Lodges in London in 1716 were "honorary journeymen" and so only of one degree. But I quite agree with him when he speaks of the "bottle neck" hypothesis (a very happy phrase!) of the derivation of the whole modern Craft from these four London Lodges, and the misconceptions that this hypothesis has caused.

If it were the rule in Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century that an apprentice was bound for a period that terminated at his twenty-fifth year, then I should think that Bro. Bullamore's reconstruction of the professional history of Ninian Montgomery and his son was very probably correct. This seems to be a point that could be quite easily and definitely established by those in a position to investigate it. I had assumed that apprenticeship would probably end at the age of twenty-one; but, whichever way it was, I do not see that it makes much difference to the course of the argument.

Concerning the foreign mason guilds established in Scotland, to which Bro. Bullamore refers, I must confess the most complete ignorance, never having heard of them before, so I cannot say whether the Schaw Statutes were or were not based on their laws and usages. But again I do not think that this at all affects the argument in the paper.

The very kind and commendatory comments of Bros. Knoop, Poole and Williams leave me at a loss to express myself. I can only say that I appreciate them very much indeed. The additional items of evidence and illustrations furnished by these brethren are most welcome. For when new, or unconsidered, facts fit naturally into a hypothesis it is in itself a strong confirmation of its soundness. I am particularly glad to learn from Bro. Knoop that Lyon withdrew the statement made by him that an Entered Apprentice was elected as Deacon of Kilwinning Lodge. It was however unfortunate that this was not done in the text of the later edition of his work. I worried my deeply regretted friend, the late Bro. Hugo Tatsch, into looking this up for me in the Tercentenary Edition, but he evidently overlooked the Addenda, for he wrote me that the statement remained unchanged.

Begemann's *Freimaurerei in Schottland* I have never seen. But the fact that he therein cites minutes of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel to show that intenders were appointed for the newly passed Fellow of Craft adds to the wonder why the true state of affairs has remained so long unnoticed. It goes to show how the dictum of a recognised authority can so control the judgment of those who follow him that they miss the plain implications of the facts relevant to the question pronounced upon.

With Bro. Williams' clear and precise statement of the relative weight of the different classes of evidence bearing upon the early usages of the Freemasons I am in full accord; though I would beg Bro. Baxter to believe that I had no intention to belittle or underestimate the value and importance of the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. and the two other documents so closely connected with it, nor indeed with the other documents of like nature, whether MS. or printed. Connecting links exist between them; the more recently discovered MSS. and the rediscovered prints have added to the number of these links, and through the *Haughfoot* Minute and the *Dumfries-Kilwinning* MS. No 4 we can hang them all, directly or indirectly, to the "authentic records".

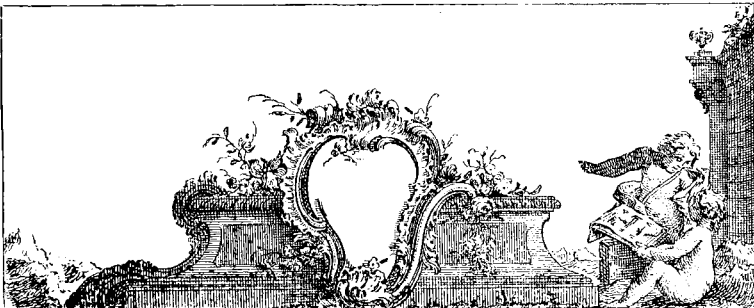
I was tempted—very strongly tempted—to go further into the question of the two apprentices whose presence was required at the passing of a fellow of the craft, but it seemed better to pass it by. The purpose in view was a

very definite and very limited one—the removal of an obstruction. It was not wholly an agreeable task, but it seemed a necessary one. I think that it was by keeping to this one point that the argument set forth and the conclusion drawn therefrom in the paper have met with such general acceptance as the discussion has revealed. But I will say here that I do not think it is very much use to speculate upon the functions of the two entered apprentices mentioned in the Schaw Statutes (and I feel sure they had a part and function in the formalities or ceremony) until we have built up at least a tentative picture of what that ceremony may have been, and the nature of the secrets communicated. But once we enter this field I fear we should enter a free for all, Donnybrook Fair, type of controversy. Personally I believe in team work, and the settling of definite points in detail one by one. And there are many such points and separate problems to solve in this field of investigation before there would be much hope of agreement on a reconstruction of the original ritual forms of the Fraternity.

I have indeed, as I suppose many others have likewise done, made tentative essays in this direction, but I do not for a moment suppose that, could I set them forth in detail, they would be accepted by any one else. And this largely, I would suppose, because we all have different sets of preconceptions, and would draw our picture from differing materials. So that here again much more spade work remains to be done. There are other misconceptions that need to be cleared away, and accepted conclusions that still continue to be accepted though the evidence upon which they were based has been shaken or undermined. When these obstacles have been cleared away the reconstruction itself will have to be made step by step amid difficulties such as faced the builders of the second Temple; for we shall have to build with the student's trowel in the one hand (if the figure be not too incongruous) and the Tyler's sword in the other.

I will conclude by saying that, "illicit", "spurious", or "clandestine" as they may be, and they could hardly be anything else in the nature of the case, we have in the ritual documents now known to us material that has not yet been made to yield more than a very small part of its significance, and that several other avenues of approach to the problem remain, which have scarcely been trodden by any but wild and uncritically minded speculators.

Bro. Baxter will I hope communicate the mistakes in references and citations that he apparently has discovered in order that they may be corrected. But it may be that what he has noted are typographical errors in the proof, of which there are a number in the text of the rather numerous citations and several in the references. All these will naturally be corrected before publication.

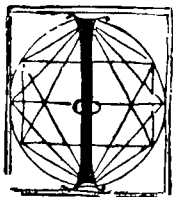


REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF THE SHAKESPEAR LODGE No. 99—

SUPPLEMENT 1905-1939.

By William B. L. Steinthal, M.A. (Oxon).



N Volume XVIII. of the *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* (pp. 110-116) appeared Bro. W. J. Hughan's review of Bro. E. A. Ebbblewhite's History of this famous old Lodge. Bro. Steinthal has now followed Bro. Ebbblewhite by compiling a volume of uniform appearance with its predecessor, bringing the story up to date. Naturally most of the contents of the present volume will be chiefly of interest only to future Masonic historians and to the present members of the Shakespear Lodge; but there are a few incidents recorded which may also have a general interest.

Authority was given in 1857 for the Master to wear a Centenary Jewel, and, though the other members of the Lodge were thereafter accustomed to wear a small replica, this latter custom at the time that Bro. Hughan wrote had never received official sanction, and he expressed a hope that it would one day be so sanctioned. Thanks to the efforts of Bro. Ebbblewhite, this hope has been realised, and in 1907 the Grand Master gave permission for all subscribing Master Masons of the Lodge to wear the Centenary Jewel.

The famous old furniture and regalia have now been honoured by their use at Masonic ceremonies in which two of our Sovereigns have participated. On 2nd May, 1919, they were used at the initiation of the then Prince of Wales in the Household Brigade Lodge No. 2614; and on 9th December, 1921, at the installation of the then Duke of York into the Chair of the Navy Lodge No. 2612.

In Bro. Steinthal's book is reprinted a curious article by Bro. Ebbblewhite giving the weights of several members of the Lodge, beginning in 1767, as recorded on the scales at the "Coffee Mill" in St. James's Street, though whether they prove that "width and wisdom go together" only a more extended research would show.

Bro. Steinthal is to be congratulated on a work inspired by an almost filial affection for the Lodge and for its earlier historian.

LEWIS EDWARDS.

A SHORT HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY TO 1730.

By Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones (Manchester University Press, 1940).

This is a wonderful little book that in less than 150 pages contains more about the history and development of the Craft in these islands than any other of the same size that has come in my way; and I wish from the bottom of my heart, both for the authors and for the general increase of knowledge, that its publication had taken place in more settled times when students had greater leisure to appreciate such a masterpiece of learning. Though general recognition may be delayed owing to the stress of the war, sooner or later this work will be acclaimed as an indispensable working tool of the Masonic student.

Reviews must be kept short nowadays, so I may briefly describe the book as a compendium of all the advances made in our knowledge of Masonic History during the past fifty years. Nor is its scope confined to mere exoteric records, for the esoteric side of the Craft is also dealt with faithfully and discreetly.

Needless to say, the authors being who they are, the pros and cons of every question are presented dispassionately, the evidence stated fairly, and the conclusions delivered free from dogmatism.

The sections that appealed in particular to myself are those on "The Mason Word", "The Origin of Masonic Ceremonies", and "The Royal Arch", on none of which subjects has the last word yet been spoken. hence, possibly, the attraction; and whoever among future students, if any, has the speaking of the last word will be bound to pay due homage to the guidance given him by our authors.

As said above, the book has appeared at an unfortunate time, but that might be taken as a symbol of the vitality of our great Order, which has put forth a new and vigorous branch at the very moment when those who hate Freemasonry and all it means are doing their evil best to lay the axe to the root of the tree.

J. HERON LEPPER.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Joseph Ernest Bagnall, of Birmingham, on 12th February, 1940. Bro. Bagnall was a member of Lodge of Sincerity No. 3850. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1933.

Lt.-Col. John George Augustus Baillie, of Ramsgate, on 17th December, 1939, aged 73 years. Bro. Baillie held the rank of Past Deputy Grand Sword Bearer and Past Grand Sword Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1922.

Sydney Clifton Bingham, of Christchurch, New Zealand, on 2nd December, 1939, aged 78 years. Bro. Bingham had held office as Assistant Grand Secretary and Grand Z., New Zealand, as well as Provincial Grand Master, Canterbury. For many years he acted as our Local Secretary for Christchurch. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1901.

Capt. Ernest Livett Brash, *R.A.P.C.*, *M.B.E.*, of Tidenham, Glos. Bro. Brash was P.M. of Baghdad Lodge No. 4022. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1923.

George Masters Canham, of London, E.C. Bro. Canham was a P.M. of Justinian Lodge No. 2694 and P.Z. of Mount Lebanon Chapter No. 73. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1902.

Joseph Clark, of Herne Hill, London, S.E., in 1940. Bro. Clark was a member of Kilburn Lodge No. 1608. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1933.

Stanley Lawrence Coulthurst, *F.R.P.S.*, of Helsby, Cheshire, on 20th November, 1939. Bro. Coulthurst held the rank of P.Pr.G.D. and P.Pr.G.So., East Lancs. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in May, 1918.

George Derrick, of West Worthing, on 12th May, 1940. Bro. Derrick was P.M. of Parrett and Axe Lodge No. 814 and P.Z. of Royal Cyrus Chapter No. 285. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1919.

The Rev. **Walter Kelly Firminger**, *D.D.*, of Hampton Court, on 27th February, 1940. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Chaplain. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1900, elected to full membership of the Lodge in October, 1929, and was W.M. in 1934.

Charles William Harwood, of London, S.E., on 8th December, 1939, aged 83 years. Bro. Harwood was a member of Sydenham Lodge No. 2744. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1903.

Henry William Heath, of London, E., on 5th March, 1940. Bro. Heath was P.M. of Ilford Lodge No. 4442 and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1934.

Ernest George Hobbs, of Mazoe, S. Rhodesia, in May, 1939. Bro. Hobbs was a P.M. of Mufulira Lodge No. 5326 and a member of Rhodesia Lodge No. 2479. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1922.

Hugh Charles Knowles, *M.A., B.C.L.*, of London, W., on 25th February, 1940. Bro. Knowles held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in May, 1912.

Charles Edwin Leonard Livesey, of York, on 24th February, 1940. Bro. Livesey 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, 1914.

Henry Marychurch, of Waikato, New Zealand, in 1939. Bro. Marychurch was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in January, 1926.

George Vere Montague, of London, S.E., on 14th January, 1940, aged 80 years. Bro. Montague held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1908.

James George Wallace Paterson, of Portsmouth, on 26th April, 1940, whilst on Active Service. Bro. Paterson was a member of the Duke of Connaught Lodge No. 1834. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1938.

Thompson Pickles, of Kendal, on 10th January, 1940. Bro. Pickles held the rank of P.Pr.G.Treas., and was a P.Z. of Kendal Castle Chapter No. 129. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1928.

John Macilveen Rudd, of Nanaimo, B.C., on 29th January, 1940. Bro. Rudd had held the office of Grand Master. He was P.Z. of Chapter No. 127. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1912.

Richard Joseph Sadleir, of Croydon, on 19th May, 1940, aged 77 years. Bro. Sadleir 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, 1911.

Charles Sheatt, J.P., of Folkestone, on 10th January, 1940, aged 91 years. Bro. Sheatt held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1933.

Arthur Sice, of Twickenham, on 21st January, 1940. Bro. Sice was P.M. of St. Ambrose Lodge No. 1891. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1928.

Arthur Charles Skidmore, of Tettenhall, Staffs., in May, 1940, aged 75 years. Bro. Skidmore held the rank of P.Pr.G.St.B. and P.A.G.So. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1919.

Albert Lennox Stanton, of St. Austell, Cornwall, on 24th November, 1939. Bro. Stanton was a member of Prince Edwin's Lodge No. 125. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1917, and became a Life Member of the Circle in 1926.

William L. Tasch, of New York City, on 16th March, 1940. Bro. Tasch held the office of Dis.D.G.M. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1928.

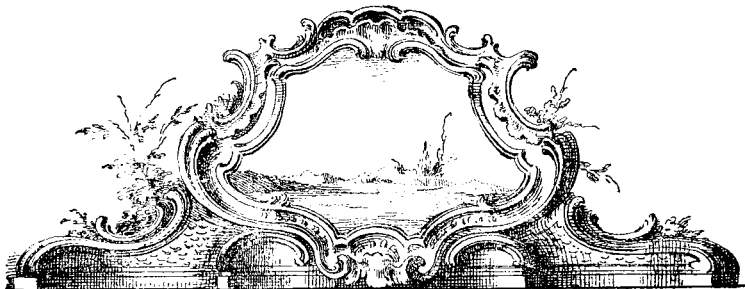
Judge **Eugene D. Thomas**, of Atlanta, Georgia, in 1940. Bro. Thomas was P.M. of Lodge No. 523 and P.H.P. of Chapter No. 155. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1929.

Octavius Leopold Thomson, of London, W.C., on 2nd May, 1940, aged 77 years. Bro. Thomson 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 November, 1903.

William Eber Thornton, of Edinburgh, in November, 1939. Bro. Thornton was a P.M. of Lodge of Charity No. 2651 (E.C.) and a member of Elias Ashmole Chapter No. 148 (E.C.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in June, 1897.

E. J. Willcock, of London, E.C., on 29th December, 1939, aged 67 years. Bro. Willcock was a member of Electric Lodge No. 2087. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1921.

Thomas Megam Wood, of South Woodford, on 2nd March, 1940. Bro. Wood held L.G.R. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1907.



Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London

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Members returning their parts of the *Transactions* to the Secretary, can have them bound in dark blue Canvas, lettered gold, for 6/9 per volume. Cases can be supplied at 3/6 per volume, date or number of volume should be specified.

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Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. In Silver Gilt, engraved with the owner's name, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel, 12/6 each, plus purchase tax.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY :

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.Swd.B.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM :

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

↻: 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.

VOLUME LIII. PART 2.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
1942.

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 Antigrapha*, 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.

St. John's Day in Harvest

MONDAY, 24th JUNE, 1940.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, *B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M.*, as *W.M.*; F. R. Radice, as *S.W.*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., P.A.G.R., J.W.*; F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B., Secretary*; and G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. H. E. Elliott; A. S. Hall Johnson; H. Boutroy; H. Bladon, *P.A.G.D.C.*; F. Spooner, *P.G.St.B.*; L. Veronique; G. C. Williams; W. R. Edwards; F. H. H. Thomas, *P.A.G.Swd.B.*; C. D. Melbourne, *P.A.G.R.*; A. I. Logette; E. Alven; A. F. Hatten; R. A. Card, *P.G.St.B.*; G. T. Harley Thomas, *P.G.D.*; C. D. Rotch; R. W. Strickland; J. S. Ballance; *Rev.* G. Freeman Irwin, *P.G.Ch.*; F. Coston Taylor; H. Johnson; L. G. Wearing; and A. F. Ford.

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., Chap.*; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A., P.A.G.Ch.*; 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., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex*; F. W. Golby, *P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, P.M.*; C. C. Adams, *M.C., P.G.D., W.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *S.W.*; W. Jenkinson, *Pr.G.Sec., Armagh*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W., Derbys., S.D.*; F. L. Pick, *J.D.*; H. C. Bristowe, *P.A.G.D.C., I.G.*; R. E. Parkinson; and G. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*

Upon Ballot taken:—

BRO. WALLACE EVANS HEATON, residing at Red Roofs, Drax Avenue, Wimbledon, London, S.W.20. Director of Private Companies. *P.M.* Nevil-Talbot Lodge No. 4092 and *P.M.* Helio Lodge No. 3900. Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies.

was elected a joining member of the Lodge.

Two Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Certificates—

- (i.) Sample of Grand Lodge, York.
- (ii.) Royal Arch Lodge, certifying M.M. Paisley Lodge, Grand Lodge of Scotland.
Design very similar to the design to be found in Batty Langley's Builder's Jewel, 1763.
- (iii.) Original "Mark" Certificate used in Malta before the creation of Grand Mark Lodge in England.

Aprons—

- (i.) Knight Templar—belonged to David Christie of "Lodge of Unity" No. 538.

Lodge of Unity met in Dantzic (W. Prussia); Warrant dated 17th March, 1789; seceded from English Jurisdiction in March, 1790, and went on to the register of the Grand Lodge Royal York at Berlin.

- (ii.) Royal Arch—uncertain whether Irish or "Antients".

Photograph of Josiah Beckwith of the Druidical Lodge, No. 109.

By BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Engraved List of Lodges, Duke of Wharton, Grand Master.

Plaque—Gardiners' Society.

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:—

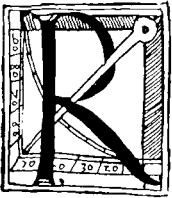
THE SUBORDINATE LODGES CONSTITUTED BY THE YORK GRAND LODGE.

PART II.

BY BRO. G. Y. JOHNSON, P.A.G.D.C.,

Librarian of York Lodge No. 236.

ROTHERHAM.



ROTHERHAM is well known as a manufacturing town and is situated six miles from Sheffield. John Bigland¹ states that "The town is far from being handsome: the streets are narrow and irregular; and the houses, which are chiefly of stone, have in general a dull and dingy appearance". However, the Universal British Directory of Trade for 1791 states that "It is a neat town".

The population in 1801 was 3,926² and the iron industry was well established in the 18th Century. The Masbrough Works, near Rotherham, which were built in 1765, had a coke furnace. The landlord was the Earl of Effingham.³ We shall come across his lordship's name later.

The first note of a Masonic Lodge at Rotherham is found in the Minutes of the Rose and Crown Lodge No. 277 of Sheffield, a "Modern" Lodge. I am indebted to Bro. Flather of Sheffield for supplying me with a copy of these Minutes. It appears that a Lodge was being held at Rotherham in 1775 which possessed no Warrant; whether the Lodge met regularly, or where the original members had been initiated it is impossible to say. The Brethren of this Rotherham Lodge approached the members of the Rose and Crown Lodge at Sheffield asking for their help to procure a Warrant. This the Sheffield Brethren decided to do, provided the Rotherham Brethren could produce "proper Certificates or showing such Qualifications of their Abilities as may be Satisfactory to this Lodge and prove them free and accepted Masons regularly made in a Constituted Lodge": as the Rotherham Brethren failed to do this the matter was dropped, especially as the Rotherham Brethren had "irregularly dared to make a Mason without formal Powers".

The Minutes of the Rose and Crown Lodge No. 277 are as follows:—

Business Feb 17—5775

The Lodge being open'd on the first Step of Masonry took into consideration the request of the Intended Lodge at Rotherham as it was found inconvenient for the Members of it to attend here this night as we desired it is propos'd that every one of the said intended members do

¹ A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of York. N.D.

² Economic and Industrial History of Yorkshire, by Maud Sellers, Litt.D.

³ *Ibid.*

attend this Lodge at such time as shall be convenient to themselves & on producing proper Certificates or showing such Qualifications of their Abilities as may be Satisfactory to this Lodge and prove them free & accepted Masons regularly made in a Constituted Lodge that then and in this case and no other this Lodge will render them every Service in their Power towards procuring a Warrant for establishing a Lodge in Rotherham—

Order'd by the Master that this Lodge be conven'd the 26 of this Month when our Brothers of Rotherham shall receive Notice to attend:—

proceeded to a Lecture on the first step the Lodge then clos'd in due form.

J. E. Sauer.

(There is no record of the Meeting which was to be held on 26th February.)

10th March 1775

The Lodge was open'd on the first step of Masonry when Br^o. Beldon was pased a Fellow Craft & after a very serious Discufsion it was the Desire of the Lodge that the Master be pleased to inform the Petitioners at Rotherham that as they have irregularly dared to make a Mason without formal Powers they are unworthy the Countenance of this Lodge.

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THE DRUIDICAL LODGE No. 109.

The first mention of Rotherham in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge is on 8 December, 1777, when "Bro^r Beckwith proposed M^r Josiah Beckwith of Rotheram (*sic*) to be made a Mason". Two months later, on 23 February, 1778, another Rotherham man was proposed by Bro. Beckwith: this was "M^r Tho^s. Alderson of Aldwork near Rotheram (*sic*)".

The brother who made these propositions was Thomas Beckwith,¹ a well-known York Artist.

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 9 March "M^r Josiah Beckwith of Rotheram (*sic*) & M^r Tho^s Alderson, of Aldwork near Rotheram (*sic*) were Each Balotted for to be made masons & Admitted N.C."

Josiah Beckwith was an Attorney.² The late Bro. T. B. Whythead stated³ that Josiah Beckwith of Rotherham and Thomas Beckwith of York were brothers. This is confirmed by the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 12 October, 1778.⁴

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 20 March, 1778, "M^r. Josiah Beckwith of Rotheram (*sic*) & M^r. Tho^s. Alderson Aldwork were Each made E.A. & F.C." and at the next meeting held on 27 April "Bro^r. Tho^s. Beckwith proposed Bro^{rs}. Jcsiah Beckwith & Tho^s. Alderson to be Raids to the degree of M.Ms they were Ballotted for & past N.C.—" and at the next meeting on 25 May "Bro^r. Beckwith proposed M^r. William Cossens of Rotheram (*sic*)". Strange to say we do not hear of this man again.

¹ Thomas Beckwith painted the York Grand Lodge Board which is now in the possession of the York Lodge No. 236; he was made E.A. & F.C. in the York Grand Lodge on 31 Mar., 1777; M.M. on 24 Nov., 1777, and was appointed Senior Grand Warden for 1780. The York Lodge has an engraving of his portrait painted by himself. This information is given as there were four or five members of the York Grand Lodge having the name of Beckwith.

² "Beckwith, Jofiah, Attorney at Law, Mafer".—Bailey's British Directory, 1784.

³ A.Q.C., vol. xiii., page 107.

⁴ The York Grand Lodge Minutes of 12 October, 1778, state:—"Bror. Thos. Beckwith was desired to acquaint his Bror. with ye said resolution".

On 6 August, 1778. "Bro^{rs}. Josiah Beckwith of Rotherham (*sic*) & Woolley of York was raised M.M^s."

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 12 October, 1778, the Petition for a Constitution for a Lodge at Rotherham was presented, the Minutes being as follows:—

Bro^r Josiah Beckwith of Rotherham (*sic*) & six other Brethren of that Neighbourhood petitioned the Grand Lodge for a Constitution to be granted to them to hold a Lodge at said place, which was unanimously agreed to & Bro^r Tho^s Beckwith was desired to acquaint his Bro^r. with y^e said Resolution, the Grand Secretary was order'd to send the form of said Constitution to Bro^r Beckwith of Rotheram (*sic*) at his own request to Engrofs and afterwards to be return'd again to the Grand Lodge in order to be signed by the Grand Master &c and to have the Grand Lodge Seal Affixt thereto.

None of the Petitioners was present at this meeting and only one of the seven is named; fortunately we possess a copy of the Constitution which gives the names of the Petitioners as follows:—Josiah Beckwith, John Hassall, James Sims, John Cousins, Joseph Midlam, Thomas Chambers and Moses Glass. Strange to say Thomas Alderson, who was the second Rotherham man to be proposed in the York Grand Lodge, was not one of the petitioners although he was present at the first meeting of the Druidical Lodge.

Of these Petitioners Josiah Beckwith had been made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge; John Hassall was an Irish Mason¹ initiated in Lodge No. 375 and most likely a Chester man; James Sims and Joseph Midlam may have been members of the unwarranted Rotherham Lodge, at any rate I have been unable to trace where they were initiated; Thomas Chambers, John Cousins and Moses Glass had not been made Masons at the time that the Petition was presented, but were made E.A. & F.C. in the York Grand Lodge the day before the Druidical Lodge was constituted.

The copy of Constitution² granted to the Rotherham brethren is as follows:—

Copy of Constitutions granted to the Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Maceons at Rotherham Nov^r. 30th. 1778.—No. 109.

Will^m. Siddall We William Siddall Grand
Master of all England.

To all and every our Right Worshipfull,
Worshipfull and loving Brethern of the most
antient and honourable Society of Free and
Accepted Maceons, Send Greeting in the Lord

Know ye that we have received the humble Petition and Request of our well beloved and faithfull Brethern Josiah Beckwith, John Hafsall, James Sims, John Cousins, Joseph Midlam, Thomas Chambers and Moses Glafs all of Rotherham in the County of York, Praying that we would Grant a Constitution to them the said Brethern to hold a regular Lodge at Rotherham aforesaid.

We therefore with the unanimous Afsent and Consent of our Brethern of the most antient Grand Lodge of all England and more especially, because we are well satisfied of the good Life and Conversation of the said Brethern Josiah Beckwith, John Hafsall, James Sims,

¹ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 40.

² The copy of the Constitution follows the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 30 Nov., 1778.

John Cousins, Joseph Midlam, Thomas Chambers and Moses Glafs Do hereby constitute the same seven Brethern into a Regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Maceons to be opened at the House of William Charlton in Rotherham aforesaid to be stiled The Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Maceons and to be held for ever on such Days at such Hours and in such places in Rotherham aforesaid as the Right Worshipfull Master and the rest of the Brethern of the said Lodge shall appoint. And we do further at the Request of the said Seven Brethern on whom we in this Matter repose the greatest Trust and Confidence hereby appoint the said Brother Josiah Beckwith to be Right Worshipfull Master, Brother John Hafsall—Senior-Warden, Brother James Sims, Junior-Warden, Brother John Cousins Secretary, and Brother Joseph Midlam Treasurer of the said Druidical Lodge, when the same shall be Opened, and to continue in the said Offices for such further time as the Brethern of the said Lodge shall think proper; it being in no wise our Intention that this our Appointment of the said several Brethern, to the Offices abovementioned shall affect any future Election of the Officers of the said Lodge, but that such Elections shall be regulated in Conformity to the Bye-Laws of the said Lodge for the Time being: all of which we will and require, shall be consistant with the General Law and Principles of Maceonry. And we do hereby Will and require you the said Josiah Beckwith, to take especial Care by due Examination, that all and every the said Brethern are Maceons regularly made, and that they do Observe the Laws of Maceonry, and in all respects demean themselves as becometh Maceons. And further that you do from Time to Time, enter in a Book to be kept for that Purpose, an Account of your Proceedings in the said Lodge, together with all such Orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good Government of the same. And that in no wise, you Omit, once in every Year, at or before the Feast of Saint John the Evangelist, in Winter sending us at least one of the Brethern of the said Lodge (if it can be made convenient) to lay before us and our Succesfours, Grand Masters of all England, and the Grand Officers, and Brethern and Grand Lodge of all England an Account in Writing of your said Proceedings, and Copies of all such Rules, Orders and Regulations as shall be made as aforesaid, to be then and there Confirmed but for reasonable Cause; Together with a List of the Members of the said Lodge, and such Yearly Sum of Money as may suite the Circumstances of the Lodge, and reasonably be expected, to be applied towards General Charity, and in Augmentation of the Revenues of the said Grand Lodge of all England. And we further will and require you the said Josiah Beckwith Right Worshipfull Master forthwith to send us an Account of What you and your Brethern shall do by Vertue of these Presents

Given at York this Thirtieth Day of November
 Anno Domini M.D.C.C.L.XX.VIII.—A.L. 5778, and in the Year of
 the Most Worshipfull Grand Lodge of all England 853.

By the Grand Masters Command

Jacob Bussey Grand Secretary

This copy of the Constitution is in the handwriting of Jacob Bussey, the G. Secretary at that time. The name of the Lodge is given for the first time "The Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Maceons"; no number is given to the Lodge in the body of the Document, but at the Head "No. 109" has been added in another hand, I believe by John Browne, G. Secretary 1779-80, who followed Jacob Bussey.

The Lodge was to be opened at the House of William Charlton; this was the Red Lion,¹ an Inn of some importance.

In the Constitution the Officers are named; not only are the Master and Wardens appointed but also the Secretary and Treasurer. The first Officers were to be:—Josiah Beckwith Right Worshipful Master, John Hassall Senior Warden, James Sims Junior Warden, John Cousins Secretary, and Joseph Midlam Treasurer.

Some of the members of the York Grand Lodge journeyed over to Rotherham and held a meeting there on 21 December, 1778: the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge, in the handwriting of John Browne, who did not become G. Secretary till 11 January, 1779, are as follows:—

At Rotherham. Monday the 21st of December 1778.

The Grand Lodge of all England Open'd at Rotherham in the County of York. Present, Brother Siddall G.M. Smith, as D.G.M. T. Beckwith, as S.G.W. Browne, as J.G.W. Bufsey, G.S. Parker, G.C. Beckwith, Moses.

At this Grand Lodge M^r. W^m. Holdsworth, M^r. John Drake, M^r. Moses Glafs, M^r. John Cousens, M^r. John Jackson, M^r. W^m. Charlton, and M^r. Chambers, were made E.A. and F.C. Also Brother Jn^o. Moses made F.C.

This Grand Lodge was closed and adjourned till to Morrow the 22^d. Instant And the Brethren required to assemble by ten o Clock in the forenoon of the same, in Order to proceed to Church and attend Divine Service.

It will be remembered that Glass, Cousins or Cousens, and Chambers had signed the petition, so they were initiated the day before the new Druidical Lodge was constituted.

Of the eight brethren made E.A. and/or F.C., William Holdsworth² was an Attorney, John Drake³ was a Draper, John Jackson⁴ was the landlord of the Angel and William Charlton was the landlord of the Red Lion, where the Druidical Lodge held their meetings. The other four—Thomas Chambers, John Cousins, Moses Glass and John Moses—have not been traced.

The next day, 22 December, 1778, another meeting of the York Grand Lodge took place at Rotherham, the Minutes of which are as follows:—

At Rotherham Tuesday the 22^d. of December 1778.

The Lodge met according to Adjournment. Present Brother Siddall G.M. Smith, as D.G.M. Coupland, S.G.W. T. Beckwith, as J.G.W. Browne, as G.T. Bufsey, G.S. Parker, G.C. Captⁿ. Wiggins Beckwith Hafsall, Sims, Moses Jackson Holdsworth, Wilkinson Charlton Cosens Glafs Drake Alderson Brother Barstow Medlam Williams Flint

The Brethren being marshald in due Order for Procefsion and in proper Cloathing about Eleven o Clock in the forenoon proceeded to the Parish Church of Rotherham where an Excellent Sermon on the Occasion was preached by the Rever^d. Brother the Grand Chaplain to the Grand Lodge of all England "from Acts Ch. 17. Part of V. 17. ffor We are also his Offspring". And from Church they returned in the same Due Order to the House of Brother W^m. Charlton where an Elegant Dinner was provided. About five o Clock in the Evening the Grand Lodge was open'd with the usual Solemnity and the Constitution creating a Lodge to be held at Rotherham

¹ York G. Lodge MS. No. 45.

² Holdfworth, Wm. Attorney at Law.—Bailey's British Directory, 1784.

³ Drake, John, Mercer and Draper.—Bailey's British Directory, 1784.

⁴ Jackson, John, Victualler, (Angel).—Universal British Directory, 1791.

under the Stile of "The Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Maceons" was opened and in ample form enforced, Brother Josiah Beckwith being invested with the High Office of Right Worshipful Master of the said Lodge. And he then appointed for his Senior Warden Brother John Hafsall, and for his Junior Warden Brother James Sims: All of whom with the rest of the Brethren of the newly created Lodge were saluted with proper Congratulations. The Brethren of the Druidical Lodge in Grand Lodge assembled publicly requested that the Sermon this Day preached by Our Reverend Brother might be printed, with which Request he candidly complied. The Lodge was closed and adjourned to Monday the 28th. Instant.

It will be noted that all those present are entered as if they were members of the York Grand Lodge, whereas some were visitors, i.e. Hassall, Sims, Wilkinson, Barstow, Medlam and Flint, although members of the new Druidical Lodge.

There were 16 members of the new Druidical Lodge present. Six were petitioners—Josiah Beckwith, John Hassall, James Sims, John Cousins or Cosens, Moses Glass and Joseph Midlam or Medlam. Five had been made Masons the day before—John Moses, John Jackson, William Holdsworth, William Charlton and John Drake. Of the remaining five—James Wilkinson¹ was an Apothecary, Thomas Alderson had been made a Mason at York in the York Grand Lodge, Flint was most likely Joseph Flint², a Grocer and Tea-dealer, but Barstow and Edward Williams³ have not been traced.

Fortunately a York newspaper of the period gives an account of the proceedings, but does not add greatly to our knowledge. The *York Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*⁴ of 1 January, 1779, contains the following paragraph:—

On Tuesday the 22d paft. the Grand Mafter of all England constituted the Druidical Lodge of Free and Accepted Maceons, at the houfe of Mr. William Charlton, in Rotherham, in this county. When the Grand Master, and all his Grand Officers, with the Brethren at Rotherham, went in proceffion to the church there, and heard Divine Service, and an excellent difcourfe on the occafion by the Grand Chaplain of All England: And the day was concluded with that harmony which ever rendered the fraternity of Maceons moft respectable.

The Sermon preached by the Grand Chaplain was duly published⁵, and is the only pamphlet printed for the York Grand Lodge after the revival. There is a copy in the York Lodge library; the full title is as follows:—

A Sermon, Preached in the Parish-Church of Rotherham, before The Most Worshipful Grand Master of The Most Ancient Grand Lodge Of All England, his Officers, and The Newly Constituted Rotherham Druidical Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, December 22, 1778. By the Rev. Brother John Parker, G. Chaplain, Vicar of St. Helen's in York. Published at the request of the Grand Master, and the reft of the Brethren. York: Printed by W. Blanchard and Co. 1779. (Price One Shilling.)

¹ Wilkinfon James. Apothecary.—Universal British Directory for 1791.

² Flint, Jofeph, Grocer and Tea-dealer.—Bailey's British Directory, 1784

³ The Universal British Directory for 1791 gives:—"Clergy—Williams Rev. Edward, Diffenting Minifter", but this could hardly have been Bro. Edward Williams who was expelled for his "Unmasonic behaviour".

⁴ A similar account of the meeting appeared in the *Leeds Mercury*, 5 Jan., 1779.

⁵ This Pamphlet was advertised in *York Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser* of 12 Mar., 1779.

The name of the Lodge is here given as "Rotherham Druidical Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons" and not "the Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Maceons" as in the Constitution.

The Sermon is dedicated "To the Most Worhipful Grand Master, and the rest of the Brethren of the Most Ancient Grand Lodge of all England".

The Grand Chaplain, Bro. John Parker, alludes to "a Royal Protector, in this City, the amiable Edwin: And as by this fuceffion you are the only Grand Lodge in England".

There is evidence that this Sermon was appreciated, for in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge for 12 January, 1779, there is the following:—

Ordered that a Dozen Copies of Brother Grand Chaplains Sermon now in the Prefs be procured for the Grand Lodge and two Guineas out of the Lodge fund presented as a Compliment to Brother Parker for the same.

and at the meeting held on 8 February, 1779, the matter is again mentioned

A F.C's Lodge opened at which a Dozen of Brother Grand Chaplain's Printed Sermons were received from him and Ordered to be deposited in the Repository till otherwise disposed of.

For the further History of the Druidical Lodge we must now turn to the Minutes of the Lodge. Fortunately we have copies of these Minutes (but not the original Minute Book), which do not, however, give the names of those present.

The first meeting took place on 22 December, 1778, when the Lodge was duly constituted by the York Grand Lodge; the first officers being "Brother Beckwith, R: W: M: & T:—And by the said M: were appointed.—Hafsall —S: W: — Sims J: W: —"

In the Constitution Joseph Midlam had been appointed Treasurer, but Josiah Beckwith took on the dual offices of Master and Treasurer.

The Lodge is called "Lodge N^o. 109. Stiled the Druidical Lodge of free and Accepted Maceons", so, although the number had been added to the Constitution by another hand, the York Grand Lodge must have decided to number the Lodge before it was constituted.

There can be no question that the York Grand Lodge added 100 to the actual number, as only six or seven Lodges had been constituted at this time. However, it is quite likely that 102 was added and not 100; this point will be dealt with later.

At the next meeting of the Lodge held on 28 December, 1778, there were three Candidates proposed, "M^r. James Hamer M^r. W^m. Eastfield Laughton, and M^r. Richard Thomas". The only one of the three that I have been able to trace is Wm. Eastfield Laughton, who was an Attorney¹.

The next meeting took place on 4 January, 1779, when "Brother Alderson and Bro^r. Chambers were raised to the Degree of M:M:". These two brethren had been made E.A. and F.C. in the York Grand Lodge, Thomas Alderson on 20 March, 1778, and Thomas Chambers on 21 December, 1778, that is the day before the Druidical Lodge was constituted. Chambers later became the Tyler.

At the same meeting Bro. Laughton and Bro. Thomas were made E.A. and F.C.

The next meeting took place on 22 January, 1779, when Bro. Drake, Bro. Charlton and Bro. Cousins were raised to the Degree of M.M. These three brethren had all been made E.A. and F.C. in the York Grand Lodge on 21 December, 1778, the day before the Druidical Lodge was constituted.

¹ Lawton, Wm. Eastfield, Attorney at Law.—Bailey's British Directory. 1784.

A new By-law was made that "any person after having been proposed and ballotted for Six Months, shall not procure himself to be admitted he shall before Admittance be again proposed and ballotted for". This By-law was most likely inspired by the case of Mr. James Hamer, who had been proposed on 28 December, 1778, and who afterwards joined a "Modern" Lodge.

At this meeting Bro. Williams proposed John Parker¹ to be admitted a Member of this Society. He did not become a member and must not be confused with the G.Chaplain of the York Grand Lodge.

The next meeting of the Lodge took place on 26 February, 1779, when Mr. Cooke of Swinton was admitted to the Degrees of E.A. and F.C. He does not appear to have attended the Lodge again, as he did not become a M.M.; at any rate the List of Members² of the York Grand Lodge has his name entered only as an E.A. and F.C. At the same meeting Bro. Hassall proposed Joshua Lee of Conisbrough and made a deposit of Half a Guinea "and it is Ordered for the future no person proposed shall be Ballotted for without first making a like Deposit".

Two of the members of the Druidical Lodge visited the York Grand Lodge on 11 March, 1779—Josiah Beckwith and Wm. Eastfield Cloughton are both marked "V.B." (Visiting Brother). The latter is, of course, a mistake for Wm. Eastfield Laughton; there is no note in the Minutes that any business connected with the Druidical Lodge was discussed.

The next meeting of the Druidical Lodge took place on 26 March, when Mr. Joshua Lee was admitted to the Degrees of E.A. and F.C. The Lodge then discussed the case of Mr. James Hamer, who had been proposed at his own request by Bro. Holdsworth on 28 December last, but had never since applied for his Admission. The Lodge was informed that Mr. Hamer had been admitted into a "Modern" Lodge at Sheffield. It was then ordered that if this information should prove to be correct he should be "for ever expelled from this Lodge, and excluded from this Society either as a Member or a Visiting Brother".

I am indebted to Bro. Flather of Sheffield for the following information about James Hamer—he was balloted for on 12 March, 1779, at the Rose and Crown Lodge No. 277 (Moderns), of Sheffield, at the next meeting of this Lodge on 9 April. "Mr. James Hamer of Rotherham" was initiated, he was passed on 14 May, but did not again attend the Lodge until 27 December, when he was raised. Bro. Flather further informs me that James Hamer³ was a "merchant" resident in Rotherham, and that Bro. Joseph Antt of the York Grand Lodge, who had gone to reside at Sheffield, visited the Rose and Crown Lodge on 14 May, that is the same evening that James Hamer was passed.

The next meeting of the Druidical Lodge took place on 23 April, when Mr. David Berry of Tickell was proposed by Bro. Laughton, and Bro. Holdsworth was raised to the Degree of M.M.

The conduct of Bro. Williams was then discussed and it was ordered that the next time he attends this Lodge he should be severely reprimanded from the Chair for his Unmasonic behaviour at Conisbrough at the House of Bro. Lee, and that he be summoned to attend the next Lodge Night "Upon pain of Expulsion". This is the first note of any trouble in the Lodge, but by no means the last.

It was further ordered that postage of letters to Brethren residing out of Town should be defrayed by the Lodge.

¹ John Parker's name did not go forward to the ballot; he may have been either a Rotherham Attorney (Universal British Directory. 1791) or "Mr. Parker of Doncaster". (Druidical Minutes, 27 Aug., 1779.) It is, of course, possible that these two were one and the same man.

² Y.G.L. Roll No. 10.

³ James Hamer does not appear in the Directories of the period.

The next meeting of the Lodge took place on 28 May, when Mr. David Berry of Tickell was balloted for and rejected. Bro. Beckwith, R.W.M., proposed Mr. Isaiah Lumb of Wakefield, and Bro. Laughton, who was not yet a M.M., proposed for a second time Mr. David Berry of Tickhill, who had just been rejected, and Mr. Berry's name was ordered to be hung in a conspicuous place for three successive Lodge Nights.

Further, the order made on 26 March last respecting Mr. James Hamer was carried into execution. Mr. Hamer had joined a "Modern" Lodge in Sheffield and had been ordered to be expelled although he was not a member. There seems to have been further trouble in the Lodge, as Bro. Jackson and Bro. Cousins were summoned to attend the next Lodge night "Upon pain of Expulsion".

Bro. Williams, who had been summoned to attend, did not put in an appearance, and so his expulsion was carried by a majority of nine votes to two.

The next meeting of the Lodge took place on 24 June, when the ballot for Mr. Isaiah Lumb of Wakefield and Mr. David Berry of Tickhill was postponed until the next Lodge.

Two new By-laws were made, one concerning the closing of the Lodge and the other on the penalty of speaking disrespectfully of the Lodge, taken from Bro. Calcott's *Disquisition of Free Masonry*, pages 210 and 217. It is interesting to note that the York Grand Lodge received visits from a Bro. "Calcott" on 13 July, 1761, and a Bro. "Calcutt" on 28 December, 1778, and 11 January, 1779, but whether this was Wellins Calcott it is impossible to say.

The York Grand Lodge purchased ten copies¹ of "A Candid Disquisition . . . by Wellins Calcott . . . 1769", and it seems quite likely that later one of these copies would be given to the Druidical Lodge.

After the By-laws had been passed the Lodge proceeded to elect Bro. Beckwith for a second time as Rt. Wor. Master, and Bro. Beckwith then appointed Bro. Drake Dep. Master, Bro. Wilkinson S.W., Bro. Flint J.W., Bro. Holdsworth Secretary and Bro. Chambers Tyler; Bro. Midlam was re-elected Treasurer.

This is the first time that we hear of the office of Dep. Master. Bro. Drake, who received the appointment, had only been made a M.M. on 22 January, that is less than six months previously. There is no note in the Minutes that Bro. Midlam had been elected Treasurer before, although in the Constitution he is so appointed.

At the previous meeting Bro. Jackson had been ordered to attend "upon pain of expulsion", but as he neglected to put in an appearance he was expelled by a majority of eight votes to two. Bro. Jackson was the second member to be expelled, and the Lodge had only been working about six months.

At the next meeting held on 29 June Bro. Laughton and Bro. Glass were raised to the Degree of M.M.

The next meeting of the Lodge took place on 15 July, when Isaiah Lumb of Wakefield was approved and admitted to the Degrees of E.A. and F.C.

Bro. Moses and Bro. Thomas proposed themselves to be raised to the Degree of M.M.

The Members of the Lodge did not seem satisfied about the expulsion of Bro. Williams on 28 May, so decided to hear the case again and ordered Bro. Hassall and Bro. Lee to attend to make good their Charge against Bro. Williams, and the Secretary again adds "Upon pain of Expulsion". Bro. Laughton then withdrew his candidate, Mr. David Berry, "finding him an unworthy person to be made a Bror." Mr. Berry had already been black-balled once, so perhaps Bro. Laughton's decision was a wise one.

¹ See List of Subscribers "York, the Lodge at, ten Copies". In 1769 the York Grand Lodge was the only Lodge in York.

Before the Lodge was closed the Treasurer was ordered to prepare and bring his Accounts on or before next Lodge night.

Another visit was paid by two members of the Druidical Lodge to the York Grand Lodge on 22 July, 1779, when both Josiah Beckwith and James Wilkinson are entered as visiting brethren; at this meeting "John Hatfeild Kay Esq". of Hatfeild Hall near Wakefield was ballotted for to be made a Maceon and admitted". This name was most likely brought forward by Josiah Beckwith. The paragraph reads as if Mr. Kay were made a Mason, but actually he was never initiated in the York Grand Lodge. We shall, however, come across his name again.

The next meeting of the Druidical Lodge was held on 27 August, when Bro. Thomas was raised to the Degree of M.M. The case of Bro. Williams was then considered; the Members listened to "the several Allegations" by Bro. Hassall and Bro. Lee and then to "Bro". Williams defence thereto", who was present although he had been expelled on 28 May. A ballot was then taken and Bro. Williams was again expelled by nine votes to two.

Bro. Wilkinson then proposed Mr. Anthy. Firth of Rotherham, and Bro. Hassall, on behalf of Mr. Parker, Mr. Kay and Mr. Berside, all of Doncaster, asked the Lodge to recommend the York Grand Lodge to grant a Constitution. This matter is dealt with later under Doncaster.

At the next meeting of the Lodge held on 24 September Bro. Hassall asked that his Petition for "a Sett of Constitutions" for Doncaster should be postponed until the next Lodge night. Mr. Anthy. Firth, who was a Mercer and Draper,¹ was then balloted for, approved and admitted to the Degrees of E.A. and F.C.

Bro. Williams seems to have been very anxious to be readmitted and he appears to have petitioned the Lodge to this effect; the question was discussed and it was decided by nine votes to three that the matter be referred to the York Grand Lodge, thereby placing the responsibility on others—human nature is much the same to-day. Bro. Williams was in the end successful in his petition.

At the next Lodge held on 22 October "Bro". Hafsall withdrew his Motion respecting the petition for a Sett of Constitutions for Doncaster". Bro. Lee proposed himself to be raised and Bro. Moses was raised to the Degree of M.M.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM.

About this time the members of the York Grand Lodge were anxious to have a Peer of the Realm as their Grand Master, and Josiah Beckwith, the Master of the Druidical Lodge, was asked to approach the Earl of Effingham. It will be remembered that Josiah Beckwith had attended the York Grand Lodge at the meeting at York on 22 July, 1779, and no doubt the matter was arranged then.

Bro. Josiah Beckwith wrote to the York Grand Lodge on 23 October, 1779, giving an account of his interview with the Earl of Effingham. In this letter Bro. Josiah Beckwith states that as requested by the Committee of the York Grand Lodge he had taken the first opportunity of seeing the Earl of Effingham, who received him as a Brother. His Lordship wished to thank the Brethren of the York Grand Lodge for the Honour they wished to confer upon him by electing him their Grand Master. This honour his Lordship would accept if he were satisfied that by so doing the Interests of Masonry in general would be promoted, but he feared that it would be a means of widening the Breach between the York Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns).

¹ Firth, Anthony, Mercer and Draper.—Bailey's British Directory, 1784.

His Lordship stated that he was a Past Master of a Lodge under the "Modern" Constitution and therefore he would be acting derogatorily to his obligation should he accept the Dignity of Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge; he, however, added that he utterly disliked the distinction of "Antient" and "Modern", as they differ in forms only and not in essentials and ought all to agree together.

If, however, his Lordship is satisfied that the Grand Lodge of England had behaved improperly to the York Grand Lodge, he will oblige them to make proper Acknowledgment and will try to promote a Reconciliation between the two Grand Lodges when he goes to London.

His Lordship further stated that he looked upon Masonry as the noblest Institution in the World.

Bro. Beckwith then told Lord Effingham that he (Bro. Beckwith), being a young Mason, did not feel equal to the task of explaining the benefits that might accrue to Masonry in general if his Lordship would accept the Dignity of Grand Master, but that he had no doubt that some of the Brethren at York could satisfy his Lordship and would not think it any trouble to wait upon his Lordship for that Purpose.

Lord Effingham replied that there was no better introduction to him than that of being a Mason, and gave a general invitation to Bro. Beckwith and any of the Brethren who would take the trouble of waiting upon him "to see how his Mutton was roasted".

Bro. Beckwith adds that his Lordship's behaviour was uncommonly generous and affable and that if a few of the Brethren from York would wait upon his Lordship before he attends Parliament it would have very desirable consequences to the York Grand Lodge even if his Lordship still declined the Office of Grand Master.

Bro. Beckwith invited the Earl of Effingham to the Druidical Lodge, but his Lordship declined for the time being.

The letter goes on to state that his Lordship has had matters represented to him by the Grand Lodge of England in their own way and looks upon the York Grand Lodge as Schismatics, and Bro. Beckwith concludes his letter by the wish that a true state of the Dispute could be laid before his Lordship by someone better qualified than himself.

The text of Bro. Beckwith's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 67):—

Sir, and Brother

After my respectful Compliments to the most worshipful Grand Master, and the Rest of the Brethern of the Grand Lodge of All England, I beg you will inform the Grand Lodge that I received the Resolution of the Committee, respecting an Application to our Right Honourable Brother, the Earl of Effingham; And That, in Consequence thereof, I took the first Opportunity of seeing his Lordship; which I could not do till last Night, owing to his Lordship's having been from Home.

His Lordship received me as a Brother, with all the Marks of Cordiality, Brotherly Love, true Politeness and Affability possible; and desired that I would, in his Name, thank the Brethern of the Grand Lodge for the very distinguishing Mark of Honour they meant to confer upon him, by electing him their Grand Master: an Honour his Lordship would accept, with great Pleasure, if he could be satisfied that, by so doing, the Interests of Maceonry in general would be promoted.—But his Lordship fears that it would be attended with a quite contrary Effect, and that it would be a Means of widening

the Breach between the Grand Lodge of All England, and the Grand Lodge of England, which acknowledges the Duke of Manchester for Grand Master.

His Lordship is past Master of a Lodge under the latter Constitution, and therefore thinks he should act derogatorily to his Obligation should he accept of the Dignity of Grand Master of the Antient York Maceons: his Lordship being a Modern one: tho' his Lordship utterly dislikes the Distinction of Antient and Modern, says we differ in Forms only, and not in Essentials, and ought all to agree together.

His Lordship says he abhors the Thoughts of Tyranny in any Set of Men, and particularly of Maceons, and, if he is satisfied that the Grand Lodge of England has behaved improperly to the Grand Lodge at York, he will oblige them to make proper Acknowledgments for it; and will use his utmost Endeavours to promote a Reconciliation between the two Lodges, when he goes to London.

His Lordship added, with that nobleness of Thought and Expression which characterises the true old English Patriot, that he would sacrifice his Purse; his Limbs, nay even his Life to promote the true Interests of Maceonry; which he looked upon to be the noblest Institution in the World.

I told his Lordship that, for my own Part, I was a very young Maceon; that I did not think myself equal to the Task of explaining to his Lordship the Benefits that might accrue to Maceonry, in General, by his Lordship's Acceptance of the Dignity of Grand Master; tho' I was well satisfied in my own Mind that it would have that Operation; but that I had no Doubt but some of my Brethern at York, who had Opportunities of knowing, and knew much more than I did, could satisfy his Lordship of the Utility of his Lordship's Acceptance of that Dignity; and would, I durst say, not think it any Trouble to wait upon his Lordship for that Purpose, if his Lordship would permit them so to do. His Lordship replied that no Person needed any other Introduction to him than that of being a Maceon; and was pleased to give a General Invitation to myself, and any of the Brethern who would take the Trouble of waiting upon him, (to use his own Phrase,) to see how his Mutton was roasted.

I think I have given you a Detail of the Substance of what passed between me and his Lordship, with whom I spent about an Hour. His Lordship's Behaviour was, upon the whole, uncommonly generous and affable, and I am of Opinion that if a few of the Brethern from York would not think it too much Trouble to come over and wait upon his Lordship at the Grange, before he attends Parliament, that their Representation of Matters to him would be attended with very desirable Consequences to the Grand Lodge, even if his Lordship should still decline the Office of Grand Master.

We had a Lodge last Night, at the Time when his Lordship was in the Town, but his Lordship declined attending as a visiting Brother, for that Time; tho' he gave us Hopes that he would Join us e'er long.

I find his Lordship has had Matters represented to him by the Grand Lodge of England, in their own Way, and looks upon us as Schismatics; and I therefore wish that he had a true State of the Dispute laid before him: which I am not Master enough of the Subject to do as it ought to be done.

His Lordship told me that he always made it a Rule, when in London, to attend a Lodge once a Week, or once a Fortnight at the furthest.

All the Brethern here, Greet the Brethern at York with Brotherly Love, and I am

Sir,

P.S.

If you should find it necessary to write to me, during the Course of the ensuing Week, please to direct your Letter to me at the Red Lyon in Doncaster: where I shall be upon a Commisison.

Your affectionate Brother, and
Very humble Servant
Josiah Beckwith.
Rotherham. 23. October 1779.

To

Brother Browne G.S.

This Letter was addressed to "Mr: Browne Proctor in York" and has been endorsed by John Browne G. Sec. "23. October 1779. Bro^r. Josiah Beckwiths Letter respecting his Application to the Earl of Effingham".

Five days later the Committee at York who were dealing with the matter met. Fortunately we have a rough draft of the proceedings, together with a copy of the reply to Josiah Beckwith, both in the handwriting of John Browne, the G. Secretary; from these we learn that the Committee of the York Grand Lodge met on 28 October, 1779, to consider the letter of Bro. Beckwith of Rotherham concerning his "application to a Right Honourable Brother".

It is interesting to note that John Browne, the G. Secretary, never alludes to the Earl of Effingham by name but generally as "his Lordship". The Committee decided that another letter should be written to Bro. Beckwith expressing the great satisfaction the Brethren at York have in observing his Lordship's sentiments, so truly Masonic. As his Lordship seemed to have been misinformed, it was decided to send a Brief Account of the Grand Lodge at York with a Narrative of the Unmasonic Conduct of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London to Bro. Beckwith to help him to convince his Lordship of the true State of Facts and further to send the Lodge of Antiquity's Manifesto.

John Browne duly drafted the letter, which he dates 2 November, 1779; in the first place he thanks Bro. Beckwith for the trouble he has taken. Bro. Browne then states that the York brethren have had the high opinion they hold of his Lordship confirmed and that "the very Objections he points out convince us he is worthy the Dignity of our Government", and on this account they wish that a true State of Facts be represented to his Lordship. To enable Bro. Beckwith to do this a Brief Account of the Grand Lodge at York, with a Narrative of the Unmasonic conduct of the Nominal Grand Lodge, is enclosed, together with the Lodge of Antiquity's Manifesto.

Bro. Browne then notes that his Lordship dislikes the distinction of "Antient" and "Modern" Masons, and adds that it is an Unmasonic distinction and an Inconsistent Term, as "the Nominal Grand Lodge in London was created out of these Ancient Masons for in their Infancy with Eagerness publish'd the Honour of Originating from the Royal and Ancient Establishm^t. of the fraternity at the City of York".

Bro. Browne then goes on to say that his Lordship's conduct as a Mason fits him to be at our Head, and this position would be consistent with his Obligations as a Mason, but that the York Grand Lodge will not be a party to the question of "any Mediation with a Power acting so Arbitrarily as the Nominal Grand Lodge in London appear to have done", but any individuals under their sanction who will act on the Old Land Marks will be paid due attention agreeable to the true Spirit of Masonry. Bro. Browne states that

the York Grand Lodge are sensible of his Lordship's polite invitation and that they would be truly happy to see his Lordship at York and to pay him every respect due to so distinguished a character.

The letter closes with the wish that Bro. Beckwith will lay the enclosed papers before his Lordship and that Bro. Beckwith will communicate his Lordship's sentiments thereon.

The following is the transcript of the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge Committee dated 28 October, 1779, which are in the handwriting of John Browne, G. Secretary (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 68):—

At a Committee 28 Oct. 1779 Present ffr Smyth Esq. Rob^t. Lakeland
John Coupland Tho^s. Beckwith
John Browne John Hampston

Proposed & Resolved.

That the Committee take into their particular Consideron Bro^r. Beckwiths Letter respecting his late Application to a Right Honourable Brother That another Letter be thereupon wrote to Bro^r. Beckwith Expressing the great Satisfaction the Brethren at York have in observing his Lordships Sentim^{ts} so truly Masonic And that in Order to his Lordships being undeceived in Particulars wherein he seems to have been misinformed a Brief Account of the Grand Lodge at York with a Narrative of the Unmasonick Conduct of the Nom.Gr.Lodge in Lond be inclosed to Bro^r. Beckwith for his own Government in convincing his Lordship of the true State of ffacts and that the same be accompanied with the Lodge of Antiquitys Manifesto.

That the Tenor of the Letter to Bro^r. Beckwith be as follows

Sir and Brother

York 2^d. Nov. 1779

Your ffavor of the 23^d. Instant came duly to my Hands and being laid before the Committee I am directed by them to thank You for the Trouble You have taken and the very Explicit Attention You seem to have given the Bus^s. And We cannot help expressing Our Peculiar Satisfaction in finding Our ffavorable Opinion of his Lordship as a Mason so highly confirmed. His noble Sentiments perfectly coincide with the Notions & Principles on which We act And the very Objections he points out convince Us he is worthy the Dignity of Our Government and urge Us rather the more to wish a true State of ffacts to be represented to his Lordship, to which End I now inclose to You a Brief Account of the Grand Lodge at York with a Narrative of the Unmask. Conduct of the Nom^l. G^d. Lodge accompanied by a Manifesto. His Lordship very justly dislikes the Distinction of Ancient & Modern Masons. It is in Truth an Unmasonic Distinction and will be found an Inconsistent Term.

The very Institution of those who created it very fully prove its Inconsistency ffor in disowning the Antient Masons they were disowning their own Origin It being evident that the Nominal Grand Lodge in London was created out of these Ancient Masons for in their Infancy with Eagernes publish'd the Honour of Originating from the Royal and Ancient Establishm^t. of the ffaternity at the City of York, under the Sanction of such an Origin they experiencing the happiest Succesfs.

The very high Satisfaction we have of his Lordships Sentiments and of his Conduct as a Mason would render it a Happeynes to see his Lordship at our Head which Dignity We conceive would in all

respects be consistent with his Obligations as a Mason But as to any Mediation with a Power acting so Arbitrarily as the Nominal Grand Lodge in London appear to have done We can by no means think of though as to any Individuals under their Sanction who will act on the Old Land Marks We will always pay due Attention to them agreeable to the true Spirit of Masonry. We are sensible of his Lordships polite Invitation And sho'd be truly happy to see his Lordship at York and to pay him every Respect due to so distinguish'd a Character.

May I beg that You will lay the inclosed Papers before his Lordship Whose Impartial Discufision thereof We cannot doubt and shall be anxious to have his Lordships Sentiments thereon which We hope You will not think it too much Trouble to obtain and communicate to Us; till when I do not know that I may with Propriety offer more but that I am

Sir

Your faithful Bro^r. & hble Serv^t.

J.B.

These Minutes and suggested letter are obviously only rough drafts, as various alterations have been made and whole paragraphs have been crossed through; one of these deleted paragraphs in the Minutes deals with the question of making Mr. Hatfeild Kay¹ a Mason and is as follows:—

That as Hatfeild Kay Esq^r. is accepted and is desirous to be made a Mason in this Gr^d. Lodge and as he is on a very Intimate footing with his Lordship and may have much Influence in Convincing his Lordship of the Innate Dignity of the Grand Lodge at York when properly explained to him That therefore said M^r. Kay have a certain fixed Day appointed for his coming over to be made (which he now waits for) and that a Lodge of Emergency be then called at the Lodges Expen^ce. for the Purpose.

The idea of making a personal friend of his Lordship a member of the York Grand Lodge was a good one, but Mr. Hatfeild Kay did not accept the invitation and never became a member of the York Grand Lodge.

It must be remembered that at this time the York Grand Lodge were not on the best of terms with the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), as the latter had granted a warrant to some dissatisfied members of the former, and so the Apollo Lodge of York had been constituted and was at this time in a flourishing condition; one of the deleted paragraphs in the draft letter deals with this matter and describes the Grand Lodge of England as follows:—

. . . but departing from every Old Land Mark they exercised their Powers to form a new System and asumed an absolute Government watching unmasonlike to foment Divisions in the true Grand Lodge thereby attempting to crush the Head that rear'd em and having undermined their Way to the very fountain they open'd their own Channel just by it and set up a Constitution even in the City of York.

Although the Members of the York Grand Lodge were particularly anxious to secure the Earl of Effingham as their Grand Master, yet they were determined to stand upon their dignity and did not wish to place themselves in the position

¹ John Hatfeild Kay Esq. of Hatfeild Hall had already been approved by the York Grand Lodge on 22 July, 1779.

of receiving an official refusal; the following Post Script was wisely deleted from the letter:—

P.S. Though some of the York Brethren wo'd be happy to wait on his Lordship yet they cannot consistent with the Dignity of the Grand Lodge Officially do that without some previous Certainty of Accomplishing what is hinted at to which End Your shewing this Correspondence to his Lordship seems most proper.

We have no further correspondence or Minutes which deal with the matter, so obviously his Lordship, knowing the attitude of the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), again declined the invitation.

As is well known, the Earl of Effingham became the first Acting or Pro Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England about two years later in 1782.

The Account¹ enclosed with John Browne's letter of 2 November, 1779, is given in Appendix A.

To revert to the Minutes of the Druidical Lodge, the next meeting took place on 26 November, 1779, when Bro. Lee was raised to the Degree of M.M. Bro. Drake then gave notice of "withdrawing himself as a Member from this Society"; this was the first resignation to be received by the Lodge: Bro. Drake had been initiated in the York Grand Lodge at the meeting held at Rotherham the day before the Constitution of the Druidical Lodge and was appointed Dep. Master on 24 June, 1779.

Further the Rt. Wor. Master was requested to make out his Account respecting the Lodge to enable the Treasurer to prepare his statement.

On 18 December, 1779, the Secretary of the Druidical Lodge wrote to the Grand Secretary at York enclosing a copy of the proceeding for the previous year and also apologising for making no contribution to charity for the first year as the Lodge had been at great expense.

The text of this letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 45):—

Lodge N^o: 109. Red Lion Rotherham
18th: December 1779. . .

Bro^r: Grand Secretary

Inclos'd you receive by Bro^r: Thomas
a Copy of the proceedings of our Lodge, The Brethern
hope the Grand Lodge will excuse this: from any
Contribution, towards Charity for the first Year, as
we have been at great Expences, and laboured under
disadvantages. And have not yet settled the Lodge
Account.—I am with respects of the Lodge.

Yours Affectionately

W^m: Holdsworth Secre^y.

This letter was addressed to "Mr: Browne Proctor in York" and has been endorsed by John Browne, G. Sec. "18 Decem. 1779 Letter from the Sec^y at Rotherham inclosing a Return of their Proceedings".

There is a wax impression of a monogram "W H" on the letter.

From this letter one gathers that the Lodge was meeting at the Red Lion, which must have been an Inn of some note, as in the *York Chronicle* 7 January, 1774, there is an account of the Foxhunters' Club Dinner at Rotherham where 200 people danced in "the affembly-room at the Red Lion".

¹ Follows York Grand Lodge Minutes of 25 October, 1779.

With this letter a copy of the Minutes of the Druidical Lodge from 22 December, 1778, to 26 November, 1779, was enclosed: these minutes have already been freely quoted and are as follows (York G. Lodge MS. No. 44):—

Rotherham 22^d: December 1778.

Minutes.

A Grand Lodge being held this Day, & the within G: Officers present, the Lodge N^o. 109. Stiled the Druidical Lodge of free and Accepted Maceons, was duly constituted, and the following were duly appointed for the Year ensuing.—

Brother Beckwith, R:W:M: & T:—And by the said M: were appointed.—Hafsall—S:W:—Sims. J:W:—

A procefsion to the Church was held, and a Sermon Suitable to the Occasion was preached by the Rev^d: Bro^r: John Parker G:C:—

Monday 28th: December 1778.—

The Druidical Lodge N^o. 109. met according to Adjournment in due form.—

Ordered that M^r. James Hamer M^r. W^m. Eastfield Laughton, and M^r. Richard Thomas may be admitted Brothers of this Society.—

Monday 4th: January 1779.

This Night Brother Alderson and Bro^r. Chambers were raised to the Degree of M:M:— And Brother Laughton & Bro^r: Thomas were made E:A: & F C.—

Friday 22^d: January 1779.—

This Night Bro^r: Drake, Bro^r. Charlton & Bro^r. Cousins were raised to the Degree of M:M:—

It was agreed & a Bye Law made that in Case any person after having been proposed and ballotted for Six Months, shall not procure himself to be admitted he shall before Admittance be again proposed and ballotted for.—

John Parker was proposed by Bro^r. Williams to be admitted a Member of this Society.—

Friday 26th. February.—

This Night M^r. Cooke of Swinton was admitted to the Degrees of E.A & F.C.—and M^r. Joshua Lee of Conisbrough was proposed by Bro^r. Hafsall to be admitted a Bro^r. of this Society and made a Deposit of Half a Guinea with the Treasurer.—

And it is Ordered for the future no person proposed shall be Ballotted for without first making a like Deposit.—

Friday 26th: March

This Night M^r. Joshua Lee was admitted to the Degrees of E:A: & F.C:—

Whereas M^r: James Hamer was on the 28th: Day of December last at his own request proposed by Bro^r: Holdsworth to be admitted a Bro^r. of this Society, and was Ballotted for, and unanimously approved off as such, but has never since applied for his Admifsion and has (as this Lodge has been informed) procured himself to be admitted a Bro^r: of a Society of Modern Maceons at Sheffield.— It is Ordered in Case this Society shall hereafter be satisfied that such Information is true, that the said James Hamer shall be for ever expelled from this Lodge, and excluded from this Society either as a Member or a Visiting Brother.—And it is further Ordered that upon such Satisfaction being given, Notice of this Resolution and Order shall be Transmitted to him by the Tyler, Signed by the Master and Wardens pro Tempore of this Lodge.—

Friday 23^d: Day of April—

This Night M^r. David Berry of Tickhill was proposed by Bro^r: Laughton to be admitted a Bro^r: of this Society and made a Deposit of Half a Gu. with the Treasurer.—

Also Bro^r. Holdsworth was raised to the Degree of M:M:—
Ordered that Bro^r: Williams the next Time he attends this Lodge be severely reprimanded from the Chair, for his late Unmasonic behaviour at Conisbrough at the House of Bro^r: Lee and such Penalty Inflicted upon him for it as the Majority of the Members then present shall think proper, And that he be summon'd to attend next Lodge Night, Upon Pain of Expulsion.—

Ordered that the Expence of postage of Letters to any Brethern residing out of Town be defrayed by the Lodge—

Friday 28th. May

This Night M^r. David Berry of Tickhill was ballotted for and rejected, and the Deposit made by Bro^r. Laughton was returned

Also M^r. Isaiah Lumb of Wakefield was proposed by Bro^r. Beckwith R:W:M: to be admitted a Bro^r. of this Society.—

Also Bro^r. Laughton proposed a Second Time M^r. David Berry of Tickhill to be a Bro^r. of this Society, And it is Ordered that his Name be hung up in some Conspicuous place in the Lodge Room 3 Successive Lodge Nights unless sooner determined

Also the Order made on the 26th: Day of March last respecting M^r. James Hamer was carried into Execution—

Also it is Ordered that Bro^r: Jackson & Bro^r. Cousins be Summon'd to attend next Lodge Night, Upon Pain of Expulsion.—

Bro^r. Edw^d: Williams having been Summon'd to attend this Lodge in Pursuance of an Order made the last Lodge Night, Upon Pain of Expulsion, he having neglected so to do, And it being put to the Ballot, whether he should be expelled or not and a Majority of 9 Votes to 2 being for his Expulsion, It is ordered that he be expelled accordingly.—

Thursday 24th June 1779.

The Order made concerning M^r. Isaiah Lumb of Wakefield last Lodge was unanimously consented to be postponed until the next Lodge.—

Also that the Order made concerning M^r. David Berry of Tickhill was likewise postponed until the next Lodge

Ordered that a Bye Law be made and entred in the Minute Book, concerning the closing of the Lodge, And Another on the penalty of Speaking disrespectfully of the Lodge taken from Bro^r. Calcutts Disquisition of free Masonry page 210: & 217.—

The Lodge proceeded to an Election of new Officers when Bro^r. Beckwith the present R:W:M. was re-elected.—And by him was appointed Bro^r. Drake, D:M:— Bro^r. Wilkinson S:W:— Bro^r. Flint J:W:—, Bro^r. Midlam re-elected T:— Bro^r. Holdsworth S.—, And Bro^r. Chambers Tyler—

Bro^r. Jackson having been Summon'd to attend this Lodge, in pursuance of an Order made last Lodge Night, Upon Pain of Expulsion, he having neglected so to do, And it being put to the Ballot, whether he should be expelled or not—and a Majority of 8 Votes to 2. being for his Expulsion, It is Ordered that he be expelled accordingly.—

Thursday 29th: June—

This Night Bro^r. Laughton & Bro^r. Glafs were raised to the Degrees of M:M:—

Thursday 15th. Day of July—

This Night M^r: Isaiah Lumb of Wakefield was Ballotted for and approved off, and accordingly was admitted to the Degrees of E:A: & F:C:—

Bro^r. Moses & Bro^r: Thomas proposed themselves to be raised to the Degrees of M:M:—

Ordered that Bro^r. Hafsall & Bro^r. Lee be summon'd to attend next Lodge Night, to make good their Charge against Bro^r: Williams, Upon Pain of Expulsion.—

Bro^r: Laughton having a Second Time proposed M^r. David Berry of Tickhill to be made a Bro^r. of this Society, but finding him an unworthy person to be made a Bro^r:, craves leave to withdraw his proposal, Accordingly it is withdrawn.—

Ordered that Bro^r. Treasurer on or before the next Lodge Night prepare and bring his Accounts, to lay before the Lodge

And that the present Quarterly Subscription be the same as the last Quarter.—

Friday 27th. Day of August—

This Night Bro^r: Thomas was raised to the Degree of M:M:—

Upon hearing the several Allegations on the Charge against Bro^r: Williams by Bro^r: Hafsall & Bro^r: Lee: and Bro^r: Williams defence thereto, It was Ordered that it should be put to the Ballot whether Bro^r: Williams should be continued expelled or not, And by a Majority of 9. Votes to 2. being for his Expulsion He stands accordingly expelled.—

Also Bro^r: Wilkinson proposed M^r: Anth^y: Firth of Rotherham to be admitted a Bro^r: of this Society and made a Deposit with the Treasurer of Half a Guinea.—

And Bro^r. Hafsall on the behalf of M^r. Parker, M^r. Kay and M^r. Berside all of Doncaster made a Motion to this Lodge to Petition the same for a Recommendation for a Sett of Constitutions from the Grand Lodge at York.—

Friday 24th. Day of September

The Motion made by Bro^r. Hafsall the last Lodge, respecting the Petition, for a Sett of Constitutions from the Grand Lodge at York to be holden at Doncaster, Stands postponed until the next Lodge.— This Night M^r. Anth^y: firth of Rotherham was ballotted for and approved off, and accordingly was admitted to the Degrees of E:A. & F:C:—

A Motion was this Night made by Bro^r: Williams for his re-admission into this Lodge. It was agreed that it should be put to the Ballott whether or not the Matters in Dispute should be referred to the Grand Lodge at York to have their Opinion, And upon a Majority of 9 Votes to 3 being for their Opinion—. It is Ordered that he shall stand expelled until their Opinion can be had.—

Friday 22^d: October.—

This Night Bro^r. Hafsall withdrew his Motion respecting the Petition for a Sett of Constitutions for Doncaster.—

Bro^r: Lee proposed himself to be raised to the Degree of M:M:—

And Bro^r: Moses was raised to the Degree of M:M:—

Friday 26th. November.—

This Night Bro^r. Lee was raised to the Degree of M:M:—

Also Bro^r. Drake gave Notice in writing to the Secretary of his Intentions for withdrawing himself as a Member from this Society.—

And it is requested that our Bro^r: the R:W:M: do make out his Account respecting the Lodge and Transmitt the same to the

Treasurer in due Time, before S^t: John the Evangelist—In order to enable the said Treasurer to make and pafs his Accounts at the said Day of S^t: John the Evangelist.—

These Minutes have been endorsed by John Browne, G.Sec., "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham in the Year 1779".

The Master and Secretary of the Druidical Lodge seem to have been somewhat uneasy in making no contribution to the Fund of Charity, and so Bro. Holdsworth, the Secretary, wrote two days later to York stating that Bro. Beckwith considered that some acknowledgment must be made to the York Grand Lodge and that the question would be decided on St. John's Day when the Lodge Accounts were to be settled. Bro. Holdsworth's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 46):—

Bro^r: G.S.

Since I wrote you by Bro^r. Thomas inclosing a Copy of our Minutes, I have seen Bro^r: Beckwith who says it will be required of us to make some Acknowledgment to the Grand Lodge, more or lefs: And begs I would acquaint you that the Accounts of the Lodge will be settled on S^t: John's Day, and something then determined on. If any thing further is required, shall be glad to receive your Instrons. by Bro^r. Thomas—. I am Sir

Rotherham

20th. Dec^r. 1779

Your Bro^r: & hble Serv^t:

W^m: Holdsworth S:

This letter was addressed to "M^r: Browne Proctor in York" and has been endorsed by John Browne, G. Secretary "20. Decem. 1779. Letter from the Secretary at Rotherham".

The receipt of this letter was reported at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 27 December, 1779, the Minute being as follows:—

Also a Letter was received from Bro^r. W^m. Holdsworth Secretary of the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham inclosing a Return of their Proceedings for the Year 1779.

Fortunately we possess a copy of further Minutes of the Druidical Lodge: and from these we learn that the next meeting of the Lodge took place on 27 December, 1779, when the Treasurer's Accounts were audited. The election of Officers then took place and the S.W., Bro. Wilkinson, became the new Master: he was not one of the Petitioners, but was present at the first meeting of the Lodge on 22 December, 1778. The following Officers were chosen:—Bro. Beckwith D.M., Flint S.W., Holdsworth J.W., Moses Secretary, and Bro. Midlam was continued as Treasurer. Of these Officers Flint had been J.W. and Holdsworth Secretary. John Moses, the new Secretary, was one of the Petitioners. Further, Bro. Firth was proposed to be raised to the Degree of a M.M. It was then decided to reduce the Quarterly Subscription to five shillings although the Lodge was only able to contribute a very small sum to the Charity Fund.

One of the members of the York Grand Lodge, Bro. Joseph Antt.¹ had gone to reside at Sheffield, and wrote to York on 10 January, 1780, asking for a Certificate as he had been unable to introduce himself into any Lodge for the want of a Certificate. It is possible that he wished to visit the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham. His letter to York is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 75):—

¹ Bro. Antt had been made E.A. & F.C. in the York Grand Lodge on 14 Apl., 1779, and M.M. on 21 Apl., 1779; he was a merchant at Sheffield—Antt Joseph and son, merchants, Lambert street. (Bailey's Northern Directory, 1781.)

To the Master of the Grande Lodge of all England held at
the York Tavern in York
Gentⁿ.

It is now near a Year since I was made a Mason
and Master Mason in your Lodge M^r Sidall was then
Master. I was initiated by Brother Major Paul
and was obliged to leave York before I got my Certificate
My Reason of troubling you with this; is to desire you
will be pleased to order me a Certificate to be made
out and to forward it to me by the first Post, Since
I have been made a Mason I have not been able
to introduce myself into any Lodge for want of
such Certificate, therefore should be glad to receive
it without Delay as I should like to make use
of it in a very few Days.

I am with Respect Y^r Brother & hbe Serv^t

Joseph Parlebien Antt

Sheffield

Jan^y 10th 1780

This letter has a seal showing a coat of arms and was addressed "To the Master of the Lodge known by the Name of the Grand Lodge of all England held at the York Tavern York" and underneath in smaller writing "let it be delivered without Delay". The letter has been endorsed by John Browne, G. Sec., "10th. Janry 1780. Brother Antts Letter requiring a Certificate."

Bro. David Flather, of Sheffield, informs me that Bro. Joseph Antt visited the Rose and Crown Lodge No. 277 (now Britannia Lodge No. 139) of Sheffield on 14 May, 1779; there is no trace that he became a Joining Member of this or any other Sheffield Lodge.

The York Grand Lodge Committee met on 27 January, 1780, and discussed amongst other matters the Return made by the Druidical Lodge for the year 1779; it was decided to send an official letter to the Secretary of the Druidical Lodge congratulating the Lodge on its flourishing state and that the York Grand Lodge were satisfied with the Apology instead of a Contribution to Charity.

The rough Minutes of the York Grand Lodge Committee Meeting of 27 January, 1780, dealing with the Druidical Lodge, are as follows (York G. Lodge MS. No. 37):—

Businefs for the Committee.

To answer the Return made by the Druidical Lodge of their Proceedings for 1779.

- 2 Ordered That an Official Letter be sent by the Gr. Secretary to the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham Acknowledging the Return of their Pceeding for 1779 That We are happy to find their Lodge in so flourishing a State and in the (Observance of the Worthy Bro^r. they have) Elected Mas^r. for the ensuing half Year That We are satisfied with the Apology given Us instead of a Contribion towards Charity as It is the first Year and You have laboured under Disadvantages

And that as I before sent their Secretary the Name of the Gr^d. Master for the Year ens^g I have only at present to add the hearty Comendations of the Brethren here to the Brⁿ. at Roth And that I am

These minutes are in the handwriting of John Browne.

The next meeting of the Druidical Lodge took place on 28 January, 1780, and it was reported that a letter had been received from the Grand Secretary

at York. Unfortunately we do not possess a copy of this letter. The Secretary of the Druidical Lodge was ordered to prepare a proper answer to be approved by the Rt. Wor. Master, and the Treasurer was ordered to send the sum of 2s. 6d. to the Grand Treasurer at York for the last Year's Contribution to the Grand Lodge together with an Apology for the delay.

At this time no Clergyman was a member of the Druidical Lodge, so it was decided that any Clergyman proposed this Lodge night should be Initiated without expense but should pay Quarterly Subscriptions. The Rt. Wor. Master then proposed the Rev. Mr. Bailliss of Greasbrough and Bro. Holdsworth proposed the Rev. Mr. Burton of Rotherham. As we hear nothing further of either of these two clergymen it seems likely that their names were proposed without their sanction.

At this meeting a certificate for John Hassall was signed by the Master and Officers of the Lodge. The Certificate states that John Hassall has passed through the Office of Senior Warden, but does not mention where he was initiated, and is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 70):—

To the most Worshipful the Grand
Master and the rest of the Brethren
of the most Antient Grand Lodge of
all England and to all free and
accepted Masons

This is to certify you and all others
whom it may concern that the
Bearer hereof Brother John Hafsell
has passed through the Office of Senior
Warden of this Lodge and that he is
a regular made Mason As Witnefs
our hands in the Lodge this 28th.

Day of January A.D. 1780. A.L. 5784.

John Moses Secretary	{	James Wilkinson	Master
		of the Druidical Lodge at	
		Rotherham in the County of York	
		N ^o . 109	
		Joseph Flint	S.W
		W ^m Holdsworth	J:W:

This certificate is in the handwriting of John Moses with the exception of the signatures, etc., and has been endorsed by John Browne, G.Sec. "Bro^r. Hafsels Certificate from the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham."

One week later another Certificate was made out, this time for William Eastfield Laughton, which states that he had "passed through the several Degrees" and is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 99):—

To the most Worshipful the **Grand Master** and the rest of
the Brethren of the most antient Grand Lodge of all **England**

And to all Free and accepted Masons . . | | . .

These are to Certify you and all others whom it may concern that the Bearer hereof
Brother William Eastfield Laughton has passed through the several Degrees of an
Entred Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason in this Lodge and that he is a regu-
lar made Mason As Witnefs our hands in the Lodge this ffourth Day of ffebruary
Anno Domini 1780. Anno Lucis 5784 . . | | . .

James Wilkinson Master of the Druidical Lodge at Ro-
therham in the County of York . . N^o. 109.

Joseph Flint	Sen ^r :	{	Wardens
W ^m . Holdsworth	Jun ^r .		

John Moses Secretary . . | | . .

This Certificate is engrossed on parchment and has been endorsed in an unknown hand: "Brother Laughton's Certificate from the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham."

The Certificate was sent to York and Bro. John Browne, the Grand Secretary, took the opportunity of using Bro. Laughton's Certificate to make a rough draft for a Certificate to be issued to members of Subordinate Lodges. This draft has numerous corrections and alterations and is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 74):—

To all Masonic Brethren to whom these Presents shall come The Grand Lodge of all England sendeth Greeting Be it known That on Behalf of the Bearer Brother *William Eastfield Laughton* We have received the Commendations of Our trusty and faithful Brother *James Wilkinson* Right Worshipful Master of the *Druidical* Lodge of Ancient York Masons at *Rotherham* in the County of York and of Others the proper Officers of the said Lodge Testifying unto Us that the said *W^m. Eastfield Laughton* was regularly admitted & duly initiated in the 1st 2^d & 3^d Degrees of Masonry in the said *Druidical* Lodge and that he is of good Morals true and faithful &c in his Masonic Character hath demeaned himself worthily and forasmuch as the said W.E.L. hath humbly prayed that such his Recommendation might be certified under the Seal of this Gr. L. And We are ever willing (as it is our Duty) to cherish all faithful Observers of the Masonic Art Misteries of Masonry accordg to the antient Charges & Regulations of the Fraternity its Constitution And because We are fully satisfied of the worthy Deserts of Our said Brother We do therefore hereby confirm the Recommendations aforesaid with Our Sanction And do certify that Our said Brother *Laughton* may be received into any Lodge of free and Accepted Masons. of the Degrees aforesaid, upon the face of the Whole Earth Given at the City of York under the Seal of the Grand Lodge of all England the *Twenty first* Day of *March* A.D. 1780, A.L. 5780.

In the original draft the wording shown in Italics is in red. This rough draft has been endorsed by John Browne "Grand Lodge's Confirmation of a Certificate from a Subordinate Lodge."

On 21 February, 1780, John Moses, the Secretary, wrote to the Grand Secretary at York as ordered at the meeting held on 28 January. He commenced the letter by giving a list of the new Officers of the Lodge, then after stating that the Lodge had been put to considerable expense, which had fallen heavily upon the Brethren, he enclosed Half a Crown for last year's acknowledgment with the hope that it would be graciously accepted. The letter closes with congratulations to the new Grand Master and the rest of the Brethren of the Grand Lodge at York.

The following is a copy of the letter (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 71):—

Brother Grand Secretary

Your Favour of the 20th. was presented to me by Brother Hafsell in the Lodge held here on Friday the 28th. past, which I am directed by the Master of this Lodge to acknowledge the Receipt of, and to acquaint you That on the last S^t. John's Day our late R.W.M. Beckwith pafsed the Chair to Brother Wilkinson, who the same Evening appointed Brother Flint S.W. Brother Holdsworth J.W. and me Secretary till the next S^t. John Baptist's day, and Brother Midlam was continued Treasurer of the Lodge.

It appearing upon Auditing the Treasurers Accounts that the Lodge was nearly out of Debt, the Lodge, the last Lodge Night took it into Consideration what Sum of Money they should Transmit to the Grand

Lodge towards the Fund of Charity &c.—And as the Expences of constituting the Lodge and providing the necessary Apparatus several Articles of which are wanting still has fallen very heavy upon the Brethren they agreed that Half a Crown only should be sent for the last Year's Acknowledgment. (Which sum you will herewith receive)—They have no doubt but you will make a proper Apology to the Grand Lodge for the Sum being so small, and hope it will be Graciously Accepted, and that you will take the trouble of paying it to the Grand Treasurer for the use of the Grand Lodge—
All the Brothers here beg Leave to congratulate our Worthy Brother Smyth on his advancement to the Dignity of Grand Master of All England; and request that you will make their proper Respects acceptable to the G.M. and all the Rest of the Brethren of the Grand Lodge at York

I have the Honor to subscribe myself

S^r. and Brother,

Your Faithfull & obed^t: Serv^t.

John Mofes

Secretary to the Druidical Lodge N^o. 109.

Rotherham Feb^y. 1780.

This letter was addressed "To M^r. Browne Secretary to the Grand Lodge of all England Free and Accepted Masons at York Feb^y. 21st. 1780" and has a wax impression of a monogram "J.M." on the letter: it has been endorsed by John Browne, G. Sec. "february 1780. Letter from the Secr^y of the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham."

The letter was read at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 10 March. 1780, the minute being as follows:—

Then a Letter with an Acknowledgment of two Shill^{ss} and 6 Pence was received from the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham Which Letter was, by Order, read.

The next meeting of the Druidical Lodge took place on 25 February, 1780, when the only note in the Minutes is that "Brother Laughton gave Notice of his intention of withdrawing himself from being a Member". Bro. Laughton must have reconsidered his position, as four months later, on 23 June, he accepted the office of Secretary, and the last copy of the Minutes that we possess is in his handwriting.

An Emergency meeting of the Lodge took place previous to the Regular Lodge held on 24 March, 1780; from the Minutes one gathers that one meeting immediately followed the other. At the Emergency meeting the Rev. Matthew Dixon of Tickhill was proposed and accepted and at the Regular Lodge he was admitted to the Degrees of E.A. and F.C. Bro. Firth was then raised to the Degree of M.M. and the Rev. Thomas Tennant was proposed "as a proper person to be admitted a Brother of this Society".

Bro. Midlam gave notice of his intention to withdraw, but again he must have reconsidered his decision as he was appointed Junior Warden three months later, on 23 June, 1780.

At the next meeting on 28 April, 1780, the Rev. Thomas Tennant of Rotherham was approved and took the Degrees of E.A. and F.C.

It will be remembered that a Certificate for Bro. John Hassall had been forwarded from the Druidical Lodge to the York Grand Lodge. This Certificate is dated 28 January, 1780, and suggests that Bro. Hassall was thinking of leaving Rotherham. The next we hear is that Bro. Hassall is in the York Castle for Debt and that on 17 May, 1780, he is writing to the members of the York Grand Lodge for help.

Bro. John Hassall¹ was an energetic Mason; he was a Chester man and had been initiated in an Irish Lodge.² He was one of the Petitioners and first S.W. of the Druidical Lodge; later he went to Manchester and was one of the Petitioners of the Lodge of Fortitude, Hollinwood; this Lodge is dealt with later. Bro. John Hassall was a man of little or no education, his letters are badly written and his spelling is appalling; in his letter he states that he can get no work and that his wife is very ill and cannot help—he asks the Brethren to speak “to Mr. Smith” on his behalf; this was most likely Francis Smyth the D.G.M.; or may have been William Smith made in the York Grand Lodge on 26 October, 1778. The Letter, in which the original spelling has been retained, is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 83):—

Moft Worthy Brothere

York Castle May 17 1780

I make bould to rite you to Lett you Now I

I Ham in Great Distrefs at preasant my advrsarry as declare againt me I would Not Have trubled you but I cannot Healp it for I cannot get Now work to Done year and my wife is very ill and Cannot Healp me at preasant So for God Sake you speak to m^r Smith about me as Soon as you can and in So doing I Shall be in Duty bound to pray for you all I Shall be Glad to See anny of you year So Now more at preasant but Let me year from as Soon as you Can from your Loving Brothere

John Hafsall

After the signature there is a Mason's mark formed by two angles (one being inverted) superimposed by a cross. This letter was addressed “For M^r John Brown Procter in York” and has been endorsed by John Browne G.S. “17 May 1780. Bro^r. Hafsall.”

There is no note of this letter in the York Grand Lodge Minutes of the period, but the members of the York Grand Lodge were a generous body of men, and there seems little doubt that his debts were paid by the members of the York Grand Lodge.

The next meeting of the Druidical Lodge took place on 26 May, 1780, when it was decided to order Supper for ten Members for “the next Lodge Night, being the Anniversary of St: John the Baptist”, and that members should pay an additional sum of 1/- each; this gives an idea of the Lodge attendances; further the Treasurer was ordered to prepare his Accounts and the Secretary to see that all Arrears were paid.

The next meeting was held on 23 June, when Bro. Dixon and Bro. Tennant were raised, both these two Brethren being Parsons; further the Rev. Beaumont Broadbent³ of Maltby was proposed by Bro. Firth, who made a deposit of Half a Guinea with the Treasurer. Bro. Flint, the S.W., was then elected the new Rt. Wor. Master and he then appointed the following Officers:—Bro. Holdsworth S.W., Bro. Midlam J.W., Bro. Laughton Secretary and Bro. Firth was elected Treasurer.

At the next meeting held on 28 July the Rev. Beaumont Broadbent was balloted for, approved and took the Degrees of E.A. and F.C. and afterwards desired to be raised to the Degree of a M.M. The Accounts were then passed, showing a balance in the Treasurer's hands of £1 7s. 6½d., so the Lodge was now out of debt.

At the next Lodge held on 25 August, 1780, the Rev. Bro. Broadbent was raised to the Degree of a M.M. A Petition was then received from Bro. Edward Williams, who had previously been expelled, praying “to be re-admitted

¹ See the account of the Lodge of Fortitude of Hollinwood.

² York G. Lodge MS. No. 40.

³ Bro. David Flather, of Sheffield, informs me that the Rev. Joseph Beaumont Broadbent was vicar of Stainton from 1767 to 1816, and vicar of Maltby from 1779 to 1816.

a Member and having promised to be guilty of no Irregularities for the future". On this being put to the Lodge the Members were unanimous that he be re-admitted and "the Lodge admitted him accordingly".

At the meeting held on 22 September the Treasurer was ordered to "repay to the R.W.M. five Shillings which he gave to a poor Widow in Distress". Four Members then gave notice of resignation; these were Bros. Beckwith, Flint, Holdsworth and Cousins. This must have been a sad blow to the Lodge, and one wonders whether there had been any trouble, as Bro. Flint was the Rt. Wor. Master, Bro. Holdsworth the S.W., Bro. Beckwith the first Master, and all four had been at the first meeting of the Druidical Lodge when the Lodge received its Constitution.

It seems likely that these resignations were reconsidered, as ten weeks later on 5 December, 1780, Bro. Flint was "advanced" in the Royal Arch Chapter attached to the Druidical Lodge and was still described as "R.W.M. of the Druidical Lodge". At the next meeting of the Lodge on 27 October a new By-law was made; this dealt with the relief of distressed Brethren, but only with "any Antient York Maceon in Distress proving himself so to be to the satisfaction of the Master, S. and J. W. or any two of them". At this time there were three Subordinate Lodges under the constitution of the York Grand Lodge besides the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham; these were Knaresborough, Snaiton (near its collapse) and the Grand Lodge south of the River Trent. There is just a possibility that "Antient York Maceon" alludes to the Grand Lodge of the Antients, as it must not be forgotten that Sheffield at this time was a stronghold of that Grand Lodge.

The last meeting of the Druidical Lodge of which we have any note was held on 24 November, 1780, when Bro. Dixon was requested to prepare a Sermon on Masonry to be preached in the Parish Church of Rotherham with the permission of the Vicar. Bro. Dixon was the Rev. Matthew Dixon of Tickhill. The Sermon was to be preached "on the next St. John the Evangelists Day after the forenoon Service".

The Rt. W.M. seems to have been determined to keep the feast of St. John in ample form, as the Brethren were ordered to attend at Bro. Charltons "at Ten O'Clock in the Morning . . . to proceed in Procession to the Church properly clothed and with White Gloves", and further a Dinner was to be prepared for fourteen persons, showing that the attendance was expected to be larger than previously, which again suggests that the four members who resigned two months previously had reconsidered their decision.

On 18 December, 1780, Bro. Laughton, the Secretary of the Druidical Lodge, wrote to the York Grand Lodge enclosing a copy of the Lodge Minutes from 26 November, 1779, to 24 November, 1780; he then states that the Druidical Lodge at the last meeting omitted to discuss the amount to be contributed to the Fund of Charity for the last year, this being caused by the fact that the Lodge accounts had not been audited; but he adds that the matter will be favourably considered at the January Meeting. The letter closes with "proper respects" to the Grand Master and the rest of the Brethren at York.

The following is a copy of Bro. Laughton's letter (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 86):—

Rotherham 18th: Decemb: 1780.

Brother Grand Secretary.

Inclosed I have sent you by Bro^r: Holdsworth a Return of the Minutes of this Lodge from the 26th. Nov^r: 1779. to the 24th: Nov^r: last, inclusive, which I am directed by our R.W. Master to transmit to you, and beg you'll take the Trouble to lay them before the Grand Master the first Opportunity—I thought it my Duty to acquaint you

that the Lodge omitted to take into consideration the last Lodge Night what Sum of Money ought to be returned for our Annual Contribution to the fund of Charity for the last Year—And as the Treasurers Accounts cannot properly be audited till the Meeting in January - but at that Time I make no Doubt - but the Lodge will take it into consideration, and remit such Sum, as they think can be spared for that purpose—All the Brethren here beg their proper respects acceptable to the Grand Master, and all the rest of the Brethren of the Grand Lodge at York.

I have the Honor to subscribe myself

Sir and Brother

Your faithfull & Obedient Servant

W^m: E: Laughton

Secretary to the Druidical Lodge. N^o: 109.

This letter was addressed "To the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of all England", and has been endorsed by Bro. William Blanchard, the new Grand Secretary, "Letter from the secretary of the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham. 18 Dec^r 1780".

With this letter a copy of the Minutes of the Druidical Lodge from 26 November, 1779, to 24 November, 1780, was enclosed; these minutes have already been freely quoted and are as follows (York G. Lodge. MS. No. 47):—

A Return of the Minutes made by the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham N^o: 109. to the Grand Lodge of all England, from the 26th: day of November 1779 . . . to the 24th: Day of November 1780.

27th: December 1779. The Lodge met in due form. When the Treasurers Accounts were audited and settled for the last Year and delivered up to the Secretary. The Lodge proceeded to the Election of Officers when Brother Beckwith passed the Chair to Brother Wilkinson . . . by whom the following Officers were chosen—Viz^t. Brother Beckwith . . . D.M. ffrint . . . S.W. Holdsworth . . . J.W. Moses . . . S. And the Lodge continued Brother Midlam . . . T. Brother ffrith was proposed to be raised to the Degrees of M.M. And it was ordered that the Quarterly Subscription for the ensuing six Months be reduced to the Sum of five Shillings each Member

28th: January 1780. Upon the receipt of a Letter addressed to the Secretary of this Lodge by the G: S: it was ordered that the Secretary do prepare and send a proper answer thereto, and lay the Draught thereof before the R.W.M. for his Approbation, and that the T. shall the first convenient Opportunity send to the G.T. at York the Sum of 2^s . . . 6^d for the last Years Contribution to the G.L. and a proper Apology made for their not sending it before the last S^t. John's Day.

And it was further ordered that if one Clergyman or more be proposed in this Lodge this Night, that he or they may be admitted without Expencc for their Initiation, but shall pay Quarterly Subscriptions as the Rest of the Brethren.

And the same Night the Rev^d: M^r: Bailliff of Greasbrough was proposed by Brother R.W.M. and the Rev^d. M^r: Burton of Rotherham by Brother Holdsworth as fit persons to be made Members of this Society.

25th: ffebruary 1780. Brother Laughton gave Notice of his intention of withdrawing himself from being a Member of this Society.

24th: March 1780. The Reverend M^r: Matthew Dixon of Tickhill having desired to be admitted a Brother of this Society, a Lodge of

Emergency was called previous to the Regular Meeting of the Lodge when he was proposed and unanimously approved of.

And accordingly the same Evening was admitted to the Degrees of E.A. and F.C.

And the same Evening Brother firth was raised to the Degrees of M.M.

The Reverend Mr: Thomas Tennant was proposed as a proper person to be admitted a Brother of this Society.

Brother Midlam gave Notice of his intention to withdraw himself from being a Member of this Lodge.

28th: April 1780. This Evening the Rev^d. Mr: Thomas Tennant of Rotherham was ballotted for and unanimously approved off as a Brother of this Society and took the Degrees of E.A. and F.C.

26th: May 1780. Ordered that Supper for ten Members be upon the Table the next Lodge Night, being the Anniversary of St: John the Baptist, at Eight O'Clock, and that each Member do pay 1^s:—extraordinary for the same.

Ordered that the Treasurer do pafs his Accounts the same Night, and that the Secretary do give Notice to each Member to pay off his Arrears at that Time.

23^d: June . . 1780. Brother Dixon and Brother Tenant were raised to the Degrees of M.M.

The Reverend Mr: Beaumont Broadbent of Maltby was proposed by Brother firth as a fit person to become a Member of this Society, and he made a Deposit of Half a Guinea with the Treasurer.

The Lodge proceeded to the Election of fresh Officers when Brother Wilkinson pafsed the Chair to Brother flint S.W. by whom the following Officers were chosen. Viz^t. Brother Holdsworth. S.W. Midlam. J.W. Laughton . . S. And the Lodge elected Brother firth . . . T. till the next St: John the Evangelists Day.

28th: July . . 1780. This Evening the Rev^d: Mr: Beaumont Broadbent was ballotted for and unanimously approved off as a Brother of this Society, and the same Evening took the Degrees of E.A. and F.C. and afterwards desired the Lodge to raise him to the Degrees of M.M. at the next Lodge Night.

The same Evening the late Treasurer pafsed his Accounts and paid the Ballance remaining in his Hands being £1..7^s..6½^d to the present Treasurer.

25th: August 1780. This Evening the Reverend Brother Broadbent was raised to the Degrees of M: M.

Brother Edward Williams having at this Lodge humbly prayed to be re-admitted a Member and having promised to be guilty of no Irregularities for the future the Lodge thought proper to put it to the Vote whether he should be re-admitted or not; and all the Members present being unanimous that he should be re-admitted a Member—the Lodge admitted him accordingly.

22^d: September 1780. Ordered that the Treasurer shall repay to the R.W.M. five Shillings which he gave to a poor Widow in Distrefs. This Evening Brother Beckwith, flint, Holdsworth and Cousins severally gave Notice of their intentions to withdraw themselves from being Members of this Lodge.

27th: October 1780. It was ordered, and a Bye Law made that in case any Antient York Maceon in Distrefs proving himself so to be to the Satisfaction of the Master S. and J.W. or any two of them

shall apply for Relief at any Time when a Lodge is not holding that they or any two of them shall have a power of Relieving such Distressed Brother with any Sum of Money not exceeding five Shillings.

24th: November 1780. Ordered that Notice be immediately given to Brother Dixon that this Lodge requests he will prepare a Sermon on Maceonry and preach the same in the Parish Church of Rotherham (with Permission of the Vicar) on the next S^t: John the Evangelists Day after the forenoon Service.

Ordered that every Brother do attend at Brother Charltons the same Day at Ten O'Clock in the Morning and be ready to proceed in Procession to the Church properly clothed and with White Gloves. And that a Dinner be prepared for fourteen persons to be upon Table precisely at half an Hour past one O'Clock.

faithfully abstracted from the Minutes by me.

W^m: E: Laughton Secretary to
the Druidical Lodge N^o: 109.

This Document was addressed "To the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of All England", and has been endorsed by William Blanchard "Return from the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham N^o. 109 to the Grand Lodge at York for Nov^r. 26. 1779 to Nov^r. 26. 80" (the latter date being a mistake for November 24).

The last meeting of the Druidical Lodge of which we have definite information was held on 24 November, 1780; whether the Secretary of the Druidical Lodge sent further copies of the Minutes to the York Grand Lodge it is impossible to say. John Browne, the Grand Secretary at York, had died in October, 1780; he had filed all correspondence most carefully, and it was hardly likely that his successor would be as painstaking.

Again I am indebted to Bro. David Flather of Sheffield for informing me that two members of the Druidical Lodge visited Lodge No. 72 (Antients) of Sheffield in 1785: on 11 June "Bro^r. — Wilkinson . . . Druidical Lodge Rotherham", and on 14 September "Bro^r. Mr. Broadbent — Clergyman No. 109 Druidical Lodge Rotherham".

The next we hear of the Druidical Lodge is in May, 1792, that is six and a half years later, and there is some evidence that the Lodge was still in existence. In 1792 the North Nottinghamshire Lodge¹ No. 587 was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) at Retford, the first meeting taking place on 30 April, 1792. One month later "a Grand Meeting" was held "in the Town Hall in East Retford", when many visiting brethren attended and a Sermon was preached "suitable on the Occasion".

The Minutes of 31 May, 1792, state that:—

The Tyler of the Druidical Lodge, at Rotherham, attended with their Jewels and which were worn by the Officers of the North Nottinghamshire Lodge

No one except the Tyler, whose name is not given, attended from the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham, but if the Lodge possessed a Tyler it seems probable that the Lodge was still holding meetings: further the members of the Druidical Lodge appear to have asked for the return of their Jewels, as at the next meeting of the North Nottinghamshire Lodge on 22 June, 1792, the Minutes state:—

It was also ordered, that the Secretary write a Letter to the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham, in the Name of the Master and rest of the

¹ The following information is taken from the Original Minute Book of the North Nottinghamshire Lodge, which is in the York Lodge Library.

Bretheren (*sic*) of the North Nottinghamshire Lodge, to thank the Brothers, for the loan of their Jewels and to make an Apology for having kept them so long.

If the Druidical Lodge had been defunct at this date the North Nottinghamshire Lodge would most likely have purchased the Jewels, but this is not so, as the Jewels were returned, and three days later at the next meeting of the North Nottinghamshire Lodge on 25 June, 1792,

It was also ordered, that silver Jewels, like those of the Prince of Wales's Lodge at Gainsburgh be immediately ordered for the use of the Lodge

About three years later one of the members of the Druidical Lodge, the Rev. Beaumont Broadbent, Vicar of Stony Stainton and Maltby, attended the North Nottinghamshire Lodge and "requested to be made a Mason and raised to the third Degree according to our Form under the Grand Lodge of England". The Rev. Bro. Broadbent, who had been made E.A. and F.C. in the Druidical Lodge on 28 July and M.M. one month later on 25 August, 1780, hoped that the full fees would not be demanded as he was already a Mason; he is described as "being of the. Antient Masonry".

It was decided that he should pay the usual fees for initiation but should be exempt from the fees "for raising to the Second & Third Degrees".

Bro. Broadbent was then initiated and made a F.C. The Minutes of the North Nottinghamshire Lodge for 10 July, 1795, are as follows:—

B^r: the Rev^d. Beaumont Broadbent, Vicar of Stony Stainton & Maltby in Yorkshire, being of the Antient Masonry, attended this Lodge, & requested to be made a Mason and raised to the third Degree according to our Form under the Grand Lodge of England; hoping that in consideration of his already being a Mason we would not demand of him the full Amount of the Fees for making & raising. Whereupon he was requested to withdraw whilst the matter was discufsed; which he accordingly did. B^r: Lyster then proposed him as a Candidate for Masonry, mentioning the circumstance of his already being a Mason, and the Reason which B^r. Broadbent had given him for his wishing to be initiated according to our Form, & his Hope that we would not exact of him the full Fees for making & raising to the Third Degree. It was then unanimously agreed by the Brothers present, that in consideration of his already being a Mason as above mentioned, he should be initiated this Night; for which he shall pay the usual Fees, but shall be exempt from the Fees for raising to the Second & Third Degrees. He was therefore immediately initiated into the first Degree of Masonry and paid the Fee of £2., 12., 6 to the D. Tr. & one Shilling each to the Tilers.— His Age 55 y^{rs}.

The Enter'd Apprentice Lodge was then closed and a Fellowcraft's Lodge opened, when B^r. Broadbent was raised to that Degree—

The Rev. Beaumont Broadbent attended the Lodge three months later on 10 October, 1795, when he "was raised to the third Degree".

The Minutes of the North Nottinghamshire Lodge are as follows:—

Saturday Oct^r. 10. 1795, a Lodge of Emergency was held in the Lodge Room at the Crown Inn in East Retford for the purpose of raising B^r. Broadbent to the third Degree, he having come from Maltby the proceeding Night for that purpose, when no Businefs could be done.

A Master's Lodge was now opened by B^r. George Taylor in the Chair, as Master, and B^r. Broadbent was raised to the third Degree, or that of a Master Mason, . . .

Bro. Broadbent attended the Lodge on only two other occasions—on 12 February, 1796, when he acted "as J.W." and on 9 September, 1796, when he is entered as a Visitor and again acted "as J.W."

There is a reference to the Druidical Lodge in one of the Minute Books¹ of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients"; this is as follows:—

Grand Lodge Committee 21st Sept^r. 1796. Read a Petition from Peter Burnside who said he had been made in N^o. 9 Rotherham and after joined a late Lodge No. 171 Manchester . . . Rejected

The Warrant of Lodge No. 171 "Antients" was cancelled on 5 June, 1792, the Lodge having taken a "Modern" Constitution²; no doubt this was the reason why the Petition of Peter Burnside was rejected.

There is no trace when Peter Burnside was initiated or joined the Druidical Lodge, but we know that he was "admitted" to the Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham on 21 July, 1780, and also that he was a Petitioner for the Constitution for the K.T. Encampment at Rotherham.

It should be noted that Peter Burnside gave the number of the Druidical Lodge as 9 and not 109.

The North Nottinghamshire Lodge in 1804 changed its name to the Phoenix Lodge, at the same time moving to Worksop. In 1808 the Lodge again moved, this time to Rotherham, commencing with a new set of Members, the only exception being Bro. W. H. Lockwood, the last R.W.M. at Worksop, who is described as "Innkeeper, Worksop", and who became the first S.W. at Rotherham.

The Phoenix Lodge held its first meeting at Rotherham on 22 July, 1808, with a membership of nine, of whom five had been members of the Druidical Lodge. These five were:—

- (1) James Wilkinson became the first W.M. of the Phoenix Lodge: the last meeting of the Phoenix he attended was on 20 November, 1812, and at the next meeting on 10 December he was "dismissed from the Lodge . . . as an improper person".

Bro. Wilkinson was, however, re-elected 4½ years later, on 12 July, 1816, when he "acknowledged himself as a faultier and every Brother in the Lodge he has offended he hopes they will forgive him as he will and wishes to meet every Brother as a mason ought to do". Bro. Wilkinson then attended the Phoenix Lodge regularly, for some time acting as Secretary.

- (2) The Rev. Matthew Dixon did not take office, and the last meeting of the Phoenix that he attended was on 28 November, 1809, when his son Matthew Dixon junr. was passed and raised.
- (3) Joseph Flint became the first Treasurer of the Phoenix; the last meeting he attended was on 28 November, 1809.
- (4) William Holdsworth only attended the first three meetings, the last being 5 September, 1808; in the list of the first officers he is entered as Steward.
- (5) Medlam was most likely Joseph Medlam; he only attended the first two meetings of the Phoenix Lodge, the last being on 8 August, 1808.

¹ This Minute Book is in the Library at Freemasons' Hall, London.

² Lane's Masonic Records, 2nd Ed., p. 134.

Another member of the Druidical Lodge of whom we have some trace is Bro. Josiah Beckwith,¹ the first Master, who unfortunately became a bankrupt: he was obviously a man of culture, as his library was sold in London. *The Gazeteer* (London) of 22 June, 1791, contains the following advertisement:—

Sales by Auction—by Leigh & Sotheby. The Library of Mr. Josiah Beckwith, Attorney at Law, a Bankrupt. Sold by order of the Assignees.

Bro. Beckwith moved to London and died in 1791. *The Leeds Intelligencer* for 6 September, 1791, contains the following paragraph:—

A few days ago died in London, in the 57th year of his age, Mr. Jofiah Beckwith, attorney at law, late of Mafborough (*sic*), near Rotherham.

As pointed out, the Phoenix Lodge was moved to Rotherham in 1808 and in the Minute Book of the Lodge there is an "Inventory of the Phoenix Lodge Furniture as received from Worksop—1808". On the opposite page there is another Inventory, which is as follows:—

Inventory of Furniture &c belonging to the Phoenix Lodge, in Addition to the List adjoining

- 1 Initiation Sheet, with Emblems on d°.
- 2 Globes on Columns, with black Marble Stands to d°.
Rules and Orders, upon Parchment
The Warrant N°. 587 since changed by the Grand
Lodge to N°. 496
The York Warrant.
- 1 Two Feet Rule—Mahogany
- 7 Pair of White Cotton Gloves
- 1 Ancient Sword

Jewels	{	Masters Jewel	—	Gilt on Brafs
		Senior Wardens	d°.	d°.
		Junior Wardens	d°.	d°.
		Secretary's	d°.	d°.
		Treasurers	d°.	d°.
Human Skull				

¹ Bro. David Flather, of Sheffield, has kindly forwarded the following further information:—

Josiah Beckwith was the son of Thomas Beckwith, an Attorney of Rothwell near Leeds, and the grandson of William Beckwith, a Barrister at Law of Ripon. The family were descended from William de Bruce and the ancient family of Malebysse.

Josiah Beckwith was articled to Richard Fenton in 1752. He came to reside in Masborough (Rotherham) about 1777, but it is uncertain whether he practised in Rotherham to any extent.

His real and main interest was in archæology. In 1777 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1784 he published a revised and enlarged edition of Blount's "Ancient Tenures & Jocular Customs of Manors". The latest edition of this book was edited by William Carew Hazlitt, who speaks highly of Josiah Beckwith's work. It digests and sets out hundreds of curious instances of tenure & embodies the result of immense research.

Josiah Beckwith had six children; his son Hercules Malebysse Beckwith was employed at the Royal Mint and in 1815 published a new edition of the 1784 book upon which Josiah had continued to work up to the time of his death.

Josiah Beckwith must have had private means, as he did not appear to be in any way actively employed in his profession. His brother Thomas was an Arms painter at York, who had a remarkable collection of Arms, a portion of which is now in the College of Arms in London.

Josiah Beckwith was on friendly terms with John Wilson, the Antiquarian, of Broomhead Hall. The above notes are extracted from "Rotherham Lawyers during 350 years", by J. H. Cockburn, 1932.

- Hiram
- 3 Large Candlesticks
- 10 White Persian Sashes with Ribbands
- 1 Rugg—bound with blue
- 1 Accompt Book, bound in Morocco

It will be noted that in this Schedule "The York Warrant" is mentioned; this, of course, must be the Druidical Lodge Warrant of Constitution; and as the "Inventory . . . from Worksop" contains Lodge Furniture, 3 Candlesticks, Sword, Minute Book, 22 Aprons and a set of Silver Jewels it seems likely that the Additional List consisted of the Furniture, etc., taken over from the Druidical Lodge with the exception of Warrant No. 587, which, of course, was the Phoenix Lodge Warrant.

There is a Masonic Apron in the Yorkshire (West Riding) Prov. G. Lodge Library which formerly belonged to Bro. Laughton. This apron has been described and illustrated in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxii., page 138. The Masonic Emblems consist of the all seeing eye in an equilateral triangle surmounted by a rainbow; these emblems are on the flap of the apron, under which there is a leather label lettered in gold "ROTHERHAM LODGE JANUARY 4TH 1779 WILLM EASTFIELD LAUGHTON"

The members of the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham were of good social standing; of the 27 known members three were Clergymen, three Attorneys, four well-known Tradesmen and two were Inn Keepers.

One of the reasons why we know more about the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham than any of the other Subordinate Lodges is that John Browne was the Grand Secretary at York for the first 20 months of its existence. John Browne was a most painstaking Secretary, who filed his correspondence methodically, and his early death robbed the York Grand Lodge of one of its most valued Officers. Another reason is that the Druidical Lodge was fortunate in having capable Secretaries; of the four known Secretaries two were Attorneys.

DRUIDICAL LODGE No. 109, ROTHERHAM

List of Members.

Thomas Alderson of Aldwork
 — Barstow
 Josiah Beckwith, Attorney
 Rev. Beaumont Broadbent of Maltby
 Peter Burnside
 Thomas Chambers
 William Charlton, Landlord of Red Lion
 John Cousins (Cousens or Cosens)
 — Cooke of Swinton
 John Drake, Mercer & Draper
 Rev. Matthew Dixon of Tickhill
 Anthony Firth, Mercer & Draper
 Joseph ? Flint, Grocer & Tea Dealer
 Moses Glass
 John Hassall
 William Holdsworth, Attorney
 John Jackson, Landlord of the Angel
 William Eastfield Laughton, Attorney
 Joshua Lee of Conisbrough
 Isaiah Lumb of Wakefield
 John Moses

Joseph Medlam (Midlam)
 James Sims
 Richard Thomas
 Rev. Thomas Tennant
 Edward Williams
 James Wilkinson, Apothecary

APPENDIX A.

(Follows York Grand Lodge Minutes of 25 Oct., 1779.)

A brief Account of the Grand Lodge at York with a Narrative of the Unmasonic conduct of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London, as transmitted to the Right Worshipful Master of the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham. 2nd. November, 1779.

The Superior Antiquity of the Grand Lodge at York to every other Lodge in the Kingdom is beyond a Doubt Not only all the Printed Books on the History of Masonry under whatever Sanction issued but the Old Records themselves testify that it was Established so early as the time of Edwin for that all the Masons in the Realm were convened by Virtue of Edwins Charter to a general Assembly at York where they accordingly met and Established a General or Grand Lodge for their future Government, being empowered to meet Annually in Communication there And under the Patronage and Government of this Grand Lodge the Society considerably increased and Kings and Princes with other Eminent Persons of the fraternity always paid due Allegiance to this Grand Assembly But as the Events of times were various and fluctuating so was this Assembly of Maceons sometimes more sometimes less respectable but its Influence was general and extensive. The Maceons in Ireland to this Day bear the Appellation of Ancient York Maceons and their Universal Tradition is that the Brethren of this Appellation originated at Auldbury near York Now this carries with it the strongest Marks of Confirmation for Auldbury was the Seat of Edwin. York was deemed the Established Place of Masonic Government, no other Place pretended to claim it but the whole fraternity paid Allegiance to it's Authority, Nor has there yet appeared any Thing to authenticate its Removal for though a Number of respectable Meetings of the fraternity occur to have been convened at sundry times in different Parts of England yet We cannot find an Instance on Record of any General Meeting (so called) having been held in any other Place besides York.

In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Sackville being Grand Master, We find the fraternity so numerous under its Auspices that the Queen mistaking the Purport of their Meeting and being Jealous of all Secret Assemblies She sent an Armed force to York with Intent to break up their Annual Communication But this Design was happily frustrated by the Initiation of some of the Queens Officers Who thereupon joined in Communication with the Maceons and making a true Report to the Queen She countermanded her Orders and never afterwards attempted to disturb the fraternity. Hence We find its Influence so extensive and flourishing that Masonry in the South came to require some Nominal Patron to superintend its Government and accordingly in the Year 1567 on the Resignation of Sir Thomas Sackville and the Election of Francis Rufel Earl of Bedford as his Successor in the North a Person under the Title of Grand Master for the South was appointed with the Approbation of the Grand Lodge at York to whom the Whole fraternity at large were bound to pay Tribute and acknowledge Subjection.

Masonry now flourished for many Years in the South as well as in the North but afterwards became again at so low a Ebb in the South that in the Year 1717 only four Lodges remained Extant in those Parts. Those Lodges however held

it their Peculiar Honour to have originated from the Ancient York Masons and in perpetual Testimony of this the first Offerings of their Ceremonies were, as many Old Brethren now living can testify "To the Success and Prosperity of the Grand Lodge at York". These very Lodges cemented under a New Grand Master for the South and hence arose what is now called the Nominal Grand Lodge in London Who then described themselves by the Name of Ancient York Masons and whose Meetings in London within these few Years have by some been considered as General Meetings, on Account of the great Increase of the Fraternity in and about the Metropolis, but without any Constitutional Authority to give such Meetings a Sanction to that Title. If it is admitted, and all that has been found either written or printed on the History of Masonry do admit it, that the Constitutions of the English Lodges are derived from York and that that Assembly reformed and issued the Laws and Charges by which all Masons in the Kingdom were to be governed and which they were bound to preserve and observe in all time coming it is evident that while these Laws and Charges exist as the Standard of Masonic Conduct and any Vestige or Remnant of that Assembly from whence those Laws and Charges sprung remains, to that Assembly and that Assembly only Allegiance is due and no other Convention of Masons be their Consequence ever so great can consistent with these Constitutions withdraw their Allegiance or set aside the Original Power and Authority of that Assembly which is justly considered as the Parent of free Masonry in England and which not only Antiquity has sealed but the concurrent Approbation of Masons for Ages has honoured with a Sanction. To understand this Matter more clearly We must advert to the Original Institution of that Assembly called a General or Grand Lodge It was not nor is it restricted as it is understood by the Nominal Grand Lodge in London to be, to the Masters and Wardens of Private Lodges with the Grand Master and his Train at their Head but consists of the Whole Fraternity in the Kingdom who being within a convenient Distance may attend, assembled at York under the Auspices of one General Head who being chosen by the Fraternity themselves is considered, after being duly Install'd as the sole Governour of the whole Body. The Mode of confining the Privileges of Masonry to certain Individuals convened on certain Days at certain Places is an Idea that was never once thought of There was but one Family among Masons and every Mason was a Child of that Family though the Privileges of the Order center'd in certain Numbers of the Fraternity according to their Advancement in the Art who were authorized in Conformity to the Ancient Charges to hold Lodges at their Will and Discretion in such Places as best suited their Convenience and there to receive Pupils or deliver Instructions in Masonry, Yet all the Tribute from these Individuals separately and collectively rested Ultimately in the Grand Lodge to which all the Fraternity might repair. Let us now revert to the State and Conduct of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London and We shall find that perfect Harmony existed betwixt it and the Grand Lodge at York till after the Year 1725 and that in this Masonic Unity of Acting Masonry much flourished in the North and South. In the Year 1725 there was a noted Procession of the Maceons at York, Charles Bathurst Esq^r. being then Grand Master and a Charge was deliver'd by Francis Drake Esq^r. then S.G.W. wherein We find Mention of the Grand Lodge at London in a truly Masonic and Brotherly Way but withall maintaining the Superiority of the Grand Lodge at York which is proved by the Title of *totius Angliæ* which then and anciently belonged the Grand Masters at York. This Charge was so favoured by the Grand Lodge in London that it was printed by their Printer and inserted amongst others published by their Orders. Hence however the Grand Lodge in London from its Situation being encouraged by some of the principal Nobility of the Nation arose to great Power and begun to despise the Origin from whence it sprung. In an unbrotherly Manner wishing the Grand Lodge at York annihilated which appears by one of their Almanacks

insinuating that though there are some Brethren remaining who act under the Old Constitution of York yet that they are few in Number and will soon be annihilated.

Now some of the York Brethren happening on a most trivial Occasion to incline to cede from their ancient Lodge were encouraged to an open Revolt by the Nominal Grand Lodge in London who without the least Enquiry into the Merits of the Question immediately granted a Constitution to set up a New Lodge in the very City of York. Then in a subsequent Almanack they even publish that there was a Division in the Grand Lodge at York and venture to create a new Distinction of Masons Giving to themselves and their Adherents the Appellation of Modern Masons in Distinction from those who remained on the Old Land Mark. Now what could be more unmasonic than all these Measures Swerving from every Ancient Land Mark of the Order and Polluting the very Source from whence Masonry sprang. In a Book published at Exeter and much countenanced by the Nominal Grand Lodge in London it is falsely said that the Grand Lodge anciently established at York was some Years ago removed from thence to London Now such a Removal as is here pretended could have done no Good, and the York' Maceons were too just to give up their Rights to a Sett of Men acting on Measures so Arbitrary and foreign to true Masonry as the Nominal Grand Lodge in London have presumed to act, Besides, the Charge before mentioned and their Acquiescence thereto very fully contradict it as well as the Records of the Grand Lodge at York which at that time were faithfully Kept under the Direction of several Grand Masters who were Gentlemen of Honour Probity and fortune and whose Names for a few Years before and after the formation or Revival of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London Anno 1717, shall be here subjoined

Sir George Tempest Bar^t.
 The Right Honble Robert Benson Esq^r.
 Sir William Robinson Bar^t.
 Sir Walter Hawksworth Bar^t.
 Sir George Tempest Bar^t.
 Charles Fairfax Esquire.
 Sir Walter Hawksworth Bar^t.
 Edward Bell Esq^r.
 Charles Bathurst Esq^r.
 Edward Thompson Esq^r.
 John Johnson Esq^r.
 John Marsden Esq^r.

Besides what is before mentioned of the Arbitrary Conduct of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London We meet with several other Marks of their Oppression Many Masters and Lodges under their Sanction have been struck off their Books on trifling Occasions and particularly on *Pecuniary* ones, Motives which Masons ought to blush at. The Grand Lodge at York have beheld such Measures with Lamentation but like Masons pafs'd them unnoticed till roused by repeated Insults to themselves, of which, two daring Instances occur. The one in Refusing Admission to Brothers who have been made under the Old Constitution of York and whom they could not deny to be Masons by their having granted a Constiton to some who had ceded from the same Origin, a Behaviour which the Grand Lodge at York as Maceons could not nor have not retaliated The other by Imposing such Terms to the Prejudice of the Grand Lodge at York on the Initiation of New Brothers as no Masons ought to impose, but which may not in Writing be more fully exprefs'd.

Upon the Whole let a dispationate Mason but weigh impartially the several facts here stated and he must spurn at the daring Innovations offered by the Nominal Grand Lodge in London to so sacred an Institution. If he wishes to

partake of Masonry on its Original Purity he will turn his Attention to that Source where it hath been Inviolably maintained and continued for successive Ages to this Day, and where the Legislature of Maceonry for this Kingdom stands fixed by its true Title The Grand Lodge of all England Established at the City of York./.

SNAINTON.

The village of Snainton is situated in the North Riding of Yorkshire on the Scarborough-Pickering road; it is $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Scarborough and about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Pickering.

The population of Snainton in 1801 was only 450¹ and in 1778 the population would most likely have been about the same. After the failure of the Subordinate Lodge at Hovingham it is somewhat surprising that the York Grand Lodge should have considered granting a Constitution to form a Lodge in a village even smaller than Hovingham.

In the account of the Subordinate Lodge at Hovingham an undated letter was quoted from John Parnaby to Jacob Bussey, the Grand Secretary at York, and it was suggested that this letter was written on 11 December, 1777. In this letter Bro. Parnaby states that Bro. the Rev. Ralph Tunstall and Bro. Henry Taylor had removed to Malton.

The Rev. Ralph Tunstall evidently took a keen interest in Masonry, as five months later, on 29 May, 1778, he wrote to Mr. Jacob Bussey, the Grand Secretary at York, giving the first intimation of a new Lodge at Snainton.

Bro. Tunstall states that he is informed by Mr. George Beswick, who was made a Mason at Hovingham, that there are three or four Master Masons who wish to form a Lodge at Snainton under the Constitution of the York Grand Lodge, and that about twenty Masons are expected to be present at the opening; Bro. Tunstall seems somewhat doubtful on this point, as he adds "according to his (Bro. Beswick's) Account".

Bro. Tunstall then asks how many of the Petitioners should attend at York and whether St. John's Day would be convenient, adding that the new Snainton Lodge is to have the Jewels which belonged to the Scarborough Lodge. The members, however, were not successful in obtaining possession of these jewels.

There is a postscript which states that Bro. Tunstall and Bro. Lambert hope to be present at the York Grand Lodge on St. John's Day.

The text of Bro. Tunstall's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 29):—

Dr. Brother

Mr. George Beswick, made about two years ago at Hovingham, informed me of their Intention of forming a Lodge at the New Inn at Snainton under your Constitution they have three or four M M: at present & (according to his Account) expect about twenty at their opening. This is therefore to desire you'd be kind enough to inform them by a Line to G. Beswick at Snainton or me at Malton how many of them & when they must come to York, if on St. John's Day, it will be more agreeable. They are to have the Jewels w^h. belonged to Scarbro'.

Malton

I am, Dr. Brother, Yours &c.

May 29th, 78

R. Tunstall.

P S: I propose coming along with Mr. Lambert on St. Johns Day if nothing prevent us

¹ A Topographical Directory of Yorkshire, by Thomas Langdale, 1822.

This letter was addressed to "Mr: Jacob Bufsey Pavement York" and has been endorsed by him "Answer'd by the Grand Secretary requesting their Attendance on St John day Next", and has been further endorsed by John Browne G. Secretary (1779-80) "29. May 1778. Letter from Brother Tunstall proposing to take a Constition (*sic*) for a Lodge at Snainton."

On the St. John's day meeting (24 June 1778) of the York Grand Lodge there were no visitors present and there is no reference in the Minutes to Bro. Tunstall's letter.¹ Nothing more is heard of the matter for six months, but on 9th December, 1778, Bro. D. Lambert² of Malton wrote to the Rt. Wor. Grand Master of All England at York again desiring a Constitution for a Lodge at Snainton; no mention, however, is made of Bro. Tunstall's letter. Bro. D. Lambert states that the Lodge is to be held at the New Inn at Snainton and also gives the name of the landlord as W. Cowton. The New Inn at Snainton³ is still in existence and lies about half-a-mile outside the village and appears to be much as it was in the eighteenth century; it must have been a fine coaching inn in those days, as the main road from Malton to Scarborough then ran through the village of Snainton. Bro. Lambert in his letter gives the names of the first officers—George Beswicke is to be the first Master (Bro. Lambert states that he was made in the York Grand Lodge; this is incorrect, as he was a candidate in the Subordinate Lodge at Hovingham⁴ and Bro. John Browne does not include him in the List of Members of the York Grand Lodge). Bro. W. Lockwood is to be the S.W. and Bro. John Coulson the J.W. I have been unable to trace where W. Lockwood and John Coulson were initiated.

The text of the letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 22):—

Right worshipful
Grandmaster of
All England
Sir.

Malton 9th Dec^r 1778

I am defired to apply to your
Right worshipful Lodge, and think it right
to apply to you as the worthy Head thereof, To
defire thro' your Fav^r. that the Lodge will be
pleafed to grant their authentic Warrant, Letters
Patent, or Constitution for the opening and holding
a Lodge of free and accepted Mafons at the
Houfe of W^m. Cowton the New Inn at Snainton
Brother Geo Beswicke (made in y^e Gr^d Lodge) to be M.
Brother W^m. Lockwood to be S.W.
Brother John Coulfon to be J.W.

If the Secretary will pleafe to inform me
that this Grant is complied with,—Brother Beswicke
will attend you on St. John's Day.

I respectfully Salute your Worship the Grand
Wardens the Grand Chaplin Secretary & all the Brethren
& am

Right worshipful

Y^r affectionate & faithful Br^r

D: Lambert.

¹ The Rev. Ralph Tunstall continued to reside in the district for some years: the *Newcastle Chronicle* of 30 March, 1795, states: "Rev. Ralph Tunstall of New Malton now Vicar of Wharram in the Street."

² David Lambert was made an E.A. and F.C. in the York Grand Lodge on 10 March and M.M. on 24 June, 1766.

³ "About a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile west of the village is Snainton New-Inn, a large Posting-House."—A Topographical Directory of Yorkshire by Thomas Langdale, 1822.

⁴ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 29.

This letter was addressed to "Mr. Siddall G M M of A E at York" and has been endorsed by Jacob Bussey G.S. "Answer'd y^e 17th Inst Requesting all their attendance on y^e 28th Inst. & Bro^r Lambert" and has been further endorsed by John Browne G.S. (1779-80) "9 Decem. 1778. Letter from Brother Lambert to the Grand Master of all England Requesting a Constition (*sic*) to be granted for a Lodge at Snainton".

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 14 December, 1778. Bro. Lambert's letter was discussed and it was decided to grant the Petition; there were no visitors present that evening. The York Grand Lodge Minute referring to the matter is as follows:—

A Letter was received from Brother Lambert of Malton requesting a Constitution to be granted to Brother George Beswicke Brother William Lockwood and Brother John Coulson for a Lodge to be held at Snainton, which Request was agreed to and the Grand Secretary order'd to acquaint Brother Lambert therewith.

There is no further mention of the Snainton Lodge in the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge, but a year later at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 13 December, 1779, when the arrangements for St. John's Day were being discussed, it was ordered

that the several Lodges holding Constitutions under this Grand Lodge be requested to make a Return of their Proceedings against St. John's Day.

No doubt the Snainton Lodge would be one of "the several Lodges", but it is not known whether the Lodge complied with the request.

This Subordinate Lodge is the only Masonic Lodge that has ever been held at the village of Snainton.

SNAINTON LODGE

List of Members.

George Beswick
John Coulson
William Lockwood

THE GRAND LODGE SOUTH OF THE RIVER TRENT.

The quarrel that took place in the Lodge of Antiquity in 1778 led to the formation of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent. This quarrel is well-known Masonic history and has been fully described by the late Bro. W. H. Rylands in "Records of the . . . Lodge of Antiquity, . . . Vol. 1 . . . 1911", and from this work I have made the following summary.

The Members of the Lodge of Antiquity attended a service at St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street on the Festival of St. John, 27 December, 1777.

The Brethren clothed themselves in the vestry but at the conclusion of the service, instead of disrobing in the Church, they walked about 12 yards across the road in their regalia to the Lodge room at the Mitre Tavern.

At the next meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity, on 7 January, 1778, a letter was received from Bro. Noorthouck, the Treasurer of the Lodge, objecting to the procession.

This Letter was couched in most unpleasant language and was a tirade against William Preston "whose eager fondness for the Trappings and parade of Masonry is but too apt to get the better of his Knowledge". It is thought that Preston and Noorthouck had had a business quarrel some time in 1777.

Bro. Preston justified the action of the Lodge by claiming an inherent Right vested in the Lodge by virtue of its immemorial Constitution to discharge the Duties of Masonry, and that it was not in the power of Grand Lodge to deprive it of that Authority.

Noorthouck and his party allowed no time for a peaceful solution of the differences but presented a Memorial to the R.W. Grand Master, Officers and Brethren of Grand Lodge early in January accusing the Lodge of Antiquity of committing "a flagrant outrage against the Laws and constitutions of Masonry".

The W.M., Bro. John Wilson, and the majority of the Members of the Lodge of Antiquity sided with Preston and it was decided to send an Answer to the Memorial.

The result of Noorthouck's Memorial was that Grand Lodge was forced to adjudicate on the matter. The Grand Lodge Committee of Charity met on 30 January and Bro. Haseltine, the Grand Secretary, appears to have been biassed against Preston. Bro. Preston "asserted an inherent Right to be vested in that Lodge (of Antiquity), by virtue of its immemorial Constitution". This was a dangerous doctrine and he was desired by the Committee publicly to retract it; he refused to do so and was expelled from Grand Lodge and its Committees.

However, five days later, the Grand Lodge met in Quarterly Communication when Preston presented a Memorial "confessing his error" and that he had "no sinister intention in view".

The Grand Secretary did not wish this apology to be accepted, but after a lengthy discussion Bro. Preston was made to sign an apology withdrawing the doctrine of "inherent right". This did not please the majority of the Members of the Lodge of Antiquity who did not think that their W.M. had supported Preston.

Ill-feeling was running high in the Lodge of Antiquity and at the meeting on 18 March, 1778, Bro. Noorthouck presented a protest signed by six members in which he arraigned the conduct of William Preston, Benjamin Bradley (the Secretary), and James Donaldson as "fomenters of disturbances in the Lodge"; he invited others to join the protest, but no Brother present acquiesced.

In the meantime Grand Lodge had ordered the Lodge of Antiquity to produce their Minute Book so that the dispute could be discussed; this decision, however, had not been officially communicated to the Lodge of Antiquity, and the members decided that the Minute Book should not be produced and 14 members signed an indemnification for the Secretary's non-attendance at Grand Lodge.

At the next meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 5 April, 1778, Bro. Preston informed the Lodge that he had been summoned to appear before the Grand Committee of Charity as he had "been represented as a violent and active Supporter of these refractory proceedings". Benjamin Bradley, James Donaldson and John Sealy were also summoned to appear.

The Committee of Charity met on 6 April and "the Grand Secretary began the business by representing the violent & refractory proceedings of the Lodge No. 1".

The Grand Secretary, however, admitted that Lodge No. 1 had received no formal summons to produce their Minute Book, but argued that "it was unnecessary to transmit Copies of any Resolutions of the Grand Lodge: for that every Master of a Lodge being supposed present, was bound to notice every thing done there, without any further Summons or intimation".

Bro. Preston then stated that he and his Brethren had only received notice to appear three days previously and that he had not been informed of the names of those bringing charges against him.

The matter was then allowed to drop, but the W.M. of the Lodge of Antiquity was ordered to produce the Lodge Minute Book.

The Grand Lodge met two days later on 8 April and the W.M. of the Lodge of Antiquity produced the Minute Book without the Authority of his Lodge.

The Grand Secretary then read the Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity, "but in so partial a manner" that he suppressed some of the items, but this was pointed out, and after discussion it was decided "that all matters relative to No. 1 be totally buried in Oblivion, on condition that the minute respecting not appearing with the Books be erased". This seems to have been an excellent solution of the quarrel, but Noorthouck's party was not satisfied and Bro. James Brearley moved that all the Members of the Lodge of Antiquity who had signed the Indemnity be expelled the Society. This resolution, however, found no seconder.

The Grand Secretary then moved that the Hall Committee be re-elected with the exception of Bro. William Preston. One or two members "immediately express'd their disapprobation of such an unfriendly motion", and the Grand Master, the Duke of Manchester, considered that it "was a strain'd point to gratify personal pique" and "express'd a disinclination to put the motion, requesting repeatedly that it might be withdrawn"; however, the motion was duly carried.

Feeling was naturally running high in the Lodge of Antiquity, and at the next meeting it was moved and seconded that John Noorthouck, John Bottomly and James Brearley should be expelled from the Lodge and that these expulsions should be balloted for at the next meeting.

The Grand Feast of Grand Lodge was held on 29 April, and at this meeting the Minute Book of the Lodge of Antiquity was again produced and the Grand Secretary "took the liberty" of reading the whole of the Minutes, which brought forward some of the private transactions of the Lodge.

The Grand Secretary then moved "that the proceedings of Lodge No. 1 were highly censurable".

The W.M. of the Lodge of Antiquity explained that his Lodge had only exerted the power which every Lodge possessed of expelling its own Members and that no person had made any complaint, " & 'till that was done, no person could be supposed injur'd".

It was decided to postpone the consideration of the matter, and as no date was named it was, of course, postponed *sine die*.

At the next meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity on 20 May "it was publicly declared . . . that John Noorthouck, John Bottomly and James Brearley are legally expelled", and at the following meeting held on 17 June John Wilson was re-elected the W.M. and William Rigge was elected the Treasurer, the latter in place of Noorthouck. William Preston and his party must have known that they were skating on thin ice and that it was probable that they would be expelled by the Grand Lodge, and on this account they had considered transferring their allegiance to the York Grand Lodge.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH LODGE OF ANTIQUITY.

At the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity on 15 July, 1778, there were two visitors present,¹ one of these being Jacob Bussey of the "Grand Lodge of York"; there is no note in either the Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity or in those of the York Grand Lodge that there had been any previous communication between these two Lodges, but obviously this visit was not pure chance, and it seems most probable that some member of the Lodge of Antiquity had written to the York Grand Lodge some time before and that it had then

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., page 349.

been arranged that the Grand Secretary of the York Grand Lodge should make a journey to London¹.

There is no note in the Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity of what transpired at this meeting, neither did Jacob Bussey on his return to York make any official report to the York Grand Lodge, but he must have talked over the matter with some of the members of the York Grand Lodge, as he wrote a letter dated 29 August, 1778, to Benjamin Bradley, who was the Junior Warden² of the Lodge of Antiquity at that time.

In this letter Jacob Bussey gives various particulars about the York Grand Lodge in order to prove that it was in existence before the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) was formed in 1717. In the first place Jacob Bussey gives a list of the Grand Masters at York from 1705 to 1734; strange to say this list is not accurate, as it is now known that Sir William Milner, Bart., was Grand Master in 1728³.

Jacob Bussey states that this information was taken from "an original Minute Book of this Grand Lodge beginning in 1705 and ending in 1734"; this Minute Book is now missing, the last trace of it being in the Inventory of the York Grand Lodge dated 15 September, 1779⁴.

Jacob Bussey then states that "the Superior Antiquity of the Grand Lodge of York to all other Lodges in the Kingdom will not admit a Doubt: all the books which treat on the Subject agree that it was founded so early as the year 926", a somewhat sweeping statement.

Bro. Bussey then goes on to allude to the Sackville tradition and states that "it appears by the Lodge Books since that Time that this Lodge has been regularly continued".

The evidence of this appears to be the "Original Minute Book . . . beginning 1705", which leaves somewhat of a gap between the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the year 1705.

The letter then claims that the Lodge at York was in existence "previous to the Era of the Aggrandized Lodge of London", "and that it now exists even the Compilers of the Masonic Almanack published under the Sanction of that Lodge cannot but acknowledge tho' they accompany such their acknowledgment with an invidious & unmasonic Prophecy that it will be soon totally annihilated". This statement in "The Free-Masons' Calendar" for the year 1777 had naturally annoyed the members of the York Grand Lodge, as about this period the York Grand Lodge attained its greatest prosperity.

Bro. Bussey then states that he has intimated to the York Grand Lodge that the members of the Lodge of Antiquity wish to apply for a Constitution, and he is pleased to state that this met with "universal Approbation". A Petition should be presented giving the names of the Officers, and if this is done "the Matter will be speedily accomplished".

This letter, addressed to Mr. Benjamin Bradley, is as follows⁵ (York G. Lodge MS. No. 30):—

Sir

York 29th. Augst. 1778

In Compliance with your Request to be Satisfied of the Existence of a Grand Lodge at York previous to the Establishment of that at London in 1717, I have inspected an Original Minute Book of this Grand Lodge beginning

¹ Jacob Bussey was absent from the York Grand Lodge meetings of 24 June and 27 July, 1778.

² Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., page 348.

³ The Original York Journal or Weekly Courant of 2 July, 1728.

⁴ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 52.

⁵ Another copy of this letter No. 1 follows the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 28 September, 1778.

in 1705 & ending in 1734, from which have Extracted the names of the Grand Masters during that Period as follows—

- 1705 Sir George Tempest Baronet
- 1707 The Right Honorable Robert Benson Lord Mayor
- 1708 Sir William Robinson Bar^t
- 1711 Sir Walter Hawksworth Bar^t
- 1713 Sir George Tempest Bar^t
- 1714 Charles Fairfax Esquire
- 1720 Sir Walter Hawksworth Bar^t
- 1725 Edward Bell Esq^r
- 1726 Charles Bathurst Esq^r
- 1729 Edward Thompson Esq^r
- 1733 John Johnson Esq^r M D
- 1734 John Marsden Esq^r

It is observable that during the above period the Grand Lodge was not holden twice together at the same house and there is an Instance of its being holden once (in 1713) out of York Viz^t, at Bradford in Yorkshire when 18 Gentlemen of the (first) families in that Neighbourhood were made Masons.

In short the Superior Antiquity of the Grand Lodge of York to all other Lodges in the Kingdom will not admit a Doubt, all the Books which treat on the Subject agree that it was founded so early as the year 926 and that in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth it was so numerous that mistaking the purport of their Meeting she was at the Trouble of sending an armed Force to dislodge the Brethren It appears by the Lodge Books since that Time that this Lodge has been regularly continued, and particularly by the Book above extracted that it was in being early in the present Century previous to the Era of the Aggrandized Lodge of London——And that it now exists even the Compilers of the Masons Almanack published under the Sanction of that Lodge cannot but acknowledge tho' they accompany such their acknowledgment with an invidious & unmasonic Prophecy that it will be soon totally annihilated——an Event which we trust that no man nor set of Men who are mean Enough to wish, shall ever live to see. I have intimated to this Lodge what passed between us of your Intention to apply for a Constitution under it, and have the Satisfaction to inform you that it met with universal Approbation——You will therefore be pleased to furnish me with a Petition to be presented for the Purpose specifying the Names of the Brethren to be appointed to the several Offices, and I make no Doubt that the Matter will be speedily accomplished——My best Respects attend Brother Preston whom I expect you will make acquainted with the Purport of this and hope it will be agreeable to him——I am with true Regard

Dear Sir

Your most faithfull Brother
and obedient Servant

Jacob Bufsey G.S

Copy of a Letter Sent to M^r Benjamin Bradley

N^o 3 Clements Lane

Lombard Street

Junior Warden of N^o 1 or the Lodge of Antiquity held

at the Mitre Tavern Fleet Street by J. Bufsey G S

of the Antient Grand Lodge at York on the 29th. Aug^t 1778

This copy has been endorsed by John Browne "29 August, 1778. Copy of a letter from the Grand Secretary at York to a Member of the Lodge of Antiquity".

It should be remembered that the York Grand Lodge had two grievances against the Grand Lodge of England at London: these were (1) that the Freemasons' Calendar for 1777, which was an official publication, was hardly complimentary when it stated that "The ancient York Masons were confined to one Lodge, which is still extant; but consists of a very few members, and will probably be soon altogether annihilated", and (2) that a split had taken place in the York Grand Lodge in 1773 and the Grand Lodge of England had granted the discontented members of the York Grand Lodge a warrant, and so the Apollo Lodge had been constituted in York.

In these circumstances one can understand that the members of the York Grand Lodge were willing to grant a constitution to certain members of the Lodge of Antiquity, especially when they included such a well-known Mason as William Preston.

Bro. Bussey's letter was duly despatched to London, and less than three weeks later, on 16 September, 1778, the Lodge of Antiquity held a meeting when the letter was read, together with a suitable reply, which was approved: the reply was signed by five members of the Lodge of Antiquity, including J. Wilson the R.W.M., William Preston and Benjamin Bradley. In this letter it is pointed out that a Constitution to act as a Private Lodge is not required, as the members of the Lodge of Antiquity consider themselves "sufficiently Empowered by the Immemorial Constitution" to act as a private Lodge: but that the members of the Lodge of Antiquity are willing to accept "a Constitutional Authority to Act as a Grand Lodge in London for that Part of England South of the Trent". The description "South of the Trent" has been taken from the College of Arms; England being divided into two parts, Clarenceux comprehending all to the south of the river Trent and that of Norroy all to the north of that river¹. The letter from the Lodge of Antiquity is as follows² (York G. Lodge MS. No. 25):—

Most Worshipful Grand Master & Brethren

The Contents of Bro^r. Bufsey's Letter to M^r. Benjⁿ. Bradley dated y^e 29th Ult. has been communicated to us, and we are much obliged to that Gentleman for the Information it contains, but humbly conceive that our meaning has not been clearly explained to him.

Though we sho^d. be happy to promote Masonry under the Banners of the Grand Lodge at York—An Application by Petition for a Warrant for a Constitution, to Act as a *Private Lodge* here was never our Intention, as we consider ourselves sufficiently Empowered by the Immemorial Constitution of our Lodge to Execute every Duty we can Wish as a *private Lodge* of Masons.

What we meant to propose to Bro^r. Bufsey when we had the pleasure of seeing him in London, was, that in order to the forming of a Social Intercourse between the York Masons, and the Brethren in the South of England,

¹ The Microcosm of London, vol. ii., page 127.

² Another copy of this letter No. 3 follows the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 28 September, 1778.

and thereby strengthen that Connexion We were ready, if the Grand Lodge at York furnished us with sufficient and satisfactory proofs of their Existence before the year 1717—and provided the same met with their Approbation, to Accept from them a Constitutional Authority to Act as a Grand Lodge in London for that Part of England South of the Trent, and would willingly & faithfully Acquit ourselves of any Trust which might be reposed in us by that respectable Assembly—of whose Antiquity, and the regularity of whose Proceedings we have the highest Opinion——

This Proposal of Ours, we now Ratify—and in Expectation of being favoured with an Answer, whether it has the Hoppinefs of meeting with your Approbation or not—We have the Honor to remain with the greatest respect—

Most Worshipful Sir & Brethren

Your Most Obed^t. Serv^{ts} & faithfully Devoted Brethren

R.W. Lodge of Antiquity.

London 16th Sept^r. AD. 1778 AL 5782.

J: Wilson R.W.M.

William Preston R W P.M.

Benjⁿ. Bradley W.J.W.

Gilb^t. Buchanan

Jn^o; Sealy

To the Most Worshipful Grand Master & Brethren
of the Grand Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons at York——

This letter in the handwriting of Benjamin Bradley was addressed “To the Most Worshipful Grand Master, & Brethren of the Grand Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons at York” and has been endorsed by John Browne “16 Septem 1778. Letter from the R Worpful Lodge of Antiquity to the Most Worpful Grand Lodge of all England”.

Six days later, on 22 September, 1778, Benjamin Bradley wrote a personal letter to Jacob Bussey of York. After acknowledging Bussey's letter of the 29th, Benjamin Bradley states that there is “no longer a doubt of the Authenticity” of the York Grand Lodge and that he hopes that the Original Book dated 1705 to 1734 will be carefully preserved together with “all the other Books preceeding the date thereof”; it would be interesting to know what these other books were. Perhaps Benjamin Bradley had jumped to the conclusion that earlier Minute Books were in existence or perhaps he was referring to the Ancient York Rolls.

The letter goes on to state that a Constitution for a Private Lodge is out of the question, as the Lodge of Antiquity's “Constitution is Universally allowed to be Immemorial”.

It is then suggested that a mutual correspondence between the members of the Lodge of Antiquity and the Grand Lodge at York “might be highly commendable” and that “a proper respect would ever be paid” to the York Grand Lodge.

Benjamin Bradley then suggests that a Warrant should be granted by the York Grand Lodge to a few Members of the Lodge of Antiquity to act as a Grand Lodge “for that Part of England South of the Trent, with a Power to Constitute Lodges in that Division”, and for this “some token of Allegiance to be annually given on the part of the Brethren thus Authorised to Act”. Should such a plan succeed it would “convince the G(rand) L(odge) of London that the prophecy of their Calendar compilers is not likely to be fulfilled”.

Benjamin Bradley then states that he has discussed the matter with William Preston and some other brethren, and that a letter to lay before the members of the York Grand Lodge is enclosed. This is the letter dated 16 September and previously quoted.

Benjamin Bradley then gives a list of the names to be specified in the Warrant as follows:—

John Wilson¹ as R.W. Grand Master
 William Preston as W. Dep. Grand Master
 Benjamin Bradley as W. Senior Grand Warden
 Gilbert Buchanan as W. Junior Grand Warden
 John Sealy as Grand Secretary

The letter closes with good wishes and is as follows² (York G. Lodge MS. No. 26):—

Sr.

London 22^d Septem^r. 1778

Your obliging favor of the 29th Ult. came safe to hand. The information it gives is very Satisfactory to me & to all the other friends here of the York Grand Lodge. I can have no longer a doubt of the Authenticity of that Assembly, And as I shall have frequent occasion to quote the original Book from which you have extracted the Names of the Grand Masters from 1705 to 1734 inclusive hope it will be carefully preserved, and all the other Books preceeding the date thereof, but this caution I have no occasion to give to Bro^r Bufsey a Gentleman ever strenuous in support of so Antient & Noble an establishment.——

As to a Petition for a Constitution for a Private Lodge here we cannot think of it, as we are all at present Members of a Lodge whose Constitution is Universally allowed to be Immemorial and which nothing can invalidate but a Violation of the principles of Masonry and the Rules of the Institution which I hope will never happen. A Mutual Correspondence being kept up betwixt the R.W. Lodge of Antiquity, or any of its Members & the Grand Lodge at York might be highly commendable, and I am convinced a proper respect would ever be paid on our Parts, to that truly Antient, and respectable Masonic Legislature——

A Warrant or Deputation from York to a few Members of the R.W. Lodge of Antiquity to Act as a Grand Lodge for that Part of England South of the Trent, with a Power to Constitute Lodges in that Division, when properly applied for, and a regular Correspondence to be kept up, and some token of Allegiance to be annually given on the part of the Brethren thus Authorised to Act, in my humble opinion might tend much to revive the Splendor of that Assembly whose Prerogatives appear to have been so grossly invaded.——

Should such a plan succeed I shall be happy to spread the Art of *Free* Masonry once more under the Banners of York and endeavour to convince the G^d. L. of London that the Prophecy of their Calendar Compilers is not likely to be fulfilled.——

As the Matter I understand has been laid before the Grand Lodge by you, I have with the advice of my Worthy friend Brother Preston and some other well wishers here, enclosed a Letter to the Grand Master and Brethren of the Grand Lodge in order to explain our Meaning, and must request you to lay it before their Next meeting and favor me with the result as soon as possible.——

The following are the Names of the Brethren I could wish to have specified in the Warrant or Deputation should the Grand Lodge think proper to grant one Viz^t——

John Wilson Esq^r. (present Right W. Mast^r of the Lodge of Antiquity) as R.W. Grand Master
 William Preston (pres^t. R^t. W. Past Mast^r of D^o) as W. Dep^y. Grand Master
 Benjamin Bradley (pres^t. W. Jun^r. Wardⁿ. of D^o.) as W. Senior Grand Warden
 Gilbert Buchanan (pres^t. Secretary to D^o.) as W. Junior Grand Warden
 John Sealy (pres^t. Senior Steward of D^o.) as Grand Secretary
 And Two other Brethren whom we may appoint hereafter out of said Lodge.

Bro^r. Preston joins with me in a sincere wish for the prosperity of Bro^r. Bufsey & all the other Brethren of the Grand Lodge of York.

I am with the utmost esteem & respect

D^r. S^r.

To M^r. Jacob Bufsey
 Pavement
 York

Yo^r. faithful Bro^r. & Obed^t. Serv^t.
 Benjⁿ. Bradley

H

¹ Bro. David Flather, of Sheffield, informs me that John Wilson was a Sheffield man, the eldest son of John Wilson, of Broomhead Hall.

² A copy of this letter No. 2 follows the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 28 September, 1778.

This letter was addressed to "Mr. Jacob Bufsey York" and has been endorsed by John Browne "22 Septem 1778. Letter from a Brother of the R^t. Wor^l. Lodge of Antiquity to the Gr. Secretary of the most Worpful Grand Lodge of all England".

Four days later, on 28 September, the York Grand Lodge met and the letter of 16 September, signed by John Wilson, William Preston etc. (Letter No. 3) was read and a committee appointed to send a suitable reply. This committee consisted of five Grand Lodge Officers and three other Brethren, and was as follows:—

William Siddall	M.W. Grand Master
John Coupland	Senior Grand Warden
Thomas Bewlay	Junior Grand Warden
Jacob Bussey	Grand Secretary
Rev. John Parker	Grand Chaplain
Robert Lakeland	
Thomas Beckwith	
Francis Clubley	

In the York Grand Lodge Minutes the names of the Grand Officers are not given, but only their rank. The York Grand Lodge minute is as follows (28 September, 1778):—

A Master Mason^s Lodge being Opend the following Letter No. 3. being Received and Read ——— the Brethren as below was Apointed a Committee to prepare and send an Answer thereto ———

Most Worshipfull — G, M

Bro^{rs} ——— S, G, W

J, G, W

G, S

G, C

Lakeland ———

Beckwith ———

Clubley

The Special Committee of the York Grand Lodge sent a reply dated 19 October which was signed by all the York Grand Lodge Officers and addressed "To the Right Worshipfull Master & Brethren of the Lodge of Antiquity".

In the first place the letter states that the York Grand Lodge has unanimously consented to grant "a deputed Authority to Act as a Grand Lodge in London for that part of England South of Trent", provided that an acknowledgment is made to the Grand Lodge at York and that every Constitution granted by the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent "be registered in the Books of the Grand Lodge of York for which some Consideration will also be Expected".

After paying various compliments to the members of the Lodge of Antiquity the letter closes by stating that the amounts to be paid to the Mother Lodge may be fixed by the members of the Lodge of Antiquity and that "as a further proof of our Cordiality" the drafting of the Deputation is also left "to your selves". The text of this letter is as follows¹:—

N^o 4

Copy of an Answer sent to y^e above,
Right Worshipful Master & Brethren,

¹ The draft of this letter No. 4 follows the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 28 September, 1778.

In consequence of your Address to the Most Antient Grand Lodge of all England for a deputed Authority to Act as a Grand Lodge in London for that part of England South of Trent and to Constitute Lodges in that Division, we have Unanimously consented to comply with your Request on the following Conditions,

1st That the Grand Lodge at York receive an Annual Acknowledgement for this deputed Authority.

2nd That every Constitution to be granted under this sanction be registered in the Books of the Grand Lodge of York for which some Consideration will also be Expected.

We are happy to repose this Trust in men whose Abilities we admire, whose Integrity we highest Opinion of, and whose Commendable, (we had almost said pious) Endeavours to difseminate and enhance true Masonry, Merit our warmest Acknowledgments, and the highes Encomions, We act upon the same plan, we treat with you in a Confidential Manner as Brethren, and to covince you that we have no Sinister Mercenary Views, we leave it to your selves to fix the Sums, to be paid to the Mother Lodge as well for the Annual Acknowledgment as for each Constitution

As a further proof of our Cordiality in this Proposed Alliance we refer the Drawing of the Deputation to your selves

We remain Right Worship Sir and Brethren with the greatest
 Regard your Obedient Hble Serv^{ts} & Brethren

To the Right Worshipfull Master & Brethren
 of the Lodge of Antiquity held at
 y^c Mitre Tavern Fleett Street
 London

sent to M^r Benj Bradley N^o 3,
 Clements lane Lombard Street
 London

19th Octo^r: 1778

W^m. Siddall G M
 Geo. Coates D G M
 Jn^o Coupland S. G W
 Tho^s Bewlay J G W
 Geo. Kitson G T
 Ja. Bufsey G D
 Jn^o. Parker G C

This letter of the 19 October, 1778,¹ from the York Grand Lodge was read at the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 21 October, but no comments or instructions appear in the minutes.

In the meantime events had been moving rapidly in the Lodge of Antiquity and at the meeting of the Lodge held on 4 November² it was decided "That the Officers of the Lodge of Antiquity do not any more attend the meetings of the Grand Lodge . . . (and) do withdraw themselves from the said Society".

A committee meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity was held on 11 November, 1778, when amongst other matters "All the papers (were) read respecting our negociation with the Grand Lodge at York".

The meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity on 18 November is of importance as two lodges both claiming the title of the Lodge of Antiquity met at the Mitre Tavern³; these are generally called Bro. Preston's Lodge and Bro. Noorthouck's Lodge, and it is the former Lodge with which this history is concerned.

As Bro. Noorthouck's Lodge demanded not only the Lodge Room but also the furniture, jewels and other properties, it was decided to move Bro. Preston's

¹ The actual letter appears to have been dated 17 Oct., 1778. (See Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. 2, p. 360), but the draft at York is dated 19 Oct., 1778.

² Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., p. 368.

³ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., pp. 369 to 376.

Lodge to the Queen's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Church Yard, and this was carried out the same night.

At the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 18 November it was decided¹

That this Lodge do resolve itself into a Committee to meet on Wednesday next at 7 O'Clock in the Evening at the Queen's Arms Tavern, St. Pauls Church Yard to prepare the Draft of a Deputation from the most ancient Grand Lodge at York, to this Lodge for a power to act, in alliance with the said Grand Lodge at York, as a Grand Lodge for that part of England, situated South of the Trent

At the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 25 November a Draft of the Deputation was produced, the minutes reading:—"Bro^r. Jn. Sealy then produced the Draft of a Deputation from the Grand Lodge at York, to empower the Lodge of Antiquity to act as a Grand Lodge in England South of the Trent, which being duly Considered Article by Article, and amended, was passed unanimously".

The York Grand Lodge held their next meeting on 30 November, 1778. when it was decided that in future the title of "Most Worshipfull" should be used for "the Grand Master of all England" and that the Masters of Subordinate Lodges should be styled "Right Worshipfull".

The Minute is as follows:—

At this Lodge it was considered the Title of Most Worshipfull shall be used in future to the Grand Master of all England, and the Lodges granted in future under this Constitution, the masters of such Lodges be Stiled Right Worshipfull Masters.

John Wilson, who was the Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, wrote to York on 2 January, 1779, enclosing "a form of a Deputation" which he asked should be submitted to the next Meeting of the York Grand Lodge and if approved should be engrossed and returned "with all convenient Speed".

A copy of the Manifesto of the Lodge of Antiquity was also enclosed with the letter. The text of Bro. Wilson's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 69²):—

Sir

You herewith receive a form of a Deputation which has been drawn up in Compliance with the Resolution of the Grand Lodge of York & approved by my Lodge—You are requested to lay the same before the next Meeting of the Grand Lodge in order that, if approved, it may be immediately ingrossed, executed & transmitted to me with all convenient Speed—I have also sent you in another Frank one of our Manifestos which by Order of the Lodge is to be sent to all the Lodges in the World that are known

I am

Sir

Your most obed^t. Serv^t.

& faithful Brother

J. Wilson

Furnivals Inn

2^d. Jan^r. 1779

M^r. Bufsey

This letter was addressed to "M^r. Bufsey" and has been endorsed on the back

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., p. 375.

² MS. No. 69 is the original letter; John Browne, the Grand Secretary at York, made a copy of this letter together with a copy of the Antiquity Manifesto; these follow the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 12 January, 1779.

by John Browne "2^d. Jan^y. 1779. Letter from Brother Wilson inclosing a Manifesto of the R^t. Worpfl Lodge of Antiquity and a form of a proposed Constitution. Received in Grand Lodge 12th Jan^y. 1779".

The "Form of a Deputation" or Draft Constitution¹ enclosed with John Wilson's letter of 2 January, 1779, is dated "1778" (the day and month being left blank) and is engrossed, the wording being very similar to the final Constitution issued later, the few alterations being of a minor character. This Draft has been endorsed by John Browne "form of a Constitution proposed by the R^t. Worpful Lodge of Antiquity to be accepted from the truly Ancient and Most Worpful Grand Lodge of all England."

The names of the first officers have been added in another hand and some alteration has taken place after this was done as Samuel Bass, the Senior Grand Warden, has been altered to Deputy Grand Master; Benjamin Bradley, the Junior Grand Warden, becomes the Senior Grand Warden; whilst the name of Daniel Nantes has been added as Junior Grand Warden. These alterations were not carried out in the final Constitution.

It should be noted that in Benjamin Bradley's letter of 22 September, 1778, William Preston was to be appointed Deputy Grand Master.

Bro. Wilson's letter of 2 January was received by Jacob Bussey on 12 January and a meeting of the York Grand Lodge took place the same evening when the letter was read and a Committee was appointed to consider certain clauses in the proposed Constitution and to answer Bro. Wilson's letter and deal with any further correspondence on the subject.

The Committee, which seems to have had full powers, was similar to the former Committee except that, as John Browne had now become the Grand Secretary, the name of the late Grand Secretary Jacob Bussey was added, together with Robert Paul and Edward Wolley in place of Francis Clubley.

This Committee was to report to the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge. The York Grand Lodge Minutes for 12 January, 1779, are as follows:—

At this Lodge a Letter from Brother J. Wilson the Right Worship^l. Master of the Lodge of Antiquity at London together with a Manifesto and a Dra^t of a proposed Constitution were read and the Grand Officers with Brothers Lakeland Bufsey . Beckwith Paul & Wolley were appointed a Committee To consider of certain Clauses in the proposed Constitution, to answer the Letter from Brother Wilson, to correspond further on that Subject and do such other Acts relative thereto as Occasion may require, or to the said Committee may seem expedient for the speedy furtherance of that Businefs, And to report to this Grand Lodge at the next Lodge Night what shall have been thereupon done.

The Committee met the next day, 13 January, when seven out of the twelve members were present, the chair being taken by the Rev. John Parker, Grand Chaplain.

It was decided "to draw up another form with some Alterations & Additions from the former; but attending as nearly as might be, to that form"; after this had been done a letter was drafted dated 16 January, 1779, and signed by six members of the Committee including the Grand Master.

In the first place the Committee apologize for any delay which has been caused through Jacob Bussey's absence; the letter then states that John Wilson's letter has been read at a meeting of the York Grand Lodge and that the Committee then appointed have made some few Alterations and Additions which it is hoped will meet with the Approbation of the Members of the Lodge of Antiquity.

¹ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 35.

If this is so then the document can be engrossed as it now stands and forwarded to the York Grand Lodge where it will be put under the Grand Lodge Seal and returned. If however the alterations are not Approved the York Grand Lodge wish to be favoured with any "Observations thereon".

This letter was despatched on Sunday, 17 January, together with the new draft of the proposed Constitution and a printed copy of the Rev. John Parker's Sermon preached at Rotherham on 22 December, 1778.

The Minutes of the York Grand Lodge Committee and draft letter are as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 43):—

The Committee met at the York Tavern
Wednesday Evening the 13. January 1779

Present

Brother Parker G C.
Coupland S.G W.
Browne G S.
Bufsey
Lakeland
Beckwith
Wolley.

By whom the form of the proposed Constitution as sent from the R.W. Lodge of Antiquity was taken into Consideration And it was thereupon deemed adviseable to draw up another form with some Alterations & Additions from the former, but attending as nearly as might be, to that form; Which was accordingly done, agreed to and ordered to be copied and transmitted for the Approbation of the Lodge of Antiquity Accompanied by a Letter of which the following is a Copy.
(Turn over)

Dear & Right Worshipful Master & Brethren

Your Letter with the Manifesto and Dra't of a Constitution came in the Absence of Bro^r. Bufsey to whom the same was directed, or would have been sooner answered. We thank you for the Manifesto and for Your Trouble in drawing a Constitution On Reading whereof in full Lodge and having it afterwards considered by a Committee appointed for the Purpose some few Alterations and Additions were thought fit to be made therein w^{ch} it is hoped will meet with the Approbation of Your Lodge And if You please to send the Ingrossm^t. of it as it now stands according to the inclosed form the same will be forthwith put under the Grand Lodge Seal perfected and remitted to You If on the contrary the Alterations should be disapproved We desire to be favored with Your Observations thereon It being the Unanimous & hearty Desire of this Lodge that nothing may obstruct that friendly Alliance & Communion proposed to be established between it & Yours And thus for the present resting the same for Your Reply We greet You and subscribe

Grand Lodge of all England	}	Right Worpf Sir & Brethren
16. Jan A D 1779. A.L.		Your

W^m. Siddall
Coupland

To the Right Worpf Master & Brethren	}	Jac. Bufsey
of the Right Worpf Lodge of Antiquity		Tho. Beckwith
of free & Accepted Maceons London		John Parker
		John Browne

The which Letter, with a Copy of the Committees
Dra't of a Constition and a printed Copy of Brother
Gr^d. Chaplain's Sermon were transmitted by the
Post on Sunday 17th. Jan^y 1779.

These minutes are in the handwriting of John Browne and have been endorsed by him "13. Jan^y 1779. The Business of the Committee".

A rough copy of the new draft of the proposed Constitution¹ is in the archives of the York Lodge; this is dated 1779 (the day and month being left blank), and consists of four pages of Foolscap, about three pages in an unknown hand and about one page with alterations and additions in the other three pages in the handwriting of John Browne.

This copy or draft has been endorsed by John Browne "Dra't of a Constitution proposed to be granted by the truly Ancient and Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of all England to the R^t. Worpf Lodge of Antiquity."

The Document follows very closely the Warrant of Constitution granted later, there being only slight differences of a minor character.

There is, however, a footnote which caused further correspondence as it limited the authority of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

This footnote is as follows:—

Provided always that nothing herein cont^d shall extend or be construed to extend to deprive the s^d. G^r L(odge) of a(11) E(ngland) of Its Inhearant Right of Grant^e Const^s to any Brethren who shall apply to them for the same

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 25 January, 1779, the Committee appointed at the previous meeting reported that "deeming some Alterations expedient" another draft of the Constitution had been drawn up and forwarded to the Lodge of Antiquity, together with a covering letter.

The York Grand Lodge Minutes for 25 January, 1779, are as follows:—

On Behalf of the Committee appointed for the Purposes specified in the Minutes of the last Lodge Night the Gr. Secretary reported to this Grand Lodge that the Committee Did meet and take into Consideration the Tenor of the several Clauses in the Dra't received from the Lodge of Antiquity And thereupon deeming some Alterations expedient Did agree to and draw up another Dra't of a Constitution together with a form of the Letter to accompany it which were ordered to be Copied & transmitted to the Lodge of Antiquity for their Approbation And that they were transmitted accordingly

The Lodge of Antiquity met on 27 January, 1779, when the letter from the York Grand Lodge, together with the amended Draft of the Deputation, was read. The Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity state² that "the alterations & additions" to the Draft were "maturely Deliberated & amply debated".

¹ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 24.

² Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., page 380.

It was then decided "That the Brethren do not accept a Deputation from the Grand Lodge of York, unless they shall have the sole power vested in them of constituting Lodges on the South of the River Trent, while they adhere to the Conditions specified in the said Deputation, (Vizt.) That every Warrant of Constitution to be granted by this Lodge do express that the same is so granted under the authority delegated to them by the said Grand Lodge, and that the Secretary do advise the said Grand Lodge thereof in Conformity".

On the 6 February, 1779, another letter was written by John Sealy, Secretary of the Lodge of Antiquity, in which he acknowledges the receipt of the Draft of the Deputation. The letter states that the Draft has been laid before the members of the Lodge of Antiquity at their last meeting. Bro. Sealy becomes somewhat involved in his letter and is so anxious to give his reasons that it is some time before one comes to his request, which is that the Proviso inserted by the York Grand Lodge at the foot of the Draft Constitution should be entirely omitted.

The reasons given for this are:—

- (1) that the expenses "incurred in supporting wth Propriety the Dignity of y^e Grand Lodge of York Mafons assembled in London" will chiefly fall on the Lodge of Antiquity.
- (2) that the only method of recovering these expenses will be by way of the emoluments received for "granting Warrants for Constituting Lodges".
- (3) that the Proviso contained in the present Draft will deprive the Lodge of Antiquity of this Revenue as the Grand Lodge at York "as the fountain-Head of Mafonry, will be more generally applied to for Warrants of Constitutions, than any Grand Lodge subordinate to them".
- (4) that this will cause the very end now meant to be accomplished to fail—that of extending the Influence of the York Grand Lodge through the channel of the Lodge of Antiquity.

The letter closes with the wish "that nothing may obstruct the friendly Alliance now proposed to be Established".

The text of this letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 27):—

Most worshipfull Grand Master & Brethren

I am to acknowledge the Rec^d. of your kind Favour of the 16th Ult^o. inclosing a Copy of the Draft of a Deputation sent you a short time since by the right worshipfull Lodge of Antiquity, for your Perusal and Approbation——

This Copy of y^e Deputation with the Additions made by you was duly laid before the Lodge at their last Meeting for the Consideration of y^e Brethren then assembled—When they came to the following Resolutions——

That as y^e Expences which will unavoidably be incurred in supporting wth. Propriety the Dignity of y^e Grand Lodge of York Mafons assembled in London under your Auspices, will chiefly fall on the Lodge of Antiquity—— And the only Resource they can fly to for Reimbursing themselves those Expences being out of y^e Emoluments to arise from granting Warrants for Constituting Lodges of y^e Brethren South of the River Trent——

And as the Provifo contained in the Deputation, in its present State, has an immediate Tendency to deprive the Lodge of Antiquity of this Resource—it being natural to suppose that y^e Grand Lodge at York, as the fountain-Head of Mafonry, will be more generally applied to for Warrants of Constitution, than any Grand Lodge subordinate to them——In which case, the very end now meant to be accomplished,—that of extending the Influence of your truly antient and venerable Society, through the Channel of the Lodge of Antiquity, may, unhappily

be frustrated, by reason that y^e Lodge of Antiquity, as a Grand Lodge in London failing of the proper Supplies for supporting their Dignity with Propriety may be brought into Disrepute——

Therefore, and for sundry other cogent Motives, the Lodge of Antiquity beg leave to submit to your candid Deliberation and Attention, whether they have not already given sufficient Reasons, for the Proviso inserted by you at y^e foot of y^e inclosed Copy, being entirely omitted—Especially as they freely Consent to the Addition previous made by you therein, (Viz^t). That every Warrant to be granted by them, shall Express that y^e same is so granted by Virtue of the Authority delegated to them by the most worshipfull Grand Lodge of all England held at y^e City of York——

The Lodge of Antiquity are anxious for the Result of your Deliberations on y^e above, as they feel themselves as solicitous as you can possibly be, that nothing may obstruct the friendly Alliance now proposed to be Established——

In Expectation of your Reply—I beg leave to greet you all heartily and
Subscribe myself——

Lodge of Antiquity

6th Feb^r 1779—A L 5782——

By Order of the Right Worshipfull Lodge
of Antiquity

To the most worshipfull Grand Ma^r.
of all England; and y^e Brethren Members of
the most antient & honourable Grand Lodge
of free & Accepted Masons at York——

Most Worshipfull Grand Ma^r & Brethⁿ.

Your sincerely affect. Bro^r.

& most Obed^t. Hble Servant

Jn^o. Sealy. Secret^y——

This letter was addressed to “Mr. Jn^o. Browne Procter York” and bears no endorsement. John Browne made a transcript (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 27A) which he endorsed “Lodge of Antiquitys Reply. Reced 19 feb. 1779”.

On the same day, 6 February, John Sealy wrote a personal letter to John Browne, the Grand Secretary at York, returning the York draft of the Deputation with the observations of the Members of the Lodge of Antiquity.

John Sealy apologizes for Brother Bradley not having answered the letter personally; this has been caused through the “very recent Death of his Brother and the Hurry & Anxiety of Mind naturally resulting from so melancholly a Circumstance”.

John Sealy then states that Brother Bradley will write in a post or two and will give particulars of the proceedings of the “Nominal Grand Lodge” in consequence of the Manifesto issued by the Lodge of Antiquity, (a printed copy of the Manifesto is enclosed) who “have closed the whole of their violent and arbitrary Proceeding, by Expelling about 18 or 20 Members of the Lodge of Antiquity by Name from the Society at large”; John Sealy then adds “Or at least attempting to do so”. There is a postscript asking where Bro. Parker’s Sermon can be purchased in London.

John Sealy’s letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 28¹):—

D^r. Sir——

Herewith you will receive back your Copy of y^e Deputatⁿ.
with the Observations of the Members of y^e Lodge of Antiquity thereon, very fully set forth ——

Brother Bradley has desired me to apologise for his not answering your obliging Letter to him—but y^e very recent Death of his Brother and the Hurry & Anxiety of Mind naturally resulting from so melancholly a Circumstance, will, I doubt not, plead more in his favour, than anything I can say in his Excuse —— He however proposes to do himself y^e pleasure of writing you in a post or 2—and will then Inform you of the Proceedings of y^e Nominal Grand Lodge here, in consequence of our Manifesto.

¹ MS. No. 28 is the original letter; John Browne, the Grand Secretary at York, made a copy which follows the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 22 February, 1779.

(A printed Copy of which I take y^e Liberty to inclose for your Perusal &c)
I will only just acquaint you, here, that they have closed the whole of
their violent and arbitrary Proceedings, by Expelling about 18 or 20
Members of the Lodge of Antiquity *by Name* from the Society at large
Or atleast attempting to do so—Amongst the Number of whom
is——

Sir

London

Y^r. most Obed Hble Serv^t

6 febr^y 1779 —

Jn^o Sealy

P.S Be pleased to direct for me at N^o 13 Leather sellers

Buildings — London Wall——

I shall esteem it a flavour if you will inform me where I may meet with Bro^r.
Parker's last Sermon — in London

This letter was addressed to "M^r. Jn^o. Browne. Procter York" and has been
endorsed by John Browne "6 feby 1779".

The Lodge of Antiquity held another meeting on 10 February, 1779,
when Bro. John Sealy, the Secretary, read his letter already dispatched to the
York Grand Lodge; this letter stated the objections to the alterations made by
the York Grand Lodge and has already been quoted in full.

At this same meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity¹ held on 10 February,
1779, it was reported that a letter had "been received from the Lodge de
l'Observance of Heredon in Scotland in Union and alliance with the Lodge of
St. George in Great Tichfield Street No. 68, applying for a Constitution through
us under the Grand Lodge at York". The Lodge of Antiquity minutes further
add "N.B. for the Constitution see the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge South
of the River Trent". This minute book has been lost many years ago and
was most likely destroyed on the collapse of the Grand Lodge South of the River
Trent.

Bro. Rylands states² that "it would appear from the above, that another
Lodge must be added to the list of those constituted by the Grand Lodge South
of the Trent", but he seems to have ignored or failed to notice the close
connection between St. George de l'Observance Lodge and Perfect Observance
No. 1 and both with De Lintot's Metropolitan College of H.R.D.M.

The York Grand Lodge Committee met on 15 February, 1779, eight out
of the ten members being present. Bro. Sealy's letter of 6 February was
discussed and "upon mature Deliberation" it was unanimously agreed to omit
"The Proviso as inserted at the foot of the proposed Constition" as it was
considered "to be an immaterial and unnecessary Clause".

The Grand Secretary was ordered to inform the Lodge of Antiquity of
this decision, and a letter was then drafted dated 17 February which states
that the York Grand Lodge Committee "are heartily concurrent in Wishing
every Obstruction to be removed that may any Ways tend to frustrate the
Exec(uti)on of the Powers meant to be granted".

After stating that the members of the Committee are perfectly willing
to omit the Clause, the suggestion is made that the Constitution should be
engrossed here at York "and put under Seal".

The following is a copy of the draft of the Committee Minutes (York
Grand Lodge MS. No. 31³):—

The Committee for Negotiating the Businefs in
Agitation between the Grand Lodge of all Eng^d. and
the Lodge of Antiquity, met at the York Tavern

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., p. 385.

² *Ibid*.

³ Another copy of John Browne's letter of 17 February follows the York Grand
Lodge Minutes of 22 February, 1779.

on Monday the 15th feby 1779. All the Brethren appointed to the Committee being summoned,

Present

Bror^s Siddall
Smith
Coupland
Parker
Browne
Bufsey
Lakeland
Beckwith

A Letter from Brother Sealy having been received, stating the Lodge of Antiquity's Reasons for Wishing the Proviso as inserted at foot of the proposed Constition to be entirely Omitted, the same was now taken into Consideration, And upon mature Deliberation. It appearing to be an immaterial and unnecesary Clause, was agreed by Unanimous Consent to to be entirely Omitted, And the Gr. Secretary. Ordered to inform the Lodge of Antiquity by Letter, of such Concurrence on the Part of the Grand Lodge And that therefore the Constition may have a Completion as soon as the Lodge of Antiquity shall signify their perfect & conclusive Satisfaction to its Tenor.

Right Worshipful Sir & Brethren

York 17th. feby 1779.

In Answer to Brother Sealy's Letter; stating the Lodge of Antiquity's Reasons for Wishing the Proviso at the foot of the Proposed Constitution to be entirely omitted, Our Committee for Negotiating this Business are heartily concurrent in Wishing every Obstruction to be removed that may any Ways tend to frustrate the Execon of the Powers meant to be granted to You And having considered Your Representations as to the Proviso have agreed that it is an immaterial and unnecessary Clause and are perfectly willing to comply with its total Omision; Truly happy that in other Respects the form of the Constitution seems to meet with Your Approbation If therefore the Lodge of Antiquity wish to have the Constituon speedily perfected by it's being engrossed here, and put under Seal, this may now be accomplished, And Your next Reply determine the Completion.

By Order of the Brethren in Committee Assemb^d
& with the Utmost Respect I have
the Honor to subscribe Myself

R^t. Worship^l. Sir & Brethren

Your faithful Bror & hble Serv^t

J.B^o. G.S.

Bro. Browne sent a personal note with the Official letter, but no copy was kept at York; however, the Lodge of Antiquity Minutes of 24 February supply the defect, the undated note¹ being as follows:—

Dear Sir,

Be pleased to lay the inclosed before your Lodge. Business at present allows me not to add more, but I will do myself the pleasure of writing to you by a future Post. And am,

D^r. Sir, Yours &c.

M^r. Sealy.

Sign'd, John Browne.

The next meeting of the York Grand Lodge took place a week later on 22 February, 1779, when it was decided to amend the Minutes of the previous Lodge held on 12 January "so as to specify more clearly that the Committee . . . appointed were authorized to act . . . till the full Completion of the Businefs".

The Committee then reported to the York Grand Lodge that a letter had been received from the Brethren of the Lodge of Antiquity stating their reasons for wishing the clause at the foot of the draft Constitution to be entirely omitted. The Committee had agreed to do this and the letter and answer were read and ordered to be entered on the Minutes².

It was also agreed to send six further copies of Bro. Parker's Printed Sermon to the Lodge of Antiquity.

The York Grand Lodge Minutes for 22 February, 1779, are as follows:—

At this Lodge an Amendment was ordered to be made in the Minutes of the 12th. of January last so as to specify more clearly that the Committee then and thereby appointed were authorized to act from time to time as Occasion might require till the full Completion of the Businefs. Then on behalf of the said Committee it was reported to this Grand Lodge that since the last General Lodge Night a Letter hath been received from the Brethren of the Lodge of Antiquity stating their Reasons for Wishing the Proviso at the foot of the form proposed by the Committee to be entirely omitted—To which Omifision the Committee gave their perfect Compliance And the Letter and Answer being now both read were ordered to be entred in this Book.

Ordered that Six of Brother Parkers Printed Sermons now in the Repository be transmitted as a Compliment (besides one already sent) to the Lodge of Antiquity.

No time was lost by the Lodge of Antiquity, and on 23 February, 1779, John Sealy replied to John Browne's letter of the 17th. In this letter John Sealy states that the Lodge of Antiquity "behold with y^e utmost Pleasure and Satisfaction" that the clause at the foot of the draft Deputation is considered "immaterial and unnecsary" and that it will be omitted; and that the Deputation should be engrossed by the York Grand Lodge and "put under Seal without Lofs of Time".

John Sealy's letter of 23 February, 1779, is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 32³):—

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., p. 386.

² The letter and answer follow the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 22 February, 1779.

³ MS. No. 32 is the original letter: John Browne, the Grand Secretary at York, made a copy which follows the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 3 April, 1779.

Most Worshipfull Grand Mast^r ———

In Reply to Bro^r. Browne's Favour of y^e 17th Inst.

Informing me that the Clause at y^e foot of your Dra^t of Deputation being deemed by you immaterial and unnecessary — and of your being perfectly willing to comply with its total Omis^sion — I am to acquaint you that y^e Lodge of Antiquity behold with y^e utmost Pleasure and Satisfaction your Zeal for Promoting & Propogating the true and genuine Principles of Masonry — and y^e Measures you seem inclined to pursue for Effecting that End by removing every Obstacle which might tend to prevent it — Actuated by Principles congenial to your Own — they wish *that no Time may be lost* in perfecting, in y^e neatest manner, y^e Deputation from the Grand Lodge at York to the Lodge of Antiquity — and therefore would be exceedingly happy to have it Ingrossed by yourselves that it may be put under Seal *without Loss of Time* — We hope to congratulate you *soon* on y^e Happy Effect of y^e present Measures — and flatter ourselves that no Delays will arise on your parts to postpone it —

By Order of the Right Worship^{ful} Lodge of Ant^y

I beg leave to subscribe myself
London 23^d febr^y /79.

Most worshipfull Grand Mast^r.

Y^r. truly faithfull Bro^r. & very hble Serv^t.

To y^e Most Worshipfull G^d. Mast^r. &
Brethren of y^e most antient Grand Lodge
at York——

Jn^o. Sealy — Sec^y——

This letter was addressed "To M^r. Jn^o. Browne Proctor York" and has been endorsed by John Browne "23^d february 1779. Letter from the Secretary of the Lodge of Antiquity approving of the form of the intended Constitution and requesting that it may be speedily perfected".

At the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 24 February, 1779, Bro. Sealy the Secretary informed the Lodge that he had already written to the York Grand Lodge "desiring the Deputation might be expedited as soon as possible . . . all Objections being removed".

A personal note was also sent by John Sealy, but there is no copy at York and again I am indebted to the Lodge of Antiquity's minutes.

The letter is as follows¹:—

Dear Bro.

You will be pleased to lay the inclos'd before your Respectable Committee, and a speedy Compliance with the request therein contain'd, will greatly oblige the Lodge of Antiquity, & particularly,

Yours &.

Signed, John Sealy,

London, 23 febr^y. 1779,

The Constitution or Deputation was duly engrossed and at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 29 March, 1779, the Seal was ordered to be affixed, the York Grand Lodge minute being as follows:—

The Constitution intended to be granted to the Lodge of Antiquity being neatly engrossed the Same was Orderd to pass the Seal of this Grand Lodge.

At the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge held less than a week later on 3 April, 1779, Bro. Bussey informed the brethren that he expected to

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., p. 388.

be in London on 6 April, and as the Constitution had been "perfected" at this Grand Lodge it was intrusted to Bro. Bussey, who undertook "the safe Delivery thereof".

It was also decided to enter a copy of the Constitution in the Minute Book¹. The York Grand Lodge Minute of 3 April is as follows:—

At this Lodge Brother Bufsey representing that he proposes being in London on Tuesday next the 6th. Inst. And the Constitution intended for the Lodge of Antiquity being perfected and at this Grand Lodge conclusively approved of, a Copy of the same was order'd to be entred in this Book and the Original to be transmitted to the Lodge of Antiquity under the Care of Brother Bufsey, who was pleased to engage for the safe Delivery thereof.

A copy of the Constitution in the handwriting of John Browne was duly entered in the York Grand Lodge minute book and is as follows:—

Copy of the Constitution granted to the Lodge of Antiquity, creating them a Grand Lodge.

Will^m. Siddall. } To all Masonic Brethren to whom these
G.M. } Presents shall come,

We the Grand Master and Members of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of all England of free and Accepted Masons legally afsembled at the City of York,

Send Greetings, **Whereas** it has been represented to Us that there now exists in London a regular Lodge of free and Accepted Masons under the Denomination of the Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity which acts by an Immemorial Constitution Independent of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London held at the Hall lately erected in Great Queen Street Lincolns Inn ffields called free Masons Hall. **And Whereas** on due Enquiry and Examination We have happily discovered that the said Lodge of Antiquity continues to discharge the Duties of Masonry in a regular and Constitutional Manner by Virtue of their said Immemorial Constitution, **And Whereas** the Members of the said Lodge of Antiquity have exprest a Desire of Establishing a friendly Alliance and Communion with Us wherein We on Our Part are willing to concur.

Now be it known to all regular Masons throughout the World That for sundry good and sufficient Reasons Us thereunto moving **We do** for Ourselves and Our Successors acknowledge and declare that We do allow of and admit the Power and Authority of the said Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity to act as a Private Lodge of free and Accepted Masons so long as the Government thereof corresponds with and is consonant to the Ancient Charges and Noble Principles of Our Venerable Institution And as a Token of Our friendship and Regard

¹ The copy of the Constitution follows the York G. Lodge Minutes of 3 April, 1779.

for and of the Confidence We repose in the Members of the said Lodge of Antiquity We do hereby admit of ratify and confirm Our Alliance with them And do hereby declare and publish the same **And further** at the Request of the Master Wardens and Brethren of the said Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity **We do** hereby for Ourselves and Our Successors by Virtue of the Authority Inherent in Us as the Most Worshipful and only legal **Grand Lodge of all England** of free and Accepted Masons admit them to a Participation of Our Government as hereinafter mentioned, and to act as a **Grand Lodge** throughout that Part of England which is situated **South of the River Trent**, so long as they do faithfully observe and keep inviolable the Ancient Charges and Regulations of Our Order And do acknowledge in Manner hereinafter mentioned the Allegiance and Homage due to Us as the Most Ancient Patrons of the Masonic Art, **And** for this Purpose **Be it further known** to all whom it may any ways concern That out of Our good Will and favor and for the Honour and Increase of Our truly ancient Institution upon the Original Plan of its' Establishment And from the great Trust and Confidence We repose in Our well beloved Brothers John Wilson Benjamin Bradley Daniel Nantes Samuel Bais William Preston James Donaldson Gilbert Buchanan John Sealy Thomas Shipton Hugh Lloyd John Savage William Sheppard James Cookson Samuel Goddard Samuel White John Wells the present Members of the Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity anciently and now held at the Queen's Arms Tavern in Saint Paul's Church Yard London **We do give and grant** unto them (Independent of the Power and Authority which they already possess as a Private Lodge of Masons acting by an Immemorial Constitution) full Power and Authority at all times hereafter to assemble as a **Grand Lodge** of free and Accepted Masons And when regularly convened as a Grand Lodge Do vest in and give and grant unto them full and sufficient Power and Authority to issue Warrants of Constitution for all that Part of England which is situated South of the River Trent aforesaid And also to any Place or Places in foreign Countries upon Application being regularly made to them for that Purpose Also to make and enforce Laws and to do and perform every other Act and Deed requisite and necessary for the due Support of their Authority as a Grand Lodge in friendly Communion and Alliance with Us And We do promise all Countenance and Protection as far as shall be required of Us to all Lodges which shall be constituted by them And We do hereby authorize and command that the first Meeting of the said Grand Lodge hereby created under the Title of **THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND SOUTH OF THE RIVER TRENT** consisting of the aforesaid Members of the Right Worshipful Lodge

of Antiquity or such of them as shall be then living together with the Master and Wardens of all such other Lodges as shall be constituted by them to be held at the Queens Arms Tavern aforesaid on the feast Day of Saint John the Baptist now next ensuing And do nominate and appoint Our dear and well beloved Brother John Wilson Esquire to preside at such Meeting as Grand Master, Brother Samuel Bafs as Deputy Grand Master Brother Benjamin Bradley as Senior Grand Warden Brother Daniel Nantes as Junior Grand Warden, Brother James Donaldson as Grand Treasurer, Brother John Sealy as Grand Secretary and
as Grand Chaplain

And at the said Meeting do empower the said Brethren in Grand Lodge assembled to proceed to the Election of Grand Officers for the ensuing twelve Months And do order the Election of Grand Officers to take Place Annually on the feast Day of Saint John the Baptist And that as soon thereafter as may be the Names of such Grand Officers be transmitted to Us to the Intent that the same may be duly commemorated by Us and entered in Our Records **And** the more effectually to carry Our Design into Execution **We do** further enjoin that the said Grand Lodge so constituted by Us as herein before mentioned Do meet in Quarterly Assembly four times at least in every Year at such times and Places as shall be most convenient for them **And We** do require that all Lodges to be constituted by the said Grand Lodge do pay due Allegiance to them And that the Names of all such Subordinate Lodges as shall from time to time be constituted by the said Grand Lodge shall be annually transmitted to Us in Order that the same may be duly entered on Our Records **And Our** Request and Expectation is that as a Token of the Allegiance and Homage due from the said Grand Lodge to Us as the most Ancient Patrons of the Masonic Art they do pay into Our Treasury at the City of York an Annual Consideration in Money And the Sum of Two Guineas for every Constitution which shall be so granted by them in their said Grand Lodge as aforesaid

And also that in every Warrant and Constitution to be granted by them they Do specify and express that the same is so granted under the Authority delegated to them by the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of all England held at York **And** further that they do remit to Us such Payments as aforesaid Annually on the feast Day of Saint John the Baptist or as soon after as may be **And lastly** in Consideration of the Premises and for other sufficient Inducements Us hereunto moving **We do** solemnly engage and promise that We will from henceforth for evermore Patronize and Cherish as far as in Us lies or We lawfully may or can the said Grand Lodge in all their regular Proceedings as long as the same shall correspond with and be conformable to the Ancient Usages of the Order and do promise faithfully to maintain a strict

and regular Alliance and Correspondence with them.

Given under the Seal of Our truly Ancient and Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of all England legally assembled at the City of York this Twentieth Day of March A.D. 1779. A.L. 5783.

John Browne Gr. Secretary.

About this time Robert Paul, one of the members of the York Grand Lodge Committee, sent in his resignation as he had received instructions to proceed to London and there not being time to take his "leave of the Grand Lodge in person".

Robert Paul's letter of 24 April, 1779, is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 61):—

Dear Brother

I have received a letter requesting my immediate attendance in London, which puts it out of my power to take my leave of the Grand Lodge in person, must therefore pray the favour of you to present My Most respectfull Compliments to Our Most Worshipfull Grand Master, and the Brethren of the Lodge, and Say that I wish them all health & happinefs, and as My return into this Country is very uncertain I must desire to be discontinued as amember, and that you will pay all that is due on My Account Agreeable to the Rules and Regulations, and if it should be my fortune to return shall be very happy to be received as a member again.

I am your affectionate Br^r.

Micklegate

24th. April 1779

Robert Paul

Brother Robert Lakeland

This letter bears no address and has been endorsed by John Browne "24 Ap. 1779. Major Pauls Notice on ceasing to be a Member of the Grand Lodge".

At the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 31 May, 1779, Bro. Paul's letter of resignation was read, the minute being as follows:—

A Letter from Brother Paul Stating his Cause of Absence and giving Notice to cease being a Member here was reced and read.

Bro. Jacob Bussey of the York Grand Lodge visited the Lodge of Antiquity at the meeting held on 30 April, 1779¹, when he "proceeded to favour (the Lodge) with the Lecture on the Initiation of an entered Apprentice into Masonry"; this Lecture may have been similar to that generally delivered in the Lodge of Antiquity, but this is by no means certain. No mention, however, is made in the Minutes of the delivery of the Constitution.

The meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 9 June, 1779², must have been one of importance; as William Siddall Esq. the "G(rand) M(aster) of all England" was present in person: he was accompanied by Major Paul, who had been a member of the York Grand Lodge and a member of the Committee to consider the proposed Constitution to the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent, but he had resigned on leaving York in April, 1779, on going to reside in London.

There is no mention, however, of any report or address by the Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge nor is there any mention in the York Grand Lodge Minutes of the Grand Master's visit to the Lodge of Antiquity.

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. i., p. 401.

² *Ibid*, p. 402.

The election of a new Master took place at this meeting and William Preston was installed as the W. Master of the Lodge of Antiquity.

There were also a number of other visitors at this meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity; amongst the number being 13 members of the Lodge of Heredom of Scotland, and five of these we know became members of Lodge Perfect Observance No. 1 constituted later by the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent; it seems quite feasible that the other eight visitors also became members. The names and ranks of these thirteen visitors were as follows:—

*P. Lambert de Lintot, Adm^r. Gen^l. & Represt^r. of the G.M. of y^e Lodge of Heredom, Scotland.

*D. G. Hintze, Conservateur & Rep^{er}. of said G.M.

fran^s. Le Grand, S.G.W. & Mas^r. of the Lodge de L'Observance, No. 68.

*Ad^m. Gerard, Jun^r. Warden of said Lodge.

*Peter Mercier, Grand Sec^{ry}.

Theod^s. de Bruyn, Treas^r.

R. Bertrand, Sub. Secretary

Reda, Grand Orator

Jermoli, G.M. of the Ceremonies

James Johnstone, Grand Architecte

Castoro Cassoni

ff^r. Malet

*Jn^o. Christ^r Falk (Falck?)

Those marked with an asterisk became members of Lodge Perfect Observance No. 1, and according to the late Bro. W. R. Makins they were all members of de Lintot's party and college of High Grades.

There was one more visitor present the same evening: this was "Franc^s. Kalm, Sec^{ry}. of the old Caledonian Lodge", who became a member of Lodge Perseverance & Triumph, the first Lodge to be constituted by the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

The Constitution or Deputation for the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent having been duly delivered, sundry committees of the proposed Grand Officers were held, when the various arrangements for the Installation were made. It was decided that five further members of the Lodge of Antiquity should be admitted to membership of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent; these were Samuel Clanfield, James Sims, William Norris, James Macombe and Theophilus Beauchant.

It was also decided that as Gilbert Buchanan and James Wells, both petitioners named in the Deputation, had resigned from the Lodge of Antiquity, they should no longer be considered members of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

The Constitution specified that the Installation of the Grand Master should take place on St. John's day, 24 June, 1779, at the Queen's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Church-yard; this was the Tavern where the Lodge of Antiquity was holding its meetings. A Grand Feast was to follow the proceedings, the cost of the tickets to be 10/6; this meeting was advertised in *The Morning Post* of 21 June, 1779, as follows:—

FREE MASONRY

FOR the information of the Brethren of our

antient and honourable Institution, this public notice is given, That the INSTALLATION of the GRAND OFFICERS of the GRAND LODGE of ENGLAND SOUTH of the RIVER TRENT, will be solemnized according to antient ufage on Thursday next, the 24th inst. being the Festival of John the Baptift at the Queen's Arms

Tavern in St. Paul's Church-yard; after which there will be a Grand Feast, where the company of every regular mason will be esteemed a favour.

By the Grand Master's Command,

JOHN SEALY, G.S.

Dinner on Table at four o'clock. No brother to appear unclothed.

Tickets 10s. 6d. each, to be had of the Stewards; and the Grand Secretary. No. 18 Great St. Helen's, and at the bar of the Tavern.

No member of the York Grand Lodge was present when the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent was constituted; as previously stated, William Siddall Esq., the Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge, had visited the Lodge of Antiquity about a fortnight before, and it must be remembered that the journey from York to London was a considerable undertaking in those days.

A full account of the first meeting of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent held on 24 June, 1779, was sent on 3 August by John Sealy, the Grand Secretary to the York Grand Lodge.

There were 34 Brethren present, of whom 19 were Visiting and Assisting Brethren, leaving 15 members of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent. The principal officers were—

M.W.	John Wilson Esq.	G.M.
R.W.	Sam ^l Bafs Esq.	D.G.M.
W.	Ben Bradley Esq.	S.G.W.
W.	Dan ^l Nantes Esq.	J.G.W.
	Ja ^s . Donaldson Esq.	G.T.
	Jn ^o . Sealy	G.S.
	Jn ^o . Savage	G.S.B.

together with six Grand Stewards, amongst whom was William Preston. It seems somewhat strange that he did not take one of the leading offices.

"The Lodge being opened in the 3 Degrees in Ample form the M.W. John Wilson Esq. was regularly Installed according to ancient Usage and Custom". He then appointed his officers, which were the same as those previously stated except that in addition Dr. James Sims was appointed G. Master of Ceremonies and Barney Rutledge was appointed G. Tyler.

The members then elected James Donaldson Esq. the G. Treasurer and John Sealy the G. Secretary.

The proceedings of the Sundry Committees of Grand Officers were then confirmed, and it was reported that two Lodges had applied for Warrants of Constitution to act under the banner of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

The M.W. Master ordered that these two Lodges should "be duly constituted in Ample form at such time as sho'd be most convenient for himself and his Officers".

Six new Grand Stewards were then nominated for the ensuing year, none of whom had been Steward when the Grand Lodge was opened.

The account closes with an assurance that every means will "be put in Practice to render the Venerable fraternity of York Masons as respectable and their Influence as Universal as possible in the Southern Parts of this Kingdom So We flatter Ourselves that no Endeavours are awanting on Your Parts as the fountain Head of Masonry . . . in the North, and by that Means put a final Period to that Power and those Innovations which has too long been usurped and patronized by the Nominal Grand Lodge in Great Queen Street London".

The wording "final Period" is a printer's term meaning a full stop, and so one hazards a guess that William Preston had a hand in the drafting of this letter, the text of which is as follows (a Copy of the letter in John Browne's writing follows the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 11 October, 1779):—

Copy of a Letter with an Account of the
Proceedings at the Opening of the Grand Lodge
in the South.

Most Worshipful Grand Master & Brethren

In Consequence of the Deputation received from You empowering certain Members of the Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity to act as a Grand Lodge South of the River Trent, Sundry Committees of Grand Officers were held previous to the Day appointed for the Installation And amongst other Resolutions agreed to at such Committees it was proposed,

That at y^c Earnest Request of Bro^{rs}. Sam. Clanfield James Sims, W^m. Norris James Macombe and Theophilus Beauchant (all Members of the Lodge of Antiquity) they sho'd be admitted Members of the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent, who were all admitted accordingly. And as Bro^{rs}. Gilbert Buchanan and John Wells (both named in the Deputation) had withdrawn themselves from the Lodge of Antiquity it was resolved that they shod no longer be considered as Members of the Grand Lodge.

Such were the Steps most material for the Information of the Grand Lodge at York which were taken by the Committee previous to the Grand feast and Installment of Grand Officers

Proceedings of y^c. 24th. June 1779.
Present.

M.W. John Wilson Esq.	G.M.	Hugh Lloyd	} G. Stewards
R.W. Sam ^l . Bafs Esq.	D.G.M.	Sam. Goddard	
W. Ben. Bradley Esq.	S.G.W.	W ^m . Preston	
W. Dan ^l . Nantes Esq.	J.G.W.	James Sims	
Ja ^s . Donaldson Esq.	G.T.	W ^m . Norris	
Jn ^o . Sealy	G.S.	Sam Clanfield	
Jn ^o . Savage	G.S.B.		

Thomas Shipton }
W^m. Shepherd } Members of y^c. Grand Lodge

and 19 other Visiting & Afsisting Brethren.

The Lodge being opened in the 3 Degrees in Ample form the M.W. John Wilson Esq. was regularly Installed according to antient Usage and Custom Who was thereupon pleased to nominate the following Brethren to act as his Officers (viz^t.)

R.W. Samuel Bafs Esq^r. D.G.M.
W. Benja. Bradley Esq^r. S.G.W.
W. Daniel Nantes Esq^r. J.G.W.
John Savage Esq^r. G.S. Bearer.
D^r. James Sims. G.Ma^r. of Cerem^s.
Barney Rutledge. G. Tyler.

Immediately whereupon the Grand Lodge proceeded to Elect the following Officers viz^t.

James Donaldson Esq. G. Treasurer.

John Sealy. ——— G. Secr^y.

The Proceedings of the Sundry Committees of G. Officers being then read by the Grand Sec^y. they were all Unanimously confirmed And the M.W. Master finding that 2 Lodges had applied for Warrants of Constitution to act under his Banner was pleased to Order that they sho'd be duly constituted in Ample fform at such time as sho'd be most convenient for himself and his Officers.

After this Business was finished, the Nomination of Grand Stewards for the ensuing Year took Place whose Names are as follow, viz^t.

Bro^r. George Hume, Bro^r. John ffra^s. Kalm.

Fred^k. Cha^s. Kuhff Thomas Shipton

W^m. Darnborough. Jn^o. Jacob Kertel.

Nothing besides what I have stated above occurred during the Course of the Installment neccessary for the Information of Your Most Ancient & Honourable Society But I wo'd beg Leave previous to the Closing my Letter to afsure You that as every Means in Our Power has been and still shall be put in Practice to render the Venerable ffraternity of York Masons as respectable and their Influence as Universal as pofsible in the Southern Parts of this Kingdom So We flatter Ourselves that no Endeavours are awanting on Your Parts as the ffontain Head of Masonry to extend Your Influence in the North, and by that Means put a final Period to that Power and those Innovations which has too long been usurped and patronized by the Nominal Grand Lodge in Great Queen Street London.

I have the Honour to remain

By Command of the G. Master S^o. of the River Trent
Most Worshipful Sir & Brethren

Your sincerely affect. & very hble Servant

London 3rd. August 1779.. Jn^o. Sealy G.S.

The Most Worshipful Grand Master }
& Brethren York. }

Some delay may have occurred in the delivery of this letter, for although the York Grand Lodge held meetings on 30 August and 13 and 27 September the letter was not reported to the York Grand Lodge until the meeting held on 11 October, the York Grand Lodge minute being as follows:—

At this Lodge a Letter from Brother Sealy with an Account of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge South of Trent was received And Ordered to be referrd to the Comittee.

At the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 14 July, 1779¹, there were two visitors—D.G. Hintze and John Christopher Falck, both of the Lodge de L'Observance; both later became members of the Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1.

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. ii., p. 403.

At the same meeting "Among other new members proposed was George Hume of the Lodge of Perseverance and Triumph". This Lodge was not constituted until nearly a month later, on 9 August. George Hume was most likely a member of some Lodge under the constitution of the Grand Lodge of England, but as the Lodge of Antiquity (Preston's Lodge) was not working under this constitution at the time no doubt the description "of Perseverance and Triumph" was used.

On 9 August, 1779, the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent assembled at the Queen's Head Tavern to constitute a new Lodge.

This was called the Lodge of Perseverance and Triumph and ranked as No. 2 as a Petition for another Lodge had been received previously.

The Officers appointed were William Preston R.W.M., Hugh Lloyd W.S.W., William Darnborough W.J.W., Richard Bishop Treasurer, Thomas Birkenhead Secretary, and William Marsh and John Kahn Stewards.

Nothing is known of this Lodge and there are no records in existence. There is, however, a reference ten years later,¹ in 1789, to its "decayed state".

At the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 27 October, 1779, it was resolved

"that this Lodge be properly represented at the Quarterly Communication of the Grand Lodge of England, South of Trent, on Wednesday the 3rd of Novr. which was carrd. Nem: Con."

On 3 November, 1779, another Quarterly Communication of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent was held, but the place of meeting is not specified. The members were informed that William Darnborough had declined being a member of the Grand Lodge "or any Lodge under our Constitution", and so it was decided to appoint John Long as Grand Steward in the place of William Darnborough.

The Grand Master then appointed William Preston to be his Grand Orator, a very fitting choice as the only office held previously by William Preston in the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent was that of Grand Steward.

On the 15 November, 1779, the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent met at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, and constituted another Lodge by the name of Perfect Observance No. 1, the following being the officers appointed:—Peter Lambert de Lintot R.W.M., Daniel Godfrey Hintze S.W., Adam Girard J.W., John Christ Falck Treasurer and Peter Mercier Secretary.

A note follows which states that "Some Alterations have lately taken place as well in this Lodge as in the Lodge of Perseverance & Triumph which I shall do myself the Pleasure of Particularising in my next Despatches". Unfortunately the "next Despatches" are missing.

The Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1 was closely connected with Lodge of St. George de l'Observance No. 68 under the constitution of the Moderns and both these Lodges with the Metropolitan College d'Ecosse d'Heredom.³

Peter Lambert de Lintot seems to have been the moving spirit; he is best known by his Masonic engravings.

It had been decided to prepare a new Silver Seal for the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent, but there is no correspondence mentioning this, and the first note on the matter is in the York Grand Lodge Minutes of 13 December, 1779, when the new Seal was inspected and approved and it was then ordered to be transmitted to Bro. Sealy the Grand Secretary in London. Fortunately a copy of the design has been attached to the York Grand Lodge Minutes and

¹ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 103, quoted in full later.

² Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2, vol. ii. p. 44.

³ The Rite of Seven Degrees in London, by W. Wonnacott, A.Q.C., vol. xxxix.,

as the Seal has been lost many years ago this is the only impression in existence.¹ The York Grand Lodge Minutes of 13 December are as follows:—

A new Silver Seal for the Grand Lodge South of Trent (a Copy of the Design whereof is hereunto annexed) being executed and at this Grand Lodge Inspected the same was approved of and ordered to be transmitted to Bro^r. Sealy, Grand Secretary in London.

Further correspondence must have taken place about this time between John Sealy and the York Grand Lodge, as “Mr. Charles Corbyn of Broomsgrave in the County of Worcester but now of York” was proposed as a Candidate “on the Recommendation of Brother Sealy” at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 10 January 1780.

There are, however, no letters dealing with the matter.

At a meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 12 January, 1780, Bro. John Poppleton Griffin of the Lodge of Perseverance and Triumph was raised, and he was admitted a member on 26 January²; later he was appointed a Grand Steward of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

A Quarterly Communication of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent was held on 19 January, 1780, when “the Office of G^d Sword Bearer was abolished, because deemed an Innovation in Masonry”.

THE MANIFESTO.

About this time the members of the York Grand Lodge decided to issue a Manifesto; this was no doubt inspired by the famous Manifesto published by the Lodge of Antiquity.

There is no mention of the matter in the minutes of the York Grand Lodge, but the Committee met on 27 January, 1780, when there were seven members present, including nearly all the principal Grand Lodge officers.

A Draft of the proposed Manifesto was produced and it was decided that four of the members of the Committee should each study the Draft for a week in turn and make such alterations or additions as they may think proper; these four members were:—Francis Smyth the Grand Master, Robert Lakeland the Deputy Grand Master, John Parker the Grand Chaplain and Edward Wolley who later became the Grand Master.

The rough minutes of the York Grand Lodge Committee dealing with the matter are as follows (Part of York Grand Lodge MS. No. 37):—

Businefs of the Committe.

27. Jan^r 1780.

Present

fran. Smyth	G M
Rob ^t . Lakeland	D G M
Tho ^s . Beckwith	S G W
Geo. Kitson	G T
John Browne	G S
John Hampston	
W ^m . Blanchard	

9. Ordered that a Declaration in the Nature of a Manifesto from the Gr^d. Lodge of all Engl^d. be drawn up in Order to be printed And a Drat of a Manifesto being now produced to this Committee the same was read, Where upon Bro^{rs}. Smyth Lakeland Parker and Wolley were

¹ The Seal is reproduced in Records of the Lodge of Antiquity. vol. i., p. 407, and in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiii., plate xi.

² Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. ii., p. 44.

ordered to be requested that they would be pleased to take the same into their respective Consideration and to form thereupon a Declaration to wch Request Bro^{rs}. Smyth & Lakeland being present. for themselves very obligingly for their Parts promised to comply And it was ordered that the Drat now pduced should be left a Week successively in the Hands of each of those four Gentlⁿ in Order that each of em (they) may upon separate sheets of Paper minute down such Alterons Additions or Amendm^{ts}. thereto or upon any other Plan as they may think proper To the Intent that such fform may be adopted in the end as may seem most expedient upon the Whole.

These minutes are in the handwriting of John Browne.

The Manifesto is a somewhat lengthy document and is dated May, 1779, so it must have been in draft form about eight months before being produced at the Committee meeting of 27 January, 1780.

In the first place the claim is made "that the Masonic Government of this Kingdom was establishd at the City of York so early as the time of Edwin".

After more or less tracing the early history of the York Grand Lodge, including the Sackville tradition, the statement is made that in the year 1567 "a Person under the Title of Grand Master for the South was appointed with the Approbation of the Grand Lodge at York to which the whole fraternity at large were still bound . . . to pay tribute and acknowledge Subjection". A list of the grievances felt by the York Grand Lodge against the treatment received from the Nominal Grand Lodge in London is then given and one cannot help realising that the York Grand Lodge had suffered numerous insults at the hands of the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) and so were justified in feeling a certain amount of resentment.

These grievances were:—

- (1) That an announcement had appeared in the Freemasons' Calendar for 1777, which was an official publication, stating that "the ancient York Masons" were confined to one Lodge consisting of very few members and would "probably be soon altogether annihilated".
- (2) That the Nominal Grand Lodge in London had granted a Constitution to some discontented members of the York Grand Lodge and so the Apollo Lodge had been formed "in the very City of York".
- (3) That a "subsequent Almanack" had stated "that there was a Division in the Grand Lodge at York".
- (4) That a statement had been published that the Grand Lodge of York had been removed to London.
- (5) That members of the York Grand Lodge had been refused admission into Lodges under the constitution of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London.

After stating that the Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity "continues to discharge the Duties of Masonry in a regular and Constitutional Manner", the York Grand Lodge declare that "the Title Priviledges and Powers granted" to "the Nominal Grand Lodge in London" are "forfeited and for ever frustrated", and further that "all Manner of Priviledges and Powers given them in the year 1567" are retracted and recalled.

The Manifesto then states that the Master, Wardens and Members of the Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity have been authorized to act as a Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

This Manifesto was ordered to be printed, but as far as is known this was not carried out, as there is no printed copy in existence. It seems most likely that the York Grand Lodge decided not to publish the Manifesto, the text of which is given in Appendix B. (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 36).

Three and a half months after the Silver Seal for the Grand Lodge South of Trent had been inspected at York its safe arrival in London was reported to the York Grand Lodge. Some member, most likely the Grand Secretary, of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent wrote a letter acknowledging the receipt of the Seal and also enclosing six copies of the Lodge of Antiquity's Manifesto; unfortunately this letter is missing. The York Grand Lodge Minute of 3 April, 1780, is as follows:—

At this Lodge a Letter from the Grand Lodge South of Trent was received and read, Acknowledging the Receipt of the Seal transmitted them from hence and inclosing Six of the Lodge of Antiquity's Manifestos.

A Quarterly Communication of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent was held on 19 April, 1780, but no business was transacted except "such as related to our own Internal Government."

At the St. John's Day meeting of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent presumably held on 24 June, 1780 the Installation of the new Grand Master took place.

There was a large attendance. All the Grand Officers were present including the six Grand Stewards, the only exception being James Donaldson, the Treasurer, who was present "by Proxy". There were also six other members of the Grand Lodge and the Masters and Wardens of Lodges of Antiquity, Perfect Observance, and Perseverance and Triumph, making 26 in all, besides "other visiting and assisting Brethren" whoever these may have been. The Grand Lodge was opened in ample Form and the Grand Master, John Wilson, addressed the meeting and proposed "Benjamin Bradley as his Successor in the high office of Grand Master". This was unanimously approved and Benjamin Bradley was "duly Installed according to antient Custom".

The following officers were then appointed:—William Preston Dep. G. Master, Daniel Nantes S.G. Warden, James Sims J.G. Warden, and Fred Charles Kuhff G. Master of Ceremonies; James Donaldson was then elected Treasurer and John Sealy Secretary, both by ballot.

Six Grand Stewards were then nominated; these were Charles Blanchard, John Poppleton Griffin, Peter le Mercier, John Christ Falck, James Macombe and Theophilus Beauchant.

The proceedings were then terminated.

On 1 July, 1780, John Sealy, the Grand Secretary, sent a full account of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent to the M.W. Grand Master and Brethren of the York Grand Lodge. These proceedings cover the period from 9 August, 1779, to 24 June, 1780.

John Sealy's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 33):—
Most Worshp^l. Gra^d. Mas^r. & Brethⁿ.

Conformable to the Time appointed in the Deputation from you to the Brethren in London under the Stile of the Grand Lodge of England S^o. of the River Trent, I shall now lay before your Worship their Proceedings since the Installation on the 24th. June 1779——

On the 9th. of August 1779 in consequence of a Petition having been presented at a preceeding Committee, from several Masonick Brethren for that purpose the Grand Master with his Officers attended at y^e Queens Head Tavern in Holborn to Constitute the Lodge of Perseverance & Triumph, when

the following Appointm^t of Officers took place—(Viz^t.)

Bro ^r . W ^m Preston	R W Mas ^t	Bro ^r . Richard Bishop	Treas ^r .
„ Hugh Lloyd	W S Ward ⁿ	„ Tho ^s Birkenhead	Sec ^y
„ W ^m Darnborough	W J Ward ⁿ	„ W ^m Marsh	} Stewards
		„ Jn ^o fra ^s Kalm	

This Lodge ranks as N^o 2, in the List of Lodges under our Constitution on Account of their Petition being Subsequent to that from the Brethren of the Lodge of Perfect Observance, which I shall take Notice of morefully hereafter——

At a Quarterly Communication on the 3^d Nov^r 1779 the Grand Lodge being informed that Bro^r. W^m Darnborough above ment^d. had declined being a Member of y^e above Lodge, or any Lodge under our Constitution—it was resolved that his Office of Grand Steward (ment^d. in my letter of 3^d Aug^t 1779) sho^d be deemed Vacant—and Bro^r. John Long has since been appointed to fill the same—At this Communicatⁿ the Grand Master was pleased to appoint Bro^r. W^m Preston to be his Grand Orator——

On the 15th Nov^r. 1779 the Constitution of the Lodge of Perfect Observance N^o 1. took place at the Mitre Tavern fleet Street. when the following Officers were appointed—(Viz^t.)

Bro ^r . Pet. Lambert de Lintot	R W Mas ^r .	Bro ^r . Jn ^o Christ Falck	Treas ^r
„ Dan ^t : Godfrey Hintze	W S Ward ⁿ	„ Peter Mercier	Sec ^y
„ Adam Girard	W J Ward		

Some Alterations have lately taken place as well in this Lodge as in the Lodge of Perseverance & Triumph which I shall do myself the Pleasure of Particularising in my next Dispatches——

These are the only 2 Lodges at present under us—You may recollect my Observation on the slow Progreſs of our Influence here, in my Letter of 6th febr^y last—I have only to remark in Addition to what I then ment^d. that the Present Ara does not seem distinguished for Masonic pursuits;—which I can attribute only to the critical ſituation of Political Affairs in this Kingdom at present, And the Effects it has on the Minds of all ranks of Men on Account of its Influence on their reſpective Affairs in private life——

• On the 19th of Jan^y. last another Quarterly Communicatⁿ was held, w^{ch}. I took notice of to you in my Letter of y^e 6 febr^y following—At which Meeting the Office of G^d. Sword Bearer was abolished, because deemed an Innovation in Masonry—To which Office you will find by my Letter of y^e 3^d Aug^t 1779 Bro^r. John Savage was appointed——

A Quarterly Commⁿ. was likewise held on the 19th of April last but no other Buſineſs being transacted, than ſuch as related to our own Internal Government—I ſhall ſay nothing further reſpecting it, but draw your Attention to the——

Proceedings at y^e Installm^t. of G^d Officers on S^t Johns Day last.

Present MW. Jn ^o Wilson Eſq ^r .	G M	Bro ^r . W ^m Shepherd	} Members of the Grand Lodge
RW. Sam ^l Bafs Eſq ^r .	D G M	„ Ja ^s Macombe	
W. Benj Bradley Eſq ^r	S G W	„ Theop ^s . Beauchant	
W. Dan ^l Nantes Eſq ^r	J G W	„ Jn ^o Savage	
Bro ^r . Ja ^s Donaldson (by Proxy.)	G T	„ W ^m Norris	
„ John Sealy.—	G S	„ Ja ^s Sims	

Bro^r. George Hume
„ Fred^k Cha^s Kuhff
„ Jn^o Jacob Hertel
„ Jn^o fra^s Kalm
„ Thomas Shipton
„ John Long

Grand Stewards——

The Ma^r. & Wardens of the Lodges of Antiquity, Perfect Observance, and Perseverance and Triumph respectively—And other visiting and assisting Brethren—
The Grand Lodge being opened in ample Form in the proper Degrees
the Grand Mast^r. opened the Business of the Day by informing the Brethren of the Cause of their Meeting—and concluded with proposing Bro^r Benjamin Bradley as his Successor in the high Office of Grand Master; which was unanimously approved of, and he was thereupon duly Installed according to antient Custom after having taken the Oaths usual on so solemn an Occasion
The Grand Master Elect then proceeded to invest Bro^r. Jn^o Wilson as Past Grand Mas^r.—and nominated the follow^g Brethren as Grand Officers for the ensuing 12 months——

Bro^r. W^m Preston Dep^y G. Mas^r.

„ Dan^l Nantes S: G. W

„ James Sims J. G. W

„ Fred Cha^s. Kuhff G Ma^r of Cerem^s.

Elected by Ballot { „ Ja^s Donaldson (by Proxy) Grand Treasurer
„ John Sealy G Secretary

After which the Nomination of Stewards for the ensuing 12 Months took place—Whose names are as follows—(Viz^t.)

Bro^r. Charles Blanchard

„ Jn^o Poppleton Griffin

„ Peter le Mercier.

G^d Stewards

Bro^r. John Christ Falck

„ James Macombe

„ Theoph^s Beauchant

Such has been y^e whole of our Proceedings—At least such of it as is anyways necessary for your Cognifance and Information—since I had last y^e pleasure of writing you on the Subject——

I have y^e Honour to remain——

Friday Street

London

1st. July 1780.

The M W. G^d Ma^r. of all Engl^d. and the
Brethⁿ. of y^e M Anc^t. Grand Lodge of free &
Accepted Masons at York——

By Command of y^e G Mas^r. S^o. of Trent—

M Worship^l Sir & Brethren

Your most Obed^t Serv^t. & Bro^r.

Jn^o: Sealy G S

This letter was addressed to “The Most Worsp^l. Gra^d. Mast. & Brethⁿ. Grand Lodge York” and has been endorsed by W. Blanchard Grand Secretary “Acc^t. of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge South of Trent from June 1779 to June 1780”.

Nothing further is known of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent for some years; John Browne, the Grand Secretary of the York Grand Lodge, died on 18 October, 1780,¹ and if further accounts of the proceedings were forwarded to the York Grand Lodge they have been lost.

After June, 1780, William Preston ceased to attend the Lodge of Antiquity and on 17 October, 1781, his resignation was read in open Lodge and accepted. Bro. Firebrace states² that “The Lodge for which he had worked and fought so long appeared to be in imminent danger of extinction, and with it the Grand Lodge of all England, South of the river Trent”.

The attendance at the meetings of the Lodge of Antiquity about this time only once reached seven and was generally five or even less.

However, five years later on 23 October, 1786, William Preston rejoined the Lodge of Antiquity as a subscribing member, and in the same year suggested

¹ *York Courant*, 24 October, 1780.

² Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. ii., p. 46.

that a reunion should take place between the Lodge of Antiquity and the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), but after discussion the matter was dropped.

A letter addressed to the Marseilles Lodge from the Lodge of Antiquity was read and approved at their meeting held on 17 September, 1788, one of the paragraphs stating that¹

The Constitution from Scotland has been regularly obtained and is herewith transmitted together with the sanction of our most Worshipful Grand Lodge of England, South of the river Trent, in union with and under the banner of, the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of all England, held in the City of York.

It will be noted that the Constitution was issued from Scotland and not by the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

One of the last references to the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent in the minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity is on 19 November, 1788², when

The W. Master inform'd the Brethren that he had attended a Committee of the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent, with his Wardens according to a Summons sent him by the Grand Master when he was desired to inform the Brethren of this Lodge that it was requested such Brethren who wish't to claim their seats in the said Grand Lodge will before the next meeting in December send their Names to the Secretary that they may (be) enrolled accordingly.

The officers of the Lodge of Antiquity in November, 1788³ were Samuel Crawley (Crowley) W.M., William King S.W., and Thomas Lane J.W., so these three brethren were also members of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

A new set of By-laws was passed at the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity on 10 December, 1788, and the last By-law No. 20 deals with the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent and is as follows⁴:—

The Master to have a Ticket at the Lodge expense, for every annual Grand Feast of the Grand Lodge of England South of the river Trent, and to appoint the Senior Warden if he cannot attend, 7s 6d. to be allowed him when he attends the Grand Lodge Committee, and 5s. when he attends with his Wardens, the Quarterly Communications.

There is, however, a later reference in the Treasurer's Book of the Lodge of Antiquity, which is as follows⁵:—

Jan. 9, 1789. By Right Worshipful Master's expence at the Grand Lodge . . . 5s.

The next news of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent is contained in a letter dated 10 March, 1789, written by the Grand Secretary to the York Grand Lodge.

This letter was signed by B. H. Latrobe, whose name has not appeared before. His full name was Benjamin Henry Latrobe and he had only been initiated a few months before on 15 October, 1788, in the Lodge of Antiquity, so he was most likely appointed Grand Secretary at the Quarterly Communication held on 29 December, 1788.

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. ii., p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2, vol. ii., p. 59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

From the first paragraph in Bro. Latrobe's letter it appears that the members of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent had been expecting a visit from Bro. Wolley, the Deputy Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge, and that this was the reason that "we have delayed transmitting to You a further account of the Proceedings". This suggests that accounts of the Proceedings had been regularly transmitted to the York Grand Lodge; if this is so they have all been lost.

Further, Bro. Latrobe states "that in a personal interview with him, (Bro. Wolley) we should be able to communicate our sentiments to him upon our present situation more fully than can be done by letter"; this no doubt refers to the contemplated return of the Lodge of Antiquity to the Grand Lodge of England; it can quite well be understood that this would be somewhat difficult to explain to the York Grand Lodge, as it would practically mean the extinction of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

The letter goes on to state that a Quarterly Communication of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent took place on 29 December, 1788, at the London Coffee house, when the correspondence between the York Grand Lodge and London was discussed; unfortunately we have no copies of these letters.

The "decayed state" of the two Lodges constituted by the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent was then discussed; both these Lodges are mentioned by name—Perfect Observance No. 1 and Perseverance and Triumph No. 2—and as these two Lodges were both constituted in 1779 no new Lodges had been formed for ten years.

Bro. Latrobe then states that the two Lodges have "felt the effects of that Oppression which clogged the proceedings of the Grand lodge"; this no doubt refers to the opposition of the Grand Lodge of England to the Lodge of Antiquity.

The matter was to be "enquired into by a Deputation"; history repeats itself to-day as Parliament appoints a Royal Commission when in difficulties.

The officers who had been chosen at the last committee were confirmed and invested, unfortunately no names are mentioned: further, several members of the Lodge of Antiquity claimed their seats, but there is no mention of the Masters of the Lodges of Antiquity, Perfect Observance, and Perseverance and Triumph being present, and it is doubtful whether they attended the meeting.

The last paragraph of the letter states that "upon the whole, the Prospect before us seems to be less gloomy than that we have had for some time past"; this seems to refer to the anticipated return of the Lodge of Antiquity to the Grand Lodge of England and the writer of the letter must have been reviewing the matter from the point of view of the Lodge of Antiquity and not that of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

The letter closes by stating that the next Quarterly Communication will take place on "the last Friday previous to the 25th. of March" and that an account of the meeting will be forwarded to the York Grand Lodge; unfortunately these returns are missing.

The text of Bro. Latrobe's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 103):—

N^o 4 Staples inn buildings London
March 10th. 1789.

Most Worshipful Grand Master & Brethren

In expectation of seeing the M.W. Dep. G.M. of all England, B^r. Wooley, with us, in the course of the two last months, we have delayed transmitting to You a further account of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge here, in hopes, that in a personal interview with him, we should be able to communicate our sentiments to him upon our present situation more fully than can be done by letter.

In pursuance to the Minutes of our Laft Quarterly Communication held at the London Coffee house on the 29th. of Dec^r. 1788 laft, I have the pleasure to transmit to You the sincerest thanks of the Grand lodge for your kind & brotherly answer to our former letter. We are truly sensible of the value of Your Countenance; and to support, as far as in us lies, Your dignity, which is inseparable from the Interests of true Masonry, will ever be our Wish and Endeavor. At our last meeting we took into consideration the decayed state of the two Lodges constituted by us, that of Perfect Obedience N^o 1, & of Perseverance and Triumph N^o. 2, both which have felt the effects of that Oppression which clogged the proceedings of the Grand lodge. The Causes of this Decay, and of the Disorders which have reigned, have since then been more particularly enquired into by a Deputation, to whom, by Command of the Grand-Master, the business was delegated, and the Result of our enquiries, we hope will produce beneficial effects, when made the Ground of our Proceedings at the next Grand Lodge.

The Officers who were chosen by our last Committee were confirmed, and invested in due form by the M.W. the Grand Master. Several Members of the Lodge of Antiquity claimed their seats, and were in due form declared Members of the Grand lodge.

Upon the whole, the Prospect before us seems to be less gloomy than that we have had for some time past; & in the Course of the present Year, we shall have it in our power to lay before you, for your advice and approbation several plans for the Advancement of the Dignity of ancient Masonry. The last Friday previous to the 25th. of March next is the day appointed for our next Quarterly Communication, the proceedings of which shall in due time, be laid before you. In the mean time, I remain, in the Name of the M.W. the Grand Master of England South of the River Trent, and of all my Brethren of the Grand Lodge

Your faithful Brother

B.H. Latrobe Gr: Sec^r.

This letter was addressed "To the Most Worshipful the Grand Master & Officers of all England of Free and accepted Masons at York" and has not been endorsed.

At the meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 15 April, 1789, a letter was read from William Preston¹ stating that he had "presented a Memorial to the Grand Lodge in Queen Street in vindication of his private Character" and asking that "an Attestation be granted him (by the Lodge of Antiquity) in favour of his Character as a Man and a Mason . . .". This was duly signed by the R.W.M. and Wardens.

The matter had been discussed by Grand Lodge of England at the Quarterly Communication held on 8 April, but the application failed²; however, another Memorial must have been presented at the Grand Feast held on 4 May, as eight members of the Lodge of Antiquity who had been previously expelled were restored to all the Privileges of the Society.

This was reported at the next meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 20 May, 1789, and a Committee was appointed to make any necessary arrangements³.

¹ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. ii., p. 69.

² *Ibid*, p. 74.

³ *Ibid*, p. 75.

At this same meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity held on 20 May, 1789, there were two visitors from York; these were Joseph Atkinson¹ and Thomas Thackray², the former being a member of the York Grand Lodge and the latter a Past Master of the Apollo Lodge of York and also Deputy Prov. Grand Master of the County of York.

In the minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity³ the names are given as "Bros. Atkinson and Thacker (*sic*) from the G. Lodge at York", but on reference to the Tyler's Book these names should be

Jo. Atkinson
Grand Lodge of York
Thomas Thackray

The minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity state⁴ that:—

Bros Atkinson and Thacker, (*sic*.) from York, visitors this evening, expressed the hearty good wishes of the M.W. the Grand Lodge of all England to this ancient Lodge, which gave the utmost satisfaction to all the Brethren and the thanks of the Lodge for this mark of the friendship of the Grand Lodge of all England, which we have often experienced, were expressed from the Chair with the hearty concurrence of all the Brethren.

No doubt only Joseph Atkinson spoke on behalf of the York Grand Lodge, and he must have found himself in a somewhat difficult situation, as the announcement that William Preston and his friends had been reinstated and the suggested reconciliation with the Grand Lodge in Great Queen Street could only mean the collapse of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

It is interesting to note that Joseph Atkinson and Thomas Thackray visited the Lodge of Antiquity together: this shows that either the York Grand Lodge and the Apollo Lodge of York were on friendly terms in 1789, or that some of the members of these two Lodges bore each other no animosity.

There are no minute books of the York Grand Lodge in existence for this period, and it is generally thought that it was moribund.

There is still one more letter in the archives of the York Lodge which has some connection with the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent.

At the end of the year 1813 the union of the two Grand Lodges in London took place, and on the formation of the United Grand Lodge of England, the Lodge of Antiquity, instead of being No. 1, lost precedence and became Lodge No. 2.

This was strongly felt by the members of the Lodge of Antiquity⁵, and it was decided to send an address to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex on the subject of the union.

Bro. Charles Bonnor was one of the prime movers in the matter, and no doubt he delved into the archives of the Lodge of Antiquity for the necessary information.

In his researches Bro. Bonnor appears to have found the Constitution issued by the York Grand Lodge to the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent

¹ Joseph Atkinson was made E.A. and F.C. on 14 December, 1761, in the York Grand Lodge; he was a Mason or Stonecutter.

² Thomas Thackray was made E.A. and F.C. on 25 February, 1771, in the York Grand Lodge, but resigned in 1773, being one of the founders of the Apollo Lodge of which he became the Master in 1782. He was appointed Deputy Prov. Grand Master of the County of York some time in 1788. (See letter at Grand Lodge dated 4 May, 1788, from Christopher Wilson, Prov. G. Secretary.)

³ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. ii., p. 76.

⁴ Copy of Minutes sent to York by Bro. W. H. Rylands.

⁵ Records of the Lodge of Antiquity, vol. ii., p. 146.

in a "defaced and mutilated" condition, so he wrote to Lord Hawke on 5 January, 1814, asking his Lordship to obtain a certified copy from the "original entry in the Books of the York Grand Lodge".

Lord Hawke was a member of the Lodge of Antiquity and was living at Womersley Park near Ferrybridge, and he and Charles Bonnor had attended the Provincial Grand Lodge at York on 7 October, 1813; there are no minutes in existence of this meeting, but from an account in the local newspaper¹ we learn that Robert Pemberton Milnes Esq. M.P., the Provincial Grand Master, was in the chair and that amongst the visitors were "the Right Hon. Lord Hawke, Member of the Grand Stewards' Lodge, and of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1; Brother the Hon. Martin Hawke; and Brothers Bonnor, Graves, and Nugent, Esqrs. also of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1". After the ceremony "the company were addressed by . . . Lord Hawke, . . . and Brother Bonnor, Esq. in speeches replete with Masonic acumen and social virtue".

In a conversation that Bro. Bonnor had with Lord Hawke on this occasion the York Grand Lodge was discussed and Lord Hawke stated that he knew the Gentleman in whose possession the "remains" of the York Grand Lodge were deposited.

In these circumstances Lord Hawke was asked to make "a proper application . . . for the Article in question".

The extraordinary thing in connection with this matter is that the original Constitution of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent is in excellent condition and is still preserved in the archives of the Lodge of Antiquity.

The text of Bro. Bonnor's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 106):—

295 Oxford Street

London 5th. Jan^y 1814

My dear Lord

About 20 years ago the Grand Lodge at York executed a Grant in favor of the Lodge of Antiquity, authorizing it to become the Grand Lodge of the South of England under the Old York Constitution—such at least is understood to be its tendency. Unfortunately the Instrument has been defaced and mutilated in some of its most essential parts and we are at a loss to ascertain its real intention. Under these circumstances as arrangements are making for taking better care of our Archives in future it has occurred to us that the best way of supplying the defect will be to procure a certified Copy of it from the original entry in the Books of the York Grand Lodge. If this circumstance had occurred when I had the honor to accompany your Lordship to the last meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge in York in Oct^r. I conceive there would have been no difficulty in procuring the Copy now wanted, for I recollect that the name of the Gentleman was mentioned, in whose possession the remains of the York Grand Lodge now are, and if

¹ *York Chronicle*, 14 October, 1813.

I mistake not your Lordship said you knew him. It was proposed, I know, that we should pay our respects to him, on account of his claims to the attention of every *amateur* of Masonry, being the last officiating Member as well as the sacred depository of the remains of an Institution, which will command the veneration of the latest posterity. If however I should be mistaken in supposing that your Lordship is acquainted with this Gentleman, you no doubt will have no difficulty through some one of your connections in that quarter, in causing a proper application to be made to him for the Article in question; of which, among other parts that are defaced, that of the date has suffered so much injury as to be illegible

The expence attending
this Commiffion your

Lordship will favor me with a Memorandum of, and I will fee to its being properly settled

His Royal Highness looked for you in vain among the Grand Officers at our late splendid Festival, and it is understood to have been his wish, if you had been present to nominate your Lordship his Senior Grand Warden. I have the honor to be my dear Lord Your faithful & devoted

humble fervant C Bonnor.

This letter was addressed to "The Right Honourable Lord Hawke Womersley Park near Ferrybridge" and has not been endorsed.

The Grand Lodge South of the River Trent was constituted on 24 June, 1779, and the last meeting of which we have any trace was held on the last Friday previous to 25 March, 1789. It was therefore in existence about ten years and had a somewhat inglorious history. It was formed through a quarrel in the Lodge of Antiquity, but the York Grand Lodge appear to have been justified in issuing the Constitution.

THE GRAND LODGE SOUTH OF THE RIVER TRENT

List of Members.

Samuel Bass	Benjamin Henry Latrobe
Theophilus Beauchant	Peter Lambert de Lintot
Charles Blanchard	Peter le Mercier
Thomas Birkenhead	Hugh Lloyd
Richard Bishop	Thomas Lane
Benjamin Bradley	John Long
Gilbert Buchanan	James Macombe
Samuel Clanfield	William Marsh
Samuel Crawley (Crowley)	Daniel Nantes
William Darnborough	William Norris
James Donaldson	William Preston

John Christopher Falk (Falck)
 Adam Gerard (Girard)
 Samuel Goddard
 John Poppleton Griffin
 John Jacob Hertel
 Daniel Godfrey Hintze
 George Hume
 John Francis Kalm
 Kertel see Hertel
 William King
 Charles Frederick Kuhff

Barney Rutledge
 John Savage
 John Sealy
 William Shepherd
 Thomas Skipton
 Dr. James Sims
 John Wells
 John Wilson

APPENDIX B.

(York Grand Lodge MS. No. 36.)

Dra't of a Manifesto. May 1779.

Whereas the Ancient & laudable Land Marks of the Society of free & Accepted Masons have ever been held by all true Brothers as sacred and Inviolable And it is the Duty of the Masonic Government to maintain and require a faithful observance thereof by discountenancing all Infringements & Innovations and cherishing the faithful whereby the sacred Art or Mystery may be propagated on its genuine & original System **And Whereas** not only all the Printed Historys of Masonry but also the Old Records testify that the Masonic Government of this Kingdom was establishd at the City of York so early as the time of Edwin flor that all the Masons in the Realm were convened by Virtue of Edwins Charter to a General Afsembly at York where they accordingly met and Established a General or Grand Lodge bringing with them all the Writings and Records extant from the Contents whereof that Afsembly formed and Issued the Laws and Charges by which all Masons in the Kingdom were to be governed and which they made a Law to preserve and observe in all time coming And that the fraternity should thenceforth meet Annually in Communication at York, having a Correction among themselves (as it was anciently exprefsd) or a freedom and Power there to regulate themselves and to amend what might happen amifs **And Whereas** the Society considerably increased under the Auspices of this Grand Lodge over which, according to Ancient Tradition, Kings and other Male Sovereigns when made Masons were Grand Masters by Prerogative during Life and appointed a Deputy or approved of his Election to preside over the fraternity with the Title and Honours of Grand Master

And as a Testimony of the Established Power and great Influence of the Grand Lodge at York the Maceons in Ireland to this Day bear the Appellation of Ancient York Masons and their Universal Tradition is that the Brethren of this Appellation Originated at Auldbury near York Now this carries with it the strongest Marks of Confirmation for Auldbury was the Seat of Edwin. York being the Established Place of Masonic Government the Whole fraterinity successively paid Allegiance to its Authority And so great was the Increase of the Society under its Auspices that in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Sackville being Grand Master the Queen mistaking the Purport of their Meeting and being Jealous of all Secret Assemblies sent an Armed force to York with Intent to break up their Annual Communication But this Design was happily frustrated by the Initiation of some of the Queens Officers Who thereupon joined in Communication with the Maceons and making a true Report to the Queen she countermanded her Orders and never afterwards attempted to disturb the fraterinity. **And Whereas** the sacred Art flourished so much that Masonry in the South came to require some Nominal Patron to superintend its Government And accordingly in the year 1567 on the Resignation of Sir Thomas Sackville and the Election of Francis Russell Earl of Bedford as his successor in the North a Person under the Title of Grand Master for the South was appointed with the Approbation of the Grand Lodge at York to which the whole fraterinity at large were still bound as they were before to pay tribute and acknowledge Subjection. And Thus Masonry flourished for many Years in the South as well as in the North but afterwards became again at so low a Ebb in the South that in the Year 1717 only four Lodges remained extant in those Parts but those Lodges ever gloried in Originating from the Ancient York Masons which they constantly testified at their Meetings in hailing Success to the Grand Lodge at York. **And Whereas** These very Lodges cemented under a New Grand Master for the South and hence arose what is now called the Nominal Grand Lodge in London who then described themselves by the Name of Ancient York Masons and whose Meetings in London have on Account of the great Increase of the fraterinity in and about the Metropolis within these few Years been by some considered as

General Meetings, but without any Constitutional Authority to give such Meetings a Sanction to that Title.

And Whereas upon the facts aforesaid and other well known Truths it is evident that the Constitutions of the English Lodges are derived from York and that that Assembly reformed & Issued the Laws & Charges by which all Maceons in the Kingdom were to be governed and which they were bound to preserve and observe in all time coming

And Therefore while these Laws & Charges exist as the Standard of Masonic Conduct and any Vestige or Remnant of that Assembly remains from whence those Laws & Charges sprung to that Assembly and that Assembly only Allegiance is due and no other Convention of Masons be their Consequence ever so great can consistent with these Constitutions withdraw their Allegiance or set aside the Original Power and Authority of that Assembly which is justly considered as the Parent of free Masonry in England and which not only Antiquity has sealed but the concurrent Approbation of Masons for Ages has honoured with a Sanction,

And Whereas the Grand Lodge of all England established as aforesaid and still exist* at York (where its Original Laws and the true Tenets of the Masonic System have been & are Inviolably maintained) by its Inherent Rights is the Supreme Legislature of Masonry in this Kingdom

And hath with Lamentation beheld that the Nominal Grand Lodge in London have not only forgotten the Allegiance due to this Parent State of Masonry in England but have proceeded to insult its dignity and depart from every ancient Land Mark of the Order assuming such Arbitrary and unmasonick Measures as ought not to be found among Maceons They have in a most unbrotherly Manner falsely insinuated in Public Almanacks that the Brethren who were remaining under the Old Constitution of York were few in Number and would probably soon be Annihilated Then they have encouraged some of the York Brethren openly to revolt from their Ancient Lodge and to that End granted 'em a pretended Constitution to form a new Lodge in the very City of York. Then in a subsequent Almanack they have even published that there was a Division in the Grand Lodge at York and have ventured to create a new Distinction of Masons Giving to themselves and their Adherents the Appellation of Modern Masons in Distinction from those who remained on the Old Land Mark

They have countenanced Publications falsely asserting that the Grand Lodge of York was removed to London although their own Books contradict it particularly a Charge delivered at York long after the date of their pretended Establishment wherein the Supremacy of the Grand Lodge at York is maintained in the Title of *totius Angliæ* with which they acquiesced and so much favored as to have it printed amongst their own Charges and besides which the Records of the Grand Lodge at York which at that time were faithfully kept under the Direction of several Grand Masters of Honour Probity & fortune very fully contradict. They have moreover refused admision to Brothers who have been made under the Old Constitution of York and whom they could not deny to be Masons by having granted a Constitution to some who had ceded from the same Origin And they have Imposed such Terms to the Prejudice of the Grand Lodge at York on the Initiation of New Brothers as no Masons ought to impose: Besides which many Masters and Lodges under their Sanction have been struck off their Books on trifling Occasions and particularly on Pecuniary Ones. Motives which Masons ought to blush at, and in fine they have adopted Measures altogether arbitrary and repugnant to the Principles of the Masonic Institution Whereby the true Spirit of free Masonry in the South of England hath been subverted and if not timely supported by Masonic Legislature might become totally destroyed.

And Whereas We have been happily perceived that *there exists in London* a Regular Lodge of free and Accepted Masons under the Denominon of **The Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity** *which* continues to discharge the Duties of Masonry in a regular and Constitutional Manner according to the Ancient Land Marks of Our Order And the Members of the said Lodge have expressed a most earnest Desire that free Masonry may be Constitutionally Patronized and propagated in those Parts on its Original System,

Therefore We the Grand Master and Members of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of all England of free and Accepted Masons assembled at the City of York Considering Ourselves in Honour bound to preserve Inviolable the Ancient Rights and Priviledges of Our Order and to hand them down to Posterity in their native Purity and Excellence **Do** hereby solemnly disavow and discountenance the unmasonic and Arbitrary Measures and Proceedings of the Nominal Grand

Lodge in London.

And the Title Priviledges and Powers granted them on Condition as afores^d of their Obedience to our Predecefsors and to Us and of their strict Observance of the Ancient Land Marks of our Order We do declare forfeited and for ever frustrated And We do retract and recall from them all Manner of Priviledges and Powers given them in the Year 1567 when a Grand Master for the South of England was created or which have been given them by any other time

And We Do hereby publish and declare that out of Our Good Will and favour and for the Honour and Increase of Our truly Ancient Institution upon the Original Plan of its Establishment **We have** authorized and empowered the Master Wardens and Members of the said Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity to asemble and act as a **Grand Lodge** of free and Accepted Masons for all that Part of England which is situated South of the River Trent To issue Warrants of Constitution and make and enforce Laws and to do and perform every other Act and Deed requisite and necessary for the due Support of their Authority as a Grand Lodge so long as they do faithfully observe and keep Inviolable the Ancient Charges and Regulations of our Order and do fulfill the Conditions by Us reasonably required and by them promised in Acknowledgment of the Allegiance and Homage due to Us as the Most Ancient Patrons of the Masonic Art.

And We do require and enjoin all regular Lodges of the fraternity in England which are situated South of the River Trent to pay due Allegiance to the Authority of the Grand Lodge so by Us delegated and do promise to countenance and Cherish them in all their regular Proceedings **And We** do hereby announce a General Communion with all regular Masons throughout the World and *do expect and require* (doubt not of) their hearty Concurrence in Supporting and propagating free Masonry on its pure genuine and Original Plan

There is another Manuscript at York which gives the suggested Alterations and Additions to be made in the Manifesto. These are of considerable length and the original Draft has been marked where it is suggested they should be inserted. One point is worth mentioning and that is that the statement that the York Grand Lodge had been removed to London appeared in a book published at Exeter. This was "The Principles of Free Masonry Delineated", by R. Trewman, published at Exeter in 1777.

The alterations and additions are in the handwriting of John Browne and are as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 34):—

Instead of what is now inserted as to its Establishment
Insert something in the Terms following

That all the Maceons in the Realm being
convened by Virtue of **Edwins** Charter in a General
Asembly at York the Masonic Governm^t. was there
Established where it hath continued.

After describing the Nature of the true Grand Lodge
and having mentioned the Rise of the Nominal one

in London Then go on with some such Account as follows,

Let Us now revert to the State & Conduct of the Nominal Gr. Lodge in London, And it will be found that perfect Harmony existed betwixt it and the Grand Lodge at York till after the Year 1725 and that in this Masonick Unity of Acting Masonry much flourished in the North & South. In the Year 1725 there was a noted Procession of the Maceons at York and Cha^s. Bathurst Esq^r. being then Gr. Master a Charge was deliver'd by Bro^r. fra^s. Drake then S.G.W. wherein he we find mentions the Gr. Lodge at London in a truly Masonick & Brotherly Way but maintains the Superiority of the Gr. Lodge at York which he proves by the Title of totius Angliæ which then and anciently belonged the Grand Masters at York. This Charge was so favour'd by the Gr. Lodge in London that it was printed by their Printer and inserted amongst others published by their Orders. Hence however the Gr^d. Lodge in London from its Situation being encouraged by some of the Principal Nobility of the Nation arose at great Power and begun to despise the Origin from whence it sprang In an unbrotherly Manner wishing the Gr. Lodge at York Annihilated which appears by one of their Almanacks Insinuating that though there are some Brethren remaining who Act under the Old Constiton of York yet that they are few in Number and will soon be Annihilated Now some of the York Brethren on a most trivial Occasion inclining to cecede from their Ancient Lodge were encouraged to an open Revolt by the Nominal Grand Lodge in London who without the least Enquiry into the Merits of the Question granted a Constitution to set up a new Lodge in the very City of York. Then in a subsequent Almanack they even publish that there was a Division in the Grand Lodge at York and venture to create a New Distinction for Masons Giving to themselves and their Adherents the Appel lation of Modern Masons in Distinction from those who remain'd on the Old Land Mark. Now what co'd be more unmasonick than all these Measures Swerving from every Ancient Land Mark of the Order and polluting the very Source from whence Masonry sprung.

In a Book published at Exeter and much counte -nanced by the Nominal Grand Lodge in London it is falsly said that the Grand Lodge anciently Establ^d. at York was some Years ago removed from thence to London Now such a Removal as is here pretended could have done no Good; the York Masons were too just to give up their Rights to a Sett of Men acting on Measures so Arbitrary and foreign to true Masonry as the Nominal Grand

Lodge in London have presumed to act, Besides, the Charge before mentioned and their Acquiescence thereto very fully contradict it, as well as the Records of the Grand Lodge at York which at that time were faithfully kept under the Direction of several Grand Masters who were Gentlemen of Honour Probity & fortune and whose Names for a few Years before and after the formation or Revival of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London anno 1717 shall be here subjoined viz^t.

Sir Geo. Tempest Bar^t.

Besides what is before mentioned of the Arbitrary Conduct of the Nominal Grand Lodge in London We meet with several other Marks of their Oppression Many Masters & Lodges under their Sanction have been struck off their Books on trifling Occasions and particularly on *Pecuniary* ones Motives which Masons ought to blush at. The Grand Lodge at York have beheld such Measures with Lamentation but like Masons passd them unnoticed till roused by repeated Insults to themselves. Of which two daring Instances occur The one in Refusing Admission to Brothers who have been made under the Old Constitution of York and whom they co'd not deny to be Maceons by their having granted a Constitution to some who had ceded from the same Origin; A Behaviour which the Grand Lodge at York as Masons could not nor have not retaliated The other by Imposing such Terms to the Prejudice of the Grand Lodge at York on the Initiation of new Brothers as no Masons ought to impose but which may not in Writing be more fully express'd. Upon the Whole let every disputation(ate) Mason but weigh impartially the several facts here stated and he must spurn at the daring Innovations offered by the Nominal Grand Lodge in London to so sacred an Institution If he wishes to partake of Masonry in its Origⁱ Purity he will turn his Attention to that Source where it hath been Inviolably maintained & continued for successive Ages to this Day and where the Legislature of Masonry for this Kingdom stands fixed by its true Title "The Grand Lodge of all England established at the City of York".——

DONCASTER.

An attempt to form a Subordinate Lodge at Doncaster under the constitution of the York Grand Lodge was made in 1779.

The matter was first mentioned at the meeting of the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham on 27 August, 1779, when

Bro^r. Hafsall on the behalf of Mr. Parker, Mr. Kay and Mr. Berside all of Doncaster made a Motion to this Lodge to Petition the same

for a Recommendation for a Sett of Constitutions from the Grand Lodge at York.—

At the next meeting of the Druidical Lodge on 24 September the proposition was postponed, but at the next Lodge night on 22 October Bro. Hassall withdrew the motion and there is no further mention of the Petition in the Druidical Lodge Minutes.

On 4 July¹ of the next year, 1780, St. George's Lodge No. 432 was constituted at Doncaster by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), when Rowland Berkeley Esq., the Grand Treasurer, was present in person; he must have taken a great interest in this Doncaster Lodge as he attended the Festival of the Lodge the next year on 23 April, 1781, and subscribed for 21 copies of the sermon preached before the Lodge on that occasion.²

The suggested Petition for a Subordinate Lodge at Doncaster had been reported to the York Grand Lodge³ and John Browne the Grand Secretary hearing of the formation of the St. George's Lodge at Doncaster wrote on 8 July, 1780, four days after the Lodge had been constituted, to Mr. Mesnard asking for information on the subject.

Mr. Mesnard was Leonard Mesnard, a French Master,⁴ and one of the Founders of St. George's Lodge, but he was not an officer; he subscribed for two copies of the sermon preached before the Lodge⁵ the next year, but had ceased to be a member before July, 1785.⁶

Leonard Mesnard handed on John Browne's letter to Rowland Berkeley the Grand Treasurer, who replied three days later, on 11 July, 1780, stating that a Constitution for a Lodge of Free Masons had been regularly applied for and granted.

The letter was not couched in the most friendly language, as the word "regularly" was underlined, and one cannot help feeling that the Grand Treasurer had his tongue in his cheek when he signed himself "Your humble Servant".

The text of Bro. R. Berkeley's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 84):—

Doncaster 11 July 1780

S^r

Your favor of the 8th. Ins^t. to M^r. Mesnard was duly rec^d., in Answer to which, a Constitution for a Lodge of Free Masons to be held at this Town, has been regularly applied for & granted: I am S^r.

Your hum^{le} Ser^t

R. Berkeley

Grand Treasurer.

This letter was addressed to "Mr. John Browne Procter York" and has been endorsed by John Browne "11. July 1780. M^r. Berkeleys Letter."

So ended the attempt to constitute a Subordinate Lodge of the York Grand Lodge at Doncaster.

Strange to say, none of the three gentlemen mentioned as Petitioners in the Druidical Lodge Minutes were founders of the St. George's Lodge, Doncaster.⁷

¹ The Records of St. George's Lodge, No. 242, by William Delanoy, p. 12.

² A Discourse delivered at Doncaster . . . By the Reverend Wm. Johnson (See List of Subscribers).

³ A copy of the Druidical Lodge Minutes had been forwarded to the York Grand Lodge on 18 Dec., 1779 (York G. Lodge MS. No. 45).

⁴ The Records of St. George's Lodge, No. 242, by William Delanoy, p. 88.

⁵ A Discourse delivered at Doncaster . . . By the Reverend Wm. Johnson (See List of Subscribers).

⁶ Register of the Prov. G. Lodge for Yorkshire.

⁷ The Records of St. George's Lodge, No. 242, by William Delanoy, p. 12.

It is difficult to trace these three Petitioners, as no Christian names are given; they are, however, stated to be "all of Doncaster".

Mr. Parker may be John Parker who was proposed as a candidate in the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham on 22 January, 1779; the name, however, was withdrawn,¹ his proposer Bro. Williams being expelled four months later. The same John Parker or another man of the same name, who was an Attorney aged 32, was initiated in St. George's Lodge, Doncaster, on 4 October, 1782.²

There was also a W. Parker, a Mercer, who was initiated in St. George's Lodge on 17 July, 1780, being the first Candidate.³

Mr. Kay is still more difficult to trace⁴; he may have been Richard Kaye, a shoemaker, who was initiated in the St. George's Lodge of Doncaster on 12 May, 1790.⁵

Mr Berside may have been Peter Burnside, although the names are spelt differently, who became a member of the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham and later joined Lodge No. 171 of Manchester.⁶

HULL.

An attempt to form a Subordinate Lodge at Hull under the Constitution of the York Grand Lodge was made in 1779 by William Powell.

On 25 April, 1774, William Powell was made an E.A. and F.C. in the York Grand Lodge, but it was not until nine months later that he again attended, when he was made a M.M. on 9 January, 1775, although his name is entered as a Visitor.

William Powell attended the next two meetings of the York Grand Lodge on 13 and 27 February, 1775, as a Visitor, and a man named Powell⁷ visited the York Grand Lodge about three years later, on 26 January, 1778, but no Christian name is given.

Although William Powell was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge he never became a member of that body.

The next we hear of William Powell is that in 1779 he was living in Hull at the "Hotel High Street".

On 20 September he wrote to Francis Consitt,⁸ a well-known member of the York Grand Lodge with whom William Powell appears to have been on intimate terms, as he says "My family join me in best Compliments".

William Powell states in his letter that he has been "frequently urged by a few very respectable Br Mafons to get a Constitution from York", but that he does not know how to proceed in the matter and so would like information on the subject as "it may be of very great consequence to me if I succeed". The text of William Powell's letter is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 64):—

Brother Consitt

I have been frequently urged by
a few very respectable Br Mafons to get a

¹ See Account of the Druidical Lodge.

² Register of the Prov. G. Lodge for Yorkshire. The name in the Records of St. George's Lodge, No. 242, is given as J. Parkin, Attorney.

³ The Records of St. George's Lodge, No. 242, by William Delanoy, p. 88.

⁴ Christopher Kay, age 26, Gentleman of Bawtry, was initiated in the Duke of York's Lodge No. 529, Doncaster, on 15 September, 1788 (Register of the Prov. G. Lodge for Yorkshire). This could not have been Mr Kay the Petitioner as he would only have been 17 years old in 1799.

⁵ The Records of St. George's Lodge, No. 242, by William Delanoy, p. 89.

⁶ See Account of the Druidical Lodge.

⁷ This may have been Thomas Powell, who was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge on 28 January, 1771.

⁸ Francis Consitt acted "as Grand Master" on nine occasions in 1775, but never held office in the York Grand Lodge.

Constitution from York. now as I dont know
 in what manner to apply is the reason of my
 troubleing you with these I beg you will not
 fail to give me your sentiments and inform
 me in the best manner you can as it may be
 of very great consequence to me if I succeed
 an answer as soon as convenient will much
 oblige and serve your Humble ser^t. &
 faithfull Br to Comm^d.

W Powell

Hotel High street

y^e 20th Sept^r.

P S:

My family join in best Compl^{mts} to
 you Yours and all enquiring friend

This letter was addressed "To Mr: F^s Consitt S^t Hellens Square York" and has been endorsed by John Browne "20. Septem 1779. Letter from Bro^r. W. Powell of Hull Requiring the form of Obtaining a Constitution".

William Powell's letter was read at the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge on 27 September, 1778, and Bro. F. Consitt was instructed to let William Powell know that a Petition in writing must be forwarded and that further information could be obtained from "Our Brother Capt. Wiggins" who is now at Hull.

Captain James Wiggins had been made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge on 25 February, 1771; he had attended regularly, particularly during 1776 and 1777, sometimes acting for one of the absent Officers. He ceased to attend the York Grand Lodge after April, 1778,¹ so it seems likely that Captain Wiggins left York and went to reside at Hull in the Spring of 1778.

The York Grand Lodge Minute for 27 September, 1779, is as follows:—

A Letter from Brother W^m. Powell of Hull Requiring the Mode of Applying for a Constitution was received and read And Bro^r. F. Consitt desired to reply that it must be done by Way of Petition in Writing And that Our Brother Captⁿ. Wiggins being now at Hull further Information may be had of him.

Two months before William Powell wrote his letter, a Hull man named Edward Coulson was proposed by Bro. F. Consitt to be made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge.

The minute of the York Grand Lodge of 22 July, 1779, is as follows:—

M^r. Edward Coulson of Hull was by Bro^r. ffra. Consitt proposed to be made a Maceon.

And at the next meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 30 August, 1779

M^r. Edward Coulson was also ballotted for and admitted.

This, however, only means that the ballot was successful, as Mr. Edward Coulson never attended the York Grand Lodge to be made a Mason. Nearly three years later, on 9 May, 1782, "Edward Coulson Esq^r., Mercer of Hull", was initiated in the Rodney Lodge of Hull.²

¹ Captain James Wiggins attended the York Grand Lodge Meeting at Rotherham held on 22 December, 1778.

² Register of the Provincial Grand Lodge for Yorkshire.

Strange to say, in the year 1779 there was no active Lodge in Hull. There had been three Masonic Lodges; these were No. 78,¹ an "Antient" Lodge which lapsed in 1761, and Nos. 252² and 267,³ both "Modern" Lodges which were erased in 1768.

The "few very respectable Br. Masons" mentioned by William Powell in his letter were most likely surviving members of these Lodges.

William Powell does not appear to have gone forward with his project as nothing more is heard of the matter; the reason for this may be that 18 months later a new Lodge called the Rodney was constituted in Hull by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns). The Hull brethren may have preferred to have a constitution from the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) rather than one from the York Grand Lodge.

William Powell's name does not appear as a founder of the Rodney Lodge nor did he become a member later.

A SUBORDINATE LODGE IN THE CITY OF YORK.

The only evidence of the existence of an "unknown" Subordinate Lodge in the City of York is a draft of a Petition; this is in the handwriting of John Browne⁴ G. Secretary, and bears his endorsement "Petition to the Grand Lodge for a Subordinate Lodge in York."

This draft petition leaves the place of meeting and the name or title of the Lodge blank. Only two of the petitioners are mentioned by name—John Coupland is to be the Right Worshipful Master and Mark Anthony Robinson one of the Worshipful Wardens, the place for the Senior Warden being left blank. The title of Right Worshipful Master for Subordinate Lodges was adopted by the York Grand Lodge at their meeting on 30 November, 1778.

The Petitioners show the true Yorkshire characteristic as they "humbly solicit that the usual fees of Constitution may be mitigated and excused."

Of the two Petitioners mentioned John Coupland, a Linen Draper,⁵ was made E.A. and F.C. in the York Grand Lodge on 10 April, 1769, and M.M. on 27 November, 1769. He was Senior Grand Warden in 1778 and 1779, but did not receive office for the year 1780, although he was present at the meeting on 27 December, 1779, when the officers for 1780 were appointed. Mark Anthony Robinson was made E.A. and F.C. in the York Grand Lodge on 25 April, 1777, and M.M. on 24 November, 1777.

John Browne did not become a Mason till 9 November, 1778, and was made Grand Secretary at the meeting on 28 December, 1778,⁶ "as soon as he shall be raised to the third Degree."

John Lane in his Masonic Records places this unknown Lodge between French Prisoners Lodge of 10 June, 1762, and Scarborough Lodge of 19 August, 1762. This information was most likely supplied by some brother at York, but if this unknown Lodge ever existed, which seems most unlikely, the date must be some time in 1779 or 1780.

¹ Lane's Masonic Records, Second Edition, p. 90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴ I have compared the handwriting of the draft Petition with that of John Browne's writing in the York Grand Lodge Minute Books and am confident that they are identical. After making the comparison I came across some notes of the late Bro. W. R. Makins in which he definitely states the MS. "is written on one page of foolscap in the handwriting of John Browne". This view is shared by Bro. Worts, of Leeds.

⁵ See Adv. in *York Courant*, 5 July, 1768.

⁶ John Browne acted as Secretary for about a month before his appointment. The York Grand Lodge Minutes are in John Browne's handwriting from 14 December, 1778 onwards.

John Browne made a draft of a Certificate¹ to be issued by the York Grand Lodge, which he endorsed "Tenor of the Certificate of a Brother being initiated into the Mysteries of free Maceonry."

This draft was for the use of the engraver and has the following note, "NB. The Engraver of the Plate to leave Blank all such Words Letters or figures as are here wrote in Red."

The name that John Browne used for the certificate was Mark Anthony Robinson, which appears to be the first name that occurred to him, and is one of the names used in the draft Petition.

Mark Anthony Robinson's description is given as Yeoman, whereas he was a hosier²; further the dates of admission to the various degrees are fictitious. John Browne gives the date of being "Admitted to the First Degree" as "the twenty-sixth Day of January A.D. 1779," whereas Robinson was admitted on 25 August 1777.

Mark Anthony Robinson was one of the few members of the York Grand Lodge who possessed two Christian names, and this may be the reason why his name was chosen.

John Browne was a most careful Secretary. He was a Proctor and appears to have had the legal mind. The draft Petition is a legal document; if the name and place of meeting of the Lodge had been known John Browne would have filled in this information; John Browne unfortunately died at the age of 26 on 18 October, 1780.³

It is, however, possible that Bro. Coupland was disappointed at not being made Deputy Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge for the year 1780, and on this account may have petitioned for a new Lodge so that he could become the Master.

From the little evidence available it seems most unlikely that a Constitution was ever issued for an "unknown" Subordinate Lodge in the City of York.

The text of the draft Petition is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 66):—

To the Most Worshipful
Grand Master of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge
of all England held at the City of York, his Officers—
and the rest of the Members there.

We whose Names are hereunto subscribed being free and Accepted Masons now residing in the City of York, on behalf of Ourselves and others of the Brotherhood, humbly beg Leave to petition and represent to You as follows That your Petitioners having a sincere Attachment to the Institution and Principles of free Masonry and an anxious desire to cultivate the sacred Act, have Intentions of Afsociating together for frequent Practice as soon as they shall be properly enabled so to do. **And therefore** most humbly solicit Your Approbation of their Intentions and that You will be graciously pleased to grant unto them and their Successors a Warrant or Constitution empowering them to hold a Subordinate Lodge in the City of York, to be opened at the House of _____ in the said City, by the Stile and Title of _____ and to be continued and held for ever on such Days and Hours and in such Places in the City of York aforesaid as the Right Worshipful Master and the rest of the Brethren of the said

¹ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 38.

² Robinson Anthony, Hofier, Stonegate. (*The York Guide*, 1787.)

³ *York Courant*, 24 October, 1780.

Lodge shall appoint, with Power to make Bye Laws, and to make and raise Masons in the three first Degrees; and for such other Purposes as are usually granted to Lodges subordinate to You. But with such Limitations and Provisoos as Your Wisdom shall direct; To the which Ends, -Your Petitioners beg Leave to propose that Brother John Coupland may be created the present Right Worshipful Master of the said Lodge, and Brothers and Mark Anthony Robinson the Worshipful Wardens thereof And in Order that Your Petitioners may effectuate their Designs without Burthen to themselves, they being determined to pursue only such Measures as may promote the Honour and Dignity of the Grand Lodge of all England, and the Good of the Craft in General on the Original Plan of its Establishment, Do most humbly solicit that the usual fees of Constitution may be mitigated and excused, In Consideration whereof they will render to the Grand Lodge the like fees for every Brother by them made or raised as are accustomarily paid for Makings and Raisings in the Grand Lodge, And will make such other Acknowledgments as the Grand Lodge by their Warrant may reasonably require.

And Your Petitioners as in Duty bound will ever pray for Your Honour and the Prosperity of the Craft.

MANCHESTER

Jacob Bussey, the Grand Secretary of the York Grand Lodge, left York and went to reside in Manchester; his successor in office, John Browne, was appointed on 28 December, 1778, but Jacob Bussey continued to attend the meetings of the York Grand Lodge up to 31 May, 1779; we can therefore safely say that Jacob Bussey left York some time in 1779.

That the York Grand Lodge appreciated Jacob Bussey's services as Grand Secretary is proved by the fact that a resolution of thanks was passed at the meeting of the York Grand Lodge held on 22 February, 1779; this, however, was not considered sufficient and so it was decided at the meeting held on 14 June, 1779, to present a Piece of Plate "as a Token of their Respect", and it was further decided to elect him an "Honorary Member".

If a Subordinate Lodge was to be constituted in the Manchester district by the York Grand Lodge one would naturally expect that Jacob Bussey would be the moving spirit, but Bussey died three years after leaving York.

The *York Chronicle* of 9 August, 1782, contains the following paragraph:—

On Saturday laft died suddenly, greatly regretted, Mr. Jacob Buffey, (formerly of this city) partner with Mr. Barlow, mercer and woollen-drapeer in the market-place, Manchester.

John Hassall, who had been one of the founders and first Senior Warden of the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham, went to reside in the Manchester district. There is no note in the minutes of the Druidical Lodge of John Hassall's resignation; on 28 January, 1780, a Masonic Certificate was issued by the Druidical Lodge to John Hassall which suggests that he was contemplating leaving Rotherham, and the last we hear of him in the district is that he was incarcerated in York Castle, most likely for debt; he wrote to Grand Secretary of the York Grand Lodge¹ on 17 May, 1780, asking for help which was most

¹ York G. Lodge MS. No. 83, already quoted in full.

likely granted, as the members of the York Grand Lodge were a generous body of men.

Six years later John Hassall was the main factor in forming a Royal Encampment of Knights Templar in Manchester.

A Petition, dated 11 June, 1786, and signed by John Hassall and two other "Knight Templars", was forwarded to the York Grand Lodge. An accompanying letter was sent with the Petition, and this letter¹ had the following note "Direct for John Hassall Boodle Street Manchester"; so John Hassall was most likely residing in Boodle Street, Manchester, in June, 1786.

A Warrant of Constitution or Charter dated 10 October, 1786, was granted by Edward Woolley the G.G.C. at York² and a Royal Encampment was opened, the meetings taking place at "Mr Wm. Goodalls The Fleece Tavern Old Shambles Manchester".

John Hassall was the first Royal Grand Commander, a position he retained for five years.

On 23 December, 1787, a Petition for a Constitution to form a Subordinate Lodge was forwarded to the York Grand Lodge from Manchester.

The Petitioners were four in number:—Robert Salter, Thomas Daniel, John Broad and John Hassall, and I have been unable to trace the first three.

The Petition prays that a Warrant be granted to hold a regularly constituted lodge under the sanction of the York Grand Lodge as soon as possible, and that a dispensation should be granted in the meantime; it further states that "We have some Brothers who wish to join us, & worthy Persons who wish to be admitted into the Society" and that as soon as the Warrant is delivered "The Money due for it" will be paid.

The first three Petitioners are to be the Master and Wardens and John Hassall the Past Master, and the Lodge is to be held at "the House of John Woodman the Sign of the Brush-Maker's Arms, Smithy Door Manchester".

The text of the Petition is as follows (York Grand Lodge MS. No. 96):—

Manchester 23 Dec^r. 1787

To the most right worshipful Grand Master
of all England

We your humble Petitioners Robert Salter
Thomas Daniel, John Broad and John Hafsall
do request the grant of a Warrant to hold a regularly
constituted Lodge of Master Masons under your
Sanction, as soon as You can make it convenient; but
We shall be glad if You will grant us a dispensation,
untill You can with convenience send us a regular
Warrant; as We have some Brothers who wish to join
us, & worthy Persons who wish to be admitted into the
Society — As soon as We shall receive the Warrant,
The Money due for it, shall be paid according to your
Orders — The three first Names are wished to be inserted
in the Warrant as Master and Wardens, the last as
Past Master — The House it is design'd to be holden
at, is the House of John Woodman the Sign of the
Brush-Maker's Arms, Smithy Door Manchester

We are your humble Petitioners & Brothers

Robert Salter Master
Tho^s Daniel S

¹ Short History of the Jerusalem Preceptory, by John R. Williams, 1927.

² A.Q.C., vol. xviii., p. 170.

John Broad J.W.

John Hafsall P

Please to direct for J.H. at the Brush-Makers Arms
Smithy Door, Manchester

This Petition bears no address or endorsement: it is written in copper-plate hand by Robert Salter, but a note at the bottom of the letter states "Please to direct for J(ohn) H(assall) at the Brush-Makers Arms Smithy Door, Manchester", which proves that John Hassall was the prime mover in the matter; as he was illiterate he did not write the letter himself.

There is no further correspondence on the subject and one can only draw the conclusion that the matter was allowed to drop: but John Hassall was not to be beaten, for about three years later a Constitution was granted by the York Grand Lodge to hold a Subordinate Lodge in the Manchester District.

THE LODGE OF FORTITUDE AT HOLLINWOOD

The next we hear of John Hassall is that he visited the Lodge of Friendship No. 554 on 17 August, 1790; this Lodge had been constituted the year before, in 1789, by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns).

The Minutes of the Lodge of Friendship¹ state "Visiting Br. Br. John Hassall (*sic*), from Bull head, Manchester", so at first sight it seems probable that John Hassall had become the landlord of the Bull Head, but Bro. S. L. Coulthurst states² that he never became the landlord of this inn, and so the Bull Head may have been an accommodation address.

It would be interesting to know what happened at this meeting: no doubt John Hassall had a private conversation with some of the Members, as Henry Mills, the J.W., gave three months' notice of his intention to leave the Lodge, and three months later, on 27 November, 1790, a Constitution was issued by the York Grand Lodge to hold a Lodge in Hollinwood in the County of Lancaster.

Fortunately the original Constitution is at York and gives the names of the seven Petitioners, and I am greatly indebted to Bro. F. L. Pick for the following particulars of these brethren.

Isaac Clegg was a Cotton Manufacturer, initiated in the Lodge of Union No. 534, constituted by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns); he was a Founder and first Junior Warden of the Lodge of Friendship and was installed Master of the Lodge on 24 June, 1790, and attended every meeting to the end of the year; as he was the first Master of the Lodge of Fortitude, he was Master of two Lodges under different constitutions at the same time.

Henry Mills was a Painter, initiated in the Lodge of Friendship on 23 September, 1789, which he resigned on becoming a Founder of the Lodge of Fortitude, but continued to be a constant visitor to the Lodge of Friendship³ and even acting as an officer on occasion; his name appears as a visitor up to 1803, but on 5 May, 1804, he is entered as J.D. and there is no mention of his being a visitor. On 3 August, 1808, he acted "as Substitute Treasurer" and on 9 January, 1811, "as Substitute Master".

John Booth was a Weaver of Failsforth near Hollinwood, he was initiated at the age of 21 in the Lodge of Friendship on 27 January, 1790, and his name disappears from the Friendship records after the formation of the

¹ Freemasonry in Oldham, 1789-1838, by Fred L. Pick, A.Q.C., vol. li.

² *Ibid* (Discussion).

³ Henry Mills visited the Lodge of Friendship as follows:—1791, Mar. 16; 1794, Nov. 5; 1795, Oct. 28; 1796, Mar. 23, Apl. 20, Nov. 9; 1799, Mar. 20; 1800, Mar. 5, Apl. 9, May 7, June 4 and 18; 1801, Sept. 16; 1802, Jan. 13; 1803, Feb. 2.

Lodge of Fortitude, except that he visited Friendship twice in 1795 on 26 August and 28 October.

John Hassall was initiated in an Irish Lodge; he had been one of the founders of the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham. I shall, however, refer to this interesting personality later.

Jonathan Raynor was a Weaver and had been registered in an Irish Lodge No. 354 attached to the 49th Regiment on 7 July, 1781; he was a founder and first Master of the Lodge of Friendship; he had a somewhat checkered career and received charity from the Lodge of Friendship. Although he was a Petitioner of the Lodge of Fortitude he continued his membership of the Lodge of Friendship.

Samuel Brierley (Brietley) was a Tailor, initiated in an Irish Lodge No. 92, attached to the 25th Regiment; he was a founder of the Lodge of Friendship and on 7 March, 1792, gave "Notice to Withdraw in 3 Months". A man named Joshua Brierley visited the Lodge of Friendship on 18 May, 1796, and he may have been a relation of Samuel Brierley.

John Hilton was not a member of the Lodge of Friendship and little is known about him.

Of the seven Petitioners all except John Hassall and John Hilton were members of the Lodge of Friendship; two of them, like John Hassall, having been members of Irish Lodges.

The Warrant of Constitution issued by the York Grand Lodge states that the Lodge is to be known "by the Title of the Lodge of Fortitude" and is to be held "at the House of Brother James Taylor the Sign of the Sun in Hollingwood".

Bro. F. L. Pick informs me that this Inn is still in existence but has been somewhat altered; Hollinwood is a suburb of Oldham, about five miles from Manchester.

It should be noted that the landlord is called *Brother James Taylor*, and although he was not one of the Petitioners he most likely became a member of the Lodge of Fortitude; he was elected a "full member" of the Lodge of Friendship on 23 February, 1790. He must, however, have resigned, as on 16 March, 1791, his name is entered as a visitor "from Lodge of Integrity". He visited the Lodge of Friendship again some years later, on 20 March, 1799.

The Fortitude Constitution further adds that the Lodge is to be held at "such other place within the same County as they shall from Time to Time please"; this might be considered to be a roving commission, but I think that the intention was to allow the Lodge to move to another Inn or even another Town in the district without having to refer the matter to the York Grand Lodge.

The first officers appointed were Isaac Clegg Right Worshipful Master, Henry Mills Senior Warden, and John Booth Junior Warden.

The Text of the Constitution is as follows:—

We Thomas Kilby Esquire Grand Master of all England

To all and every our Right Worshipful and loving Brethren of the most ancient and honourable Society of free and Accepted Masons Send Greeting in the Lord.

Thomas Kilby
Grand Master

Know Ye that we have received the humble Petition and request of our well bloved and faithful Brethren **Isaac Clegg, Henry Mills,**

John Booth, John Hafsall, Jonathan Raynor, Samuel Brietley and James Hilton all of Lancashire, praying that we would [grant] a Constitution to them the said Brethren to hold a regular Lodge by the Title of the Lodge of **Fortitude** at the House of Brother James Taylor the Sign of the Sun in Hollingwood in the said County of Lancaster or such other place within the same County as they shall from Time to Time please. **We therefore** with the unanimous Afsent and Consent of our Brethren of the most Ancient Lodge of all England, and more especially because we are well satisfied of the good Life and Conversation of the said Brethren Isaac Clegg, Henry Mills, John Booth, John Hafsall, Jonathan Raynor Samuel Brietley and James Hilton **Do** hereby constitute the said seven Brethren into a regular Lodge of free and accepted Masons to be opened at the House of James Taylor the Sign of the Son in Hellingwood aforesaid and to be held for ever on such Days, at such Hours and in such Places in the County of Lancaster as the Right Worshipful Masters and the rest of the Brethren of the said Lodge shall from Time to Time appoint. **And** We do further at the request of the said seven Brethren on whom We in this Matter repose the greatest Trust and Confidence, hereby appoint the said Brother Isaac Clegg to be right worshipful Master, Brother Henry Mills Senior Warden, Brother John Booth Junior Warden of the said Lodge when the same shall be opened, and to continue in the said Offices for such further Time as the Brethren of the said Lodge shall think proper: it being in no wise our Intention that this our Appointment of the said several Brethren to the Offices above mentioned shall affect any future Election of the Officers of the said Lodge, but that such Elections shall be regulated in conformity to the Bye Laws of the said Lodge for the Time being of which we will and require shall be consistent with the General Laws and Principles of Masonry: **And** we do hereby will and require the said Isaac Clegg to take especial care by due Examination that all and every the said Brethren are Masons regularly made, and that they do observe the Laws of Masonry and in all respects demean themselves as becometh Masons **And further** that the Right Worshipful Master of the said Lodge for the Time being shall cause to be entred in a Book to be kept for that purpose an Account of the proceedings of the said Lodge together with all such Orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good Government thereof. **And** that it be not in any wise omitted once in every year at or before the Feast of Saint John the Evangelist in Winter sending us at the least one of the Brethren of the said Lodge (if it can be made convenient) to lay before us and our Succesors Grand Masters of all England and the Grand Officers and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of all England an Account in Writing of such Proceedings, and Copies of all such Rules Orders and Regulations as aforesaid to be then and there confirmed (unlefs for reasonable Cause) together with a List of the Members of the said Lodge, and of the Names of such persons as shall be received into the same as Masons and such Yearly and other Sums of Money as may suit the Circumstances of the Lodge and may be reasonably required to be applied towards General Charity and in Augmentation of the Revenues of the said Grand Lodge of all England.

And we further Will and require the said Isaac Clegg Right Worshipful Master forthwith to send us an Account of what shall be done by Virtue of these Presents. **Given** at York the Twenty

Seventh Day of November Anno Domini M. D. CCXC — A.L. 5790.
and in the Year of the most Worshipful Grand Lodge of [all]
England.

By the Grand Masters Command

Blanchard Grand Secretary.

L.S.

This Constitution is in the handwriting of William Blanchard and is signed by "Thomas Kilby Grand Master" and "Blanchard Grand Secretary"; it is dated 27 November, 1790, and is in a somewhat faded condition.

There are one or two clerical errors in the Constitution—in the third line of the main text the word "grant" has been omitted, and in the last line "the most Worshipful Grand Lodge of England" should obviously be "the most Worshipful Grand Lodge of All England."

The original Constitution of the Lodge of Fortitude at Hollinwood was discovered in the archives of the United Grand Lodge in London and came into the possession of the York Lodge in 1885; an exchange being arranged between the United Grand Lodge and the York Lodge No. 236, the latter returning a copy of Cole's engraved List of Lodges dated 1771, which formerly belonged to the Grand Lodge of England.¹

There are no accounts of the proceedings of the Lodge of Fortitude at York, and if any were sent then they have been lost.

The members of the Lodge of Fortitude seem to have been on friendly terms with the Lodge of Friendship as according to the latter's minutes² of 16 February, 1791, James Whitehead, whose name has not appeared before, visited the Lodge "from the Lodge of Fortitude held at James Taylors, Bottom of Hollinwood Under the Antient Grand Lodge of York," and again on 5 June, 1791, "Br. John Schfield Re'ntred from the Lodge of Fortitude under the Constitution of York"; this is the last reference to the Lodge of Fortitude.

James Whitehead continued to visit the Lodge of Friendship,³ his last appearance being on 6 October, 1802, when he acted as "Substitute J.W.," but the minutes do not state the name of his Lodge.

It is difficult to give any date for the collapse of the Lodge of Fortitude; the last reference to the Lodge is on 5 June, 1791, but various members continue to visit the Lodge of Friendship up to 1803; they may of course have joined some other Lodge in the meantime.

In 1795 some of the visitors to the Lodge of Friendship were described as being "from Hollinwood," these were James Whitehead and John Booth on 26 August, James Whitehead on 23 September, and Henry Mills and John Booth on 28 October; all these men are known to have been members of Fortitude, so the Lodge of Fortitude was most likely active in 1795; that is three years after the last trace at York of the York Grand Lodge.

Before closing this account of the Lodge of Fortitude at Hollinwood, a word or two should be said about that interesting character John Hassall. He was initiated in an Irish Lodge No. 375 Dublin⁴ on 30 September, 1767; eleven

¹ York Lodge No. 236. Minutes of 7 Dec., 1885.

² Freemasonry in Oldham, 1789-1838, by Fred L. Pick, *A.Q.C.*, vol. li.

³ James Whitehead visited the Lodge of Friendship as follows:—1791, Feb. 16, Mar. 16; 1795, Mar. 4, Aug. 26, Sept. 23; 1796, Apl. 20; 1797, June 7, Sept. 6; 1798, Feb. 23; 1800, June 4, Sept. 3; 1801, Apl. 22, July 22, Aug. 19, Sept. 16; 1802, Oct. 6.

⁴ Freemasonry in Oldham, 1789-1838, *A.Q.C.*, vol. li. (Discussion).

years later, in December, 1778, he was a Petitioner and first Senior Warden of the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham under the constitution of the York Grand Lodge: nine years later, in December, 1787, he tried to found a Lodge in Manchester under the same constitution; and three years later, in November, 1790, he was a Petitioner and the leading spirit in the formation of the Lodge of Fortitude, Hollinwood, also under the constitution of the York Grand Lodge: finally, in 1793, he joined the Royal Chester Lodge under the constitution of the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns).

So John Hassall served as a Mason under three different constitutions.

In 1787 John Hassall is described as a Past Master, but I have been unable to find when or in what Lodge he was the Master.

To Bro. S. L. Coulthurst, P.P.G.D. (East Lanc.), we are indebted for discovering further information¹—the Hassells were an old Chester family and there were a number having the christian name of John. In Chester the name is spelt with an "e," Hassell, whereas there are two signatures of John Hassall at York,² and in both cases the name is spelt with an "a," Hassall.

There is a John Hassell, Wine Merchant, Bridge Street, in the Chester Directories 1780 to 1823, but on 2 February, 1783, this man was registered at the Grand Lodge as a member of the Loyal British Lodge, the age being given as 30, so this could hardly be the John Hassall who was initiated in Ireland in 1767; however, there is no doubt that our John Hassall joined the Royal Chester Lodge in 1793, as he is definitely stated to be "From Druidical Lodge No. 109 Rotherham, Grand Lodge of York."

It should be noted that when he joined the Royal Chester Lodge no mention was made of the Fortitude Lodge of Hollinwood. The problem seems to be—when did John Hassall leave Rotherham and York and take up his residence in Chester, and did he reside in the Manchester district in the meantime? a difficult question to answer.

THE LODGE OF FORTITUDE, HOLLINWOOD

List of Members.

John Booth, Weaver
Samuel Brierley (Brietley), Tailor
Isaac Clegg, Cotton Manufacturer
John Hassall, Wine Merchant
James Hilton
Henry Mills, Painter
Jonathan Raynor, Weaver
John Schfield
James Taylor, Landlord of the Sun
James Whitehead

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing accounts we obtain a list of 11 Subordinate Lodges, ignoring the two constituted by the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent. In this list I have suggested the date of the collapse of each Lodge; it must be pointed out that these dates are a personal conjecture and further facts may come to light which might prove that some of the suggested dates are wrong.

The following is the complete list:—

¹ Freemasonry in Oldham, 1789-1838, A.Q.C., vol. li. (Discussion).

² York G. Lodge MSS. Nos. 83 and 96.

SUBORDINATE LODGES OF THE YORK GRAND LODGE

Town	Name of Lodge	Number	Place of Meeting	Petition Granted	Warrant of Constitution	First Meeting	Suggested Year of Collapse
Halifax			Talbot	—	—	22 May, 1738	1738
York	French Prisoners	No. 1	Punch Bowl	—	10 June, 1762	10 June, 1762	1763
Scarborough			Turk's Head	—	—	19 Aug., 1762	1768
Ripon			Royal Oak	31 July, 1769	—	8 Aug., 1769	1776
Knaresborough			Crown	30 Oct., 1769	—	21 Nov., 1769	1785
Macclesfield			Duke of Devonshire Flying Childers	24 Sept., 1770	—	—	1774
Hovingham			—	29 Mar., 1773	—	—	1776
Rotherham	Druidical	No. 109	Red Lion	12 Oct., 1778	30 Nov., 1778	22 Dec., 1778	1792
Snainton			New Inn	14 Dec., 1778	—	—	1780
Grand Lodge South of the River Trent			Queen's Arms	22 Feb., 1779	29 Mar., 1779	24 June, 1779	1789
Hollinwood	Fortitude		Sun	—	27 Nov., 1790	—	1796

SUBORDINATE LODGES OF THE GRAND LODGE SOUTH OF THE RIVER TRENT

London	Perseverance and Triumph	No. 2	Queen's Head Holborn	24 June, 1779	—	9 Aug., 1779	1789
London	Perfect Observance	No. 1	Mitre Tavern Fleet Street	24 June, 1779	—	15 Nov., 1779	1789

It will be seen from the foregoing that the Lodge at Snainton should follow the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham, as the Petition for the former was presented two months after the latter.

The only two Subordinate Lodges to receive a number were the French Prisoners Lodge of York, which was numbered 1, and the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham, which was numbered 109. From the foregoing list (provided French Prisoners Lodge is taken as No. 1) the Druidical Lodge should be No. 7.

Former writers have assumed that John Browne added 100 and that the Druidical Lodge should have been numbered 9, this was obtained by placing the Lodge at Snainton before the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham and adding an Unknown Lodge in the City of York, which I believe to be erroneous.

From this the conclusion is drawn that John Browne added 102 and not 100, but there appears another alternative, did John Browne add the Warrants of Constitution granted by the Grand Chapter of York?¹ Unfortunately for this theory three such Constitutions for R.A. Chapters had been granted at this time, namely:—

Ripon R.A. Chapter—Petition granted on 7 February, 1770.

Knaresborough R.A. Chapter—Petition granted on 21 April, 1770.

Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons R.A. Chapter—Petition granted in October, 1770.

The only suggestion that I can make is that John Browne included the Warrants of Constitution of the Ripon and Knaresborough R.A. Chapters but ignored that of the Inniskilling Regiment as the Lodge attached to this Regiment had not received its Constitution from the York Grand Lodge.

After the revival of the York Grand Lodge in 1762, ten Subordinate Lodges received Constitutions, but at no time were more than four Lodges active at the same time.

The following Return shows the years in which the Subordinate Lodges were active:—

¹ The Constitution for the Royal Encampment at Manchester dated 10 October, 1786. and issued at York was numbered 15.

Year	Halifax	French Prisoners	Scarborough	Ripon	Knaresborough	Macclesfield	Hovingham	Druidical Rotherham	Snainton	Grand Lodge South of the River Trent	Fortitude Hollingwood	Active Lodges
1738	*											1
1762		*	*									2
1763		*	*									2
1764			*									1
1765			*									1
1766			*									1
1767			*									1
1768			*									1
1769				*	*							2
1770				*	*	*						3
1771				*	*	*	*					3
1772				*	*	*	*					3
1773				*	*	*	*	*				4
1774				*	*	*	*	*				4
1775				*	*	*	*	*				3
1776				*	*	*	*	*				3
1777					*	*	*	*				1
1778					*	*	*	*	*			3
1779					*	*	*	*	*	*		4
1780					*	*	*	*	*	*		4
1781					*	*	*	*	*	*		3
1782					*	*	*	*	*	*		3
1783					*	*	*	*	*	*		3
1784					*	*	*	*	*	*		3
1785					*	*	*	*	*	*		3
1786						*	*	*	*	*		2
1787						*	*	*	*	*		2
1788						*	*	*	*	*		2
1789						*	*	*	*	*		2
1790								*	*		*	2
1791								*	*		*	2
1792								*	*		*	2
1793									*		*	1
1794									*		*	1
1795									*		*	1
1796									*		*	1

Royal Arch Chapters were attached to the Subordinate Lodges at Ripon and Knaresborough; and both a Royal Arch Chapter and a Knights Templar Encampment were attached to the Subordinate Lodge at Rotherham. It is hoped to deal with these on some future occasion.

The only criticism that can be levelled against the York Grand Lodge is that Constitutions were granted to—

- (1) Macclesfield, where as far as we know, no enquiries were made and very little is known of its subsequent history. The York Grand Lodge paid for the mistake as no payment was received for the Constitution.

- (2) Hovingham and Snainton, which were both very small; it seems that a Masonic Lodge formed in a village of only 500 inhabitants was doomed to failure.

The last trace of the York Grand Lodge is found in a MS.¹ in the handwriting of William Blanchard, the Grand Secretary. This MS. consists of rough notes of a meeting of the York Grand Lodge which took place on 23 August, 1792, the last item but one being as follows:—

“ It was ordered a Constitution be granted to the ”.

Unfortunately no name has been added and so we are left in the dark and have no further information on the subject. There are, however, two or three possible solutions:—

- (1) Although a Constitution was granted, no Lodge was formed.
- (2) It may be the Lodge at Bradford called “ Lodge of Hope No. 112539 ”.
- (3) It may refer to a Royal Arch Chapter or Knights Templar Encampment. It seems possible that the York Grand Lodge might deal with other degrees in 1792, there were few members at this date and all the degrees had been amalgamated in 1780.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Johnson for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, seconded by Bro. L. Edwards; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, L. Edwards, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

The paper by Bro. Gilbert York Johnson (along with the first part read some time ago) is a monument of Masonic research, and he is entitled to the hearty congratulations of the members of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge and all his fellow Masonic students.

The subject he has selected for his essay is really a fascinating one, and his efforts to trace every detail regarding the Subordinate Lodges of the York Grand Lodge are so complete that I hardly expect any commentators will be able to throw further light on the information he has accumulated for our benefit.

One little grouse, I hope I may be forgiven for, is that I think if we had had less we might have had more. That is paradoxical, but my point is that we have here a case of a twice told tale. How often is the story repeated about the nominal Grand Lodge in London libelling the Grand Lodge in York?

Another point—and one other only—is that after a careful perusal of the paper there does, after all, appear to be some slight justification for the common misapprehension that exists about a connection between York and Antient Lodges and Masons.

But here I must end on the vote of appreciation with which I began by tendering my own measure of thanks to Bro. Johnson for his indefatigable efforts to extend our find of Masonic knowledge. As an honorary member of the York Lodge, No. 236, I am in a position to know a very great deal about its honorary librarian and his wonderful work.

¹ York Grand Lodge MS. No. 104.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The decay of the York Grand Lodge is of great interest to students of the History of Masonry, and it is curious to note that although this Lodge claimed jurisdiction over all England and failed to hold York, the "Moderns" G. Lodge was an attempt to govern London and seven miles around, but succeeded in dominating the whole of England.

The use of the word "admitted" in the York G.L. minutes for 30th August, 1779 concerning Edward Coulson seems to mean only that the ballot was favourable. Is the word used elsewhere in this sense or has it some other interpretation?

In the notes on the lodge at Hollinwood the suggestion is made that Joshua Brierley, who visited the L. of Friendship in 1796, may have been related to Samuel Brierley, one of the founders of the Lodge. It may be worth noting that the Brierley Masonic tombstones at Mellor, Derbyshire, refer to brethren who were alive at this period. The better known stone, which has the Masonic cyphers, is to Thomas Brierley, who "made his ingress" on July 16th, 1785; the other stone, decorated with beehives and geometrical figures, is to J.B.B., who died in 1856 at the age of 94. There is also an inscription in what may be a cypher in Hebrew. So far as I am aware this has never been decyphered and the stone has attracted but little attention.

The Brierleys seem to have been at "outs" with the local brethren and may have cherished a loyalty to York. The delineation of a beehive on a tombstone does not suggest Industry, but falls into line with its presence in the third degree and its use as a symbol of the resurrection in early Christian iconography.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON *writes*, in reply:—

In the first place may I pay tribute to the work of the late Bro. W. R. Makins, Assistant Librarian of the Grand Lodge; it is largely due to his industry and research that I have been able to undertake the writing of this paper, and his notes have helped me to find the various sources of information.

And next may I thank the W.M., Bro. S. J. Fenton, for his vote of thanks and his congratulations to me on being elected a full member of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, an honour that I value greatly.

Bro. Covey-Crump points out a remarkable coincidence, that two men named William Tireman and William Musgrave were members of the Old Lodge in York City in 1724, and also two men with similar names were members of a Cambridge Lodge in 1760. It should be noted that one of the York Masons was called Musgrave, whereas the Cambridge Mason appears to have been called Musgrove.

William Tireman and William Musgrave "were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons" in the City of York on the same day, 5 February, 1723/4.

There is little trace of William Tireman, except that he gave a guinea to the Defence Fund raised in York during the troublous times of 1746, when he resided in the Parish of St. Helen's, Stonegate.

William Musgrave is much better known; he was made a Merchant Adventurer in 1726, when he is described as a Mercer. He gave £3 to the Defence Fund of 1746 and also lived in the Parish of St. Helen's, Stonegate. He was elected a Commoner for Bootham Ward in 1743, appointed foreman in 1762, and served the office of Chamberlain in 1750. He became a Freeman of the City of York in 1725, when he is described as a "mercator".

William Musgrave attended Mr. Scourfield's schismatical Lodge in 1726. but appears to have made "such submission as shall be receiv'd into the Favour of the Brotherhood".

According to the *Newcastle Journal* of 22/29 January, 1774, William Musgrave died in 1774 in the 71st year of his age, when he is described as a Merchant.

In the circumstances it seems most unlikely that there was any connection between the York Masons and the Cambridge Masons of the same names, but I thank Bro. Covey-Crump for pointing out the coincidence.

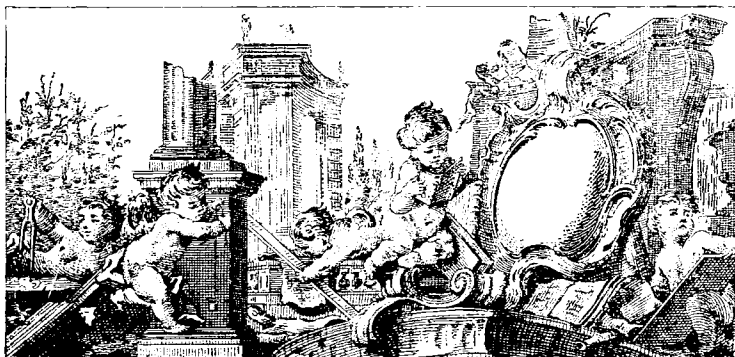
I am much obliged to Bro. R. H. Baxter for his congratulations and agree that there is a certain amount of repetition in the paper; my difficulty has been that I wished to include all the evidence obtainable, and as I progressed more and more matter accumulated.

My first idea was to exclude the History of the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent, as I did not feel that this Grand Lodge could be called a "Subordinate" Lodge, but the late Bro. Songhurst was definitely of the opinion that it should be included.

Bro. G. W. Bullamore's suggestion concerning the two Scarborough Jewels dated 1729 is new to me, and I know of no case in the North of England where two Lodges existed side by side, one Master presiding over the Masters' Lodge and another Master over the apprentices and fellows. The History of Freemasonry in Scarborough is particularly complicated and, if Bro. Bullamore's suggestion that there were two Lodges there in 1729 be correct, it becomes even more confused.

The word "admitted" is frequently used in the York Grand Lodge minutes. On 30 August, 1779, Edward Coulson of Hull was "ballotted for and admitted"; whereas the previous minute of the same date states that another man was "ballotted for admitted and made E.A. and F.C."

I am obliged to Bro. Bullamore for adding further information about the Brierley family.



FRIDAY, 4th OCTOBER, 1940.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, as *W.M.*; F. R. Radice, as *S.W.*; F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*, Secretary.

Also Bros. J. C. Vidler, A. J. Logette, W. R. Edwards, and C. D. Rotch as *J.W.*, members of the Correspondence Circle.

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.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*, Treas.; *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.*; David Flather, *J.P.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; B. Telepneff; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, *P.M.*; W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex*; F.W. Golby, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Warwicks.*, *P.M.*; C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *W.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *S.W.*; W. Jenkinson, *Pr.G.Sec.*, *Armagh*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Derbys.*; F. L. Pick; H. C. Bristowe, *P.A.G.D.C.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*; R. E. Parkinson; Geo. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.S.W.*; and W. E. Heaton, *P.A.G.D.C.*

Bro. Boris Ivanoff, *S.W.*, was unanimously elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, was re-elected Treasurer; and Bro. G. H. Ruddie was re-elected Tyler.

Two Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Owing to the emergency of the moment—an air raid being in progress—and the lack in attendance, on the proposition of Bro. Lewis Edwards, seconded by Bro. F. R. Radice, the paper as follows was taken as read, with a vote of thanks to the author, Bro. B. Telepneff:—

SOCIETY OF AFRICAN BUILDERS.

BY BRO. B. TELEPNEFF.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES.



THE name of a sect of Freemasons which existed in the middle of the eighteenth century, called "The Lodge of African Builders", or "Society of African Architects", may convey the erroneous impression of some connection between dark Africa and Freemasonry. But it was an European organisation spread over Germany, England, France, Switzerland and possibly some other countries, and which presumed a link with the ancient Egyptian Builders, whom its members believed to be their founders and progenitors.

Leaving aside the legendary origin of the "sect", its beginning still remains rather obscure, but probably can be dated about 1750. The source of information, though limited and partly contradictory yet authentic, about the Society, its purposes and activity, is a contribution by some of its former members, made after the dissolution of the Order "of its own accord" in 1786.

It is due to the efforts of those former members that a manual, or "Pocketbook", was published in 1804, dedicated to "All Friends and Patrons and Explorers of Rare Sciences", under the following title: "Taschenbuch der höheren Magie für Freunde wahrer Weisheit und höherer Kenntnisse. Herausgegeben von einigen ehemaligen Mitgliedern der Afrikanischen Bauherren-Loge. Altenburg, bei Christian Friedrich Petersen, 1804". This short booklet gives an insight into the history of the Order, illustrates the methods and objects of the "research-work" of its members and reproduces some of their Essays, or "Treatises".

Another, no less authentic source, is a publication called "Der Entdeckte Orden der Afrikanischen Bauherren-Loge, nebst Beweisen, dass die sich auf Kenntnisse der Althentümer, besonders der Einweihungen legen. Constantinopel, 1806". As its contents and style suggest, it must have been written by one of the authors of the *Taschenbuch*, or in close connection therewith. Nevertheless this publication throws additional light on the existence of the African Society, reproducing, as it does, the texts of various documents, rules, &c., and also some of the speeches made by members on especial occasions.

The present paper has as its purpose to acquaint the reader, on the strength of this original information, with the constitution and objects of the Society of African Architects and to give a summary of a few of the Essays by its members, namely of those which can best illustrate their masonic work, conceptions, aims and activity.

ORGANISATION AND RULES OF THE SOCIETY.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The African Builders asserted that they had "higher knowledge" than ordinary Freemasons, and claimed to possess things which, in their submission, could stand the most thorough investigation by any real "Seeker of Truth". In fact, they preferred not to call their "knowledge" and "scientific" activity

by the name of Masonry, as in that word, they contended. "was hidden the word 'Manerie' which was the name of the place where Templars united".¹ They rather called themselves "Aediles" or "Architects" and "Bauherren", declaring they were particularly engaged in the study of the art of building and also in the study of mathematics based on the Triangle, the Square and the Roman figure X. Their Society was rather an "academy of science" and, in respect of their scientific research, they were organised on the lines of the French Academy, as it existed before the French Revolution. The members seem to have been comparatively wealthy men, able freely to collect funds, which were devoted either to philanthropic purposes, or to the needs of the Order. They had a magnificent library, their robes and jewels were most expensive, and rich furniture adorned the place of their assemblies; beautiful gardens were at their disposal whither to adjourn for games after the closing of the Lodge—they evidently held the modern view of healthy recreations! Reference works required for the instruction of members were available in the Lodge: skilful paintings, representing the supposed "history" and the rites of the Templars, decorated the walls. A prize of fifty gold pieces (Ducats) was given each year for the best Essay produced by a member of the Society. They also claimed to have had many princely privileges, among them a Patent granted by Emperor Frederick the Fifth; this, of course, was in the fashion of those days when nearly every Society pretended to a magnificent fantastic past.

The curious thing is that the African Builders did not maintain a great deal of secrecy about Masonry, and to a certain extent willingly acquainted those who showed genuine interest, with its rituals and philosophy. No priests were admitted into the Order, and of the military profession only those who had shown a true inclination for scientific work. Of other masons solely those entitled to visit Chapters were admitted, and then only after a close scrutiny and an approving vote of the Members. As their assemblies were held in Latin, at least some elementary knowledge of that language was required. The Order held two Festivals: one on the Ascension Day, and another on the 5th October. The general foremost rule of the Lodge was: "Fear GOD, honour the King, and be discreet".²

CONNECTION WITH OTHER SOCIETIES.

As admitted by some of the former members of the African Lodge, the Laws of the Order were, in substance, those of the "Society of Alethophiles" (Alethophiloten), or "Lovers of Truth"³; and the Lodge actually worked a degree, fifth in rotation, called the grade of "Alethophil". Some writers believe that the Order was a derivation from the "Society of Alethophiles", [or "Friends of Truth".] which was founded in Berlin in 1736 and had as avowed object the search after "positive truth".⁴ The assemblies of the "Seekers" were distinguished by great freedom of speech and outspoken criticism. Every Wednesday they foregathered at a convivial table adorned with the symbol of the Society, in the shape of a Trowel hanging from a brick-coloured ribbon and bearing, on one side, the inscription "The Confraternity

¹ *Taschenbuch*, p. 2 and *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 18.

² *Taschenbuch*, p. 3 and *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 40.

³ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 26.

⁴ *Allgemeines Handbuch*, vol. i., p. 15 (Leipzig 1863) Holdemieder. *Historische Nachricht von der Weissenfelsischen Alethophilischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig 1750). Its president and moving spirit was Count Ernst Cristoph von Manteuffel. He was born on his father's estate in Pommern on 22nd July, 1676. He occupied several important posts in Saxony and eventually became a Cabinet Minister. He organised the said Society. After the Assemblies of the Alethophiles had come to an end in 1739, or thereabouts, Count Manteuffel left Berlin and in 1741 went to Leipzig. There he died on January 30th, 1749. A medal was struck in honour of the Society of the Alethophiles (Merzdorf, *Denkmünzen der Freimaurerbruderschaft*, p. 43, N. 96).

of Masons" and, on the reverse, a Latin inscription, the German text of which read: "Friendship of Upright Men is Strengthened by Convivial Meals". It is curious to note that King Frederick William the First himself was, as it seems, frequently participating in those assemblies of avowed Masons at a table adorned by masonic symbols, the very monarch who was often described as unfavourably disposed towards the Fraternity and its members! The assemblies of the "Alethophiles" seemed to have come to an end in 1739 (this date is however not certain).

Whether or not the Order of the African Builders was a derivative of the Society of Alethophiles, there is hardly any doubt that a close inner connexion in some shape or other existed between these two Societies.

On the other hand, the attitude of the African Builders towards the Rosicrucian Society, as it was then known in Germany, was extremely critical.¹ Indeed, the African Architects appear to have been very anxious to maintain their entire independence from other Masonic Societies. That attitude can be best illustrated by what had taken place in regard to attempts made by Baron von Hund on behalf of the Strict Observance, so fashionable and influential at that time.²

Indeed the occurrence is so much more interesting that it also sheds light on the dominating intentions of the "Templars" of the Strict Observance. Namely, the acceptance of a very remarkable document, called "The Obedient Act", was proposed to the Builders by von Hund. *Inter alia*, this Act of Submission,³ to be solemnly proclaimed by the Architects and accepted by their Society, runs as follows:—

"Whilst We, the undersigned, have learnt that apart from Lodges *Latae observantiae*, which had been known to us in Germany from olden times, there are others, namely those of *Strictae Observantiae*, which are practising rituals established from times immemorial to this day,—we accept and recognise the same (the Ancient Lodge of *Strictae Observantiae*) as Supreme, and hereby do conscientiously freely and *sine ulla reservatione* submit ourselves to their uses and doctrines and declare our adherence exclusively to the *Rituali Strictae Observantiae*, and particularly to the very worshipful and noble Provincial of the VII Province and of all German Masons, and here and now promise in the most sacred and inviolable manner:

- "(1) the strictest obedience to the Lord Provincial or to whomsoever shall be appointed after him to that dignity by the High Order
- "(2) to submit to all his commands in all doubtful or other cases, especially should the matter concern one or other Lodge of *Latae observantiae* . . . without enquiring into the reasons
- "(3) to maintain the deepest secrecy concerning all and anything that we may hear in the Lodge and Assemblies, or otherwise see learn . . . and not to impart any such knowledge even to a Freemason, should he not have affixed his signature to this Act
- "(4) to submit willingly and without contradiction to any penalty that may be imposed upon us for our improvement by our respective highest and supreme chiefs."

¹ *Taschenbuch*, p. 76.

² *Entdeckte Orden*, pp. 19-24.

³ *ibid*, p. 20.

The proposal, contained in the document just quoted was referred to the Grand Chapter of the African Builders in Berlin; there the attitude of von Hund was declared to be dictatorial, in fact impossible; and the proposal was refused in no less an energetic manner than it was made. At first a refusal couched in courteous terms was intimated to Baron von Hund, but as thereupon he showed further persistence, the "Obedience Act" was entered and commented upon in the official Minutes, and the following reply was sent to him:

"As no Builder or Aedile should prevent any other Freemason from working where he deems best, or where the Lodge possesses most knowledge, the Builders, in so far as they are concerned, intend to continue their work in connection with the fully-proved Sciences, and care nothing for an Act of Obedience: as the latter, neither by its expressions nor by its contents, can in any way be regarded as being in accordance with the Order, the same is to be declared as null and void by all the Builders.

"At the same time, since Baron von Hund has chosen to express himself very despotically, may he be so good as to clear away, along with all his papers from which one gathers that his Lodges know nothing; failing which, in accordance with the uses of the Order, his papers either shall be sent to him tarred with asafoetida (the devil's mud) or otherwise, in a like condition, be burnt according to the rules of the Lodge".

Further, the Minutes of the Chapter contained the following forceful remarks: ¹

"As the Royal True Science has nothing good to gain from the Lodges of the Strict Observance, any of their members who shall have crept into ours, so soon as they start any quarrel, shall, wherever it may happen, be expelled from the Builders' Lodges; and any subordinate Lodges, where they may seek refuge, should be dispersed . . . in order that the 'Templars' may know what it means to spread quarrels, so as to bind the hands of Kings or to meddle in things which are against the rules of the Order".²

This protocol was circulated to all the members of the Society and they adhered to it strictly. Only the Paris-Lodge, perhaps owing to a looser connection with its centre, appears to have adopted a different view and gone over to the Strict Observance.³

THE LODGES AND THEIR OFFICERS.⁴

The Grand Chapter of the African Architects (or Mother-Lodge, as sometimes also described) was situated, at least for a considerable time, in Berlin; other Chapters were called Subordinate, but their number and the extent of their membership are not known. There is evidence, however, that besides in Germany, Chapters existed in France,⁵ in England,⁶ and also in Switzerland; indeed, mention is made of the fact that in 1768 the chief archives of the Order were kept in the last-named country.⁷ All the Lodges, or Chapters,⁸ had their own seals, slightly differing in design from that of the

¹ *Entdeckte Orden*, pp. 22-23.

² *ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

³ *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ The Builders called indifferently the whole of their organisation as well as its separate units—Lodges, besides using the terms of Society and Order.

⁵ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 24.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 54, also 19 and 38.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸ In that respect also the nomenclature of the Builders is somewhat confusing.

Grand Chapter, but these seals were used only on especial occasions. In the ordinary course the Master's Seal was applied; this was said to have been a peculiar jewel originating from Kurland.¹ Every Officer of the Lodge also had his own seal.

The following were the officers of the Society:—²

- (1) The Grand-Master (Grossmeister)
- (2) Provincial or Deputy Grand Master (Provincial, or Vice-Grossmeister)
- (3) The Senior Master (Erster Ober-Meister Senior)
- (4) The Sub-Senior Master (Zweiter Ober-Meister Subsenior)
- (5) The Decorator (Drapirarius)
- (6) The Almoner (Aleomosinarium, or Almonsenier)
- (7) The Secretary (Tricoplerium)
- (8) The Judge of the Order (Ordensrichter)
- (9) The Sword Bearer (Seneschallum, or Schwertträger)
- (10) The Master of Ceremonies
- (11) The Conductor (Introduktor, or Introduceur)

"In the interests of efficiency" all these Officers were permanent and not appointed for one year only, as it was held that thus "every one would be in the position to hold a better discourse, or to give a quicker answer".³

The Officers enjoyed special privileges, one being free access to the Archives of the Society. The "Introduktor" was distinguished by a tunic of satin, on which was embroidered a sword bearing the letter S.

In front of the Lodge-Master's throne stood a table, covered with rich tissue, on which were placed globes, various mathematical instruments, and also a small coffin. Every new member had to lay his sword on that coffin as a sign of allegiance.⁴

The box, in which the Seals were kept, was locked with three keys, which were held by the Senior (Erster Ober-Meister Senior), the "Sub-Senior" Masters and one of the elder members. The cash-box had to be produced at each meeting and the contents shown to every member.

Certain secret words and signs distinguished the Builders from other Societies; but, curiously enough, these could be changed from time to time at the will of the Grand-Master.

Each new member received a small golden Cross, with a small star suspended from it. The Cross indicated "Egyptian Initiation", and was supposed to mean "TANATOS", or Death; a rather fantastic legend was attached to the explanation of this jewel.

THE RULES OF THE BUILDERS' LODGE.

Every member newly admitted into a lodge of the Society was presented with a book of Rules, which was entitled: "Foundations of the Royal Order of Builders in respect of Statutes, Procedure and the Closing of Chapters".

The Qualifications, required from every candidate for admission, were laid down very strictly: only candidates of literary, scientific or artistic achievements might be proposed. In certain cases the candidate had first to send a paper for the approval of the Lodge.

The opinion of the elder members (der ältesten Herren)⁵ had to be ascertained before the ballot was taken. Three regular members should know the candidate well and vouch for his eligibility.

¹ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 39, and *Taschenbuch*, p. 7.

² *ibid.*

³ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 40.

⁴ The French Academy observes until to-day a somewhat similar ceremony.

⁵ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 30.

Very strict rules were observed also in respect of absent members. They had to offer their "apologies" before noon of the day of the assembly; the proceedings were not to be communicated to absentees, &c.

The book of rules contained also regulations as to the reading and discussing of papers, the award of the prize, etc. Further, the grounds for expulsion of members were as follows:—unwillingness to sign, or non-compliance with, the Rules; non-attendance at meetings without adequate reason; non-payment of two Reichsthaler for the Poor Box each year, unless the position of the member really did not allow him to do so; members abroad or travelling were not exempt from this contribution which they had to send in.

Very detailed rules were given for the holding of "Mourning Lodges" for deceased members.

A newly admitted member (Novice) was placed under the tutelage of an experienced companion. After this "Teacher" had certified that the Novice had acquired "all knowledge of the First Degree and of ordinary Freemasonry", a special Patent was presented signed by the Grand-Master and the senior officers and delivered "in the Orient" by "the Subordinate Chapter of the Royal Builders' Society of Friends of Beautiful Sciences and Free Arts".¹ At the same time, it is alleged, the novice was given also a certificate according to a Patent of the Grand Lodge of London, with the Royal coat-of-arms, which contained the following observation: "The Bearer of the present must be strictly questioned by the Lodge-Masters and admitted or refused solely on the merit of his knowledge of the Royal Science".²

Besides the Book of Rules, or Regulations, there existed a special "Table Book" which contained the texts of Grace to be said before and after meals, also various songs and the wording of toasts to be used on certain occasions. These "Banquet" or "Table Lodges" usually began at 9 o'clock, and often as many as 60 or 70 members were present. A Censor was watching their behaviour and, if necessary, imposed fines on the Brethren. Songs, "Brotherly chain" and "Fire" were made use of, and the drinking of toasts was followed by signs composed of Triangle, Square and the figure X. A special goblet was placed on the table; it was adorned with a sword, an S winding over it, and bore a representation of a skull on its lid. Should one of the Brethren offend another, the offender, after the banquet was over, had to draw his sword and to touch with its point the sword of the offended, whereupon the Censor solemnly declared that the "honourable Knights did not feel aggrieved any longer".

THE DEGREES OF THE SOCIETY.

The Society had eight degrees, of which five were of the "exterior" Order and three of the Inner Order. The first five degrees were:—

- (1) Apprentice, or Novice—MENES MUSAE, or the Novice in Egyptian Mysteries;
- (2) Apprentice in Egeian Mysteries;
- (3) The Cosmopolitan, or the World's Citizen (Weltbuerger);
- (4) The Christian World-Wise, or the Christian Universal Philosopher (der christliche Weltweise);
- (5) The Alethophil, or Lover of Truth, also "Seeker of Truth" (Alethophilote, or Wahrheitsliebhaber).

The Degrees of the Inner Order were: Armiger, Miles and Eques. The last was a "Knighly Order", described as far advanced in the Royal Science.

¹ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 37.

² *ibid.*, p. 38.

In the First Degree the Candidate was conducted into a room dimly lighted with one flickering lamp: this was supposed to represent Plato's Cave and meant renunciation of the world and of its cares. Here he was divested of all metals, but not blindfolded. The door of the Lodge itself was concealed by a veil, which the "Introducer" lifted with his sword, at the same time drawing the candidate's attention to the legend written in golden letters on a black surface: "Whoever is willing to go along this path alone and without looking back, must first be purified by Fire, Air and Water. Should he be able to conquer the fear of death, he will rise from the Dust of the Earth towards Heaven and see Light".¹

This inscription was supposed to have the following meaning: "One who comes without any reservations inspired by fear, will learn to know himself, and in this way acquire self-improvement; from us he will learn that Death is not to be feared, and that one day he will assuredly rise from Dust. He must utilise this temporary life in order to acquire Wisdom".²

The Novice was informed that it was still open to him either to return or to go further boldly. If he persisted, he was led through the Gate and entered the Lodge. Once there, he was placed in the hands of the "Interior Teacher" (der innere Dozent),³ who at once directed his attention towards another inscription, which ran: "What is said here must not pass over the threshold".⁴ The Brethren thereupon saluted with their swords the newcomer, and the Master invited him to sit down. In a speech the Master intimated to him the Teachings and the Laws of the Society, presumably in so far as this could be done in the first degree. It will be remembered that the general Law of the Order was: "Fear God, honour the King, and be discreet",⁵ whilst the "inner" Laws were those of the Society of Alethophiles.⁶

Further instruction, especially in respect to symbols, lasted about a month, under the guidance of a "Teacher". The Novice was "initiated into the ancient Egyptian Mysteries" and certain Hieroglyphics were explained to him. These were supposed to contain the oldest knowledge of Astronomy which Pythagoras was said to have learned from Egyptian Priests. The purpose of the First Degree was explained, namely to show, by means of the history and meaning of the Hieroglyphics, that the Heathen, and chiefly the Initiates of Egyptian Mysteries, had discovered a great deal of the meaning of True Religion. The password of the degree was SESSION,⁷ and alleged to mean Moses from whom the Egyptians were supposed to have learnt the principles of Wisdom and Science.

The Second Degree was supposed to create an adept in Egeian Mysteries. The connexion between the teachings of Moses and Egyptian teachings, transmitted further through the Egeian Mysteries, was explained. Stress was laid upon knowledge of Nature and of the Cosmic system. The word EPHATA, meaning the "Unveiling" (of mysteries to the Builders), was entrusted to the new adept.⁸

The Third Degree—the Cosmopolitan, or the Citizen of the World,—taught that after having studied the laws of Nature, one should turn to the study of one-self. Whilst it was held that the doctrine of the majority of philosophers had been that human nature was corrupt, this degree, on the

¹ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 25.

² Extract from a document entitled: "Erklärung der schwarzen Tafel und des Ordenssystems", *ibid.*, p. 50.

³ *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 26.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 51. and *Taschenbuch*, p. 11.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 51. and *Taschenbuch*, p. 11.

contrary, taught that Man is really the greatest creation of God and can become an instrument worthy of the World's Creator.¹

The Fourth Degree—the Christian Universal Philosopher—purported to show the exact connexion between Macrocosm and Microcosm (Universe and Man): both are Divine Temples, and Christ is the Pillar of True Religion. Comments were made on some extracts from the Bible and particularly from the Gospel, referring to the System propagated by the grade.²

To the Fourth Degree belonged a special Order, called the Order of Minerva. Its jewel represented an Owl, with a female face, in helmet and armed, sitting by a pillar with a water-jug. The jewel was worn by the Brethren suspended from a blue ribbon. Only members distinguished by learning were privileged to wear this jewel, which was commented upon in this manner: "Man in his youth is blind, but test and knowledge give him Reason. The Helm means the greatest degree of knowledge; and the head of the Gorgon—the suppression of passions. The shield is the protection against blasphemous speech, and the Pillar stands for Steadfastness. The Water-jug indicates thirst for knowledge", &c.³ In the Lodge the Knights wore also a medallion, with the inscription "Pro Fide Servanda"; and outside the Lodge they wore rings of special design.⁴

The Fifth Degree—that of the Alethophil, or Lover of Truth—showed that Truth alone should be the aim of one's Will and Mind. However, nothing should be held for True or False without ample reason. It is not sufficient merely to love Truth, for Truth must also be propagated. Love or assistance should not be withheld from anyone who knows or speaks the Truth; nor should Truth, however surprising, be contradicted even if spoken by strangers or profanes. On the other hand, those who do not know Truth should be enlightened and led to the right path.⁵

The Laws of the Alethophiles' Society were incorporated by the African Architects in their Rite, and imparted as a guidance to their members, emphasizing the general instruction,⁶ thus:—

- "(1) Let Truth be the only purpose of your Mind and Will.
- (2) Do not hold anything for True or False until you are convinced by strength of ample grounds.
- (3) Do not be content with the fact that you do love and know Truth. Try to spread it, *i.e.* make Truth to be known and agreeable to your neighbours. Whosoever buries his instruction, buries what has been given him for the furtherance of the Glory of the Supreme Being (Virtue); he thus deprives mankind of benefits which humanity might have otherwise derived.
- (4) Do not withhold your love and help from those who know Truth, or seek and endeavour to discern it. Contrary to the true conception of the Alethophiles would be the denial of such protection and assistance to one whose intentions are similar to those of the Alethophiles.
- (5) Do not contradict if you find that another's insight is truer than your own. One would be unworthy of the name of an Alethophile if one tried to contradict Truth from pride, obstinacy or for any other reason.

¹ *Taschenbuch*, p. 11, and *Entdeckte Orden*, pp. 51-52.

² Ditto, p. 12, and ditto, pp. 52-53.

³ *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 55.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 54-55, and *Taschenbuch*, p. 12.

⁵ *Taschenbuch*, p. 13, and *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 16.

⁶ *Entdeckte Orden*, pp. 56-58.

- (6) Have compassion on those who either do not possess the knowledge of Truth, or have an erroneous conception of it. Teach them without bitterness, and try not to bring them on to the right path by any means other than by the force of your arguments. You will damage Truth, you will bring it into contempt should you employ other weapons than those which Reason places within your power".

The Sixth Degree—Armiger, or Shieldbearer—was the first step into the "Inner Circle".¹

In the Seventh Degree—Miles—the candidate was supposed to be told for the first time the real name of the Founder of the Order, heretofore concealed. The important letters G and L did not stand for Geometry and Logic, but were the initials of the Founder's name.²

The Eighth Degree—Eques—was a "Knightly" grade. Only men "greatly tried and wise" were admitted to this Degree and an advanced instruction in the Royal Science was vouchsafed only to them. Those members of this grade, who had especially distinguished themselves, were honoured by an appropriate ceremony and discourses, and were known by the name of "Phoenix". The legendary history of the Society pretends that William, a son of King Henry of England (1120), was named "Phoenix" as a reward for, and in recognition of, the gallant attempt to rescue his sister from drowning.³

ESSAYS AND DISCOURSES.

As already mentioned in the introductory notes of this paper, the authentic sources of the information about the Order of the African Builders contain several literary contributions by its former members.

The *Taschenbuch* gives a number of Essays on masonic, philosophic, historic and other subjects as understood in those days. It will be remembered that the Order awarded a prize of fifty gold pieces every year for the best-written treatise, and one hopes it would hardly be erroneous to assume that the Essays contained in the *Taschenbuch* were written solely for that purpose!

The *Entdeckte Orden*, on the other hand, reproduces some discourses, pronounced by members on especial occasions, concerning "architectural" subjects, as understood by the African Builders themselves.

Here are reproduced, abridged, many of the Essays (*Taschenbuch*) and of the Discourses (*Entdeckte Orden*).

*A Guide to Occult Sciences.*⁴

The Wise Man seeks to deserve the understanding of Mysteries. His heart will go through the narrow Door of the Temple of Wisdom. The path leading to it is steep and thorny, Pride and Selfishness are barring the way. The Temple is situated on the top of a rock, which is so high that some believe it to be only a vision, and only very few know it to be real. Curiosity tempts many to look at it, but they are soon frightened off: for Ignorance, with her sisters—Deceit, Laziness and Falsehood,—tell the wanderer many a tale of hazardous adventures, which they would have to go through, so the Lazy and the Frightened soon desist. Away a few thousand feet from the Temple stands a lonely hut: this is where Humility resides, and an old Hermit lives therein. He will lead the Stranger to Humility, which will teach him the knowledge of himself. This is the best and surest way that can bring a seeker to all Mysteries, if he be moved by an unselfish will which is an inseparable friend of the highest knowledge.

¹ *Taschenbuch*, p. 14, and *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 17.

² *ibid.*

³ *Taschenbuch*, pp. 14-15, and *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 17.

⁴ "Winke über das Studium der Magie"—*Taschenbuch*, p. 17.

Pure Conception of True Magic.¹

The knowledge of the effect produced by the Eternal Divine Light on the Creation is the true Magic, theoretically, and the power to transmit that Light from the mind, by which it is conceived, on to the will—is the true Magic in its practice.

The true magician is a wise man who possesses the power to transmit to others the Light conceived by him, and to influence other creation by his power of concentration. All wisdom and knowledge come from above, brought about by the Good and the True. The human soul is a receptacle of the Divine Light, but the art to receive it depends on the state of the will and its purity, whilst the mind and the will have first to be purified by what is good and true. A healthy human body is able to conceive knowledge naturally, through the mind, and thus to receive Divine Light. But unless It be transmitted to the will, that Light can be only illuminating, not warming; not transmitted unto a purified will, It becomes an all-devouring fire.

True Magic differs greatly from the false, because, in the case of a true magician, both his mind and will are lit up by the same light; whilst in the case of a false one—the mind only is lit up and the will remains in the shadow, if not in complete darkness. Mind is the receptacle of Light, and Will—of Warmth. When Light passes into the Will, it creates warmth, just as the Good is but the realisation of the True, and the Union of Good and True becomes Wisdom and Love.

As a natural process, Light transcends into Will. Should the will be pure, the light creates warmth; but should the will not be purified, it will be left in darkness.

Pure Will binds the Good and the True: and the unpurified, the Evil with the False. Hence the origin of false Magic, and the misuse of knowledge.

During no other century² have men been more engaged in secret sciences, with a leaning towards the unusual, and have sought, often in vain, enlightenment and wisdom. But the majority pursued the wrong path, not realising that the only true path to Wisdom is self-improvement.

Knowledge is food for the Spirit, and Light the nourishment of the soul. One must be "hungry in spirit" to have to feed it; and one should know what spiritual food to select, in order to satisfy the Spirit. Acid in a stomach will turn milk sour; similarly, a diet is also necessary for the Spirit. There exist spiritual "gorgers", yet to them spiritual meals will be only a burden and a harm. For, like bodies, the Spirit does not exist for the purpose of knowing only, but has to acquire knowledge in order to maintain its existence. A Seeker of Light must know how to find It. Thus, a wise man strikes a stone to get fire, but it would be futile to strike in water. No other instrument is used by a true Seeker, but a searching eye, an open heart and an active will.

A Clue to Mysteries.³

Only Four letters make the Alphabet of Divine Things, and those who think that it is composed of twenty-four are unable to understand it. The nearer to Divinity, the fewer the letters necessary to express it. Once upon a time it was the language, and it exists still; only wrong doings of men lead them away from the original simplicity.

There is another Language, however, and its Alphabet has twenty-two letters: Its words comprise both earthly and spiritual creations of the Great Initial Principle. Some people have 88 letters in their spiritual language, and this prevents them from understanding the simpler language of twenty-two letters.

¹ "Reine Begriffe der wahren Magie"—*Taschenbuch*, p. 21.

² i.e., the eighteenth century.

³ "Alphabete zu den Geheimnissen"—*Taschenbuch*, p. 135.

One who wishes to learn true Alphabets must free himself from mists of delusion, for such Alphabets belong to the tongue of the Spirit, and ultimately conduct to Intuitive Clear-sight.

*"Glimpses of Nature"*¹

Ordinary observations of that which is called primitive light show already how high man must rise in order to attain to spiritual Light, the laws of which have much in common with those relating to the ordinary light. Each requires (1) primary origin, (2) primary space, (3) reaction, and (4) a certain number of susceptible beings.

The forces of Light manifest themselves under No. 4. The centre of the Earth absorbs the metals contained in the Light; vegetable matter receives Light without enjoying It; animals see and enjoy It, yet they possess no faculty for conceiving It. For men alone had this advantage been reserved, and it therefore rests with them to define the measure of enjoyment of Light. Yet men differ considerably among themselves—there are some who have lost completely their susceptibility to Light: it affects others only superficially, without penetrating into them fully. Again, there are those who conceive it inwardly, yet are oblivious of its effect. And yet there are some who are able to receive Light from Its Source—they can see and enjoy It, and that is the state of the highest enjoyment of Light. Such was the good fortune of men. But they aimed at substituting the primary origin of Light by something else; and that meant losing and forfeiting It. Thus, Man left the Paradise of Joy, which God gave him as his abode; he deviated from the true Path, and is hardly able to see the Intellectual Light, although it still is shining bright even now.

*A few words on the study of Magic,
as Introduction for Beginners.*²

Nature possesses many mysteries but it is not given to men to understand them. To think that there may be a Society which has knowledge of these mysteries, is to be on the wrong path. One becomes attached to a mystical Society, hoping that knowledge of great things might satisfy one's curiosity, but it is not realised that spiritual achievements must be the lot of a few, and that single individuals can possess more mysteries than whole conclaves.

Anyone who seeks mystic knowledge must free himself from delusions, because there is nothing more dangerous than that extraordinary yearning for the miraculous. Yet it is not easy to study mystic science without falling into reveries.

Each Century has produced imaginative minds and mystic sects which failed in their purpose and, instead of finding Truth and Clearness, fell into raving and folly.

One should not forget that the imaginative faculty is stronger than reason. Anyone intoxicated with wine is no more in his natural state than another whose imagination becomes excited in some other way. Constant contemplation, excessive heat of imaginative powers turn passionate men into an entirely different kind. Reasonable moderation, knowledge of the laws of nature and sound philosophy, combined with a firm and good will, on the other hand, form a true magician. It should be remembered that to men are given body and soul which are serving one another and influence each other according to certain laws which should not be broken. Measure is the law of Reason, whilst equilibrium keeps and controls the harmony of things. To pursue secret sciences with calmness is the occupation of the Wise: and to yield to fancies is the lot of Dreamers.

¹ "Winke der Natur"—*Taschenbuch*, p. 136.

² "Einige Worte über das Studium der Magie, als Leit-faden für Anfänger"—*Taschenbuch*, p. 157.

One who wishes to devote himself to the Study of Magic should learn languages, natural science, history and mythology; he should partake of the Spirit of the Classics, and also study mathematics—geometry, algebra and trigonometry; then—logic and metaphysics; and also read the works of the great philosophers. Thus replete with knowledge, he will be prepared to enter the Sanctuary of Magic.

Something about Talismans.¹

Under the name of a Talisman, a name derived from the Arabs, are understood images and designs made in various ways under certain constellations, but always with the purpose of producing some miraculous effects.

The discovery of these tokens is ascribed to various personages; to a giant, who made a study of the Art; to Nacraus, a King of Egypt; and, according to an Arab writer, Cham, son of Noah, is reputed to have known that Art. The Egyptians, Chaldeans, Hebrews, Phoenicians, Indians and others—all have been actively engaged in the preparation of Talismans, especially the Egyptians. They attached good or evil omens to places, animals, human beings, plants and metals; and, in order to render all these things harmless, they devised, with the help of certain mystic characters and signs, particular Talismans able to counteract various ill-effects attributed to hidden powers. The secret wisdom of the Egyptians formed the substance of their Hieroglyphics. On their monuments are images of the ibis, of the bull, the crocodile, the cat, &c., which were intended to exercise a particular magical effect. Among their gods, Isis and Osiris had special powers to subdue evil spirits, and pictures of these gods, as well as of others, were used. Demons, 36 in number, were depicted as animals in astrology and medicine, and were given names by which the Egyptians invoked them, every one of them believed to possess powers of healing one or other limb.

The Chaldeans and the Babylonians, great masters of astrology, are credited with having been the originators of the art of making Talismans. Thus Terah, father of Abraham, a born Chaldean, is said to have made many miraculous images, with astrological significations.

Talismans, under the name of "Theraphim", had also been known to the Hebrews. The Golden Calf was built by Aaron in order to induce the favour of Venus and Luna, and persuade them to work against Scorpio and Mars, presumed to be antagonistic to the Jews. The Brazen Serpent also was made with a purpose, namely to protect against bites of dangerous snakes.

The Theraphim were divinities of the First Order, protecting families and countries. In this manner arose the belief that the names of God could have a peculiar effect if written or spoken in a particular way. This forms the subject of a whole science. One of these mysterious names was that of the "Arcanum Nominis Dei", *i.e.*, the Jehovah, which was the "centre", otherwise called "Schemhamphorasch". Moses and Christ were supposed to have been able to use the art of performing miracles; Solomon is reputed to have written about the same art; and, in the Christian era, two Spanish Rabbis, Zacharias and Abraham Abulasia, made a further research in the art. All that knowledge the Jews had obtained from the five books of Moses, which they held to be the fountain of all wisdom and mysteries. Then the Psalms of David, to which the Jews equally looked for dissolving the mysteries, were used for practical purposes, *i.e.*, for the making of amulets. A book dealing with this subject, called by cabbalists "Simmons Tephillim" and ascribed to a rabbi, named Isaac Curia (or Isak Kuria), was first published in 1556, and later in 1608, at Amsterdam. A Latin translation of that book is supposed to

¹ "Etwas über Talismanne", a translation from Latin: "De Arte Talismanica", by Arpe—*Taschenbuch*, p. 99.

exist, also numerous copies of manuscripts, including a German translation, entitled: "de verae magiae veterum institutione", pretending to "disclose" wonderful secrets. But it is alleged that the characters in that translation have been deliberately interchanged so as to prevent examination by inquisitive amateurs.

Images which the Jews borrowed from the Syrians and have chosen as their house-gods, were credited with powers over constellations and magic craft.

Similar things occupied also the minds of the Syrians' neighbours, the Sabæans. They wrote of celestial bodies, with the belief that constellations exercised a peculiar effect, and also that they could impart the gift of fortune-telling. Moreover, it appears that they would take the head of a newly-born boy, sacrificed to one of the demons, or gods, and then with salt and spice would try to preserve it from decay. On the tongue they would place a golden plate with the name of a certain demon written thereon, which was intended to give power of speech to the particular demon whose advice was sought, and he would reply to any question that was put to him.

According to Plato, the Lydians taught wonderful things of Gyges and his ring. This ring, if turned one way by the wearer, would render him invisible; whilst turned the other way, it would make him, the wearer, visible again.¹

*On Friendship.*²

Friendship is the foundation of all civilised society, or of a well-organised community. Natural relationship provides a certain scope for friendship, a scope ruled by birth—an accidental element. But a deliberate and free selection of friends in the walk of life is a further deliberate step to enlarge it voluntarily. A heart that bears no evil, and rejoices at another's happiness, is a true Temple of Friendship. According to Pythagoras, tests should be applied to prove true Friendship. The Licurgian Laws stipulated new friends. Friendship leads to a pleasant and virtuous life, brings forth the sweetness of existence and becomes the bulwark on which rests the world.

*Admiration of Wisdom of the All-Highest Architect.*³

The Lord's Work is immeasurably great and boundlessly large. Everything is arranged so wisely by Him, and the Earth is full of His Goodness. The Universe is the fulfilment of all Wisdom and it proves Supremacy of the Almighty Power of the Great Builder. The thought and Perfection of God is shown and proved in every minute detail of creation, whether in respect of Beauty, Usefulness or Longevity, et cetera; and Wisdom is supreme in everything that happens in the world. "Let us live so that we should not tremble if the world were to collapse. We are of the Earth, and to Earth we shall return". Admiration is due to God for everything that exists in the world, God is the All-Most-Perfect Builder, and His works prove it. The world, His masterpiece, possesses all the faculties which determine the perfection of any building, or edifice, erected by human beings. All that was created by God was made for us here, so that later our Spirits should be enabled, in a place "where there shall be no thirst or hunger", to contemplate God and His Perfection. Therefore: "Live in such manner as, when you are dead, you would wish that you had lived".⁴

¹ The *Taschenbuch's* version, of which the above is an extract, is only the "first part" of the Latin original, whilst the "continuation" is supposed to be given in the second part of the *Taschenbuch*. But no such second part of the *Taschenbuch* appears ever to have been written—*Taschenbuch*, p. 134.

² An "Introduction" Speech, *Entdeckte Orden*, p. 60.

³ Another of the "Introduction" Speeches—*Entdeckte Orden*, p. 69.

⁴ A further speech reproduced in the *Entdeckte Orden* (p. 97), was made on the death of Dr. Johann Ernst Stahl—"an eternal memorial of a Brother, who was an honour to Freemasonry", dated at the African Lodge in Berlin, 22nd July, 1769.

A Sketch of the History of Magic.¹

By far the most interesting essay reproduced in the *Taschenbuch* is one entitled "Abriss einer Geschichte der Magie", though, of course, it is neither History nor Magic. It could be more accurately described as a Chronology of the World's History, very fantastic and inaccurate, along with some comments concerning some or other event, or personality, which happened to appeal more or draw particular attention from the authors. Nevertheless the "Sketch" is of considerable import, as it shows in what manner the African Builders visualised history; and unveils, in some degree, their historical, philosophical, sociological and, partly, masonic conceptions. It is significant that in their historic effort, the African Builders tried to visualise the history of human progress in its entirety, irrespective of national or other boundaries, and to treat the events in the various countries concurrently. They thus attempted to present to the reader an historical picture of a wider scope than usual, namely historical movements as the result of multiple endeavours of all nations, in reality not isolated but linked up with one another.

A true scientist, these authors submit, should inquire into the meaning of all phenomena without prejudice. Only in this way is it possible to add to the common stock of knowledge. Again, the development of any science cannot be studied otherwise than in conjunction with other events in the history of the world.

The History of Magic is accordingly divided into different eras, or ages, based on the *World's History*, by Schroeth. The first deals with the pre-Christian period, and is divided into six eras; the other deals with the period succeeding Christ's advent. Chronological dates are given throughout, not only for each era, but also to mark outstanding events and personalities. The whole shows in what "historical" atmosphere lived even some well-educated men of the African Lodge!

The First Era covers 1656 years and is supposed to be calculated from the day of Creation, given as the First Year, or 3983 B.C.; it lasts until the Flood, dated in 2326 B.C. The Second Era commences after the Flood and lasts until the time of Moses (1531 B.C.). The Third begins after Moses and ends with the Building of Rome (757 B.C.). The Fourth is only a short one continuing till 537 B.C. It is marked by the return of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity, after which event opens the Fifth Era. The advent of Alexander the Great opens the Sixth and last pre-Christian Era (335 B.C.).

No particular comments are made by the authors of the "Sketch" in relation to the pre-Christian Era, and dates are given for only various outstanding events, &c. It goes on thus until the year 752 A.D., which marks the advent of the Arabs into the history of mankind.

Here is an example of the "African" comments on the history of mankind.

The year 572 is that of the advent of the Arabs into the History of Mankind. Thanks to the proximity of the Greek cradle of civilization, also in consequence of the conquest of Egypt, the Arabs were able to learn from the Greek, whilst the rest of the world was collapsing as the result of the disruption of the Roman Empire. The Arabs thus became the medium through which ancient civilization was saved from complete ruin and handed down to posterity. The Arabic conception of Science, their construction and influence, lasted, roughly, until 1280, when they were overpowered by the Mongols.

The following fourteenth century, with Dante and Petrarca in Italy, brought back from the grave the study of history and philosophy; poetry flourished, and Science came under the protection of ruling princes. Only natural science still remained under the influence of mysticism; alchemy and

¹ *Taschenbuch*, p. 31.

mystical dreams were preferred to higher magic and to the teachings of Nature. The new food for thought, although still digested under the influence of the Fathers of the Church, who until then had been the only channels of knowledge, was the writings of the Greeks, as understood and recorded by the Arabs. Another mainstay of Science was the works of Arabic literature. The yearning of the age was, however, for wonders and occult art, and men were diverted from using rational forces. That spirit held in its bonds even men of clearer intellect.

Three men, though of an entirely different value, were prominent in that century.

Raymond Lull (Lully) — “son of Light” and “Teacher of Knowledge”, but in fact a charlatan, though a writer of numerous essays on Alchemy.

On the other hand, Roger Bacon, a man of remarkable gifts and of independent thought, was for a long time looked upon as an alchemist and sorcerer; yet he would have done credit to any century, and was considerably in advance of his own.

A third personality was Arnaldo Bachuone, a Faust of his time, not so blind as Lull, yet not of such achievements as Roger Bacon.

With the fifteenth century new regions opened themselves for every science. The study of languages widened, the invention of printing made literature a more common property and took this monopoly away from the monks. A succession of philosophers, thinkers and writers ensued; among them, however, were monks and bishops as well. The discovery of new lands and the growing power of secular princes led general activity into new directions. Necromancy, chiromancy, astrology and alchemy became the chief topics.

The sixteenth century brought an amazing change in general conditions. With the reform of Luther the way of mind and reason appears to have turned backwards. Alone chemistry and medicine seem to have made some progress and become more connected with each other inwardly.

After the close of that century, in 1605 appeared the Society of Rosicrucians (die Gesellschaft der Rosenkreutzer). It replaced, by some vague ideas, certain parts in the System of Paracelsus, although the latter already had, and not without advantage, been dealt with by abler hands. The unworthy part of that most decried system veiled itself in mysticism and extolled the Cabbala and other heathen wisdom, whereupon it was building its innovations. Here were combined Christian mysticism and bare greed for gold and worldly achievements.

Valentino Andrea thought that an association of men of clearer thought formed into a Christian Brotherhood would ensure a restriction of theological errors. He wrote a poem called *A Chemical Wedding*, which he intended to be taken rather as a joke, and not in order to create any sensation among his contemporaries. Yet no joke could ever have fallen worse. What was meant by Andrea as an allegory only, was used by dreamers and fanatics for other purposes. They took his tale for reality and saw in the poem the foundation of some new wisdom. Soon the creed of that Order established itself openly, under the pretentious title of *Universal and General Reformation of the Whole World*, also known as the *Fama Fraternitatis* of the Rosicrucians. They thought that they had won the crown of wisdom from the East and had transferred the diadem to Germany: they were to arrange a new order of things, to bring heaven's peace on earth, and to establish the reign of alchemy: they believed they held the secret of gold-making and of the “Wunderbalsam”—the only means for transferring a Golden Age from heaven to earth. However, they had no clear system of their own, and so embraced the System of Paracelsus. Paracelsus became their idol and they believed him to be their predecessor. But Paracelsus had already been known and judged on his merits.

Although it was difficult to fight those dreamers with intellectual powers, they were nevertheless unable to gain any success: for the time had come when Mind dared to doubt and Reason to prove, and not accept anything merely on the weight of assertion.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century (after 1730) opens a new era for natural science. Also chemistry, which heretofore was mainly subservient to alchemy, rose to a new level. Men of knowledge appeared, the times of deceit were over. A few imposters still made some attempts, but they were met with amazement by the populace and treated with contempt by the wise. Chemistry, now detached from magic and alchemy, became an independent science, based on true experience and pure philosophy, and made enormous progress unsurpassed by any other science.

The Rosicrucians drifted away, and, setting themselves apart, continued in shadow their alchemical researches.

Also magic, now cleaned under the auspices of Freemasonry, freed itself from the bonds of superstition and once again became worthy of its original dignity and sanctity.

Such was the position and the order of things, as conceived by the members of the Society of African Builders when they became engaged in their activities, short-lived as they were.

CONCLUSION.

The Society of African Builders was officially dissolved in 1786. No reason is given for its dissolution, but the following statement by some of its former members in the *Pocket-Book*, a statement very characteristic of their strivings and tendencies, brings to an official close the history of the Architects' Order:—¹

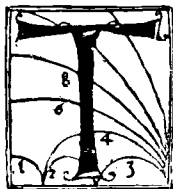
“This Order, so beneficial to humanity, dissolved itself of its own accord in 1786 and made the dissolution known through a Deed in Latin. Although the Order has thus been broken up, several of its former members have nevertheless endeavoured to continue its work for the preservation and furtherance of its knowledge. This *Pocket-Book* is the result of their endeavours after the dissolution, and its purpose is to serve as a guide for those who dedicate themselves to hidden Wisdom and to show to them how the same may be acquired without the danger of being led into by-ways and errors.”

¹ *Taschenbuch*, p. 16, said to be reproduced in Schloezer's *Staatsanzeigen*, 3rd Book, 1786.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

FRIDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1940.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. *Lt.-Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., W.M.*; *B. Ivanoff, S.W.*; *Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., J.W.*; *J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.*; *Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., Secretary*; and *F. R. Radice.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. *A. I. Logette*; *R. W. Strickland*; *J. H. Smith*; *C. D. Rotch*; *C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.*; *H. B. Evans*; *H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.*; *R. T. J. Gun*; *F. Coston Taylor*; *L. F. Dunnett, P.G.D.*

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, 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.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; *W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex*; *F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; *S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.*; *W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh*; *John A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derbys.*; *F. L. Pick*; *H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C.*; *G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.*; *R. E. Parkinson*; *Geo. S. Knocker, P.A.G.S.W.*; and *Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.*

One Brother was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Boris Ivanoff, the Master Elect, was presented for Installation, and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year, those present being invested:—

Bro. L. Edwards	S.W.
.. W. Ivor Grantham	J.W.
.. W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
.. J. Heron Lepper	Treasurer
.. F. M. Rickard	Secretary
.. John A. Grantham	S.D.
.. F. L. Pick	J.D.
.. H. C. Bristowe	I.G.
.. G. H. Ruddle	Tyler

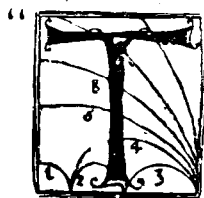
The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“That W.Bro. Cecil Clare Adams, 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 W.M. delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"SOME ASPECTS OF MASONIC STUDY"



THE Blue Ribbon Literary Lodge", "The Premier Organisation and the Mother Lodge of Masonic Historical Research", "The foremost literary Lodge in the world", "The Pioneer of Masonic Research and the first research Lodge we have any record of", "The University of Freemasonry", "A Lodge of a long and honourable career, to join the Outer Circle and to study the Publications of which is of extremely great value to all Masons", "The celebrated Lodge of a value unequalled by any Lodge". Such and many similar descriptions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge we read in the Masonic works published all over the world. I have never read or heard any adverse criticism of our Lodge. Praise and admiration have been earned by it everywhere.

Our Lodge was the first ever founded in the world for the exclusive purpose of providing a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students engaged in Masonic historical research and of publishing the results of their researches and deliberations for the benefit of the Craft in general. In addition to its full members (or the Inner Circle), who must be brethren of a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification and whose number, being limited to forty, is only 23 at present, our Lodge has about 2,000 members of the Correspondence Circle (or the Outer Circle) in this and many other countries, comprising a large number of 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 in the British Empire and abroad. They receive our printed *Transactions* and are in touch with our local Secretaries, so that the Quatuor Coronati Lodge and the results of its work are known practically everywhere. The *Transactions* and the other publications of the Lodge represent an extremely rich store of Masonic knowledge founded upon serious and careful historical researches; they give well-established facts, and not the rash and fanciful speculations with which the history of Freemasonry was so abundant formerly, and, therefore, the works printed in them are of a great value, not only to Freemasons, but also to those world's historians who do not happen to be in the Fraternity. Last, but not least, my predecessors for over 50 years were highly distinguished and well-known experts in masonic research. No wonder, therefore, that I consider the honour of occupying the Chair of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge as one of the greatest in Freemasonry and that I am deeply grateful to the members of the Lodge for the confidence placed by them in me as their Master.

From the very first day of our admission into Freemasonry we are exhorted to endeavour to make a daily advancement in masonic knowledge. It is manifold, of course, but our first Secretary, W. Bro. G. W. Speth, was quite right when he wrote in his *Masonic Curriculum* that an accurate historical knowledge of the Craft is the foundation and the carcass of the building which must be completed before we turn our attention to its decoration and furniture, that is to say—to the questions arising out of the ceremonial and the ritual of the Craft.

Where and how, then, that historical knowledge can be acquired, except from the publications of our Lodge?

My immediate predecessor, W.Bro. C. C. Adams, dealt in his Inaugural Address with one source from which it can be obtained—Masonic Libraries containing valuable books, documents, manuscripts and relics.

I shall try and record some information about another source—the numerous Lodges, Associations, Societies, etc., established in all the English-speaking contries for the purpose of masonic historical research and about the great success achieved by most of them.

I need not take much of your time by telling you the history of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge at any length, as it has already been published by many distinguished writers both here and abroad. Among these publications I would particularly point out the following:—The Inaugural Address by our late W.Bro. W. J. Songhurst which was delivered by him at his Installation into this Chair on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of our Lodge, celebrated at the Jubilee Meeting on November 8th, 1934, and which appeared in volume xlvii. of our *Transactions* (1934); the comprehensive work on the subject by W.Bro. Roderick H. Baxter entitled *The Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076* and edited by the Manchester Association for Masonic Research in 1918; and the work by M.W.Bro. Burton H. Saxton, P.G.M., *Research Lodges here and abroad*, printed in volume xxxviii. of the *Bulletin* of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, U.S.A., in 1937.

May I remind you, therefore, only of a few most essential facts concerning our Lodge?

The Warrant for the formation of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge was issued by the United Grand Lodge of England on the 28th November, 1884, but, owing to the absence of the W.Master designate, W.Bro. Sir Charles Warren, who was on a diplomatic and military mission in South Africa at the time, the consecration of the Lodge was postponed till the 12th January, 1886. Sir Charles Warren occupied the Chair till November, 1887, when he was succeeded by another of the nine Founders of the Lodge, W.Bro. Robert Freke Gould, who had just completed the publication of his great and famous *History of Freemasonry*. The first Secretary was the third Founder, W.Bro. G. W. Speth, a well-known masonic writer, who held this highly responsible post until his death in 1901, and rendered invaluable services to the Lodge. The remaining six Founders were all men of high literary or scientific distinction: W. J. Hughan, Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, W. H. Rylands, J. P. Rylands, Sir Walter Besant, Colonel S. C. Pratt. They all contributed much to the masonic historical research.

Due to the initiative of the Secretary, W.Bro. G. W. Speth, a resolution was passed on December 2nd, 1886 (the year of the Consecration of the Lodge), to form a sort of a literary society under the auspices of the Lodge to be known as the Correspondence Circle. It was inaugurated in January, 1887, and it was established that all Master Masons in good standing throughout the Universe, without necessarily possessing literary qualifications, as well as all Lodges, Chapters and other masonic corporate bodies, were eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle to enjoy, as such, all the advantages of the full Members, except the right of voting on Lodge matters and holding office.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, the famous *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, appear annually in two parts forming a volume, and contain not only full texts of papers and essays on the history and development of Freemasonry in the world (over 650 so far), together with the discussions following their reading before the Lodge, but also biographies, historical notes, reviews of masonic books and other publications, notes and queries, obituaries, proceedings of the Lodge and other matter.

There are many other publications of the Lodge, including facsimile reproductions of the Old Charges and other valuable manuscripts, reprints of important old masonic documents, some books, a series of Q.C. Pamphlets, and ten volumes of the widely known *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, which contains a large number of exquisite facsimiles of old manuscripts, reproduction of the earliest Minute Books of the Grand Lodge of England and of other rare documents, illustrations of Masonic Certificates, etc. All these publications, facsimiles, reprints and a complete set of *Transactions* can be found in the large and excellent Library of the Lodge; and a list of those of its publications copies of which are available for sale, is always given on the inner side of the back cover of each part of the *Transactions*.

The Lodge also possesses an exceptionally good Masonic Museum which with the Library includes over 20,000 catalogued items.

Every year the Lodge arranges for its full members and those of the Correspondence Circle a "Summer Outing", when various places of masonic interest in the United Kingdom are visited.

Such, briefly, is the distinguished record of the Pioneer and Mother Lodge of Masonic Research.

Her first offspring did not take long to appear. It was the Leicester Lodge of Research, No. 2429, consecrated in Leicester on the 26th October, 1892. Our Lodge was represented at the Consecration by our first Secretary, who was made an Honorary Member.

There were 8 Founders of this Lodge, who defined its principal objects as follows:—"To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students and Brethren of Literary tastes. . . . To attract and interest Brethren by means of papers upon the History, Antiquities, and Symbols of the Craft, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic Research".

Membership of the Lodge was restricted by its By-Laws to 33. but, following the example of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, a Correspondence Circle was formed according to a scheme very similar to ours. As in the case of our Lodge, this scheme proved to be a great success, and the Circle has at present over 500 individual members and over 50 Grand Lodges, Private Lodges, Masonic Libraries, etc., distributed throughout the English-speaking countries of the world.

The first Master of the Lodge (installed by our first Secretary, W.Bro. G. W. Speth) was W.Bro. J. T. Thorp, who later on, in 1908, occupied the Chair of our Lodge. The following year (1893) he became Secretary of the Leicester Lodge of Research and edited its annual *Transactions* over a period of 17 years.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge are attractively published and illustrated and give well-rendered summaries of the Papers read before the Lodge, most of which are valuable works on history of Freemasonry, and of the discussions that followed their reading. Among the particularly interesting lectures delivered before the Lodge during the very first years of its existence there were three delivered by our Founders: one by W.Bro. G. W. Speth (on April 3rd, 1894) and two by W.Bro. W. J. Hughan (on September 24th, 1894, and September 23rd, 1895). Like Bro. Speth, Bro. Hughan was an Honorary Member of the Leicester Lodge of Research.

Practically at every meeting of the Lodge another good example of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge has been followed: rare and valuable documents, certificates, books, aprons, jewels and other masonic curios have been exhibited for the benefit of those present.

The Summons of the Leicester Lodge of Research is crowned with the inscription: "You are to consider yourself called upon to make some daily advancement in Masonic knowledge". The Lodge is fully justified in reminding

us of this recommendation given in the Charge after the Initiation. It has done, and is doing, very much to facilitate that advancement.

I said that the Quatuor Coronati Lodge was the first ever warranted for the exclusive purpose of masonic research work. That is true, but there was a Lodge of Instruction which started that work some three years before the consecration of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. It was the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge of Instruction formed by the resolution and under the Sanction of the Humber Lodge No. 57, Hull, on March 6th, 1882. The Lodge of Instruction met regularly every month, and during the first year its business consisted mainly in the rehearsal of the Installation ceremony; but, beginning from March, 1883, four out of the twelve yearly meetings were reserved for reading and discussing original papers on Masonic subjects.

Many valuable lectures, including first-class works on Masonic History, were delivered during the twelve years of the existence (March, 1882, to December, 1893) of this unique Lodge of Instruction. Their summaries, and those of the discussions that followed, are published in the first Volume of the *Transactions of the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge No. 2494* (Hull, 1895). With a particular enthusiasm, judging by the *Transactions*, were received lectures delivered by several Founders and Members of our Lodge: W. Bros. W. J. Hughan, G. W. Speth, T. B. Whytehead.

In addition to lectures, the Lodge of Instruction organized several "Conversazione" at which extensive collections of rare and valuable Masonic medals, coins, seals, and other relics (mostly belonging to Bros. Shackles and Clarke) were exhibited.

The success of the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge of Instruction was so great and complete that at its meeting of the 6th October, 1893, it was resolved to apply to the Grand Lodge of England for a Warrant to transform that Lodge of Instruction attached to the Humber Lodge No. 57 into a separate Lodge to be named the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge. The Warrant was granted on the 14th December, 1893, and the new Lodge, No. 2494, was consecrated on the 2nd February, 1894. The first W. Master was W. Bro. M. C. Peck and the first Secretary W. Bro. Redfearn. At the first regular meeting (June, 1894) three members of our Lodge, W. Bros. R. F. Gould, W. J. Hughan and G. W. Speth, were made Honorary Members of the newly consecrated Lodge. The Lodge of Instruction presented to it all its Minute Books, documents, balance of funds and any other property, after which its duties and objects were deemed to have terminated.

So was born the third Lodge of Research in the United Kingdom. The aims of its thirty Founders were defined as follows:—

"To promote the study of Freemasonry in its literary, archæological and philosophical characters; to provide a special Lodge as a bond of union for Worshipful Brethren who have passed the Chair; to undertake public lectures and discussions for the instruction and improvement of the Brethren in Hull and neighbourhood; and generally to endeavour to raise the standard of Masonry, and to support the principles of the Craft in their highest sense."

The Lodge is nearing its fiftieth anniversary and can be proud of its record. The *Transactions* of the Lodge show that the aims of the Founders have been achieved and that a large amount of masonic research work stands to its credit.

By a long established tradition which is wise and not to be broken, the Inaugural Address in our Lodge must be rather short, and there are about fifty Masonic Research Lodges, Associations and Societies in the United Kingdom alone. Space does not allow me, therefore, to describe each of them separately, and I must be satisfied with giving a general picture of these masonic bodies,

selecting out of them for my description just a few which appear to me as the most characteristic of their particular kind.

As regards the Lodges of Research in this country, I think the picture will be clear enough if, in addition to the description of the Lodges given by me above, I say a few words about two more of them—the Authors' Lodge, No. 3456, of London, and the Somerset Masters' Lodge, No. 3746, of Bath.

The Author's Lodge is an example of a distinctly Class Lodge, as its membership is restricted not only to authors, but even among them only to those who are members of the Authors' Club, London.

It was W.Bro. Max Montesole, a distinguished author and mason, who conceived the idea of forming that Lodge and insisted on its character as a strictly Class Lodge. In his letter written to the Directors of the Authors' Club in 1905 he explained that his motive in advocating an Authors' Lodge was threefold. First, he was convinced that the enlistment under the banner of Freemasonry of men engaged in literary work could not fail to add lustre to the Order. Secondly, he and the others were desirous of promoting the welfare of the Authors' Club at a time when its affairs were languishing. Thirdly, it was appropriate, he wrote, "that a masonic body should be identified with a Club formed by the late Sir Walter Besant, he having been an eminent mason, a founder of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No 2076, the *Transactions* of which foster a world-wide study of the history and science of our Order."

Those to whom Bro. Montesole's letter was addressed gave a qualified assent, but, through various circumstances connected with the inner life of the Club, it was only in November, 1909, that the official approval was given and the secretarial co-operation, without which nothing could be done, was promised. A Founders' Meeting was held on January 6th, 1910, under the Chairmanship of Bro. Montesole, and the names of 23 members of the Club who desired to be Founders were announced. The By-laws were discussed and drafted and a peculiar resolution was carried unanimously: "As the Authors' is a Class Lodge, promotion to office shall not necessarily proceed by seniority, but the brethren shall agree to give way to any writer of eminence who, in the general opinion of the Lodge, would confer distinction on the Lodge by being elected to one of the principal offices."

The Charter was granted and signed by the Grand Master himself in July, 1910, and the Consecration, at which more than forty London and provincial Lodges were represented, took place on November 16th, 1910, the Grand Secretary being the chief consecrating officer. The promoter of the Lodge, W.Bro. Montesole, was, of course, installed as its first W.Master.

As regards the progress made by the Lodge, I do not think I can do better than to quote the following words of W.Bro. A. F. Calvert, the Editor of its *Transactions*, written by him in the Preface to the first Volume of the *Transactions* which was issued only in 1915: "The distinctive class which composes the membership of the Author's Lodge has been responsible for a delivery of a number of masonic lectures of a value unequalled by any Lodge outside the famous Quatuor Coronati." The *Transactions* contain not only most of the addresses delivered before the Lodge, but also articles from W.Masters, Past Masters, Officers and other brethren. Many lectures and articles published in the *Transactions* were written by distinguished members of our Lodge and of our Correspondence Circle.

Among the non-class and, therefore, more typical modern Research Lodges of this country, a prominent position is occupied by the Somerset Masters' Lodge, No. 3746, Bath, consecrated on April 22nd, 1915.

"One of the most hopeful features of modern masonry is the growing conviction that mastery of the ritual and the power of rendering it impressively does not exhaust the possibilities of the subject, but that it is equally desirable to study the rise and history of the institution and the esoteric meaning which may be found in the ceremonies."

Such are the opening words of the Foreword to the first Volume of *Transactions of the Somerset Masters' Lodge* (1915-1916), and they characterize the spirit of the Lodge.

The Somerset Masters' Lodge came into being due to the untiring effort and enthusiasm of W.Bro. Dr. George Norman, who was at that time a member of our Correspondence Circle, to become later (1923) a full member of our Lodge, and then its W.Master (1927). As formulated by him and accepted by the 126 Founders, who were Past Masters of 28 Lodges in the Province of Somerset, the objects of the new Lodge were to be "the cultivation of Masonic Research by means of papers and discussions on the history and the antiquities and symbols of the Craft, and the publication of a yearly volume of transactions."

The first W.Master was W.Bro. Col. A. Thrale Perkins, and the first Secretary W.Bro. Dr. George Norman, who, in addition to his secretarial duties, carried on by him for the first seven years, was also the Joint Editor of the *Transactions*, remaining as such until his death in 1938. The other Joint Editor was W.Bro. Egbert Lewis until his death in 1933. He was succeeded by W.Bro. H. Hiram Hallett, who is at present the only Editor of the *Transactions*.

Paragraph X of the By-Laws sanctioned formation of a Correspondence Circle to which all Master Masons in good standing, belonging to the Lodges in the Province of Somerset or anywhere else, as well as Lodges, Chapters and other corporate masonic bodies of the Universe are eligible. The rights and privileges of the members of that Circle are exactly the same as those of the members of our Correspondence Circle.

The Lodge meets three times a year: the February meeting is held in Bath, the June meeting at various centres by arrangement, and the October one in Taunton. The present membership of the Lodge is 289, and of the Correspondence Circle 241.

So far seven volumes (26 parts) of the *Transactions* have been issued and distributed. They contain about 100 interesting and instructive research works on the history of Freemasonry in the form of papers read before the Lodge or special articles. Of this number no less than 17 were contributed by the first Editor of the *Transactions*, W.Bro. George Norman (mostly on the history of Lodges in the Provinces), nine by the present Editor, W.Bro. H. H. Hallett, and 15 by distinguished Members of our Lodge, W.Bros. Lionel Vibert, J. E. S. Tucket, the Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, J. W. Hobbs, H. T. Cart de Lafontaine, J. Heron Lepper, R. H. Baxter, Douglas Knoop and Lewis Edwards.

Passing from the Lodges to the Associations and Societies for Masonic Research in this country, which are many, I hope to give a clear idea as to their work and value by describing briefly just four of them: The Installed Masters' Association of Leeds and Province, The Manchester Association, The Merseyside Association, and The Bristol Society for Masonic Research.

I shall start with the oldest of them, the Installed Masters' Association of Leeds and Province.

The formation of this Association was decided upon at the Meeting of Installed Masters of the Leeds Lodges held on January 13th, 1904, when W.Bro. Richard Wilson occupied the Chair and 15 other Leeds W.Masters and Past-Masters were present. W.Bro. R. Wilson was elected to be President of the Association and W.Bro. J. W. Beanland to be Secretary, while W.Bro. J. W. Stead undertook to edit the *Transactions*. The Rules of the Association were discussed and established at the same Meeting. In these Rules one of the principal objects of the Association was defined as follows:—"To attract and interest Brethren by means of Papers upon the History, Antiquities and Symbols of the Craft, and Lectures on Craft Masonry and cognate subjects, by well known and expert Masons who have passed the Chair, in order to imbue Brethren with a love for Masonic Research."

The Rules also stipulate that there shall be four meetings held in each year and that the Association shall be managed by a Council consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and Secretary, together with one member to represent each Lodge in Leeds and three to represent the other Lodges in the Province. The Membership was restricted to Installed Masters and Past-Masters being subscribing members of a Lodge in Leeds or the Province.

At the end of the first year the Association had 86 members, a large number if we take into consideration the restriction as regards admission mentioned above.

The Association has proved to be a success. It has done much in way of masonic historical research and of spreading the knowledge of its results among brethren. Practically at each meeting a serious Paper, sometimes written in an attractive popular form, has been delivered, and the reading of the *Transactions* is extremely interesting and instructive.

Some of the Papers appearing in the *Transactions* were read before the Association by well known Masonic students who were not its members, not being W. Masters or Past-Masters of Lodges in Leeds or the Province. Thus, for instance, out of three lectures delivered to the Association during the second year of its existence, two came from the pen of distinguished Members of our Lodge. W. Bros. G. L. Shackles and W. J. Hughan. Bro. Shackles, the famous collector of Masonic medals and relics, was one of the first members of our Correspondence Circle and our Senior Warden at the time of reading his lecture before the Association, while Bro. Hughan, one of the most outstanding Masonic historians, was our Founder.

The next in chronological order comes the Manchester Association for Masonic Research.

If the other Research Lodges and Associations were inspired by the example of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge and followed it, the Manchester Association was much more of our offspring, because the idea of forming it, in order to hold local meetings similar to ours, occurred to the Members of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge's Correspondence Circle who lived in the Manchester district. Fifteen of them met in April, 1909, to discuss the proposition and, after three or four further meetings with a larger attendance, the Association came into being. At the Inaugural Meeting held on November 24th, 1909, 53 brethren were present. It was decided that all Master Masons, irrespective of their place of residence, should be eligible as Members of the Association, and at present their number is about 900.

Like the Leeds' Association, the Manchester Association is ruled by a President and Council, of which all the Past-Presidents and the Vice-Presidents are members "ex-officio." Among the active members of that Council there are two Past-Presidents who are full Members of our Lodge: W. Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter is the Editor of the yearly *Transactions* of the Association, and W. Bro. Fred. L. Pick, our Junior Deacon this year, is the Secretary of the Association.

Five meetings a year are held and the work proceeds on the lines of our Lodge. One of the yearly meetings (usually in May) is called "The Members' Night," when, instead of a set paper by some more or less eminent lecturer, short papers written by members on any subject connected with Freemasonry are read and prizes of Masonic books are given for those of them which the Selection Committee found to be the best.

The Association has a good Masonic Library, which was started in 1911 and now consists of more than 3,000 volumes. Many valuable books were purchased for the Library and donations are collected as widely as possible.

In 1934 a Manchester Lodge for Masonic Research, No. 5502, was formed in connection with the Association and after that the two bodies have met jointly, the meetings of the Association taking place after the closing of the Lodge, with the exception of the "Members' Nights" referred to above, which are reserved to the Members of the Association only. The Members of the Association, though not members of the Lodge, are regarded as its Associates and entitled to attend all

meetings of the Lodge. On the other hand, arrangements are made that the membership of the Council and of the Lodge coincide and the President of the Association is the W.M. of the Lodge.

An interesting feature of joint work of the Association and the Lodge has been the staging of Ceremonies performed according to various peculiar Rituals. These demonstrations proved to be extremely popular and were usually attended by a large number of brethren.

As regards the achievements of the Manchester Association in the sphere of Masonic Research, the 29 volumes of its *Transactions*, which have appeared so far and which are full of valuable Papers, clearly show its highly important and useful contribution to that work.

Rather similar to the Manchester Association is the Merseyside Association formed in Liverpool in 1922.

The idea of forming this Association was conceived by W.Bro. the Rev. Archibald Ball, M.A., P.P.G.Chaplain. It was on his initiative and at his personal request that about a dozen brethren of Liverpool and Birkenhead met in December, 1921, to discuss the need of a local Research Association, the object of which would be "the exploration of the Symbolism and History of Freemasonry and the removal of the veil that might be placed, through ignorance, before the eyes of brethren, that they might see clearly the wonderful structure and lessons they had for the world," as Bro. Ball puts it. His proposition was met with such enthusiasm that at the next meeting, held on February 1st, 1922, the Association was finally organised and Bro. Ball was elected President, together with three Vice-Presidents, twelve Members of the Council, and other Officers, including the Editor of *Transactions* and the Librarian. The first regular meeting was held on September 29th, 1922, when the Association had already over 150 Members. At present their number is not far from a thousand.

As in the case of the Manchester Association, there is a strong link connecting the Merseyside Association for Masonic Research with our Lodge. One of the organisers and of the three first Vice-Presidents of the Association was W.Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, who occupied the Chair of our Lodge during the first year of the Association's existence. One of the most energetic and active Members of the Association from its very birth was our late P.M. and Secretary, W.Bro. Lionel Vibert. Out of the five papers read before the Association during the first year of its life, one was delivered by W.Bro. Baxter, one by W.Bro. Vibert, and one by another distinguished full Member of our Lodge, W.Bro. J. W. Hobbs. Even the first Volume of the Association's *Transactions* starts with a Foreword written by our Past-Master (1908-1909), W.Bro. John Thomas Thorp, F.R.Hist.Soc., P.G.D.

The work of the Merseyside Association has been very successful and its *Transactions* contain a vast store of Masonic historical knowledge.

Similar to the Associations for Masonic Research, as regards their organisations and aims, are the Masonic Research Societies. As an example of these bodies I have chosen the famous Bristol Society. It was founded in 1917 and has grown to have now about 900 members and over 50 Associates—young Masons who are considered to be suitable candidates for full membership. It holds six meetings a year, consisting, in the most part, in hearing the President's Inaugural Address and specially written Papers on Masonic subjects. In these Papers the tradition of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge is strictly followed, that is to say, only authentic Masonic history is given. Six Members of our Lodge were Presidents of the Society: W.Bros. J. E. S. Tuckett, A. Lionel Vibert, George Norman, G. M. Carter, H. C. Bristowe and Arthur Cecil Powell.

The Society follows the traditions of our Lodge also in another way: like ourselves, it arranges "Summer Outings," which not only are interesting from the point of view of visiting places of Masonic importance in other parts of the country, but also give the members a pleasant opportunity for getting better acquainted with each other.

In one way, however, the Society has deviated from the methods of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge: it does not publish transactions and, therefore, the benefit is derived from it by a much smaller circle of Masons, *i.e.*, only by those who can attend the meetings and listen to the Papers. It is a great pity, because I understand that most of the Papers read before the Society are of high value. The consolation is that the Papers are preserved and can be published.

The Society was a proud possessor of a very good Masonic Library of books and some rare old manuscripts, including a set of rituals in French written in 1787 and presented to one of the prominent local brethren in 1813 by the Grand Orient of France. Unfortunately, that Library, together with many other possessions of the Society, suffered very much from enemy action last November, when the whole of the interior of the Freemasons' Hall was burnt out. Only the contents of the Strong Room have been saved.

A peculiar and, in my view, very useful part of the Society's work, is its effort to enlarge Masonic knowledge of those brethren who are not keen on Masonic reading or on listening to serious and sometimes rather dry Papers. Such brethren are very numerous in the Bristol district as they are in London or anywhere else. The leaders of the Society decided to bring them into touch with some of the questions of the Craft in a pleasant and social way. They not only arranged illustrations of a number of lectures, especially those connected with architecture, by lantern slides, but also organized several performances of Masonic Ceremonies worked according to the Scottish and other peculiar rituals, a demonstration of the French rituals referred to above and displayed by candle light and in contemporary costumes, illustrations of Masonic music, particularly by Mozart, sometimes with the help of a small orchestra and choir, etc. Such meetings proved to be a great success and were attended by large numbers of brethren.

I shall say no more about the Masonic Research work in Great Britain. I hope that the above descriptions are sufficient to show how well organized, intensive and successful it is in this country and how regularly its results are published.

As regards Research Lodges, Associations, etc., in the British Dominions, Colonies and possessions, there is one Research Lodge in Ireland, one in Sydney, Australia, which is some twenty years old and publishes annually, there are two in New Zealand, of which the Masters' and Past Masters' Lodge in Christchurch publishes bi-monthly *Transactions*.

In India there is the Madras Masters' Lodge, in the foundation, organisation and work of which our late Secretary, W.Bro. Lionel Vibert, played a very prominent part. It was consecrated on March 24th, 1923, with the object of "encouraging research in Masonic matters and of improving the knowledge of speculative Masonry." Like our Lodge, it has a Correspondence Circle, the members of which enjoy the same rights and privileges as those of our Circle. It publishes the "*Madras Masonic Journal*," of which 12 yearly volumes have already appeared. They contain lectures delivered not only before the Madras Masters' Lodge, but also before a number of other Lodges in India. The Papers published in the "Journal" deal with various Masonic subjects, but very few of them are purely historical works.

Very seriously the problems of Masonic Research have been considered by our brethren in Canada. Many are the books on the history of Freemasonry in British America. There are Masonic Libraries in Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg and Regina, all of which loan books. There are others in Montreal, St. John, N.C., and Halifax which do not loan books but are open to all brethren for studies, like our Grand Lodge Library. There is the Committee on Masonic Education attached to the Grand Lodge of Canada, in the Province of Ontario, and there are many Masonic Research Societies, among which particularly well established appear to be the following one:—

The Masonic Study Club at Westmount, Montreal, founded some ten years ago by a Member of our Correspondence Circle, R.W.Bro. A. J. P. Milborne, for the purpose of "facilitating the study of various phases of Masonic History, Symbolism and Philosophy, by means of Lectures, Papers, Debates and Informal Discussions." The Club has maintained a steady growth and includes members of nearly every Lodge in Montreal and vicinity. Membership is open to all Master Masons in good standing and is not restricted to any particular district.

The Toronto Society for Masonic Research, organised in 1920 "to meet the needs of a centre where a more extensive enquiry into Masonic History and Science can be pursued than it is possible in the regular Lodges under present conditions." All Master Masons who are interested in the further study of Masonry and are willing to help to that end, are invited to co-operate in the Society's proceedings. The meetings of the Society are held monthly.

The Windsor Association for Masonic Research, founded in 1935 in Windsor, Ontario, to facilitate the study of Masonic History, Laws and Customs, Symbolism and Philosophy by means of Lectures, Papers and Discussions.

The Study Group of Windsor Lodge, No. 403, formed in 1934 in Windsor, Ontario, for the same purpose as the Association just mentioned. Membership of this Study Group is not restricted to the Members of the Windsor Lodge and is open to all Master Masons in good standing.

In the work of the last three Masonic Research bodies a very important part has been played by the Librarian of the Grand Lodge of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, Bro. N. W. J. Haydon.

There is a close connection between all these Research organisations in Canada and the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. As I could see from the Canadian Masonic publications, the works published by our Lodge are often studied and discussed at their meetings. Many Canadian Masonic writers and leaders of Research Societies, etc., are Members of our Correspondence Circle.

Masonic knowledge is spread in Canada also by using the theatre for that purpose. Lengthy dramatic presentations of Masonic history based on 18th century documents of Canadian events have been written by the above mentioned R.W.Bro. Milborne, of Montreal, and by M.W.Bro. R. V. Harris, of Halifax, and have appeared on the stage with very large audiences, consisting not only of Masons, but of the general public as well, and with much approval from the local authorities.

There remains to me to say a few words about the Masonic Research work in the United States of America.

Much is done in the United States in way of Masonic education of the candidates after they have received various degrees. A particularly good organisation for that purpose has been set up by the Board of General Activities, Grand Lodge of New York.

There are many Clubs, Societies, Study Schools and Courses for lectures and discussions on Masonic subjects; there are Masonic debates and orations organised by separate Lodges to which members of other Lodges are invited; a series of inter-city Masonic meetings at which talks on Masonic subjects are arranged; numerous elaborate Masonic pageants or dramas, the performances of which are usually very successful and attract large masses, numbering sometimes well over 1,500.

There are many rich and excellent Masonic Libraries and Museums in the United States. Among these Libraries one of the finest in the whole country is that of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, the Curator of which is a distinguished Masonic writer, M.W.Bro. C. C. Hunt, Grand Secretary, who is at the same time the Editor of his Grand Lodge's *Bulletin*—a publication already referred to by me and containing many valuable Masonic works.

There is also the National Masonic Service Association in Washington which is subsidised by all the Grand Lodges in the United States for the purpose of gathering and distributing information on practically every subject of Masonic

enquiry. The Secretary of it is another well known Masonic writer and authority on U.S.A. Masonic activities, W.Bro. C. H. Claudy.

The establishment of Research Lodges, properly speaking, *i.e.* on the line of our Lodge, is, however, greatly hampered in the United States by the fact that most of the Grand Lodges of that Country forbid dual membership, and, therefore, a Brother joining such Lodge must first resign from his own. Consequently, there are only four Research Lodges in the United States of America:

The North Carolina Lodge of Research, No. 666, Monroe, N. Carolina;

The American Lodge of Research, New York City;

The Research Lodge of Oregon, No. 198;

The Research Lodge, No. 281, Seattle, Washington.

They are all young Lodges, the two oldest of them, the North Carolina and the American, having been established only in 1930.

All of them publish *Transactions* containing works of original historical research read before them and a number of briefer articles on a variety of masonic subjects. Some of them have also Correspondence Circles similar to ours, with a considerable membership.

As in the case of the British Lodges of Research, the idea of forming them in the United States of America was inspired by the long existence and great achievements of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, which is well known in the United States through its *Transactions*. A confirmation of this we find even in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of New York, 1931, where, after the statement that at the 149th Communication of the Grand Lodge (1930) a dispensation had been granted to a Lodge whose function it will be to stimulate interest in Masonic scholarship and which will be known as the American Lodge of Research, we read:—

“Its prototype is the celebrated Quatuor Coronati Lodge of London, whose Members have made contributions of the very greatest importance to the knowledge of the origins and development of our Craft. The beginning of Freemasonry in America, and the phases of its development peculiar to local conditions in the growing Colonies, and later on in the States and Territories, offer a practically untrodden field for such a Lodge to explore, with results of incalculable benefit to the Craft”.

This completes the picture of the great work of Masonic Historical Research in the English-speaking Countries I intended to give. That work, as we have seen, is done in a very serious and exact way, it is very widely spread, and the results of it can be easily obtained by all who wish to increase their knowledge of the Craft. There are not many places in the English-speaking world where the publications of our Lodge and/or of some of the numerous similar Masonic bodies doing research work are unobtainable. For those who are not satisfied with reading rather short Papers printed in the *Transactions* and other publications of Research Lodges, Associations, etc., and want to study some particular subject more extensively and in detail, there are Masonic Libraries all over the world. To help the brethren to choose what to read on that or another subject there are many books giving them valuable advices. Among them I would particularly point out the following ones:—*A Survey of Masonic Reading*, by W.Bro. Lionel Vibert; *Suggestions for a course of Masonic Reading*, by W.Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter; and *Books for Masonic Reading of interest to all Masonic Students*, by W.Bro. S. J. Fenton.

If this Address succeeds in somewhat prompting the Brethren of our Correspondence Circle to study the history of the Craft and to do their own research work, it will serve the purpose I had in my mind when I chose its subject.

I shall conclude by repeating the words of our first Secretary, W.Bro. G. W. Speth, which he wrote in his excellent work *Masonic Curriculum*, published by our Lodge and already referred to by me in this Address:—

"Knowledge is the solace of the intellect as religion of the soul. And the acquisition thereof is not a toil, but a delight".

These words, I am sure, truly express what every Masonic Student has experienced and what is in store for those who will take up Masonic studies in the future.

In consequence of conditions imposed by the war, a banquet did not take place after the Lodge meeting; but the toast of the Worshipful Master would have been proposed in the following terms:—

Bro. Boris Ivanoff was born in 1886 in the Province of Yaroslav, Central Russia. He received Public School education at Rybinsk in Russia, studied law at the Ecole de Droit in Paris, and graduated at the Financial and Economic Faculty of St. Petersburg Polytechnicum. In 1912 he entered the Russian Imperial Civil Service. At the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 Bro. Ivanoff joined the Russian Red Cross, and, after having held various offices, was appointed Deputy Special Plenipotentiary for supplies to all the Red Cross organisations on the Russian Western Front. For services rendered in this capacity he was awarded four decorations.

In August, 1916, by special order of the Czar, Bro. Ivanoff was delegated to the Government Supply Committee in London, where he was appointed Assistant Director of the Transport Department, and was charged, in conjunction with the British Admiralty and later the Ministry of Shipping, with arranging and supervising the shipment of munitions of war ordered by the Russian Government. When this Committee was closed, Bro. Ivanoff was appointed Assistant Commercial Attaché to the Russian Imperial Embassy in London and represented the Embassy at the Ministry of Shipping. After the War he joined a British textile firm, of which for several years he was a Director.

At the present moment Bro. Ivanoff is acting as Head of one of the branches of the Censor's Department.

Bro. Ivanoff was initiated into Freemasonry in the Aldwych Club Lodge No. 3794 in January, 1922. He joined the Ionic Lodge No. 227 in 1932, and became Master of that Lodge in 1938. He joined the Correspondence Circle of Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1924, and was elected a full member in 1933; and has now succeeded to the Chair.

In Royal Arch Masonry Bro. Ivanoff was exalted in the Sincerity Chapter No. 174 in May, 1924. He was advanced in Mark Masonry in Hibernia Lodge in 1926, becoming Master in 1933. He has occupied also the Chair of Hibernia Lodge of R. Ark Mariners. He became a member of Alleyn Rose Croix Chapter in 1926, and, after occupying the Chair of that Chapter, was promoted in 1937 to the 30°. He is a Knight Templar, a Knight of Malta, and also a member of the Cryptic Degrees and the Red Cross of Constantine, and the Rosicrucian Society.

Bro. Ivanoff is not only himself a student of Masonry, but also a promoter of such study; and with that incentive he became the organiser of a Study Circle for Russian Masons, of which for several years he was President.

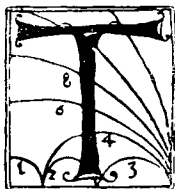
Bro. Ivanoff's principal contribution to A.Q.C. was *Cagliostro in Eastern Europe*; but, in addition, his many comments on other papers read before the Lodge have been valuable.

To the Rosicrucian Society he has given several papers on both Masonry and philosophy; while the Russian Study Circle greatly benefited by the work he prepared for the members.

We welcome Bro. Ivanoff as Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge and extend to him hearty good wishes.

THE WILSON MS.

BY W.BRO. DAVID FLATHER.



WO of the minor mysteries of Masonry are the Leland-Locke Catechism and the Wilson Manuscript. The fictitious character of the former, though not definitely proved, is generally admitted and it has been classed as a forgery both by the conclusions of philologists and for want of evidence as to the existence of the original document.

The *Wilson* Manuscript, in spite of the reference to it in an authentic document, has never been traced, nor have we any evidence to show that in fact it ever existed.

The first and only original reference to it occurs in a marginal note on the "Manifesto" issued by the Lodge of Antiquity on 16th December, 1778. It was also referred to in the same year by William Preston. The reference in the "Manifesto" occurs in the Marginal notes appended to the preamble dealing with the presumed creation of the First Grand Lodge by Athelstan at York in A.D. 926. The reference to the *Wilson* MS. is as follows:—

"O. MS. in the hands of Mr. Wilson of Broomhead near Sheffield, Yorkshire, written in the reign of K. Henry 8th".

It should be carefully noted that no reference is made as to the nature or contents of the manuscript, nor do I find either in Preston or in the Minutes of the Lodge any evidence that the manuscript was produced or in fact that it had been actually seen by any member of the Lodge, although by deduction we might presume that the Rt. Worshipful Master may have seen and examined it. The reason for that deduction will appear later. I might perhaps add that the "original MS. in the Lodge of Antiquity", which is noted in the first marginal note, was definitely in the hands of the Lodge and was no doubt produced at the meeting.

From that date to the present, in spite of intensive search and enquiry, it has never been possible to trace this missing *Wilson* MS. In the year 1876 Bro. A. F. A. Woodford published in the *Masonic Magazine* a copy of the Old Charges as being the *Wilson*. Bro. Woodford stated that the manuscript had been traced to the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips, and was at the time in the possession of the Rev. J. E. A. Fenwick, son-in-law of Sir Thomas Phillips, and that it had been purchased at the sale of the manuscripts of Mr. Wilson of Broomhead Hall, Sheffield. It was subsequently discovered that the supposed *Wilson* MS. had actually been bought by Sir Thomas Phillips in 1841, and as the "Wilson" collection was not sold until 1843, there could be no doubt as to the real identity of the Manuscript, which is now classed as the Phillips No. 2. Bro. Speth, who visited Cheltenham in order to examine and transcribe the manuscript, further discovered that the misnamed *Wilson* MS. had appeared in the catalogue by John Cochran, of 108 Strand, London, and dated 1829 (see HUGHAN, *Old Charges of British Freemasons*, pp. 47-48 and 152).

As the search for this MS. has been so wide and so many claims made of its discovery have been published, I do not think it necessary to try to give details of them—especially as my intention is to deal more particularly with the circumstances connected with John Wilson of Broomhead and his activities;

for, after a careful study and much research I may be able to justify my considered belief that the missing *Wilson MS.* is a myth.

The Wilson family pedigree dates back to Saxon times and Broomhead Hall has been occupied by them for 600 years at least. The Hall, as it is at present, was rebuilt in the year 1831, though substantially the same as that which was rebuilt in 1697.

John Wilson the antiquary was the twelfth to carry the Christian name. He was born on 28th April, 1719, and died 3rd March, 1783. Although generally described as an antiquary, he did not make any serious contribution to antiquarian knowledge. Beyond the writing of a topographical survey of the district of Hallamshire (which was never published), he devoted himself almost exclusively to the collection and collating of records and deeds connected with the Wilson family, and of the various estates in Hallamshire, more particularly the genealogical records.

In the main therefore he can be more correctly described as a "Collector".

The Rev. Joseph Hunter, the author of *The History of Hallamshire*, says:

"The retired life he (John Wilson) lived at Broomhead gave him abundant leisure which he employed principally in transcribing in a plain and legible hand, what he was not allowed to appropriate".

After the death of John Wilson his library and collection of coins were dispersed, but his manuscripts remained entire. A room was appropriated in the Hall at Broomhead even when the family had ceased to reside there, and it was inhabited by the tenant of the farm.

The collection remained at Broomhead until about the year 1807, but it had become the property of William Wilson—third surviving son of John Wilson—whether by purchase from his brother, the heir to the estate, or bequeathed by his father, I do not know. William Wilson then had the collection removed to a house in Pond Street, Sheffield, where Hunter spent many days in copying and cataloguing it. Later the collection was transferred to William Wilson's residence, Fenton Ville, in Sheffield, where the sale was held in June, 1843.

The Sale Catalogue enumerates 263 lots, most of which consisted of furniture, curios, arms, and domestic articles; but lot No. 200 embraced the whole of the collection of MSS. and is described as follows:—

"among the manuscript collections made by Mr. Wilson were the following articles"—and proceeds to give a brief description of eighteen items.

Although it is not expressly stated, this list could not be intended to indicate the whole quantity of manuscripts which we know comprised several hundreds of items. It might be well, however, to note that a large number of manuscripts is still (in 1941) in the possession of the Wilson family, and has been carefully preserved and catalogued. Whether these were sold and afterwards bought back, or were withdrawn from the sale, I have no certain knowledge. It may perhaps be noted that none of the manuscripts in this printed list in the catalogue had any possible reference to Masonry. At the sale Lot 200 was bought by Mr. Thorp of London, and subsequently resold by him to Mr. Newman, the bookseller of High Holborn, from whom Sir Thomas Phillips purchased all or part of the collection.

At this stage I quote a passage from Rev. Joseph Hunter's "Memoir", which will be of great interest to the Craft. Hunter, on p. 77 of the "Memoir", says—

"In the possession of the present (1843) representatives of the family is an emblazoned Pedigree with this title—

The Genealogy or Pedigree of the Family of Wilson of

Broomhead extracted out of Auncient Deeds and other authenticated Records by Randale Holme of the Citty of Chester, sometime Deputy to Garter principale King at Armes Anno 1670'."

Randale Holme was, of course, the author of the *Academie of Armorie*, a Freemason and member of the Lodge at Chester. He married Elisabeth Wilson, daughter of George Wilson of Chester, who was in the direct line of the Wilson family.

This record shows that at the time of Randale Holme's visits to Broomhead there existed a number of family documents and records, and while it was probable that the knowledge of this genealogy and the existence of the documents to which it referred would very probably inspire John Wilson to institute his great collection.

At the same time we have no right to suggest that the fact of Randale Holme being a Mason had any connection with the document referred to eighty years after his death.

Indeed it would be probable that if he had found any masonic manuscript he would have impounded it.

John Hunter says of him that he was neither a very intelligent nor scrupulous man.

In the year 1926 I purchased from the late W. T. Freemantle a small octavo book having the label "Broomhead Hall MS." On the first page of this catalogue is the following:—

"A Catalogue

as drawn up by Mr. Joseph Hunter of the Principle parts of the MSS. now remaining at Broomhead Hall of the Collection of the late John Wilson Esq.

August 15 — 1806"

Hunter in his *History of Hallamshire*, which was published in 1819, devotes several pages to the Wilsons of Broomhead, with a pedigree of the family and a portrait of John Wilson. On page 277, referring to the collection of manuscripts, he says—"The room was rarely opened; and in 1808 when by favour of the present possessor I was first allowed to have access to them I found them nearly in the state in which they had been left by him whose assiduity and care they are so honourable a memorial".

It will be noted that the date of the visit given by Hunter differs from that of the MS. catalogue. Probably the earlier date is the correct one.

I should here point out that this copy of the catalogue is not the original one written by Hunter, for on the inside of the front cover it states—

Copied by

S. B. Ward Mount Pleasant
and given to Mrs. Rimington.

Mary Rimington was a Wilson and was life tenant of Broomhead Hall. Samuel Broomhead Ward was related by marriage with the Rimingtons.

Before commencing the catalogue Hunter writes a short preface to show his method of classifying and arranging. The catalogue occupies 56 written pages, written on one side only, and the Preface IV. At the end of the book is inserted a copy of the Sale Catalogue by T. N. Bardwell & Sons. In addition to the details of the 262 Lots there is a lengthy quotation from Hunter's *Hallamshire* dealing with the Hall and its contents.

I do not propose to make any attempt to deal with the details of the catalogue further than to say that after a most careful examination of every item and with only one exception do I find anything which could even remotely refer to Masonic History or practice.

The exception is on p. 108, and is as follows:—

"A collection of papers relating to Free Masons".

Although Hunter was not a Freemason it must be certain that he would have known something as to the Craft and its mystery. At the time he was in Sheffield, news of Masonry and the local Lodges was general.

The spectacular Procession at the Opening of the Infirmary when the Freemasons were so much in evidence and the frequent Masonic services in the churches would, one would think, make him alive to any Masonic references and particularly if they had the appearance of being old charters or parchment documents.

In concluding these notes it may be useful, in order to make it quite clear that the Rev. Joseph Hunter had no interest in Masonic history or can have removed any documents, Masonic or otherwise, from the collection, to explain that throughout the whole of his work on the manuscripts he was scrupulously faithful to the trust bestowed upon him. I must, however, point out that his father, Michael Hunter, was a member of Lodge No. 72 (Ancients); but Joseph, as a child, was adopted as a son by a friend, with whom he lived until he became a minister of the Unitarian Church, and that—so far as can be ascertained—he never had any connection with Freemasonry. Lodge No. 72 chiefly consisted of working cutlers and generally poor men, though there were a few Brethren of higher positions. I do not, however, feel that any of them would dream of Masonry having any history further than that taught in the ritual and lectures. Michael Hunter was a cutlery manufacturer on a small scale.

There is one other point that may be worthy of comment, and that is upon the last page—

“Extracts from various printed books about 42 Quartos. These are principally from works upon English History and Antiquities, and from several valuable authors are very copious, as from Dugdale, Thoresby, Drake, Stowe, Ecton, Edwicke, Montfacon, Collins &”.

Evidently these were produced in the same manner as was at that time very common. I have several such “commonplace books”, one of which contains an interesting Masonic “Disclosure”. Wilson was an occasional contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*; and I believe that some of his MS. books contained extracts from that journal. It may be even that the reference in the “Manifesto” may have arisen from such a source.

In concluding this part of my paper and with reference to the “Phillips Collection”, I wrote to the late Bro. E. H. Dring in 1928 shortly after I purchased the Catalogue, and submitted it to him, and received the following characteristically delightful letter from him:—

September 28th, 1928.

Dear Bro. Flather,

I am very sorry that I have not replied earlier regarding the Hunter MSS., but I had not neglected the matter. I sent my secretary to the British Museum and she there spent some time in looking through the catalogue of the Phillips collection of manuscripts (so far as it is printed), but was unable to trace anything that one could imagine to be identical with the items in the Wilson Catalogue, so I doubt very much if they ever got into the Phillips collection.

If Phillips bought them it must have been some time in the vicinity of 1843, and, as his printed catalogue seems to contain everything that he bought up to 1867, I think you may take it that they never came into his possession.

I am therefore returning the catalogue to you book post.

Yours fraternally and sincerely,

E. H. Dring.

In order so far as possible to record the movements of the "Collection", it is necessary to say that a second catalogue was prepared by the Rev. Joseph Hunter in the year 1823, when, as he says, he "wished to place on record his gratitude to Mr. William Wilson and their family for their great kindness and unbounded trust in allowing him to have unlimited access to the manuscripts and to make such copies and extracts as he might wish".

This memoir included a very full account of the Wilson family and a complete pedigree of the various branches. To this memoir Hunter added a more complete and classified catalogue of many hundreds of documents.

I have made a very careful study of every title in this catalogue, but cannot find a single one which gives the least hint of being connected with or referring to Freemasonry, and in special I would state that the reference to "a collection of papers on Freemasonry" in the first catalogue of 1806 does not appear in the second catalogue, although it does contain many items which were not shown in the first catalogue.

This memoir was given to the Wilson family, but was subsequently published in the *Transactions* of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, vol. v., pp. 62-125, 1879.

PART II.

Having so far as possible dealt with the "Wilson" collection of manuscripts and their dispersal, and having, at least to my own satisfaction, shown that no traces of Masonic manuscripts were contained further than a casual reference to a "collection of papers referring to Freemasons", it may be useful to make an incursion into Masonic biography.

I might perhaps make reference to the actual words in which the reference in the "Manifesto" is expressed—"O. MS. in the hands of Mr. Wilson of Broomhead near Sheffield"; and to point out that there is not a village or even a hamlet known as "Broomhead", and although the House itself is and always has been known as Broomhead Hall, it has always been known by the family and people in the district as "Broomhead"—as it is to-day. While people in Sheffield speak of "Broomhead Hall", the Wilson family and the inhabitants of Bolsterstone, Wortley, Bradfield, etc., know it only as "Broomhead". From this fact I would suggest that the insertion in the "Manifesto" was certainly made, as you will see, by one who knew the place as "Broomhead".

Turning now to the Masonic career of John Wilson the younger, the only source of information is the *History of the Lodge of Antiquity*, published by the Lodge, vol. i., 1911, by Bro. W. H. Rylands, and vol. ii., 1926, by Captain C. W. Firebrace. From these volumes I have ventured to quote a number of extracts which more particularly refer to that career. We find that on 19th July, 1775, Bro. William Preston, Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, proposed "Mr. John Wilson, Attorney in Aldersgate Street, to be initiated into Masonry this evening on a case of Emergency: the proposition being seconded the question was put and it passed in the affirmative". "Mr. John Wilson was accordingly initiated into the First Degree, and at his desire with the consent of the Lodge passed into the Second Degree. He paid the usual fees, and was admitted a Member of the Lodge".

Then followed the re-election of William Preston as Master for the second term of the year 1775, this having been omitted at the June meeting when it was due. Bro. John Foster was made Senior Warden and Bro. Robert Bone, Junior Warden.

20th November, 1775. "This being Election night, Bror. [William] Preston was unanimously re-elected Master, and appointed Bror. [James] Brearley S.W., Bror. [John] Wilson J.W., Bror [Samuel] Bass, Secretary and Bror. [John] Oliver Tyler. — — —

11th April, 1776. "Br. Wilson Propos'd all the Brethren of this Lodge that had not been passed to that degree (3°) should they may likewise Partake of that Honour the first of May next".

26th June, 1776. Bror. John Wilson then proposed the Rev. Luke Yarker of York to be ballotted for initiation into Masonry this evening on a case of emergency. The Proposition being seconded, the question was put and it passed in the affirmative. Mr. Luke Yarker was accordingly ballotted for and approved on the Ballott. He was thereupon regularly initiated into the two first Degrees in solemn form."

18th Dec., 1776. William Preston re-elected Master; and he appointed John Wilson the S.W. and Samuel Bass the J.W.; Theophilus Hartley Secretary, and Oliver continued as Tyler.

5th March, 1776.

Bro. John Wilson as S.W. is noted as being present at this meeting, which records a ceremony which, while being held in the 3°, appears as being chiefly of a Royal Arch character. It is of the utmost interest, but as it has no special reference to my main subject I content myself to noting it.

18th June, 1777. This being the usual time for electing a Master for the ensuing six months, the Lodge went upon that Business when a majority appearing in favour of Bror [William] Preston, he was declared duly elected and appointed Bror John Wilson, Senior Warden, Samuel Bass Junior Warden, Rev. A. H. Eccles Chaplain, Charles le Caan Secretary and Bror Oliver Tyler.

5th Nov., 1777. Ordered that a Board of Trial sit next Lodge night and that Bror [James] Brearley, [John] Wilson and [Richard] Hunt do form that Board.

3rd Dec., 1777. This being the usual time of electing Officers for the ensuing six months, the Lodge proceeded to Ballot for a Master, Secretary and Chaplain when a majority appeared in favour of the following—vizt John Wilson R.W. Master

Benjamin Bradley Secretary

Rev. Allen Harrison Eccles Chaplain

Thus we see that the entry and progress of Bro. John Wilson was unusually rapid. Five months after being proposed and initiated he became Junior Warden, and after serving two terms as Senior Warden he reached the Chair in two years and a half after his becoming a member of the Craft.

The unhappy interlude in the otherwise successful progress of the Lodge of Antiquity commenced with the election of Bro. John Wilson as Master, but as the record of it is so generally known, it is not necessary to repeat it here.

We must, however, take note of the part which John Wilson took in the matter.

It is, however, most difficult to ascertain to what extent he may have been responsible, as the minutes are silent on this point. Whether he was the instrument which Preston used to carry out a carefully planned course of action, or whether Wilson himself inspired the action, we do not know.

The appointment of a Chaplain as an Officer of the Lodge was, so far as precedent existed, an innovation. It is not clear whether Bro. A. H. Eccles was the Rector of St. Dunstan's or not, but it would have been perfectly correct to hold the service in the church which covered the meeting-place of the Lodge. The name of Bro. Eccles does not appear in the Minutes until his appointment as Chaplain and no entry showing the date either of his initiation or joining or his membership of other Lodge. He held the Office of Grand

Chaplain in (?). In spite of what Bro. Preston said, there does not appear to have been a custom of holding a service or services in the past, although it was a fairly general practice amongst the Lodges both in London and the provinces. The point of the complaint was, however, the alleged wearing of Masonic clothing in a public procession.

All that concerns us now is the connection of Bro. John Wilson with this unfortunate affair. Outwardly, of course, the initiative came from Rev. A. H. Eccles, his invitation was accepted on behalf of the Lodge by Bro. Wilson and supported by Bro. William Preston. The call for Brethren to wear aprons and gloves appears to have been made by Bro. Preston after the resolution to accept the invitation had been passed. With this and all the subsequent trouble, while we have no proof, it would appear that Bro. Preston took the lead, but it is very probable that Bro. Wilson gave much assistance especially in regard to the correspondence with Grand Lodge and York, where the "legal" mind is very evident.

So far as can be ascertained, Bro. John Wilson does not appear to have any special interest in the collection of documents accumulated by his father, but he would of course have knowledge as to their existence, and would no doubt enquire of his father as to the possible inclusion in the collection of any documents relating to Masonry when the preparation of the "Manifesto" had been decided upon and of course having the "Antiquity" copy of the Old Charges in mind.

Obviously, in the absence of any evidence we can only conjecture what actually occurred. Either, on one of his rare visits to his father at Broomhead, he would institute a search for old Masonic papers, or, failing to find any which might appear to be in the same category as the *Antiquity* MS., would ask his father to turn up his voluminous books of extracts. Had he succeeded in finding an actual copy of Old Charges or document relating to Masonry, one would expect him to have made a more complete reference to it in the "Manifesto" than actually appeared. I am, therefore, inclined to suggest that it is most probable that Bro. John Wilson in his search or enquiry at Broomhead did not succeed in finding any old manuscript, but did find amongst his father's written extracts and copies, one or more items, copied either from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, or some other source, matters relating to Masonry.

It will be remembered that in the middle of the eighteenth century we find very frequently Masonic items in the magazine press.

Is it unreasonable therefore to suggest that John Wilson senior in his complete and methodical accumulation of such extracts and being a reader and contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, extracted and copied the *Ieland-Locke Catechism*, which appeared in the *G.M.* in the year 1753? Incidentally the assumed period of that was given as being in the reign of Henry VIII., which agrees with the marginal note of the "Manifesto".

There, I fear, I must leave the matter.

It now remains only to record that Bro. John Wilson does not appear to have taken any considerable part in the work of the Lodge, beyond the period of the disturbance, nor have we any record of work of any kind as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent.

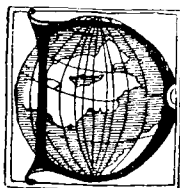
At the meeting of Grand Lodge on 25th Nov., 1789, Bro. John Wilson with Preston and six others were re-instated and ultimately the affairs of Antiquity Lodge were cleared up, and harmony restored.

The last reference in the *History* to Bro. John Wilson records his presence at the meeting held on 21st March, 1787, where it is stated that he had "only attended once in the last five years".

He resigned from the Lodge in 1794 and was elected as an Honorary Member in 1795. He died in 1810.

THE GENTLEMEN'S SOCIETY AT SPALDING.

BY W.BRO. SAMUEL HERBERT PERRY.



DURING the Summer Outing in 1938, when members of the Quatuor Coronati visited the home of the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding, I promised Bro. Vibert to send him a fuller account of the Society and of some famous Freemasons who have been among its associates, than was possible in the brief time then at our disposal. My intention to fulfil promptly this promise has, however, been frustrated by various unforeseen circumstances. During the interval our Bro. Vibert has passed on; but my old friend Bro. Covey-Crump has given valuable help in compiling and verifying some of the details, which assistance I gratefully acknowledge.

One of the early results of the revival of interest in classical art and architecture was the formation in 1717 of the *Society of Antiquaries of London* (more generally known to-day as the *Society of Antiquaries*). Its founders—among whom were the brothers Roger and Samuel Gale, Browne Willis, the authority on cathedrals and abbeys, Dr. William Stukeley and Maurice Johnson—had for several years previously been in the habit of meeting for mutual discussion at various Coffee-houses near the Temple; and at length they formed themselves into a regular Society under the above title, electing a President and other officers and arranging for specified dates and subscriptions. It was also agreed that as soon as funds should prove sufficient to enable them to buy books, a library should be formed and that Maurice Johnson should be librarian.

However, long ere that came to pass, Mr. Johnson, who was a barrister by profession, had left London for his native town of Spalding; thereby relinquishing the congenial company of prominent literary friends—such as Addison, Gay, Steele, Willis, Stukeley and the Gales—for the ordinary society of a quiet country town in the fenlands of Lincolnshire. But he brought with him a resolute will, a deep love of learning, and the power of interesting others in those things in which he delighted, besides the advantage of holding a high social position in the neighbourhood; and he immediately determined to start a literary Society, “in the heart of the fens” (as he says), amongst country gentlemen to whom the very name “Antiquary” might seem alarming. A Society thus formed would need all his great capabilities and that natural tact which he showed by convening in 1709 a select coterie which resolved to meet every post-day at a Coffee-house in what was called the Abbey Yard because it had formerly been part of the old Benedictine Priory of SS. Mary and Nicholas, founded in 1051. Here, after one of the party had read aloud the latest published number of the *Tatler* (or some similar London periodical) its subject was formally discussed among themselves, and thus he drew “men of sense and letters into a sociable way of conversing”.

After a time leading articles from the *Spectator* (then being run mainly by Steele and Addison) were read, and poems written by John Gay and Dr. Parnell, besides essays or letters from London authors on various literary subjects. The papers being carefully preserved, the idea of forming a library was developed. Thus the present magnificent library of the Society at Spalding was started. In 1712, the success which had been already attained decided the members of

the incipient Society to place their meetings upon a footing of permanence. Proposals were accordingly issued for establishing "a Society of Gentlemen, for the supporting of mutual benevolence, and their improvement in the liberal sciences and in polite learning".

A president was elected, and a short code of by-laws was issued. Maurice Johnson himself undertook the duties of Secretary, and at once commenced recording the minutes of all transactions. These minutes constitute a complete and fascinating account, in exquisite handwriting, and are the most treasured possession of the Society. Amongst matters thus recorded are numerous papers on such varied subjects as Antiquities, Art, Music, Anatomy and Medicine, Mathematics, etc. Poems also were recited as they came out; indeed several of those by Gay and Pope (who were personal friends of the Founder) were communicated by the authors themselves. From the many extant chartularies and registers of the ancient Priory of Spalding (some of them in Johnson's private collection—having belonged to his great-grandfather, Sir Richard Ogle, who was one of Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners for enquiries respecting the Abbey lands) Maurice Johnson communicated from time to time many accounts, amounting at last to a complete history of the Town. Thus the Society flourished and increased not merely in numbers but also in importance. In 1720 Maurice Johnson, having addressed a letter to Sir Isaac Newton (another Lincolnshire native), was requested to call at the latter's house in St. Martin's Street, Leicester Square, London; and he tells us that he was received with extreme courtesy, the great philosopher "highly commending the Society and giving his consent to become a member of it", although (as a consequence of his advanced age and his numerous activities in connection with the Royal Society) he felt compelled to decline almost everything of that kind.

Among other distinguished members in those early days were Richard Bentley (who had formerly been Master of the Spalding Grammar School, and was then Master of Trinity College, Cambridge); the poets Alexander Pope and Joseph Addison; Martin Folkes (then Vice-President and subsequently President of the Royal Society); the famous statesman and literary collector Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer; Sir Hans Sloane (who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as President of the Royal Society); the artist and engraver George Vertue; Captain John Perry, one of the engineers who accompanied Peter the Great back to Russia in 1698 to join the rivers Don and Volga by a canal, and for other important improvements in that backward country, for which he was badly requited and returned to England in 1712; and the Revd. Samuel Wesley (the younger), eldest brother of John and Charles Wesley. In more recent times we find the names of Alfred Lord Tennyson, Sir Gilbert Scott, the architect, Lord Dillon (President of the Society of Antiquaries), Prof. St. George Mivart, the biologist, Bertie, Lord Brownlow, Earl Curzon, and many others of fame.

But what will be of greater interest to Members of the Quatuor Coronati is the large number of influential Freemasons who joined the Spalding Gentlemen's Society during those early years.

Unfortunately we have no record of Maurice Johnson himself having been initiated in our Craft, which seems somewhat strange, seeing that so many of his intimate friends were freemasons. Foremost among the early members of the Society who were also conspicuous members of the Craft we find Bro. William Stukeley, M.D. and F.R.S., who was born in 1687 at Holbeach, about eight miles eastward of Spalding, and having removed to London was initiated into Freemasonry on 6th Jan., 1721, at the Salutation Tavern in Tavistock Street. Then come the names of R.W. Bro. Francis (Scott) Earl of Dalkeith, who was Grand Master in 1723-4, and Martin Folkes, Deputy Grand Master under the Duke of Richmond in 1724-5. As regards the former (Lord Dalkeith)

Maurice Johnson in his Diary says "he visited *our Lodge at the Fountain* and was introduced to that circle of learned men in London who formed the nucleus of the Society of Antiquaries",—a statement which, although not conclusive, does at all events suggest a connection of Johnson with Dr. Stukeley's Lodge at the Fountain in the Strand. Another Grand Master who was likewise a member of our Society was M.W.Bro. Henry Lord Coleraine, who was a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries several years, and was Grand Master in 1727-8.

A still more famous Masonic member of the Society was the Rev. John Theophilus Desaguliers, F.R.S., who both preceded and succeeded Martin Folkes as Deputy Grand Master. The career and work of Bro. Desaguliers have been so fully dealt with elsewhere, especially in the monograph by our late Bro. Dr. John Stokes, that it is quite unnecessary to add more here concerning him beyond the pride felt by the Society in being able to include his name on the roll. Here, too (if a proleptic digression be pardoned), I may, on the safe authority of Bro. Freke Gould, add the name of yet one other Deputy Grand Master in the Craft—that of Dr. Thomas Manningham (D.G.M. 1752-6), who was a member of the Spalding Society; as likewise was his father, Sir Richard Manningham, F.R.S., a celebrated obstetrical surgeon in London and a member of the Horn Lodge at Westminster.

We can also claim that of Sir Andrew Michael Ramsay, Chevalier of the Order of St. Lazarus, whose much-disputed oration in Paris in 1737 may, or may not, have had much to do with the origin of the so-called "Higher Degrees". Most of his life was spent in France, supporting the Jacobite cause, but in 1728 he re-visited England under the auspices of the Duke of Argyle, and during his sojourn made a futile effort to induce the Grand Lodge in London to adopt his theory of a Templar origin of Freemasonry. Although unsuccessful in this endeavour, Ramsay was evidently well-received in reputable social circles as a brilliant *savant*, and was introduced by his literary brethren into our Society at Spalding. About two years later, however, he returned to France and ultimately died there in 1743.

The list of members of this Society also furnishes an interesting link with yet another Grand Master in Freemasonry though ruler over a different Grand Lodge. In 1724 occurs the name "Francis Drake, Surgeon of York". Dr. Drake was a well-known antiquary and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He became a member of the old—I think we may say "Time Immemorial"—Lodge in that city, and was present at the important meeting in December, 1725, when the Lodge asserted itself as "Grand Lodge of All England". In the next year he delivered an oration in support of its claims as a Grand Warden; and in 1761, when, after a period of dormancy, the Lodge revived its claim, Bro. Drake was again present and was elected Grand Master for the ensuing year. He died in 1771.

Other Masonic worthies on our list are—(1) Sir Christopher Hales, Bt., of Lincoln, who in 1720 had succeeded his father, Sir Edward (who had been a staunch supporter of the Stuarts and recipient of a Jacobite peerage), and became a member of the anonymous Lodge at Lincoln (*vide A.Q.C.*, iv., 97) in 1732, which at that time was presided over by Sir Cecil Wray, Bt., who in 1734 became Deputy Grand Master of England, and whose step-daughter Sir Christopher Hales married; (2) Sigismund Trafford of Downton Hall, Tydd St. Mary, who was afterwards knighted for his services in promoting fen-drainage (*A.Q.C.*, xxix., 76); (3) Edward Walpole, a classical translator and a Catholic; (4) Richard Welby, of Welbourn, who was another member of the Lodge at Lincoln; (5) Rev. William Dodd, Rector of Bourne, whose son and namesake became Grand Chaplain of England in 1775 and two years later came to an unhappy ending; (6) John Grundy, a local land-surveyor, who joined in 1731—concerning whom we have a record in the minutes that "the Freemasons

have a Lodge in this town whereof Mr. John Grundy, a member of this Society is the Master", held at the Black Bull. "This Black Bull is an Inn on the East side of the Town's Hall, kept by Mr Matthew Everard, where this Lodge was first held and fixed. He being the only one of the first Brethren here who kept a Public House, when Mr Collins a Painter and Member of this Society together with Mr De la Fontain another Painter and ancient brother of the Craft held meetings and initiated Several persons of this and other Towns as Members in Masonry".

Concerning the above-mentioned "Mr Collins" our Bro. Freke Gould suggested (in *A.Q.C.*, vi., 143) his identity with the elusive "Mr Collins", who is stated by Dr. Stukeley to have been initiated with himself at the Salutation Tavern, Covent Garden, on 6 January, 1721 (*vide Misc. Lat.*, xi., 71). In that case his full name was Richard Collins, and he was a London artist (a pupil of Michael Dahl, a fashionable portrait painter much in request by the nobility of that day). He wrote to Maurice Johnson offering to make any drawings desired by the Society, but died in 1732. The Society still has several of his drawings.

Bro. Freke Gould (*Hist. of Freem.*, ii., 284) mentions two other members of our Society as being also of the Craft: Joseph Ames and David Casley. The first-named was at one time Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries and was author of a book on the history of Printing; but unfortunately I can say nothing about their Masonic activities. May I add in passing that my father, Dr. Marten Perry, was P.M. of the "Hundred of Elloe Lodge" (No. 469) and P.Prov.G.W. of Lincolnshire?

Maurice Johnson died in 1755, and as long as he lived the Society flourished exceedingly. In his will he provided an endowment for the Chaplain of Wykeham, who was, previously to his appointment, to undertake the duties of librarian to the Society; the said Wykeham Chapel of S. Nicholas being an ecclesiastical appanage of the Spalding Grammar School, of the nominal value of £20 per annum, which still remains to the present day.

After his death the Society continued to meet every week, but the minute books became sadly neglected, though the "Books of Accompts" contain several instances of money having been spent in the purchase of books for the library. As regards the premises, Michael Cox, an apothecary, and "Operator" to the Society, ordered in his will that his executors "shall not have power to discharge or eject the Gentlemen of the Literary Society in Spalding from the occupation of the room they now hold of me, with whatever Liberty's they now enjoy", etc.

This room accordingly remained in the occupation of the Society until the year 1878, when the Spalding Improvement Commissioners, being anxious to widen the street near the High Bridge, gave the Society £100 for its interest therein. Thereupon the contents of the library and museum were removed to a room in Double Street until the Trustees of the Johnson Hospital, which had been recently erected, offered the use of their Board room and other accommodation at a small rental.

In October, 1911, the present building was erected and was opened by the late Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. This is a fine building in Tudor style with Ketton freestone dressings, and the carvings on the front were done by Jules Tuerlinckx of Malines, a Belgian refugee during the last war. They include the arms of the Founder, Maurice Johnson, and a copy of the Society's book-plate. This book-plate (designed by Johnson himself and engraved by George Vertue) shows Venus rising from the sea supported by two Tritons, symbolising the reclamation of the fenlands from the sea. Between the Tritons is a shield bearing the arms of the Society—Azure, three garbs or, two above one, with an estoile argent for difference. The motto is "Vicinas Urbes Alit."

As might be expected, the activities of the Society ebbed and flowed at intervals during these many years. The Library and Museum however remained intact and meetings were held, often weekly, sometimes monthly, and other times at rather irregular intervals. The offices of President and Librarian were never moribund, and under the able superintendence of Dr. Moore, Dr. Cammack and Canon Edward Moore (a descendant of the Founder) it showed considerable vitality.

When my late father, Dr. Marten Perry, was elected President in 1889 its activity wonderfully revived. Papers were read regularly by many distinguished visitors, as well as by members of the Society, on the most varied subjects. This activity has been, if possible, increased during the succeeding years, especially under the Presidency of Mr. Ashley Maples, whose energy and generosity, combined with his deep interest in the Society, cannot be too highly praised.

The Bird Museum (which was opened for inspection by the Members of the Quatuor Coronati on their recent visit) is entirely a result of his energy, foresight and generosity: and many of our visiting members will remember his interesting courtesy in describing its contents. They will also remember the magnificent library and museum of the Society, the contents of which are too numerous and varied to be adequately enumerated here. Our Meetings are still held regularly, and many interesting lectures are given. I might mention specially a lecture which was delivered recently by Mr. Peter Scott (a member of the Society), an artist, ornithologist, a sailor and traveller, the son of Captain Robert Scott, the glory and the tragedy of whose Antarctic Expeditions have added lustre even to the Royal Navy, and have left to posterity a glorious example of unshaken fidelity and a noble death. Ladies are sometimes invited to attend these lectures, but they cannot be admitted Members of the Society. Besides the regular meetings and lectures, we have an Annual Summer Outing to some place or places of architectural or artistic interest, thus copying on a smaller scale the example of the Quatuor Coronati, and the owners of many of the stately homes of England within reach have extended a welcome to the Society on these occasions.

It will therefore be realised that this ancient Society is still young and flourishing, and shows every prospect of a lasting and successful existence.

S. H. PERRY, P.M. 469, P.P.G.D. Lines.

Vice-President, Spalding Gentlemen's Society.

THE USE OF PRE-UNION "ATHOLL" REGALIA 28 YEARS AFTER THE UNION.

BY BRO. G. S. KNOCKER.



ON 29th September, 1841, the Foundation Stone of the Victoria Harbour at St. Helier, Jersey, was laid in the presence of a very distinguished assembly, including General Sir Edward Gibbs, the Lieut. Governor, Sir John de Veulle the Bailiff, Dean Jeune and representatives of the various interests in the Island. Appropriately enough the two Freemasons' Lodges then working in the Island were specially invited to take a share in the ceremony. These lodges were the Farmers' Lodge

No. 302, now the Yarborough Lodge No. 244, and the Mechanics' Lodge No. 306, now the Duke of Normandy Lodge No. 245, both originally "Antient"

lodges founded under the "Atholl" Grand Lodge in 1812 and 1813 respectively, only a short period before the Union of the two Grand Lodges on 27th December, 1813.

Also present at the ceremony was an artist, Mr. Reynolds, who made a sketch of the scene at the moment of the laying of the stone, from which he afterwards painted a large picture in oils which is now on exhibition at the Société Jersiaise Museum in St. Helier. This painstaking artist has filled his picture with a wealth of details which are most accurately depicted in the case of many items which can be checked by reference to the newspaper reports of the proceedings, and his portraiture of the principal characters portrayed on his canvas compares favourably with portraits of the same persons from other sources. We may therefore feel assured that the Masonic Regalia he has put into his work accurately represents the actual articles worn on the occasion.

The local newspaper, *Le Constitutionnel*, of 2nd Oct., 1841, in describing the procession which walked from the centre of the Town to the Harbour tells us—

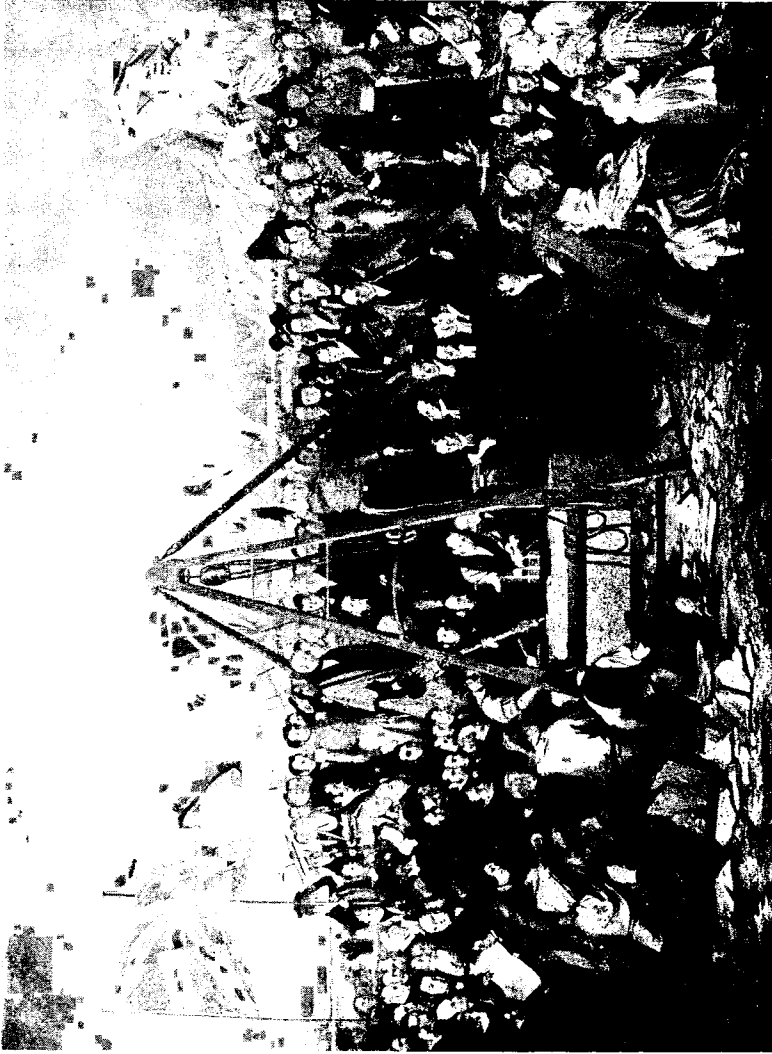
"The Lodges of freemasons in full regalia marched in order according to their rank and wearing white aprons with blue rosettes and white gloves"

and after the ceremonial was completed—

"The Freemasons held a festivity in the evening at the Kent Coffee House" (their regular meeting place).

When first studying the picture, the point which at once arrested the attention of the writer were the details of the regalia worn by the four Masons in the group. This is very clearly depicted and is easily recognisable and attests beyond doubt that a whole generation—nearly 28 years—after the Union of the Grand Lodges in London the Jewels and Badges of the "Antients" Constitution were being worn in public, notwithstanding the precise regulations laid down in the *Books of Constitution* from 1815 onwards. These regulations, as we all know, order that no jewels or emblems not recognised by the United Grand Lodge were to be worn and that the only Jewel to be used by Past Masters was "the square and diagram of the 47th Proposition of the 1st Book of Euclid", the emblem which has remained the P.M.'s distinguishing jewel to this day.

Mr. Reynold's painting shows Bro. John Andrews, the Wor. Master of the Farmers' Lodge in 1841, wearing the regulation apron, but with blue rosettes instead of the customary levels and a blue collar from which hangs a Square on which is engraved a pair of compasses. This very square is in the Jersey Masonic Museum to-day and is illustrated at Fig. 4, Plate 2 in "The Daniel Vonberg Collection". He also wears a breast jewel which is not so far recognisable. Near the WM. stands Bro. Daniel Vonberg, then the Secretary of his lodge, and he wears a blue collar on which is a silver chain supporting an "Atholl" pattern Past Master's Jewel. This chain and jewel is also preserved in the Jersey collection and is shown at Fig. 7 on Plate 2 of the same pamphlet. The Jewel is a pair of compasses opened at 50° with a sector across the points and a blazing sun between the legs. A little further back in the picture can be seen Wor. Bro. William Hinchcliffe, a P.M. in the Mechanics' Lodge; and he is carrying the "Three Great Lights" on a cushion, supported by a broad blue ribbon inscribed with a "square and compasses" and "No. 2", the local precedence of the Mechanics' Lodge. He wears a pale blue collar from which hangs an "Atholl" P.M. Jewel similar in design to that of Bro. Vonberg. His apron is of regulation pattern with levels, but in the centre can be seen the compasses and sector, of the same design as the jewels, but without the Sun. Behind Bro. Hinchcliffe, the Tyler stands with



Laying of Foundation Stone of Victoria Harbour.



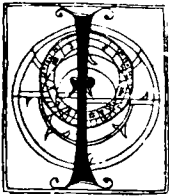
Enlargement showing Masonic Regalia.

a drawn sword, and only part of his apron is visible, but it shows a blue rosette. The W.M.'s collar jewel mentioned above bears the hall marks of 1806 and the maker's initials, "TH"—Thomas Harper. Bro. Vonberg's P.M. jewel is also Thomas Harper's work and was made in 1810.

It may at first sight appear that the small details now brought to light for the first time are of but trifling importance, but a little reflection may perhaps enable us to appreciate the very strong hold that the teachings and practices of the "Antients" Grand Lodge exercised over its votaries, and this feature may explain in some measure the very great difficulties that we know our Brethren of the early years of the last century experienced in reconciling the differences of the two Grand Lodge systems and consummating the happy Union of 1813.

A NOTE ON COLE'S CONSTITUTIONS.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES.



IN the Handlist of Masonic MSS. appended to our paper on *The Nomenclature of Masonic MSS.*, printed for private circulation in April, 1941, there occurs the following entry:—

Cole: 1728-29 [Spencer]. A reproduction of the *Spencer MS. (q.v.)* engraved as *A Book of the Antient Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masqns.* printed and sold by R. Cole engraver. 1st Edition 1728-29. Reprinted in Hughan, *Constitutions of the Freemasons*, 1869.

In his comments on that paper and handlist, when communicated to the Q.C. Lodge last May, Bro. Poole wrote as follows:—

It is perhaps not quite relevant, but I would like to add one remark to Bro. Knoop's note on the *Cole*. The late Bro. E. H. Dring possessed an example of the exceedingly rare "first state" of the publication, which must, I fancy, have been put out a year or two before 1728. This contained a text a good deal truer to the Family type, in which, for no apparent reason, Cole later made a number of arbitrary alterations and additions, in some cases at the expense of the usually very neat appearance of his plates.

In view of this statement, we placed ourselves in communication with the late Bro. Dring's son, Bro. E. M. Dring, who has very kindly taken an opportunity, whilst on leave from the R.A.F., to examine the *Cole* items which he inherited from his father.

Bro. E. M. Dring informs us that he possesses two editions, one undated and the other dated 1731. On the fly leaf of the former there appears the following note written by Bro. E. H. Dring:—

First edition. From the library of Lord Amherst of Hackney. It is very rare in such a good condition, in fact I only know at present [1926] of one other copy of this first state of the plates, and that is a copy of the plates only, without printed pages, in

G.L. Library. In the second state of the plates Cole made enormous alterations by excision and re-engraving long passages. In consequence, everything written hitherto in the Cole version will need revision. 13 / x / 1926.

Bro. Dring's copy printed from the first state of the plates is dedicated to Lord Kingston, G.M.; as he held that office from 27 Dec., 1728, to 27 Dec., 1729, this indicates that it appeared in 1728-29, and seems to us to put Bro. Poole's suggested date, "a year or two before 1728", out of court. At the end of this copy are reprinted (in type) (i.) Drake's speech at the G.L. of York, 27 Dec., 1726, (ii.) Oakley's speech of 31 Dec., 1728, (iii.) a Prologue, (iv.) an Epilogue. The title page to these bears the date 1728. This edition, so far as we are aware, has not been reproduced.

In 1728-9 there also appeared a second engraved edition, printed from the second state of the plates, with identical title and dedication, but with considerable alterations in the text. This edition was long thought to be the first, and was partly reprinted as such in Hughan's *Constitutions* (1869). A letter written by Hughan in 1881 to G. B. Jay, S.W. of the Walpole Lodge, Norwich, the then owner of Dring's copy, and bound in with it, shows that he was aware of the existence of this copy, but we can only suppose that he failed to realize the important differences in the text, as compared with the copy he reprinted, as he makes no reference to it in his comments on the Cole in 1895 (*Old Charges*, 137). Vibert, on the other hand, apparently knew nothing of this copy, but refers (*Rare Books of Freemasonry*, 12) to "a specially prepared copy on a paper of a larger size" in G.L. Library. If this is the copy to which the late Bro. Dring referred in his note, then Vibert did not realize that it differed in text, as well as in size, from the ordinary 1728-9 edition.

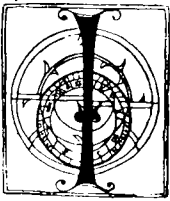
A third engraved edition, *The Antient Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masons*, according to the printed title page, where it is styled "The Second Edition", was published in 1731 from the second state of the engraved plates, but with "Kingston" erased from the Dedication and "Lovel" engraved there instead. This was reproduced by Jackson, Leeds, in 1897.

The printed editions of 1751 and 1762, *The Ancient Constitutions and Charges of the Freemasons*, bear the respective dates on the title pages, but no indication of the editions. They are commonly referred to as the third and fourth editions, but are really the fourth and fifth editions.

Bro. Poole briefly refers to Bro. Dring's discovery in *Q.C. Pamphlet No. 2*, p. 7, but as we overlooked it, other Brethren may also have done so. As it will be some time before our reply to comments on *The Nomenclature of Masonic MSS.* can appear in *A.Q.C.*, we draw attention here, in anticipation, to the discovery and to its implications. In doing so, we desire to express our cordial thanks to Bro. E. M. Dring for the information he has given us and for permission to print his father's "note", and to Bro. Fred Underwood, Librarian of the Worcester Masonic Library, and Bro. A. J. S. Cannon, Librarian of the Leicester Masonic Library, for the trouble they have taken in answering our inquiries about the various editions of *Cole*, as it was impossible for us, under present circumstances, to examine copies for ourselves.



OBITUARY.



It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Harold Castlereagh Beaven, of Bristol, in 1940. Bro. Beaven was P.M. and Sec. of Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality No. 187, and Sc.E. of Jerusalem Chapter No. 686. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1936.

Robert Douglas, of Workington, Cumberland, on 14th September, 1940. Bro. Douglas was a member of Sun and Sector Lodge No. 962, and of Nicholson Chapter No. 371. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1938.

John Sortain Edbrooke, of Bristol, in June, 1940. Bro. Edbrooke was P.M. of Robert Thorne Lodge No. 3663 and Sc.E. of Whitsun Chapter No. 2943. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1921.

A. G. Vavasour Elder, of London, S.W., on 13th June, 1940. Bro. Elder was a member of the Royal Naval Lodge and Chapter No. 59. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1918.

Herbert Love, of London, W., on 15th August, 1940. Bro. Love held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Pursuivant and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1936.

James Russell McLaren, of Brighton, on 29th August, 1940. Bro. McLaren held the rank of Past Grand Warden and Past Grand Scribe N., and for some years was President of Board General Purposes. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1915.

John Graham Rose, of Edinburgh, on 1st September, 1940. Bro. Rose was Sec. of Lodge No. 2 and a member of Chapter No. 56. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1930.

John Sibthorpe, of Dublin, on 14th October, 1940, in his 90th year. Bro. Sibthorpe held the rank of Grand Director of Ceremonies. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1900.

Benjamin Beckett Thornton, of Nairobi, in June, 1940. Bro. Thornton was P.M. of Harmony Lodge No. 3084. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1939.

James Tucker, of Bristol, in 1940. Bro. Tucker was P.M. of Portishead Lodge No. 4399, and P.So. of Eldon Chapter No. 1755. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1923.

William Arthur Warwick, of Newark on Trent, on 24th September, 1940. Bro. Warwick was a member of Magnus Lodge No. 3441. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1914.

ST. JOHN'S CARD.

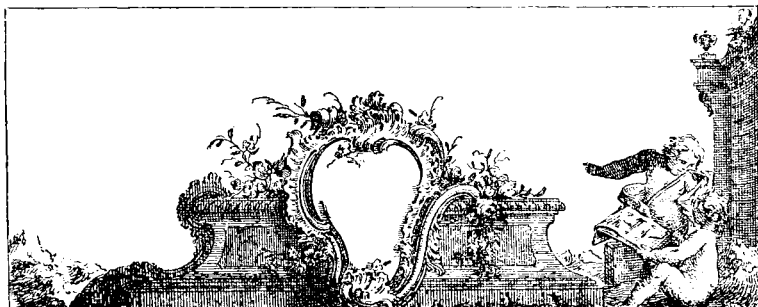


THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1940:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Lodge De Gooische Broederschap, Hilversum, Holland; Jersey Masonic Library, Jersey, C.I.; Norman Masonic Library, Bath.

BRETHREN:—Thomas Joseph Adderley, Birmingham, 3239, 43; James Stephen Ballance, Orpington, Kent, P.M. 1139, *J. 180*; Thomas Guest Blofeld, Tarkwa, Gold Coast, 3356; Cecil Brandard Barton, Port Elizabeth, S. Africa, 711, *711*; Thomas Hayland Carlyle, Moonee Ponds, Vic., Australia, P.G.Swd.B.; William Clare, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts., 2412; Fred. Cousans, Scunthorpe, Lincs., 11, *2078*; Arthur Clifford Craig, Streetly, nr. Birmingham, P.M. 4209; W. H. A. Emmler, London, S.W., L.G.R., P.M., 11, *11*; Arthur Greenburgh, Valetta, Malta, 1923, *349*; Robert John Hanlon, Eccles, Lancs., 5503, *815*; Jack Gilbert Hemsted, Shortlands, Kent, W.M. 162, *162*; Albert Sellors Hall-Johnson, Buenos Aires, P.M. 617, *Z. 617*; Eric Robert King, Sutton Coldfield, 473; Barnett Levey, Edinburgh, P.M. 1209, *395*; Abraham Isaac Logette, London, N.W., 5297, *394*; Robert Macmenemey, Glasgow, 1359, *683*; Ben. Marsh, Dudley, W.M. 498, *498*; Ricardo Fausto Miranda, Mexico City, P.M. 28; Tasman Victor O'Brien, Leongatha, Vic., Australia, W.M. 180, *II. 50*; Henry Morrow Palmer, Waterford, P.M. 32, *32*; Edwin Levi Payne, Kenley, Surrey, 5298, *4193*; Leslie Poynder, South Croydon, Surrey, W.M. 3661, *J. 3661*; Claude Dickason Retch, London, S.W., P.M. 2; Charles Rutherford, Eaglescliffe, Co. Durham, P.Pr.G.D.C., *P.Pr.G.St.B.*; Godfrey Francis Thorpe, Jersey, P.Dis.G.D., Bengal; *Ft.-Lieut.* Samuel Arthur Turner, Watford, Herts., 3124, *3124*; Lewis Veronique, Ilford, Essex, W.M. 5737, *933*; Ernest Waddilove, Ilkley, Yorks., W.M. 5667, *1522*; *Lieut.-Comdr.* Geoffrey Weston Wells, Macclesfield, Cheshire, 4647; Frank Ernest Wilkins, Birmingham, P.M. 4560, *3185*; William John Wilson, Bromley, Kent, W.M. 2694, *77*; Robert Woodward, Burwood, N.S.W., Australia, P.M. 153, *H. 5*.

Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.



Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

PUBLICATIONS.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

COMPLETE SETS OF THE *TRANSACTIONS*.—A few complete Sets of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vols. i. to lii., have been made up for sale. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary. Each volume will be accompanied so far as possible, with the St. John's Card of the corresponding year.

ODD VOLUMES.—Such copies of Volumes as remain over after completing sets, are on sale to members.

MASONIC REPRINTS.

QUATUOR CORONATORUM ANTIGRAPHA.

COMPLETE SETS OF *MASONIC REPRINTS*.—A few complete Sets of *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, Vols. i. to x., consisting mainly of exquisite facsimiles, can be supplied. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary.

ODD VOLUMES.—Vols. vi., vii., ix., and x. are on sale to members, price 30/- per volume.

FACSIMILES OF THE OLD CHARGES.—Four Rolls, viz., Grand Lodge Nos. 1 and 2 MS., Scarborough MS., and the Buchanan MS. Lithographed on vegetable vellum, in the original Roll form. Price, One Guinea each.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

	£	s.	d.
The Masonic Genius of Robert Burns, by Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, Drawing-room edition, extra illustrations	5	0	
Caementaria Hibernica, by Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, Fasciculus I., Fasciculus II., and Fasciculus III.			
A few complete sets only for sale. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary.			
Caementaria Hibernica, Fasciculus III., a few copies available	1	1	0
The Orientation of Temples, by Bro. W. Simpson, uniform in size to bind with the <i>Transactions</i> ...	2	6	
British Masonic Medals, with twelve plates of illustrations	1	1	0
Six Masonic Songs of the Eighteenth Century. In one volume	2	6	
Q.C. Pamphlet No. 1: Builder's Rites and Ceremonies; the Folk-lore of Freemasonry. By G. W. Speth out of print			
„ „ No. 2: Two Versions of the Old Charges. By Rev. H. Poole	1	6	
„ „ No. 3: The Prestonian Lecture for 1933. By Rev. H. Poole			
out of print			

BINDING.

Members returning their parts of the *Transactions* to the Secretary, can have them bound in dark blue Canvas, lettered gold, for 6/9 per volume. Cases can be supplied at 3/6 per volume, date or number of volume should be specified.

MEMBERSHIP MEDAL (Manufacture at present suspended).

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. In Silver Gilt, engraved with the owner's name, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel, 12/6 each, plus purchase tax.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY :

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.Swd.B.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM :

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