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—✥— Ars —✥—
Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

→* 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 LIV. PART I.

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1943.

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 LIV.

FRIDAY, 3rd JANUARY, 1941.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. B. Ivanoff, W.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.W.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.W.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; F. R. Radice; and W. E. Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Geo. C. Williams; R. W. Strickland; A. F. Hatten; Major R. C. Lowndes; J. C. Vidler; C. D. Rotch; C. G. Greenhill; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; John R. Cross; A. F. Cross; W. J. Mead; F. A. Greene; and A. I. Logette.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. Cornut, W.M., Loyalty Lodge No. 1607; and John L. Cross, W.M., Edmonton Latymer Lodge No. 5026.

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., Chap.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; D. Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff; D. Knoop, M.A., P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; Lt.-Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., 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.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.; R. E. Parkinson; and Geo. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Sup.W.

Two Lodges 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 3rd, 1941.

Present:—Bro. J. Heron Lepper in the Chair, with Bros. L. Edwards, F. M. Rickard, F. R. Radice, W. E. Heaton.

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 1940.

BRETHREN,

During the year we have had to mourn the loss of Bro. Rev. W. K. Firminger, Master in 1933. Bros. R. E. Parkinson, G. S. Knocker and W. E. Heaton have been elected full members of the Lodge, of which the membership is now 25.

We have had to record a further large number of resignations from the Correspondence Circle, resulting principally from the unfortunate influences of the War.

Volumes I. and II. have been issued, and it is hoped that it will be possible to issue two Volumes during the coming year, and thus by the end of 1941 to bring the publications of A.Q.C. up to date. But the maintenance of this rate of progress will depend upon the funds of the Lodge.

In the accounts now presented to the Lodge, approximately £1,200 remains in reserve for each of Vols. III. and IV. Subscriptions amounting to £680 are still outstanding. This state—accentuating that of past years, particularly last year—is all the more distressing as a large proportion of the arrears has been outstanding for three and four years, not only from Brethren but also from Lodges.

A brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the year has again been drawn up, but owing to the exigencies 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.

We are sorry to report the death of Bro. S. Clifton Bingham, for many years our Local Secretary at Christchurch, New Zealand; he has been succeeded by Bro. Dr. R. Hepburn. In other districts—Bro. F. L. Pick has succeeded Bro. C. V. Jarvis in East Lancashire; Bro. E. J. Blackwell has succeeded Bro. D. Flather in Sheffield; Bro. H. Miller has succeeded Bro. T. Selby in South Durham. Bro. R. O. Fox has resigned from the Local Secretaryship in South Australia, but the vacancy has not yet been filled.

For the Committee,

J. HERON LEPPER,

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

For the Year ending 30th November, 1940.

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
Cash in hand ... ..	...	606	15 1	Lodge ... ..	...	28	5 3
Lodge ... ..	...	56	14 0	Salaries, Rent, Rates and			
Subscriptions ... ..	...	1614	9 3	Taxes ... ..	...	749	13 2
Cash in Advance and un-				Lighting, Heating, Cleaning,			
appropriated ... ..	...	47	4 11	Telephone, Insurance, Car-			
Medals ... ..	...	11	5 6	riage, and Sundries ...	...	94	19 2
Binding ... ..	...	39	19 0	Printing, Stationery, etc. ...	...	934	9 9
Sundry Publications ...	...	52	5 5	Medals ... ..	...	8	18 6
Interest and Discounts ...	...	38	9 4	Binding ... ..	...	17	18 1
Publication Fund ... ..	...	25	12 10	Sundry Publications ...	...	12	13 0
				Library ... ..	...	15	4 6
				Postages ... ..	...	154	13 2
				Local Expenses ... ..	...	2	8 4
				Loss on Exchange ... ..	...	8	14 7
				Cash at Bank ... ..	...	464	17 10
		£2492	15 4			£2492	15 4

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM read the following paper:—

THE UNITED LODGE OF HARMONY AND FRIENDSHIP

No. 701 (extinct), of the Province of Sussex.

BY BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM.

1818	Warrant of Constitution	Maresfield
1823	Dispensation for removal	Uckfield
1827	Dispensation for removal	Lewes (West Gate)
1832	Renumbered No. 452	
1834	Change of meeting place	Lewes (Fisher Street)
1840	Last entry in Minute Book	
1851	Erased (no returns since 1838)	



ON 2nd October, 1827, at a period when the South Saxon Lodge No. 581 (now No. 311) had already been in existence for more than thirty years, there arrived in Lewes from Uckfield, by Dispensation emanating from the Provincial Grand Master for Sussex, the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 701. The younger Lodge, constituted at Maresfield in 1818, having already experienced a somewhat chequered career in a sparsely populated district in the Province, never really showed signs of thriving in spite of two removals—the final move being to the County Town of Sussex. In a spirit not altogether harmonious these two Lodges met side by side for the space of ten years, when the younger Lodge, by reason of insufficient support and general lack of enthusiasm, suspended its meetings and actually entered into negotiations for the disposal of its furniture and effects. During the winter months of 1837, however, efforts were made to revive the Lodge; for two more years the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship managed to exist, but its fate was sealed—the Lodge breathed its last in the early months of 1840, and was finally erased by Grand Lodge in 1851 for failure to make returns since 1838.

A Minute Book of the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship in some manner fell into the hands of its surviving rival, and has fortunately been preserved. This volume covers the period of the Lodge's existence in Lewes, the first few pages being devoted to a record of the final meeting at Uckfield and of the subsequent steps taken to procure a Dispensation authorising a removal of the Lodge from that town to Lewes.

From this Minute Book little information can be gleaned regarding the Lodge's early history. In this connection, however, a number of details can be obtained from the records preserved in the Grand Lodge Library at Freemasons' Hall, London. From these two sources, therefore, as well as from certain contemporary records, this brief outline of the history of the Lodge has been compiled.

The Petition for a Warrant of Constitution, dated April 3rd, 1818, bears the names of the following Petitioners:—

William Brodrick	373 Killarney Registry of Ireland.
John David Barry	373 Killarney Registry of Ireland.
Dominico Santiero	¹ 129 Stowmarket, Suffolk.
John Harmer	² 556 Cinque Ports, Seaford.
Charles King	³ 99 Norwich.
Richard Jenner	581 South Saxon, Lewes.
Ralph Simson	Royal Artillery, Woolwich.
Louis Gilloti	⁴ Old King's Arms, Freemasons' Tavern, London.

The first three Petitioners in the order mentioned were the W.M., S.W., and J.W. designate, while the two brethren last named are not heard of again in connection with this Lodge, their names not even being registered in the List of Members preserved in the Library of Grand Lodge.

Within a very short period of the signing of this Petition the Lodge was meeting at the Chequers Inn, Maresfield, by virtue of a Dispensation granted by the Provincial Grand Master, authorising the Petitioners to act

“until such time as a dormant Warrant can be transferred under the seal of the Grand Lodge. And for so doing this Dispensation shall be their sufficient authority to be in force for the space of Twelve Months from the date hereof”.

Not only were several candidates initiated, passed and raised prior to the receipt of the Warrant of Constitution, but it is clear from the contents of a letter addressed to the Grand Secretary on 6th February, 1819, by a member of the Lodge who styled himself both Senior Warden and Secretary, that by that time at least two “Exaltations” had taken place. The writer of this letter, in addition to mentioning these two Exaltation Ceremonies as matters of ordinary routine, refers somewhat apologetically to the fact that in the course of one calendar month all three Craft degrees had been conferred upon John Merricks (Gun Powder Manufacturer of Edinburgh) on account of his impending departure from the County; by way of reassurance, however, the writer adds that “private lectures” were given to the Candidate every day during his sojourn in the neighbourhood.

This rapidly promoted Candidate, on leaving Maresfield, was given a letter in place of a formal Lodge Certificate, the Lodge not yet having been able to procure a seal of its own with which to execute Certificates. This letter was handed to the newly admitted member “to enable him to obtain his Grand Lodge certificate, he being most desirous of joining a Lodge in Edinburgh on his arrival”. It would be interesting to be informed of the subsequent history of this enthusiastic Gunpowder Manufacturer.

To curry favour at headquarters the Lodge Secretary evidently was not averse to bestowing gifts upon a relative of the Grand Secretary, for in the course of the correspondence a pheasant, a brace of partridges and a hare are all mentioned, as well as promises of custom in his particular line of business (whatever that may have been).

The following letter, also addressed to the Grand Secretary, affords an indication of some of the doubts which must have exercised the minds of many Brethren for some considerable period after the Union:—

¹ Phoenix Lodge (erased in 1838).

² The Royal Cinque Ports Lodge, constituted as No. 566 (not No. 556 as stated in the Petition) at Seaford in 1797, was the last of the Lodges now existing to be constituted in the Province by the Grand Lodge of the “Moderns” prior to the Union. It is now the Royal York Lodge No. 315, meeting at Brighton.

³ Lodge of Unity (now No. 71).

⁴ Now No. 28.

Uckfield, Sussex.

12 May 1818.

Sir & Brother

I take the liberty to address you once again on the subject of Masonic information.

I am aware that it is not *strictly* regular to communicate with the Grand Sec^y there being a *provincial* one to apply to but as I have some idea of the extent of their Masonic abilities in that quarter I thought any application for information unnecessary.

Did you mean in your note to Brother Santiero when you say "any Past Master can install you" that any person who had passed the Chair as the preparatory degree to becoming R A, or one who had actually presided for the regular period over a Lodge, was entitled to perform that ceremony? I am of opinion that any person having arrived to the Degree of P M is entitled: how, otherwise, can the annual installations be performed? or is there any thing particular in the first?

We possess in ourselves a Brother (our W M elect) who has presided the regular time over a Lodge, another who has been twice a Warden, and a third, who has once filled that situation: Including the abovementioned brethren there are *four* R A Masons, and consequently as many P M^s now we beg to be informed of you as the fountain Head of information whether we can perform the ceremony it being premised that we know how)

John D. Barry, Sec^y.

It is much to be regretted that no copy of the reply to these questions has been preserved in the Grand Secretaries' Letter Books of this period; but it is interesting to observe that on 28th September, 1821, Bro. C. Prince, while visiting the South Saxon Lodge with four other members of his own Lodge, received the benefit of Installation along with the Master-elect of the South Saxon Lodge at the hands of the Provincial Grand Secretary.

Other letters addressed to the Grand Secretary during this period indicate that the Maresfield brethren had to contend with a strong local feeling against the Order. A desire to lessen this feeling of antagonism doubtless prompted the following report of a funeral arranged for one of the early members of the Lodge.

THE SUSSEX ADVERTISER (November 23rd, 1818).

Mr. Editor,

Your insertion of the following will oblige,

A FREEMASON.

On Sunday, the 15th instant, upwards of two thousand spectators assembled at Maresfield, to witness the funeral of Mr. Joseph Frost, a Freemason, it being understood that he was to be interred with masonic honours. The brethren of the "United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship", of which he was a member, attended the funeral procession, in their proper clothing. They proceeded from the Lodge Room shortly after two o'clock, to the house of the deceased, which was upwards of a mile from Maresfield, and returned with the funeral about four o'clock.

The crowd was so excessively great, that the windows were lined, and even the steeple was covered with spectators, and it was with much difficulty that the procession could enter the church yard, or gain admittance into the church. After paying the last tribute of fraternal affection to their departed brother, they returned in the same order to their Lodge Room.

'Twas particularly noticed the respect and forbearance testified by the Rev: Mr. Woodward, the Rector of Maresfield, who attended on this occasion, and remained uncovered during the performance of certain ceremonies peculiar to this 'fraternity, which interrupted the proceeding with the usual office for the dead at the grave. This instance of fraternal affection, together with the circumstance of Mr. Frost, having left the arrangement of his extensive and unsettled affairs, (occasioned by his recent removal from Suffolk), to his brethren of the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship, has operated very powerfully in removing the prejudices entertained in that part of the country against this venerable society.

Independent of the usual benevolent funds attached to the order, the brethren who have established the Lodge at Maresfield have also founded a Benevolent and Provident Society, which has obtained the warmest approbation of the Provincial, and the Grand Lodge of England.

It was not until the month of November, 1819 (eighteen months after the Lodge commenced working), that the formal Warrant of Constitution was received. The Lodge henceforth was styled "The United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 701"—a number altered to 452 at the closing-up of Lodge numbers in 1832.

As an example of the form of Private Lodge certificates the following may be given:—

This is to certify that the Bearer our trusty and well-beloved Brother Philip John Coverdale, was by us regularly Entered, Passed, and Raised to the Sublime degree of a Master Mason at the several dates following viz. 14th June, 12th July, & 13th Sep^r. 1819, he having paid all the fees and Charges attendant thereon; including his registry in the Books of the Grand Lodge, and Grand Lodge Certificate; & that during his sojournment amongst us he hath demeaned himself, in all sorts, as a good and faithful Brother.

Given under our hands and the Seal of our Lodge at Free-Masons Hall Maresfield in the County of Sussex this 11th day of Sep^r. 1820.

(Signed) On Behalf of the W. Master, Wardens & Officers of the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 701

J. D. Barry. P.M. & Sec^y Pro. Tem.



K.T. K.M.

During the year 1820 the meetings of the Lodge are described as being held in "Free-Masons Hall," in the "Main Street" at Maresfield. As the Chequers Inn was situated in this thoroughfare it is difficult to determine whether the use of the expression "Free-Masons Hall" implies a change of meeting place, or whether this description was applied to that portion of the Inn—perhaps an Annexe—in which the meetings were accustomed to be held.

In 1821 members began to pay visits to the South Saxon Lodge at Lewes, while on June 5th of that year the W.M. accompanied by his Wardens attended the Consecration of the Royal Sussex Lodge No. 920 at Worthing. On 4th September, 1822, several of the Brethren from Maresfield were present at the Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone of the Lewes Gas Works by the W.M. of the South Saxon Lodge.

Early in 1823, by Dispensation dated 6th January of that year, the Lodge migrated to the neighbouring town of Uckfield for reasons which are not recorded.

While at Uckfield the Lodge, it would appear, possessed its own premises, for on 15th January, 1823, a member wrote to the Grand Secretary:—

“ Our building ‘ still rises by the Plummet’s law.’ It is roofed in already; & we hope to hold our next Lodge but one within it’s walls P.S. You have the credit of doing what I never could, defraud the P.O. of additional Postage—The Letter was ch^d single.”

This letter contained a mild protest against the action of the Deputy Provincial Grand Master in refusing permission for Masonic clothing to be worn at a Charity Ball, held in Lewes on 4th February, 1823, in aid of the widow of a late member of the Lodge—Brother Dominico Santiero, House Steward to Sir J. Shelley, Bt.

The following Press announcement headed by representations of

The Square and

Compasses

The 24 inch gauge,

Two Keys in

Compasses and Level

Saltire

appeared in *The Sussex Advertiser* on 20th and 27th January, and on February 3rd, 1823:—

Freemason’s Charity Ball

To be held at the STAR ROOMS, LEWES, On Tuesday, the Fourth of February 1823, under the patronage of LORD VISCOUNT GAGE, SIR JOHN SHELLEY, BART. and SIR GEORGE SHIFFNER, BART. and by Permission of the D. P GRAND MASTER,

FOR the benefit of the WIDOW and SEVEN INFANT CHILDREN of the deceased Brother DOMENICO SANTIERO, who was for 16 years House Steward to Sir J. Shelley, Bart. and was well known among the Craft as a zealous and meritorious Mason.—To be open to all who may wish to contribute to so truly charitable a purpose.

LORD VISCOUNT GAGE

SIR JOHN SHELLEY, BART. M.P.

SIR GEO. SHIFFNER, BART. M.P.

} Stewards

Tickets, 5s. each, to be had at the Star Inn, Lewes; the York Hotel, the Old ship, and at Wright’s Library, Brighton; the Maidenhead Inn, Uckfield; Mr. Wisdom, East Hoathly; the Swan Inn, G. Ridge, Esq., Bank, and Mr. D. Jaques, Chichester; the Norfolk Arms, Arundel; the Steine Hotel, Worthing; the Lamb, and Anchor Inns, Eastbourne; the Castle Hotel, Hastings; the Crown Inn, Hailsham; and at the King’s Head Inn, Cuckfield.

A shorter notice in the same newspaper on 6th January, 1823, had given 3rd February as the date on which the Ball was to be held.

On 10th February, 1823, *The Sussex Advertiser* contained a letter of thanks signed “ HUMANITAS,” in which the following passage occurred:—

Mr. Insoll, the worthy landlord of the Star Inn, gave also gratuitously, I understand, the use of the room which it is to be regretted was not sufficiently capacious to accommodate, with comfort, the numerous and charitable assemblage.

On 19th July, 1824, two members visited Lewes and joined the South Saxon Lodge in procession to Divine Service, attired in Masonic clothing by special dispensation.

For four and a half years the Lodge continued to meet at Uckfield; but the information regarding this period of the Lodge’s existence is meagre in the

extreme. A Return of Members made to Grand Lodge in March, 1828, covering the years 1824-1827, gives seven names only. Little surprise need therefore be occasioned by the discovery that on 23rd May, 1827, the Lodge was closed and adjourned "*sine die*." It is at this point that the Minute Book commences, the opening entry of which runs as follows:—

M I N U T E S &c.
of the
LODGE of HARMONY and FRIENDSHIP
No. 701.
held at Uckfield on the 23d of May 1827.

PRESENT

Bro. Thomas Shephard.	W.M.
„ Richard Jenner.	P.M.
„ Charles Prince.	P.M. & Secty.
„ James Cameron.	S.W.
„ John Harmer.	J.W.
„ John Hartley.	S.D.
„ John Jarratt.	I.G.

Visitors

Bro. Gabriel Egles.	P.M. 581. ¹
„ Thos. Dunstone.	P.S.W. 581.
„ John Cooke.	P. Secty. 581.
„ Josph. Ticehurst.	P. S.D. 581.
and	
„ Thos. Davies.	P. J.D. 581.

The Lodge being duly formed was opened with Solemn Prayer in the first Degree, after which Bror. P.M. Charles Prince addressed the W.M. as follows

Vizt.

W. Master, Officers, and Brethren; I am under the painful necessity of stating, that from various circumstances over which we have had no control and from the Removal of so many Worthy Brethren from Uckfield and its neighbourhood, we are thereby so reduced in number, that we are rendered incapable of carrying on our Lodge, and must give up our Warrant, without an increase of Brethren; and we are fully aware, that there is no prospect of an increase of Brethren in Uckfield; and, as we are certain there are many Brethren of Talent at Lewes, who are not only able, but willing to join, and assist us, in promoting the Cause of Freemasonry . . . I therefore beg leave to propose, that a Petition be presented to the Provincial Grand Master of the Province, praying that he would Grant us permission, to remove the Warrant of the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 701. to Lewes; being well assured that such a proceeding, would exceedingly benefit the Order, and prevent the forfeiture of our Warrant of Constitution.

The above proposition was Seconded by the W. Master, and passed unanimously; after which the Petition to His Grace Charles Duke of Richmond, Lenox, Aubigny &c. &c. &c. Provincial Grand Master, (a Copy of which is here inserted)² and also a Letter to the Provl. Grand Secty. were signed by the W. Master and the Officers and Brethren present.

All Lodge business being disposed of, the same was closed with Solemn Prayer, and adjourned, *sine die*

¹ i.e., The South Saxon Lodge, Lewes (now No. 311).

² The words in brackets appear in pencil in the original.

(Copy of Petition sent)

To HIS GRACE Charles DUKE of RICHMOND, LENOX, AUBIGNY; &c. &c. &c. Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master of ANCIENT FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS for the County of Sussex.

WE the undersigned, being regularly Registered Masons of the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 701 holden at Uckfield in the County of Sussex, having the Prosperity of the Craft at heart, are anxious to exert our best Endeavours to promote and diffuse the genuine Principles of the Art; but we exceedingly regret our own inability, to do ample Justice to the Fraternity; in consequence of so many Removals of Worthy Brethren from the Neighbourhood of Uckfield; that we are under the painful necessity, of most Humbly soliciting, that the Warrant heretofore Granted to us; and whereby we are Sanctioned to hold our Lodge, may be removed from Uckfield to Lewes, where we are well assured, there are many Worthy Brethren of Talent, who are ready and willing to Join and assist us, in promoting the Cause of Freemasonry, in a Constitutional manner, according to the Forms of the Order, and in due Obedience to the Grand Lodge of England.

THE Prayer of this Petition being Granted we promise strict Obedience to the Commands of the Grand Master, and the Laws and Regulations of the Grand Lodge.

SIGNED

Bro. Thomas Shephard.	W.M. 701.
„ Richd. Jenner.	P.M. 701.
„ Chas. Prince.	P.M. 701.
„ James Cameron.	S.W. 701.
„ John Harmer.	J.W. 701.
„ John Hartley.	J.D. 701.
and	
„ John Jarratt.	701.

IN furtherance of the above Petition, we the undersigned, regularly Registered Free and Accepted Masons of England, hereby signify our assent to the Prayer of the foregoing Petition; at the same time we most humbly. but confidently beg leave to state, that the Removal of the above Warrant from Uckfield to Lewes, will exceedingly benefit the Cause of Freemasonry and the Order in general.

SIGNED

Bro. Gabriel Egles.	P.M. 581
„ Thos. Dunstone.	P. S.W. 581
„ Wm. Bridger.	P. J.W. 581
„ John Cooke.	P. Secty. 581
„ Richd. Insoll.	P. Treasr. 581
„ Josph. Ticehurst.	P. S.D. 581
„ Thomas Davies.	P. J.D. 581
„ Chas. Stephens.	P. Stewd. 581
„ Edwd. Egles.	late of 581
„ M. H. Davies.	do. 581
„ John Beckett.	do. 581
„ Hy. Clear.	do. 581

ROYAL CLARENCE LODGE No. 511 BRIGHTON

SIGNED

Bro. Wm. Attree.	W.M. 511.
„ Chas. Scott.	P.M. 511
„ Robt. Turner.	P.M. 511
„ Robt. Saxby.	S.W. 511
„ Wm. Long.	Secty. 511
„ John Baker.	S.D. 511
„ Wm. Guttridge.	511
„ John Lawrence.	511
and	
J. Williams Jr.	511

ROYAL YORK LODGE No. 587 BRIGHTON

SIGNED

Bro. Leopold Altenacker	W.M. 587
„ Geo. Robertson	S.W. 587
„ Robt. Cuthbertson	J.W. 587
„ William Lewis	Secty. 587
„ John Achen	S.D. 587
„ James Elmes	Treasr. 587
„ Edwd. Medhurst	I.G. 587
„ John Stiff	587
and	
„ Thomas Turner	587

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE
PRESENTS SHALL COME;

These are to Certify,
that we fully approve
the prayers of the above
petition and hereby
Signify our Approbation
and consent thereto;
and have signed the
same accordingly.

WITNESS our Hands this
13th Day of September
1827.

Signed,
Richmonda,
Provincial Grand Master for
Sussex

Countersigned,
S. Jolliffe Tufnell,
Deputy Provl. Gd. Master.

E. Hinton,
Provl. Grand Secty.

C O P Y of L E T T E R

from the Revd. Samuel Jolliffe Tufnell D.P.G.M. sanctioning the Removal
of the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 701. from Uckfield to Lewes.

Mundham Sept. 14th 1827.

Sir and Brother,

Your Petition for the removal of your Lodge from Uckfield to Lewes
has been laid before His Grace Our Provl. Grand Master, and received his
approbation and signature. You may therefore proceed to the removal as
soon as you think proper.

His Grace has also been pleased to remit the *fine*¹ of the Uckfield
Lodge under the peculiar circumstances stated.

The Petition with his Graces signature is lodged with the Grand
Secretary, and can be sent to you at any time you desire it.

I am

addressed
to Mr. Shephard
Taylor

Uckfield, Sussex.

Sir and Brother
yours fraternally

S. J. Tufnell Dep. P.Gd. Mr.

¹ For non-attendance at the last Provincial Grand Lodge held at Horsham.

The first meeting at Lewes was held on 2nd October, 1827, in the "Original Freemasons' Hall," a building stated to have been erected for the express purposes of Masonry. There were present on this occasion 3 members and 6 visitors (all until shortly before members of the South Saxon Lodge). "It being deemed expedient that for the regular dispatch of Business, the Chief Officers of the Lodge (in its present infant state) should be residents of the Town of Lewes," one of the six visiting brethren was nominated "as W.M. of the Lodge of Harmony & Friendship for the year ensuing"; this Brother was "unanimously elected" to that office at the following meeting—a meeting at which, it so happens, not a single member of the Lodge was present—and immediately proceeded to appoint to office his fellow-visitors.

In this simple, yet somewhat unorthodox, manner the Lodge was preserved from a premature death, and one year later no less than 26 names appear in the Return of Members forwarded to the Grand Lodge. The average attendance of members at the 246 meetings held at Lewes before its final extinction in 1840 works out, however, at less than 10; while it is noteworthy that one member during his year of office as W.M. attended no more than 7 meetings out of a possible total of 25 and actually presided on only 4 of those occasions.

The members of the Craft whose support rendered possible the removal of the Lodge to Lewes had resigned from the South Saxon Lodge in consequence of certain differences of opinion which had arisen in December, 1826, over the conduct of a P.M. who was alleged, *inter alia*, to have improperly committed to writing various esoteric matters and to have left such documents upon his table while away from home—charges of which he was acquitted by a majority of members present at an Emergency Meeting convened for the purpose of investigation.

The reception accorded to the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship by the remaining members of the South Saxon Lodge was distinctly hostile, as may be gathered from communications addressed at this period to the Grand Secretaries, as well as from references contained in a speech by the Provincial Grand Secretary recorded in the extinct Lodge's Minute Book under the date 1st January, 1828. An earlier communication having referred to the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship as "this upstart Lodge . . . with a Degree of Pertinacity that strongly betrays an insidious Design," in September, 1827, the Senior and Junior Wardens jointly forward a letter to the Grand Secretaries in the course of which they assert that the removal of this Lodge to Lewes "is without the exception the greatest piece of injustice ever heard of . . . We rely that the measure may not be sanctioned until an investigation has taken place—Lewes can but barely support one Lodge . . ." (an observation completely justified by subsequent events, though now—a century later—no longer true).

At the time of its removal to Lewes the Lodge met fortnightly upon the 1st and 3rd Mondays of each month. In April, 1829, the dates of meeting were altered to the 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of each month—the very days upon which fell the regular meetings of the South Saxon Lodge. For the next seven years the meetings of these two Lodges coincided, with the inevitable result that the attendance of Brethren at both Lodges declined. An examination of the concurrent Minute Books of the two sister Lodges reveals more than one occasion when both Lodges failed to muster the minimum number of Brethren requisite to open a Lodge. The arrival in Lewes of the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship all but dealt a death-blow to the older Lodge; happily, however, the South Saxon Lodge flourishes to this day.

The following extracts from the Minute Book of the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship deserve to be recorded and will reveal in outline the

subsequent history of this Lodge. The Minutes up to 1837 are never signed by the Master and seldom by the Secretary.

1827 Oct: 2 A Letter dated 20th Sept. from the Provl. Secty. was read containing the information that His Grace the Duke of Richmond P.G.M. had been pleased to appoint Brother. Wm. Attree Esqr. Surgeon, of Brighton to be His Graces deputy Grand Superintendant of Royal Arch Masonry in this Province and that all communications relative to Royal Arch Masonry, be made to him (Bro. Wm. Attree) direct.

1828 Apr: 15 A Bro. named Francis, of the South Saxon Lodge, presented himself to the Tyler for admission, but could not be admitted during the discussion of Private Business; ¹ agreeably to the 18th Section of the Bye Laws.

June 17 The Lodge having previously resolved on Celebrating the Festival of Saint John at Bro. Bollens at the Stag Inn on the 24th instant Bro. P. M. Gabl. Egles proposed that every Member of the Lodge whether present or absent on Wednesday next should pay the sum of 3s. 6d towards such Festival seconded by Bro. Grayling & pasd. unanimously.

24 Adjourned Lodge held pursuant to Adjournment (from the 17th inst)

Lodge business being thus far concluded the same was Closed with Solemn Prayer and adjourned until 5 o'clock at Bro Bollen's at the Stag Inn.

STAG INN 5 o'clock

The Brethren being Assembled in the Anti Room were commanded to clothe and at a Signal for that purpose given removed into the Room intended for the Banquet, when the following Brethren sat down to a Sumptuous Dinner prepared in Mrs. Bollen's usual Style of Excellence viz . . .

1829 Oct: 7 Resolved Unanimously that a Lodge of Instruction be holden at the Lodge Room on every Wednesday that is not the regular Lodge night. . . . for a List of Names see Book prepared for that purpose.²

1830 May 19 The Secretary read a Letter from the the South Saxon Lodge of which the following is a Copy

Worshipful Sir

I am directed by the W.M. of the South Saxon Lodge to state for your information that it is the intention of the said Lodge to Petition His Grace the Duke of Richmond to hold a Provincial Grand Lodge as early as it may suit his Grace's convenience as no Lodge of the kind has been held for the last three years ³ I am also directed to refer you to the constitution page 49 article 8th on this subject and to request that you will follow up the Petition of the S.S.L. by a Written Document to the R.W.P.G.M. to that Effect being convinced that the interests of Masonry are essentially benefitted by such Public Ceremonials

South Saxon Lodge Lewes

I am Worshipful Sir

May 11. 1830

yours very Fraternally

To the W.M. of Friendship
& Harmony Lodge Lewes

Isaac Gold Secretary

¹ The question of the tenancy of the Lodge Room.

² So far no trace of this book has been found.

³ In fact, no meeting of Provincial Grand Lodge was held between the years 1827-1854.

to state that we have an insuperable objection to Masonic Processions upon any occasion whatever; But as a Body of Men Yielding to no Class or Society whatever in Loyalty or attachment to our Sovereign beg leave most respectfully to state that we shall be most happy and willing to render any assistance or service in our power to further the views of our Townsmen upon so joyful an Occasion

On behalf of the above Lodge

To

I beg leave to subscribe myself

Mr. George Adams

High Constable of

Sir

the Borough of Lewes

Your most Obedient Servant

October 20th 1830

John Cooke

Secty.

Resolved Unanimously That the Sum of three pounds be given from the Funds of the Lodge to the Committee of management towards defraying the Expences incurred in their Most Gracious Majestys Visit to this Town

Copy of Letter received from the South Saxon Lodge dated 20 Oct

Worshipful Sir and Brother

I am directed to inform you that a Dispensation having been applied for, from his Grace the Duke of Richmond P.G.M. for Sussex to meet His Majesty and Royal Consort in Masonic Procession — We beg to have your cordial Cooperation on the day appointed

To

I am

The W.M. of the Lodge

Yours fraternally

of Harmony and Friendship

for the W.M. &c

701 Lewes

R. Butcher Secty. p.t.

The foregoing Letter to the High Constable having been forwarded to him, and the Dispensation not being yet granted, the Brethren deemed it most advisable, to adhere to the previous Resolution; thinking thereby to be of more service in different parts of the Procession, than being together in a Body.

1831 Oct: 19

Appointment of Officers:—
Bro. Bridger Examiner of Strangers

1832 May 2

Bro. Chas. Stephens proposed that a Vote of Thanks to Brother Thos Dunstone be recorded and that the Sum of Five pounds be presented to him out of the Lodge Funds as a remuneration for his Zealous and unwearied exertions in the cause of Freemasonry and in part liquidation of expences incurred in a journey to London and during his stay there to obtain Masonic Knowledge and Instruction seconded by Brother Wm. Atwood and passed unanimously.

1833 Dec: 18

A long conversation ensued relative to the propriety of giving up a Grand Lodge Certificate obtained by the Lodge for Bro. Hilder deceased but which was never signed by him — Or whether the Lodge would be justified in giving a Copy thereof — When upon reference to the Book of Constitutions it was unanimously decided to be contrary to the Rules of Masonry to deliver up the Certificate, or give any Copy or Copies thereof.

1834 June 18 The W Master requested the Secretary to prepare an Agreement between the Lodge and Brother Martin relative to the new Lodge in Fisher Street.¹

1835 Nov: 18 /Bro. Bartlett being in attendance was accordingly installed² as W.M. for the Year ensuing. . . .

Nov: 18 Bro. Francis Thomas Gell of Lewes Solicitor was Ballotted for and unanimously Elected as Joining Member of the above Lodge

Dec: 2 ³ Bro. F. T. Gell proposed the follow^g motion viz.—That it is expedient for the benefit of Masonry in the Town of Lewes and the Order in General that a junction of the 2 Lodges in the Town of Lewes sh^d be effected Seconded by Bro. Bridger — not put from the Chair

16 Brother Butcher and Brother Inskip of the South Saxon Lodge visited the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship for the purpose of inviting the Members of this Lodge to Dine with the South Saxon Lodge on Saint John's Day Whereupon it was Resolved that a Lodge of Emergency should be called on Monday the 21st. instant to take the same into consideration

21 Lodge of Emergency

. the purpose for which the Lodge was Summoned being declared, and after several Brethren had delivered their sentiments upon the Question, which was put to the Ballot, it was carried by a Majority, that the invitation from the South Saxon Lodge should be accepted & the Secretary was Ordered to write to the W.Master of the South Saxon Lodge

Lodge of Harmony & Friendship

Lewes 21st Dec^r 1835.

Wpful Sir & Bro.

I am desired by the W.Master of the above Lodge to inform you that this Lodge having taken the Invitation of the South Saxon Lodge into consideration have agreed to accept their Invitation & to meet the South Saxon Lodge at the Dinner on Monday the .⁴

1837 June 21 ⁵ P.M. Bridger proposes that it is advisable to give up the Lodge in consequence of the small attendance of the Brethren, and that notice thereof be sent to each Brother that the same will be considered and finally settled at the next regular Lodge:

Seconded by P.M. Madgwick

Passed unanimously.

Lodge Business being disposed of the same was adjourned to 5th July next.

Note.—There not being a sufficient number of Brethren in attendance on the 5th July, the Lodge was from time to time adjourned to 6 September 1837.

Sept: 6 S.W. Payne proposes That this Lodge be discontinued and the Warrant returned to the Grand Lodge Seconded by Bro. Ticehurst
Passed unanimously

¹ At which all subsequent meetings of the Lodge were held. *Note.*—This final meeting place is not recorded in Lane's Masonic Records.

² This is the first use in this Minute Book of the word "installed".

³ This entry appears in pencil at the foot of a page.

⁴ This Dinner was held on 6th January, when 22 Brethren attended (8 being guests).

⁵ A change of handwriting—the first for ten years.

P.M. Madgwick proposes That a Committee be appointed consisting of the W.M., the Secretary, P.M. Dunstone and such other Members as may choose to attend, to prepare a Statement of and settle all the accounts due to and from the Lodge, with the least possible delay; and that such Committee be empowered to dispose of the Regalia, Furniture and Property of the Lodge, in such manner as they may think most advantageous. Seconded by P.M. Dunstone. Passed unanimously.

Henry Bartlett W.M.¹

(Undated and without any heading) Bro. Thomas Dunstone and Bro. John Cooke, acting on behalf of the Committee appointed for that purpose, sold all the Regalia, Furniture and Property of the late Lodge of Harmony and Friendship held in Fisher Street, Lewes, to Bro. Henry Bartlett for the Sum of Seventeen Pounds.

Bro. Thomas Dunstone and Bro. George Cooke, acting on behalf of the said Committee, directed the Secretary to prepare and send the Returns to the Grand and Provincial Lodges.

Bro. Thomas Dunstone and Bro. George Cooke acting on behalf of the said Committee entered into an agreement with Bro. Hy. Bartlett to deliver up to him on the 15 January 1838 all the Regalia, Furniture and Property of the said late Lodge on payment of the said Sum of Seventeen Pounds.

Thos Dunstone

John Cooke.

Geo. Cooke

The next page of the Minute Book is headed "Inventory of Lodge Furniture &c &c" but is otherwise blank. The following two pages are devoted to "A List of the Members of the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 452 Meeting in Fisher Street Lewes," in which are given the names, profession or occupation, and residence of 24 members, other columns prepared for further particulars being left blank.

. At the end of four more blank pages the Lodge Minutes recommence upon the very date appointed for the disposal of the Lodge Furniture, and continue at fairly regular fortnightly intervals for a further period of eighteen months.

1838 Jan: 15 Bro Scutt proposed that the Brethren present this evening and belonging to any other Lodge should be consider'd Members without any Joining fee being required of them, seconded by Bro Butcher

The following Brethren altho' not present to be consider'd Members viz. . . .²

That after this Lodge night no other Brother shall be admitted a Member unless the Joining fee be paid previous to a Ballot being taken and if not unanimous the fee to be returned.

Feb: 5 Bro Scutt proposed that we should hold a Lodge of Instruction every Thursday evening.

Aug: 16 Visitor—Bro. G. D'Albiac of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.³

1839 Jan: 23 The W.M. then desired all the Brethren to retire from the Lodge that was below the P. Masters degree⁴ when the Lodge was opened in the 4th or P. Masters degree Bro. W. Payne was then called in & duly Installed in the chair of King Solomon and immediately appointed his Officers as follows . . .

¹ The first set of Minutes to be signed by the W.M.

² Here follow 9 names, 3 being those of former members.

³ This brother attended regularly and was elected a Joining Member on February 4th, 1839, subsequently becoming P.G.M. of Sussex (1865-67).

⁴ The first mention in these Minutes of any Ceremony of Installation coincides with the presence of an Irish Mason.

- May 20 An invitation from the Royal Clarence Lodge to attend them on the occasion of Laying the foundation Stone of a Viaduct on the Brighton & London Railway on Monday 27 May it was Resolved that the invitation should not be accepted ¹
- Nov: 4 The W. Master here commented upon the thin attendance of the Brethren for the last few months.
- 1840 Jan: 6 . . . closed with prayer and adjourned *Sine Die*

May 4 The Lodge being formed was opened with prayer When the Minutes of the last Lodge was read and confirmed Bro. Bartlett commented upon the proposed W.M. & his non attendance and also promised to see him previous to next Lodge

The W. Master then stated to the Brethren he had given Mr Martin notice to quit the Lodge at Christmas next should he be able to Let the room they would leave earlier to accommodate

The Secretary then read a circular from the M.W. the Grand Master setting forth the injury arising from the publication of our proceedings in the Lodge & at the same time threatening the fulfilment of our Obligation on any violation

All Lodge business being disposed of the same was closed and adjourned *Sine Die*

The Minute of 4th May, 1840, is the final entry in this Minute Book. The Minute Book of the South Saxon Lodge, however, records that on 6th January, 1841, there was a "deposit by the Harmony and Friendship Lodge" of "3 Platforms 3 Pedistals 1 Ottoman and Large Table to fold."

Later references in the same Minute Book to the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship are to be found in the Minutes of 21st May, 1845, 15th July, 1846, and 6th December, 1854. In 1845 (under the date mentioned) there is inserted in the South Saxon Lodge Minute Book a letter addressed by the Grand Secretary to "The Lodge of Honor and Friendship, Freemasons Hall, Lewes"; a year later the members of "the late Lodge of Harmony and Friendship" are invited to dine with the South Saxon Lodge; while in 1854 the Minutes refer to "the members of both Lodges in Lewes," although the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship had been finally erased by order of Grand Lodge at its December Quarterly Communication in 1851, while the Pelham Lodge No. 1303 (constituted in 1870) had not yet been formed.

The Minutes of this extinct Lodge mention sundry purchases and presentations, several of which appear worth recording.

- 1831 Feb: 16 Brother Past Master Dunstone proposed that a Vote of thanks be recorded to Brother Thomas Madgwick for his kindness in Presenting to the Lodge a Table with a Crimson Cover and yellow Fringe which was seconded by Brother William Bridger and passed Unanimously

Sept: 7 It was Unanimously Resolved that Three Transparencies representing Faith — Hope and Charity be forthwith provided at the expence of the Lodge for the Illumination to take place tomorrow Evening in consequence of the Coronation of King William the fourth and Queen Adelaide.

- 1832 Apr: 18 Bro. Chas. Stephens proposed that a New Frame be forthwith provided for the Kings Arms, seconded by Bro. Harman & passed Unanimously

¹ Two members, however, joined the South Saxon Lodge on this occasion.

- Aug: 1 Resolved unanimously that every Brother do provide himself with a pair of White Gloves and that the same be always worn during the time of Lodge Business
- Resolved that Three Cards of the Lodge Boards (of the largest size) be procured for the use of the Lodge.
- Oct: 3 Bro. Edwd. Beard proposed that a Vote of Thanks be recorded to Bro. John Dunstone on his presenting the Lodge with a beautiful Ballot Box of his own Workmanship which was Seconded by Bro. Windus and passed Unanimously
- 1833 Mar: 20 Bro. Long P.M. of the Royal Clarence Lodge No. 338 Brighton promised to present the Lodge with a Skull and Thigh Bones.
- 1836 June 1 Bro. W. Bridger proposed that the Masonic Review be taken for the use of the Lodge, but the consideration of the question was postponed
- 1838 Feb: 19 Bro Scutts Loan of Books be accepted with the Thanks of the Brethren — Bro. T. S. Francis to be curator.
- Mar: 5 Bro Francis presented the Lodge with 2 Hirams for the use of Deacons when the Brethren passed a unanimous Vote of Thanks to Bro Francis for the same
- 1839 Apr: 15 . . . also . . . from Bro Oliver containing a prospectus of a Work on the Theocratic Philosophy of Freemasonry to be published as soon as a sufficient number of Subscribers can be procured One Number was then ordered for the Lodge

The practice of adjourning the Lodge was frequently indulged in during the period under review, while on several occasions one or more of the regular meetings were entirely suspended by arrangement between the members, or by direction of the W.M., for reasons which nowadays may appear strange.

- 1829 July 22 . . . closed with Solemn Prayer and adjourned to Wednesday . . . ¹ on account of the Lewes Races and Assizes happening on the days on which the Lodge is usually held.
- 1832 Nov: 21 . . . closed with Solemn Prayer (and in consequence of the forthcoming Election, and in order to avoid Political excitement or discussion amongst the Brethren) the same was adjourned to Wednesday January 9th and then to meet for the general purposes of Masonry
- 1834 Oct: 15 . . . closed & adjourned to Wednesday 29th instant instead of the Wednesday following that being the 5th of November when it was deemed most prudent not to meet on that Evening
- Nov: 19 Lodge Business being concluded the same was closed with Solemn Prayer and about to adjourn, when
- The W.Master addressed the Brethren as follows (vizt.) "My reason for closing the Lodge without naming a Day whereupon to meet again arises from the purist motive and I trust you will all be satisfied when I explain myself — it is this Seeing that the peace of the Town of Lewes is about to be disturbed by a Contested Election, and when I look at those who compose this Lodge, and find that they are of different parties — In order to do away with any thing of political feeling amongst us, I think we had better let the Election with all its confusion be passed over previous to our next assembling in Lodge Order whereby we shall be enabled to escape and avoid every party

¹ The date subsequently inserted in pencil was September 2nd.

feeling and maintain our integrity as Masons and Men and thereby prevent ill will or party feeling to break in upon us — I therefore declare this Lodge adjourned *Sine die* ”.

A copy of the By-Laws of the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship has been preserved within the covers of the Minute Book. These By-Laws comprise Appendix I.

In Appendix II. are set out

- (i.) a List of Members,
- (ii.) a List of Brethren who visited the Lodge during the period of its existence in Lewes,
- (iii.) a List of other Brethren mentioned in the Minute Book,
- (iv.) a List of Candidates proposed for Initiation, but not initiated, in this Lodge.

These Appendices are added in order that the information contained therein may be available for reference in a form more readily accessible than that furnished by the closely written pages of a Minute Book preserved in private hands.

APPENDIX I.

BYE LAWS

OF THE

UNITED LODGE

OF

HARMONY AND FRIENDSHIP;

OF

ANCIENT, FREE, AND ACCEPTED MASONS;

No. 701.

ORIGINAL FREEMASONS HALL,

WESTGATE; LEWES.

in the

COUNTY of SUSSEX.

Established, A.L. 5818. A.D. 1818.

REVISED AND CORRECTED, A.L. 5828. A.D. 1828.

Reorganised 1838.¹

MASONS

are but Men, and Laws are therefore necessary to point out to them their Duty, to deter them from the Violation of it, and to punish the Contumacious.

The Worshipful Master, Wardens & Brethren have enacted for themselves, the following BYE LAWS, subject to such Alterations and Additions as shall hereafter be deemed expedient.

1st 4th 8th 14th 15th
17th 25th

¹ This note and the interlineations in heavy type which follow indicate additions and alterations appearing in the original in pencil.

B Y E L A W S .

1st

THAT the Lodge shall meet at the Lodge Room, on the first and third Mondays in every Month; vizt. at Seven o'clock in the Evening between Michaelmas-day and Lady-day, and at Eight o'clock, in the Evening between Lady-day and Michaelmas-day; or at such other Hour as the Worshipful Master may deem most expedient.

2

THAT this Lodge do consist of a W. Master, Two Wardens, Treasurer, Secretary, Two Deacons, Inner Guard, Two Stewards, and a Tyler, and as many other Members as the W. Master, and Brethren shall deem proper.

3

THAT every Member shall appear in decent apparel; and be properly clothed as a Mason, observing a due attention and decorum whilst the Lodge is engaged in that which is serious and solemn; and for the better preservation of secrecy and harmony, a Brother well skilled in the Master's part, shall be appointed, and paid for Tiling the Lodge, during the time the Brethren are engaged in Business.

4th

January

THAT at the first Meeting of the Lodge in ~~October~~, in every Year, a Master shall be chosen by Ballot, from among the Members of this Lodge, that have qualified themselves to serve that Office; as shall also the Treasurer and Tyler, they having been regularly proposed and seconded, on the preceding Lodge night; and the W. Master elect, shall, at the ensuing regular meeting of the Lodge, be in due form Installed, if convenient.

5th

THAT the W. Master shall, immediately upon his Installation, proceed to appoint his Wardens, and all other Officers of the Lodge (except the Treasurer and Tyler) who are to be chosen by a Majority of the Members present, and to continue in Office during pleasure.

6th

THAT in the Event of the Death, Removal, or Resignation of the Master, **before** a successor shall be chosen, in the manner ~~above~~ directed; due notice of such Election having been inserted in the Summonses to the Subscribing Members.

7th

THAT the W. Master shall be empowered to call Lodges of Emergency, whenever he may consider it necessary so to do; and shall, also, on the Death, or Removal, by resignation or otherwise, of the Wardens or other Officers of the Lodge (the Treasurer & Tyler excepted) appoint others for the remainder of the Year.

8th

THAT each Member shall subscribe and deposite in the Secretary's hands, the Sum of Twenty Shillings annually, by Quarterly payments; vizt.
1st January **1st April** **1st July**
 25th of March; the 24th of June; the 29th of September; and the
1st October
 25th of December; and if any Member neglect or refuse to pay his Subscription

at the end of every Quarter of a Year, he shall be admonished, by notice from the Secretary; and if, after Three regular Lodges from such notice, his arrears be not discharged, the defaulter may be formally expelled the Lodge.

9th

THAT any Member wishing to decline being a Subscriber to this Lodge, must give notice thereof, in Writing, to the Secretary; or verbally, at a meeting of the Lodge; and on discharging all arrears that may be due from him to the Lodge, he shall be permitted so to do.

10th

THAT the Secretary shall keep a regular Register of the Members, and proper and distinct Minutes of all the transactions of the Lodge, with a clear account of all monies received for Initiation Fees, Subscriptions, Fines, &c. He shall also keep a separate Debtor and Creditor account of each Member, and prepare, and take care that the Summonses are delivered to every Member by the Tyler, three days, at least, before the day of meeting.

11th

THAT the Secretary shall, at the meeting of the Lodge next ensuing the election of a Master in every Year, prepare, and transmit to the Secretaries of the Grand Lodge, and Provincial Grand Lodge, a Return of all the Subscribing Members, with an account of all Fees due to the Grand Lodges, for Registering, &c. which shall be signed by the Master and Wardens.

12th

THAT the Secretaries shall pay over all monies received by him by virtue of his Office, within one month after the receipt of the same, into the Hands of the Treasurer, whose Voucher shall be sufficient discharge to the Secretary.

13th

THAT the Treasurer shall discharge all demands upon the Lodge, after the accounts have been examined and passed; and shall have a Book wherein to keep a regular Debtor and Creditor account; and both the Secretary and the Treasurer, shall, by order of the W. Master, be reimbursed all such Expences as have been necessarily incurred by them, in transacting the business of the Lodge.

14th

THAT the accounts shall be audited Four times in every Year, Vizt.
January & July
at the regular meetings holden in December, March, June and September, or as soon as convenient thereafter; and that the officers for the time being, and the Past Officers, shall be the Committee for that purpose, five of whom shall be competent to act.

15th

THAT any Brother desirous of becoming a Subscribing Member of this Lodge, must, (if requested by the W. Master) produce a Certificate from the Lodge to which he last belonged, of his good behaviour, and his having paid all Arrears due to that Lodge; and on being proposed and seconded, he shall

one

be Ballotted for on the next regular meeting, when, unless Two Black Balls appear, he shall be considered duly admitted, upon paying Twenty-one Shillings towards the Funds of the Lodge, which will include his Joining Fee to the Grand

Lodge, and Provincial Grand Lodge, together with his proportionate Subscription thereto, for the unexpired term of the Quarter.

16th

THAT any Brother who shall become a Subscribing Member (not having been Initiated in this Lodge) shall be desirous of taking the superior Degrees, shall, for each Degree, pay to the Funds of the Lodge, ONE GUINEA.

This Article is meant also to extend to any Brother residing within five miles of Lewes, who after being Initiated in this Lodge and not becoming a Subscribing Member, shall, after the space of Six Months, request to be admitted to the Superior Degrees.

17th

THAT every Member proposing a Candidate for Initiation into this Lodge, must deposite the Sum of One Guinea, as a pledge of the Candidates sincerity, such deposite to be forfeited, should he not appear when called upon, after being duly approved; and the proposing Member shall, at the same time, deliver to the Secretary, a Certificate, in Writing, signed by the Candidate, agreeably to the form hereinafter mentioned; at which next meeting, the Candidate shall be Ballotted for, and, if approved, may be Initiated on that, or any of the Three next ensuing meetings, except prevented by illness, or other cogent reasons; but

one

if there appear Two Black Balls against him, he shall be deemed ineligible; and the deposit-money shall be returned to the Member by whom it was deposited. SHOULD the Candidate be approved, and Initiated, he shall immediately pay

Two

into the Hands of the Secretary, the further sum of FOUR GUINEAS, which will entitle him to the Second and Third Degrees in Masonry, except as before excepted in the foregoing Article.

18th

THAT no Visitor shall be admitted to the Lodge, without the consent of the presiding Officer; nor unless he be personally known, recommended, or vouched for, by a subscribing Member; nor unless he shall comply with the regulations of the Craft, as Established in that case; and every Visitor during his continuance in the Lodge, shall strictly conform to the Bye-laws; nor shall any Brother who is not a Subscribing Member to a Lodge, visit a second time (Sojourners excepted;) and the Master may at all times, during the discussion of any particular subject, request the visiting Brethren to retire; and every such Visitor shall pay a Visiting fee of One Shilling and Sixpence.

19th

THAT on a Lodge-night, in the absence of the Master, the Past Master may take his place, and in his absence, the Senior Warden may preside.

20th

THAT every Officer absent at the opening of the Lodge, whether stated or on Emergency (unless he sends an apology,) shall be fined as follows, Vizt. The W. Master 2s 6d. each Warden 1s 6d. Treasurer, Secretary, Deacons and other Officers One Shilling and other Members Sixpence each, except such absentee be

Sick, Lame, in Confinement, or living more than Three miles from the place of meeting; such Fines to be paid on the following Lodge-night.

**All fines to be
spent for Gin or
Grogs or Tobacco**

21st

THAT no Member shall leave the Lodge, without the permission of the W. Master, and every Brother desirous of speaking, shall rise and address himself to the Chair; and he shall not speak twice on the same subject, except in explanation.

22d

THAT no disagreeable dispute be suffered to arise in the Lodge; but, if any dispute (concerning Masonry, or otherwise) should happen between the Brethren out of the Lodge, which they are unable to decide between themselves, such dispute, controversy, or complaint, shall be laid before the Lodge, and there, if possible, decided; and such Brethren as refuse compliance, and will not be conformable to such decision, shall be Suspended, and deemed unworthy of being a Member of this Lodge, of which suspension the Secretary shall give due Notice, (agreeably to the nature of his Office,) to the Provincial Lodge.

23d

THAT if any Member of this Lodge should behave in any way unbecoming a Mason, or interrupt any Officer while speaking, he shall be fined at the discretion of the W. Master and Majority of the Brethren present.

24th

THAT if any Complaint be made against a Member by a Brother, and such complaint, upon investigation, be deemed frivolous and vexatious, the Member who brought such complaint forward, shall be fined according to the discretion of the W. Master, and a majority of the Members.

25th

THAT the Tyler shall receive Two Shillings and Sixpence for every Mason that shall be made in this Lodge, and One Shilling, for every Joining Member; and that for the delivery of Summonses, and the performance of his other duties,

Forty

he shall receive ~~thirty~~ Shillings per Annum.

26th

THAT on the Anniversary of SAINT JOHN the BAPTIST and SAINT JOHN the EVANGELIST, the Members of this Lodge shall assemble at their Hall, and celebrate the same in such a manner as shall from time to time be determined on, and that every Brother belonging to this Lodge, (whether absent or present,) shall subscribe whatever Sum may be determined on in open Lodge towards every such Festival.

27th

THAT if any Member refuse to serve any Office above the one he may have already passed, he shall be fined as follows, Vizt. for the Master Ten Shillings . . . each Warden, Treasurer, and Secretary, Five Shillings . . . other Officers Two Shillings and Sixpence each; and to be fined the like Sum, if they do not serve their full time.

28th

THAT there shall be an Inventory of all the Jewels, Furniture, &c. belonging to the Lodge, entered in the Minute Book, and that the same be examined and corrected at the auditing the Accounts, and that a Copy of the same be in the keeping and care of the W. Master for the time being.

29th

THAT every Member made in this Lodge, shall, on his becoming a Master Mason, be provided with a Grand Lodge Certificate at the expence of the Lodge; But every Member must at the same time pay his Registering Fee to the Grand Lodge Vizt. Ten shillings and sixpence.

30th

THAT every present to this Lodge, (if it will admit of it) be inscribed with the Donor's name, which shall also be enter'd against it in the Inventory of the Lodge's Property.

31st

THAT the W. Master, Wardens, and the rest of the Members of this Lodge, when duly congregated, shall have full power and authority, to make, amend, correct, alter, or revise, these, or such other Rules and Orders, as may be deemed necessary for the welfare of the Lodge, provided such additions, corrections, &c. as aforesaid, do not tend to remove our Ancient Land-marks; and should such addition be made, the Master shall order the Secretary to forward a fair Copy of such regulation to the Grand Secretaries, for the benefit of the Society in general.

32d

THAT for the information of the Brethren these B Y E L A W S be read in open Lodge, once in every Three Months, and that every Brother shall sign them when he becomes a Member of the Lodge, as a declaration of his subscription thereto.

33

THAT whereas it appears to us, that many persons, (who under pretence of being Free-masons,) are travelling from Town to Town soliciting Charity.— This Lodge, in order to protect and relieve a true Brother, and also to detect Imposters; do annually appoint a Member of the Lodge, well skilled in the Art, for the purpose of examining and relieving those who are worthy; and that such Examiner shall have full power and authority, to order the Treasurer to grant such relief, as the nature of the case may require.

DECLARATION

to be signed by any person desirous to be proposed as a Candidate for the Mysteries of Masonry.

To the Worshipful Master, Wardens, and Members of the Lodge of

452

Harmony and Friendship No. 701 of Ancient, ffree, and Accepted

Fisher Street

Masons ~~Original~~ FFreemasons' Hall, ~~Westgate~~ Lewes, Sussex.

I, being free by birth, and of the full age of twenty-one Years, do declare, that unbiassed by the improper solicitations of friends, and uninfluenced by mercenary or other unworthy motive, I freely and voluntarily offer myself a Candidate for the mysteries of Masonry, that I am prompted by a favourable opinion conceived of the institution, and a desire of knowledge; and that I will cheerfully conform to all the ancient usages and established customs of the Order.

WITNESS my hand this day of

Witness

C A N D I D A T E .

APPENDIX II.

MEMBERS.

Abbott, Charles	Perfumer	Uckfield	Tyler
Ansell (Ancell), Thomas	Gent	Lewes	
Atwood, William	Silversmith	Lewes	
Barratt, Richard	Surveyor	Falmer	
Barry, John David	Schoolmaster	Uckfield	
Bartlett, Henry J.	Inspector	Lewes	W.M. 1835-38
Beard, Edward	Brewer	Lewes	
Beckett, John	Inn Keeper (Crown)	Lewes	
Bigden, William Robinson	Hatter	Lewes	
Bollen, Thomas	Victualler (Stag)	Lewes	
Bridger, William	Victualler (Royal Oak)	Lewes	W.M. 1833 & 1834
Brodrick, William		Maresfield	W.M. 1818
Brookbank, Charles	Solicitor	Brighton	
Butcher, Richard	Ironmonger	Lewes	
Cameron, James	Nurseryman	Uckfield	
Cloake, Henry	Inn Keeper	Uckfield	
Commings, William	Paper Manufacturer	Isfield	
Cooke, George	Solicitor's Clerk	Lewes	
Cooke, John, sen :	Schoolmaster ;	Lewes	Secretary
	Writer (Mr. Gell's)		
Cooke, John, jun :	Writer	Lewes	
Cordingley, John	Gold & Silver	Lombard Street,	
	Lace Merchant	London	
Coull, Alexander	Gardener	Maresfield	
Coverdale, Philip John	Surgeon	London	
Creasy, Edward Hill	Auctioneer	Brighton	
D'Albiac, George Charles	Esquire	Bombay ; Lewes	
	(G.L. of Ireland)		
Davies, Thomas	Tailor	Lewes	W.M. 1831
Donovan, Alexander	Esquire	Framfield	
Dunstone, John	Cabinet Maker	Lewes	Serving Brother
Dunstone, Thomas	Cabinet Maker	Lewes	W.M. 1828 & 1829
Egles, Gabriel	Gent	Fletching	W.M. 1827 & 1830
Ellman, Robert Harvey	Gent	Glynde	
Ellman, Thomas	Gent	Beddingham	
Elmes, James	Inn Keeper	Brighton	
Fitzroy, Honble. Henry	M.P.	Lewes Castle	
Francis, Thomas Spring	Carpenter	Lewes	
Frost, Joseph	Farmer	Maresfield	
Gell, Francis Harding	Attorney	Lewes	
Gell, Francis Thomas	Attorney	Lewes	
Grayling, George	Hair Dresser	Lewes	
Griffiths, John Henry	Sheriff's Officer	Lewes	
Harman, Sargent	Smith	Lewes	
Harmer, John	Plumber, Painter,	Uckfield	
	and Glazier		
Hartley, John	Inn Keeper	Uckfield	
Hassell, Thomas	Auctioneer	Waldron	
Hilder, Charles	Surveyor	Robertsbridge	
Hilder, Henry	Farmer ; Carrier	Hailsham	
Hill, Richard	Upholsterer	Lewes	
Hobden, John	Builder	Maresfield	
Hodd, Richard	Yeoman	Ringmer	
Hollands, H.	Crier	Lewes	Tyler
Hunter, Charles A.			
Inskip, James	Writer	Lewes	
Jarratt, John	Farmer ; Carrier	Buxted	
Jenner, Richard	Farmer	Maresfield ; Barcombe	W.M. 1819 & 1820
Kell, William P.	Attorney	Lewes	

Kemp, Thomas Read	Esquire M.P.	Brighton	
King, Charles	Dep: Prov: G.M.		
Madgwick, Thomas	Paper Manufacturer	Maresfield; Barcombe	
Martin, Selven	Grocer	Lewes	W.M. 1832
Merricks, John	Stone Mason	Lewes	
	Gun Powder	Edinburgh	
	Manufacturer		
Osmond, Edmund	Carpenter	Uckfield	
Paine, David	Inn Keeper	East Hoathly	
Payne, Richard	Boot Maker	East Grinstead	
Payne, William	Draper	Lewes	W.M. 1840
Phillips, James	Bricklayer	Lewes	
Pollard, James	Carpenter	Lewes	
Prince, Charles	Doctor	Uckfield	Tyler
Robson, John	Farmer	Little Horsted	W.M. 1821 & 1822
Sangler, Joseph	Coal Merchant	Great Chapel Str., London	W.M. 1823
Santiero, Dominico	House Steward	Maresfield	
Scutt, Thomas White	Esquire	Lewes	
Shephard, Thomas	Tailor	Uckfield	
Smith, Thomas	Builder	Lewes	
Stephens, Charles	Coachman; Postmaster	Lewes	
Thomson, William	Brewer	Lewes	
Ticehurst, Joseph	Slater	Lewes	
Verrall, John	Maltster	Lewes	
Wallis (Wallis), William	Bricklayer	Brighton	
Wells, John	Writer	Lewes	Serving Brother & Assistant Secretary
Windus, Arthur E. B.	Wine Merchant	Lewes	
Winter, John	Tailor	Lewes	
Wisdom, John	Draper	East Hoathly	W.M. 1824

VISITORS.

Altenacker, Leopold.	587	
Ashby, John.	581	
Bailey, William	47	
Beard, Edward.	511	
Bryant, John.	47	
Butcher,	581	
Cooke, John.	581	
Cordy, James.	511	
D'Albiac, George Charles.		G. L. of Ireland.
Davies, Thomas.	581	
Donovan, Alexander.	493	Prince of Wales Lodge (now No. 259)
Dunstone, Thomas.	581	
Egles, Edward.	581	
Egles, Gabriel.	581	
Ellman (Elman), Thomas.	338	
Elmes, James.	587 & 701	
Falkland,	338	
Farrina,	511	
Francis,	581	
Furner, E.	511	
Gell, Francis Thomas.	338	
Gold, Isaac.	390	
Hinton, E.		Prov: Grand Secretary

Hodd, Richard.	581	
Inskip,	581	
Keating, James.		
Long, William.	<i>338</i>	
Mohamed, (sen:)		
Mohamed, (jun:)		
Newington, James.	581	
Parker, George.	468	Lodge of Harmony, Shoreham. (formerly at Chichester; lapsed before 1800)
Rason, Samuel.	<i>47</i>	
Robertson, George.	587	
Scott, Charles.	511	
Thomson, William.	<i>338</i>	
Ticehurst, Joseph.	581	
Townshend, Samuel.		
Turner, Thomas.	587	
Vallance, B.	511	
Vallance, P.	511	
Waghorne, Charles.	864	Grove Lodge, Ewell (now No. 410)
Wallis, Charles.	587	
Windus, A.	511	
Winter, James.	<i>47</i>	
Winton. John.	<i>390</i>	

Note.—Figures in italics in the above list indicate the numbering of 1832.

	1814	1832	1863
Derwent Lodge, Hastings	54	47	40
Royal Clarence Lodge, Brighton	511	338	271
South Saxon Lodge, Lewes	581	390	311
Royal York Lodge, Brighton	587	394	315

OTHER BRETHREN MENTIONED IN THE MINUTE BOOK.

Achen, John.	587	Supported Petition for Removal
Attree, William.	511	Dep: Gr: Sup: (R.A.) Sussex
Attwood, Cornelius Leigonier.		Desired to join; proof of initiation demanded. ¹
Baker, John.	511	Supported Petition for Removal
Clear, Henry.	581	do.
Cuthbertson, Robert.	587	do.
Davies, M. H.	581	do.
Guttridge, William.	511	do.
Harper, Edward.		Grand Secretary.
Insoll, Richard.	581	Supported Petition for Removal
Lawrence, John.	511	do.
Lewis, William.	587	do.
Marchant,		Robertsbridge
McDonald,		Desired to join, but unknown to Members.
Medhurst, Edward.	587	Supported Petition for Removal

¹ The G.L. Register mentions the Initiation of this Brother as having taken place in the Albion Lodge No. 9 in the year 1819, when the Candidate was 22 years of age; his membership of this Lodge lapsed before the end of the same year.

Millard, T.		Eastbourne
Oliver,		Theocratic Philosophy of F.M.
Raper, William.		Prov: Grand Secretary
Saxby, Robert.	511	Supported Petition for Removal
Stiff, John.	587	do.
Tufnell, S. Jolliffe.		Dep: Prov: Grand Master
Turner, Robert.	511	Supported Petition for Removal
White, William H.		Grand Secretary
Williams, J. (jun:)	511	Supported Petition for Removal
Winton, John.	581	Hatter, Lewes

C A N D I D A T E S
PROPOSED FOR INITIATION BUT
N O T I N I T I A T E D .

Best, Andrew.	Brickmaker, of Hamsey.
Clapson, Jonathan.	Inn Keeper.
Evans,	Captain of the Express Trading Vessel from Carnarvon.
Wilson, Henry.	Independant Man, of Eastbourne.
Withers, William.	

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Grantham for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. B. Ivanoff, seconded by Bro. L. Edwards, with comments by Bro. A. F. Hatten.

Bro. IVANOFF said:—

It gives me much pleasure to propose a vote of thanks to Bro. Grantham for his paper about the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No. 701 (extinct) of the Province of Sussex, which we have just heard of. It is not only important masonic documents, not only famous Lodges of the past or outstanding persons who had played a prominent part in Freemasonry that interest historians like ourselves, but also records concerning masonic activities of rank and file in our Fraternity, especially when they are keen masons trying to do their best "to benefit exceedingly the Cause of Freemasonry and the Order in general", as the Brethren of the Harmony and Friendship expressed their aspirations in one of the Petitions to their Provincial Grand Master.

Bro. Grantham has given us a simple but accurate and well-written story of a group of masons who, in April, 1818, presented a Petition for a Warrant of Constitution of a Lodge at Maresfield, Sussex, and were so keen to start their work practically at once that they obtained from the Provincial Grand Master a special dispensation to hold regular meetings of the new Lodge without waiting for the formal Warrant of Constitution which actually was received only in November, 1819, *i.e.*, eighteen months after the Lodge commenced working.

The Lodge started well, but later it met with adversities, the principal of which appears to have been a reduction of the number of members through the fact that many of them left the town where the Lodge was meeting, and through the lack of candidates considered by the principal Officers of the Lodge as promising to become good masons and therefore worthy of initiation. To save the Lodge from extinction, the Brethren, again by special dispensation, moved at first (in 1823) to Uckfield, and then (in 1827) to the county town of Sussex—Lewes. In the latter place, however, the Lodge was faced with a

distinct rivalry and even animosity on the part of the older Lodge at Lewes—the South Saxon Lodge, that had already been in existence there for more than 30 years. Things went from bad to worse for the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship, and, eventually, in spite of all the efforts of its members to keep the Lodge alive for the good of Freemasonry, it had to be adjourned *sine die* in January, 1840, never to revive again.

It is rather a pathetic story of a small Provincial Lodge which may be typical of many small Lodges, but, judging by Bro. Grantham's paper, it does not throw any shadow on the masonic integrity of its founders and members.

When dealing with the Minutes of the Lodge, Bro. Grantham gave several quotations which raise interesting questions of a historical value. Here are some of them:—

1. On the 6th February, 1819, a letter was written to the Grand Secretary by a member of the Lodge who styled himself both Senior Warden and Secretary.

From when and till what time such holding of two offices (except that of a P.M. occupying another office) was allowed by the Grand Lodge, and what were the reasons for giving and withdrawing such permission?

2. In the same letter it is mentioned that at least two "Exaltations" had taken place in the Lodge by that time as matters of ordinary routine.

What is actually meant here by "Exaltations"—some special ceremonies of Craft Masonry or Exaltations into the Royal Arch Degree? If they were Royal Arch ceremonies, were they performed in a Royal Arch Chapter attached to the Lodge and meeting at its Temple, or in the ordinary Craft Lodge? In the latter case when and why was this practice commenced and discontinued?

3. In connection with the above a quotation from another letter written by the Secretary of the Lodge to the Grand Secretary in 1818 is interesting. The Grand Secretary is asked to explain whether "any person who had passed the Chair as the preparatory degree to becoming R.A., or one who had actually presided for the regular period over a Lodge, was entitled to perform the ceremony of Installation". A few lines further the writer points out that among the members of the Lodge there were four Royal Arch Masons, "and consequently as many Past Masters".

What does this passing the Chair as "the preparatory degree to becoming R.A." mean? Does it mean a special preparatory Craft degree which it was necessary to take before being exalted into the Royal Arch degree and which does not exist any longer, or does it mean that only Past Masters could become Royal Arch Masons? As at present neither any preparatory degree nor the qualification of being a Past Master are required to take the Royal Arch degree, which is open to any M.M. Some explanation on these two points from a historical point of view would be very welcome.

4. From the same letter and some other quotations in the paper one gets the impression that Wardens, who were not Past Masters, could preside over an open Lodge.

Is this impression correct, and, if so, when was this practice originated and discontinued?

5. In 1821 Bro. C. Prince, while visiting the South Saxon Lodge with four other members of the Harmony and Friendship Lodge, received the

benefit of Installation into the Chair of the latter Lodge along with the Master-elect of the South Saxon Lodge. One ceremony in one Lodge to instal two Masters into the Chairs of two different, and not amalgamated Lodges, and one of the Masters being only a visitor to the Lodge where the ceremony took place and not its member even! All this sounds very strange to the contemporary mason and wants elucidation.

6. In another extract given to us by Bro. Grantham we find that in 1827 "one of the six visiting Brethren was nominated and unanimously elected as W.M. of the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship for the year ensuing", and appointed to office his fellow-visitors at the following meeting at which, it so happens, not a single member of the Lodge was present. Further we see that at the meeting of the Lodge held on 15th January, 1838, it was resolved that the Brethren present this evening and belonging to any other Lodge should be considered members without any Joining Fee being required of them, and that a number of other Brethren, although not present, to be considered members of this Lodge as well.

The actions recorded above are contrary to the contemporary practice. Were they in accordance with the Rules and Regulations of the Grand Lodge of those days, and, if so, when and why did the alterations take place?

The above are only a few questions arising from Bro. Grantham's paper, and they show, I hope, that the history of even a small and rather unsuccessful Provincial Lodge, provided it is properly and seriously recorded, can bring about many points of a general historical interest, and encourage further masonic research.

As regards the questions raised by me, I do not doubt that some of our Brethren will not find anything new in them, but I venture to suggest that, for the benefit of the vast majority of his readers, Bro. Grantham should do his best to answer them in his reply which will appear in the *Transactions* of our Lodge, together with his paper and these comments.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

Although in Bro. Grantham's paper there were no features of special interest, yet it is by the perusal of records such as these that we are able to gain an idea of the every-day life of Lodges a century or so ago. We also see the difficulties which arose when Lodges were founded in places which were really too small to support them, and also when there were two Lodges in a town which could maintain only one, leading in the latter case eventually to amalgamation or to extinction.

Bro. Grantham has mentioned the (fifth) Duke of Richmond. The holders of that title have for long been connected with the Craft, particularly in Sussex. An earlier Duke was Grand Master in 1724-5, and the fourth, fifth, and seventh Dukes were Provincial Grand Masters, being appointed respectively in 1814, 1823 and 1901. The failure of the Provincial Grand Lodge to meet between 1827 and 1854 is by no means without precedent in masonic history.

The reading of reports of masonic proceedings is an echo of the controversy between the Duke of Sussex and Dr. Crucefix. I think we should all like to hear whether Bro. Grantham, or any other Brother, can find another instance of the appointment of an Examiner of Strangers.

Bro. A. F. HATTEN said:—

I realised that the subject of such a small and obscure Lodge as a subject of research could hardly have a wide interest, and the details of the troubles and the petty squabbles of these obscure Brethren would be dull reading for those who did not know even the locality; but I happen to know that district pretty well, though I am not a Sussex man; and I was interested in finding out what sort of Lodge-rooms were in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century. I hoped that Bro. Grantham had been able to identify the four rooms that were used by this Lodge.

On reading the proof of the paper, I find that he has the name of the Inn where it first met, the Chequers at Maresfield, and I believe that this Inn still stands with the same sign.

The "Freemasons' Hall" referred to in the certificate of 1820 might very possibly be part of the same building.

At Uckfield reference is made to the Lodge erecting its own building, previous to which, no doubt, it met at the "Maiden's Head", a hostelry well known to Masons. Is there no one in the town now who can tell where that new room was built, and what became of it?

On the removal to Lewes, the Lodge met first at the "Original Freemasons' Hall", stated to be a building erected for the express purposes of Masonry; where was this? at West Gate? and in 1834 moved to Fisher Street. In the town records there should be some trace of these two buildings, which must then or later have been known to many Masons besides the members of this luckless Lodge.

Information might be sought from the Minute Books of the South Saxon Lodge which still flourishes.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM writes, in reply:—

This paper, compiled in leisure moments fifteen or sixteen years ago, represented at that time a student's first excursion into the realms of masonic research. This fact will account in some measure for the lack of constructive comment so noticeable in the presentation of the records of this extinct Lodge. The paper was deposited for safe custody with our then Secretary, Bro. Songhurst, and was brought forward this year at the special request of our present Secretary, who expressed a wish that the paper should be formally communicated to the Lodge. Time and circumstances have rendered impossible any substantial amplification or alteration of the text in the light of later experience, and present conditions are likewise responsible for the difficulty now encountered in dealing adequately with the various points raised by the Worshipful Master and other brethren in the course of their comments upon the paper. Inability in time of war to refer to any masonic library other than my own must therefore be my excuse for the incompleteness of this reply.

In spite of local enquiries when compiling this paper, I was unable to locate the site of the Lodge Room in Uckfield erected in 1823, to which Bro. Hatten alludes. As stated in the table of meeting places which precedes the text of this paper, the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship on its removal to Lewes first met at the West Gate. This meeting place was the so-called "Original Freemasons' Hall" which had been erected in 1797 by the members of the South Saxon Lodge, who, according to their own records, desired "a commodious and proper Place for the Brethren of the aforesaid Lodge to Assemble and meet in; the dimensions of which shall not be less than twenty six feet in Length sixteen feet wide and fourteen feet in highth with other Rooms which shall be found necessary". Further details of the erection of

this building will be found in *A.Q.C.*, volume xliii., page 12, in the course of a paper on Freemasonry in Lewes prior to the Union. I have not yet been able to identify the site in Fisher Street, Lewes, to which the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship removed in 1834. It should perhaps be added that throughout the period that both Lodges existed in Lewes side by side the older Lodge occupied quarters in the Eastern Tower of Lewes Castle.

Bro. Lewis Edwards has enquired whether another instance can be quoted of the appointment of an "Examiner of Strangers". The records of the South Saxon Lodge mention the appointment of an "Examiner" in 1830, the year before the appointment made by the Master of the younger Lodge. I cannot recollect having observed this appointment in other Lodge records, and for the reason already stated cannot at the present time undertake a search of the many published Lodge Histories.

Our Worshipful Master in the course of his comments refers to the dispensation authorising the petitioners to act pending the receipt of a warrant, and characterises this dispensation as something special. Readers of Bro. Carter's paper on Provincial Warrants (*A.Q.C.*, volumes xli. and xlii.) will, however, recollect that it was quite customary in earlier times for such interim dispensations to be issued.

With regard to the member who styled himself Senior Warden and Secretary it is to be observed that at the time in question, namely in 1819, the office of Senior Warden was obligatory, while that of Secretary was merely permissive (*A.Q.C.*, volume xxx., page 81). It should also be remembered that in the case in point the Lodge had not yet been formally constituted, the petitioners were not numerous, and it may well have been found convenient for the Senior Warden designate—perhaps an experienced brother—to act as Secretary pending the constitution of the Lodge and the appointment of officers.

The two "Exaltations" were, I imagine, ceremonies of exaltation into the Royal Arch. Four of the Founders are stated to have been Royal Arch Masons. The ceremonies which took place before the Lodge had been formally constituted were presumably performed by these companions with or without the assistance of other qualified brethren. There is no evidence of any exaltation after the Lodge had been formally constituted.

I regret that I am unable at the present time to throw any light upon the problems raised in the letter addressed to the Grand Secretary on the subject of installations.

From Bro. Levander's *Comparison of the Regulations laid down in the Book of Constitutions from 1723 to 1819* (*A.Q.C.*, volume xxx., page 85) it is, I think, clear that in 1819 it was the duty of the Senior Warden, in the absence of the Worshipful Master, not only to summon the Lodge but also to rule the Lodge if no former Master of that Lodge were present.

One ceremony in one Lodge to instal two Masters into the chairs of two different and not amalgamated Lodges, and one of the Masters being only a visitor to the Lodge where the ceremony took place—to quote from our Worshipful Master's comments—is, I agree, a strange proceeding. Possibly the members of the newly-formed Lodge at Maresfield were unable in 1821 to muster the requisite number of qualified brethren to enable them to instal their own Master, and took advantage of the Provincial Grand Secretary's visit to the neighbouring and older Lodge at Lewes, where perhaps the secrets of the chair were communicated to the visiting Master during the Installation Ceremony of the South Saxon Lodge. The date of this incident was September 28th, 1821, and the relevant entry in the South Saxon Lodge Minute Book reads as follows:—

No. 581

Minutes of the South Saxon Lodge Lewes Castle
Star Inn Friday Sept. 28th 1823 (*sic*)

Present

Bro. J. Alse	W.M.	Bro. Rd. Soffe	I.G.
— F. W. Lee	S.W.	— Rd. Insoll	Treasurer
— T. Dunstone	J.W.	— G. Egles	Secretary
— S. Townshend		— Jno. Stephens	Tyler

Visitors

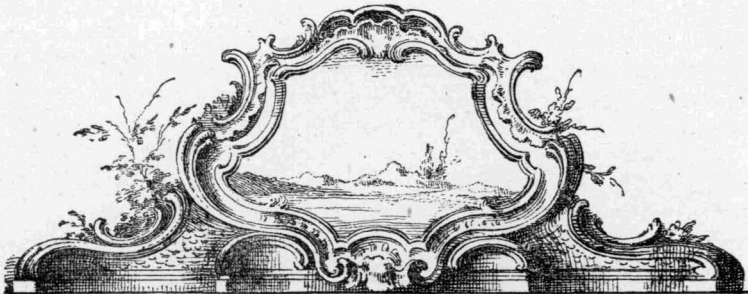
Bro. D. Jacques P.G.S.	Bro. C. Scott W.M. 511	Bro. W. Diplock S.D. 511
— C. Prince W.M. 701	— R. K. Vallance Sec. 511	— W. Williams 511
— J. D. Barry P.M. 701	— T. Tilt I.G. 511	— J. Wisdom S.D. 701
— J. Robson S.W. 701	— T. Sheppard J.W. 701	

The Lodge being formed, it was opened in the 1st 2nd and 3rd Degrees, when Bro. J. Alse, W:M: elect was regularly installed according to ancient custom as was also Bro. Prince installed W. Master of 701 Maresfield, on their return to the Lodge Bro. J. Alse, W. Master invested the several Officers of the South Saxon Lodge with their respective Jewels and Badges—The thanks of this Lodge were unanimously voted to Bro. D. Jacques, P.G. Secty. and P.M. 52 Chichester for his anxious endeavours to promote the prosperity of the South Saxon Lodge as also for his indefatigable Zeal in the cause of Masonry. The Lodge was now closed and adjourned to the 6 of November next ensuing.

An explanation of the misdating of these minutes—1823 instead of 1821—will be found in the *Records of the South Saxon Lodge No. 311*, published in 1930.

The manner in which, on its removal to Lewes, the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship was preserved from extinction by the appointment to office of brethren who were not even members of the Lodge was clearly irregular, but succeeded in giving the Lodge a new lease of life. It is features such as this that impart an interest to the records of Lodges of bygone centuries.

In conclusion I should like to thank the Worshipful Master for the tribute which he has paid to the worthy efforts of the early members of this inconspicuous and short-lived country Lodge. The original members of a Lodge are apt to be forgotten by their successors. As the United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship is now extinct, this paper is offered by its compiler as a humble tribute to the Founders of that Lodge.



FRIDAY, 7th MARCH, 1941.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. B. Ivanoff, W.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.W.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; and F. R. Radice.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. A. G. Harper, P.G.St.B.; J. W. M. Hawes; C. D. Rotch; H. Boutroy; Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, P.G.D.; J. H. Smith; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; J. C. Vidler; A. I. Logette; A. F. Hatten; W. J. Mean; A. F. Ford; and G. C. Williams.

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., Chap.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff; D. Knoop, M.A., P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; Lt.-Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., 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.; Geo. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Sup.W.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.; R. E. Parkinson; and Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

One Masonic Trust and three Brethren were admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle.

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

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CARBONARI.

BY BRO. FULKE R. RADICE.

PART IV.

STATE OF ITALY IN 1821-1831.



THE movements of 1821 had ended in the victory of absolutism; and there was little change in the character of the Italian governments. In Naples Ferdinand I. reigned as before until his death in 1825. If he had any good qualities beyond a love for the chase and a certain vulgar bonhomie, they have escaped my notice. His successor Francis I. had been Vicar for his father whenever difficulties arose and Ferdinand took to his bed. He was less vicious than his predecessor, but was weak and vacillating and lived in fear of assassination. His court was a hotbed of corruption. He was no less reactionary, and in his reign no improvement took place in the administration. In Tuscany the Grand Duke continued his mild rule and tried to avoid giving occasion for risings and for Austrian intervention. In the Austrian states the strictest order was maintained and the ordinary administration was good; but the Italian provinces of the Empire were exploited, and taxation was disproportionately heavy. Lombardy, for instance, with one-eighteenth of the territory of the Empire and one-seventh of its population, paid one-quarter of the taxes, according to La Farina.¹ There was no political liberty and the law dealing with political crime led to grave abuse, as we have seen.

In Piedmont Charles Felix reigned, a man of no outstanding ability, narrow in politics and bigoted in religion, an absolutist to the core; but he possessed a very strong character, a very exalted sense of honour, clear views, and he was not devoid of a sense of humour. His sense of honour is illustrated by his remarks on the Paris revolution of July, 1830: "I would never have granted the Charter, but once having granted it, I should never have repealed it". Piedmont was still faced with the important question of the succession to the throne, a question important for Piedmont, for Italy, and, not least, for our Society, for through Charles Albert were the aims of the Carboneria eventually to be realised. Charles Albert was in disgrace after 1821; the King had always disliked him and he had even considered excluding him from the succession in favour of the Prince's infant son. The Prince in his exile in Tuscany soon showed signs of having renounced his liberalism; he certainly cast off his old friends; and in this he was probably sincere.² He thought, as we have seen, that the conspirators had broken their word to him;³ they had

¹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 553.

² Costa de Beauregard, p. 136.

³ Fiorini, p. 185.

cast him off and most of them were assailing him with bitter reproaches and insults.

Towards the end of 1822 was held the Congress of Verona. Metternich suggested that Charles Albert should be cited to appear before it and justify his past conduct; but Charles Felix, though prepared to deal severely with any member of his House who should fail in his duty, had no intention of allowing anyone else, however exalted, to meddle in his own family affairs; and he curtly rejected the suggestion.¹

Gualterio² says that Metternich then tried to obtain the abolition of the Salic Law in Piedmont and in this way pave the way for the Duke of Modena's succession; but this suggestion was opposed by France and Alexander I. of Russia, who insisted that Charles Albert's rights should be maintained in full, unless a charge of conspiracy could be clearly proved against him.³ From that moment Metternich began that close inquiry to establish the Prince's complicity in the revolution, which led to the persecution of many of the Carbonari in exile, like Radice, in prison, like Confalonieri, who might be able to give evidence on the point. He even suggested that after Charles Felix' death Francis of Modena should become regent for Charles Albert's son.⁴ But Talleyrand, representing France, took strong exception to any attempt to alter the succession to the Piedmontese throne; and he gained the support of the Duke of Wellington, our representative at the Congress. Some modern writers have concluded that Metternich did not try at this time to alter the succession in Piedmont. This is not the place to discuss the question, but Talleyrand and Wellington acted as though they were trying to defeat such an attempt. In any case, realising that he was raising a hornets' nest, Metternich changed his ground;⁵ he gave up any schemes he may have concocted against Charles Albert; he agreed to recognise the Prince's succession, in order to uphold legitimacy,⁵ but suggested that he be forced to sign a declaration by which he bound himself not to alter the form of government in Piedmont. The proposal was eventually carried out,⁶ despite Wellington's disagreement.⁷

An opportunity to prove Charles Albert's repentance occurred when the Holy Alliance decided to suppress the liberals of Spain, and the Duke of Angoulême led a French army of 120,000 men over the Pyrenees. The Prince joined the Duke's staff and showed conspicuous bravery at the storming of the Trocadero fort outside Cadiz. Several Piedmontese exiles, among them Santa Rosa, Collegno and Radice, had joined the liberals and may have been present at the fighting on the other side.⁸ By his conduct Charles Albert gained the favour of Louis XVIII, who warmly recommended him to Charles Felix. Eventually, by the intercession of the Emperor of Austria himself and Metternich, the Prince was finally reconciled with Charles Felix in 1825. But Charles Albert was left with a millstone round his neck by his pledge to grant no reforms, which was to hamper him throughout the remainder of his life. The breach between him and Carbonarism seemed complete. It remained open for many years, and the alliance between the House of Savoy and liberalism seemed postponed for ever; yet the sequel showed that the bonds which tied the Prince to the Carboneria could not be cast off so lightly. It is in this double drag in opposite directions that lay the tragedy of his life; yet in this tragedy Italy found salvation.

¹ Costa de Beauregard, pp. 227-229.

² Vol. i., pp. 61-62.

³ Poggi, vol. i., p. 395.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 435.

⁵ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 115. Note.

⁶ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 142, 144.

⁷ Costa de Beauregard, pp. 236-237.

⁸ Sir Robert Wilson, a distinguished British officer who had been attached to Bellegarde's army in 1814 and was reputed to have been initiated into the Carboneria, is said to have been among the Liberals at the Trocadero. Lemmi, Von Hügel, p. 9.

The decisions at the Congress of Verona had an unexpected result. Francis of Modena saw that all his hopes to succeed to the throne of Piedmont had vanished and that nothing more was to be expected from Austria. The disappointment of his ambitions was to lead him into strange courses. As long ago as 1817 Metternich had told the Emperor that Francis was unreliable and could not be counted on to favour Austria's interests,¹ he probably only used the Duke as a tool.

In the Papal States Pius VII. was succeeded in 1823 by Leo XII., who was harsh without being more efficient, with the result that the disorder in his territories grew. He was succeeded in 1829 by Pius VIII., who reigned but a short time. After his death the troubles came to a head, as we shall see.

THE EMIGRATION, THE CHARBONNERIE AND THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONARY CENTRE.

We must now see how the Carboneria fared under these conditions. The insurrections of 1821 had seriously alarmed the Great Powers, and especially Austria; and affairs in Italy became an object of close interest to Europe in general. Metternich proposed, as Salvotti had suggested, that a permanent special commission be set up at Modena, which representatives of all Italian States were to attend, to deal with Sectarian activities. Piedmont and Naples, which had just suffered from revolutions, agreed; but the Pope, hostile to any increase of Austrian influence, opposed the suggestion and it was dropped.² In judging the attitude taken up by Metternich and Austria, we must bear in mind that they had documentary evidence of revolutionary plotting at the instance of the "Adelfi" and the "Grand Firmament".³ Affairs in Italy were but one aspect of this dangerous, widespread movement.

Nevertheless the failure of 1821 was a severe blow for the Society. Several of its leaders were dead and the majority of its ablest members was in prison or exile; and for the time being the Sect was completely disorganised. In Naples, where it had come near to ruling the country, it had been driven from its pre-eminent position. In Piedmont, where it had attempted, and almost with success, to direct foreign and internal policy, it had been crushed. In the Austrian territories, where it had not been strong, it had been paralysed. Everywhere in Italy, except in the Papal States, its organisation was broken up.

One of the most important results of the defeats of 1821 had been the transfer of the main focus of Carbonaro activities to foreign countries. The group of Italians abroad, consisting of most of the ablest Carbonaro leaders, came to be known collectively as the Emigration. Liberal Spain and revolutionary Greece gave them opportunities for fighting for their cause on foreign soil, and many gave their lives for liberty abroad. When the French army of the Duke of Angoulême marched into Spain to put down the liberal government, the Italian exiles, as already mentioned, rendered valiant service; and among those who fell in the fighting were Pacchiarotti, Ceppi and Ferrero, while Rattazzi and Appiani died of cholera. Santa Rosa, Rossarol and Sergeant Rittatore fell in Greece. Muschietti fled to America and was murdered by Mexican robbers. Collegno, Pisa and Palma also fought against the Turks, and the last two attained to high office in their adopted country. As regards those who survived, Brussels became the home of Marquis Arconati, Count Arrivabene, Prince Priez, Prince Cisterna and Dr. Gaston. Most of the exiles visited England some time or other; and among those who settled there were Caraglio, De Meester, Pecchio, Radice, Panizzi, Berchet and Gabriel Rossetti.⁴

¹ Poggi, vol. i., pp. 196, 435.

² Bianchi, vol. i., pp. 87, 122.

³ Rivieri, Pellico, vol. ii., pp. 9, 22-24.

⁴ Nicolli, pp. 160-162.

Others found a refuge in Switzerland and France. France, as might be expected for geographical reasons, became their chief centre of activity, and circumstances happened to make that country at that time particularly suitable for the purpose of beginning again their work of redeeming Italy.

As we have seen, the Carboneria derived much of its ritual from France. In 1820 we find a movement in the opposite direction. The French had suffered, rather than welcomed, the return of the Bourbons. The issue of the "Charte" and the moderation of the government pleased most people and there was at first no active opposition. This was mistaken by the government for approval, for many extremists were discontented at the turn of events. As early as 1818 a barrister, Joseph Rey, had founded at Grenoble a secret society called l' "Union". About the same time a Masonic Lodge, "Les Amis de la Vérité", was showing republican tendencies. Members of both the Society and the Lodge used to meet at the house of the barrister Merilhou, where they met several well-known liberals like Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure. In due course these meetings led to the formation, in 1820, of a plot to seize Vincennes, but most of the conspirators were seized and tried.

Two members of the Lodge, Joubert and Dugied, fled to Naples, where they were initiated into the Carboneria. Soon after they returned to France, possibly after the defeat of the liberal government in South Italy, and suggested the formation of a French Carboneria. The proposal was adopted and the new "Charbonnerie" was founded. The Carbonarian regulations, which had a tendency too religious in feeling for French liberal circles at the time, were revised and adapted to French needs. The organisation and the simplified ritual of the "Charbonnerie" must be left to a separate paper; here I will deal with the "Charbonnerie" only in so far as it affected affairs in Italy. The new society soon spread all over France; it infected the army and, in imitation of the Carboneria in the Papal States, a separate organisation was set up for the soldiers.

The original "Charbonniers" found that they needed the support of men possessing greater influence than their own; and, after some persuasion, Lafayette and most of the men of Merilhou's circle became "Charbonniers". It was not long before conspiracies were set on foot. During the winter of 1821-1822 five attempts were made, two at Saumur in the West and one each at Belfort, Thouars and La Rochelle, all of which failed. The plot of La Rochelle was that of the "Four Serjeants" referred to by Bro. Crowe in his Paper on the *Fendeurs* in *A.Q.C.*, xxii., p. 53, of the details of which he professes ignorance. These somewhat ludicrous failures led to dissensions, and not even two congresses, at Bordeaux and Paris, were able to restore unity. The whole Association crumbled away and some of the "Charbonniers", like the Italian Carbonari, fled to Spain. When the Duke of Angoulême's expedition was about to cross the Bidassoa, these "Charbonniers", 150 in number, confronted its advanced guard displaying the Carbonaro flag, hoping to influence the French soldiers. The demonstrators were dispersed with a few cannon shots.

Most historical authorities take the view that after these events the "Charbonnerie" disappeared; but this is not borne out by Italian sources; and M. Perreux, in his valuable work *Au temps des Sociétés Secrètes*, based on careful research among the police archives, which earlier authorities had overlooked, shows that, far from dying out, the "Charbonnerie" continued to exist as an organisation and, not only took part in the activities which led to the revolution of July, 1831, but also in others after that date. Though his book covers only a few years after 1831, M. Perreux is definitely of the opinion that further research will prove participation of the "Charbonnerie" in the actions which preceded the revolution of 1848. We can assume therefore that between 1821 and 1831, and also after that date, there was in France a widespread secret society, which had derived its existence from the Carboneria and professed aims

which were similar and on whose sympathy and help the Italian exiles could count.

The first experience of the Italian exiles in France, if Witt is to be believed, was not too happy. According to him,¹ Count Pasquier decided to form a party among the Italian exiles in order to work against Austria in Italy. A society called "European Regeneration" was formed into which they were to be initiated for that purpose. This society is not of course that, referred to by Witt,² created by the amalgamation of the "Philadelphes" and "Adelfi"—see pp.

It was an imitation of a French society called the "Regenerate Franks", which had been suppressed by Descazes' Ministry. The "European Regeneration" was duly started. It had four degrees, Initiate, Knight, Provost and Grand Provost. Badges were prepared and a chapter of Grand Provosts was held in the Lion d'Or Hôtel in Lausanne on August the 21st, 1821.³ Then, however, came a change of Ministry and the scheme was dropped, as the new ministers preferred to intrigue with the "Santa Fede".

Though the exiles suffered considerably from the vacillating policy of various French governments as to their treatment, the revolutionary authorities of the great Parisian centre received them with open arms. The first steps to revive the revolutionary movement were taken by the "Grand Firmament", which lost no time in trying to build up again the conspiratorial network in Italy destroyed by the failures of 1821 by stirring into activity its Swiss centres. It was the "Grand Firmament" which first suggested the abolition of all distinguishing symbols and words and the abandonment of most of the elaborate rituals, an abandonment which became a feature of the next few years. The "Grand Firmament" also suggested the adoption of the signs and symbols of the "Sublime Perfect Masters" for universal use by all the Sects; and, in view of the fact that the "Sublime Perfect Masters" were a degree of the "Adelfia", over which the "Grand Firmament" ruled, and in view of that body's designs on the other Sects, the object of this proposal is obvious.

A congress was held at Geneva⁴ to decide on the course to be taken. Two of the "Grand Firmament"'s agents, who had remained in Piedmont after the revolution to revive sectarian activity, had been arrested, and the congress decided to send others to replace them. For this purpose Andryane was sent to Milan.

Andryane⁵ was a very unstable young man who had been General Merlin's aide-de-camp and had fled to Genoa to avoid imprisonment for debt. He became involved in sectarian activities and was made "Extraordinary Deacon" of the "Sublime Perfect Masters" to carry out the mission just referred to. We cannot form a very high idea of the "Grand Firmament"'s choice of instruments from this appointment. Andryane was arrested almost as soon as he arrived in Milan, all his papers were confiscated and much valuable information regarding the "Grand Firmament" and the European revolutionary movement fell into Metternich's hands. Andryane spent a long period of years with more deserving people in the Spielberg.

The "Grand Firmament" continued to work for many years, but always remained concealed; in fact we do not know the secret of its activities. The question will be considered further when I deal with the subversive aspect of the Carboneria. It changed its name and its location more than once. In the late twenties we hear of it under the name of "Grand Amphitryon" in Berne,⁶ from where it had to retire to Brussels. In 1830 it transferred itself back to Paris, still under the name of "Grand Amphitryon". After 1830 we

¹ pp. 218-225.

² p. 9.

³ Witt.

⁴ Nicolli, pp. 160-161.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 219-230, Austrian report.

⁶ Nicolli, p. 174. Luzio, Mazzini, p. 232.

hear nothing more of that body, we hear instead of a High Vendita, which fulfilled the "Grand Firmament"'s functions and is perhaps the "Haute Vente romaine" mentioned by Mrs. Webster. The only other hint we have of this secret body is a side reference in a letter written on the 11th of October, 1832, by Mazzini to La Cecilia, in which he refers to "Leagues, Vendite and Babilonia".¹ The line of demarcation between this body and the "Directing Committee"² is by no means clear, and some writers have confused the two. Nicolli, for instance, says that in 1830 the "Grand Firmament" consisted of 20 members of all nations, among them La Fayette, Benjamin Constant, Laffitte, Buonarroti and Louis Philippe himself. The names show that Nicolli mistook the "Directing Committee" for the "Grand Firmament". Buonarroti, expelled from Switzerland in 1824, was in Brussels and did not return to Paris until after the revolution of July, 1830.³ Nicolli probably misread Doria's depositions before the Austrian judges; Doria himself, moreover, admitted that he had not been in personal touch with the "Directing Committee".

The "Directing Committee" acted more in the open than the "Grand Firmament". It was composed of liberals and republicans who tried to foment revolution in all countries to secure constitutional liberty; it was said to favour a league of Latin peoples as against the Northern League of Sovereigns.⁴ Among its members were Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure, who, as we have seen, were "Charbonniers". It was not long before the Italian exiles had entered into relations with it. They had probably already begun to form committees of refugees in various countries; and it is not clear if these came into being under the auspices of the "Directing Committee" or whether they were founded independently and became connected later with the central authority.

An Italian committee⁵ had been set up in Paris very soon after the emigration, but we do not know when it began to undertake revolutionary activities. Porro and Radice were sent to London about 1823 to set up a similar committee of exiles there. We do not hear so much of the London committee as of those in Paris and Switzerland; but London remained an important Italian centre,⁶ especially when Mazzini arrived there in 1834, and it enjoyed the great advantage of being able to make use of England's far-flung communications all over the world.

As the "Directing Committee" grew in importance, it set up a regular organisation. Doria⁷ gives us a picture of the revolutionary organisation as it was in 1830. The "High Committee", as he calls it, appointed "Vice Committees", that is sub-committees, to deal with individual countries, as in the case of Italy. Most Carbonari, says Doria, were ignorant of this "High Committee's" existence. He himself, though a Grand Master of the Carbonari in Spain, had never communicated with it directly, because in Spain he was under Pepe and in Italy under Passano. There were besides representatives from all the various countries, who may have been called to assist at the deliberations of the "High Committee" or its "Vice Committees". We have one instance, in the case of the Italian sub-committee, of the attendance of an outside delegate, as will be described later. The "Vice Committees" in their turn communicated with the High Vendita which were set up in the various countries to exercise local control. The Italian sub-committee at one time took the name of "Società dell'emancipazione italiana" (Society for the emancipation of Italy).⁸

¹ Melegari, p. 80.

² See p.

³ Vannucci, p. 445.

⁴ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 128.

⁵ Radice papers. Nicolli, p. 162.

⁶ Doria, quoted by Luzio, Mazzini, p. 306.

⁷ Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 370-371.

⁸ Nicolli, p. 175. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 625, vol. iii., p. 418. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 258 et subsequ.

Vannucci¹ seems to suggest that it became a separate Sect under this name, but this is very unlikely.

We have little knowledge of how this organisation grew up. Gualterio² tells us that at the time of the Greek revolution a committee known as the "Greek Committee" was formed in Paris to help the insurgents; that it soon became cosmopolitan and began to direct the activities of agitators all over Europe, especially in France and Italy; that La Fayette and Dupont de l'Eure became members; and that among those who corresponded with it were the sons of Louis, King of Holland, Charles and Louis Bonaparte, who at that time were intriguing in the Papal States with the Sects. This "Greek Committee" may have been no more than one, perhaps the first, of the sub-committees of the "Directing Committee", or even the "Directing Committee" itself cloaked temporarily under a different name.

As stated, the sub-committees were in touch with a local High Vendita in each country. The "High Assembly", which acted in Naples at the time of the revolution, according to Doria,³ was independent of all other Carbonaro authorities; and after the revolution it had to dissolve itself, as it had become too conspicuous during the movement. The supreme direction of all Carbonaro activities in Italy was then assumed by the "Directing Committee" in Paris and an ordinary High Vendita was left in existence in Naples in a subordinate capacity. Witt gives another version of the dissolution of the High Carbonaro authority in Naples. He states that the High Vendita amalgamated by agreement with the "Grand Firmament". But the High Vendita he refers to was a small body and cannot have been the High Assembly I have described, with its membership of nearly 200. It may have been an esoteric group which had been in close touch with the "Grand Firmament". The whole story is mysterious and will be referred to again.

Meanwhile an executive committee gathered in Genoa.⁴ It is not clear if it was the creation of the Parisian centre, or of the Carbonari in Italy, as is possible, for there were several influential Good Cousins in Genoa then: Maghella, Count Cattaneo, who was Romagnosi's pupil, and Ferrari. In any case this committee came into contact with Paris.

About 1824 the Marquis Passano, the old "Guelf" and Carbonaro, whom we last saw as French Consul at Ancona, arrived in Genoa. He had been arrested in 1817 by the Papal authorities and had spent seven years in the fortress of San Leo. He now settled in Genoa, whence his family had derived its origin. He was an exceedingly plausible and persuasive person—in San Leo he even enrolled his confessor in the Carboneria—and he had a genius for getting out of scrapes. He became leader of the Genoese Committee, and the Parisian "Directing Committee" devolved on him and his Committee the direction over all Italian Good Cousins.⁵ This body became a High Vendita and assumed the name of Speranza (Hope) at some unknown date.⁶ Another member of the High Vendita was the Spanish-Corsican adventurer, Marquis Raymond Doria, Grand Master of the Carboneria in Spain. In Genoa Passano met Joseph Mazzini, a young barrister and a patriot and a man of exceptional intellectual powers; and he enrolled him in the order, recognising his worth.⁷ Mazzini adopted the name of Philipp Strozzi and became the greatest Good Cousin of them all, though in the end he did more than anyone to destroy the Society. His zeal soon raised him to the office of Secretary to the High Vendita. This

¹ p. 352.

² Vol. i., pp. 28-29.

³ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 371.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 144.

⁶ Nicolli, pp. 177-178. Mazzini, pp. 13-15.

⁷ Mazzini says Doria initiated him, but the facts do not fit. It must have been Passano. Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 36-37.

High Vendita was composed of nine members,¹ but the only recognised offices were those of Grand Master, held by Passano, Secretary, held by Mazzini, second Secretary, Antony Doria, and Treasurer, Boggiano, a Fourth Degree Carbonaro and member of the 33° in Freemasonry. These four men constituted an executive commission which ruled the Order in Italy. There was no vestige of ritual or ceremonial in their meetings.² This commission passed sentences of death.

In Genoa itself the Good Cousins found a convenient meeting place in the library managed by Antony Doria,³—no relation of the informer Raymond Doria—where people used to meet to discuss the literary affairs of the day. Antony was one of the cleverest and most resourceful of all Good Cousins and was on good terms with the authorities. Carbonari in Genoa, according to Raymond Doria's deposition,⁴ were very numerous: he gives 75 names. Good Cousins were also numerous among government officials.

The "Speranza" maintained a wide system of communications with foreign countries, keeping in touch with Carbonaro groups in Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, England, Germany, Poland and Holland.⁵ In Greece Passano's brother Antony ruled the Carboneria from Corfu.⁶ Gibraltar became an important entrepôt for the Carboneria between Europe and America, owing to its position as a port of call; and Malta became a useful centre for operations in South Italy. Genoa's position as one of the principal seaports of the Mediterranean greatly assisted the High Vendita in this task:⁷ special use was made of the sea captains who called at the port, many meetings were held on these vessels and important papers were often stowed on board, as in the case of the "Spartano", to be mentioned later. Doria gives us the interesting information that Consular offices of the United States were often meeting places of the Carbonari and repositories for documents.⁸

There is little doubt that the establishment of this High Vendita led to a revival of Carbonarism. In theory it was superior to the High Vendita before 1821 in that it ruled the Carboneria in all Italy, nominally at any rate. The High Vendita of Naples was subordinate to Passano. Passano said there were High Vendite in Milan and Venice, and it was said that there was a Vendita in Trieste also. An example of the "Speranza's" activity is a mission of Mazzini and Bini to Tuscany, when a Vendita was founded at Leghorn.⁹ The High Vendita maintained the strictest discipline over the Sectaries. Marquis Spinola was ordered to leave Genoa at few hours notice, because he had interfered unbidden at a meeting between Passano and Bülow, son of the Prussian general, a German Carbonaro. Spinola went to Milan, where he was arrested; and he figured at the state trials,¹⁰ which will be referred to later. Bülow also was held to have been guilty of infractions of the rules and was summoned to a midnight meeting in the Acquasola, the public park of Genoa, to be admonished. He had heard, however, of the Sectaries' midnight executions and lost his nerve when Passano began to scold him, and fainted, greatly to Passano's embarrassment, as Bülow had to be carried to a doctor's house and awkward explanations had to be given. Bülow also fled from Genoa. Before Mazzini left for his mission to Tuscany, he and Bini and other Carbonari were summoned to a meeting at night at a place outside Genoa, where Passano met them and pointed out to them, as a warning against treason, two persons muffled up to the eyes who were being sent to execute a sentence of death on Lopez, a

¹ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 236.

² *ibid.* pp. 376, 380, 396.

³ *ibid.* pp. 226, 405.

⁴ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 308.

⁵ Niccoli, p. 174.

⁶ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 42.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 52.

⁸ *ibid.* p. 395.

⁹ Mazzini, pp. 21-22.

¹⁰ Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 57-62, 276-277.

Spanish Carbonaro who had betrayed Doria in Spain. Mazzini was disgusted, as he imagined this was merely a piece of bye-play got up to impress him.¹ Actually, the only reason that the two emissaries did not fulfil their task was that Lopez had already died. One of these emissaries was Albinola, who was tried at Milan with Spinola.

All over Italy the Good Cousins did not allow themselves to be discouraged after the severe blow they had suffered. Their grievances were increased rather than diminished and their activities were resumed after a short time, though of course underground. Under the attentions of the police the Sectaries in Italy split up, coalesced and threw off shoots more than ever, and in this manner maintained their existence. Doria says the practice had become universal to keep the Vendite isolated from each other, no intercourse being allowed between members of different Vendite, and still less with Carbonari of a different State. Doria himself, though created Grand Master in Spain by General Pepe, was never received by the High Vendita of Turin.

The new situation led also to other changes in the nature of the Carboneria. Its elaborate ritual and rich symbolism tended to disappear,² for it became too dangerous to conduct the long ceremonies; and it was found necessary to adopt simpler emblems, which were less easy to discover. Resentment at the hostility of the Church caused the wane of the religious side of Carbonarism, and the need for semi-religious ceremonial ceased. Foreign influences helped this tendency. As we have seen, the offshoot of the Carboneria planted in France, the new "Charbonnerie", found the Italian ritual too complicated and out of keeping with the feeling of the time in France. In reacting on the parent Society, its tendency was anti-religious. The "Grand Firmament", as we have seen, had advised simplification of ritual, and its doctrine was bitterly opposed to the Church. Jacobinism and anti-clericalism had gained greater vogue in France and Spain than in Italy, and with the growth of foreign influence foreign views became more prominent.

The character of the Carbonari's methods also changed. Before 1821 there were few murder plots and few assassinations took place. After the revolutions violence increased, especially in the Romagna, where feuds with the reactionary sects were bitter, and daggers were freely used; and even poisonings are mentioned.

Nicolli³ suggests also that cosmopolitan views were held more widely in the Sect; the Sectaries were beginning to aim at one identical constitution for all nations, namely a universal republic, for, owing to disgust with the conduct of the sovereigns of the time, who so freely broke their pledged word, monarchy had fallen with many liberals into disfavour. He adds that those who held these more extreme views were nobles and their number was restricted. No doubt closer contact with sects from other countries of Europe led to wider views, and we shall see that Nicolli's statement contains much that is true, with certain reservations.

Such was the condition of the Carboneria during the years between 1821 and 1831. It had what was, in theory, a good organisation with a proper hierarchy and chain of responsibility, from the "Directing Committee" in Paris through the national sub-committees, the High Vendite, the local groups and the innumerable offshoots of the Society. Yet the organisation in practice did not work efficiently. Among the emigrants, as we shall see, divisions arose and the "Speranza's" action was not very effective. The various risings which took place before 1831 were more the result of local enterprise than of the High Vendita's action; and it failed to co-ordinate or check these movements. Mazzini found its action sluggish, timid and slow.

¹ Mazzini, p. 20.

² Nicolli, p. 174.

³ *ibid.*

To conclude the history of the "Speranza", its existence was brought to an end largely by the betrayal of Raymond Doria. According to his own account, he was deeply impressed with the danger from the more subversive portion of the Sectarian movement and he decided to betray all the chiefs in Paris into the hands of the police.¹ His hand was forced by the outbreak of the July revolution in Paris in 1830, which drove Charles X. from the throne. The Paris revolutionary committee was sending imperious orders to start a rising in Italy.² Doria himself had become entangled in a sordid amorous intrigue with a married Giardiniera, Maria Davino, and had to leave Genoa. Accordingly he felt he could no longer delay his revelations and he told all that he knew to Count Venançon, the governor of Genoa. Passano and Mazzini were arrested. They had incautiously conferred the degree of Master Carbonaro on a self-styled Major Cottini, who was a police agent, and Passano had been rash enough to initiate him into Freemasonry. After making his revelations Doria left for Marseilles to play the role of agent provocateur. The Piedmontese authorities were not eager at the time to persecute political prisoners, and Charles Felix himself said he wanted only an investigation, not a condemnation. Possibly the Good Cousins in government employment also exercised some influence.³ Doria's warnings were disregarded and the two Carbonaro leaders released on the score of insufficient proof of their guilt. The outbreak at Modena in February, 1831, soon afterwards, justified Doria to some extent and he returned to Genoa,⁴ but as he could not make any impression in Piedmont he finally asked to be sent to Milan, to make his statement before the Austrian authorities, as will be related later. Needless to say, the Carbonari tried to punish him, and at least two attempts were made on his life.⁵

The arrest of the leading officers led to the dissolution of the Speranza, and the "Directing Committee" in Paris sent orders, through its agent Asperino, that the High Vendita in Naples should assume the general direction of the Carboneria in Italy.⁶ Of this body we know nothing more, and possibly it ceased to exist soon after. In Genoa Passano was succeeded in the leadership of the Good Cousins by Marquis Cattaneo.⁷

THE CARBONERIA IN THE SEVERAL STATES IN 1821-1831.

The history of the Carboneria in the individual states of the Peninsula consists largely in the rise and disappearance of numerous Sects, most of which were branches of the Carboneria. The names and such details of their rituals and organisation as we know will be found in Appendix I.; here only the main features and principal events will be dealt with.

In Piedmont, though the repression after the rising of 1821 had been severe, once Charles Felix had dealt with the delinquents and felt safe on his throne, he did not rule oppressively,⁸ and his government even sent the exiles some relief money from their confiscated properties. The Sects did not die out, and Witt⁹ gives us a picture of their state after the failure of the revolution, which is especially interesting for the evidence he gives of the connection between the "Sublime Perfect Masters" and the Carboneria. He was arrested and imprisoned near Geneva just before undertaking his duties as Inspector of the Carboneria. On his bed in the cell of one of the prisons in which he was

¹ Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 29-31.

² *ibid.*, p. 63.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 73-79. Nicolli, p. 182, suggests Maghella may have had a hand.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 83-89.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 90.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 338.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 402.

⁸ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 369. Poggi, vol. ii., p. 394.

⁹ Witt, pp. 108, 112, 134.

confined he found a note, on which was written: "Whoever you may be who enter into this room, read carefully what is written over the door". It bore the following marks:—



The first mark is of course that of Freemasons, the second that of the Carbonaro Apprentices, the third that of a Church of "Sublime Perfect Masters,"¹ and the fourth perhaps that of the Society for "European regeneration". Over the door was written: "Be you guilty or innocent, never admit your crime", followed by the same four marks. A footnote in Witt's book gives the following marks, which vary slightly from those given above: • • • Carbonari,

• • Society of "European regeneration", (• • •) Church of "Sublime Perfect Masters" (• • • •) Synod of "Sublime Elects".¹

As we have seen from trials of the Lombards, the advice to admit nothing was excellent; and the Sectaries must have had some influence to enable their notes to be delivered in prison. Witt was later handed over to the Austrian authorities; but he escaped and tried to make his way to safety through Piedmont. During the whole of his adventurous journey he was guided and protected by the "Sublime Perfect Masters" and the "Federates".² Though the "Sanfedists" discovered him, the counter espionage of the Sectaries was effective and in the end he managed to cross into Switzerland. He says that he found nuclei of the Sectaries in almost every place; and that discontent with Charles Felix' rule was growing and the number of the "Federates" was increasing.

Niccoli³ gives us several names of minor Societies—see Appendix I. The Carbonari remained numerous, even among government officials.⁴ Argenti said at his trial that Doria had told him four-fifths of the population were Carbonari, which is obviously nonsense.⁵ The chief centre of activity had been transformed to Genoa, where, as we have seen, the High Vendita for the whole of Italy was established. Argenti⁵ said, contrary to our expectations, that the Genoese Carboneria's aim was to ensure Charles Albert's succession to the throne as a constitutional king and to oppose any claims Francis of Modena might have put forward. In Genoa one would have expected republican tendencies. But though the Sects persisted in Piedmont, they made no open move; in fact the only attempt at a conspiracy occurred, shortly before the death of Charles Felix. An Association known as the "Circoli" (Circles),⁶ which probably was not Carbonarian at all, was formed by some liberal young men, most of whose names became famous in the annals of the Risorgimento, James and John Durando and Bersezio, all in the King's Gardes-du Corps, Brofferio, the lawyer, Montezemolo and Ribotti.⁷ It is not clear what actually happened. John Durando maintained that it was but a young men's ebullition;⁸ Brofferio, on the other hand, asserted that it was serious,⁹ but then Brofferio was always serious. It was intended to present a petition to the King pointing out the evils

¹ The document in the Record Office gives a different sign.

² Witt, pp. 108, 112, 134.

³ p. 173.

⁴ Luzzio, Mazzini.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 289.

⁶ Vannucci, p. 419.

⁷ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 261-262.

⁸ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 434. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 261.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 115.

under which the country was groaning, and demanding a constitution. John Durando added that the plotters were supporters of Charles Albert and were looking forward to his accession. All this was harmless, but the authorities were alarmed by the fact that it coincided with the date fixed for an abortive design on the part of Pisani and other exiles, as will be described later, to raid Savoy from Lyon,¹ though actually no connection was proved between the two groups. Some of the petitioners were arrested, others, including the Durando brothers, fled; but, with the exception of Bersezio who proved obstinate and spent seven years in the fortress of Fenestrelle, all were released. This was the end of the "Circles" in Piedmont. They were given also the name of "Cavalieri della libertà" (Knights of Liberty), according to Berkeley;² and a group of that name existed in the Papal States between 1835 and 1843. Its membership was very illustrious, including L. C. Farini and Mamiani of the Papal States, Fanti, Cialdini, Fabrizi and Panizzi of Modena. We cannot say whether the Piedmontese and the Modenese group were connected, and whether the connection occurred when most of those mentioned were in exile. Panizzi we know had fled to Switzerland³ as early as 1822, which seems to imply that the Knights were formed in exile and had associations with friends who had been able to remain in their own country. As already stated, no other attempt took place in Piedmont and the Sectaries steadily diminished in numbers and power.

In the Austrian territories the activities of the Carbonari⁴ seldom appeared on the surface owing to the strict police supervision. The Police did succeed in unearthing the "Constituzione cattolica apostolica romana" (Roman Catholic Apostolic Constitution);⁵ but in spite of its name, this association was only a swindle. A few ingenious scoundrels, said to have come from Piedmont, invented this society as a means for filling their pockets by collecting subscriptions and selling certificates. They numbered four and all duly found themselves in gaol. The fraud cannot have been profitable, as only two proselytes had been registered. Tuscany remained almost undisturbed by the Sects, and such activities as took place can best be considered in connection with developments after 1831.

In South Italy a vague "Lega europea" (European League) had been in existence in Apulia before the revolution. According to Dito a definite Society of that name was founded in 1820 within the Carboneria and had the usual Carbonari aims.⁶ It had subordinate branches in the provinces and may have had relations with the "Federates" of North Italy. The "Patriotti europei" had also survived and succeeded in saving some of the victims of the repression.⁷ As early as the 2nd of July, 1821, Canosa, back at his old post of Director of police, discovered a plot at Catanzaro in Calabria. In 1822 the "Lega europea" planned a revolt of the Vendite at Laurenzana and Calvello, but this plot also was discovered, and more courts-martial were held. In Calabria the "Cavalieri di Tebe" (Knights of Thebes) and the "Cavalieri Europei"⁸ (European Knights) had come into existence. Several of them were brought to trial by de Mattheis, Canosa's jackal. But the manner in which the trial was conducted completed the Austrian Marshal Frimont's disgust, already aroused by the floggings which had taken place on Ferdinand's return.

According to La Cecilia,⁹ who was imprisoned, tried and exiled to Tuscany, the "Calderai", who had revived somewhat after the return of their

¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 434. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 261.

² p. 82. Note.

³ Giglioli.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 186.

⁵ Leti, p. 85.

⁶ Dito, pp. 256-277.

⁷ Ayala, quoted in Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 87.

⁸ Poggi, vol. i., p. 410.

⁹ p. 42.

old protector Canosa, had plotted or were reputed to be plotting to take ample revenge on the liberals. Houses in Naples had been marked with red and black crosses. A barrister, Nicholas Chiricone-Clercon, of whom we shall hear more, knew Frimont personally and brought these rumours to the Austrian commander's notice. At Frimont's demand Canosa was dismissed, Medici set in his place, and De Mattheis was prosecuted.¹

In 1823 the police, Austrian and Neapolitan, became aware of the presence of the "Ordini" (Orders) in Naples, of the "Scamicciati" (Shirtless ones), who were founded in Solerno by Goffredo and spread to Caserta,² where the royal country-palace was situated, and of the "Maestri Supremi o Muratori perfetti" (Supreme Masters or Perfect Masons), who are said to have been founded on the ruins of the Neapolitan Carboneria in Naples and aimed at the overthrow of all monarchies.³ It may be well, however, that the name of this last Sect was but a distorted form of that of the second degree of the "Adelfi".

Yet another Sect had been formed in 1822, the "Riforma di Francia" (Reform of France), which was discovered next year, 1823, and then bore the name of "New Reform of France", perhaps indicating some alteration in constitution. As prudence dictated that meetings and the use of documents, like certificates, should be reduced to a minimum, only signs and words distinguished the members of this Sect. Its discovery led to its disappearance from the mainland. The government's action was in fact effective, and for several years the Carbonari did not come into the open, despite the continued existence of the High Vendita, carefully hidden from the police.

In Sicily the Carboneria's activity increased in proportion to its waning on the continent.⁴ Old Vendite were restored and new ones founded and new variations of the Order appeared. Risings were planned in Palermo, Catania, Messina and Termini for the 12th of January, 1822, and tumults took place which led to arrests and the condemnation, on the 29th of the month, of 14 Sectaries, of whom four were executed.⁵ Another rising, planned for the 18th of May the next year, met with no better success; two leaders were executed and others put into gaol. Following earlier precedents, the Carbonaro Gaetano Abela worked among the prisoners, and two revolts, in the gaols of Palermo itself and the island of Favignana, took place. Carbonarism also continued to be popular in the army. In April and September, 1823, risings were engineered by the Good Cousins themselves in Messina, where the Vendite were known as Families. The affiliated Societies also raised their heads. The "Nuova riforma di Francia", suppressed in Naples, reappeared in the island: Vincent Errante tried to introduce it among the prisoners in Palermo gaol. In the same year three priests were executed for Carbonarism.⁶ Yet all these failures did not stop the spread of the Carboneria. A new Vendita was founded in Messina in July, 1824, the "Gioventù avveduta" (Prudent Youth); and there was an alarm, unfounded according to Nicolli, that the "Theban Knights" had come across from Calabria. In 1826 there was renewed activity, the foundation of a new Sect in Messina, the "Repubblica", and the appearance of the "White Pilgrims" in Sicily. These hoped to obtain help from England, and, though this hope was bound to be disappointed, the British possession of Malta began to play an increasingly important part in Carbonarian history. The "White Pilgrims" eventually changed their name to the "Seven Sleepers" and returned to the continent.⁷

¹ Ayala, quoted in Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 87.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 118-124.

³ Dito, pp. 270-272.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 164.

⁵ Dito, p. 271. Poggi, vol. i., p. 409, thinks the rising at Termini was a blind, but that at Palermo serious. This was betrayed by one Landolino.

⁶ Cesaresco, Italian independence, p. 270.

⁷ Nicolli, p. 167.

A Vendita, the "Astro del Mediterraneo" (Star of the Mediterranean) had been founded in Malta in 1815 by Tordo, an old Napoleonic soldier.¹ Owing to its proximity to South Italy, Malta often formed a refuge for the Carbonari when the pursuit became too hot in their own country. In 1827 the "Società Pitagorica" (Pythagorean Society) set up communications with the island, as also did the shortlived "Veri Patriotti" (True Patriots). General Carascosa and Colonel de Concili were in the island at this time and are said to have approached Lord Cochrane on the subject of making a raid.² Later still the Modenese Fabrizi brothers set up there a branch of the "Veri Italiani" (True Italians).³

In this manner the Carboneria in Sicily continued its turbulence, with no great success. It was on the continent that the most considerable rising of these years took place. We have seen that a branch of the French "Philadelphes" had settled in Apulia and had been absorbed by the Carboneria. In 1825⁴ some Good Cousins adopted the name for a new Society, the "Filadelfi". In that year nothing, however, occurred beyond a small plot in which some "White Pilgrims" were arrested and some units of the Civic Guards, who had been implicated, were dissolved.⁵ In 1827 the "Filadelfi" felt strong enough to venture on a more serious attempt. The news of Navarino had heartened the liberals, and the Sect had grown considerably in power: it had three High Chambers, in Naples, Rome and Paris, and connections with La Fayette and Capo d'Istria, the minister of the Tzar Alexander I. Its membership was numerous and drawn chiefly from the professions, the Church and the army and the younger men generally. It was in those old hotbeds of Carbonarism, the provinces of Salerno and Avellino, that it had made its strongest growth under the leadership of Antony Gallotti. The leaders in Naples were Migliorati and Canon de Luca. In 1828 the time seemed ripe for action, as in Paris the moderate government of Martignac ruled, the Greek revolt was succeeding and the Holy Alliance was crumbling after the defection of England. Accordingly it was decided to begin the rising in the valley of the Cilento in the province of Salerno some time between the 25th May and the 25th of June. Gallotti enlisted the help of the Capozzoli brothers,⁶ local landowners, who after 1821 had taken to the mountains and become brigands. Unfortunately in June the Austrian police traced a rumour that Florestano Pepe and Joseph Poerio were to land in Calabria; and, though we do not know of any connection between these exiles and the plot, it placed the authorities on their guard.⁷ Worse still, Gallotti had revealed the whole scheme unwittingly to an agent provocateur. When the rebels rose on the 27th of June the government was ready. Under the leadership of Gallotti, Migliorati, the priests De Luca and da Celle and the ubiquitous Piedmontese leader, Bianco, the rebels surprised fort Palinuro, occupied some villages, hoisted the tricolour and proclaimed the French Constitution. Then General Del Carretto, who had been a Carbonaro and Pepe's chief of staff at the action of Rieti,⁸ came down upon them and overpowered such resistance as was offered, not without atrocities, like the burning and ravaging of the village of Bosco. Twenty-six rebels were executed,⁹ among them the two priests. The Capozzoli fled to Corsica, but a year later were lured on board a Neapolitan ship,

¹ Vannucci, p. 326.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 416.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 630.

⁴ Nicolli, pp. 168-172.

⁵ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 102-103.

⁶ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 395.

⁷ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 104. Lebezeltern, the Austrian Minister in Naples, expresses the wish that they had landed, as they would have had a warm reception. If it was indeed Florestano Pepe who was concerned in this rumour it is the only plot in which, as far as we know, he participated.

⁸ Poggi, vol. i., p. 522.

⁹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 635.

kidnapped, brought to Naples and shot.¹ Gallotti and Bianco escaped. This was the last serious rising in South Italy until 1848. In that same year, 1828, the existence of the High Vendita was discovered by the authorities. As we have seen, it became two years later the central Carbonarian authority for all Italy.

The chief ground of Sectarian activity during this period was undoubtedly the Papal States and the neighbouring Duchies of Parma and Modena. As these territories had not risen in 1821, they had not suffered to the same extent as Naples and Piedmont, and the various Carbonarian Societies continued their plots and their feuds with the "Santa Fede" with undiminished zeal. Rome itself remained almost free from Sects, the only Societies we know to have been found there were the "Braccia" (Arms), one of the usual "Economies" of the Carboneria, in January, 1821,² and, next year, the "Eremiti" (Hermits),³ who arose in the Roman prisons and are said to have spread to South Italy later. In Rome itself the "Hermits" were suppressed and their founder, Pannelli, sent to trial. Later, in 1828, a Neapolitan priest from Maddaloni⁴ called Piccilli tried to found a Masonic Lodge,⁵ but it was discovered and 26 men were arrested. Undeterred he founded a Vendita in 1830,⁶ but was again discovered and this time sent to trial. The only other Carbonaro activities in Rome itself that we know of were an attempt by Targhini, the son of Pius VII.'s chef, to form a Vendita and his revenge by killing one and wounding another of those who made his scheme fail,⁷ and an attack on the spy Pontini, who was stabbed in 17 places, but managed to recover all the same.⁸ Later he went to Genoa, in 1829, but Passano managed to persuade the police to expel him.

The real focus of the Sects in the Papal States was, as before, the Northern part of the Papal territories. At first the government continued to treat the Sects without too much severity, to the annoyance of the Austrian authorities,⁹ but this attitude changed when the information garnered in the trials of Maroncelli and his friends was placed at the disposition of the Curia. The facts it contained could not be ignored, especially as reports were received of fire signals¹⁰ along the Po and in other parts of the country shaped like swords, columns and other symbolical figures. Nor were all Carbonaro activities so harmless. The use made by the government of the reactionary sects, whose persecutions destroyed all the good effect which leniency might have had, alienated its subjects. The liberal Sectaries retaliated on their enemies and several officials were stabbed.¹¹ The result was that sympathy was aroused for the liberals even in their crimes and moral sense became blunted.

A special commission was appointed under Cardinal Rivarola and by 1825 508 Sectaries had been examined and 473 condemned, among them Count Laderchi of Faenza, his son Camillo, who had lost his head at the time of Pellico's trial and made fatal revelation, and Zuboli¹² and others, whose depositions have been so useful to us in our investigation. There were no

¹ This is the version given by La Cecilia. As he was in Corsica about that time he probably knew the truth. Another version is that the Capozzoli feared to be extradited and returned to Calabria and were then caught and shot. Gallotti was extradited, but the French Government intervened in Naples and he was reprieved. La Cecilia was his private secretary in Corsica. La Cecilia, pp. 109-116.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 138.

³ Nicolli, p. 163.

⁴ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 389.

⁵ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 175.

⁶ Nicolli, p. 183. Vannucci, pp. 301, 325. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 263.

⁷ Poggi, vol. i., p. 491.

⁸ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 381.

⁹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 138.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 140-141.

¹¹ La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 350-351. Vannucci, pp. 311-312.

¹² *ibid.*

executions,¹ but the prisoners had their heads shaved and had to wear iron rings round their necks.²

After the trial Rivarola tried to effect a pacification and in Faenza married off 50 couples belonging to Carbonari and "Sanfedists" in one combined ceremony,³ but neither wholesale marriages nor wholesale arrests stopped the Sects. In 1825, after the commission had finished its work, a plot was discovered against the director of police Benvenuti,⁴ and shortly afterwards an attempt was made to assassinate Rivarola himself. Though the Jubilee Year, 1825, passed off without a revolt, over two hundred crimes were recorded,⁵ and in 1827 there was a particularly violent encounter between Carbonari and "Sanfedists".⁶ A further commission was accordingly set up under Cardinal Invernizzi in 1828.⁷ A free pardon was promised to all Sectaries who recanted and to all informers. Another 100 Good Cousins were condemned and this time five were executed. Thousands⁸ took advantage of the Papal offer and recanted and most of the condemned were set free after a term of imprisonment; but many refused to yield: not long after these condemnations a tree of liberty was planted in Cesena⁹ and the Pope had to promulgate fresh laws against the Sects.

In the Duchies of Parma and Modena nothing of note happened, in Parma on account of the mildness of the government, in Modena because of the rigorousness of the police surveillance, the only event of note being the murder in 1822¹⁰ in Modena of the director of police Besini, a renegade Carbonaro, by a "Summus Maestro Carbonaro" according to Witt.¹¹ The Modenese government gained an evil reputation for harshness; Modena was considered the only state in which people were condemned to irons for being Sectaries, even though they had not plotted, and Andreoli had been even executed. This may be considered an indication that in other States Sectaries were not unduly molested as long as they remained quiet.¹²

In this manner the Carboneria continued its struggle during these years, but the lost ground was not regained. According to Passano¹³ it numbered in 1830 25,000 to 30,000 adherents in the Austrian territories, 5,000 in Piedmont, 5,000 in Tuscany, Parma and Modena, 30,000 in South Italy, 20,000 in Sicily and 25,000 to 30,000 in the Papal States. These figures speak for themselves, when we compare them with the portentous numbers of 1814; they would indicate that membership had declined to one fifth of its former extent. Yet it was chiefly the weaker brethren who had deserted, those who remained were the more determined.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1831.

The recognition of Charles Albert as heir to the throne of Piedmont at the congress of Verona had left Francis IV of Modena profoundly dissatisfied, for his ambitions were blocked on every side.¹⁴ As the reactionaries had not helped him, he turned to other means; and when he discovered that there were liberal conspiracies afoot, he began to consider whether they might not be turned to his own profit. He began to show favour to some of the liberals in his Duchy,

¹ Nicolli, p. 156.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 162.

³ Poggi, vol. i., p. 495.

⁴ Leti, p. 118. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 133.

⁵ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., pp. 162-171.

⁶ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 391.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 353-354.

⁸ Farini, vol. i., pp. 22-23.

⁹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 389.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 375.

¹¹ pp. 181-183.

¹² Giglioli, p. 97.

¹³ Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 372-373.

¹⁴ The Piedmontese ambassador wrote in 1833 from Vienna that Francis was regarded as an ambitious agitator at the Austrian Court. Bianchi, vol. iv., p. 29.

notably to Menotti, a patriot of enlightened views, who desired the unification of Italy. Though he never fully committed himself, Francis met with considerable success in his efforts to win over some of the liberals. When he began his machinations, it is impossible to say, nor how the plan for a revolution originated. In 1829 Dr. Henry Misley, a liberal and Sectary of English extraction,¹ appeared in Paris and approached the revolutionary authorities on behalf of the Duke. In Paris trouble had been brewing for some time. The Bourbon dynasty was threatened not only by the republicans and liberals, but by its own kindred of the Orleans Branch, then headed by Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. A committee comprising, among others, Casimir Périer, Laffitte and Benjamin Constant,² was meeting at the house of the Duke of Orléans. It represented the bourgeois party, which favoured the dispossession of the legitimate line of the Bourbons and its replacement by the Orléanist branch. To further its object the committee approached La Fayette and Dupont de l'Eure of the "Revolutionary Directing Committee" and the possibilities of organising a joint movement were discussed. In this way the Duke of Orleans, whom some state to have been a Carbonaro, became one of the central figures of the revolutionary movement of the thirties.

Originally it was intended that Spain should rise first, to be followed by France, but at this point the possibility arose of enlisting the help of Francis of Modena. As the advantages of a rising in Italy, which would keep Austria occupied, simultaneously³ with that in Spain, were obvious, the allied "Directing Committee" and the Orleanists agreed to a plan in which Francis should assist their scheme with his money and in return Orléans would help him to gain Lombardy, the Duchies and the Legations and make him a constitutional King over these territories.

There was strong opposition to this plan. In Italy the Carbonari of the Papal States were at this time republican in their leanings and very disinclined to accept a constitutional King, and still less Francis, as their ruler⁴; and their distrust was shared by Porro, Buonarroti, Salfi and Linati among the exiles.

Among the emigrants divisions had been appearing. Once the original irritation caused by the defeat of 1821 had passed, many of the exiles, especially among the Piedmontese and Lombards, were disposed to forgive Charles Albert. They feared mob violence and a recrudescence of Jacobinism, they favoured a constitutional monarchy and still hoped that one day Charles Albert would change his mind and lead them. They were sufficiently wise, unlike the republicans, not to commit themselves too deeply either to a particular institution or to a particular individual. They upheld the principle that once the Italians were freed, they should be allowed to choose what form of government they liked. The leaders of this party were Marquis Caraglio and Marquis Arconati Visconti or Arconati for short. Mazzini testifies to the existence of this Moderate and Constitutional party in the "Emigration" from the very beginning.⁵ On the other side the republican element among the Carbonari had found strong support among the "Charbonniers" and in the revolutionary central authorities. Count Porro, who had recently taken the 6th Carbonaro degree⁶ wished to apply to Charles Albert the punishments for forsworn

¹ Cesaresco, *Liberation*, p. 52.

² Gualterio, vol. i., pp. 30-31.

³ Doria in his depositions says that though he had not been in contact with the "High Committee" in Paris he gathered from conversations that it was composed of 20 members, among whom were the Duke of Orleans, Benjamin Constant, Manuel, Laffitte, Odilon Barrot, Barthe, Pagès, Arago, Potter, Jourdan and General La Marque, Pene's friend. Luzio, *Mazzini*, pp. 370-371. Doria is here clearly wrong. From the membership this must have been the Orleanist Committee, or a joint body of Orleanists and Republicans to conduct the movement against Charles X.

⁴ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 46. La Cecilia, p. 92.

⁵ Luzio, *Mazzini*, p. 111.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 412.

Carbonari and he worked closely with Count Bianco and La Cecilia, both republicans, and the extremist Buonarroti. Ciani and Belgioioso seem to have been on the whole on the side of the republicans, but remained friendly with the Albertists. As under French influence the Carboneria proper became more cosmopolitan, more dependent on France and more republican, the Albertists gradually withdrew from the Sect. The republicans themselves were not united: eventually some enthusiasts, tired of subserviency to France and the French philosophy of Cousin and Laffitte and Guizot, formed a patriotic Italian movement, which seceded from the main Society. These divisions were reflected in the Italian Subcommittee in Paris.

It was not surprising that neither the Albertists nor the republicans looked with favour on the candidature of Francis of Modena to an Italian crown.¹ Misley² himself was not wholly trusted, Mazzini being among the doubters: some regarded Misley as Francis' agent provocateur and this impression was deepened later by those who tried to defend Francis' intrigues with the liberals and stated that Misley had offered to keep the Duke informed on the subject of any Sectarian activities which he discovered during his travels. I have not found any evidence against Misley on this point. Poggi³ exonerates him and his contemporary, Giglioli, vouches for his honesty⁴ and worked with him long after the revolution of 1831. Misley seems to have been guilty of nothing worse than the folly, shared with many, of trusting Francis to help a liberal movement, just as the Neapolitans had been foolish enough to trust Ferdinand. In spite of this opposition and these suspicions the Carbonaro Committee in London and the "Grand Amphitryon" both approved the scheme and the Romagnol Carbonari were won over: they probably thought Francis could be used as a tool⁵ and then discarded. Menotti accordingly planned a widely spread rising throughout the country between the Po and the Appennines. According to Cantù,⁶ the Duke of Modena, on being informed of what had been arranged, protested to two persons, thought to have been Menotti and Misley, that he would rule constitutionally. Menotti's plan, which envisaged the ultimate unity of Italy, evidence of the progress of this idea among the Carbonari since 1821, was sent to Misley on the 12th of December, 1830, submitted to the committees of Paris and London and approved. Menotti then set to work. Among others he approached the Bonapartes.⁷

The unfortunate relations of the conqueror, most of whom were then in Italy, had come under suspicion at the time of the conspiracies in 1814 and were harried from pillar to post. After Waterloo they mostly settled in the Papal States, where the Holy Father received them benignly and even made Lucien Prince of Canino. The Papal government left them on the whole in peace. The powers of the Holy Alliance and in particular Austria were not so considerate, and with some reason. From the very beginning the Bonapartists were in communication with the Italian Secret Societies. Later Francis I. of Naples accused Joseph and Jérôme of being at the head of all the Secret Societies of Italy.⁸ As it happens these two Napoleonids were the most peaceful of the whole family and do not enter further into my story.

The suspicions seem to have been more justified as regards Louis, ex-King of Holland, who was reputed to have been at one time president of the "Concistoriali" or some division of that society.⁹ Still more suspect was Lucien, who was reported to have been a "Great Light" of the High Vendita

¹ Niccoli, pp. 189-191.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 268. Note.

³ Vol. ii., p. 57.

⁴ Giglioli, pp. 66, 67.

⁵ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 46.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 268. Note.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 265.

⁸ Bianchi, vol. i., p. 167. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 247.

⁹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 416.

of Ancona,¹ a designation which implies membership of both the "Guelfia" and the Carboneria. He was father-in-law to Prince Ercolani,² chief of the Guelfs and was even suspected of having been the founder of the "Black Pin" Society. It is not surprising therefore that Austria asked the Pope to keep a strict watch on him.³

But it was the sons of Louis and Hortense, Charles Napoleon and Louis Bonaparte, who were most deeply involved. As early as 1828 Louis had struck up a friendship with Giglioli in Florence, a Carbonaro and son of a Modena Carbonaro, to become later one of Mazzini's intimates.⁴ Menotti in 1830 entered into correspondence with Charles and Louis with results that we shall see.

Menotti was less fortunate in Tuscany. At an early stage he came to Florence, only to be snubbed by the local Carbonaro Committee reinforced by delegates from Leghorn, among whom was La Cecilia.

Menotti's scheming formed only the main plot. There were a large number of side plots; and the comic opera element was not absent. Charles Louis,⁵ Duke of Lucca, a lightheaded young man, chose that moment to be carried away with the idea of embracing the liberal cause and making himself King of Italy, of rivalling Francis of Modena, in fact. He was taken seriously by the Piedmontese exile Colonel Crezia and La Cecilia, who had just been expelled from Tuscany, for attending a dinner at which some officers spoke too freely concerning the revolution in France and sang the Marseillaise, and had taken refuge in Lucca. Charles Louis was made a Carbonaro and he drafted the constitution in accordance with which he intended to rule when King of Italy, and La Cecilia returned to Leghorn secretly with the document.⁶ The Leghorn Carbonari, who had helped to reject Menotti's proposals, now decided to embrace this madcap scheme, and started propaganda in favour of Charles Louis. Then came the big black crow in the shape of a sharp Austrian note to Lucca; and Charles Louis hastily expelled all the unfortunate liberals from his dominions.

The plan as arranged by the conspirators in Paris was never carried out. By threatening to repeal the "Charte," Charles X. precipitated events in France before either Spain or Italy was ready; and the rising of July, 1830, in Paris ended after three days' street fighting in the flight of Charles and the setting up of Orléans as Louis Philippe, King of the French. Orléans in this way had gained his object without the help of Francis.

The situation was radically changed. As the conspirators were now in power in France, it was hoped that they would support revolution elsewhere; and indeed it would have been of advantage to France that possible enemies should be fully occupied at home.⁷ Dupin, minister of war, declared that France would not suffer intervention by a State into the internal affairs of another; and a little later Laffitte and Marshal Sebastiani on the 27th of January⁸ confirmed this declaration.⁹ The intention behind these utterances, as far as France was concerned, was to avoid any moral obligation of intervening in Poland against Russia.¹⁰ The Italian Sectaries, however, believed that they only had to expel their rulers and France would come to their aid, if Austria tried to restore them. La Cecilia asserts that Misley had an interview with Louis Philippe himself in August, 1830.¹¹ La Fayette was consulted and he approached the Napoleonic

¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 133.

² Helfert, pp. 137, 336, 460.

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

⁴ Giglioli, p. 34.

⁵ La Cecilia, pp. 97-105.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 253-254.

⁷ Gualterio Documents, p. 81.

⁸ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 44.

⁹ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 105.

¹⁰ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 265.

General Sebastiani, who was a minister. Sebastiani replied favourably and La Fayette informed Misley.¹ After his interview with Louis Philippe, Misley went to Russia and was successful in gaining the Tzar's approval.² Buoyed up by expectations of this description Belgium rose in August, 1830, an outbreak took place in Holland, the Poles revolted in November, Greece was still at war with Turkey and there was agitation both in Germany and Spain. Carbonari were implicated almost everywhere under the guidance of the "Directing Committee";³ and it was not long before the "Committee" sent orders to Italy to carry into effect the intended rising.⁴ A police agent in Piedmont reported that a meeting had taken place in Genoa in the park of the Aquasola on the 6th of November, 1830, at which Passano had uttered the words: "L'ordre de la vengeance est arrivé."⁵ But it was not in Piedmont, as we have seen, that action was to be taken, but in the Papal States.

In Italy the prospects had improved. On the 30th of November Pius VIII died and the occasion seemed to the Papal States' liberals too good to be lost. Though the Pope himself was not hated and there was hardly any anti-religious feeling, the rule of the Cardinal Legates was deeply disliked.

While preparations with the main plan were being pressed forward in Italy, a number of side plots were being started abroad.

The Albertists collected a band of men at Lyon, which was equipped by means of funds provided by Princess Belgioioso and was to be led by Colonel Regis⁶ and Pisani⁷ on a raid across the frontier of Savoy to raise the Sectaries in Piedmont. The intention, apparently, was to kidnap Charles Albert and raise him to the throne as constitutional monarch⁸ once the insurgents had seized the power. It was not clear what they intended to do with Charles Felix. Mazzini, after being set free, reached Lyon just in time to enrol among the raiders.⁹ Undoubtedly a number of Frenchmen were implicated: many French liberals, chiefly workmen and probably "Charbonniers" were to join the raid;¹⁰ and later Charles Albert stated that he could prove that French officers were among the leaders.¹¹ This statement is supported to some extent by Doria,¹² who says that Louis Philippe called Colonel Crezia, who, as will be described shortly, had arrived in France, and others and had discussed the Lyon expedition with them. This is not improbable as, for a short time after Louis Philippe's accession, while his ambassadors were still denied recognition by the European sovereigns, including the King of Piedmont, the French government showed itself favourable to the liberals.

The subject of this expedition was discussed by the Italian Subcommittee in Paris towards the end of January, 1831. At this time the extremists dominated the Subcommittee and were trying to control all liberal activities, even when they were the work of those who disagreed with them, like the Albertists of the Lyon raid. In this case¹³ the Subcommittee decided to leave the initiative to the leaders at Lyon, but insisted that the final objective was to be the formation of a unitary republican government in Italy. A flamboyant and somewhat ridiculous proclamation was drafted and, very foolishly, published. It got into the wrong hands. Baron Joseph Poerio, on hearing of the decision, insisted on being

¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 628. Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 44.

² La Cecilia, p. 91.

³ Doria confirms this. Luzio, Mazzini, p. 320.

⁴ Niccoli, pp. 184-185.

⁵ Luzio, Mazzini pp. 256, 257.

⁶ Doria says Col. Ansaldi was to have been leader. Luzio, Mazzini, p. 411.

⁷ La Cecilia says Pisani worked for the Bonapartists. Melegari, pp. 83 (note).

⁸ Argenti's depositions at his trial, quoted by Luzio, Mazzini, p. 239.

⁹ Mazzini, pp. 44-47.

¹⁰ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 274. Note.

¹¹ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 53.

¹² Luzio, Mazzini, p. 336.

¹³ La Cecilia, pp. 135-174.

heard by the Subcommittee. He urged that there should be no dictation as to the form of government; the Italian people, once it was set free, must be allowed to choose whatever form it desired. His eloquence succeeded in dividing the Subcommittee; but later, when he had gone, Buonarroti reasserted himself and confirmed the previous decision, though some of the others had serious misgivings.

To complete the story of this expedition, the raiders were not yet ready when the main plan had matured. When the news of the rising in Modena arrived, the Subcommittee tried to hasten its start. La Fayette's help was enlisted and an agreement was come to with him that France should be given Savoy and Italy was to receive instead Corsica, a very illuminating sidelight on republican mentality, when one remembers the denunciations with which they assailed Cavour later, when he made a similar bargain with Napoleon III. At the end of February Crezia, Bianco and La Cecilia were sent to Lyon to accompany the raiders and to ensure that the Subcommittee's decision was carried out. But on their arrival they were summoned before Pisani, who told them roughly that he was in command. If they wanted to help, they could pick up a rifle each and take their place in the ranks, but he would not tolerate interference from anyone. So determined was his attitude that Bianco and Crezia did not even dare to explain who they were and what their mission was. Thus ended the Subcommittee's attempt to direct the first Savoy expedition. Meanwhile the unfortunate proclamation had come into the hands of the government. The Piedmontese court had by now got wind of what was being planned; it hastened to recognise Louis Philippe and came to an agreement with the King of the French by which all Piedmontese deserters, of whom there were a number among the Lyon raiders, were to be extradited. Alarmed by the Subcommittee's proclamation the French government instructed the mayor of Lyon to take action; and he broke up the gathering. The conspirators made a last attempt to carry out their scheme. The French contingent, to whom the mayor's measures did not apply, marched off, while the Italians made their way to a prearranged rendez-vous in small groups. But at the rendez-vous they were overtaken by a strong body of cavalry. Every courtesy was used towards Regis and his men, nevertheless the order to disperse was firmly enforced.¹

The presence of Crezia and La Cecilia in France was due to the following circumstances. When they were expelled from Lucca they went to Corsica² and found there the Neapolitan Gallotti, and together they did their best to preach the tenets of the Carboneria. The Carboneria had been introduced into the island from Naples, probably, however, before Gallotti had reached it.³ The three exiles met with considerable success, as liberalism was strong in Corsica, and in a short time they organised a force of 2,000 men in four battalions. Corsica became in fact another base for Carbonarian operations. Crezia and La Cecilia then went to Marseille and reported to Porro and his local Committee what they had done. Soon after, when the Subcommittee in Paris called up the local delegates, the two new arrivals were sent to Paris to represent Marseille.

In France the Carbonari had not been idle. According to Argenti,⁴ Borso di Carminati had collected at Bourges a number of Italians in order to fight in Spain where a civil war was raging. Radice was also involved, as he wrote to Lady Fitzgerald at this time that he had collected 700 Spaniards for the same purpose, but he did not intend to lead them himself, as he had hopes of being able to go to Italy.⁵ Soon after the disposal of the Lyon raiders

¹ La Cecilia, pp. 175-177.

² *ibid.*, pp. 118-122.

³ Mazzini, p. 50, thought Corsica was strongly Italian in sentiment at this time, which may explain La Fayette's readiness to exchange it for Savoy.

⁴ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 290.

⁵ Unpublished Fitzgerald correspondence.

Carminati met Mazzini and suggested to him the idea of making use of the Corsican base, collect what forces they could there and then land in Italy.¹ Other similar plans were on foot. William Pepe² had arrived in Paris soon after the revolution of July and called on La Fayette, with whom he had been corresponding for years. He asked for 2,000 men, 10,000 rifles and two frigates for a descent on Rome's harbour, Civita Vecchia, whence to gain the Abruzzi. It proved difficult to obtain the consent of the government and in the end Pepe, accompanied by Bianco, had to leave for Marseille hoping to find there what he desired. Misley, Linati and Mirri were said to have been similarly occupied. Misley wrote to Menotti from Paris that an Italian legion with 50,000 rifles would sail in French ships to Leghorn³ or Carrara. None of these expeditions had any result. On reaching Marseille with Bianco, Pepe was stopped by the French authorities, and the other schemes met with the same fate.

There had been also some discussion whether Metternich should be assassinated. A similar proposal had been mooted long before the breaking up of the "Speranza" in 1825⁴ on the occasion of the Austrian Emperor's visit to Genoa. Albinola⁵ said in his depositions at the trial in Milan in 1831 that most of the Lombard leaders were agreed that the Austrian minister should be put out of the way, and Count D'Adda was sent to Genoa to discuss the proposal.⁶ A meeting of members of the "Speranza" was held on an American ship, attended by Passano, Mazzini and others. Argenti was in favour of the plot, but found himself in a minority of one, as the Carbonari leaders argued that, though death should be inflicted on delinquent Carbonari, political assassination was not one of the Society's weapons. Argenti then tried to get the "Grand Amphitryon" to reverse the decision, we do not know with what success. Shortly afterwards he, Albinola and Spinola were arrested in Milan and brought to trial.⁷

There was a further complication, a Murattist movement.⁸ In March, 1831, soon after the actual outbreak in Italy, the Neapolitan ambassador in London reported that the Beau Sabreur's son, Achille Murat,⁹ had been conferring with Colonel Maceroni, his father's old follower who had accompanied him to Pizzo, in order to arrange a raid from the Ionian Islands or from Malta on South Italy. The movement seems to have been timed to correspond with the Carbonaro rising in the Papal States, and a report from an agent in April seems to indicate some connection with the Good Cousins. This report stated that Murattian emissaries had arrived in the Romagne, that several prominent Carbonari had recently returned from America and Portugal to participate in the enterprise, among them Apice, the reputed murderer of Giampietro in Naples in 1820. It was also rumoured that Carascosa and Pepe were preparing to send raiders in French ships to Sicily to support the Murattian expedition. Nothing further was heard of this alarming movement.

Meanwhile the main plan was coming into operation. On the 15th of January the Subcommittee in Paris met¹⁰ Misley, back from Russia, stated that the rising in Italy had been fixed for the 2nd or 3rd of February, but gave no details, merely saying that Menotti was in charge of everything. In view of the

¹ Mazzini, p. 48.

² Pepe Memoirs, pp. 286-332.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 268. Sforza, pp. 38-39. Poggi, vol. ii., p. 8, says that Misley also stated the whole Paris Subcommittee would sail in this expedition.

⁴ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 385.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 57, 283.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 35, 57-62, 276-277.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 384.

⁸ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 334.

⁹ He had been organising a Foreign Legion in Belgium, but was obliged to desist owing to diplomatic pressure by the Powers on Belgium. Giglioli, p. 92. Note.

¹⁰ La Cecilia, p. 131, was present at this meeting as well as that when Joseph Poerio had to be admitted. His testimony is invaluable.

manifold schemes just described to assist the rising, most of which, including the Lyon raid, were as yet immature, the Subcommittee asked for a postponement; but Misley refused. This caused serious misgivings to Buonarroti and his fellows; yet it is difficult to blame Misley and Menotti. The Parisian revolutionary authorities had had plenty of notice, they had sent instructions to Italy to carry out the rising long before; and, as we shall see, delay even of a day would have led to the scheme being nipped in the bud. The 5th of February was agreed on for the rising and Misley wrote accordingly to Menotti.

After the meeting Misley returned to Modena. It appears from correspondence between him and Menotti that Francis was now hedging.¹ He was shrewd enough to realise that Louis Philippe, once on the throne, would try to forget his revolutionary² past and prove to the world his respectability. He was hardly likely to offend Austria in order to fulfil his promises to Francis, now that circumstances had made it unnecessary for him to avail himself of the help Francis was to have given him according to their agreement. The whole scheme for the rising in Central Italy was going wrong.

The first move in Italy was made by the Bonapartes Charles Napoleon and Louis, sons of the ex-King Louis of Holland, with the Roman Carbonari. A plot was concocted which involved some of the Papal Guards, with whose help the Castle of St. Angelo was to be seized.³ Charles Napoleon's master of the horse, Vito Fedeli, took part in it and, as would appear from some correspondence, Countess Camerata, the daughter of the great Napoleon's sister Elise Bacciocchi⁴ was implicated. The Countess was in Vienna at the time. On the other hand Jérôme Bonaparte, Queen Hortense and Cardinal Fesch tried to dissuade the impetuous young men. The rising came to nothing, as Cardinal Bernetti discovered it in the nick of time and changed the disaffected guard, and, after a scuffle, the conspirators fled, the two Bonapartes finding a refuge in Tuscany.

Immediately after this attempt the Cardinals in conclave received a message from Francis IV. that a rising was imminent in the Romagne. Accordingly they hastened the election of Pope Gregory XVI. Louis Napoleon had the audacity to write him later summoning him to give up the temporal power.

For the description of the rising in the Duchies and the Romagne I have followed the account of Carnuti, which Pepe⁵ gives in his Memoirs. It seems, in spite of one or two obvious errors, the most consistent, and it is given by a participant. In Modena the rising had been planned for the 5th of February, 1831; and Menotti asked Carnuti of Bologna to do what he could to ensure a simultaneous rising in his city. On the 3rd, however, Nicholas Fabrizi, one of the Modenese leaders, was arrested. Francis had at last decided that it would be folly for him to brave Austria's anger. Menotti then determined to rise at once and on the 4th gathered some thirty friends in his own house, who were to be reinforced by armed bands from the countryside. But Francis was too quick for him: he led troops with guns against Menotti's house and after a brave defence Menotti was wounded and he and all his companions fell into the Duke's hands.⁶ Francis at once asked for the hangman from the Austrian authorities, but, before that functionary could arrive, the news came that Bologna had risen on the 4th. Thereupon Francis decided, greatly to Metternich's disgust,⁷ that discretion was the better part of valour and fled to Mantua, taking Menotti with him.

¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 625.

² Gualterio, vol. i., pp. 31, 70-71.

³ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 177. Nicolli, p. 187. La Farina, vol. iv p. 415. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 264.

⁴ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 30.

⁵ *Memoirs*, pp. 340-362.

⁶ La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 413-414.

⁷ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 48.

When Bologna heard what had happened at Modena, Cannuti was sent to the Modenese frontier to find out what the truth was; and he urged on his return an immediate rising and the dispatch of help to the Modenese, who would be exposed to the first Austrian onset. His news roused the city, and by the evening of the 4th of February the agitation had grown to such proportions¹ that the pro Legate Clarelli² assembled fifteen notables of the town and, at their advice, appointed a provisional committee of government. Next morning this committee proclaimed itself a provisional government and on the 8th declared that the Pope's temporal power was at an end. The Italian tricolour, red, white and green, was hoisted for the first time, as far as we can gather, as the national symbol and a national guard was formed. Meanwhile the revolt had spread to Imola, Faenza, Ravenna, Forlì and Cesena, all those Carbonaro centres of which we have heard so much, and from there to Rimini and Pesaro towards the South and Ferrara and Comacchio towards the North. In these last two towns the Austrian garrisons withdrew into the citadels and left the towns to the liberals.

In Modena, after the flight of the Duke, the Municipality assumed power, hoisted the Italian tricolour, formed a national guard, and on the 9th a provisional government was proclaimed. The town of Reggio had revolted on the 7th and formed a separate provisional government of her own.³ From Modena the revolt spread to Parma, where the agitation began on the 10th, and on the 13th a deputation was sent to Marie Louise asking for a constitution. Next day, however, the ex-empress also departed, though she was in no danger. In the Papal States a force had been gathered together under General Sercognani, another Napoleonic officer, who had been made commander of the National Guard,⁴ Colonel Olini, the conspirator of 1814,⁵ and Grabinski, a Pole; and Sercognani advanced towards Rome with 2,500 men. He found no opposition. Urbino, Sinigaglia and Osimo fell without resistance and on the 17th Ancona surrendered. Cardinal Benvenuti was sent by the new Pope to try and treat with the rebels; he was arrested and Sercognani pursued his advance to Macerata, Perugia, Spoleto and Ascoli, where Cannuti was made prefect, until he reached a position before Rome near Rieti, which shut its gates to him. There he stopped. The Papal authorities had been feeble in the extreme: they made practically no attempt to stem the rebel advance and their soldiers deserted in large numbers or went over to the insurgents. Farini⁶ says that the walled towns at least could have been held, but the governors fled or did nothing, with the exception of some feeble opposition by the prelate Zacchia at Ravenna, who in 1820 had dispersed Cicognani's band, and at Forlì and Rieti.⁷

On the 28th an assembly of notables and deputies was held at Bologna and voted the union of all Roman provinces, and on the 4th of March a constitution was proclaimed and a more permanent government set up. In Modena Nardi had been made by then dictator and he proclaimed Menotti's programme:⁸ "Italy is one, the Italian nation is one single nation". No. 4 of the "*Monitore moderno*", the liberal newspaper published during the rising, supported these sentiments, saying the people wanted to be Italians and no longer Modenese, Bolognese, Parmesans and Romagnols. General Zucchi deserted from the Austrian service, where he had served since Napoleon's time, and came to take the command of his native city's forces on the 24th. In spite, however, of Nardi's proclamation and of that of Bologna, there was little real unity. The liberal governments were composed, as usual, of inexperienced men who discussed

¹ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 52.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 181. La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 416-423.

³ Sforza, p. 87.

⁴ Poggi, vol. ii., p. 15.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 274.

⁶ Vol. i., p. 36.

⁷ Poggi, vol. ii., p. 15.

⁸ Cesaresco, *Liberation*, p. 53.

constitutions instead of acting. Modena had four different provisional governments in 15 days and a united government for the capital and Reggio was not set up until the 18th of March.¹ The liberals in general were also divided, as they had been in the past, between moderates, who would have been satisfied with reforms, and the more extreme Sectaries, who had gained their point as regards the overthrow of the temporal power; and the two parties could not co-operate. Though the Carbonari in particular were on the whole in favour of more energetic measures, as we know from the history of the previous ten years, there were even among them many moderates. Rome was proving too strong for Sercognani and the revolution seemed to have come to a stop.

On his side Bernetti² feared the Austrians no less than he did the Carbonari. He, therefore, had planned to suppress the rebellion with Papal troops alone, and, if they failed, to retire to Genoa. The Austrians would then feel compelled to intervene; the Papacy would escape the necessity of asking for their assistance and would not be compromised with France, which was not likely to countenance any extension of Austrian influence in Italy. The new Pope, however, did not adopt this wise plan and sent an appeal to all nations and, later, to the Emperor himself at Vienna, with the result that France became estranged.

The first Austrian move was made by General Geppert, who attacked Novi in the duchy of Modena on the 26th of February and drove back Zucchi's outlying detachment. The government retired to Bologna as the Austrians advanced. Zucchi then proclaimed himself president on the 7th of March, but two days later, on the 9th of March, he also had to retreat. Francis was restored on the same day. On the 28th of February 800 Austrian soldiers had surprised Firenzuola in the duchy of Parma, and Parma was occupied on the 13th of March. The Parmesans and Modenese had been left to fight their battle alone. The Romagnols had decided to stake their all on the principle of non-intervention and refused to be the first to depart from it, even to help their fellow insurgents in the neighbouring states. When Zucchi and his little army retreated to the Bolognese border they were disarmed before they were allowed to enter. Charles and Louis Bonaparte had hastened to the assistance of the insurgents, but in order to avoid offending Louis Philippe their offer was declined and they were placed under arrest in Forlì. There Charles Napoleon died of lung trouble, Louis lived on to become an important factor in Italian liberation.³

The moment had come for France to play her part and prevent Austrian interference in the Italian states; it was on this assumption that the Carbonari had agreed to make their movement. But Louis Philippe was in no way disposed to risk what he had gained. The refusal of minor rulers, like Charles Felix and the Duke of Modena, to receive his ambassadors showed him what he might expect, if he did not act circumspectly.⁴ Casimir Périer tried to effect a compromise, which would avoid Austrian intervention and free France from embarrassment: he suggested that Piedmontese troops should intervene on behalf of the Pontiff; but the proposal fell on deaf ears and the Piedmontese ambassador in Paris said that he would be very sorry to see his King's soldiers in contact with Carbonari, lest they be corrupted. No other way being open, Périer then explained on the 18th March⁵ that what France's declarations meant was that she herself would not interfere under any circumstances in other States' affairs. Louis Philippe informed Metternich through his ambassador that he had snubbed the revolutionaries and he wrote himself to the Grand Duke of Tuscany that he could not countenance revolutionary intrigues. The insurgents were left in the lurch.

¹ Sforza, p. 177.

² Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 49.

³ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 51. Farini, vol. i., p. 38. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 419.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 23.

⁵ Gualterio, Documents, p. 81.

The Austrians then advanced into the Papal States, Zucchi, who had now been made commander in chief of the Legation's forces also, retreating before them towards the Marches. On the 21st the White Coats entered Bologna. The next day Zucchi fought a vigorous rearguard action outside Cattolica and drew off his men in safety to Ancona; but the government, which had reached that town some days earlier, had freed Cardinal Benvenuti and on the 22nd agreed to a capitulation on terms. The terms were violated by both the Austrians and the Papal authorities and Benvenuti resigned in protest.¹ Zucchi and Olini tried to escape by sea, but were captured by the admiral Bandiera and Zucchi was tried as a deserter, and condemned to death. He was reprieved and lived to be freed in 1848. Among those arrested in Modena was John Monti, one of those who were arrested at Mme. Arnaud's party in 1817. Sercognani had retreated from Rome to Spoleto, where he surrendered to Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, the future Pius IX.

The risings of 1821 had been military, that of 1831 was a civil revolt,² relying on non-intervention. The prospects of the insurgents had never been promising, once the chance of French intervention was gone, and their divergent aims did not assist their cause. They had not even agreed on the future ruler; in addition to Francis, Charles Albert, a son of Murat and Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt, had been put forward as candidates. Little effort was made to gain support in other Italian states. The Lombard councillor Pagani reported to the Austrian governor Hartig on the 19th of June, 1831, that the insurgents had carried on no correspondence with any Lombards except the brother of Count Arrivabene.

The revolution of 1831 was the last great effort of the Carboneria; and, in studying its features, we can detect the trend of future movements. Not only did it close a period, it introduced a new one. In the first place, despite disunion and divergent aims, the insurgents for the first time had risen, to some extent at any rate, on behalf of a common fatherland and hoisted one national flag. Many had joined the revolution from patriotic motives who were not Carbonari or Sectaries, the movement for Italy's redemption was expanding beyond the limits of a Sect, however influential; we begin to hear less of Carbonari and Vendite and more of Liberals and committees.³ The days of secret plotting were passing and the days of more open propaganda were beginning. Pepe⁴ remarked on three features of this revolution: the disinterestedness of the revolutionaries, their lack of confidence in the masses, a usual feature in Carbonaro movements, and the fact that the abolition of the temporal power shocked the feelings of the masses and alienated them. This apathy is confirmed as far as Modena is concerned by the accounts of Sossai and Setti,⁵ who, however, both favoured Francis IV.

Once the rising had been quelled Francis hanged Menotti, Borelli and others; and though executions in the Papal States were few, 38 were condemned and many more imprisoned.⁶ The Powers felt that Papal misgovernment must be put an end to; and their ambassadors were ordered to press a scheme of reform on the Curia. Unable to resist this pressure, the Papacy issued a *Motu Proprio* granting certain reforms, and the Austrian troops withdrew in July, 1831. But the concession was insincere and Bernetti clung to the old abuses and began to enrol Swiss and other mercenaries to form a new Papal army. A deputation from the Legations, which had come to Rome to discuss some point concerning the reforms, was received but dismissed empty handed, and the old outrages of the "Santa Fede" began again at the Curia's instance.⁷

¹ Poggi, vol. ii., p. 26.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 35.

³ Niccoli, p. 187.

⁴ *Memoirs*, vol. iii., pp. 361-362.

⁵ Sforza quotes these accounts, pp. 372-373.

⁶ Farini, vol. i., p. 58. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 434. Giglioli, p. 97.

⁷ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 79. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 436.

The consequence was a fresh revolt in January, 1832. This time there was no question of overthrowing the temporal power, all that was demanded was a constitution. The new Papal troops were launched at the rebels and the Carbonaro strongholds of Cesena and Forlì were sacked and submitted to savage excesses. The return of the Austrians was almost welcomed as a relief from the Pope's soldiers.

This second Austrian intervention roused Périer, who, after protests, sent a French expedition to Ancona with Bernetti's connivance, to counterbalance the Austrian occupation. The French troops, however, had not received clear instructions as to the part they were to play and behaved as though they had come as liberators, as in 1797. They even armed and organised rebel bands.¹ One of these under Ricciotti committed excesses in the course of its operations, and had to be suppressed by its allies.² New instructions from Paris cleared up the misunderstanding.³ Eventually the Austrians withdrew in 1836 and the French two years later.

The Austrian occupation had not been altogether disinterested, the troops had encouraged the population in its dislike of the Papal troops and had done little to help the Papalists.⁴ The authorities went even further and encouraged the formation of the "*Società Ferdinanda*"⁵ (Ferdinandean Society), so called after the new Emperor and Ferdinand II. of Naples, which undertook propaganda in favour of Austria against the Papal government in order to foster a demand for secession. This society reached its greatest development in 1839 and traces of it were still found in 1842.⁶

Partly to counter these machinations and partly to suppress the liberals, Bernetti created, or rather revived, an old militia⁷ of the Papal States known as the "*Centurions*" early in 1832.⁸ In the Legations it took the form of a local militia,⁹ in the rest of the country it was but another sect like the "*Santa Fede*". In it were enrolled the worst of the "*Sanfedist*" ruffians and they perpetuated outrages in every direction. But Bernetti had become too obnoxious to Austria by his independent policy; and his dismissal was eventually secured.¹⁰ After his departure Austrian influence became supreme at the Papal court. Bernetti's successor offered the imprisoned Sectaries a free pass to Brazil, provided that they undertook never to return, but only few accepted, as they had not yet given up all hope of a successful rising which would free them.¹¹

The war of the Sects continued to rend the unhappy country. Francis IV., freed from his liberal connections, was consulted by Cardinal Albani, who had suppressed the second revolt and assumed control of the reactionary sects, and his assistance was invoked in the Papal States. He organised the "*Sanfedist*" and "*Centurions*" war on the liberals; and he found a fitting instrument in Canosa, the old Neapolitan director of police, who had now become anti-Austrian,¹² but was as reactionary as ever. The persecutions became more severe than ever. The reactionary sects no longer reported to the Curia but to Francis. Canosa's illfortune, however, pursued him. He fell out with Francis' minister, Riccini, was dismissed and retired to Pesaro in Papal territory in 1839, where he continued to assist the reactionaries,¹³ and wrote pamphlets against Francis IV. and

¹ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 118.

² Farini, vol. i., p. 76.

³ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 108.

⁴ Farini, vol. i., p. 63.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 692. Gualterio, vol. i., p. 161.

⁶ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 232.

⁷ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 444.

⁸ Gualterio, Documents, p. 107.

⁹ Farini, vol. i., p. 67.

¹⁰ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 135.

¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 155. Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 154.

¹² Poggi, vol. i., p. 554, vol. ii., p. 57.

¹³ Farini, vol. i., p. 81. Sforza, p. 65.

Riccini.¹ In these circumstances it is not surprising that Gregory the XVI's government became a byword in Europe, an incentive to revolution and an excuse for violence.

NOTE ON THE PARISIAN SUBCOMMITTEE.

The composition of this Subcommittee is of importance, and as I have not found the question discussed elsewhere, I have appended this note. We have several lists given by writers, which all differ from each other and, where they are correct, represent the state of affairs at different times. As the possibility of action came nearer all the various groups of Italian exiles sent representatives to Paris to consult the Subcommittee; and, according to Argenti, they constituted themselves into a "High Committee," the members being Bianco, Porro, Linati, Buonarroti, Borso di Carminati, and others, and De Meester was expected from England. Buonarroti presided.² Here Argenti is clearly wrong, as the Subcommittee already was in existence and was not specially set up on this occasion, but his list of names is valuable. Vannucci gives the following names:³ Counts Bianco and Porro, Buonarroti, Misley, La Cecilia, Borso di Carminati, Mirri, a Napoleonic soldier from Faenza, Salfi of Naples, Linati of Parma, Maroncelli and General William Pepe. This membership must date from after the Paris rising of 1830, as several of these members were not in Paris before that time. Vannucci⁴ says that Salfi and Mirri were joint presidents and that in close touch with this committee, but not members of it, were Caraglio, Cisterna, Castiglione, Gaston and Arconati, most of whom were in Brussels.

By 1831 the structure of this "High Committee" or Italian Subcommittee had altered. Lebzelter,⁵ the Austrian minister in Naples, received information that three groups or "Unions" had been formed by the Carbonari abroad. The first, which was the most active and seems to have been a kind of executive committee and ruled the others, comprised Caraglio, Prince Belgioioso, Pecchio, Cisterna, General Joseph Rossetti, Lisio, Baron Joseph Poerio, Pepe and other well known Good Cousins. This body, known as the "Central Society," worked in Paris and had outlying dependencies under Porro at Marseille, Carascosa in Malta, Arconati at Brussels and the two Ugoni, Ansaldi and Regis in Switzerland. This central body was moderate in its views and, as we see from the names of its members, despite one or two extremists, must have represented the Constitutional and Albertine party. The second group, composed of Salfi, Mirri, Sercognani of Rome and Linati of Parma was also moderate, but we do not know what precisely was its sphere of action. The third "Union" was known as the literary cabinet and the work of written propaganda was entrusted to it. It comprised Gallotti, Apice, Giannone of Modena, and represented a more extreme opinion of Carbonarism, but contained none of the real extremists. This group carried on in the course of its duties a very extended correspondence, especially with Lyon, Marseille, Corfu, Corsica, Macon, Bourges and Bar-le-Duc, where there were settlements of Italian refugees.

Doria,⁶ who disclaims any special knowledge, gives the following list: General Pepe, Colonel Gabriel Pepe, Caraglio, Baron Joseph Poerio, Bianco, Porro, Colonel Crezia, Prince Cisterna, Captain Baronis, Colonels Ansaldi and Regis, Canon Marentini, Marocchetti, La Cecilia. While the names given by Argenti and Vannucci indicate a republican majority, Doria indicates an Albertist

¹ Poggi, vol. ii., p. 77.

² Luzio, Mazzini, p. 280.

³ p. 352.

⁴ p. 352.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1,259. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 441 et subsequ.

⁶ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 416.

predominance, as also does the report to Lebzeltern. Fortunately La Cecilia was actually present for a short period at a critical time and has given us his version.¹ On the 15th of January, 1831, that is when the schemes proposed by Misley had already been under consideration for a long time, a meeting was held of the delegates from each of the provincial committees in Italy. There was, however, an inner body, a central committee composed of Porro, Buonarroti, Mirri and Salfi only, of which Buonarroti was president, and the secretaries were Mantovani and the newly arrived La Cecilia. This inner body was strongly republican and, as the text has shown, tried to impose its will on the whole revolutionary movement of 1831, but was defied. La Cecilia's account, as an eyewitness, is authoritative for the short period during which he was present; and the picture he draws is illuminating. As one would expect from the nature of the Society, the extremists were in power in the inner counsels, at any rate at the time he was present, while the rank and file, who carried out the actual work of the insurrections, were on the whole more moderate and often refused to be driven against their will. It is clear that the inner body did not dare to disregard them altogether or even to exclude them from its deliberations.

NOTE ON THE CARBONERIA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

It is difficult to say how far the Carboneria existed in England. O'Connell may have been a Carbonaro, and occasionally we have vague statements that there were Vendite in this country. This is not wholly impossible, for though, as Pepe found, secret societies were not in favour here, we know that there were branches of them among the political refugees. Doria² went to England, after his release from prison in Spain, about 1824, and said that he found the Carboneria very active in the democratic cause, and especially busy with the question of starting a revolution in Spain and Portugal. This is corroborated by Radice³ and other Italian exiles in England. According to Doria the Spaniards went so far as to hold out to the British government the cession of Havana as an inducement to support the enterprise. Doria⁴ also tells us that though the London committee of Italian affairs was subordinate to Paris, it exercised great influence through being able to use the British network of communications all over the world.

As regards the Carbonari in Spain we know very little. Galante says that the Carboneria was introduced by an Artillery officer, Morales, after the outbreak of the revolution of 1820. We have Doria's testimony, however, that it existed in that country as early as 1811. It was probably brought there by the Neapolitan troops in the French service. It developed to some extent—Generals Mina and Valder were Grand Masters at some period or other—and it even enrolled Giardiniere. Dona Dolores Palafox,⁵ Countess of Villamonte, Dame of honour to the Queen, is said to have been one of these Sectaries. After the outbreak of the revolution the Carbonari sided with the more extreme party and supported the Comuneros.⁶ We may note an interesting point here; one of the words of Spanish Freemasonry, which, unlike the Brotherhood in Italy, became political, was Octeroba (Occide Tyrannos et recupera omnia bona antiqua), the word used by the third degree of the Adelfi. After the restoration of Ferdinand VII Doria was betrayed by Lopez as being a Carbonaro and imprisoned.⁷

¹ La Cecilia, pp. 128-131, 141-147.

² Luzio, Mazzini, p. 306.

³ Fitzgerald unedited papers.

⁴ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 420.

⁵ Rinieri, Pellico, vol. ii., p. 10.

⁶ Heron Lepper, unpublished paper on "Freemasonry in Spain".

⁷ Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 305-306.

General Pepe¹ tells us that a Colonel tried to introduce the Carboneria into Portugal and started a Sect there, but it took no root and even the constitutional government frowned on it. Doria flatly contradicts this statement and says that in 1822 there were 25,000-26,000 Carbonari in the country.² While in Spain Pepe tried to found the "Constitutional Brothers of Europe",³ with the object of bringing together the liberals of all countries and preventing the disunion which had helped to wreck the revolutions of 1821. In Spain General Ballesteros and several members of the Cortes joined the Society. It spread to Portugal, Paris and London. In Lisbon the President of the Cortes and several ministers became members and in Paris Lafayette supported it. He signed himself in a letter of the 3rd of May, 1827, as "La Fayette, F.C.E." (*Frère constitutionnel européen*). In England it met with little success. As far as we know this completes the history of the Carboneria in Spain but for the incident already related when the Duke of Angoulême invaded the country.

Doria⁴ informed the Austrian authorities that the Carboneria was widespread in Belgium, where, as we have seen, Arconati and several of the moderates had found a refuge, and in Holland, where the leaders were Potter, at one time member of the Directing Committee in Paris, and the notorious Van Halen. In Switzerland the Sect made great progress after 1830 under the leadership of the Spanish General Rotten, a fierce Carbonaro. In Germany, according to Doria, it was not only widespread, but enthusiastic and dangerous, especially in the universities. Even in Vienna it was said that there was a High Vendita. In Russia the Sect was backward, except in Poland, but the Illuminati and Strict Observance Freemasons were making progress among the nobility. One of the principal propagandists was Van Halen, who had gone there after his flight from Spain and become Colonel of a regiment of Russian Dragoons. In Sweden and Denmark the Illuminati were more numerous. In Turkey and on the coasts of the Mediterranean there were a few Carbonaro colonies. In America it was fairly widely spread over the whole continent. In Greece it was ruled by a High Vendita in Corfu directed by Passano's brother Antony.

Such is the brief sketch given by Doria of the state of the Carboneria all over the world about 1831. I am afraid it can only be accepted with the greatest reserve, as I am convinced that Doria was prone to exaggerate, as he thought the Sect was most dangerous and was almost frantic at what he thought was indifference of the authorities, especially in Piedmont, at their own danger. I am especially doubtful whether the Carboneria was really so widespread and whether it is not more probable that Doria has used the name generically to cover most national patriotic secret societies like the Tugenbund, which, though like the Carboneria, were independent creations and did not form part of it, though the Grand Firmament tried to penetrate them and to rule them all.

WORKS CONSULTED.

Louis Blanc. *Historie de dix ans.*

Letters of Colonel E. A. Radice in the Fitzgerald correspondence (unpublished).

Gualterio. *Ultimi rivolgimenti in Italia.*

Heron Lepper. *Essay on Freemasonry in Spain.*

La Hodde.

Lavissee. *Histoire de France.*

Luzio. *Giuseppe Mazzini Carbonaro.*

¹ Pamphleteer for 1824. No. xvii., p. 251.

² Luzio, Mazzini, p. 422.

³ *ibid.*, p. 257.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 420-423.

Mazzini. Scritti.
Ottolini.
Pamphleteer for 1824.
Pepe. Memoirs.
Rinieri. La vita e le opere di Silvio Pellico.
Webster. World Revolution.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Radice for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. Ivanoff, seconded by Bro. Edwards; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. G. Y. Johnson and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. B. IVANOFF said:—

We have heard the fourth part of Bro. Radice's work, which he modestly entitled "*An Introduction to the History of the Carbonari*", but which is so extensive and so full of detailed information that, in fact, it gives the actual history of that powerful Secret Society.

Before the war I had no opportunity of studying the organisation and the activities of the Carbonari carefully, and now, in war-time, I have no possibility of searching in the libraries for something that would be of value as an addition to, or a further explanation of, the mass of facts given to us by Bro. Radice. Therefore I am not in a position to comment on the subject of his paper or any detail of it, and shall be brief.

First of all, I and, I am sure, a very large number of other Masons who did not know much about the Carbonari are grateful to Bro. Radice just for having chosen a subject which is novel to us. Strictly speaking, it has not much to do with Freemasonry as such. But, unfortunately, Freemasonry, or rather some individual members of it, gave birth to a number of organisations which, having inherited from Freemasonry the principle of secrecy, discipline, obedience, degrees and ritualistic forms, have pursued quite different aims and ideals. Whether they style themselves "masons" as, for instance, the Grand Orient do, or whether they adopted some invented names like Illuminati, the Universal Order, etc., any information about their nature and activities is not only interesting but also important to us from many points of view. The movement of the Carbonari and of kindred Secret Societies in the beginning of the last century is particularly little known to the majority of the Brethren, and the full history of it given by Bro. Radice is of great value.

Secondly, I would like to draw attention to the enormous amount of work and time Bro. Radice's painstaking study must have taken, and to the abundance of historical facts, the precision and caution which characterise his paper. It is a first class example of the way in which a serious research work is to be done and its results represented.

One remark more. Judging by the references in the footnotes, most of the sources used by Bro. Radice for his studies and for writing his paper were books and documents in Italian. Few of us know foreign languages, and when a Brother has the advantage of knowing them, and does not neglect using it for our benefit by extracting valuable information contained in foreign writings, it is an example well worth following.

With these few words I have much pleasure in proposing a vote of hearty thanks to Bro. Radice for his interesting and instructive paper.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON *writes*:—

Bro. Radice's various papers on the "Introduction to the History of the Carbonari" have proved very interesting and must have necessitated an immense amount of research.

I note that in the Carbonari Society the members took the title of Cousin, and I am wondering whether the Society of Cousins that was active in London in 1772 had any connection with the Carbonari of Italy.

On looking through some rough notes belonging to the late Bro. W. R. Makins, Assistant Librarian Grand Lodge, I have come across the following advertisements in the "Daily Advertiser", No. 12952, Saturday, 27th June, 1772:—

GRAND LODGE.

COUSINS,

YOUR Company is defired on Tuefday the 30th instant, at Coufin Fagan's, the Crown and Anchor, on New-Street-Hill, being Election Night. The Annual Feaft is to be held on the 5th of July next, at C. Lane's, Canonbury-Houfe, Iflington.

COUSINS LODGE, No. 4.

Held at the Three Tuns, in Clare-Market.

THE Members of this Lodge are particularly defired to attend on Monday next, the 29th instant, being Election Night. By Order of the Imperial Sir.

THOMAS FLESHER, Secretary.

Again in the "Daily Advertiser", No. 13059, Friday, 30th October, 1772, another advertisement appeared as follows:—

COUSINS. The Anniverfary of this moft Antient and worthy Society of Coufins, will be celebrated on Monday the 2d of November next, at Coufin Hill's, the Barn, in the King's-Mews (that being the oldeft and only Lodge of the Coufins). By Defire and order of the Father, every worthy Coufin has a kind Invitation, and will meet with a moft friendly Reception.

THO. SMITH, Secretary.

Note, Dinner on Table precifely at Two o'Clock. Tickets 3s. to be had at the Lodge; and at the Secretary's, Adam's Coffee-Houfe, Chandon-Street.

From this last advertisement it appears that the Society was on the decline, as this states that there was only one Lodge of Cousins in the latter part of 1772. I have no trace of any further advertisements.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

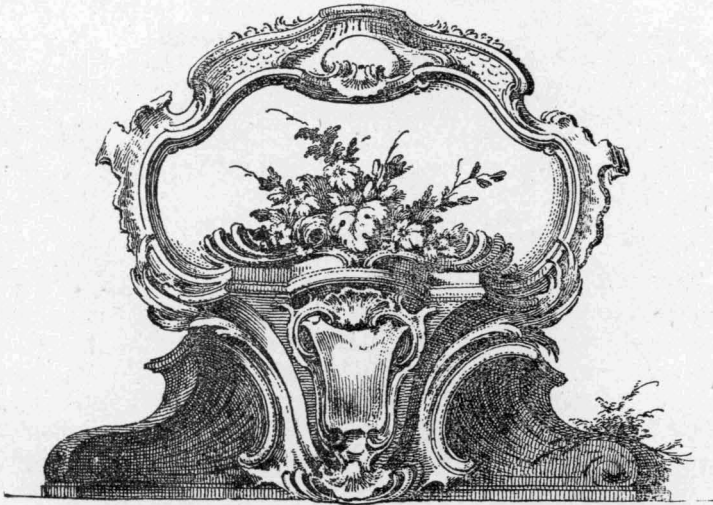
I have been greatly interested in the continuity and the cosmopolitan character of the Carbonari, and would suggest that although from time to time attempts were made to set up a central governing body, the real tie was similar to that of the trade and religious guilds which copied the regulations rather than accepted the dictatorship of another group and recognised its members as brothers. Political parties desirous of working secretly adopted the methods and symbols of these guilds, among which charcoal burners and beggars possessed organisations which could be usefully employed. When a political High Committee appointed vice-committees in other countries there would be unified control within these limits, but outside would be bodies of Liberals

who had gravitated together because of similarity of views. Membership of more than one group might suggest by their lists of members a relationship between organisations that did not exist, or a change of name that had never taken place.

The perfect secret societies are the ones that keep their secrets. The founding of a political branch to any society is probably fatal because it is impossible to keep out the informer. Although we eschew politics in Freemasonry, a full history of the change over from the trade and religious guild would doubtless show that the history of Grand Lodge was only a part of the story.

Bro. RADICE *writes* in reply:—

The only comment that requires an answer, beyond thanking commentators for their kind remarks, is that of Bro. Johnson. In my opinion the Carboneria did not exist in 1772, but the "Cousins" may have borrowed their name from the harmless earlier French Charbonnerie described in Part I of my paper. It seems more likely, however, that as "Brother" had already been annexed by Freemasonry and numerous other bodies, especially religious fraternities, the Cousins adopted the name of another relationship.



FRIDAY, 2nd MAY, 1941.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. B. Ivanoff, W.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.W.; *Wing-Commander* W. I. Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; W. J. Williams, P.M.; and F. R. Radice.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Eric Alven; C. D. Rötch, P.G.D.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; C. G. Greenhill; Geo. C. Williams; A. F. Hatten; Wm. Smalley; F. Spooner, P.G.St.B.; and W. O. Smithson.

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., Chap; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; D. Knoop, M.A., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, P.M.; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., I.P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby, S.D.; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., J.D.; H. C. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.; F. R. Radice; R. E. Parkinson; Geo. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Sup.W.; and W. E. Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

One Provincial Grand Lodge, one Lodge and seven Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Brethren, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—

Lodge . . . Bro. D. Knoop, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; Correspondence Circle, Bros. E. A. Ebblewhite, Past Deputy Grand Registrar; H. V. Stanton, C. J. Parsons, J. Wesley Brown, and C. D. Rotch, Past Grand Deacons; S. W. Wortley, Past Assistant Grand Registrar; F. A. Greene, Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; *Major* W. B. Brook, A. Dupuis Brown, Edward Cotton, I. T. A. MacDonald, H. W. Martin, John Moffat, and A. Chichele Rixon, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; G. D. Elvidge, Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; Thos. W. Croft, G. W. Selwyn Driver, and Thos. Townend, Past Grand Standard Bearers.

The following paper was read:—

THE NOMENCLATURE OF MASONIC MSS.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES.



N this paper we are mainly concerned with the nomenclature of the documents familiarly called by masons the Old Charges. Since, however, those versions of the catechisms of masonry which have survived in manuscript have been given names in much the same way, we bring them under review at the same time. The titles of our documents are not entirely conventional, although it is with the conventional nomenclature that we are primarily concerned. Roughly one-third of the documents have been provided with titles by their copyists. In a few cases the titles or descriptions are in endorsements, which may, or may not, have been written by the copyists; where we quote such descriptions, we indicate their source. The titles given by the copyists to the Old Charges can be divided roughly into three groups:—

(i) Titles which lay stress on *Masonry* or *Freemasonry*. Thus we have "Masonry" (*Bain*); "The Measson Charter" (*Aberdeen*); "The True Order of Masonry" (*Lansdowne*); "Book of Masons" (*Tew*); "A Copy [of a Book] concerning Masonry" (*Drinkwater No. 1*); "Book of Masonry" (*Drinkwater No. 2*); "The Secret History of the Free-Masons" (*Briscoe*). The three following descriptions are contained in endorsements: "Anent the Affirs of Masonrie" (*Dumfries No. 1*); "Free Masonry" (*Sloane 3323*); "Belongeth freemasons" (*Beaumont*).

(ii) Titles which lay stress on the *foundations* or *founding* of masonry. Thus we have "The Beginning and first foundation of the most worthy science of Masonry" (*Hughan*); "The Beginning and First Foundation of the Most Worthy Craft of Masonry" (*Talents, Dodd*); and "Narration of the Founding of the Craft of Masonrie" (*Kilwinning, Aitchison's Haven*).

(iii) Titles which lay stress on *Constitutions*. Thus we have "The Masons' Constitutions" (*Alnwick; Harris No. 1*); "David Ramseys Constitutions" (*Ramsey*); "Booke of Constitutions" (*Phillipps No. 2*); "Booke of Constitutions for Mr. Richard Banckes" (*Phillipps No. 1*); "The Constitutions of the Masons" (*Cama*); "Constitution of Masons" (*Phillipps No. 3*); "The Mason Constitution" (*Harris No. 2*); "The Constitutions of Masonrie" (*York No. 1, York No. 2, Newcastle College*); "The Free Masons Constitutions" (*Rawlinson*); "The free Masons Orders and Constitutions" (*Harleian 2054*); "The Constitutions Articles which are to be observed and fulfilled by al those who are made free by the R^t Wor^d Mr^s Fellowes and Brethren of Free Masons at any Lodge or Assemblie" (*Hope*); "A Book of the Ancient Constitutions of the Free & Accepted Masons" (*Songhurst, Fisher*); "A Book of the Antient Constitutions of the Free & Accepted Masons" (*Spencer, Cole*); "The Old Constitutions belonging to the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons" (*Roberts*). It is from this stressing of "Constitutions" that the alternative description of our main documents, the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*, has been derived.

The titles of the MS. *Catechisms* suggest *words* or *secrets*, or both. Thus we have "The Grand Secret or the forme of giving the Mason-word" (*Chetwode Crawley*); "A Narrative of the Freemasons word and signes" (*Sloane 3329*); "The Whole Institutions of free Masonry opened and proved by the best of tradition and still some reference to scripture" (*Graham*). In endorsements we find "Some Questiones Anent the mason word" (*Edinburgh Register House*); and "Free Masonry" (*Trinity College, Dublin*).

To retain, for purposes of reference, the titles selected by the copyists would mean a double disadvantage. In the first place, the titles are often so similar to one another that confusion would result. In the second, some of the titles are too long and unwieldy. Even before the increased interest in the Old Charges made it desirable to have distinctive and short titles by which the various documents could be described, so as to facilitate reference, the first editors of the two oldest versions supplied titles for the manuscripts which they had transcribed, the one to replace a long Latin title, the other to make good the entire absence of a title. J. O. Halliwell, who printed a transcript of B. M. Bibl. Reg. 17A 1 in his *Early History of Freemasonry in England*, London, 1840, supplied the heading "A Poem on the Constitutions of Masonry," making the *Constituciones artis gemetrie secundum Euclidem* of the original into a sub-heading. Matthew Cooke, who produced a type-facsimile with transcript of B. M. Add. MS. 23198 in 1861, selected as title "The History and Articles of Masonry." These new titles did not long survive. Findel in the 1860's referred to these two manuscripts as the documents of J. O. Halliwell and of Matthew Cooke, and Hughan in 1872 described them as "Halliwell's MS." and "Cooke's MS." Similarly, Findel referred to "the MS. in the possession of Mr. Wyatt Papworth" and Hughan to "Papworth's MS." In 1895 Hughan referred to these documents as the *Cooke MS.* and the *Papworth MS.*, whilst continuing the method which both he and Findel had previously adopted of quoting certain other manuscripts in the British Museum by their press marks, as, for example, *Sloane 3323* and *Harleian 2054*. By 1895, however, the fairly simple conventional nomenclature of *circa* 1870 had grown more elaborate, a tendency which has continued to the present day.

No student who has had occasion to use or refer to these documents can fail to realize the entirely unsystematic character of their nomenclature. Although there are only about one hundred and twenty documents in question, their names have been given to them in a score of different ways, and it almost goes without saying that in most cases no one method has been applied to all the documents in a particular category. Thus, for example, several versions are owned by private lodges; many are named after the lodges, but some are not, and so it is with other methods of naming. In this paper we examine the various grounds on which the manuscripts appear to have been named, and consider the extent to which any particular ground has been followed.

1. **Public Repository.** Where a manuscript is housed in a public library, this has directly or indirectly guided the choice of name in a good many cases. This effect is shown in three ways:—

(i) The document may be named after the repository, *tout court*, as in the case of two catechisms, the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* and the *Trinity College, Dublin MS.* As each of these libraries possesses several thousand manuscripts, the conventional masonic descriptions are obviously extraordinarily vague, and practically useless for the purpose of tracing the manuscripts.

(ii) The document may be given the name of the collection to which it belongs, without indicating either the library or the particular volume in which it is to be found, as in the case of the *Regius MS.*, the *Lansdowne MS.*, the *Essex MS.* and the *Rawlinson MS.* The first three are in the British Museum and the fourth is in the Bodleian.

(iii) The document may be known by the press mark of the volume in which it is bound up, without indicating either the library or the folio, as in the case of *Sloane MS. 3323*, *Sloane MS. 3329*, *Sloane MS. 3848*, *Harleian MS. 1942*, and *Harleian MS. 2054*, all of which are in the British Museum.

The exceptions to this method would appear to be four, namely, the *Cooke MS.* and the *Harris No. 2 MS.*, which are in the British Museum, the *Henery Heade MS.*, which is in the Inner Temple Library, and the *Levander-York MS.*, which is in the Lady Lever Art Gallery at Port Sunlight.

2. **Present Masonic Owner.** This provides the clue in a large number of cases, which fall into four groups:—

(i) **PRIVATE LODGES.** Six Scottish and eleven English lodges are the fortunate owners of thirty versions of the Old Charges. Of these, twenty are named after the lodges and ten are not. Six Scottish lodges—Mother Kilwinning No. 0, Melrose No. 1 bis, Aberdeen No. 1 ter, Ancient Stirling No. 30, Dumfries Kilwinning No. 53 and Thistle No. 62—have ten extant versions (the *Kilwinning*, *Melrose Nos. 2 and 3*, *Aberdeen*, *Stirling*, *Dumfries Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4* and *Thistle MSS.*) and one missing version (the *Melrose No. 1 MS.*) called after them. All these versions appear to have been in the possession of these various lodges for as long as two centuries or more, and at one period were probably closely connected with the working of the lodges. From six English lodges—Antiquity No. 2, Probity No. 61, York No. 236, Fortitude No. 281, Hope No. 302, and Alnwick No. 1167—the names of ten versions have been derived, though in the case of the York and Alnwick Lodges it is after older and now defunct lodges of the same names that the manuscripts are really called. When the *Antiquity*, *Fortitude* and *Hope MSS.* first came into the possession of Lodges Nos. 2, 281 and 302, is not known. The *York Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 MSS.*, together with *No. 3* now missing, were in the possession of the Grand Lodge of All England at York in 1779, and are now, after several vicissitudes, in the keeping of the York Lodge No. 236. The *Probity MS.* was presented to the Lodge of Probity, Halifax, some sixty years ago. The *Alnwick MS.*, written in the Minute Book of the extinct operative Lodge of Alnwick, was given to the Alnwick Lodge No. 1167 in 1922. Two missing manuscripts, the *Newcastle Lodge MS.* and the *Anchor and Hope MS.*, have been named after the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Lodge No. 24 and the Anchor and Hope Lodge No. 37, Bolton, in whose records references to such manuscripts have been traced.

The exceptions to the method of naming lodge-owned manuscripts after their respective possessors occur in connection with five English lodges. The *Gateshead MS.*, belonging to the Lodge of Industry No. 48, Gateshead, is entered, along with early minutes of the Old Lodge at Swalwell, Co. Durham, on sheets bound up with a copy of Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723. It probably dates from c. 1730, before the Lodge accepted a "deputation" or warrant from Grand Lodge in 1735, and long before it had moved to Gateshead, or changed its name to Lodge of Industry. The *Colne Nos. 1 and 2 MSS.* belong to the Royal Lancashire Lodge No. 116, Colne, Lancs. So far as is known they have always been in the possession of the Lodge, which claims to have existed since 1732 or earlier, though its warrant was only issued in 1762. The *Harris No. 1 MS.* was presented by a Bro. Harris to the Bedford Lodge No. 157, London, in 1809. The *Crane No. 1 MS.*, written in 1781 by the Rev. Thomas Crane of Chester, a member of the now defunct Royal Chester Lodge No. 80, was discovered in 1884 in the possession of relations of Crane and was secured for the Cestrian Lodge No. 425, Chester, which is practically a continuation of the erased Royal Chester Lodge. The manuscript was subsequently lost, but has recently been re-discovered among the possessions of the Cestrian Lodge. In the case of the *Woodford*, *Cama*, *Strachan*, *Tunnah* and *Songhurst MSS.*, the position is somewhat different, as they have been acquired in recent years by

the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, London, for its Library, and have no old-standing or historical connection with that Lodge.

(ii) **PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGES.** Fifteen versions of the Old Charges are in the possession of three Provincial Grand Lodges, but in no single instance does the name suggest the ownership. Thus ten versions, the *Wm. Watson*, *Tew*, *Beaumont*, *Hughan*, *Clapham*, *Stanley*, *Taylor*, *Waistell*, *Embleton* and *Macnab MSS.*, belong to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorks W.R., in addition to which the *Hope MS.* is on permanent loan to the Province; three versions, the *Wood*, *Lechmere* and *Inigo Jones MSS.*, belong to the Province of Worcestershire; and two versions, the *Beswicke-Royds* and *Holywell MSS.*, belong to the Province of E. Lancs.

(iii) **GRAND LODGES.** Nineteen versions of the Old Charges and two manuscript *Catechisms of Masonry* are in the possession of six Grand Lodges. Of these documents, fifteen are preserved in the Library of the Grand Lodge of England. The first to be acquired was purchased as long ago as 1839, mainly, no doubt, on eleemosynary grounds, but possibly, in part at least, as the result of the interest in the history of freemasonry aroused by J. O. Halliwell's paper, read before the Society of Antiquaries in the spring of 1839, when attention was first directed to what is now known as the *Regius MS.* In any case, this enlightened act in a dark age of masonic study deserves the commemoration it has since received by the manuscript being named the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.* Another version, obtained by purchase some fifty years ago, apparently possessed no history, as it was found among the rubbish during the rebuilding of a house in the West End of London, and was not unnaturally named the *Grand Lodge No. 2 MS.* The other thirteen manuscripts, the *Buchanan*, *Clerke*, *Talents*, *Foxcroft*, *Wallace Heaton*, *Brook-Hills*, *Fisher*, *Huddleston*, *Papworth*, *Thorp*, *Dauntsey*, and *Chesham MSS.* (the last a catechism) are named on other grounds. The same is true of the *Aitchison's Haven MS.*, which passed into the keeping of the Grand Lodge of Scotland when the old Lodge of Aitchison's Haven became defunct; of the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, which belongs to the Grand Lodge of Ireland; of the *Scarborough MS.* belonging to the Grand Lodge of Canada; of the *Spencer* and *Carson MSS.*, which are in the possession of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts; and of the *Thomas Carmick MS.*, one of the chief treasures of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Thus only two of the twenty-one versions belonging to Grand Lodges reflect that ownership in their names.

(iv) **OTHER MASONIC BODIES.** The *Supreme Council MS.*, written by William Reid in 1728, probably for Lord Coleraine, is in the Library of the Supreme Council 33°, having been presented to it about 1880. The *Newcastle College MS.* was given to the Newcastle College, S.R.I.A., in 1893 by one of its members; it bears an inscription: "Richard Head to his friend Joseph Claughton." The *Drinkwater Nos. 1 and 2 MSS.*, which are in the handwriting of Arnold Drinkwater, both belong to the Manchester Association for Masonic Research. The *Boyden MS.* was acquired some fifteen years ago for the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A., by Bro. W. L. Boyden, Librarian to that Supreme Council. The *Bolt-Coleraine MS.*, until its recent destruction by enemy action, belonged to the Bristol Masonic Society.

3. **Former Masonic Owner.** The *Aitchison's Haven MS.* derives its name from the extinct Scottish Lodge in whose Minute Book it was engrossed in 1666 by Jo. Auchinleck, Clerk to the Lodge. Although the *York* and *Alnwick MSS.* bear the names of the York Lodge No. 236, and the Alnwick Lodge No. 1167, to which they now belong, yet; as indicated previously, they are really called after the York Grand Lodge (or its predecessor, the Old York Lodge) and the old operative Lodge of Alnwick, their former owners.

4. **Present Private Owner.** At one time this was a fairly large class, but as the manuscripts have changed hands at death or by sale, they have come into the possession of other owners, whilst still known by the names of the previous possessors. The only surviving examples appear to be the *Portland MS.* belonging to the Duke of Portland, and the *Dring-Gale MS.* purchased by Mr. E. H. Dring in 1925 and now in possession of his son, Mr. E. M. Dring. More of the versions still in private ownership are *not* named after their present owners, namely the *Phillipps Nos. 1, 2 and 3*, *Bain*, *Langdale*, and *Graham MSS.*

5. **Former Private Owner.** (i) In certain cases it is known for whom a particular manuscript was prepared, and in one such instance—the *David Ramsey MS.*—this has guided the selection of name. This, however, has rarely been the practice. Thus the names of the *Newcastle College MS.*, prepared for Joseph Claughton, the *Phillipps No. 1 MS.*, written for Richard Banckes, the *York Nos. 1 and 2 MSS.*, prepared respectively for Robert Preston and Daniel Moul, the *Waistell MS.*, written by Henry Kipling for his cousin John Kipling, the *Wood MS.*, prepared for John Sargensonne, and the *Holywell MS.*, written apparently for Thomas Humphreys, ignore these early associations. Similarly the *Supreme Council MS.*, probably written for Lord Coleraine, the *Woodford MS.*, probably written for William Cowper, and the *Macnab MS.*, which very possibly belonged to George Webster, are named without any reference to the original owners. Cases where the original owner was also the copyist are discussed in § 7 below.

(ii) Some manuscripts appear to have been associated with particular families for relatively long periods, and such association is sometimes perpetuated in the names which have been selected. In this category we place the *Beaumont*, *Clapham*, *Talents*, *Dauntesey* and *Waistell MSS.* On the other hand, the *Boyden MS.* was long in the possession of the Danbys of Swinton Park, the *Foxcroft MS.* belonged to the Constables of Burton Constable and the *Thomas Carmick MS.* to several generations of a Pennsylvania family called Frazer.

(iii) Frequently there is no evidence to show how long a particular manuscript had been in the possession of a particular person or family, or it may be that there is evidence pointing to a relatively short association. Nevertheless, that has served as the ground for naming certain manuscripts. Thus the *Taylor*, *Beswicke-Royds*, *Langdale*, *Stanley*, *Wood* and *Phillipps Nos. 1, 2 and 3 MSS.* would appear to be examples of this method of nomenclature. The same method has been followed in the case of certain missing manuscripts—the *Baker*, the *Masons' Company*, the *Morgan*, the *Dermott*, the *Lamb Smith*, the *Folkes* and the *Wilson*—which are named after the last known owner. On the other hand, the *Buchanan MS.* is not named after Henry Belcher, the antiquary to whom it belonged, nor the *Ralph Poole MS.* after G. A. Lowndes of Barrington Hall, in whose collection it has been traced.

6. **Earlier and Later Private Owner.** In certain cases a hyphenated name commemorates an old owner or association and also a new owner or discoverer. Thus we have the *Cooke-Baker*, the *Levander-York*, the *Dring-Gale*, the *Fisher-Rosedale*, the *Brook-Hills* and the *Bolt-Coleraine MSS.* Of these, only the *Dring-Gale MS.* is still in the possession of a member of the family after which it is in part named (see § 4 above).

7. **Owner-Copyist.** In various cases the name of the transcriber is known, but it is uncertain for whom a particular copy was made. Occasionally, however, there is evidence to suggest that the transcriber made the copy for himself, and we then have the owner-copyist whose name is in some cases associated with a manuscript. Thus we have the *Drinkwater Nos. 1 and 2* and the *Huddleston MSS.* respectively written by Arnold Drinkwater and J. J. Huddleston in books which are likely to have remained in the possession of the copyists, and the *Crane Nos. 1 and 2 MSS.*, written by Rev. Thomas Crane,

which appear to have remained in the Crane family for some generations. The *Tunnah MS.* was probably copied by John Tunnah from the *Beswicke-Royds MS.* about 1860, and remained in his possession until his death c. 1890. On the other hand, the version copied by William Jubb, and inserted in his copy of *The Book M*, is known as the *Probity MS.*

8. **Copyist.** The name of the copyist is known in a number of instances besides those discussed in § 7 above. In five cases the name of the copyist is associated with his particular manuscript, viz., the *Henry Heade*, *Thomas Foxcroft*, *Ralph Poole*, *Thomas Carmick* and *Thomas Graham MSS.*, but in a good many more cases this method of naming has not been followed. Thus we have the *Aitchison's Haven MS.* (Jo. Auchinleck), *Sloane MS. 3848* (Edward Sankey), *Wm. Watson MS.* (Edward Thompson), *Wood MS.* (J. Whytestones), *Antiquity MS.* (Robt. Padgett), *York No. 4 MS.* (Mark Kipling), *Waistell MS.* (Henry Kipling), *Sloane MS. 3323* (Thomas Martin), *Wren MS.* (J. L. Higsom). Further, it is known that no fewer than five versions (*Woodford*, *Songhurst*, *Supreme Council*, *Spencer* and *Fisher*) are in the handwriting of Wm. Reid, and one (*Harleian MS. 2054*) in that of Randle Holme the third.

9. **Purchaser-Collector.** None of the manuscripts named after a purchaser-collector is a very recent discovery. The cases we have in mind are the *Papworth*, *Spencer*, *Woodford*, *Bain*, *Carson*, *T. M. Watson*, and *Thorp MSS.*, all of which have now passed into other hands. In 1925, however, the *Boyden MS.* was named after the purchaser, W. L. Boyden of Washington, D.C. As, however, he bought the manuscript for the Supreme Council Library, of which he was Librarian, the manuscript may be counted among those named after a masonic worthy (see § 13 below) rather than with those named after a purchaser-collector or a purchaser-donor. It goes almost without saying that there are various cases of a purchaser-collector after whom a particular manuscript has *not* been named, as, for example, Bro. R. H. Baxter (*Langdale*), Bro. R. A. Wilson (*Bain*) and Bro. Wallace Heaton, who at one time owned the *Huddleston MS.*

10. **Purchaser-Donor.** The *Lechmere MS.* in the Worcestershire Masonic Library, the *Embleton MS.* in the West Yorkshire Masonic Library, the *Wallace Heaton MS.* in Grand Lodge Library, and the *Cama* and *Songhurst MSS.* in the Quatuor Coronati Lodge Library, bear the names of the Brethren who gave their purchases to the respective libraries. Other purchaser-donors, however, are not so commemorated, such as various benefactors of the West Yorkshire Masonic Library, Bro. T. W. Tew (*Hughan*, *Watson*, *Stanley*, *Waistell*, *Macnab MSS.*), John Charlesworth (*Taylor MS.*) and W. F. Tomlinson (*Clapham MS.*); also Bro. J. H. Grafton, who presented the *Chesham MS.*, and Bro. W. Heaton and Bro. R. A. Card, who presented the *Huddleston MS.* to Grand Lodge.

11. **Donor.** In addition to donors who acquired their manuscripts in the first instance by purchase, there are other donors who acquired them by bequest or by gift, or in some unknown way. The names of such donors are sometimes recalled by the names of the manuscripts they have given, e.g., the *Harris No. 1* and the *Buchanan MSS.*, whereas in other cases they are not, e.g., the *Scarborough MS.* (Rev. J. W. Kerr), the *Tew MS.* (J. W. Cocking) and the *Tunnah MS.* (W. J. Hughan). Other examples of the donor's name *not* being associated with the particular manuscript are provided by five seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century manuscripts where the original donors are named in the documents, namely the *Wood* (J. Whytestones), *Waistell* (Henry Kipling), *Newcastle College* (Richard Head), *York No. 1* (Wm. Kay), and *York No. 2* (Robt. Preston).

12. **Donee.** A manuscript presented to a private person has sometimes been named after him as a compliment, as, for example, the *Clerke*, the *Haddon* and the *Macnab MSS.* On the other hand, the *Wren MS.* and the *Tunnah MS.*, which were once presented to Bro. W. J. Hughan, give no indication of

the donee's name. Nor has this practice been followed in the historic cases of John Sargensonne, John Kipling, Joseph Claughton, Robert Preston and Daniel Moulton, the donees for whom the *Wood*, *Waistell*, *Newcastle College*, *York No. 1* and *York No. 2 MSS.* respectively were specially prepared in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

13. **Masonic Worthy.** This method has been mentioned in connection with the *Boyden MS.* (see § 9 above). Other cases which clearly fall into this category are the *Tew*, *Hughan*, *Wm. Watson*, *John Strachan* and *Chetwode Crawley MSS.*

14. **Author quoting MS.** Where the author of a book or speech has quoted a longer or shorter extract from, or summary of, an otherwise unknown version of the Old Charges, the abstract in each case is known by the name of the author (*Plot*, *Hargrove*, *Langley*, *Krause*, *Drake MSS.*).

15. **Printer.** Two versions, the *Roberts* and the *Cole*, are named after the printers of the respective pamphlets.

16. **Person for whom pamphlet was printed.** Two versions, the *Briscoe* and the *Dodd*, are named after the persons for whom the pamphlets in question were printed.

17. **The First Editor.** The names of James Dowland, whose transcript of a manuscript now missing appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1815, J. O. Halliwell, who edited B.M. Bibl. Reg. 17A 1 in 1840, and Matthew Cooke, who edited B.M. Add. MS. 23198 in 1861, are associated with those three manuscripts, although in the second case the manuscript is now commonly referred to as the *Regius MS.*

18. **Association of MS. with a Particular Place.** The endorsement on the *Scarborough MS.*, the inscription on the first page of the *Holywell MS.*, and the long association of the *Colne Nos. 1 and 2 MSS.* with a lodge meeting at Colne, have undoubtedly guided the selection of name. The *Gateshead MS.* had no connection with Gateshead until the Lodge of Industry No. 48, originally the Old Lodge at Swalwell, moved there from Swalwell in 1844. The MS. would seemingly have been better named "Swalwell." The *Chesham MS.* derives its name from the fact that it was found by a workman at Chesham, Bucks. Several Scottish versions, *Aitchison's Haven*, *Aberdeen*, *Melrose Nos. 2 and 3*, *Dumfries Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4*, *Stirling* and *Kilwinning*, bear the names of well-known places, but we have treated them as named after the lodges which owned them, which in their turn were named after the towns where they met (see § 2 above). Similarly, six English versions, *York Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6*, and *Alnwick*, bear the names of well-known places, but we treat them as named after lodges which meet, or have met, at York and Alnwick (see §§ 2 and 3 above).

19. **Reputed Owner or Association.** The *Wren MS.* is a copy of a manuscript which in its turn was transcribed from a document of which Sir Christopher Wren is reputed to have been the owner. The *Inigo Jones MS.* has a frontispiece said to have been drawn by Inigo Jones. There is no doubt about how these manuscripts received their names, though there is grave doubt whether Wren owned the original of the one, or Inigo Jones drew the frontispiece of the other.

20. **Family Resemblance.** The *Harris No. 2 MS.* has been given its name from its resemblance to the *Harris No. 1 MS.* The method is not to be commended, though, for want of other information, *Melrose No. 1* has been named after *Melrose No. 2*, for which it served as the original. Much more usually successive numbers after the name of a manuscript indicate either (i) ownership by the same Lodge or individual (*Grand Lodge Nos. 1 and 2*, *Melrose Nos. 2 and 3*, *Dumfries Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4*, *York Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6*, *Colne Nos. 1 and 2*, *Phillipps Nos. 1, 2 and 3*) without reference necessarily to

similarity, or (ii) copies made by the same transcriber (*Drinkwater Nos. 1 and 2*, *Crane Nos. 1 and 2*), again without reference to similarity. In four cases where manuscripts are not merely similar, but purport to be exact copies, the *Woodford* and *Supreme Council MSS.* being exact copies of the *Cooke MS.*, the *Carson MS.* of the *Stanley MS.*, and the *Tunnah MS.* of the *Beswicke-Royds MS.*, the "family resemblance" principle has not been followed in the naming of the manuscripts in question.

In concluding this paper we may be permitted to refer to those cases where names have been changed. The best known instance, because the old name had been well established for some fifty years, is that of the *Halliwell MS.*, which was renamed the *Regius MS.* on the suggestion of R. F. Gould "as being alike indicative of the collection—'King's' or 'Royal Library,' British Museum—upon whose shelves it reposes, and of its own obvious supremacy as a document of the Craft." The *Cooke MS.* was referred to by Findel not only as "*Cooke's MS.*," but also as the *Cooke-Baker* document, thus commemorating not only the first editor, but also the owner, Mrs. Caroline Baker, from whom it was purchased by the British Museum. Hughan rejected the title *Cooke-Baker* on the ground that Findel was confusing the manuscript with the missing *Baker MS.* (which, so far as we can see, was not the case), and adopted Findel's alternative description "*Cooke's MS.*," which, in the modified form *Cooke MS.*, has survived to the present.

An American purchaser, who acquired a version of the Old Charges in London in 1890, named it the *Hub of the Universe MS.* for some entirely unknown reason. Three years later it was purchased by Bro. Carson of Cincinnati, and has since been known as the *Carson MS.* A version of the *MS. Constitutions* discovered by Bro. Henry Brown in 1898 was named the *Henry Brown MS.* by Hughan. When shortly afterwards it was purchased from Bro. Brown by Bro. John T. Thorp, Hughan re-christened it the *Thorp MS.*, and by that name it is still known. In 1889 Bro. T. M. Watson purchased from a non-mason a manuscript which was transcribed and published by Hughan in the *Christmas Freemason*, 1889, as the *Watson MS.* Three or four years later it was acquired by Bro. T. W. Embleton and presented to the West Yorkshire Masonic Library, whereupon, in the words of Hughan, "the name has been altered accordingly in appreciation of the gift," and it is now described as the *Embleton MS.* When the *Dumfries Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 MSS.* and the *Thistle MS.* were first found by Bro. James Smith in 1891 they were designated by Hughan the *Dumfries Kilwinning MSS. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.* In 1895 the first four were still so described by him, the fifth then being called the *Thistle MS.* Subsequently the "Kilwinning" has been dropped from the other titles. The *Kilwinning MS.*, being in the opinion of Murray Lyon in the handwriting of the Clerk of the Lodge of Edinburgh, 1675-78, was designated by Lyon, as also by Hughan in 1872, the *Edinburgh-Kilwinning MS.* It is now known by the name of the Lodge which owns it. When the *Clerke MS.* was first discovered in the 1870's it was exhibited in the Library of the Supreme Council 33° and known as the *Supreme Council No. 1 MS.* until it was published by Hughan in 1888 as the *Col. Clerke MS.*, after the name of the Grand Secretary to whom it had been presented. The *Fisher-Rosedale MS.* was found by a Bro. Fisher amongst his late father's papers and presented by him some twenty years ago to Bro. Rev. H. G. Rosedale. Later it was presented to Grand Lodge by Bro. J. Fisher, and is now known as the *Fisher MS.* It was described by Bro. Poole by the former title in 1924 and by the latter title in 1935. The *Huddleston MS.* was acquired by Bro. Wallace Heaton for his collection in 1937. In 1939 the cream of that collection, including the *Huddleston MS.*, was presented by him and Bro. Card to Grand Lodge. In a recent communication from the Assistant Librarian of Grand Lodge, the document is referred to as "the *Huddleston MS.* or *Wallace Heaton No. 2.*"

Occasionally, when a new manuscript is discovered it is suspected of being one of the so-called Missing MSS. Where it has been possible to identify it with certainty, as in the cases of the *Beaumont MS.* and the *Henry Heade MS.*, the name originally used to describe the Missing MS. has been preserved. In other cases, where definite means of identification are not available, the newly discovered manuscript receives a new name. Thus there is some reason for thinking that either the *Phillipps No. 1 MS.*, or the *Phillipps No. 2 MS.*, or the *Bain MS.*, may conceivably be the missing *Masons' Company MS.* Similarly the *Scarborough MS.* may be the missing *Morgan MS.* and the *Wm. Watson MS.* the missing *Newcastle Lodge MS.* In 1876 Bro. Woodford thought he had discovered the missing *Wilson MS.* in the Phillipps Collection and published the document as the *Wilson MS.* in the *Masonic Magazine*. Subsequent investigations by Bro. G. W. Speth showed that this document was not the manuscript which had belonged to Mr. Wilson of Broomhead Hall, and it is now known as the *Phillipps No. 2 MS.*

After Hughan had re-christened the *Henry Brown MS.* the *John T. Thorp MS.* in 1898, he wrote (*A.Q.C.*, xi, 205): "It is to be hoped there will be no further change in its title." Up to the present that hope has been realized, as the manuscript has retained its title, although it has passed into other ownership. We are in entire agreement with the sentiment expressed by Bro. Hughan regarding the *Thorp MS.* and feel that the same hope can be expressed regarding the titles of all the other versions of the Old Charges. If every time a version of the Old Charges changes hands it is to change its name, nothing but confusion can result. Some of the existing titles may be inadequate or inappropriate, but once they are established amongst masonic students, it seems wise to abide by them. In order to bring about uniformity in the nomenclature of masonic manuscripts something much more radical than occasional changes of title would be required, and in view of the difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory and agreed system, most students would probably prefer to keep the present titles.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the authors, on the proposition of Bro. Ivanoff, seconded by Bro. Edwards; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, I. Grantham, H. Poole, and W. J. Williams.

Bro. B. IVANOFF said:—

When I learn that Bro. Knoop is going to deliver a paper in our Lodge I always look forward to reading and hearing a very carefully and thoroughly prepared lecture. My expectations have always proved to be well justified, and I am certainly not disappointed by the paper we have just heard. It is an extremely good paper and a very helpful one to those who know something about the old Masonic manuscripts and are interested in them. I personally have read much about the Old Charges and have seen one or two of them in original MSS. When I received Bro. Knoop's paper, printed privately and very kindly sent by him to me direct, I refreshed in my memory my knowledge about the Old Charges by reading all that I could find written on the subject in the books I happened to have at home, including the excellent works by Bro. R. H. Baxter, and this added very much to the interest with which I read Bro. Knoop's paper. As regards his classification of Old Charges and MS. Catechisms, I cannot say anything against it. I think it is very good and clever indeed. But, having come to the end of his paper, I could not suppress a

certain feeling of regret that Bro. Knoop, like so many of us, writers of papers for this Lodge, has overlooked the fact that any details, including nomenclature and classification, are interesting only when they refer to a subject about which one has a good idea or knowledge. Bro. Knoop's paper will be read by nearly two thousand members of our Correspondence Circle all over the world. How many of them know about the Old Charges and Catechisms more than they are some old manuscripts which are still kept somewhere for some reason, and how many of them have the possibility, time, or energy to increase their knowledge about them? I wish Bro. Knoop had started his paper by just a few introductory remarks as to what these documents really are, what they usually contain, to what extent they represent a direct link between our Speculative and the old Operative Masonry, how far they were the foundation of Anderson's Constitution and of the Charges incorporated in our ritual, etc. I am sure that such introduction, even a brief one, would have been greatly appreciated by the mass of the members of our Correspondence Circle, would have made Bro. Knoop's paper much more interesting and useful to them, and would have encouraged them in studying the Old Charges and all the problems connected with these valuable documents.

This slight criticism does not of course diminish my sincere admiration for Bro. Knoop's masonic research work generally and for this paper particularly, and I am very glad to have the privilege of proposing a hearty vote of thanks to him.

Brb. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I am delighted to second the vote of thanks for a paper at once so well written and so admirably read. It has been written in a somewhat lighter vein than the other valuable contributions of the authors, as a scholar's parergon. It reminds me of those "books about books", of which there is so long a history in this country. It is not a matter for reproach that the authors have not given a history of, or an historical introduction to, the Old Charges. Such a task has already been discharged by writers like Begemann and Bro. Poole. They set before themselves the task—and admirably achieved it—of showing how these documents got their names, and have incidentally touched on many a romance of book-collecting and of literary history, to gladden the hearts of masonic bibliophiles.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

I should like to associate myself with the tributes which have already been paid to Bro. Knoop in respect of a work of reference which assuredly will prove to be of the utmost value to masonic students of this and of future generations. From the Handlist which forms an Appendix to this paper we learn with regret that the *Bolt-Coleraine MS.* was destroyed by enemy action on the night of November 24th, 1940. It is therefore with satisfaction that I am able to record that the *Henery Heade MS.* escaped injury in the recent destruction of the Inner Temple Library and is now deposited in Wales in a place of greater safety. Let us hope that the remaining documents mentioned in this paper will escape the ravages of war. In thanking Bro. Knoop let us not forget the debt of gratitude which we owe to his learned colleague, who has collaborated with him in this and in so many other of Bro. Knoop's masonic contributions.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

The authors of this paper have done not only a useful piece of work, but also one that has needed doing for some time. Lecturers are often hampered in their remarks by such questions as What do you mean by the *Graham MS.*? and so on.

I, therefore, hope that the paper will have a wide circulation, not only for that reason, but also that the R.M.I.B. may benefit at their 1943 Festival, by which time we may hope our present troubles will be at an end.

A few remarks on the paper may be excusable, not by way of criticism, but for the purpose of information.

I am sure now that the story told me by the late Bro. Fred. Molesworth about Bro. Beswicke-Royds having had the MS. now bearing that name presented to him by a London friend is not correct. It is far more likely that Bro. C. R. N. Beswicke-Royds inherited the MS. from his father, Bro. Albert Hudson Royds, Depy. Prov. G.M. for East Lancs. and Prov. G.M. for Worcestershire, who left quite a good collection of Masonic literature. The MS. was copied by Bro. John Tunnah, Prov. G. Secy. for East Lancs., and he had disappeared from the scene before Bro. C. R. N. Beswicke-Royds became active.

The endorsement on the *Dauntesey MS.* is not as stated by Rylands, but "*The Constitutions or Old Charges of Masonry*", c. 1690 (?). It does not appear to be now in the possession of the Dauntesey family. The present owner does not wish anything to be published about it, but I hope he will forgive me for correcting that small error.

The remarkable document, now in the Library of the G.L. of Iowa, is not included in the list. It purports to give the Third Degree ceremony in 1740 and is supposed to be the "*Rite ancien de Bouillon*".

The MS. has never, so far as I am aware, been given a proper name. The present occasion might be taken to remedy that omission.

I think we can all congratulate Bro. Knoop on presenting so useful a contribution to our *Transactions* so soon after his recognition by our M.W. Grand Master.

Bro. H. POOLE writes:—

Bro. Knoop has performed two very useful services in this paper. He has collected together in very handy form, under an alphabetical scheme, all (or very nearly all) the documents of the early days of organised Freemasonry; and his short notes make the little book an invaluable work of reference. And, secondly, he has made it the occasion for a check-up of the documents themselves. This is a thing which, especially in the case of privately-owned MSS., needs doing periodically: I attempted it myself some years ago, though with rather disappointing results. In two cases, especially, I drew complete blanks—those of the *Papworth* and *Phillipps MSS.*; and here, unfortunately, Bro. Knoop seems to have had little more luck than I had. It is sad to hear of the destruction of the *Coleraine MS.*, and it is to be hoped that some photographs had been taken; now that this MS. has suffered from "enemy action" there is a strong case for the publication of its text, which I believe has never been done. On only one MS., so far as I can see, is Bro. Knoop's information not up-to-date, and that is the *Dauntesey*; this MS. eluded me, as well as Bro. Baxter and other Lancashire Brethren; but some months ago it changed hands, and presumably before long its new ownership will be made known. Here, too, by the way, there is an urgent case for publication, as the text is only known through its publication in an American journal in 1886. Indeed, in view of the most unfortunate fate of the *Coleraine*, it is to be regretted that there are

any of these documents still "unpublished", except perhaps the few, such as the *Tunnah*, the *Melrose 3*, or the two late copies of the *Cooke*, which have no independent critical value.

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.

By the way (and I hope I am not being super-critical), having admitted the *Cole* and *Dodd*, both *printed* versions of the Old Charges, would it not be as well to make the alphabetical list complete by the inclusion of the printed versions of the Catechisms, at any rate up to 1730, after which they fall into a rather different category? To take a simple example, to find the *Graham* and *Essex MSS.* and not the printed *Grand Mystery Laid Open* and *Whole Institutions*, all very much of one date, and closely related as to contents, seems a pity.

As to the nomenclature of the documents, there is probably little fear now (when so many are in print) of serious changes in the very picturesque and, as classified by Bro. Knoop, almost incredibly assorted, array of names. But it is the case that every single known example of the Old Charges has its own unalterable classification letter and number; and these should always be so closely associated with the documents that they will permanently identify a document even if anyone thinks fit to change its name. Would it not, by the way, be a wise thing to print these with the names of the MSS.? I said unalterable; but actually in a very few cases these reference numbers have been changed—e.g., when the Tew Family was formed out of the *Tew* (formerly E.6) and the *Buchanan, Aitchison Haven* and *Beaumont* (formerly D.7, 10 and 38). Any such changes in the future would almost certainly be duly noted in our *Transactions*.

Bro. Knoop has put my name at the head of his acknowledgments of assistance. I fully appreciate the compliment which this appears to imply, and can only say that any information and assistance which I may have given to him has been given as freely and gladly as that which he has on several occasions given to me.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

The subject of Nomenclature is one which in its practical aspect is more concerned with identity than with any scientific process. The casual method which has in fact been adopted in relation to the documents dealt with by Bro. Knoop and his colleague is probably as useful as any other which might have been evolved. Even if it were possible it would not be advisable to formulate a new process.

After all, there are not so many documents in existence, or likely to be forthcoming in the future, as to make the casual process cumbrous. We are not dealing with innumerable motor cars identified by a combination of letters and numbers, or with a system of botanical nomenclature, but only with just over 100 "Old Charges" and about nine other documents which are described, more or less accurately, in the present paper, as Catechisms.

Masonic writers will probably be content with names as they are and will join in the hope expressed in the paper that changes will not occur in the future whatever may have been done in the past.

From the scientific point of view the system of classification derived originally from Begemann and adopted by Bro. Poole in his most useful book entitled *The Old Charges* is ready to assist students who desire to have some indication of the distinctive groups of the various documents.

The *Handlist of Masonic MSS.* is useful for many purposes. It is somewhat more than a list of MSS., because it includes a number of prints of the Old Charges which are not now to be found in handwriting.

The *Briscoe* pamphlet is one instance of this. The description in the *Handlist* is not perhaps as adequate as it might usefully be, for it contains a considerable quantity of other matter invented by an unknown author who has at least provided students with an example of how Masonic history can be imagined and set forth in a plausible manner, with references to authorities in the Bodleian Library, which authorities apparently never had any real existence except in his inventive mind. Although said to be "Reprinted" in the *Masonic Record III*, that reprint is not complete and omits some of the flights of fancy which are faithfully reproduced in the *Bain* facsimile.

The *Briscoe* pamphlet (1st Edition) is made up thus:—

Title page.

Preface I, II, III, IV.

The *History of Free-Masons*, pages 1 to 27, is a print of one of the Old Charges (Sloane Family).

Then follow Observations on the *New Constitutions* (Edition 1723), pages 1 to 38 (many of them very fanciful). Then a "Short Dictionary explaining the private Signs or Signals us'd among the Free-Masons" and occupying pages 39 to 47.

Thus it will be seen that about half of the Pamphlet is devoted to matter other than the reproduction of the particular example of the Old Charges.

Another instance is the *Dodd* pamphlet printed in 1739. The *Drake* and the *Roberts* are other instances of printed matter.

It is well that the *Handlist* does not restrict itself to the documents, which are in fact manuscripts and distinguishes them.

Some of the items in the *Handlist* are therein dated simply by the year, although the MS. may itself give the date in full. This is sometimes of importance, as in the case of *Sloane 3848*, which is dated 16th October, 1646, a date which is associated with Ashmole's initiation.

Another example is the Grand Lodge No. 1, 1583. The full date is 25th December, 1583. Bro. Speth stated that this is the earliest Masonic document with a date attached.

As in the great majority of cases, the Old Charges can only be dated approximately on the basis of the character of the handwriting, it seems better to give the full and precise date when it does actually occur.

Unfortunately a number of documents have to be described as "missing". Some of them may be in existence but known by another name. There is one MS., however (the *Bolt-Coleraine*), which was destroyed by fire in an air raid on November 24th-25th, 1940. This incident warns us that it is highly important that all the original documents should be photographed, so that facsimiles of them may be deposited in some "safe" place other than that in which the original remains. If *all* the originals now in existence were so photographed and dealt with as suggested, it would not be a very great expense. Where facsimiles already exist (such as are in *Q.C.A.* and *A.Q.C.*) photographs might be dispensed with. Handwritten copies are greatly liable to error.

Bro. Grantham told us that the *Henery Heale MS.*, which is owned by the Inner Temple, was in a safe place when their library was greatly damaged by raiders.

Reverting to the so-called "Catechisms", the items specified in the *Handlist* are only a selection of such documents. Two important items are

reprinted in the paper by Bro. Poole on the *Graham MS.* (*A.Q.C.*, 1., 5-29), and there are several others which have from time to time been published in *A.Q.C.*

We quite understand that it was not intended to do more than include a selection of "Catechisms", and we should therefore be all the more thankful that in the present paper we have what may be taken as a complete list of all the documents discovered to date and usually known as the Old Charges.

Our grateful thanks are due to the authors for their patient, effective and helpful work.

Bro. KNOOP writes in reply:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself, I have to thank not only those Brethren who contributed comments when our paper was read in Lodge, but also Bro. Sir Algernon Tudor-Craig, Librarian of G.L., Bro. W. H. Bean, Librarian of the Prov. G.L. of Yorks. W.R., Bro. A. J. S. Cannon, Librarian of the Prov. G.L. of Leics., Bro. F. J. Underwood, Librarian of the Prov. G.L. of Worcs., Bro. Wm. Waples, Librarian of the Prov. G.L. of Durham, Bro. E. M. Dring, Bro. Col. G. Reavell, and Bro. F. R. Worts for very kindly supplementing or correcting certain of our information. Instead of taking these official and unofficial comments one by one, I propose to consider the various points raised, first discussing the scope of the handlist appended to the paper when it was printed for private circulation in April, 1941, and then dealing with particular MSS. in alphabetical order.

Scope of the Handlist. Our paper is primarily concerned with conventional names; to be strictly accurate, it should have been entitled "The Conventional Nomenclature of the Old Charges and MS. Catechisms of Masonry". As the great majority of the Old Charges exist in manuscript, and as even the printed versions bear conventional names, we brought *all* versions of the Old Charges under review, thus treating the term "MS. Constitutions of Masonry" and the term "Old Charges" as equivalent. As a consequence, ten versions of the Old Charges known only in print, viz., the *Briscoe*, *Cole*, *Dodd*, *Dowland*, *Drake*, *Hargrove*, *Krause*, *Langley*, *Plot* and *Roberts*, were included in the handlist. On the other hand, most masonic catechisms have survived only in print, and have not been given conventional names. Hence we included in the paper and in the handlist only those versions which are in manuscript and are commonly referred to by conventional names, viz., the *Chesham*, *Chetwode*, *Crawley*, *Edinburgh Register House*, *Essex*, *Graham*, *Sloane 3329*, and *Trinity College, Dublin*, MSS. As a consequence, we omitted two MS. Catechisms which do not bear conventional names, viz., *Rite Ancien de Bouillon*, to the absence of which Bro. Baxter draws attention, and *Institution of Free Masons*. The paper was written first and the handlist constructed afterwards to supply details about the documents referred to in the paper, and thus avoid the necessity of footnotes. Actually, one or two of the missing versions of the Old Charges are not mentioned in the paper, but were nevertheless included in the handlist. Similarly, the *Leland-Locke MS.*, with its conventional name, though not in the paper, was in the handlist, mainly because of its notoriety.

We have amended the paper in accordance with the information contained in the various comments and as a result of further enquiries which we have made, and it is this version, revised in January, 1942, that is printed here. We have made the corresponding corrections and additions in the handlist, which we have further amended and enlarged, partly in accordance with suggestions made in comments, so that it might contain more of the documents commonly required in tracing the rise and development of Freemasonry. To this fuller

handlist we have written some introductory remarks, following the W.M.'s suggestion, to explain the nature of the various documents which we bring under review and the method of their selection. As the revised handlist contains many items not referred to in this paper, and as the introductory remarks are of some length, we felt that this revised handlist and introduction were not suitable appendices to this paper. Accordingly, they have been published as a small book (*A Handlist of Masonic Documents*, Manchester University Press, 1942), in which form we trust that they will prove of more use to masonic students. A few copies of the paper and handlist as originally printed for private circulation are still on sale at the Secretary's office.

Alnwick MS. We learn from Bro. Col. G. Reavell that after the minute book of the old operative Lodge of Alnwick, which contains the version of the Old Charges, had been re-discovered in 1893, it was sent to a local bookbinder to be repaired, but was carelessly left about and only found after his death by his widow. It was then sent to a specialist to be repaired and rebound. It was presented to Alnwick Lodge No. 1167 by Bro. Hugh Turnbull in 1922. Since then it has been kept in a safe at the Masonic Hall and on nights of meetings is placed open in a glass case in a prominent place in the Lodge.

Beswicke-Royds MS. We accept Bro. Baxter's emendation that this MS. was probably inherited by Bro. C. R. N. Beswicke-Royds from his father, and not presented to him.

Cole's Constitutions. In view of Bro. Poole's comment we placed ourselves in communication with the late Bro. Dring's son, Bro. E. M. Dring, who has kindly examined the *Cole* items which he inherited from his father. He 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 the late Bro. E. H. Dring:—

First edition. From the library of Lord Amhurst of Hackney. It is very rare in such 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 on 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 December, 1728, to 27 December, 1729, this indicates that it appeared in 1728-9 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 December, 1726, (ii) Oakley's speech of 31 December, 1728, (iii) a Prologue, (iv) an Epilogue. The title page to these bears the date 1728.

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. Say (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, 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*, 12) to "a specially prepared copy on a paper of 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 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 edition. They are commonly referred to as the third and fourth, but are really the fourth and fifth editions.

Dauntesev MS. Our statement regarding the present ownership was based on a letter of 25 November, 1940, from Mrs. Dauntesev, of Lovells Court, Marnhull, Dorset:—

"We have the manuscript you mention here, but owing to having changes owing to war—evacuees, etc., I cannot at the moment put my hand on it. When I am less pressed for time, I will look it out and let you know."

Bro. Baxter and Bro. Poole state in their comments of April-May, 1941, that this version is in new (and anonymous) ownership. In August, 1941, Bro. Baxter informed us that the recent holder of the *Dauntesev MS.*, or its twin, had relinquished the document to the man from whom he acquired it. At the beginning of October, 1941, the document was being offered for sale on behalf of Mrs. Dauntesev, so was presumably in her possession or that of her agent. It was purchased by G.L. shortly afterwards.

According to Rylands, the document bears on the outside in a modern hand the words "A Manuscript Treatise on Freemasonry, c. 1690", whereas the version exhibited to Bro. Baxter bears in a modern hand the endorsement "The Constitutions or Old Charges of Masonry, c. 1690". The endorsement on the G.L. copy is as stated by Bro. Baxter, and appears to be the original writing on the cover. We can only suppose that Rylands did not copy the endorsement when transcribing the document, and that he trusted to memory or possibly to a casual reference to the document contained in a letter from Mr. Robert Dauntesev, of Agecroft Hall, Manchester, the then owner.

Lamb Smith MS. Bro. Underwood, Librarian, Prov. G.L., Worcs., very much doubts whether Lamb Smith ever possessed a copy of the Old Charges. He informs us that in the Lamb Smith scrapbooks there are many letters from Hughan up to October, 1890, but not the slightest hint of any such find which, to such a keen collector as Lamb Smith was, must have caused great joy. Bro. Underwood is of opinion that the missing MS. was probably a minute book of the Mercy and Truth Lodge, No. 703, Evesham, 1818-27, lent by Lamb Smith to John Lane in 1889 and subsequently long missing. It came into the possession of the Province some four or five years ago through a Brother in Birmingham.

Phillipps MSS. Bro. Waples informs us that he has a letter, dated 27 November, 1899, written by G. W. Bain to Fitzroy Fenwick, of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham (grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.), offering to buy an ancient MS. Charge, and also two letters, dated 15 December, 1899, and 31 January, 1900, from Fitzroy Fenwick to Bain, the second of which is a confirmation of the sale of the MS. Charges to Bain for 55 gns., a sum which Bain paid in two instalments. Bro. Waples has not been able to trace the subsequent history of this version of the Old Charges, though he thinks that possibly it might be the *Strachan MS.* The transaction suggests to us either that Fitzroy Fenwick sold one of the three MSS. known to Masonic students as the *Phillipps Nos. 1, 2 and 3 MSS.*, and that its present location is unknown, or that the correspondence relates to what is now called the *Strachan MS.*,

which Bain purchased c. 1899. Regarding that MS., Hughan wrote (*Old Charges*, 1895, p. 159):—

In October, 1888, Col. John Mead, of Redhill, wrote to me about a MS. he had seen at Mr. Bohn's, Brighton, which had been found amongst some old deeds . . . I at once offered to buy the scroll, but in the interim it had been purchased by a gentleman who has declined to allow his name to transpire, and refuses to give me any particulars as to the text.

Bro. Col. Rickard informs us that Bain, in his preface to the *Strachan MS.* (which is in the Q.C. Lodge Library), says that it was discovered by Col. Mead at Messrs. Bohn's, of Brighton. It was intended to go to America, but he, (Bain) saved it and acquired it.

We cannot imagine that Bain was the anonymous purchaser referred to by Hughan, as he would have been only too anxious to make his discovery known. On the other hand, Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., the great collector, died in 1872, but it is possible that his son-in-law, the Rev. J. E. A. Fenwick, father of Fitzroy Fenwick, was the purchaser of the MS. discovered by Col. Mead, though we find it very difficult to believe that Mr. Fenwick was the gentleman "who refuses to give . . . any particulars as to the text", as he was most helpful in 1888, when Bro. Speth visited Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, to inspect the *Phillipps MSS.*, and again a few years later, when Speth revisited Thirlestaine House in connection with the preparation of the facsimiles of the MSS., subsequently reproduced in *Q.C.A.*, v.

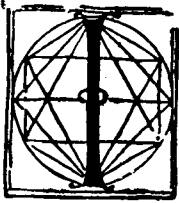
In view of the possibility that one of the *Phillipps MSS.* was sold to Bain in 1900 and was subsequently disposed of to an unknown buyer, we have made inquiries in America regarding the possibility that there is a version of the Old Charges in America other than the *Carmick*, *Scarborough*, *Spencer*, *Carson* and *Boyd*, but we can obtain no news of such a document.

In the new edition of the Handlist we have also been able to supplement or correct what we originally wrote about the *Briscoe*, *Colne*, *Embleton*, *Fisher*, *Holywell*, *Hope*, *Inigo Jones*, *Levander-York*, *Newcastle Lodge*, *Papworth*, *Probit*, *Thorp*, *Tunnah*, *Wm. Watson*, *Wood* and *Woodford MSS.*, but need not repeat the emendations here. Further, we have adopted the suggestion of Bro. Williams that where a MS. contains an exact date, that should be quoted. We have not, however, inserted the classification letters and numbers, as suggested by Bro. Poole, because they do not seem to us to be of interest to the ordinary masonic reader, or to help in identifying an old MS. which may crop up under a new name, or as a new and unnamed version. Thus the mere fact that the *Dauntsey MS.* is distinguished as D 23 does not help, so far as we can see, to decide whether the version recently inspected by Bro. Baxter in Manchester, and believed by Bro. Poole to be the *Dauntsey MS.* itself, was, or was not, the MS. in question.



BEGEMANN'S HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES.



IN masonic studies, as in older branches of learning, the reward of research is sometimes undeservedly delayed. Of the pioneer in medicine it has recently been said, that—

“he is usually a generation in front of so-called orthodox opinion when he proclaims his new doctrines; and unless he lives to a ripe old age, like Lister, Freud or Havelock Ellis, is apt to die neglected and unknown before his message to the world is understood. His only joy is that he has followed the gleam.”¹

That consolation at least, it is to be hoped, was not denied to Dr. Wilhelm Begemann,² whose labours in the field of masonic history did not, during his lifetime, earn the recognition they deserved, and are still largely unknown in this country. We have to confess that as recently as 1939, when our *Scottish Mason* was published, we were unaware of the existence of his *Pre-history of Freemasonry in Scotland*. In the preface to the second volume of his *History of Freemasonry in England* (1910), he refers to the smallness of the sale of the first volume of his *History*, published a year previously, and quotes a friend's remark that the general body of masons would not begin to appreciate correctly the importance of his work for fifteen or twenty years. He adds, somewhat pathetically, “I shall no longer be alive.” In the thirty years which have gone by since the appearance of his *History* (an age by no means unappreciative of German scholarship in other fields of learning), no review of that work, despite its great importance, has appeared in *A.Q.C.* His older contributions on the Old Charges were, indeed, more than once the subject of very favourable comment by Bro. Speth in early numbers of the *Lodge Transactions*. Moreover, his classification of the Old Charges, or *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, was generally adopted, as it deserved to be, by English masonic students, and a short account of it, prepared by himself, was printed in Gould's *Concise History of Freemasonry*. His *History* had at least one great admirer in England, the late Bro. Lionel Vibert, who undertook the onerous task of translating the two volumes relating

¹ From a review of McDonagh's *Universe through Medicine*, *Sunday Times*, 14 July, 1940.

² Georg Emil Wilhelm Begemann was born in 1843, and studied classical, German and comparative philology. He was made a mason in 1879 at Rostock, Mecklenburg, where he resided. In 1895 he moved to Berlin, dying in 1914. Immediately after his initiation he became keenly interested in the archaeological and historical side of freemasonry, and more particularly in the Old Charges, and when still a very young mason was elected, in 1888, Provincial Grand Master of Mecklenburg under the Grand National Lodge of Berlin, an office to which he was re-elected twice, and which he continued to hold until his removal to Berlin in 1895. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1887 and remained a member until his death. His principal masonic publications were *Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Freimaurerei in England*, vol. i, 1909; vol. ii, 1910; *Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Freimaurerei in Irland*, 1911; *Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Freimaurerei in Schottland*, vol. i, 1914. In quoting these publications in our paper, we translate the titles into English, or refer to them more familiarly as the *English History*, the *Irish History* and the *Scottish Pre-history*.

to England, so as to make them available to English readers, and it was only the untimely death of Bro. E. H. Dring which prevented the publication by Messrs. Bernard Quaritch of that translation.¹ Even at this date we venture to bring the valuable work done by Begemann to the notice of the Brethren, not in a formal and detailed review, but by way of an attempt to assess the *History* as a contribution to masonic studies, and to give the author his due position among masonic historians.²

Begemann had been contributing papers to masonic journals and publishing masonic pamphlets for some twenty years, when in 1909 the first volume of his *History of Freemasonry* appeared in print, the author at that time being 66 years of age. In the preface he explained that he planned to devote two volumes to England (one to the Pre-history and one to the Foundation and Development of Grand Lodge to 1813), one volume to Scotland and Ireland, one to France and one to Sweden. The second English volume appeared in 1910; in 1911 a small volume on the Pre-history and Beginnings of Freemasonry in Ireland was published, and in 1914 a large volume on the Old Scottish Operative Lodges, which, according to the preface, was to be followed by a second volume on the Beginnings of Freemasonry in Scotland. Neither the second Scottish volume nor the volumes on France and Sweden have ever been published. Thus his *History of Freemasonry*, as Begemann planned it, remains incomplete. Even had he lived long enough to finish his great work, it would nevertheless have been very far from covering the whole ground, as conceived by present-day English masonic students.

At no point does Begemann appear to define his subject very closely. He comes nearest to doing so, probably, when stating that there are two main schools of masonic historians: the first conceives of the real history of freemasonry as beginning in 1717, with the establishment of Grand Lodge in London, though it admits that the old operative lodges and their descendants were forerunners of Grand Lodge; the second regards the real history of freemasonry as beginning before 1717, as the continuation of former movements such as those of the Templars or the Rosicrucians. He goes on to state that the first school of thought has long prevailed in England, and that he himself is an adherent of that school. Apart from the pre-history of freemasonry, that school, as he interprets it, seems to be solely concerned with the development of Grand Lodges in the various countries. This is brought out very clearly by the table of contents of the second volume of his English History:—

1. The London Grand Lodge from 1717 to 1723.
2. The first Grand Masters and their collaborators.
3. The *Book of Constitutions* of 1723.

¹ We learn from the Report of the Committee for 1913 (*A.Q.C.*, xxvii, 2) that originally the Quatuor Coronati Lodge was to be responsible for the publication:

The Lodge has . . . undertaken the publication of an English edition of the important work of Bro. Dr. Begemann, of Berlin, entitled *The Early History and Beginnings of Freemasonry in England*. The task of translation has been very kindly undertaken by Bro. Lionel Vibert, who will incorporate much additional information on the subject contributed by Dr. Begemann to the German masonic periodicals, which hitherto has not been available for English readers.

The Report for 1914 (*A.Q.C.*, xxviii, 2), issued after the outbreak of the Great War, states that "the projected publication of the English edition of Dr. Begemann's book has had to be postponed." The only other references in *A.Q.C.* to Vibert's translation, which we have been able to trace, are the occasions when he was elected a joining member of the Lodge in 1917 (*A.Q.C.*, xxx, 2), when he was installed as Master of the Lodge in 1921 (*A.Q.C.*, xxxiv, 218), and when Bro. Dring died in 1928, and it was stated that at the time of his death he had in hand arrangements for the publication of the translation of Begemann's book (*A.Q.C.*, xli, 287).

² This paper is to be communicated very shortly to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. We have to thank the following for assisting us in various ways: Bro. Col. F. M. Rickard, Bro. Albert L. Mond, our colleagues Douglas Hamer and A. G. Pool, and Mr. H. M. McKechnie, Secretary of the Manchester University Press.

4. The London Grand Lodge after 1723.
5. The expansion of the London Grand Lodge at home and abroad.
6. The small English Grand Lodges.
7. The Grand Lodge of the Antients.
8. The Union of the two London Grand Lodges.

Similarly in the Irish *History*, the first chapter of twelve pages is devoted to lodges prior to 1717; the remaining 206 pages to (i) the older Grand Lodges of Dublin and Cork, (ii) Pennell's *Book of Constitutions* of 1730, (iii) the Grand Lodge of Ireland in Dublin from 1731 to 1751, and (iv) the Grand Lodge of Ireland after 1751.

Begemann's treatment of English freemasonry may thus conveniently be discussed under three main heads: (i) the pre-1717 period, which he refers to as the pre-history of freemasonry; (ii) the selection of the year 1717 as marking the real beginning of freemasonry; (iii) the post-1717 period.

(i) *The pre-1717 period.* At the outset, Begemann's strong philological interest leads him to devote fifty pages to discussing the meaning of the three words "lodge," "mason," and "freemason." To elucidate the meaning of the last two, he quotes no fewer than 104 examples of the use of these words from 1212 to 1737. None of these appears to us to be a new discovery, and almost all of them are taken from secondary authorities, such as the *Dictionary of Architecture*, Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, *The Freemason* and *A.Q.C.* He finally reaches the conclusion, which had previously been reached by Papworth, and which we also share, that originally the freemason was a man who worked in freestone.

This philological prelude is followed by an account, running to forty pages, of such ordinances and statutes relating to medieval masons as were available in print at the time he wrote. In consequence of this limitation, there is no reference to the London Ordinances of Masons or Freemasons approved in 1481, 1509-10, 1521, 1580 or 1607, which were then available only in the Guildhall Records Office. There is no attempt to discuss the extent to which the various regulations and enactments were observed, or the efforts made to enforce them. Furthermore, Begemann takes no cognizance whatever of the vast mass of manuscript material (some of which was available in the Calendars of State Papers and other published records at the time when he wrote), including building accounts, fabric rolls, contracts, wage assessments and impressment orders, which provide a far more vivid and complete picture of the conditions under which medieval masons worked and lived, than any municipal ordinances or statutes of the realm are able to do. It would, of course, have been difficult for Begemann, living in Germany and having only occasional opportunities of working in English repositories, to make much use of such records, but the fact that he was apparently unconscious of their existence must be counted a defect. So it was also, and far less excusably, in some of his contemporaries.

The next chapter, dealing with the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, and occupying nearly half the volume, embraces a first-hand study (mostly in facsimiles or reprints) of all the then known versions of the Old Charges, especial attention being devoted to the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.* These two sections are really complete essays in themselves, in which the various problems raised by these two old manuscripts are thoroughly discussed. The remaining versions are dealt with more shortly, but still at very considerable length. That Begemann was intimately acquainted with the texts of the Old Charges must be obvious to every reader. His pioneer work on the subject had been embodied in a series of papers contributed between 1888 and 1894 to the *Zirkelcorrespondenz*, the quarterly magazine of the Grand National Lodge of Berlin, and in a short article on the classification of the Old Charges, printed in *A.Q.C.*, i. In his *History* he summarises the conclusions he had previously reached. Of the value of this

work there can be no two opinions; nevertheless, by giving too much space to it, Begemann upset the proportions of the *History*. Textual criticism and detailed analysis of the documents, together with what is practically a complete translation into German of the *Cooke MS.*, would seem more suited to a monograph on the Old Charges than to a history of freemasonry.

The last chapter, apart from a short summary, occupies 180 pages and is concerned with "The Old Brotherhood and the Society of Freemasons." It contains much detailed information about the London Acception, the old lodges at Chester and York, the operative lodges of Swalwell and Alnwick, Elias Ashmole at Warrington and in London, and the statements of Plot and Aubrey concerning the Society of Freemasons, together with a discussion of the New Articles of the *Roberts MS.* So far as we can judge, Begemann tapped no new sources of information, but some of his comments and observations suggest new interpretations of previously established facts, interpretations with which, in some cases, we do not find ourselves in agreement. Thus we cannot accept his suggestion that Plot meant by "a large parchment volume" containing the history of the craft, not a volume in the ordinary sense of the word, but a roll. Neither do we agree with his explanation of that somewhat puzzling record (B.M. Harl. MS. 2054, fo. 34) of names and figures relating to the Chester Lodge, namely, that candidates made graduated payments to the individual members of the Lodge by way of admission fee. This problem we have recently discussed in *A.Q.C.*, li.

(ii) *The year 1717.* As Bro. Poole pointed out some twenty years ago (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvii), and as we have stressed much more recently in our *Short History of Freemasonry*, the year 1730, rather than 1716 or 1717, marks the real close of what may be described as the pre-Grand Lodge period. Though the year 1717 saw the formation of Grand Lodge by four London and Westminster lodges, yet, so far as one can deduce from the available evidence, the practices of the freemasons were approximately the same in the years immediately following 1717 as they had been in the years immediately before it. At the time, the formation of Grand Lodge was an event of very minor importance in the development of freemasonry, and in no sense constituted a milestone in masonic history. In retrospect, however, it has become all-important in the eyes of those masonic students, of whom Begemann is one, who interpret freemasonry only as the *organization* which has from time to time prevailed among freemasons, in preference to the more modern and wider conception of the subject, which regards freemasonry as comprising both the *organization* and the *practices*, which have at various times prevailed in the craft. As we have indicated in discussing Begemann's treatment of the pre-1717 period, no attempt is made to examine the origins of masonic ceremonies, or to trace the development of craft working, and the same applies to his treatment of the post-1717 period. Apart from quoting with approval a passage from Speth's warning against a tendency on the part of German masonic writers to read into early English freemasonry philosophical ideas, which at a much later period prevailed in German freemasonry, but at no time existed in the English craft, Begemann does not appear to deal with the practices or ideas underlying freemasonry at any particular date. The fact that the year 1717 saw the beginning of a new, and what ultimately proved to be a very important form of masonic organization, seems to have led Begemann to accept 1717 as marking an epoch in masonic history, thereby overlooking the much more important fact, as it seems to us, that the ideas and practices underlying freemasonry underwent no important change, if any, in that particular year. As we see it, accepted or speculative masonry underwent gradual changes throughout a period of years stretching from well before 1717 to well after that date. The old accepted masonry of the late seventeenth century slowly evolved into the speculative masonry which prevailed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Strictly speaking, no particular year can be

picked out as forming a sharp dividing line between the old and the new, but if the masonic historian, notwithstanding, feels obliged for practical purposes to divide his study into clearly defined periods, then the year 1730, which saw the publication of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* and the more or less definite establishment of the trigradal system, is a much more fundamental dividing line than the year 1717. Begemann made no attempt to justify his adoption of the year 1717 as marking the beginning of the real history of freemasonry; he simply accepted the then prevailing practice among masonic historians, as Bro. Vibert did a few years later, when he wrote that very useful little book, *Freemasonry before the Existence of Grand Lodges*. In his general approach to the study of masonic history, Begemann was in no sense a pioneer.

(iii) *The post-1717 period.* We have previously indicated the headings under which Begemann dealt with this period; the most original part of his study was undoubtedly his searching analysis of Anderson's *Constitutions*. The account of the formation and early days of Grand Lodge in the 1738 edition is first subjected to close examination, all the independent evidence, such as Stukeley, contemporary newspapers, and the minutes of Grand Lodge from 1723 onwards, being brought under review to test the accuracy of Anderson's statements. This is followed by a critical study of the 1723 edition, section by section, from the Dedication to the Approbation. Although late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English writers, such as Preston and Oliver, had accepted and reproduced without question Anderson's version of masonic history, and his account of the formation and beginnings of Grand Lodge, the more critical English and German masonic historians of the second half of the nineteenth century had noted the various discrepancies in Anderson's statements of masonic events, and had entirely discarded his earlier history, which was simply a revision and bringing up to date of the legend originally contained in the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*. Begemann, writing more than twenty years after the publication of Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, was able to avail himself of certain new researches concerning Anderson and the early days of Grand Lodge, which had been published in *A.Q.C.* In his attitude to Anderson, therefore, Begemann was not original, but followed a tradition. His treatment of Anderson was, indeed, more severe than that of his predecessors, his criticism being almost vindictive in character. The reason was probably that he regarded Anderson as not merely unreliable and inaccurate, but guilty of a major crime in an historian, the deliberate misquotation of authorities.

Anderson cannot, indeed, be taken very seriously as an historian of ancient and medieval masonry, but some of his faults were those of his day; yet, however credulous and unscientific he may have been in his handling of the past, his evidence on events within the sphere of his own observation must, unless very strong arguments to the contrary be produced, count as valuable. Since his account of the period 1723-38 agrees substantially with the minutes of Grand Lodge; since newspaper and other independent evidence provides at least some support for his statements relating to the period 1717-23; and as his whole account of the early days of Grand Lodge was apparently approved by certain members of Grand Lodge who had participated in the events recorded, we question whether it is permissible to pick and choose among Anderson's statements in the way in which Begemann appears to do, accepting some and rejecting others, sometimes without giving any reason at all. Thus, for example, when he comes to Anderson's claim that the manner of constituting a new lodge (including the installation of the Master), as given in a Postscript to Anderson's *Constitutions*, was "according to the ancient usages of Masons," Begemann rejects the claim on the ground that "obviously (*selbstverständlich*) such a constitution of a new lodge was previously unknown," although Lodge Mother Kilwinning had undoubtedly constituted more than one new lodge in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and formalities in connection with the

installation of the Master of a Lodge may possibly have been observed even earlier.

We have already referred to the omission by Begemann of any attempt to trace the development of masonic practices after 1717; the one casual reference to the subject which we have noted, namely, "the trigradal system was gradually established after 1724," is unsupported by any evidence whatsoever, notwithstanding the fact that the development of the trigradal system is one of the most debatable subjects in the whole of freemasonry. Begemann also makes no attempt to describe the rise and fall of the rival clubs and societies which sprang up after 1723, or to discuss the publication of the so-called "exposures," of which so many versions and editions were published during the eighteenth century.

Apart from a short chapter in Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, the study of Irish masonic history had been very much neglected when Chetwode Crawley in the 1890's published three volumes of reproductions of important Irish masonic documents under the title of *Camentaria Hibernica*. He himself says in the preface: "In undertaking this series I do not propose to write a History of Freemasonry in Ireland, but I hope to render such a History possible." Some ten years later, Begemann, availing himself of Chetwode Crawley's preliminary work, wrote his *Pre-History and Beginnings of Freemasonry in Ireland* (Berlin, 1911), which can claim to be a pioneer work, as it was the first scientific book on the subject. That it has since been largely displaced by the more comprehensive work of Bros. Lepper and Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland* (Dublin, 1925), in no way lessens the recognition due to Begemann for his careful and scholarly work.

The study of Scottish masonic history received considerable attention during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Gould devoted substantial space to it in his *History of Freemasonry*, and various Lodge Histories were published, of which Murray Lyon's *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1* was the most comprehensive. It was much wider in its scope than the short title would suggest, and embraced an account of the rise and progress of masonry in Scotland. Still, as a history of Scottish freemasonry, it left much to be desired. Begemann's more detailed and systematic study of the pre-history of freemasonry in Scotland was thus very welcome, and it is much to be regretted that the second volume, dealing with the formation and development of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, was never published. The *Pre-history* consists of only four chapters. The first relates to the national and municipal regulation of the old Scottish gilds; it is concerned with gilds in general and not with masons' gilds in particular, the existence of which is simply taken for granted (as is commonly the case in English histories written in the later nineteenth century) without the production of any evidence that they existed, or even considering whether conditions prevailed which made their existence at all likely. The second chapter deals with the Schaw Statutes, the St. Clair Charters, and the Falkland Statutes. Begemann failed to grasp the significance of the peculiar Scottish system of entered apprenticeship, and consequently did not appreciate the distinction between an apprentice and an entered apprentice. As in his *English History*, he made no attempt, in discussing operative masonry, to use the information about working masons which is contained in building accounts and masons' contracts. The third chapter analyses the Scottish versions of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, which are all direct and indirect copies of English versions, and shows the same mastery of the subject as the corresponding examination, in his *English History*, of the English versions. The fourth chapter, which runs to 370 pages and occupies two-thirds of the book, deals lodge by lodge with those Scottish lodges which existed before the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736. During a visit to Scotland in 1912, Begemann examined numerous lodge records, and was consequently able to print various extracts from early minute books which are not to be found in Lodge Histories;

but although he is concerned with nearly fifty lodges, he devotes the bulk of his space to Lodge Mother Kilwinning and to the Lodges of Edinburgh, Aitchison's Haven, Melrose, Aberdeen, Canongate Kilwinning, Scoon and Perth, and Glasgow St. John.

Though Begemann's Scottish *Pre-history* as a whole cannot perhaps be described as a pioneer work, it is a mine of information and a model of thoroughness. Nevertheless, there are at least two very disappointing omissions. There is no discussion of that all-important Scottish operative institution, the Mason Word, and there is no attempt to examine the influence of practices prevailing among Scottish operative masons on the practices of contemporary English accepted masons. As a consequence, no reference is made to the great debt which present-day speculative masonry throughout the habitable globe owes to seventeenth-century Scottish operative masonry.

Despite the originality of some of his contributions, Begemann's work, when viewed as a whole, is to be regarded less as that of a pioneer than as that of the last of the so-called authentic¹ or critical² school of masonic writers, which flourished from the middle of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of the Great War, one which included Gould, Hughan, Rylands, Sadler, and Speth in England; Murray Lyon in Scotland; Chetwode Crawley in Ireland; Mackey in America; and Kloss, Findel, and Begemann in Germany. This school approached the subject of freemasonry for the first time in a critical and scientific spirit, and consequently rejected many of the inaccurate and purely fanciful statements which had passed as serious masonic history in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Georg Kloss (1787-1854) may perhaps be described as the father of this school; his *History of Freemasonry in England, Ireland and Scotland*, published in 1847, was in its day a pioneer work. The 1860's saw the appearance of J. G. Findel's *History of Freemasonry*, a reliable study, apart from its adoption of the Steinmetz origin of freemasonry. It was translated into English and remained the standard work on the subject for some twenty years, when it was superseded by R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, a work on a considerably bigger scale, and embodying a large amount of new material. Another twenty years passed before Begemann's *History of Freemasonry* was published in 1909-1914. Nearly fifty years elapsed between the publication of Findel's *History* and that of Begemann, yet Findel (1828-1905) and Begemann (1843-1914) were contemporaries, and the same was true of Gould (1836-1915), Hughan (1841-1911), Sadler (1840-1911), Speth (1847-1901) and Rylands (1847-1922). There was this difference, however: Findel wrote his *History* whilst he was in his early thirties; Gould whilst he was in his late forties; and Begemann whilst he was in his late sixties.

¹ Bro. Albert G. Mackey wrote in 1875 (*Masonic Mag.*, iii, 99): "The theory of the origin of Freemasonry now most generally accepted is that of the authentic school of Masonic history. The leaders of the authentic school in England are Hughan and Woodford; in Scotland, Lyon; in Germany, Findel. If a prodigality of credulity has been the weakness of the mythical school, their rivals may be charged with having sometimes exercised an excess of incredulity. They decline to accept any statement whose authenticity is not supported by some written or printed record, and a few of them have gone so far as to circumscribe the history of Freemasonry within the narrow limits of that period which commences with . . . the foundation of the Grand Lodge of England."

Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley wrote in 1895 (*Cam. Hib.*, i, 5): "All existing histories of Freemasonry have been divided into two Schools, the Mythical or Imaginative, and the Verified or Authentic. . . . The Authentic School, submitting itself to the ordinary canons of historical research, takes no fact for granted until proved."

We have been described by Bro. John Saltmarsh, of King's College, Cambridge (*Economic History Review*, Feb., 1938) as "authentic of the Authentics." We certainly hope that we comply with Chetwode Crawley's condition of "taking no fact for granted until proved," but we make no claim to belong to the Authentic School, with its narrow interpretation of the field of masonic history and its restricted method of approach.

² E. L. Hawkins, *Concise Cyclopædia of Freemasonry* (1908), p. 137.

Begemann's work was characterized by systematic arrangement, great thoroughness, and close attention to detail, but its usefulness is seriously diminished by the fact that none of his volumes contains an index. He himself stressed his desire to place his readers in possession of *all* the facts, so that they could readily follow how he had reached his conclusions, and could, if they did not agree, formulate conclusions of their own. To the present-day reader, however, who has no liking for three-volume full-dress biographies and similar publications, but prefers to receive his information in a relatively compact form, the Begemann method does not appeal very strongly, and there is a real danger that the reader will not see the wood for the trees. Similar criticism was directed against Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, but in that case the author recognized the justice of the criticism and produced his *Concise History of Freemasonry* in 1903. To judge by remarks in more than one of his prefaces, Begemann planned ultimately to follow a similar course, but was unfortunately never able to complete his *History*, much less to prepare a shorter version.

Another object Begemann had in view in placing *all* the facts before his readers was to write a definitive history of freemasonry, an ambition which he shared with contemporary masonic historians. Present-day students realize, in a way which members of the critical school apparently do not, that there are at least three considerations which render the writing of a definitive history of freemasonry impracticable for the time being.

In the first place, there are still very large fields of knowledge concerning masonry which are either entirely unknown, or but slightly explored, in particular everything which has to do with the organization and practices of the operative masons, both in England and Scotland. Once the view is accepted, as it was by members of the critical school, and still is by their successors, that speculative masonry is descended from operative masonry, then the need for more light on the ways of the operative masons should be fairly obvious. As we have pointed out above, a vast mass of manuscript material exists, and much patient research is called for, so that the treasures it contains may be laid open. A fair amount of this very necessary work has been done during the last fifteen or twenty years, but very far from sufficient to enable anything approaching a definite history of the operative period to be written.

In the second place, there is always the possibility of important new masonic documents being discovered. Actually, not many years before Begemann published the first volume of his *History*, two important new documents, the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* of 1711 and the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* of circa 1700, had been brought to light, each of which contained evidence conflicting with pre-conceived ideas and theories of members of the critical school. Hugan countered the evidence contained in these documents of the early development of more than one degree, by questioning the probable dates of the manuscripts, and ascribing them to a later and, from his point of view, more convenient period. Begemann, on the other hand, accepted in his *Irish History* the date of 1711 endorsed on the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.*, but made no mention of the fact that the manuscript recognizes three classes of mason, each with its own secrets; nor did he try to reconcile that fact with the casual remark in his *English History*, that the trigradal system was gradually established after 1724. If Hugan attempted to meet the new evidence by re-dating the manuscripts, Begemann avoided it by ignoring the most important fact about the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* As there can be no question that Begemann was acquainted with the contents of the document (his acknowledgment to Chetwode Crawley for supplying him with a photograph of it being printed in the text), we can only suppose that he failed to grasp its significance.

Since Begemann wrote, two new masonic documents of great importance have been discovered, the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* and the *Graham MS.* The former, which bears the date 1696, closely resembles the *Chetwode Crawley*

MS. in content, except that the two parts are transposed; it fully confirms the opinion of palæographical experts that the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* was written circa 1700. The *Graham*, written in 1726, in addition to a catechism on somewhat similar lines to the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, contains legendary matter concerning Noah, Bezaleel, and King Solomon, which bears little resemblance to the events recorded in the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, and provides a new explanation, associated with Noah, of the Five Points of Fellowship. These two manuscripts, which were introduced to masonic students in 1932 and 1937 by Bro. J. Mason Allan and Bro. H. Poole respectively, have thrown considerable new light on the subject of the Mason Word, and have necessitated a revision of such conclusions as had previously been reached on that somewhat elusive subject. If Bro. Lepper's suggestion (*A.Q.C.*, li, 237) materializes, and a lucky discovery enriches us with a legend associating the Craft with the Tower of Babel, a further revision of current views on the Mason Word will possibly be called for. Knowledge on the subject of the evolution of masonic ritual is very far from having reached finality, and all conclusions based on the evidence at present available must necessarily be tentative in character.

In the third place, opinions are liable to change regarding the scope of the subject and the method of approach, and such changes have undoubtedly taken place since Begemann wrote. We have already drawn attention to the fact that whereas Begemann concerned himself with the development of *organization* among freemasons, present-day students are concerned with both the *organization* and the *practices* prevailing among freemasons at different periods. Furthermore, they are inclined to employ both analytical and comparative methods, whereas the critical school was mainly descriptive in its methods, and inclined to regard masonic developments in each country in isolation. Bro. Songhurst's approach to the problem of the origin of the Royal Arch,¹ and Bro. Meekren's study of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge minutes,² with a view to proving the early existence of two degrees, may be quoted as good examples of the analytical method. The attempts we have made to trace the connection between Scottish operative and English accepted masonry, and to co-ordinate English and Irish experience, in order to throw light on masonic development in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, are illustrations of the comparative method. According to modern ideas, also, it is no longer the historian's business to set out *all* the facts and to present the reader with an immense mass of detail; rather it is for the historian to make a judicious selection of the facts which appear to him to be essential, and to arrange them in a well-ordered and properly balanced scheme, so that the reader may obtain a general, but nevertheless adequate, impresssion of the particular developments that are under review.

If Begemann was a typical member of the critical school of masonic historians in the matter of the narrowness of his conception of the history of freemasonry, the exhaustiveness of his treatment of the subject, as understood by him, and in his desire to write a definitive history, he differed from other writers of the school in introducing relatively few polemics into his *History*, though he was responsible for more than one pamphlet of a strongly polemical character. In his *History* he was disposed to adopt the more modern practice of largely ignoring antiquated and exploded theories of the origin of freemasonry, though he apparently found some difficulty in avoiding attempts to refute theories and hypotheses advanced by contemporary writers such as Gould in England and Sonnenkalb in Germany, with which he did not find himself in agreement. On these occasions he was inclined to depart from the strictly objective attitude expected of a scientific historian, and to drop into a subjective

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxxii, 34-5.

² *A.Q.C.*, liii.

approach to his subject, more than once pointing out to his readers his peculiar qualifications for dealing with the matters in dispute.

Although we have stressed Begemann's weak points, as well as his strong ones, we recognize and appreciate the very large amount of solid work which he put into his *History*. It must always be remembered that he laboured under the severe handicap that all the manuscript sources and many of the printed sources were located many hundreds of miles away from his home, and that even secondary authorities were not always readily available. Further, it must not be forgotten that he was studying what was to him a foreign institution, whose records were necessarily in a foreign tongue. These handicaps doubtless accounted to some extent for the restricted character of the ground he covered. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, he made valuable contributions to masonic knowledge, and we welcome this opportunity of paying a somewhat belated tribute to his zeal and skill as a masonic historian, and of expressing our regret that he was unable to complete his *History of Freemasonry* as originally planned.



THE LODGE IN TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, 1688.

BY R. E. PARKINSON.



THE Masonic Student has been likened to the explorer of a great river, who, travelling upstream in search of its source, comes at last to an obstacle, unsurmountable at the moment, beyond which, looming in the distance, may be seen landmarks yet to be defined, and laid down in relation to the main stream.

In Ireland the most prominent of such landmarks is the existence of a Speculative Lodge in Trinity College, Dublin, in the year 1688, so well known as to form the target of the gibes of a satirical speaker at the public conferment of degrees in the University.

It was then the custom, in the University of Dublin, as in those of Oxford and Cambridge, at the annual Commencements, for a representative of the undergraduates, known as *Terrae Filius*, or "Son of the Soil", to deliver a harangue, in which he was privileged to inveigh against all and sundry in the University.

At the Midsummer Commencement of 13th July, 1688, the *Terrae Filius* was one John Jones, A.B., and his harangue, or *Tripes*, long lay hidden in the Manuscript Room of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, until given to the world by Dr. Barrett, the Vice-provost, who sought, with commendable, if misdirected, ingenuity, to prove that the real author was Jonathan Swift. Although noticed by Oliver, it remained for Dr. Chetwode Crawley to bring it definitely to the attention of masonic students, in his introduction to Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations*. Crawley there quoted those parts of the *Tripes* with a masonic bearing, and, emphasising the importance of such an event in the period before 1700, left it to speak for itself. The following is an attempt to examine it more fully, and, while it may not be possible to chart its implications completely, it is hoped that channels may be opened up for more intrepid, or more fortunate explorers.

Crawley has given¹ an admirable sketch of Dublin as it was in the early eighteenth century, and to a large extent his account holds good also for the period of the *Tripes*. The city had grown enormously since the Restoration, and the University drew its students, not only from all over Ireland, but many from the western half of England as well. Tyrconnel, as Lord Deputy, was furthering his master's plans; the Corporation of Dublin was forced to surrender its old Charters and accept a new one, more in accordance with the royal wishes. Gilbert remarks "The collaboration at this time of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Quakers in the Dublin civic council, under the new charter, has not hitherto been noticed."² Thus the idea of toleration, so essentially masonic, was then "in the air".

Barrett published the *Tripes* in 1808, in his *Essay on the Earlier Part of the Life of Swift*, and impressed by his arguments, Sir Walter Scott included the speech in his edition of Swift's Works, 1814.³ Though Crawley was not

¹ *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. I, *The Irish Constitutions*, p. 1.

² J. T. Gilbert, *Ancient Records of the City of Dublin*, vol. v, p. xlix.

³ *Swift's Works*, 1814, vol. vi, p. 223.

convinced by them, Barrett's arguments leave one with the idea that Swift quite likely had at least a hand in the pie!

John Barrett was an extraordinary character; he is described¹ as "a man of low stature, with a huge head disproportionate to the size of his body, and a large hooked nose, disproportionate to the size of his head. His feet were small, and he stood with them close together, so that at a distance he looked like an equilateral triangle standing on its vertex." He entered Trinity College in 1770 as a Pensioner,² was Scholar 1773, B.A. 1775, M.A. and Fellow 1778, B.D. 1786, and D.D. 1790. He was successively Professor of Oriental Languages, Regius Professor of Greek, Professor of Hebrew, and Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity. He was Vice-provost of the College from 1807 till his death in 1821. During his career he is said to have hardly ever left the College precincts, and he combined the most profound learning with an amazing ignorance of commonplace things. He accumulated a large fortune, the bulk of which he left to certain Fellows of the College in trust for various charitable institutions—among them, £500 to the Masonic Female Orphan School of Ireland.

He was, perhaps, the last man to publish, in all seriousness, a work on Astrology, *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Signs of the Zodiac* (Dublin, 1800), in which he traces, not only the events of past history, but deduces those to come. "This odd work, which in profound learning and number of quotations is equalled only by Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, exhibits, however, great zeal for the truths of Christianity."³

He has, nevertheless, a lasting claim to fame in his *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii S.S. Trin. Dub. Descriptum Opera et Studio Johannis Barrett, S.T.B., Socii Sen. Trin. Coll. Dub., cui adjungitur Appendix Collationem Codicis Montfortiani Complectens. Illust. Tab. Aen. LXIV* (4to. 1801.)

This early version of the Gospel, now known as Codex Z, he deciphered from a palimpsest in T.C.D. Library, by years of labour, and enriched with a wealth of notes.

The *Tripes* is contained in a miscellany in three volumes quarto, called the *Whimsical Medley*, the property of Theophilus, first Lord Newtownbutler, and Barrett adduces strong reasons for believing that the *Medley* was compiled by his Lordship himself. He dryly remarks that it contains also a similar harangue, pronounced in the Theatre of Oxford, 10th July, 1693, by the *Terrae Filius*, Mr. H. Aleworth, of Christ Church, which is "replete with the grossest abuse, and most indecent licentiousness." Theophilus, and his younger brother, Brinsley, afterwards first Viscount Lanesborough, entered College together, 27th September, 1686, and both were in residence when the *Tripes* was delivered. Brinsley's son, Humphrey, was Deputy Grand Master of Ireland in 1725.

John Jones, the reputed author of the *Tripes*, was almost certainly the son of Rev. Roger Jones, who was Vicar of Rathkenny, Co. Meath, 1665-67, Vicar of Belfast, and Prebendary of Ballymore in Armagh Cathedral, 1668-78. He was educated at Armagh Royal School, under the headmastership of Isaack Collyer, and entered Trinity College as Sizar, 1st May, 1681, at the age of 17; his Tutor was St. George Ashe, under whose care came also Jonathan Swift and

¹ *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. iii, pp. 264 and 284 (1904).

² Most of the Students entered as Pensioners, the word originally meaning one who paid a fixed sum annually, and not as now, the recipient of such. They ranked above the Sizar, who were allowed free education in consideration of performing certain, at one time menial duties, and below the Fellow Commoners (*Socii Comitatus*), who paid double fees and enjoyed several privileges, including that of finishing the college course in three years instead of four. Briefly, then, it may be taken that the Sizar were sons of poor parents, frequently the clergy; the Pensioners, of persons of moderate incomes, and the Fellow Commoners, of the wealthy. Knights, Baronets, Peers, and Peers' sons are usually recorded respectively as *Eques Auratus*, *Nobilis* (or *Nobilis ipse*), and *Filius Nobilis*. (Introduction to *Alumni Dublinenses*, by Burtchaell and Sadleir, p. viii.)

³ *Dublin Penny Journal*, loc. cit.

his cousin Thomas. Throughout his college career, Jones and the Swifts were intimate companions. He was elected Scholar of the House in 1685, admitted B.A. (*speciali gratia*) at Vernis, 1686, and proceeded M.A. at Vernis, 1691. Barrett argues that he was admitted to the degree of D.D. in 1700, but this is not recorded in *Alumni Dublinenses*. On leaving college he established a very successful school in Dublin, from which more students entered Trinity College than from any other of its time. After 1713 the name is missing from entrants to the College, and he was probably that Rev. John Jones, D.D., whose Prerogative Will was proved in the latter year. Alas, like so many other Irish records, it must have been destroyed by the burning of the Record Office.

Among his pupils was James Quin, the actor, half brother to that Thomas Gransell whom Dermott asserts to have been made a mason long before Modern Masonry was heard of; as Dermott refers to Grinsell's apprenticeship in Dublin, it could be inferred that his initiation took place within measurable time of 1688.

For his pains, "It was ordered that Sir Jones should be deprived of his degree, for false and scandalous reflections in his *Tripes*"; but, within a week, his degradation was remitted, upon application made to the Provost, and intercession on his behalf, but he was suspended of the benefit of his Scholar's and Native's place, and chambers.

The mother of Theophilus, Lord Newtownbutler, was Judith, daughter of Rt. Hon. Sir Theophilus Jones, of Osbertstown, Co. Meath, so our John may have been a poor relation.

The *Tripes* is in Three Acts, a hideous mixture of dog Latin and bog English, and the clauses quoted by Crawley are of a limpid classical style compared with the worst of the author's efforts. Everybody, from the Provost down, is made to feel the lash of his invective, and the second Act, which contains the most of Masonic interest, purports to describe the last Will and Testament of Mary, sister of Rev. Michael Hewitson, sometime Rector of St. Andrew's Parish, in the city of Dublin; concluding the legacies we have ". . . lastly, she bequeathed all her money for the foundation and endowment of a new college . . . Mr. Doyle, for his excellent morals and profound learning to be Provost."

It was into this new college that there was to be introduced a "Society of Freemasons . . . after the example of the Fraternity of Freemasons in and about Trinity College."

Whether there was any hidden meaning in the use of the words "Society" and "Fraternity" may not now be known; but presumably the former implies an association of Fellows and the latter of Brothers, two expressions still to be heard in conjunction in some of our older Irish Lodges.

After the Restoration it was proposed to erect a second college in the University of Dublin, and a clause actually appears in the Act of Settlement by which the new College, to be known as "King's", was to be endowed in perpetuity with £2,000 per annum from sequestrated lands.

Bernard Doyle, the "Mr. Doyle" of Act II, was a somewhat notorious character, who had entered College as Sizar in 1678, and in 1685 was admitted M.A. by special grace. He conformed to the Roman Catholic religion, and obtained a *mandamus* from the King to be admitted to a vacant Fellowship, without taking any oath but that of a Fellow. On being tendered the oath, Doyle refused to take it, as inconsistent with the religion he professed. The College protested to the Lord Lieutenant that Doyle was a person of "Shameful Ignorance and Scandalous Immorality": an enquiry was held, by which the charges were proved. Nevertheless, Doyle persisted; but in the meantime Mr. Arthur Hasset procured a *mandamus* in his own favour.

The members named in the *Tripes* as subscribing for the relief of their indigent brother can almost all be readily identified.

"From Sawney Richardson, a bottle of ale, and two rolls."

ALEXANDER RICHARDSON entered College as Pensioner from the Erasmus Smith School, Drogheda (John Morris, headmaster), 26th July, 1683: son of James, *generosus*, born in County Tyrone. Scholar 1688, B.A. Vern. 1688. I have not been able to identify him more closely than this to my own satisfaction, but the Tyrone Richardsons were early prominent in the Irish Craft; Lepper and Crossle,¹ referring to Archibald Richardson, D.G.M. of Ireland in 1771, 1772, and 1773, identify him with the son of James Richardson, son of Archibald Richardson of Tullyreavy, Co. Tyrone, who was a brother of Swift's friend, William Richardson, of Somerset, near Coleraine, M.P. for Augher, Co. Tyrone, 1727-1755; agent for the Irish Society of London, whom Bro. Crossle identifies with the Mr. Wm. Richardson of the Lodge at the "Ship" behind the Royal Exchange in 1723.

"From Mr. Hassett, a pair of old shoes."

ARTHUR BLENNERHASSETT, Pensioner, from the school of Mr. Wilson, entered 5th May, 1682, aged 18: son of Arthur, born in County Limerick: Scholar, 1683; B.A. Aest. 1685; Fellow *medicus* 1688: M.A. Aest. 1688; B.D. Vern. 1695. Died 4th July, 1696. From the foundation of the College, one of the Fellows was to devote himself to the study of medicine, and from this small beginning grew the Dublin School of Physic. This was the "Mr. Arthur Hassett" who secured the Fellowship sought by Mr. Doyle. He was doubtless one of the Kerry family of Blennerhassett, many of whom, in later generations, were active in the Order in that county.

"From the Right Honourable Lord Charlemont, a cast hat."

WILLIAM CAULFIELD, 2nd Viscount CHARLEMONT, has earned a place in the D.N.B. His name does not appear in the Admission Registers of Trinity College, but as he would have enjoyed the privileges of *Nobilis ipse*, he would not have had to submit to the usual examination and other formalities undergone by commoners. About this time he resided in College Green. Elsewhere in the *Tripes* he comes in for some knocks: "Moreover, I recommend to you . . . an excellent engine for making embroidery, by my very good Lord Charlemont. Likewise his Lordship's *Praxis Arithmetica*, showing that 24 and 24 make 48; this, as simple as it seems to be, cost the Honourable Lord some pains, and his lady some blushes."

"From a kind hearted butcher at Lazy Hill, a calf's countenance."

Lazy Hill, *recte* Lazars' Hill, was a part of the Parish of St. Andrew, adjoining the College grounds on the west. Here the College had some property, concerning which there was litigation in 1682. Who the kind-hearted butcher was, is now wrapped in mystery, but it may have been a nickname for some College personality.

"From Long Laurence, an inch of tobacco."

St. Laurence's Coffee House, on Cork Hill, is noticed in 1698. In his Epilogue, Jones laments that the Freemasons will deny him the happiness of kissing Long Laurence, and elsewhere he has much to say about the Freemasons' Mark on the carcase of Ridley; as *Saint* Laurence is universally associated with a gridiron, could *Long* Laurence imply the Red Hot Poker?

"From Mr. Ryder, a groat."

RICHARD READER (RYDAR), entered College as Pensioner, from the Dublin Blue Coat School, King's Hospital, under the headmastership of Dr. Edward Wheatenhall, 9th September, 1675, aged 16. He was younger son of Enoch Reader, Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1670-71, and City Treasurer till 1687. Admitted B.A. Vern. 1680: Fellow, 1683: M.A., Aest. 1683: D.D. Aest. 1695.

¹ *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*, p. 207.

Vice-provost. Retired, 1697; Archdeacon of Dublin, 1699. His elder brother, Enoch, was Chancellor of Armagh, 1685-1696. In the Trinity College Manuscript, 1-4-18, endorsed "Freemasonry", dated 1711, the following occurs:

"or throw a tobacco stopper to one of them, and say change me of your groat, and they will pay your club."

"From Dr. Gwithers, an old Glistier pipe."

CHARLES GUITHERS, entered as Pensioner, from King's Hospital, Dublin, 25th January, 1676-77, aged 17. He was son of Henry, *centurio*, born in County Meath. B.A. Vern. 1680: M.A. 1687: M.D. Aest. 1688.

Among the many blessings conferred on Ireland by St. Patrick was the banishment of all reptiles, and Giraldus Cambrensis cites¹ the discovery of a frog near Waterford as a portent of evil. Dr. Guithers is one of those to whom the honour of introducing frogs to Ireland has been ascribed. Swift, in the *Tatler*, No. 236, thus tells the story:—

"It was then that an ingenious Physician, to the honour as well as Improvement of his Native Country, performed what the English had been so long attempting in vain. This learned man, with the Hazard of his Life, made a Voyage to Liverpool, when he filled several Barrels with the choicest Spawn of Frogs that could be found in those parts. This cargo he brought over very carefully, and afterwards disposed of it in several warm Beds that he thought most capable of bringing it to life. The Doctor was a very ingenious Physician, and a very good Protestant; for which Reason to show his Zeal against Popery, he placed some of the most promising Spawn in the very Fountain that is dedicated to the Saint, and known by the name of St. Patrick's Well, where these animals had the Impudence to make their first Appearance. They have since increased and multiplied in the neighbourhood of the city."

The Prerogative Will of Charles Guithers, M.D., T.C.D., was proved in 1700.

"From Mr. Marsh and Sir Tenison, a bundle of godly ballads."

JEREMIAH MARSH was the second son of Francis Marsh, D.D., by his wife Mary, second daughter of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. Francis Marsh, among other preferments, was Dean of Armagh, 1661-67, Bishop of Limerick, 1667-73, translated to Kilmore with Ardagh in the latter year, and was promoted to the Archbishopric of Dublin, 14th February, 1681. Jeremiah was educated at St. Paul's School, London, under Dr. Gale, and entered Trinity College as Fellow Commoner, 8th July, 1682, aged 15. B.A. Vern. 1686; M.A. Aest. 1688; D.D. Aest. 1700. He succeeded his father in the Treasurership of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, a few days before the latter's death; became Dean of Kilmore in 1700, and died in 1734. His name appears with his father's among those attainted by James' (Irish) Parliament of 1690.

HENRY TENISON was eldest son of Richard Tenison, who was born in Carrickfergus, presented by the Crown to the Vicarage of St. Peter's, Drogheda, 29th April, 1675, and in the same Patent was presented to the Deanery of Clogher and the Rectories of Louth and Beaulieu; he was consecrated Bishop of Killala, 19th February, 1681-82: fled to London in 1689, and, after matters had settled, was translated to Clogher, 1690-91, and to Meath in 1697. Our chief authority² on the clergy of the Church of Ireland says he was probably a cousin of Dr. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry Tenison was educated by a Mr. Magee, and entered Trinity College as Pensioner, 10th July, 1682; B.A. Vern. 1687. He was M.P. for Monaghan, 1695; for Louth, 1703, and died 22nd September, 1709. The "bundle of godly ballads" was quite an

¹ *Topographia Hibernica*, Dis. I., cap. xxxii.

² *Armagh Clergy*, by Rev. Chancellor J. B. Leslie, M.A., D.Litt., M.R.I.A.

appropriate contribution from the son of the Primate of Ireland and a cousin of the Primate of All England.

"From Mr. Smith, an old pair of quilted stockings."

EDWARD SMYTH was second son of James Smyth, of Lisburn, Co. Antrim; educated there by Rev. Thomas Haslam, at the same school as Waring and Hall; he entered Trinity College 12th September, 1676, aged 14; Scholar, 1678; B.A. Vern. 1680; Fellow, 1684; M.A. Aest. 1684; LL.B. Vern. 1687; B.D. Nov. 1694; D.D. 1696; Donegall Lecturer in Mathematics, 1694; Vice-Chancellor, 1697. In March, 1698, in consequence of the troubles in Dublin, he, with several other Fellows, including Reader and Hassett, fled to England. He obtained an appointment under the Smyrna Company as Chaplain to their factories at Constantinople, but returned to England in 1693, when he was made Chaplain to King William III, with whom he became a great favourite. In 1695 he became Dean of St. Patrick's, and, in 1698, Bishop of Down and Connor. He died in Bath in October, 1720.

He was one of the early members of the Dublin Philosophical Society, to whose Proceedings he presented the following papers:—

De Angulo Contactus.

On Cinerary Urns, found in the Caves at Waringstown and at Loughbrickland, Co. Down.

On the Waters of Lough Neath.

He was also F.R.S., and to the *Philosophical Transactions* he contributed

A Relation of the Extraordinary Effect of Imagination.

Account of Soap Earth, near Smyrna.

The Use of Opium among the Turks.

Of Rusma, a black earth.

William Molyneux gives the following account¹ of the origin of the Dublin Philosophical Society:—

"About October, 1683, I began to busy myself in forming a Society in this city agreeable to the design of the Royal Society of London. . . . The first I applied to, and communicated my desigine, was the present (1694) Provost of the College, Dr. St. George Ashe, who . . . approved of the undertaking, and assisted heartily in the first efforts we made in the work. I first brought together about half a dozen that met weekly in a private room of a coffee house on Cork Hill, merely to discourse of philosophy, mathematics, and other polite literature, as things arose, *obiter*, without any settled rules or forms. But, our company increasing, we were invited by the Rev. Dr. Huntington, then Provost of the College, to meet in his lodgings. And there we began first to form ourselves in January 1683/4; and took on us the name of the Dublin Society."

Correspondence was entered into with the Royal Society, to which abstracts of its proceedings, experiments, and discoveries were regularly transmitted. The Royal Society remitted half the subscriptions of those of its members who belonged to the Dublin Philosophical Society.

Molyneux was succeeded as Secretary by St. George Ashe, and he by Edward Smyth.

Several papers, of interest and importance, were read before this Society, but, with the troubles of the Revolution and the flight of many of its members, the Society lapsed. It was revived during the years 1693-1698, and a third society, with Samuel Molyneux, son of William, as Secretary, and of which

¹ J. T. Gilbert, *History of Dublin*, vol. ii, pp. 13-14. See also pp. 173-177, and Appendix.

George Berkeley was a member, was founded in 1706. From this last came the Royal Dublin Society, founded in 1731, and still extant.

Elsewhere in the *Tripes* Jones has a dig at Smyth, where he recommends the attention of his hearers ". . . Lastly, to Mr. Smith's Art of Compliance, proving humility to be the practice of the ages, and showing how the College Butler may be the dear companion of the Junior Dean." The Junior Dean in T.C.D. is a Junior Fellow, charged with the maintenance of discipline among the undergraduates.

"From a tapster at the sign of the "Hog in Armour" a comfit."

This enigma remains insoluble, so far as the present writer is concerned. There was an ale house of that name in James' Street, Dublin, in 1765, but this is rather too late for our present enquiry.

"From Sir Goodlet, a piece of an old Smiglesius for a natural use, cunningly procured by the means of Sir Goodlet."

JAMES GOODLAT was son of Thomas, born in County Tyrone; educated at the Erasmus Smith School, Drogheda, under John Morris, where he was a contemporary of Alexander Richardson. He entered Trinity College as Pensioner, 16th February, 1683-84; Scholar, 1687; B.A. Vern. 1688; M.A. Aest. 1691. He was instituted incumbent of Leckpatrick, Diocese of Derry, 16th April, 1703, where he died 10th June, 1727, and was buried under the Communion Table of his church. Goodlat and Richardson both hailed from County Tyrone, as did Lord Charlemont; the Goodlat and Richardson families were also connected by marriage. Is it something more than a coincidence that, in 1725, the author of the *Grand Mistress* refers to the old Lodge at O--m--gh in Ulster, the county town of Tyrone?

The "old Smiglesius" was doubtless the *Logica selectis disputationibus et quaestionibus illustrata* of Martin Smiglecius, a Jesuit of the College of Calissium (Kalisz) in Poland. The 1618 edition of this work is in the British Museum, printed at Ingolstadt, in Bavaria; there is a copy also in the Public Library, Armagh, of which the title page is missing, but the Imprimeur is dated 1616. The use to which it was to be put is quite in accordance with Swift's opinions of logicians. In Sheridan's *Life of Swift* (London, 1787) it is stated¹:

"He (Swift) told me that he had made many efforts, upon his entering the College, to read some of the old treatises on logic writ by Smeglecius, Kackamannus, Burgersdicius, etc., and that he never had patience to go through three pages of any of them."

"From Sir Warren, for being freemasonized the new way, five shillings."

WILLIAM WARING was Swift's friend, a cousin of Varina. He was a younger son of William Waring of Waringstown, Co. Down, educated at Lisburn under Thomas Haslam, and entered Trinity College as Pensioner, 11th June, 1681; B.A. Aest. 1685; M.A. Aest. 1688. Barrett identifies "Sir Warren" with this man, who was a schoolfellow of Smyth and Hall; was in the same college class as Jones and Swift, and we find Smyth contributing a paper on cinerary urns found at Waringstown to the Dublin Philosophical Society. The only doubtful point is that, as he proceeded M.A. at this Commencement, he should have been termed "Mr." and not "Sir." There was, moreover, a Thomas Warren, who was closely associated with some of Swift's misdemeanours in College, who entered as Fellow Commoner, 3rd July, 1684, aged 15, son of Henry, *purpuratus Dublinii*, born in Dublin, B.A. Vern. 1687; M.A. Aest. 1691. If this were the Sir Warren, he would have been the only one under the age of 21 of all those mentioned.

There is a close masonic connection with Waring, as he was uncle of Major Holt Waring, who was J.G.W. of Ireland in 1761; S.G.W. in 1762; G. Treas. 1762-1790; and D.G.M. 1765-66. Another masonic connection of the

¹ For this reference I am indebted to Bro. J. Heron Lepper.

Waring family was brought to light quite recently; on 30th January, 1940, a letter appeared in the *Belfast News-letter*, over the signature of Colin Johnston Robb, which tells of a letter addressed to "Henry Warring, Gent. Master of Masons, Downe, att Warringstowne, neere Lisburne", and dated 27th January, 1702. Unfortunately, Mr. Robb informs me that at the moment the original is in Paris, so that it has not been possible to follow up this discovery, which must be held to be of the utmost importance. Mr. Robb adds that there does not appear to be any masonic allusion other than the superscription quoted. Henry Waring was a younger brother of William of the *Tripes*.

Henry Waring, by the will of his father, became possessed of lands in the parish of Garvaghy, near Dromore, Co. Down, where he founded a family seat which he called Waringsford, and died in 1716. The guardians of his only son, Henry, by lease dated 6th May, 1734, leased to Matthew Rea, of Waringsford, a house and two acres of land, subject to the Lodge of Freemasons meeting there once a month. Waringsford is a tiny hamlet, and the first Lodge recorded there is No. 371, warranted in 1761, which is still in existence as No. 70, Dromore. The presumption is, therefore, that the Lodge of 1734 was a "non-regular" one, possibly established by Waring himself, though it may, of course, have been one of the early Irish Warrants, whose original domicile is not now known.

"From Mr. Edward Hall, a pair of cast night gloves."

EDWARD HALL was the second son of Francis Hall, of Narrow Water, Co. Down; educated at Thomas Haslam's school in Lisburn, and entered Trinity College as Pensioner, 12th July, 1678, aged 14; B.A. Vern. 1683; M.A. Aest. 1686. He married an Ann Rowley, and lived at Strangford, Co. Down.

Samuel Hill, of Culmore, Co. Derry, married a Mary Rowley, who may have been a sister of the wife of Hall, and, by her, had a son, Rowley Hill, who was present at the lodge in the Yellow Lion, in Warborough Street, Dublin, in 1730, and who was father of Hugh Hill, Collector of Customs for the Strangford District, who resided in Downpatrick, and was founder and first Master of Lodge 367 there, warranted in 1761. Samuel Hill's third son, Hugh, was in holy orders, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Hall.

Hall's wife also comes in for mention in the *Tripes*; Jones asserts that Mary Hewitson left "her looking glass and night rail to my Lady Neddy Hall."

"Lastly, from Mr. Handcock, a slice of Cheshire cheese."

MATTHEW HANDCOCK was a son of William, born in County Meath; educated at King's Hospital, Dublin, and entered Trinity College as Pensioner, 4th December, 1674; B.A. Vern. 1678; M.A. Aest. 1682. He subsequently became Archdeacon of Kilmore.

His elder brother, Stephen, entered College the same day, and, after graduating in Dublin, became Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. He was ancestor of the Lords Castlemaine, and therefore connected with William Handcock, G. Sec. of Ireland, 1783, and his son, Rev. Robert Handcock, G. Sec. 1808-1819, and possibly with John Handcock, J.G.W. 1777; S.G.W. 1778; and D.G.M. 1782, '83 and '84.

"The most brotherly of brothers, Cooper."

NATHANIEL COOPER, son of Nathaniel, born in County Kilkenny, educated at Kilkenny College by Mr. Ryder; entered Trinity College as Pensioner, 23rd July, 1678, aged 18. Scholar 1682; B.A. Vern. 1683.

It is a long jump forward to 1725, when the Grand Lodge of Ireland first came into public notice, and to 1730, when it was reorganised under Lord Kingston; but the personages of these later times can be shown to have had links with men who were at Trinity at or about the time of the *Tripes*. True, it was almost inevitable that they should, for all the Irish gentry, except a very few of the wealthiest or most influential, went to Trinity as a matter of course.

Still, it is a possibility not to be overlooked, that they in their turn learned of Freemasonry from those who knew of the Lodge in Trinity, and who were, quite possibly, members of it.

We have already noted that both the father and uncle of Humphrey Butler, D.G.M. of Ireland in 1725, were at College when the *Tripes* was delivered, and that it is preserved in the *Whimsical Medley*, compiled by the latter.

Lord Rosse himself, though generally regarded as an Oxford man, was entered on the books of Trinity College, though no date is given, and no further particulars.

Sir Thomas Prendergast, S.G.W. 1725, was the only son of Sir Thomas Prendergast by his wife Penelope, only daughter of Henry Cadogan, whose son William, afterwards 1st Earl Cadogan, entered College on 28th March, 1687. William's eldest daughter, Prendergast's cousin german, was wife of Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond, G.M. of England in 1725.

Mark Anthony Morgan, J.G.W. 1725, was the only surviving son of Hugh Morgan, who entered College as Fellow Commoner from Kilkenny College (Mr. Ryder), 28th July, 1680. His wife was Catherine, daughter of Hon. Chidley Coote, who entered College as Pensioner from Jones' School, 1st March, 1693-94.

Hon. James O'Bryan, G.M. Munster, 1726, was nephew of Hon. James O'Bryan, who entered College as Fellow Commoner, 18th June, 1685, and proceeded to the degree of B.A. in 1687. He married Mary, daughter of Rev. William Jephson, Dean of Lismore, who entered College 27th April, 1675; B.A. Vern. 1678; M.A. Vern. 1683.

Samuel Boles, J.G.W. Munster, 1728, was son of Thomas Boles by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Downing of Broomfield. Her brother, Richard, entered College from Kilkenny College, 6th October, 1684; Scholar, 1687; B.A. Vern. 1691; M.A. Aest. 1692.

Col. William Maynard, G.M. Munster, 1730, was nephew of Barry Maynard, who entered College 29th April, 1685, and proceeded B.A. at Vern. 1689. The first wife of Barry was Martha, daughter of Rt. Hon. Nehemiah Donellan, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who had entered College in February, 1665-66, and whose sister, Anne, was mother of Richard Reader.

Hon. John King, afterwards 3rd Baron Kingston, father of the "International Grand Master", entered College 1st June, 1678.

Hon. William Ponsonby, S.G.W. of Ireland, 1731, was grandson of William, 1st Viscount Duncannon, who had entered College 14th November, 1677.

George St. George, Baron St. George, to whom Pennell dedicated his *Constitutions*, entered College as Fellow Commoner from Kilkenny College, 8th July, 1674; B.A. Vern. 1678; M.A. Aest. 1680; LL.D. (*honoris causa*) Aest. 1709.

In passing, it may be added that James Butler, Earl of Ossory, in whom our brother Moss is interested, proceeded M.A. (*ad eundem*, Cantab.) in 1680, and LL.B. and LL.D. at Vern. 1681.

If Crawley's conjectures¹ be correct, that the —R—, Esq., who acted as "Mason King at Arms" on that memorable 24th June, 1725, was, in fact, Philip Ridgate, Athlone Pursuivant, who entered College as Pensioner from the school of Mr. Davis, Dublin, 11th April, 1695, aged 15, son of Hugh, Jurisconsultus, B.A. Vern. 1699; LL.B. Aest. 1700; LL.D. 10th July, 1716, we have almost a link binding the Lodge of 1688 with the Grand Lodge of 1725. Had he gone up to College only ten years earlier, the conclusion would be almost irresistible that he was chosen for his office that St. John's Day, not merely for his skill in marshalling processions, but also for his long standing as a Mason.

¹ *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. II. *The Grand Lodge of Ireland, 1725*, p. 20.

A hasty run through the members of the Lodge held at the "Ship behind the Royal Exchange", as identified by our Brother Philip Crossle,¹ reveals several who were sons or nephews of men who had been at Trinity within a few years of 1688, and at least one, Robert Allen, who entered 3rd June, 1704, from the school of John Jones himself.

The *Tripes* is a typical product of the undergraduate mind, and might be paralleled by many a Trinity Monday "stunt" from that day to this. It establishes beyond doubt that a Freemasonry, such as we know it, was then sufficiently familiar to his hearers for them to appreciate all the innuendoes of the *Terrae Filius*. It does not, of course, prove to demonstration the existence of a Lodge in T.C.D. at the time; but, as even the wildest of undergraduate "stunts" must have some foundation in fact, he would be a rash man who would deny the probability, amounting, in fact, to a practical certainty, that such a Lodge did exist. The names, too, must have been those of men who were at least suspected of being members of such a body. Indeed, Jones seems to hint that he was himself a member, as he says that, for his pains, the Freemasons will *banish* him from the Lodge. The whole point of the joke is evidently that the speaker was just about to reveal some secret about the people he pilloried, a form of humour which has ever been dear to the undergraduate mind, before and since.

The calibre of the men, too, is important; they were all graduates, over the age of 21, and included some of the leading minds of the University at the time. The association of three Fellows of the College, and two Scholars, and Dr. Guithers, who, in spite of Swift's sarcasm, was engaged in serious research and the possible link with the Philosophical Society, suggests that they were of the type of those members of the Royal Society who were to play such a part in moulding the Order in London. They were the type of men who would take up such a movement seriously, unless, indeed, it were a mere relaxation from the more serious matters of life. Had it been the latter, however, we may be sure that Jones would have dealt with them even more mercilessly.

Another point which must be taken into consideration is that this was possibly the first purely Speculative Lodge in Ireland. Unless the name "Long Laurence" conceals the person of one of the workmen whom we know² to have been engaged in the College about this time, none of the members named can be in any way associated with the building crafts. The close connection between Dublin itself and Bristol, dating from the Anglo-Norman invasion, and Bristol's connection with Cork and Waterford, are not overlooked, as well as the possible infiltration of Scottish ideas into the north-east of Ireland. Glasgow was then the university for the Presbyterian people of Ulster, and many a lad of parts crossed the narrow seas from the coast of Down and Antrim to tread the well-beaten students' path from Stranraer or Portpatrick.

Still, Trinity was a unique centre drawing to it the intellect of Ireland and nourishing it, not only in an academic atmosphere, but also in that of a capital city, which corrected the more abstract air of the Schools. From it, in turn, went out the professional men and the lesser clergy, who, whatever the faults of their superiors, lived lives of usefulness and Christian charity among their flocks. From no other centre could a movement have spread which was to exhibit so remarkable a uniformity.

Again, such a centre was a likely place where the idea of a Grand Lodge could originate. Does Jones' reference to Lord Charlemont's "cast hat" suggest that he was the outgoing Master?

Including Cooper, fifteen members are mentioned; is the number significant?

¹ *Transactions, Lodge of Research, Dublin, 1923.*

² *A.Q.C.*, xxxiii, p. 242.

But the most tantalising reference is undoubtedly that to being "Freemasonized the *new way*." The attempt to force Doyle into a Fellowship by the exercise of the Royal Prerogative was not the only one of its kind, and we have seen that several of the Fellows fled to England shortly after this. In short, the members were mainly of a Williamite sympathy, and, while not going so far as to suggest that the "*new way*" was a Williamite conspiracy, it may have marked in Ireland the first step from the Trinitarian spirit of the Old Charges to the more tolerant spirit which was to inspire the Freemasonry of Grand Lodge.

Again, it may refer to a possible development of ritual, which renders the date 1711 on the *Trinity College Manuscript* not so unlikely.

This manuscript,¹ by the way, is preserved among the papers of Sir Thomas Molyneaux, who was brother of William, of the Dublin Philosophical Society. Thomas, afterwards 1st Baronet, entered Trinity College 5th September, 1676, the same time as Edward Smyth. He graduated B.A. at Vern. 1680; M.A. Aest. 1687. He was a prominent scientist in his day and Regius Professor of Physic in the University and State Physician. R.W. Bro. Dr. J. Gilbert Smyly, Librarian, T.C.D., is of opinion that the MS. is in Molyneaux's own handwriting.

One more question remains to be considered, the possible source from whence came the Trinity College Lodge, and here I am tempted to make a wide digression. It seems impossible to say now which precise wave of immigration brought with it to Ireland the first seeds of our Masonic Order. The narrow seas between Scotland and Ireland were ever a link, and never a barrier to communication; man has passed and repassed since before the dawn of history. Crawley's contemptuous dismissal² of Celtic culture, though quite in accord with conservative scholarship of his day, was far too sweeping. "Many extravagant things have been written about the Irish Golden Age, but in the sober scholar's prose of Bede, the story is miraculous enough."³ Irish scholars thronged the court of Charlemagne, and there are solid grounds for supposing that Alcuin himself studied in Ireland, for he addresses Coelchu of Clonmacnoise as *Noster Magister*, and writes to him in the tender terms of intimate friendship. From the ninth century the ravages of Danes and Norsemen were a sad check to Ireland's development, but it is worth noting that in 926 Sitric II of Dublin was also King of the Northumbrian Danes, and had married a sister of Athelstan. Even then, the connection between Dublin and York was of at least a century's standing.

With the victory of Brian Boroimhe at Clontarf, the threat of Danish supremacy over Ireland vanished, and the intercourse of scholars and missionaries with the Continent was resumed. The monastery of St. Peter in Regensburg was founded by Marianus Scotus in 1076, and that of St. James was built by the aid of Conor O'Brian, King of Munster, in 1119.⁴ Within little more than a century, twelve daughter-houses were built in Central Europe, and there was constant intercourse with Ireland. Cormac's Chapel, on the Rock of Cashel, that jewel of Hiberno-Romanesque, was completed in 1134, and how many more such works were removed to make way for the more ambitious structures of the Norman conquerors, who can say?

Singularly little seems to be known of the builders of the great churches and abbeys of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, and since the destruction of the Dublin Record Office the enquiry is rendered more than ever difficult. May I throw out the hint that many records of Irish affairs lie hidden in the London

¹ *Molyneaux Papers*, 1-4, 18, p. 19.

² Introduction to Sadler's *Reprints and Revelations*, p. viii.

³ Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholar*, 6th Edn., p. 28.

⁴ *Die Kongregation der Schottenkloster in Deutschland*, *Zeitschrift für Christliche Archaeologie und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1856; translated by Reeves in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii, pp. 227-242 and 295-313 (July, 1859).

Record Office, the Bodleian, and elsewhere in England, and hope that some competent brother may be induced to take up the subject? The various Statutes of Labourers, when not re-enacted by the Irish Parliament, were transmitted by writ to the mayors of such cities and towns as acknowledged the Royal sway.

In some cases it is known that certain buildings in Ireland were erected by lodges of masons who came specially from England for the job, and returned on completion. May I here hazard the conjecture that the wide powers traditionally claimed by the Master of a Lodge in Ireland, the prominence given to the election of successive Masters in the Warrant, an Irish invention, and the importance of the Installation Ceremony, both under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and that of the "Antients", all indicate that, from a very early period, to form a Lodge in Ireland it was essential to have present a properly qualified Master? It may even be a hazy survival from the days when skilled workmen were imported from England for at least the key positions on the great buildings erected by the Anglo-Normans.

During the Wars of the Roses the Anglo-Normans were Yorkists, almost to a man, with the consequence that their support of the White Rose not only distracted their attention from Ireland, encouraging the recrudescence of native Irish power, but also induced the Tudors, once fairly on the throne, to tackle the Irish question seriously. The sixteenth century was, therefore, a weary succession of civil wars, each followed by the inevitable Plantation, until, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, the most serious challenge to the English domination of Ireland was defeated by the overthrow of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone.

As Elizabeth's life drew to a close, James VI of Scotland maintained several agents in Dublin; among them one James Hamilton, an early Fellow of Trinity College, who obtained a princely estate in County Down, and under whom wrought that "William Stennors, Master Mason", whose dust rests to this day in the old Abbey Church of Bangor.¹

The struggle between King and Parliament in England had its reflex in Ireland, where the contest was embittered by the dispossessed native Irish and invading Scottish and Parliamentary armies; in this struggle, too, the cleavage between Catholic and Protestant became fundamental. The continual changes of combinations among the various parties render this perhaps the most bewildering chapter of Ireland's troubled story. Followed the inevitable Plantation, and, at the Restoration, the Cromwellian settlers, in the main, found no difficulty in conforming to the Established Church; so that, by 1688, the personnel of Trinity College was drawn mainly, if not entirely, from the more recent settlers. Have we here a ground for the supposed Cromwellian origin of Speculative Freemasonry, said to have been current in Ireland, and from thence carried to France, where it appears in *Le Francmaçon Ecrasé*, and other works of that ilk?

For the immediate origin of the Lodge in Trinity College it may not be necessary to go further back than the few years earlier, when operative masons were at work in the College,² but the present writer is inclined to believe, by the exercise, perhaps, of "wishful thinking", rather than rigid deduction from evidence, that the seeds were sown long, long ago, and only awaited favourable conditions to bloom into the noble tree, which has covered not only Ireland with its branches, but has sent out shoots wheresoever the English language is spoken.

I have been greatly assisted in compiling this Note by the brotherly assistance and expert advice of Bros. Heron Lepper and William Jenkinson, of Q.C. Lodge, and of Bro. Philip Crossle, of the Lodge of Research, Dublin. Bro. T. G. F. Paterson was a very present help in genealogical matters; and an especial word of thanks is due to Bro. J. Dean, of the Public Library, Armagh, for his unfailing courtesy and promptitude in replying to my many queries.

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xiii, p. 177. *Lepper and Crossle*, p. 35.

² *A.Q.C.*, xxxiii, p. 242.

GILD OF MASONS AT LINCOLN.

BY W. J. WILLIAMS.



HIS note is supplementary to an Article in *A.Q.C.*, xlii, pp. 64-67, which gives a brief account relating to the discovery of a copy of a Certificate of the Gild of Masons at Lincoln. The article includes a copy of the Original Latin Certificate in the Public Record Office and an abbreviated translation thereof. That translation was made at my request by Bro. Vibert, who refrained from stating his part in the work. He also made the footnotes.

The Certificate was given by virtue of a proclamation of the King, and was made by the Graceman or Master of the Gild with the assent, direction, and advice of the *Cementarii*.

The Gild made certain rules on the Feast of Pentecost, A.D. 1313. Perhaps the Gild was in existence before that year. Certainly the work was in progress some years before and after 1313. It is clear from the quotations from Allen's *History of the County of Lincoln* that in 1306 the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln contracted with Richard de Stow, mason, that he should attend to and employ other masons under him for the new work at the Cathedral. These works were very extensive. Stow contracted to do the plain work by measure, and the fine carved work and images by the day.

This and numerous other Certificates were made in the year 1389, and Canon Westlake in his book, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England*, published in 1919, gives an analysis of the numerous Certificates so made, and preserved in the Public Record Office.

No. 154 in that analysis is the Certificate referred to, and is the only Certificate as to Masons mentioned in the Analysis. It is not unlikely that the Certificates so preserved are not the whole of the Certificates which were presented.

The Certificate says very little about the Craft itself; but it makes certain allusions which should be of interest to Masonic students. But hitherto they have made no comments which have come to my notice.

Somes of these I now proceed to point out. (The numbers given to the items are those used by me for convenience of reference.)

1. It is a Gild of Masons (*Cementarii*).
2. The Ordinances were enacted in 1313 by the common consent of the *Cementarii*.
3. The Graceman or Master of the Gild gave the Certificate on behalf of the Fraternity. (Even now the Master of a Lodge signs the annual returns.)
4. Once a year they were to have their morning speech so that they might be able to see to all the affairs of the Gild and transact its business; and a penalty was due from any of the Fraternity who were summoned to the morning speech and disregarded his duty unless he had a reasonable cause of excuse. (This was clearly an annual assembly equivalent to present-day audit meetings. Not all members were summoned then.)
5. Provisions were made to help and honour any brother or sister who might desire to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land or to Rome or to St. James [of Compostella]. (This was not an unusual clause in gild statutes, but it

may be remarked that it would give opportunity to such masons as are referred to in the Old Charges as "walking full wide" and so increasing masonic knowledge.)

6. There is a clause providing for a special service on the occasion of the funeral of a member. (This custom seems to have been observed among masons for many years, but is not often resorted to in the present century.)

7. The officers of the Gild were the Graceman or Master (*Magister*), two Wardens (*duorum Custodum*) and a Deacon (*decanum*). They were elected by the Fraternity and were penalised if they refused to serve. The "Clerk" is also mentioned. He probably was the equivalent of our present-day Secretary.

(This is an early example of Master, Wardens, and Deacon. Does any Brother know of one so early?)

There appears to have been only one Deacon. He may have been a serving Brother; for on a member entering the gild the new member was to pay four pence, one of which went to the Deacon, one to the Clerk, and two to the Ale.

8. Should any brother or sister in the town or market be in custody for any fault *saving theft or murder* he shall send word to the brethren and *they shall come to his aid and assist* him as brethren should do.

9. Provision is made for food to be given, on the day on which the gild offered its candle, to feed as many poor persons as there were brothers and sisters in the gild. (Here is the nucleus of a practical benevolent fund embracing poor people who were outside the gild and whose only qualification was their poverty. This brings to remembrance the clause in the present address to the Master on his Installation as to charging the brethren to practise out of the Lodge those duties they have been taught in it and . . . prove to the world the happy and beneficial effects of our ancient Institution, so that when anyone is said to be a member of it, the world may know that he is one to whom the Burdened Heart may pour forth its Sorrow, to whom the Distressed may prefer their suit, whose hand is guided by Justice and whose Heart is expanded by Benevolence.)

10. If any brother or sister curse another or hastily commences litigation while the gild are still endeavouring to compose the quarrel a penalty is incurred.

11. All cementarii of this gild shall agree that any cementarius who takes an apprentice shall give 40 pence to the maintenance of the candle (of the gild), and, if he be unwilling to give, the amount shall be doubled.

(Presumably such an apprentice would be entered in the books of the Gild.)

12. They have no general meetings save such as are held for their social purposes among themselves. (Thus doubtless they could say "Happy have we met, Happy may we part, and Happy meet again.")

13. Candles then had a sacred significance, and were to be lighted on every feast day throughout the year in perpetuity. (In our present-day Lodge procedure we follow a truly ancient masonic custom. Candles [or their ineffective modern substitutes] are provided and lighted. There is a time when other lights are extinguished, but it is ordained that the Master's light must always remain alight as long as the Lodge is working.

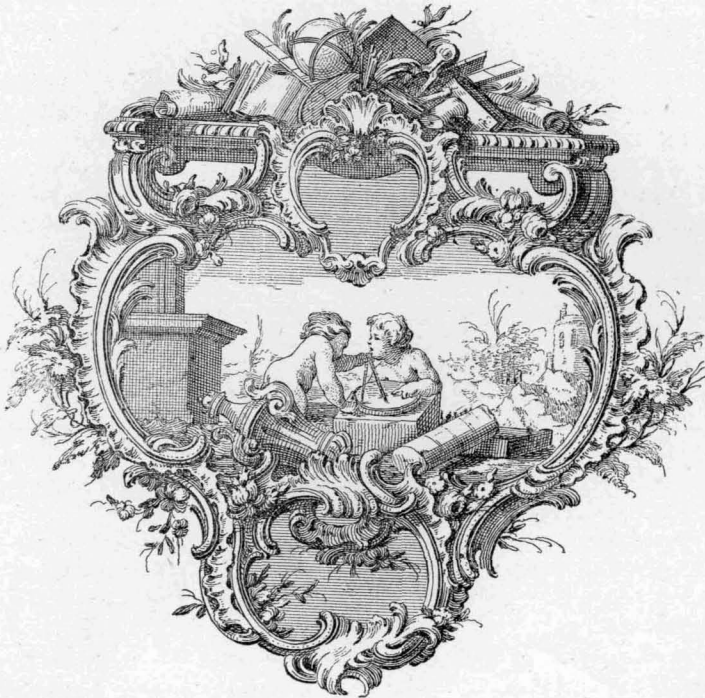
14. The brethren were to pay one farthing a week throughout the year. (The uses of the fund created by this and other payments into the gild treasury are indicated in the Certificate and include some of the functions of our present time Benevolent fund.)

"If any member should fall into poverty he was to have from the gild funds for three years 18 pence namely six pence each year, but when he comes again into better circumstances he shall repay."

(Thus the gild, like our Lodges, was not to be regarded as a friendly Society contracting to pay certain sums, but as a fraternal Society providing,

with brotherly love, relief when need arose. Since 1313 money values have been very substantially deflated, but the true spirit of Brotherly Love was then, as now, of the essence of the craft. May that Master Light be always burning!)

15. The Brethren will have noticed that the Gild membership included both brothers and sisters, although the work of a Mason is always done by men. But in the Gild it was not necessary to exclude women from membership. They and their husbands could all join in the religious and some of the social work of the Gild. In a few of the Old Charges of Masons references are made especially in the form of obligations both to Brothers and Sisters. I venture to suggest that these references crept in, by oversight, as a consequence of the form of Gild Rules being taken as a guide to the form to be used by the Craft. Having once crept in, they were in a few cases allowed to remain. There is a tendency shown in these days to retain, as though they were Landmarks of the Order not to be tampered with, old and obsolete and irrelevant words and phrases. Had anyone raised a question about the feminine references, we may easily surmise the reply would be made that the old document must be perpetuated, errors or no errors: or else "What does it matter whether they remain or not? It was good enough for our predecessors and will suffice for us, especially as we should never allow any woman to join the craft, even if they did belong to the Gild."



THE COMMON JUDGE.

BY F. J. UNDERWOOD.



IN the most useful, but tantalising, series of Reprints issued by the Lodge of Research No. 2429, Leicester, No. XIII, is the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* of c. 1700. On pp. 26-27 Bro. Thorp discusses the meaning of the words "Common Judge", and suggests the conclusion that it is probably a mould or template. He is apparently led to this inference by a figure in the plate of operative masons' tools, which he reproduces, from the book entitled *Notes on the Early History of the Lodge Aberdeen I ter*, written and published by Bro. A. L. Miller in 1919. At the bottom of the plate is a design in solid black, straight along the top edge with what might conceivably be a handle approximately one third of the length. The rest of the bottom edge is a series of jagged prominences. The implement widens towards the head, which shows two round indentations, irregular in shape, and neither deep enough nor sufficiently correctly formed to be of use in shaping stone. It is impossible to conceive a more unhandy instrument for use as a template. It in no way complies with the plans of any template I have ever seen and is not in accordance with some slight instruction I have received in the Building Trade. I cannot receive it.

The word underneath the sketch of the tool, which Bro. Thorp reads as "JUDGE", is really "JADGE", as can be seen quite clearly, with a magnifying glass, in the original illustration in the *Aberdeen Lodge History*. The *N.E.D.* gives "Jadge or Jedge, a Scotch form of gauge." It is difficult to see how the tool can ever have been used as a gauge. Is it possible that the name "Jadge" has been transferred by the similarity in sound to another tool. The *N.E.D.* gives "JAG, a sharp projection or tooth on an edge or surface." For "Jag bolt" it quotes Smeaton, of early Eddystone fame, "Jag or bearded bolts or spikes are such as with a chisel, have a beard raised upon their angles." The words are near enough in sound and the description of the latter is much nearer the article illustrated. But it is not convincing, as I have never seen what corresponds to a jag bolt of to-day with the jags on one edge only, neither could it really be described as a tool. The only other suggestion I have to offer is that the artist had never completed his drawing; but either he, or someone else, had thought it sufficiently clear to be labelled "JADGE."

So far as I am aware, there is no other evidence to show that the Common Judge was a universal mould; indeed, the very essence of a template is that it shall be cut for each job. It is impossible to conceive such a thing as a common or universal mould to fit all jobs, as will be realised by a consideration of the immense variety shown in the pillar and cornice work in those magnificent buildings erected by our Brethren of old.

Bro. Knoop in his Prestonian Lecture of 1938 on *The Mason Word* quotes from the *O.E.D.*, "In mining, a judge is a staff used to measure the depth of holes." He goes on to suggest that the judge possibly referred to the *virga geometricalis* or measuring rod, with which the foundation or ground plan of a building was marked out. But the Candidate is sworn by (or on) the square,

compass and common judge; and the measuring rod would be extremely awkward for this purpose. Even the 24" gauge as we have it to-day would be a difficult proposition, as I doubt if they had it in 1700 in the folding or hinged form of to-day.

Bro. Knoop and Mr. Jones, in their standard work, the *Mediaeval Mason*, quote a number of tools used by masons. At the building of Beaumaris Castle in 1366 there are listed, big and little gadds. The *O.E.D.* gives "gad, a sharp spike of metal. (2) In mining a pointed tool of iron or steel, e.g., a wedge or small iron punch with a wooden handle, 1676. (6) A measuring rod for land." Also "gadder, an instrument for splitting rock."

The *Edinburgh Register House MS.* of 1696 relates the form of oath to be taken by the Candidate, in doing which he is made to take up the Bible and lay his right hand on it. Note the action, take up. After which he is to be removed out of the Lodge and taught "the manner of making his due guard which is the signe (singular note) and the postures and words of his entrie." Note there are three points in his due guard. Returning to the Lodge, he makes a ridiculous bow. Probably an exaggerated sweeping bow drawing back the right foot. (Compare the *Falser Print* of 1812, where the Junior Warden is shown informing the Worshipful Master that he is about to introduce a candidate. He has his left foot drawn back, his right hand on his breast, his left hand pointing down in an exaggerated bow.) This would correspond with the 2nd point of his "entrie", the posture; after this he gives the first point, "the signe". What sign? Not, I suggest, the sign of the degree, but the sign belonging to the due guard or points of his entrie. "Then putting off his hat after a very foolish manner only to be demonstrated then."¹ (i.e., he had not learnt it outside the Lodge.) "as the rest of the signes are likewise." (Plural note.) He says the words of his entrie, which are as follows:—"Here come I the youngest and last entered apprentice As I am sworn by God and St. John by the square and compass and common judge . . .". He took his oath, in the name of God certainly, though St. John is not mentioned, and not so much by, as on the square and compass and common judge, the last being, I suggest, the obvious and only other essential ingredient in a solemn oath or obligation, the Volume of the Sacred Law, that unerring standard or gauge of truth and justice. Then after repeating the penalty of his obligation, he makes the sign (described in full) of the 1st Degree—no doubt instructed by his introducer. The Masons then whisper the word to each other, beginning at the youngest up to the Master, who gives the word to the entered apprentice. Note the word is not given until this stage of the ceremony and immediately preceded, as we should expect, by the second portion of his obligation, the penalty, and the sign. The M.S. then goes on, "Now it is to be remarked that all the signes (again plural) and words, as yet spoken of, are only what belong to the entered apprentice." In the second portion is described what is necessary to be done to be a master mason or fellow craft, then synonymous terms. Here at first sight is a point which would appear to tell against my suggestion that the Entered Apprentice, at his re-entry, did not give the sign of the degree, but the due guard. "He that is to be admitted a member of fellowship, is put to his knee again and takes the oath of new." After which he is taken out of the Lodge to learn the postures and signs of fellowship. Coming back, he makes the master's sign (which is not described) and says the same words of entry as the apprentice did, only leaving out the Common Judge. Why does he leave out the Common Judge? Obviously because it belonged to the 1st Degree only, and as it was clearly not the sign of the 1st Degree, what

¹ The *Sloane MS.* gives among the signs to discover a Mason—by pulling off the hat with their right hand, their two first fingers above and the thumb and all the rest below the hat brim, pulling it off and giving it a cast under the chin from left to right, then on their head.

else could it have been but the due guard? The difficulty—that the fellow craft is taught the signs and postures of fellowship, while, as I suggest, the budding entered apprentice is taught only his due guard or the signe of his entrie—is not insuperable when we consider that in the former case we have a properly made and fully qualified mason who is receiving promotion only after exercising himself in the Craft for a probationary period, the candidate in the latter case has taken only a portion of his obligation and not received the secrets of the degree. The *Edinburgh Register House* MS. was no doubt once in the possession of a Scots Lodge, or at any rate a Scots Mason. There are in the catechism one or two expressions which may be considered to have come from North of the Border, but the only definite statement is the answer to question 8.

What is the name of your Lodge? Answer: Kilwinning.

This has all the appearance of an interpolation by the copyist. The *Chetwode Crawley* has the Lodge of Kilwinning, one or two others have the Lodge of St. John, and one the Lodge of St. Stephen. The answer to question 5 has “a burroughs town”, but the *O.E.D.* gives “burrows town” as Middle English. The spelling “weel” for “well” has a good Scots flavour, but any of the other questions and answers can be paralleled from other undoubtedly English catechisms. I can see no reason for regarding the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. as a Scotch working as opposed to an English working. I regard it as a copy made by a Scotsman from an English source. It is also true that the due guard is given in every Scots Lodge to-day, but I do not think that there is any evidence that it is a Scottish innovation. I think it is much more probable that it was one of the practices dropped by the “Moderns” in the 1730's.

The *Chetwode Crawley* MS. is so nearly alike to the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. as to make it certain they were copied from the same source or even from one another. The reference to the “Common Judge” is word for word.

The *Mason's Examination* of 1723 gives the reply to the question, “What makes a just and perfect Lodge?” as “A Master two wardens four fellows five apprentices with Square Compass and Common Gudge”, and *The Grand Whimsey* of 1730 “a master two wardens and four fellows with Square Compass and Common Gudge”. Some five or six other catechisms use the phrase “Just and perfect”, but the replies are confined to the number of masons required, which vary, but may be said to correspond to the answer given in the Lectures to-day that 7 or more regularly made masons make a perfect lodge. None of them attempts to define what makes a lodge “Just” as apart from “Just and perfect”; but, again quoting from the Lectures of to-day, the answer to the question “What makes a Lodge just?” is “The Volume of the Sacred Law unfolded.” In the light of this, the answer to the question in the *Mason's Examination*, “What makes a just and perfect Lodge?” is “7 or more masons, the Square and Compasses and the Volume of the Sacred Law.” The chain is long and the links are weak to the extent of visibility between the Catechisms of 1723 and the Lectures of 1942, but that the latter are founded on the former is unmistakeable.

I have not been able to find any use of the term “Common Judge” later than 1730 (*The Grand Whimsey*). *Masonry Dissected*, of the same year, marks a distinct stage in the development of the Ritual. Prichard uses the term “just and perfect lodge”, but the answer only defines the number necessary, (7 or more.) For the first time, in *The Grand Whimsey* as well as in Prichard, we have the description of the uses of the compasses, in the obligation. I suggest the reason the use of the Common Judge was dropped was that it was no longer a correct symbol of the Candidate's attitude in his obligation. His left hand being otherwise employed, he could no longer hold up the Book, which is now placed on a pedestal or table.

The *O.E.D.* gives "Dieugard. Middle English. (Fr., God keep—you.) The salutation, God preserve you! a spoken salutation as contrasted with a nod. 1656."

Six of the MS. catechisms call for the Salutation. The *Grand Mystery Discovered*, "Give me the Solution (*sic*). Ans: I will . . ." Then follows a suggestive space as though something had to be filled in. It goes on, "The Right Worshipful, Worshipful Masters, and Worshipful Fellows, of the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence I came, greet you well." Why should the Mason say "I will" with a pause? He does not do so to any other question. In the *Whole Institution* the suggestive pause comes after "so do I you if you be one," and is copied in the *Graham MS.* After the pause he goes on as if he were now satisfied that the other is a Brother. Is it possible that these suggestive pauses or gaps were filled in by the "due guard" as a more suitable sign to give when proving a Brother out of Lodge than either of the degree signs?

Nevertheless the term "due guard" does not drop out of English masonry. *Jachin and Boaz*, 1762, in the description of the ceremony of initiation includes the now well-established use of the compasses, but in the catechism the Candidate is stated to support the Holy Bible on his left hand, which would seem to show that the Lectures or catechism had lagged behind the ceremony, as no doubt was often the case. A later paragraph describes the examination of strangers. It suggests the first action of the visitor, when examined by one of the wardens, should be to give the sign of an E.A., and when asked "What is that?" to reply, "the due guard of an apprentice." In the Second Degree, the candidate, before advancing to the East to take his obligation, is instructed by the Senior Warden to show the Master "his due guard", but it is not described. In the third Degree, the Senior Warden, again at the same point, instructs the Fellow Craft to show the Master in the East the "due guard or sign of an E.A." *Three Distinct Knocks* describes the ceremonies entirely in the form of catechism, and at the point where the sign is communicated to the Entered Apprentice it is called the "due guard or sign of an Entered Apprentice".

It is worth noticing that the *Mason's Confession* is the only catechism giving the due guard of the Second Degree. It reads, "He gives the sign, by the right hand above the breast, which is called the fellow crafts due guard." It is possible, I suppose, that the region of the lungs might be so described, but it would seem more likely that the mouth was indicated. Exactly what this sign was must be pure speculation, but it is possible that the candidate placed his fingers to his lips in the attitude of Harpocrates, the god of silence, as depicted on several Masonic Medals. There are also several cases of Masonic engravings showing female figures in the same attitude. In the Royal Arch Degree a similar action is enjoined. In view of the necessity of strict caution enjoined on the Candidate at all times it would seem a likely sign to be introduced into the Ceremony at some point, in which case we have another of those sins of omission laid to the charge of the Grand Lodge in the 1730's.

One of the Dictionary definitions of the word "Judge" is that it was used of God or Christ, as supreme arbiter, pronouncing sentence on men or moral beings. The Working Tools of a Master Mason remind us of His unerring and impartial justice, Who, having defined for our instruction the limits of good and evil (in the *V.S.L.*), will reward or punish, etc. Is it not possible that the idea of the Common Judge, the Judge of us all, was transferred from the Almighty Architect to the Book in which is enshrined the Laws of our Divine Creator and symbolised for the newly entered Mason by the Common Judge, which I hope I have shown with some probability to be the "due guard"?

NOTES.

The Lodge of Reconciliation and the Ritual.—In *A.Q.C.*, lii, p. 221, Bro. G. W. Bullamore writes:—

“Its success [*i.e.*, the success of the Union] was undoubtedly due to his [the Duke of Sussex] masterly dealing with the Lodge of Reconciliation, who would have brought about a schism but for the timely withdrawal of their warrant. It is generally overlooked by ritualists that the Lodge of Reconciliation, instead of endeavouring to determine the correct ritual from those in existence, preferred, when there were two versions, to invent a third so as to avoid hurting the feelings of any of their members. Any version not represented in their Lodge was ignored altogether. It is absurd to suppose that such a ritual has come down to us. In order to prevent it, the Duke of Sussex withdrew the warrant and the notes of the ritual were destroyed. We owe our antiquity and our unity to his firm handling of the situation”.

To many who have studied the development of the present ritual, and the proceedings of the Lodge of Reconciliation so far as they have been made available to the general reader, the above remarks of Bro. Bullamore are decidedly startling, since the views there expressed are entirely at variance with what we have hitherto been led to believe. It would, therefore, be of the utmost interest and importance if Bro. Bullamore could be prevailed on to amplify his statements and to quote the authorities on which they are based.

One—perhaps the principal—source of information as to the doings of the Lodge of Reconciliation upon which we have relied is Bro. Wonnacott's paper in *A.Q.C.*, xxiii, in which copious extracts from its Minutes are given. From this and other references we have gathered that the Lodge arrived at decisions in regard to certain details in the ritual working and proceeded to teach them throughout the country. These points—whether they consisted merely in the choice between two or more pre-existing variants, or were new concoctions—cannot have been many, and must have been of the simplest nature, since the large majority of those who came as pupils to the demonstrations appear to have been able to learn them all in the course of a single attendance.

We have hitherto believed that, when it had completed the promulgation of its adopted forms, the Lodge rehearsed all the ceremonies before Grand Lodge on 20th May, 1816, and that a fortnight later Grand Lodge—subject to a resolution bearing on two practical matters—*approved* the working as so rendered, though, as Bro. Vibert has pointed out, it did not *prescribe* it. It is generally thought that after this, its work being accomplished, the Lodge simply lapsed.

One gathers, however, that in Bro. Bullamore's view these conclusions are altogether erroneous, that no reliance is to be placed on the records set out by Bro. Wonnacott, that so far from the working of “Reconciliation” having been *approved* it was regarded as heretical, and that the existence of the Lodge was summarily determined by the cancellation of its warrant by the Grand Master.

If that be so, what, one wonders, is the position of a certain Lodge of Instruction that claims to work a verbatim reproduction of the version used by “Reconciliation”? Even though no rational being can accept that claim

as well founded, the fact that it is made places the claimants in the self-confessed position of practising a formulary that has been impliedly, if not specifically, condemned on the authority of the first Grand Master of United Grand Lodge.

Bro. Bullamore says that "the notes of the ritual" [presumably notes made officially by "Reconciliation"] "were destroyed". But, according to the records of that Lodge, it steadfastly set its face against any part of the ritual being reduced to writing.

Until now we have been under the impression that the Lodge, in which the two parties to the Union were equally represented, was set up with the intention that it should settle a form of ritual that would satisfy both sides, although in the event the result of its labours was disappointing in that, as Hextall has said, its effect on the ritual was more academic than real and amounted to much less than had been expected by its sponsors and than some people even to-day think was the case.

Bro. Bullamore, however, implies that the Lodge was empowered to do no more than make choice between pre-existing versions (what exactly does he mean by "any version not represented in their Lodge"?) and was not authorised to devise anything new. How, then, does he view the general acceptance, and recognition by Grand Lodge, of the institution by "Reconciliation" of the office of Inner Guard (previously not known under either dispensation) and the consequential interpolations in the opening and closing ceremonies?

If the Duke of Sussex, the Grand Master, was so strongly opposed to "Reconciliation" and all its doings, as Bro. Bullamore tells us he was, it is curious that he should be reported to have attended an earlier meeting than that of 20th May, 1816, at which the opening and closing formularies as adopted by "Reconciliation" were rehearsed and were ordered to be used, and that he himself should have then recited one of the obligations—presumably in a form agreeable to the Lodge of Reconciliation, for there does not seem to be any record of a difference of opinion in regard to it.

Bro. Bullamore says that "It is absurd to suppose that any such ritual has come down to us." Perhaps he will explain to what version of ritual the word "such" in that sentence is intended to apply.

If Bro. Bullamore's statement is really based on fact, it entirely revolutionises the views so far generally held about the Lodge of Reconciliation, and it means that the Minutes of that Lodge, quoted by Bro. Wonnacott, are to all intents a fictitious compilation. Historians have often been accused of colouring their writings by a certain amount of fiction, but surely never can another such flagrant perversion of truth in what purports to be a contemporary record have been perpetrated.

E. H. CARTWRIGHT.

"Mrs. Caroline Baker."—Everyone who is interested in the venerable *Cooke MS.* wants to know who this lady was, from whom the British Museum bought it 14th October, 1859. If she was a regular "dealer" it is not clear why Sir Frederic Madden left no more normal record of the purchase. I understand that Bro. Douglas Knoop and his colleagues hunted for possible bearers of the name.

A lucky dip in *A.Q.C.*, xxiii, p. 36, disclosed a picture of a "Jubilee Medal" given to "Elizabeth Caroline Harcourt" in 1838 as an inmate of the "Girls' Charity School." According to the editorial notes, this lady was in March, 1910, "Mrs. Caroline Baker," and was living, aged 84-85; she had revisited the School then recently.

The note says that her father, Bro. Harcourt, was a member of the "Burlington Lodge".

This is based on the misconception that in 1838 the Lodge then known as 113 was his Lodge, whereas I find on enquiry from Bro. Maurice Beachcroft, the Secretary of the R.M.I.G., that he died before May, 1834, having been a subscriber to "Lodge of Freedom", Gravesend, since 1809 (the year after his marriage, at Horndon, Essex, to Mary Murrell, Elizabeth Caroline's mother), and a constant attendant for eleven and a half years. This Lodge was 113, from the Union up to 1832. Bro. James Harcourt died before his daughter was admitted to the School in April, 1835, but how long before I do not know. He was foreman of "Poynders and Hobsons Wharfe."

I have not yet found when Elizabeth Caroline became wife to "Mr. Baker" nor who he was.

The Medal was shown to the Q.C. by Bro. Arthur Edmund Stearns, P.G.D. 1909 (?), &c., who was a member of Lodges Verity, 2739, and Methuen, 631. But whether he had any further knowledge of "Mrs. Baker" than the Medal I cannot say. The story that she received the Medal "at the hands of the Duke of Sussex" is incorrect. They were, it seems, distributed 5th February, 1839, by . . . Cabbell, whom I fear I cannot yet identify closer.

Can anyone help with information about this "Mrs. Caroline Baker"? She was 34 in 1859, and may have then been such very easily.

Apropos of the Lodge of Freedom, now 77, I have an uncatalogued "Oration"—

"Charge . . . to the Brethren of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free & Accepted Masons . . . at the King's Head, West Street, Gravesend . . . 29th June (1751) . . . at their first meeting after their constitution."

(Quotation from "Hudson's Ode on Masonry").

(Dated at end Aug. 31, 1751-5751).

"London, printed in the Year 1751."

A MS. note on the title says, "By Tapply . . . of Stroud, nr. Rochester."

W. E. Moss.



OBITUARY.



It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Squadron Leader **Albert John Gordon Anderson**, formerly of Neuilly-sur-Seine, France, on Active Service in Egypt, on 12th April, 1941. Bro. Anderson was a P.M. of the London Scottish Rifles' Lodge No. 2310. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1936.

Arthur Herbert Armington, *B.P.*, of Rumford, R.I., U.S.A., on 1st April, 1940. Bro. Armington held the rank of Past Grand Master and Past Grand High Priest. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1893.

Tom Watson Bailey, of Berkhamsted, Herts., on 10th February, 1941. Bro. Bailey was a P.M. of Berkhamstead Lodge No. 504, and P.Z. of Chapter No. 504. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1931.

Donald Balloch, of Larkhall, Lanarks., in 1940. Bro. Balloch was P.M. of Lodge No. 306. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1917.

Sir **Edward Arthur Henry Blunt**, *K.C.I.E.*, *O.B.E.*, *I.C.S.*, of Fleet, Hants., on 30th May, 1941. Bro. Blunt held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1927.

William Lowther Carrick, of Stokesley, Yorks., on 23rd June, 1941, aged 83 years. Bro. Carrick held the rank of P.Pr.G.R. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1897.

George Crozier, of Armagh, on 18th February, 1941. Bro. Crozier held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and had been a member of Lodge No. 623 for fifty years. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1928.

Noel Fisher, formerly of Selangor, F.M.S., on Active Service, in February, 1941. Bro. Fisher held the rank of P.Dis.G.W. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1939.

Major **A. N. Foster**, of Lincoln, on 1st February, 1941. Bro. Foster was a member of St. Oswald Lodge No. 850 and Hugh of Avalon Chapter No. 1386. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1930.

William G. Garrood, of Lowestoft, in 1940. Bro. Garrood held the rank of P.Pr.G.Sup.W., Suffolk, and was a member of Lowestoft Chapter No. 71. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1930.

George Albert Gorgas, of Harrisburg, Pa., U.S.A., on 12th November, 1939. Bro. Gorgas held the rank of Dis. Dep. G.M. and P.H.P. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1908.

Charles Harmon Hill, of Bloemfontein, S. Africa, on 11th May, 1941. Bro. Hill was a member of Lodge No. 392 (I.C.) and of King Edward VII Chapter No. 1022. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1927.

Walter Bryant House, of Malvern, Vic., Australia, on 15th June, 1940. Bro. House was a P.M. of Lodge No. 110. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1913.

William Jewitt, of Stockton-on-Tees, in October, 1940. Bro. Jewitt was a member of Whitwell Lodge No. 2104. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1939.

Herbert Charles Johns, of London, E., on 19th December, 1940. Bro. Johns was a member of Undine Lodge No. 3394 and of Aldwych Chapter No. 3096. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1917.

Nathaniel Pitt Langford, of St. Paul, Minn., U.S.A., in 1940. Bro. Langford was P.M. of Lodge No. 5 and a member of Chapter No. 1. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1915.

Barnett Levey, of Edinburgh, early in 1941. Bro. Levey was P.M. of Lodge No. 1209, and of Chapter No. 1. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1940.

John A. Lynes, of Ascot, Berks., in 1940. Bro. Lynes was a P.M. of Lodge of Tranquility No. 185 and H. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1934.

Walter F. Meier, of Seattle, Wash., U.S.A., on 1st July, 1940. Bro. Meier held the rank of Past Grand Master and Past High Priest. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1932.

John Henry Charles Meyer, of Birmingham, on 1st March, 1941. Bro. Meyer was P.M. of Lodge of St. Barnabas No. 5050, and a member of Yenton Chapter No. 3484. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1933.

Thomas Middleton, of Melrose, on 14th April, 1941. Bro. Middleton held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.Treas. (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1907.

Frank Moore, of Sheffield, on 13th December, 1940. Bro. Moore was a member of St. Leonard's Lodge No. 2263 and St. Audrey Chapter No. 3849. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1939.

Eldred Oliver, of Bradford, Yorks., on 18th February, 1941. Bro. Oliver was a member of Constitutional Lodge No. 294. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1916.

William Arthur Parkinson, of Newry, Co. Down, on 3rd December, 1940. Bro. Parkinson was a P.M. of Lodge No. 367 and a member of Chapter No. 367. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1934.

Edwin Picton, of London, N.W., on 28th November, 1940. Bro. Picton was a P.M. of Norman Lodge No. 1334, and a member of Concord Chapter No. 134. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1914.

William James Ross, of Chesham Bois, Bucks., on 10th February, 1941. Bro. Ross held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1928.

Sydney Martin Southwell, of London, S.W., on 18th January, 1941. Bro. Southwell held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1926.

Ernest William Stanton, of Hove, on 19th April, 1941. Bro. Stanton was a P.M. of Prince Edwin's Lodge No. 125. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1917.

George Trentham, of Birmingham, on 9th December, 1940. Bro. Trentham was a member of Holte Lodge No. 1246 and of St. James' Chapter No. 482. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1900.

Henry Edward Vincent, of Salisbury, on 7th February, 1941. Bro. Vincent 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, 1933.

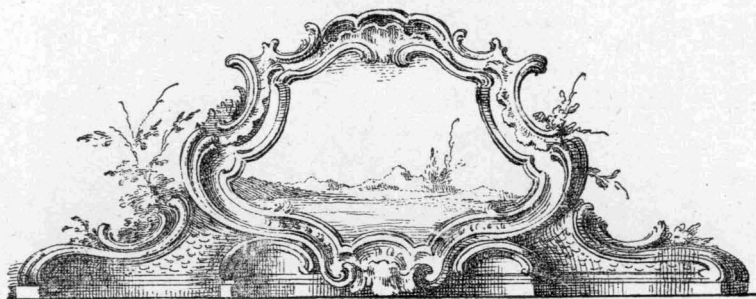
Frederick Charles Walters, of Hyde Park, S. Australia, on 12th January, 1937. Bro. Walters was a member of Lodge No. 31 and of Chapter No. 1. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle, of which he was a Life Member, in March, 1931.

Reginald Cyrus Watson, of London, W.C., on 22nd November, 1940. Bro. Watson was a member of Hamden Lodge No. 2427. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1902.

John Lupton Whitelock, of Leeds, on 19th April, 1941. Bro. Whitelock held the office of Pr.G.O. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1926.

George Basil Wood, of Westcliff-on-Sea, on 7th April, 1941. Bro. Wood was a member of Borough Polytechnic Lodge No. 3540 and of Faith Chapter No. 141. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1930.

Harold Augustus Yoward, of Birmingham, in March, 1941. Bro. Yoward was a member of Archimedes Lodge No. 3802 and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1927.



Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY :

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.Swd.B.

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→‡ 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 LIV. PART II.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
1943.

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

TUESDAY, 24th JUNE, 1941.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. B. Ivanoff, W.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.W.; *Wing Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.W.; J. Heron Leppèr, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; W. J. Williams, P.M.; and F. R. Radice.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. Col. C. G. Astley Cooper; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; F. A. Greene, A.G.Supt.Wks.; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; R. L. Randall; L. G. Wearing; J. C. Vidler; R. A. Card, P.G.St.B.; *Rev.* G. Freeman Irwin, P.G.Ch.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; B. Foskett; F. Coston Taylor; W. Morgan Day; Eric Alven; T. H. Thatcher, P.G.St.B.; R. Dawson; L. Veronique; J. F. H. Gilbard; R. Donaldson; and G. C. Williams.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Wm. Patrick, W.M., and F. J. Patrick, Ionic Lodge No. 227.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., Pr.G.M., Bristol, 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., Chap.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; David Flather, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Telepneff; Douglas Knoop, M.A., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, P.M.; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., I.P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., J.D.; H. C. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.; R. E. Parkinson; Geo. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Sup.W.; and Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

Two Lodges, one Chapter and Five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to Bro. A. Cecil Powell, who had been honoured with the appointment of Provincial Grand Master for Bristol.

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

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CARBONARI.

BY BRO. FULKE R. RADICE.

PART V.

YOUNG ITALY AND THE ALBERTISTS.



WHILE Mazzini was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona he had leisure to think. He had been dissatisfied for some time with the Carboneria and his feelings can be best expressed in his own words.¹ "I had learned much of the Carboneria and I did not much admire the complex symbolism, the hierarchical mysteries nor the political faith—or rather the absence of all political faith—I discovered in that institution. . . . It struck me as somewhat absurd [on the subject of the ordeal of the loaded pistol] to call on a man to fight for his country and make it his first duty to blow out the few brains God had vouchsafed to him. . . . In my own mind I reflected with surprise and distrust that the oath which had been administered to me was a mere formula of obedience, containing nothing as to the aim to be reached, and that my initiator had not said one single word about federalism or unity, republic or monarchy. It was war against the government, nothing more. . . . For my part . . . I began to suspect that in fact they did nothing. They always spoke of Italy as a nation disinherited of all power to act, as something less than a secondary appendix to others. They professed themselves cosmopolitans. Comopolitanism is a beautiful word, if it be understood to mean liberty for all men; but every lever requires a fulcrum, and while I had been accustomed to seek for that fulcrum in Italy itself, I found the Carbonari looked for it in Paris. . . . Nothing was talked of among the Carbonari but Guizot, Berthe, La Fayette and the Haute Vente at Paris.² I could not but remember that we Italians had given the institution of Carbonarism to France". Carbonarism, Mazzini said,³ had no fixed belief and lacked the power of unity. It regarded the regeneration of Italy as the business of the upper classes rather than the duty of the people; it had no confidence in the masses. Its only weapon was mere negation: it called upon men to overthrow not to build up. The leaders found the Italians by no means agreed on the question of unity and did not therefore adopt it as an aim. Symbols concealed the absence of doctrine. It had, however, reached a numerical strength unknown to other Sects. Mazzini also charged the Carbonari with paying excessive attention to the individual and his rights in their political aims, and too little to his duties and associations within the nation.⁴ These are most interesting comments on the state of the Society in 1830: evidently the spirit had departed, only the

¹ Mazzini, *Life and Writings*, pp. 14, 15, 16, 18.

² See also Mazzini, vol. i., p. 42.

³ Mazzini, vol. i., pp. 67-79.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 6.

dry bones remained. An incident in the fortress of Savona completed Mazzini's disgust.¹ He had arranged a code by which he could communicate with friends outside when he was allowed to write home. On meeting Passano casually in a passage, he whispered to him that he was in touch with the outside world and asked for names of people to whom to write. Passano made a few passes over his head and whispered: "Full powers", as if some mysterious degree were necessary to enable Mazzini to carry on the correspondence. He had found Passano full of life and energy, but more intent on small political intrigues and petty artifices than any manly or logical endeavour towards achieving the purpose of the Institution.² Even among the exiles, at a later date, he found little more real faith or moral aim; politics were regarded as a science, a matter of technique.³

Mazzini decided to form a new Society based on truth as he saw it; and the aim was to be, not merely the restoration of a dismembered and oppressed people, but the creation of a new unity for the nations of Europe. A regenerate Italy was to preach the new faith of progress and brotherhood; and a new Rome, that of the people, was to indicate, not merely to individuals, but also to nations their mission on earth. The task was to be "not merely a political, but above all a moral work, not negative but religious, not founded upon any theory of self-interest or wellbeing, but on principle and on duty".⁴

His influence was exercised through his political tenets and his methods of propaganda, for even a prophet making a noble, spiritual appeal must have material means wherewith to carry out his aim. Mazzini's immediate objectives were unity and a republican form of government.⁵ By placing unity in the forefront of his programme, Mazzini boldly tackled the question the Carbonari had timidly evaded: he told his followers to preach the kinship of all Italians and never to make a move except in the name of Italy and the whole of Italy. When this aim was presented as a new kind of religion to the Italian masses, its effect was incalculable. Where the Carbonari had aimed at more sophisticated objectives, like constitutions, which appealed to the educated minds, and, with the remembrance of the Red Terror, had excluded the masses and concealed their real aims from them, Mazzini appealed to the people with a simple ideal they could understand. It is as a result of his ceaseless propaganda that the Italian masses, hitherto indifferent to the liberals' efforts, were won over to the cause of Italian redemption, even though their support remained for the most part passive. Herein lies Mazzini's greatest service to the cause of Italy. Such being his teaching, it is not surprising that despite his many mistakes and those of his followers, his Association far outstripped the Carboneria. Yet on one point the Carbonari were right. The regeneration of Italy remained largely the work of the upper classes. Young Italy only succeeded in enlisting the passive, not the active assistance of the bulk of the masses.

Yet Mazzini's adoption of a republican form of government was no less fatal to his cause than the choice of the Spanish constitution had been in 1821, and went far towards nullifying his teaching on unity. He argued, with much reason, that the Kings in Italy had been oppressive and deceitful and bitter opponents of freedom, and the people could not be expected to support mere risings of aristocrats and officers like those of 1821.⁶ We must remember, in justice to Mazzini, that so far no king had shown any sympathy with liberal ideas; and Charles Albert was still regarded as the traitor of 1821. There was moreover in Italy, as we have seen, a glorious tradition of republicanism dating from the Middle Ages. But the rejection of constitutional monarchy, the aim of

¹ Mazzini, vol. i., p. 34.

² Mazzini, *Life and Writings*, p. 18.

³ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 19.

⁴ Mazzini, p. 39.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 293.

many in Italy and in exile, who still hoped in Charles Albert and saw in the Piedmontese army the only force capable of coping with the renowned Whitecoats, caused a hopeless split in the progressive forces; and, though on this point Mazzini was far less guilty than his hotheaded followers, he remained fatally shortsighted.

The instrument for Mazzinian propaganda was to be the Carboneria's most famous "Economy", "Young Italy". The foundations were laid in Marseille on Mazzini's return from his fruitless voyage to Corsica with Carminati in 1831. His fellow founders were Bianco and Santi, and among his earliest disciples were Melegari, one of our authorities for the period, La Cecilia and Nicholas Fabrizi.¹ At first Mazzini had to compromise, he had to win a following and could not yet impose his will. In its first form the "Federation of Young Italy" was a true "Economy" of the Carboneria, an offshoot reproducing many of the features of the parent stem; and, from his letters to an intimate friend, Giglioli, the exile of the Duchy of Modena, we see that he did not then forbid his followers to belong to other Societies. Mazzini claimed that "Young Italy" had no mysteries, no hierarchy or symbols. As will be seen in the Appendix, this claim to basic simplicity was exaggerated, but the new Society certainly jettisoned much that yet remained in the Carboneria. For the time being Mazzini dared not go any further, especially as his refusal to accept members over forty years of age and his rejection of cosmopolitanism gave offence to many old Carbonari whom he could not afford to offend, and he still corresponded with the Committees in Paris.²

From Luzio³ we know that he agreed at this time to work with the "Apofasimeni", the "Indipendenti" and the "Veri Italiani". The alliance with the "Apofasimeni" is easy to understand. Although under the general direction of Buonarroti, who was loth to co-operate with Mazzini, whom he could only regard as a rebel, the members of the Society were under the leadership of Bianco, who had been head of the Sect in the Romagne⁴ and was one of the founders of "Young Italy"; and he duly led his followers into the ranks of Mazzini's Society.⁵ They were a Carbonaro offshoot and followed the forms of Carbonarism; and their object was to make Italy one, free and independent, an aim similar to that of "Young Italy". Though their chief centre was abroad, they had branches in the Romagne.⁶

The other two Sects mentioned must be considered at greater length. The "Indipendenti" (Independents), according to Nicolli, were an emanation of the "Adelfi" dating from about 1818; but, if Nicolli⁷ is right, which I seriously doubt, their character showed no trace of "Adelfian" tenets in 1830. Their leaders were then the Milanese exiles Arconati and Prince Belgioioso. The Prince had not yet become a follower of Mazzini and belonged to the Albertist party among the exiles. In view of the "Independents'" patriotic attitude and rejection of the Paris Committee's overlordship, Mazzini⁸ agreed to work with them at first, but this partnership soon ceased, and it is not certain which side severed the connection.⁹ The "Indipendenti" gained in power and were considered by Menz,¹⁰ Austrian adviser on foreign affairs to the Lombard government, as more dangerous than "Young Italy" in 1833, as they concealed their activities better. They were in fact the chief rivals to "Young Italy" at this period in the Peninsula, and they

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, p. 289. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 36; vol. iii., p. 423.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 299.

³ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 121; Mazzini, vol. i., p. 65.

⁴ Mazzini, vol. i., p. 311.

⁵ Melegari, p. 79 note. Mazzini, vol. i., p. 311.

⁶ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 434.

⁷ pp. 81-82.

⁸ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 121.

⁹ From the first Mazzini had found the Albertists, mostly Piedmontese, indifferent to his ideas. Giglioli, p. 56.

¹⁰ Report of Menz of 22.11.33 in Gualterio, vol. iv., p. 395.

tried to use "Young Italy" to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. They were more practical than the "Young Italians"; they had no symbols and did not indulge in long conferences.¹ Charles Albert informed Truchsess, the Prussian minister to Piedmont, that after the defeat of "Young Italy" in 1833 the Piedmontese liberals were rallying round the "Independents", who seemed to be led then by Méjean, Eugène Beauharnais' old minister.² We hear of a meeting in Piacenza where the Carbonari decided to join that Sect and sent emissaries to Switzerland to effect that purpose.³ A Lodge of "Independents" existed in that town, according to the depositions of a member, Magnoni, who was arrested in 1833.⁴ From a letter of Charles Albert of the 11th of November, 1833, to Francis of Modena⁵ we know that Charles Albert erroneously thought the "Independents" were absorbing "Young Italy" and both were uniting in a Society called "Emancipazione universale" (Universal emancipation), whose object was to unite Italy under the Duke of Leuchtenberg as King. Though little is known of the "Independents", they seem to have grown powerful in Piedmont, where they seem to have outstripped "Young Italy."⁶ Piedmont was not favourable to Mazzini's enterprise. Mazzini himself admitted in a letter to Melegari of the 17th of August, 1833, that "there was a Carbonaro coterie in Turin", composed of the relics of 1821, with which he was in touch but which was opposed to his plan of action.⁷

In addition to the "Independents" and the Albertists there was another party opposed to Mazzini, that of the older Carbonari, who were subservient to French leadership, had become more extreme and could now be counted as republicans. It is among these that arose the Society of the "Veri Italiani" (Real Italians), sometimes called "Giovane Carboneria dei Veri Italiani" (Young Carboneria of the Real Italians).⁸ We have contradictory accounts as to their origin, Mazzini⁹ saying that it was founded by Arconati in Brussels, that it was monarchist and favoured the House of Savoy. But we also hear that it had a branch in Paris led by Buonarroti, Mirri of Rome, Vecchiarelli and Ciccarelli of Naples, who were members of the literary sub-committee for Italian affairs in Paris. As these men are said to have belonged to the more extreme wing of the Carboneria, it is difficult to see how they could have become members of a Society founded by Arconati. I think Mazzini's memory failed him here, as it sometimes did, and he was really alluding to the "Indipendenti". Another version of the "Real Italians'" origin is given by Tivaroni,¹⁰ who says that they were founded in Paris by two Corsicans who had come from Malta, Guitera and Balzano. This, I think is a very garbled version of the truth. Rinieri says the "Veri Italiani" were scattered Carbonari who were attracted into the orbit of "Young Italy",¹¹ which is probably wrong, as will be seen.

I think the correct version is that given by Signorina Dora Melegari,¹² who possessed her father's papers; and he was closely concerned with the relations between "Young Italy" and the "Real Italians". According to her, this Society was founded in Paris by Buonarroti, the Tuscan Gherardi, who was secretary, and the Parmesan Mussi. Its Lodges were called "Famiglie", a

¹ Poggi, vol. ii., p. 113.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 301 Note.

³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 321.

⁴ Gualterio Documents, p. 475.

⁵ Rosati, p. 29.

⁶ A witness at the trial of Gioberti, called Girardenghi, confirms Charles Albert's view as regards Piedmont. He says that "Young Italy" was the least numerous sect in Turin, the "Indipendenti" and particularly the Freemasons were more powerful.

⁷ Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 496-497.

⁸ Barbiera, p. 226.

⁹ Mazzini, vol. v., p. 10.

¹⁰ 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 24.

¹¹ Pellico, vol. ii., pp. 258 *et subsequ.*

¹² p. 80.

Carbonarian appellation, and its "Central Giunta" was "Famiglia No. 1".¹ The whole Society was under the direction of the High Vendita,² which was then, probably, the name of the Grand Firmament. It seems to have been meant as a counterblast to "Young Italy" and intended to keep the Italian exiles faithful to the old Carboneria. Regis, the leader of the Savoy Expedition, and William Pepe³ were members. Another member, Charles Farini, is reported to have said to his fellows once: "Boys, we shall have to plunge our arms in blood", which indicates that the Society favoured violence.⁴ Buonarroti sent the Neapolitan Ciccarelli to Corsica in 1832 to enrol new Candidates; and, on his way, Ciccarelli met Mazzini at Marseille and proposed co-operation between the two Societies. In the uncertain state of his affairs, Mazzini was unable to resist the pressure of his friends, who urged him to enter into relations with Buonarroti's Association, though he remained distrustful throughout. On his side Buonarroti was very reluctant to come to terms with Mazzini, as in the case of the "Apofasimeni."⁵ Nevertheless a temporary alliance was concluded and Mazzini chose the signs of recognition between the two Sects. Several "Young Italians", like Giglioli, also joined the "Real Italians";⁶ and fusion was proposed. But by April, 1833, the "Central Giunta" was at loggerheads with "Young Italy", and, according to Mazzini and Melegari, the "Veri Italiani" were responsible. It had been agreed that Italy should be left to "Young Italy" as its field of action, while the "Veri Italiani" worked among the Emigrants. The "Veri italiani" began to canvass in Italy: a "Famiglia", No. 17, had been founded at Leghorn by the Corsicans Guitera and Balzano on the 9th of January, 1833.⁷ This "Family" was not lucky, as on the 3rd of September it came under the notice of the police and its principal members were arrested. Another source of quarrel was that the High Vendita sent one Captain Bellazzi to organise a "Carboneria riformata" (Reformed Carboneria) in Italy, especially in Tuscany, and was meeting with success in Florence, Pisa and Leghorn.⁸ As a result of these disagreements relations between Mazzini and Buonarroti were broken off.

The "Veri Italiani" became very widely spread; and differences in aim manifested themselves in the various branches. In Tuscany we have a constitutional and Bonapartist branch in Florence, while the Leghorn Famiglia was republican,⁹ favouring one republic for all Italy based on equality,¹⁰ and there seems also to have been a section, probably the Piedmontese branch, which aimed at a united Italy under the hegemony of the House of Savoy.¹¹ They maintained a close connection with the revolutionaries in Spain, Naples, and France and, of course, in all parts of Tuscany.

The occurrence of a breach between Buonarroti and Mazzini is not surprising. By 1833 Mazzini felt more strong in view of the success of "Young Italy". In 1832 already his tone had changed, as we know from his letter to Giglioli of the 25th of February of that year,¹² when he claims with some exaggeration that all the threads in Piedmont, Tuscany, Lombardy and the Romagne were in his hands. In his "General Instructions" for adherents of "Young Italy", published soon after, the evolution becomes clear. Members of "Young Italy" were no longer allowed to belong to other Sects, and all the

¹ Melegari, p. 88.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 446.

³ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 450.

⁴ Rinieri, Pellico, p. 258.

⁵ Luzio, Massoneria, p. 242.

⁶ Giglioli, pp. 71-73.

⁷ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 330. Giglioli, p. 72.

⁸ Melegari, pp. 91-92.

⁹ Menz' report of 17.2.36 in Gualterio, vol. iv., p. 466.

¹⁰ Poggi, vol. ii., p. 127.

¹¹ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 500, Note, quoting Allegra. Mazzini himself, p. 311, says the "Veri" Italians eventually became royalists.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 115.

sanguinary statutes against traitors, so prominent a feature in most secret societies, were eliminated, though there still remained among the principles laid down by Mazzini some dangerous maxims. Mazzini in fact threw down the gauntlet and the methods he adopted show that the period of the Sects was ending and that of liberal propaganda and association was beginning.

Mazzini's open defiance gave rise to denunciations from the older Carbonari, especially Angeloni, Buonarroti, Ciani, Giannone, Salfi, Maroncelli and Ugoni. The presence among the critics of several men who became his supporters was due to the fact that, as Mrs. Giglioli explains,¹ Mazzini's mystic tenets were understood and shared by very few, though his political ideas found, in due time, wide acceptance. His mysticism was derided even by some of his best friends,² while his political methods gained him their adherence.

Several attempts were made to heal the opening breach. According to Cantù,³ an informer reported that in 1832 a meeting was held at Bellinzona on the Swiss-Lombard frontier, which tried to arrange an alliance between the "Independents" and "Young Italy", but in spite of the efforts of Ciani, now a supporter of Mazzini, and Collegno the resistance of Arconati and Belgioioso prevailed. If Cantù be right, Belgioioso is a conspicuous example of an opponent of Mazzini won over later to his views, for a little time later we find him collaborating with Ciani on "Young Italy's" behalf. Other meetings took place at Madonna del Soccorso in 1833⁴ near Porlezza, where Ciani⁵ tried to arrange for collaboration between the Carbonari of Switzerland and "Young Italy", at Bironico,⁴ at Monte Cenere, where the Sectaries met under the pretext of holding a rifle meeting.⁶ But the rift was not closed.

The result of Mazzini's action, as far as our Society is concerned, was that the Carboneria was left with a Rump consisting of its more extreme elements led by Buonarroti, which remained almost wholly dependent on the "Directing Committee" in Paris, assuming more and more the aspect of an international revolutionary Sect with a tendency to subversiveness. In my opinion it was the Moderate and constitutional party, which became the true successor of the older Carboneria and the upholder of the old aims of the Society in its heyday, and not the republican and extremist rump, though this harked back to an older republican tradition. The Moderate party was probably the first to discard the trappings of a Secret Society altogether after the Carboneria failed to fulfil its purpose. At the beginning it asked no more than that the Italians should be allowed to choose what form of government they preferred, after the expulsion of the Austrians. Eventually it rallied all the moderates round the House of Savoy and finally consummated that alliance which was to make modern Italy. On the other side Mazzini gained all the republicans who abhorred subserviency

¹ p. 192.

² Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 126-127, Note.

³ *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 300. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 430.

⁴ Poggi, vol. ii., pp. 111-112. Charles Albert wrote to Francis of Modena on the 15th of November, 1833, that a revolutionary congress was to be held that day in Switzerland, which probably refers to one of the meetings mentioned. On the 13th of February of the same year a masked ball was held during which a conference of Carbonari was held, it was said; but its purpose is not clear.

⁵ Ciani was suspected of being implicated in Prina's murder in 1814. Though he became a "Young Italy" leader, he seems to have remained on friendly terms with the Carbonari.

⁶ We have a reference to one of these meetings, we cannot tell which, in the depositions of Pianavia against the Abbot Gioberti, one of the Carbonaro coterie in Turin, which, according to Mazzini, opposed his Savoy scheme. Gioberti was arrested for suspected complicity in that expedition, wrongly, as it turned out. Pianavia said that a great effort was to be made to arrange for joint action by "Young Italy", Freemasonry and the "Indipendenti", but did not know where the meeting was to take place. The coterie referred to by Mazzini was either one of "Independents" led by Badariotti or one of "Amici del popolo italiano" (Friends of the Italian people), who, according to Mazzini, had members in Piedmont. Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 493, 499, Note.

to France, and cultivated a patriotism, which, though narrow, was no less fervent than that of the Albertists, and pinned its faith to a unitarian republic.

These divisions did not prevent the continuation of Sectarian action in Italy, which we must now consider. It may be stated here that the Parisian "Directing Committee" continued to exist for some years. Menz¹ says that its existence in 1835, or even 1836, had been reported to him.

THE WANING OF THE CARBONERIA.

The suppression of the revolution of 1831 coincided with a change of Sovereign in the three principal states of Italy. In Piedmont Charles Felix died on the 27th of April, 1831, and Charles Albert came to the throne. The new King was bound by the undertaking he had given to his predecessor; and under the influence of his religious mysticism, which grew on him as the years passed, he allowed the Jesuits and the Church to have more power than ever before. At the beginning of his reign the reactionary "Società Cattolica" (Catholic Society), a variant of the "Santa Fede", which was under the protection of the minister Lascarena, was predominant.² Though he would have liked a more progressive ministry,³ the King refrained as yet from making even the slightest changes, largely owing to the Sects' hostility to his régime. As regards foreign policy, he felt he could not trust France, since, apart from his personal dislike for Louis Philippe, who was supporting the pretensions of the Duke of Lucca to the leadership of Italy, Charles Albert was aware of French complicity in the abortive raid of 1830; and he had discovered the existence of French propaganda in Piedmont.⁴ He leaned on Austria for the time being, despite his mistrust of her intentions, and entered into friendly relations with Francis of Modena, who kept him informed of the trend of Metternich's policy and enabled him to trim his sails in the manner best calculated to avoid foreign intervention.⁵

In September, 1833, took place the convention of Mu'nchengra'tz,⁶ at which Austria, Russia and Prussia revived to some extent the Holy Alliance and warned France against supporting the liberals in Belgium, Holland and Piedmont. When France replied that, if Austrian troops intervened in Piedmont, they would be met by a French army, Charles Albert rejoined tartly that any attempt to cross his frontiers would be regarded as a hostile act.⁷ The new King's attitude, therefore, gave no encouragement either to the Sects or even to the Albertist party in France. At his accession Charles Albert received a letter written by Mazzini calling on him to grant a constitution and place himself at the head of the Italian liberal movement. The letter annoyed the King,⁸ as it disclosed to Metternich that the Sectaries regarded him as the only Italian sovereign likely to lead to a war of independence, a fact which, though true, Charles Albert wished to keep concealed. The letter remained unanswered; and indeed it could not be otherwise. The only Sectaries who were amnestied were the "Circles": the exiles of 1821 were not yet recalled.⁹

According to Doria, there was at this time a revival of Freemasonry in Piedmont. Our Brotherhood, he says, had decided to intervene in politics and had adopted aims similar to those of the Carbonari. The relations between the two Societies became intimate, and in places where both had members bodies called "Joint Committees", composed usually of five Freemasons and four Good

¹ Report of 17.2.36, Gualterio, Documents, p. 468.

² Bianchi, vol. iv., pp. 44, 49.

³ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 611.

⁴ Rosati, p. 30.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 616. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 505.

⁷ Gualterio, Documents, p. 78.

⁸ Rosati, pp. 20-21.

⁹ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 503.

Cousins, were set up. I am of the opinion that this ascendancy of Freemasonry is a proof of the weakness of the Carboneria at this period rather than of any notable revival of our Brotherhood.¹

On the 4th of July, 1832, the Piedmontese authorities, on information received, searched the steamer "Sully" and seized a trunk belonging to Mazzini. This was found to have a double bottom, and in this hiding place were found Mazzini's instructions to the Carbonari, written in his own hand and signed with the pseudonym Strozzi, which he used when he was still Secretary of the Genoese High Vendita, the constitutions of the "Apofasimeni" and other important papers.² Much valuable information fell into the hands of the authorities.

Meanwhile, Mazzini, after the failure of his appeal to Charles Albert, launched the forces of Young Italy against Piedmont. Perhaps it was as a last effort to gain the support of the Albertists for his projected operations that the meetings between Carbonari and "Young Italy", already described, were held in Switzerland. "Young Italy" penetrated Piedmont and gained many proselytes. Their existence and the fact that they were plotting was discovered through a quarrel between two Gunners,³ one of whom was heard to say he could make revelations about the other. The police made inquiries and a fierce persecution followed. The reactionaries were merciless: they did not trust Charles Albert's staunchness and did their best to widen the breach between him and the liberals by causing blood to flow. Sixty-seven Sectaries were tried and about a dozen, mostly soldiers, were shot. The prisoners were harshly and even cruelly treated.⁴ Among them were some "Independents".⁵ The Carbonari were hardly involved at all. Count Charles Cattaneo, Romagnosi's pupil, the Carbonaro leader in Piedmont after the arrest of Passano and now a "Young Italian", fled.⁶

An expedition against Savoy was organised in 1833 by Mazzini and "Young Italy". The Parisian "Directing Committee", which still possessed considerable influence over the new Society, insisted that the leadership should be entrusted to its delegate, Ramorino, an adventurer of doubtful honesty who was distrusted by Mazzini.⁷ Grabinski, who had fought in the Romagna in 1831, had a subordinate command.⁸ A financial committee was set up at Geneva, consisting of Bossi, Ciani and Belgioioso.⁹ A descent was to be made simultaneously on the Ligurian coast from Toulon.¹⁰ After many delays Ramorino was at last induced to move, early in 1834, but retreated at the first check. Mazzini had taken a personal part in the expedition and had fallen seriously ill during its progress. His recovery was followed by a quarrel with Ramorino, who was suspected of embezzling some of the funds. This was Mazzini's famous Savoy expedition, an attempt even more mismanaged than most of the Sectaries' efforts; and I am afraid it must be regarded as typical of Mazzini's efforts to put his plans into action.

The expedition had been vigorously opposed by Buonarroti because, according to Charles Albert, he wanted to start a revolution in France in May, 1834, and feared that the Savoy expedition would interfere with that scheme,¹¹ and by the "Emancipazione universale"¹¹ a Society composed largely of Piedmontese "Independents" and "Young Italians". The Carbonari had

¹ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 414.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 312.

³ Melegari, p. 100. Mazzini, p. 322.

⁴ Gualterio, vol. i., pp. 650-651. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 507.

⁵ Melegari, p. 100.

⁶ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 509.

⁷ Melegari, p. 213. Mazzini, pp. 345-346.

⁸ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 511.

⁹ Letter of Mazzini of the 31st July, 1833. Luzio, Mazzini, p. 460.

¹⁰ Melegari, pp. 140 *et subseq.*

¹¹ Rosati, p. 33.

held aloof, and even Ciani,¹ though a "Young Italian" and a member of the financial committee, had withdrawn from it.² It is not surprising therefore that one of the results was the final breach between the older Society and her Daughter, though they did co-operate at times on later occasions.

Mazzini, after his glaring failure, tried to enlarge his influence by convening a meeting of "Young Italians" on the 15th of April, 1834, in order to found a "Young Poland", a "Young Germany" and a "Young Switzerland" and to combine them into a "Young Europe". As usual he found Bianco a warm supporter.³ Buonarroti, on the other hand, in open opposition to Mazzini, tried to make his High Vendita an international association and gave Mazzini some cause for anxiety thereby.⁴ Mazzini admits that this "Haute Vente" had many followers in Switzerland. Among the members of the High Vendita was d'Argençon,⁵ and the mention of his name shows how close the connection between the Carboneria and the French revolutionaries was becoming. Some authors think that this association of Carbonari and French revolutionaries helped to bring about the revolution of 1848 in Paris. We have two reports from spies concerning these activities. Charamella⁶ reported on the 11th of July, 1834, to the Sardinian minister in Switzerland the discovery of a Carbonaro committee, divided into two sections, one in Paris and one in Switzerland. In Switzerland the members were Louis Bonaparte, Grillenzoni, Ciani and Mazzini; of the Parisian section the spy knew only Prince Belgioioso. This information was obviously garbled: it must have been a "Young Italy", and not a Carbonaro, committee which had been discovered; and the presence of Louis Napoleon, if really authenticated, is interesting. At the same time the spy Garofalo,⁷ who had been one of Canosa's minions, reported the discovery of a committee comprising Ciani, Bossi, Belgioioso, Ruffini and Passano. Passano's inclusion is an obvious error. Perhaps Garofalo somewhat belatedly had come across the tracks of the financial committee of Geneva set up in connection with the Savoy expedition.

In consequence of the raid on Savoy and these Sectarian activities, Piedmont's minister la Tour,⁸ supported by Austria, made representations to Switzerland, and other Powers joined in the protest.⁹ Several of the Sectaries were expelled,¹⁰ including Buonarroti and Mazzini, who found a safe refuge in England in January, 1837, from which he continued to direct the activities of "Young Italy".

While "Young Italy" so far as Piedmont was concerned was suffering its final defeat, the Carboneria proper was becoming more and more international and the Albertists were waiting patiently for the change which was so slow in coming, the Piedmontese Carboneria struck at Austria through one of its members the heaviest blow that Empire had yet suffered at Italian hands. As the year 1830 approached the prisoners of the Spielberg began to come home. Oroboni, Albertini, Villa the traitor, and that gallant fighter Moretti had succumbed. Fortini and one or two others were released for good conduct and Pellico and Maroncelli on account of their health: Maroncelli had to have one of his legs amputated. Bacchiega,¹¹ a worthy fellow to Moretti, refused to accept any favour at the hands of the enemy and remained in captivity. Pellico had been by no means undistinguished as a writer before his imprisonment:

¹ Mazzini, p. 344. Gualterio, Documents, p. 470.

² Melegari, p. 204.

³ Mazzini, vol. iii., pp. 18, 26-30, 38, 50.

⁴ Melegari, p. 243. Mazzini, vol. iii., p. 6.

⁵ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 358.

⁶ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 505.

⁷ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 311.

⁸ Poggi, vol. ii., pp. 104-105.

⁹ Bianchi.

¹⁰ Giglioli, p. 125. Mazzini, vol. iii., pp. 18-19, 160.

¹¹ Poggi, vol. ii., p. 164.

he was now persuaded to write the story of his prison life, and the result was one of the world's great books. The scatterbrained young man of 1821 had become during his captivity a true Christian. His book, "*Le mie prigioni*" (My prisons), published at the end of 1832,¹ is a simple narrative, gentle and resigned, without one word of self-pity and hardly one complaint; Pellico in fact hardly says a single harsh word about any of the officials with whom he came into contact, from the highest magistrates to the rough, kindly turnkey Schiller. He was blamed by his more ardent colleagues for his resigned attitude,² but his very moderation only made the whole case against Austria's stupid and harsh system, contained in the mere statement of the facts, all the more damning. For the first time in Italy it was universally realised outside a comparatively small circle that the Carbonari were not merely conspirators, but martyrs in a great cause, and that the men prepared to suffer for it were worthy. The book was translated and its effect abroad was even greater than in Italy. It is not too much to say that Pellico radically changed the whole attitude of public opinion towards the cause of Italian independence and Carbonarism.

It is doubtful whether the book had any influence on Charles Albert's views. It is clear, however, that after the defeat of the raid of 1834 he felt he had beaten off the revolutionaries' attack.³ He had strongly deprecated the waste of effort which diverted energies required to liberate Italy in due time into attacks on himself, which forced him to incur the hatred of those whose assistance was necessary in the task he was not yet ready to assume.⁴ After 1834 his attitude became more independent: his relations with Francis of Modena became cooler and towards Austria he became less amenable. The Reactionaries were among the first to suffer from the change. Very stupidly the "*Amicizia cattolica*" (Catholic Friendship), as the *Santa Fede* was now called in Piedmont, at the suggestion of Cardinal Pacca, late governor of Rome, who was now in Piedmont, made accusations against the two Saluzzos and others of the King's most trusted servants. When challenged for proofs, Lascarena pleaded the evidence of intercepted letters which he was unable to produce.⁵ At the end of his patience Charles Albert dismissed Lascarena, who, he significantly explained to the Powers, had become a mere Austrian agent,⁶ expelled Pacca and suppressed the society. A more moderate ministry was appointed.⁷ He did not scruple openly to oppose Austria on occasion, and even threatened armed resistance.⁷ In 1842 the exiles of 1821 were at last recalled and Piedmont was becoming a refuge for liberals from other parts of Italy. These changes were noted with pleasure by the Piedmontese Carbonari and the Albertists, although the King showed no inclination to make any constitutional concession. He had to play a dangerous and difficult game, for which he was little fitted. As late as 1843 he said to Louis Phillippe's son, the Duke of Aumâle, who was himself suspected of having designs on the Italian crown, that he was between the dagger of the Carbonari and the poisoned chocolate of the Jesuits.⁸ Yet the new trend had been duly noted and Sectarian activity in Piedmont ceased almost completely. The only instance of such activity we have is a mysterious story given by Costa de Beauregard,⁹ that about 1846 an unknown Carbonaro visited the King and had an interview at which high words were exchanged and the visitor was heard to say as he left: "Your Majesty will be sorry for this". It is outside the

¹ Poggi, vol. ii., p. 148.

² Pecchio wrote to Giglioli, before reading the book, it is true, that nothing good could be produced by a mind "castrated by Popery and bigotry". Giglioli, pp. 84-85.

³ Berkeley, p. 82.

⁴ Rosati, pp. 22, 32, 36.

⁵ Poggi, vol. ii., pp. 109-110.

⁶ Bianchi, vol. iv., p. 85.

⁷ Gualterio, vol. i., pp. 631-632.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 656. *La Farina*, vol. iv., p. 517.

⁹ pp. 81-82.

compass of this paper to trace the steps by which Charles Albert finally came to play his appointed rôle. All I need say here is that as far as Piedmont is concerned the work of the Carboneria was done, only a few short years more and the alliance between the House of Savoy and the liberal forces was an accomplished fact. In the events that followed nearly all the Carbonari that have been mentioned played important parts, and, though several did not live to see the success of their cause, a few did survive to see Italy free, constitutional and united under Charles Albert's son.

In South Italy Ferdinand II. raised the hopes of the Liberals at first. He swept away the unclean crew which had gathered round his father's court, he reformed the army in order to make himself less dependent on Austria,¹ he recalled some of the exiles of 1821, notably General Filangieri, to help him in his task, and he received back into favour General Nunziante, Riccardi and the Duke of Ascoli, all moderates or old liberals. In 1833² he even suggested an offensive and defensive alliance between all the Italian states. But Ferdinand was no less a lazzarone than his predecessors, and, though more manly, was no less cunning and corrupt: he worked only for himself. He feared the Sects; and his minister Intonti,³ the same who had given good advice to the Carbonari in 1816, gave point to those fears by intriguing with the liberals with a view to force the King to grant some concession of a moderate nature. Filangieri revealed the scheme to the King and Intonti was sent into exile to Vienna. Another cause for alarm was the Murrist activity already described.⁴ Metternich skilfully played on the King's fears and his original liberal leanings were soon replaced by repressive action.

Accordingly the Sects recommenced their scheming. We do not know how many of them had survived. The "Scamiciati" were discovered to have spread to Apulia, Basilicata and Calabria and to have made an alliance with the remnant of the "Filadelfi".⁵ But Ferdinand had gained the allegiance of the army by his care for it;⁶ and his position was stronger than that of his predecessors. He had also found an excellent instrument for his war against the Sects in the renegade Carbonaro and Freemason,⁷ General Del Carretto, who, as we have seen, had been Pepe's A.D.C. and had suppressed the Cilento rebellion so savagely. Ferdinand also passed a measure⁸ giving the gens d'armes the powers of magistrates, with the result that justice in South Italy came to be at the mercy of the police and abuses became so grave as to merit Gladstone's well known strictures. These measures rendered the prospect of success of any Sectarian risings almost hopeless, and this is clearly shown by the fate of those which were attempted. There was a meeting of Carbonarian chiefs to discuss the question of demanding a constitution, but it seems to have led to nothing.⁹ There were minor risings: in Amatrice, in the Abruzzi, and at Palermo in 1831, where about 50 peasants rose, but were mistaken for brigands and dispersed. A few examples¹⁰ were made after these failures. In August of the next year took place the "Monk's conspiracy", so called because it was work of the Friar Peluso, a Carbonaro.¹¹ He escaped for the time being, but was arrested in 1837 and disappeared, his fate was never known. In 1833 the two sons of General Rossarol, the Carbonarian exile, plotted to kill the King during a review; they were arrested, and some of the conspirators tried to kill each other to escape execution, but this time Ferdinand was merciful and the death

¹ Bianchi, vol. iii., pp. 255, 262. Gualterio, vol. ii., pp. 204-205.

² *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 257.

³ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 472. Gualterio, vol. ii., pp. 218-219.

⁴ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 384.

⁵ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 118-124.

⁶ Gualterio, vol. ii., pp. 216-217. La Cecilia, p. 69.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 238.

⁸ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 476.

⁹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 118-124.

¹⁰ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 471. Gualterio, vol. ii., p. 308.

¹¹ Vannucci, p. 464. Gualterio, vol. ii., p. 309.

penalties were commuted. Caesar Rossarol fell in 1849 at the siege of Venice.¹ There had been a considerable revival of the Carboneria in 1833, and we are told of the formation of several units in the Provinces known by the name of Congregations. The Carbonari even established relations with some of Del Carretto's friends. An outbreak was arranged for the 10th of August, and the exiled Carbonaro Bozzelli returned to the Abruzzi to organise the rising there. Aquila was to rise on that day as well as Capua and Palermo, Apulia was to imitate the example on the 12th and Calabria on the 13th. The plot was nipped in the bud by several arrests, but most of the plotters escaped. It is said that Del Carretto, anxious to save his friends, was not too zealous on this occasion.²

In 1834 a Carbonaro committee was set up in Naples, of which noted liberals like Charles Poerio, son of Count Joseph Poerio, Count Dragonetti and Bozzelli were members; but though these were inclined to deride the tenets of "Young Italy", that Sect was making considerable progress in Calabria.³ On the 4th of February of that same year the spy Plinio reported⁴ that the Bonapartists were planning an attempt on the kingdom in conjunction with the "Reformed Carboneria", a development of our Society to be described later. This was yet another contact between the Carboneria and Bonapartism, a relation which was to lead to such happy results for Italy. At this time it was said that Joseph Bonaparte was in correspondence with the Prince of Cisterna, but in view of Joseph's character, it is not likely that this correspondence was concerned with revolutionary plots.

In South Italy the liberals had maintained hitherto a certain aloofness towards those of the other states, which may account for the persistence of the Carboneria as such in that region longer than elsewhere, but, as we see from the scheme just referred to, the trend of the times was exercising its influence and, as we shall see, the extent of the plans for revolt was becoming wider, overstepping the frontiers of individual states and assuming national dimensions. This development will be touched on in describing events in Tuscany.

Gregory XVI. began his pontificate when the revolution of 1831 had already broken out; and nothing need be said of his reign beyond that under his rule the Papal Government reached the depths of maladministration. Sectarian activity, therefore, continued. In 1832 a spy discovered in Bologna a vast plan for a revolt; he also found the Sectarian Headquarters in the palace of Prince Ercolani. In a report dated the 31st of October, 1832, he says that after passing through the hall of the palace a secret staircase led from the fifth room to an apartment which had been completely fitted out as an office where leaders from Rome, Naples, Tuscany and Piedmont met those of the Papal States in a High Vendita which directed the Vendite throughout Italy and, in addition, had relations with all European countries, especially France and Portugal. It seems, therefore, that the High Vendita which had succeeded the "Speranza" had changed its seat from Naples to Bologna. There were four rooms: an office for the Secretary and the Accountant, a Board room for the secret conclave of the leaders, a storeroom for arms and a registry for papers. Meetings were held every Saturday after midnight. Patrols and guards ensured safety of the meeting, but knew nothing of the proceedings. The plan prepared by the Neapolitans was deemed the best, it was to set fire to Bologna in four places and to rise under cover of the confusion. Ravenna, Ancona and Perugia were to follow in succession. It was rejected because of the presence of the Austrian troops which had remained in the country after 1831; and it was decided to wait until war over the Eastern question, which was then a possibility, should

¹ Vannucci, pp. 465, 589.

² Poggi, vol. ii., pp. 134-137. The sequence of events in these conspiracies is obscure. I have followed Poggi, whose account seems the clearest.

³ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 132.

⁴ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 310.

break out, when it was expected that all Italy would rise. Active preparations for such a rising were even then going on in Modena. In the treasury of this headquarters were 28,000 écus and in the armoury were 1,000 muskets in various stages of serviceability, 12,000 daggers and 200 swords, besides cockades. This report was probably that of Santarini, a Carbonaro who joined the Society in order to spy on the Good Cousins. He reported at this time the presence in the Romagna of the "Figli della patria", "Young Italy", the "Difensori della patria", and offered to reveal all their signs and words. He died in Sicily in 1837.¹ Bologna remained a centre of disaffection, as not long after this date the Carbonari, under the leadership of Carnuti, again showed restlessness.²

In the same year, 1832, a roll of the names of the members of the "Federates" was discovered at Ancona.³ Though it is not specified which "Federates" these were, it is clear that they must have been "Young Italians", and not members of the famous Piedmontese Association. The Sects were making some progress even in Rome.⁴ The continued progress of "Young Italy" was indicated by the discovery in 1833, again at Ancona, of the papers of a "Young Italian" called Galletti,⁵ and in 1835 at Filotrano in the Marches of several Sectarian papers, including a list of the local members of "Young Italy", which were in the possession of an armourer.⁶ In fact, during these years the Papal States were appropriately described by the Sardinian minister to the Papal Court as "fire under the ashes".⁷

In the Austrian territories Sectarian activity could be carried out only underground, as before; and after the suppression of the movement of 1831 the authorities felt no alarm. In 1831 one of the periodical state trials took place, that of the Genoese d'Argenti,⁸ the would-be murderer of Metternich, of Albinola and Count Spinola⁹ before Zaiotti, another of those judges who were so virulent against the Carbonari. This is the occasion when, at his own request, Doria was sent to Milan to testify against the Sects before the Austrian authorities and made the revelations which have been so valuable to us. Argenti turned King's evidence but disclosed little of value. The authorities were also fortunate in arresting a Captain Sgarzolo as he was visiting the country. He had been one of the chief intermediaries between the "Speranza" at Genoa and Gibraltar and England.¹⁰ At the Austrian government's request the Piedmontese police searched Sgarzolo's ship, the "Spartano", then at Genoa, and several important papers were discovered, including the constitutions of the Carboneria, a Carbonaro certificate and a letter of Mazzini, again signed with his nom de plume, to O'Connell,¹¹ which would lead one to infer that the Irish leader was a Good Cousin or at least had some connection with the Society. Later, when Mazzini met him, he was not favourably impressed.

For a time Count d'Adda, whom Mazzini had initiated at Leghorn, is said to have been the leader of the Lombard Carbonari;¹² but he was arrested soon afterwards¹³ and the barrister Torre¹⁴ became Grand Master in Lombardy. In 1831 a new Sect arose which was probably Carbonarian and assumed the cloak of an Association for riotous living and dancing. It was known as the

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 313, 1,262.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 269.

³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 607.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 1,261.

⁵ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 459.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 301, Note.

⁷ In a letter of the 28th of October, 1834. Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 400.

⁸ d'Argenti had helped to dethrone the Emperor Iturbide in Mexico.

⁹ Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 52-56.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 281.

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 281, 426.

¹² *ibid.*, pp. 6, 227.

¹³ Giglioli, p. 50.

¹⁴ Report of a spy who overheard a meeting held in the Aquasola in Genoa on the 6th November, 1830. Luzio, Mazzini, p. 257.

Society "Del Pantenna" (of the stick).¹ It had the peculiar characteristic that not all its members were initiates and some were, therefore, ignorant of the Society's true object and were used as a blind to deceive the police. Some "Independents"² were among the members of this strange Sect.

"Young Italy" made its appearance in the Austrian territories in due course, introduced, some say by Ciani,³ others by Tinelli and Albera under instructions from Marseille. Tinelli was also an "Independent". He was arrested, Albera saved himself by flight. Cantù the historian was also arrested on suspicion. Tinelli also revealed a scheme for a raid on the Tyrol and Vatteline by Ramorino, to take place when the Austrians invaded the Papal States, as they were about to do at that time.⁴ By 1832 the Sectaries had grown so confident as to hope to enlist the support of an Austrian General. The authorities' complacency received a rude shock in 1834 by the discovery of intended risings at Padua, Verona and Vicenza: an Italian tricolour was seized by the police. In July the spy Charamella reported the discovery of a scheme by some exiled Carbonari to raise funds in Switzerland, gather a band at Marseille and raid Genoa or, if that city did not respond, the Papal States. Carbonaro restlessness was also observed in Bologna, where Carnuti was head of the Sect. Charles Albert openly stated that the centre of these conspiracies lay in Lombardy and, though Austria indignantly rebutted the accusation and charged the Sardinian ambassador of complicity in liberal intrigues, there was some truth in the statement. In 1835 signs of a conspiracy were discovered even in Milan and arrests became frequent once more,⁵ especially as the old Austrian fears of a rising by a "Turba" were renewed. In explanation of the Austrian alarm it must be stated that the government regarded Sectarian activities in Italy as only part of a widespread subversive revolutionary movement in Europe in general. The Italian patriots suffered to some extent for what happened elsewhere.

The principal theatre of Sectarian activities in Italy at this period was Tuscany; and Tuscany dictated the character of the Sectarian development after 1831. Under the mild rule of Grand Duke Ferdinand and his ministers Fossumbroni and Neri Corsini not only were refugees from other states welcomed, but also a considerable amount of free thought and literary activity was allowed. A Genoese of Swiss origin, Vieusseux, kept a reading room,⁶ where foreign newspapers were available; and in 1821 he founded the "Anthology", a periodical to which many distinguished liberal writers, including several of the exiles, contributed. Among these were Poerio, Borelli, Colonel Gabriel Pepe,⁷ Colletta, who wrote his history of Naples while living in Florence, Giordano, Tommaseo and Pellegrino Rossi. They were not all of the same opinion, Pepe for instance was an enthusiastic Freemason and Carbonaro,⁸ while Colletta, though a Freemason, was still a strong opponent of the Carboneria.

Not till 1830 did any trouble arise.⁹ Moved by the general unrest of that year, several liberals proposed to appeal to the Grand Duke to grant a constitution, and those who filled government office resigned when they were told that the petition would be refused. In 1831 it was discovered that Buonarroti was urging action from Switzerland and increased activity was observed among the Sectaries of the turbulent population of Leghorn. The Tuscan government's policy had always been to avoid giving any pretext for

¹ Gualterio, vol. i., pp. 443-444.

² Poggi, vol. ii., p. 114.

³ Barbiera, p. 211.

⁴ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 317-319.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 305.

⁶ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 377.

⁷ He is stated in a letter of Venançon, governor of Genoa, dated 13th October, 1830, to have visited Genoa on the business of the Sect. He was a nephew of the Generals and evidently a Carbonaro. Luzio, Mazzini, p. 226.

⁸ La Farina, vol. iv., p. 382.

⁹ Gualterio, vol. i., pp. 262-263. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., pp. 15-20.

Austrian intervention; and this threat to public tranquility had to be met. Accordingly it was thought wise to expel Giordano and Poerio. This was the first step and, though oppression was avoided so far as possible, we find that the government took more strict measures against the Sectaries.

In 1831 a Carbonaro called Libri, who later came under Mazzini's displeasure, organised at the instance of the "Directing Committee" of Paris, a demonstration in favour of a constitution at the Pergola theatre on an occasion when the Grand Duke was to attend. The demonstration was a ludicrous failure, as no more than 50 people took part, and the Grand Duke, very wisely, showed himself in the audience as if nothing had happened. Libri was expelled. In the same year there was a plot in Leghorn to assist the revolutionaries in the Romagna and a band of men landed from Corsica, but they were all arrested by the civic guard with little trouble.

Several Societies had been implicated in this plot, including the "Veri Italiani". Cantù¹ tells us that there were in Tuscany in 1831 nine societies with republican leanings and thirty-nine which were wholly republican. This statement is not corroborated elsewhere and Cantù does not make it clear exactly what he did mean. We do know however that in 1831 and the following years the number of the Sects greatly increased.

In view of the importance Tuscany now assumes in the history of the Sect it is not surprising that the last development of the Carboneria proper was evolved in the Grand Duchy. This was the Sect of the "Carbonari riformati" (Reformed Carbonari),² the foundation of which on some date before 1833 gave such offence to Mazzini. In this last form of the Society we see the process of the last ten years reach its culmination. The dogmas are still the same as those of the earlier forms of the Society and the names of the offices are the same and several of the solemnities of the old ceremonial were continued.³ But much had been discarded, the religious mysticism had been eliminated completely and the Sect had become republican. In view of the close connection between Leghorn and Marseille, I do not think we shall be far wrong in attributing this change largely to the influence of the French Charbonnerie and the "Directing Committee", especially if Mazzini was right in attributing this last evolution of the Carboneria to Buonarroti. In Tuscany Professor Pigli of Pisa was the Society's leader and Ricciardi⁴ was its head abroad. Though the Reformed Carbonari was but a shadow of the former Carboneria, it exercised some influence. At one time it entertained relations both with "Young Italy" and the constitutionals of Naples,⁵ and it was still prominent in 1844.⁶

Two other Societies which were in close touch with the "Veri Italiani" took part in the plot at Leghorn in 1831. The "Amici del popolo" (Friends of the people) became connected with the "Veri Italiani" through Serra and Monteggia, who belonged to both Societies. In view of the prevailing French influence, it is not perhaps unjustifiable to regard the "Amici del Popolo" as an Italian subsidiary to the notorious French "Amis du Peuple". The "Amici del popolo" were still in existence in 1836, when the Austrian police discovered them in Modena. The other Society was the "Setta recondita del l'Arno" (Hidden Sect of the Arno),⁶ which came out of the Carboneria and was connected with "Young Italy", and, though under the general jurisdiction of the "Directing Committee", maintained its own independence. We are informed that the Carbonaro Vendita of Leghorn was composed almost entirely of members of this Sect. The central Committee of this Carbonaro offshoot was set up later

¹ *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 288.

² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 348. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., pp. 24, 32.

³ Montanelli, vol. i., p. 44. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1,266.

⁴ Menz' report of 11.5.44, Gualterio Documents, p. 534.

⁵ Menz' report of 17.2.36 in Gualterio, Documents, p. 466.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 360. Menz' report of 17.2.36. Gualterio, vol. iii., p. 466.

in Bologna and then transferred to Rome.¹ In addition to the Sects mentioned, also the Leghorn branch of the Milanese "Figli di Bruto" took part in the troubles of 1831.²

In the next year, 1832, nothing of note happened, except the discovery and arrest of a few members of "Young Italy" in Siena.³ The year of 1832 in fact saw much plotting, it was said that all Italy, even the Princes, were conspiring,⁴ and the Great Powers became anxious.⁵ In Tuscany it was thought wise to humour Austria and Russia to the point of suppressing the *Anthology*⁶ on March 26th, 1833, the year in which the Rossarol brothers rose in South Italy.⁷ Bini, Mazzini's comrade on his Tuscan journey, and the writer Guerrazzi were arrested and tried, with the result that the influential Guerrazzi, hitherto a mild liberal, became an extremist and a member of "Young Italy", to his country's detriment in 1848-1849. Several noted liberals were also expelled, one on the list being Colletta, who then lay dying and did die soon after.

The year 1833, as we have seen, was one of intense Sectarian activity. In addition to the Secret Societies proper, Rinieri⁸ mentions several committees set up in various parts, composed of course largely of Sectaries. In Tuscany there was one composed of Guerrazzi, Bini, Professor Montanelli of Pisa and others who need not be mentioned; a similar committee existed in Genoa and was joined by several prominent Piedmontese, including Giffenga, Gioberti and Brofferio; and in Lombardy there was one directed by a famous Marquis and a Princess. We are not told who these were; if this committee was directed from abroad the two most likely names are Arconati and Princess Belgioioso. We have seen that such a committee had also been formed in Naples.

Yet all these various activities, though alarming, amounted to very little. We obtain a well-balanced view of the situation at the time in the reports of Menz, whom Metternich sent to Lombardy as adviser on foreign affairs and revolutionary activities. His estimate of the importance of plots and the power for mischief of the Sectaries is excellent, his only mistake being that he under-rates the force of "Young Italy's" propaganda in altering the point of view of the majority of the Italian masses and the growing desire for liberal institutions and independence among all classes. His verdict was that there was little fear of widespread rebellion; and, even if such an event were to take place, it threatened little danger unless foreign support were available.⁹ In his opinion, people in general still remembered the horrors of the French revolution, and their reluctance to risk their reputation could be seen in the failure to support the conspiracies in France and Mazzini's Savoy raid.¹⁰

Menz' report of the 17th of February, 1836,¹¹ gives us also a clear indication of a characteristic which was becoming more noticeable. He tells us that the "Veri Italiani", the "Reformed Carbonari", the constitutionalists of Naples, and even the "Young Italians" were getting into touch with each other. We see a distinct advance in the art of co-operation between the different regions of the country and even the different Sects. Wider movements were then being planned, embracing several states; and, if the execution remained as faulty as ever, we notice a trend in a unitarian direction, which became specially prominent after 1837.

In 1837 died the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany. His rule had been mild and just and he had always torn up the long lists of Carbonari which

¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 247.

² Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 193.

³ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 229.

⁴ Bianchi, vol. iv., p. 48.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 61.

⁶ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 282. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., pp. 20-23.

⁷ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 635. Poggi, vol. ii., p. 123.

⁸ Pellico, vol. ii., pp. 258 et subsequ.

⁹ Gualterio Documents, p. 522.

¹⁰ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 360.

¹¹ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 466.

the Austrian authorities continually sent to him. His successor Leopold was less tolerant and, though at first his father's old ministers restrained him, his accession ushered in a period of greater severity towards the Tuscan Sectaries.

Ferdinand's death is the last landmark in the Society's history. By 1837 we must regard the struggle between the Society and its younger offshoot decided in favour of "Young Italy". The old Carboneria had been declining for a long time, it ceased to be a power and what remained was but a relic of a past phase of the Risorgimento. The influence of the Sect as a whole was waning. For some time the Italian patriots had been growing more moderate in their methods, they preferred peaceful association and propaganda by pamphlet and literature to Sectarian plotting and revolutionary violence. To this new outlook "Young Italy", with its journals and leaflets, was able to adapt itself better than the Carboneria, with its ritual and tradition of secret conspiracy. Agitation was taking the place of secret machination. Sectarian tumults continued, but they were meeting more and more with the disapproval of the patriots.

But national and constitutional agitation could not yet be carried out openly. In 1839 Tuscany initiated the use of scientific congresses, which were increasing in frequency, as a mask for political propaganda, the first congress of this nature being held in Pisa.¹ Charles Albert himself, though deeply influenced by the clericals, said it would please God most if all possible advantage were taken of scientific progress and favoured these meetings.² As a result of the discredit into which the Sects were falling, a moderate party was gaining ground, though still scattered and unorganised. It was trying to establish relations with the Albertists in Piedmont and abroad who had long before thrown off the trappings of the Carboneria while maintaining its real objects.

We note also new developments in the tactics adopted by the Sectaries in their tumults. In 1828, while in Malta, Bianco had written a textbook, "La Guerra per bande" (Guerilla warfare).³ Mazzini welcomed the idea, and on the 31st of July, 1833, instructed the "Young Italians" of the Papal States, who were to effect a diversion to assist the Savoy raid of 1834, to form bands from 30 to 300 strong wherewith to attack the reactionaries.⁴ In 1837 the revolutionaries began to organise guerrilla risings on the Calabrian and Spanish models, instead of the usual barricade operations in towns. In 1840, we are told by Montanelli,⁵ a "Legione Italiana" (Italian Legion) was formed by the Parmesan Carbonaro and "Young Italian" Nicholas Fabrizi, who had made his headquarters in Malta.

But in these developments the Carboneria took little part, though individual Carbonari remained prominent. We hear of a joint committee of Carbonari and "Young Italians" at Bologna, and the Marches still remained a stronghold of Good Cousins. But in the many risings and tumults between 1837 and 1848 there is hardly any trace of Carbonarian action. I shall not therefore describe them, especially as they were chiefly the work of "Young Italy", whose history is not within my purview. The last references we have to the Society only show that it had reached the last stages of dissolution. On the 26th of July, 1845, the spy Rogier⁶ attended a scientific congress in Naples and gave to many of those he met the Carbonaro grip. Some replied, but the majority who did told him to be careful as the police were very strict. He reported that there were a few "Young Italians" and many more Carbonari in Naples, but hardly any in Sicily. Other tests he made at another meeting near Naples and among the troops, which were said to be still full of Sectaries, gave only negative results. I have found only two other mentions of a Carbonaro

¹ Gualterio, vol. i., p. 305. Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 196.

² Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 195.

³ Vannucci, p. 211.

⁴ Luzio, Mazzini pp. 462-463.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 638.

⁶ Luzio, *Massoneria*, pp. 315-317, 322.

organisation in Italy after 1845. One is a mysterious account¹ by one who purported to have been a French soldier in Rome in 1849, a member of the army that put down Mazzini's republic and restored the Pope. He was initiated and attended Carbonaro meetings at which sacrilegious acts were performed. The account sounds like a tale of terror, and one cannot tell what truth, if any, there is in it. It gives excerpts from what purports to be a Book of Statutes, which deals almost entirely with penalties on delinquent Good Cousins. The only other traces of Carbonarism after this time are found in Rome in 1867. Saffi, who had been a triumvir during Mazzini's republic in 1849, talked of a national committee, a committee of action and of Good Cousins generally; but there were no Vendite in the Marches, Umbria and Rome, in the Romagna, Piedmont, Venetia or Lombardy.² Only isolated relics remained of the once powerful Society.

THE ETHICAL, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL AIMS OF THE CARBONERIA.

The Carboneria was created in order to give the liberals an opportunity for expressing their opinions and to prepare for action. But the forces of liberalism were not in themselves sufficient to effect their purpose: they had to gain adherents; and education and propaganda became one of the Society's chief functions. From Signorina Zara³ we know that in the district of Otranto in Apulia the objects of the Good Cousins were: first, the moral improvement of the lower classes; secondly, the establishment of civil and social equality; thirdly, the attainment to liberty and brotherhood; and these aims were not confined to Otranto.

The rituals of the Carboneria show us what the Carbonari themselves stated to be their aims to their new entrants. The first discourse⁴ pronounced by the Grand Master at the reception of an Apprentice stated that man was meant to be free and equal with his fellow men to enable him to become virtuous. These hopes were deceived; violence and cunning prevailed and man became a slave to "infamous passions". Only some chosen individuals, guided by Reason, tried to lead their fellow mortals back to the paths of virtue; and when their teaching was disregarded, they formed secret societies to labour for the better education of mankind. The discourse⁴ found in the papers of the Macerata conspirators followed similar lines, but was more definite. Men who had been entrusted with the defence of their fellows were accused of making themselves despots and oppressors, with the result that truth and justice were supplanted by depravity. The principles of morality were preserved by a few wise men, who formed secret societies, and handed them on to their successors. The Carboneria, one of these societies, taught love of man, hatred of oppression, the true end of moral existence, and laid down rules of conduct for social life. It pointed out the means of diffusing the light of truth and disseminating the principles of philosophy and equality. The Memoirs⁵ give us in addition a discourse of the extremist Vendita of the Pythagoreans. It says that the object of the Society was to restore to the citizens the liberty and the rights which nature had bestowed on man; and to obtain this object good citizens must unite, a difficult accomplishment in view of the false maxims with which tyranny had obscured men's sight. By the law of nature, Kings who sought to destroy others should themselves be destroyed; and it was the task of the Carbonari to overturn the throne of him who had sent so many to perish in capricious

¹ Conversion d'un Carbonaro. Anonymous.

² Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 207.

³ Leti, p. 71.

⁴ In the "Memoirs".

⁵ pp. 94-97.

wars. These words apply to Napoleon rather than Ferdinand; and perhaps this discourse dates back to the time of the French régime. Similarly in the prayer of the Apprentice appended to the "Mentor of a Good Cousin Apprentice",¹ a manual used in Naples, God is invoked as One who has created men to be free and regards them as belonging to one family and smites thrones with the axe of His vengeance and sets up on their ruins the rightful sovereignty of the people. He is asked to defend the Carbonari from arbitrary power and tyranny.

Although the Carboneria was a political Society, and therefore had political aims, it attached great importance to the moral and intellectual progress of man. A Society sprung from Freemasonry could not be insensible to this aspect of sectarian activity.² Most of our authorities have stressed the educative work of Carbonarism. The educative process to which a Pagan was submitted is best summed up in a note in Ottolini's book³: "In the first two degrees the Pagan, who had been hitherto subject to despotism, acquired the consciousness of what he had to do in order to be a free citizen; and in order to succeed he gathered the informative materials in the 'Forest' and 'charred' them: by means of the process of 'Carbonisation' the Pagan acquired education, transformed himself into 'coal', that is to say a pure person, like the coal in the burning flame. From this schooling in sacrifice and danger which he underwent in the first two degrees, the Carbonaro passed on to the vindication of his rights and transformed himself into the 'Knight of Vengeance'. The Carbonaro ritual, as Johnston⁴ and Bolton King have pointed out, was well designed to instil its principles into the minds of uneducated people, especially the South Italian masses, who were particularly susceptible to what was esoteric and mysterious and were accustomed to receive their religious and moral instruction through vivid, clearly outlined, symbolical pictures.

The Carbonarian Statutes show this moral trend of Carbonarism teaching clearly. The 1st Article of the I. Chapter of the Carbonarian Statutes says that Good Cousinship was founded principally on religion and virtue; and the first professed object of Carbonarism was to make men better, as would be expected in an offshoot of Freemasonry. The novices were told that, in imitation of their Grand Master Christ, they must pass to purity through suffering; and in the ceremonies they were enjoined to "fulfil the engagement (nature) has imposed on them by . . . partaking in their brethren's sufferings and labours . . . so that they may exalt themselves to the most sublime heights of virtue". The Carbonari professed in Article 6 of Chapter I. of the new statute of the West Lucanian republic that the aim of the Society was "the diffusion of knowledge, the union of the different classes of citizens in bonds of love; the destruction of the sources of crime by the inculcation of good morals, the protection of the feeble and the relief of the unfortunate", remarkably advanced views for the first years of the nineteenth century. In the penal statutes of the same Carbonarian authority, the West Lucanian republic, penalties are prescribed for people "habitually intimate with persons degraded in the eye of the public" (Article 24), for gambling and drunkenness (Article 25) and dissolute living (Articles 26, 27). Section X. of this code deals with offences against "honour", offences against women connected with Good Cousins (Articles 65 to 69) and also against those not connected with Carbonari (Articles 70, 73), though the penalties in these last mentioned cases are much lighter. Carbonarism professed to teach its members to be good citizens and Our Lord was held up as the pattern of a good citizen persecuted by tyranny.⁵

¹ "Memoirs", p. 27.

² Pierantoni, vol. i., p. 371.

³ Ottolini, pp. 112. Note.

⁴ Johnston, vol. ii., pp. 22-23, says that symbolism was used in the first place to explain the mysteries of nature, secondly philosophical processes and thirdly at Naples in the early nineteenth century the political doctrines of the French Revolution.

⁵ Dito, p. 70.

The penalties were suspension from participation in the "sacred labours" for a stated period, being given up to general execration, and burning the culprit's name or effigy.¹ The consequences of the last punishment were interdiction of fire and water and all communication with other Good Cousins. Although the death penalty is not mentioned, we have evidence that it was inflicted in Article 53 of the IX. Section of the West Lucanian code, which says that he who has killed a Carbonaro guilty of one of the three worst offences of the code is not a murderer and is not liable to punishment. Giampietro was said to have been condemned to death in a Vendita in Naples in 1821. In the Romagne assassinations, often of a judicial type, were frequent. Tommasi² himself stated that executions after due trial were provided for in both the Carbonarian and the Guelfic constitutions. Two murders, that of the banker Manzoni of Forlì and of a canon of Ravenna, are supposed to have been Carbonarian executions. On the other hand the "Speranza" refused to countenance the murder of Metternich.

Apart from such executions, which were probably of a political nature, the Carbonari found it necessary to set up in South Italy regular tribunals to enforce the code already referred to. Some of the more enthusiastic Good Cousins did not refrain from admitting to the Society evildoers, like Vardarelli the brigand, in the hope that mere membership would effect their reformation.³ Not unnaturally, an increase of crime resulted; and the situation was made worse by the admission without due scrutiny of vast numbers of new members after the revolution of 1820. In the Memoirs⁴ the earlier tribunals are said to have been modelled on those of the medieval "Beati Paoli". The Grand Masters of the Vendite met in a "Chamber of honour" and assessed the penalties. Later a more regular organisation was set up in the shape of local tribunals consisting of 5, 7 or 9 members.⁵ A defender was allowed and the accused was given a statement of the charges against him. It is not surprising that these tribunals inspired more confidence than those of the government.⁶

The struggle against foreign domination during the early years of our Society, when France was still a republic, was one against an irreligious despotism to which the Church was naturally opposed; and the forerunners and founders of the Carboneria, of course, tried to enlist the Church's powerful influence on their side. During its early career the Carboneria was certainly not opposed to the Church, many Carbonari in fact thought they were assisting the Papacy. As late as February, 1817, the Carboneria in Rome called itself the "*Società apostolica romana*" (Roman apostolic Society), a name which might have indicated a reactionary sect,⁷ and was evidently meant to express fidelity to the Church. Relying on the religious character of their ceremonial, the Carbonari seem to have cherished for a long time the delusion that the Church was not hostile to their Society; and so widespread was this opinion at one time that, when Pius VII. returned to Italy after his captivity, he was asked by Murat to withdraw the Bull he had promulgated in support of the Sect, to be informed that the Pope had issued no such Bull, and his predecessors' two Bulls against the secret societies were still valid.⁸ The funeral oration of the arch-deacon of Cerreto, delivered in the church of St. Sebastian of Guardia Sanframondi over some dead Carbonari, was published by the High Vendita of the Ordine of Naples

¹ Memoirs, pp. 40-41.

² Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 227-232.

³ Memoirs, pp. 42-43.

⁴ p. 39.

⁵ Leti, p. 74.

⁶ Niccoli, p. 54, says that an "*Alta Magistratura*" (High Magistracy) was set up, but seems to be wrong. The Magistrature was the Executive Committee of the High Vendita, according to the organisation proposed by the West Lucania Diet. The High Vendita acted only as a Court of Appeal.

⁷ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 134. Castro, wrongly I think, says that the Carboneria was sometimes called the *Congregazione Cattolica Apostolica Romana*.

⁸ Memoirs, p. 62.

"in order that all Good Cousins may learn the respect due to Our Holy Mother the Church".¹ Article 1 of the chapter of the constitutions dealing with the general doctrine of the Order says that Good Cousinship is founded on religion; Article 6 that "by this article it is forbidden to speak directly or indirectly against religion"; and Article 7 that "all conversation against religion in general and against good morals in particular is forbidden".² Many members of the priesthood, especially of the lower ranks, were initiated. We already know of Menichini of Nola; and Guida of Salerno was such another. Thirty priests joined the Carboneria in the Papal territories of Benevento and Pontecorvo, and Jesuits were active on the Society's behalf in Sicily".³ Though a number of these ecclesiastics undoubtedly acted from motives of private gain or political ambition, many were not aware that they were doing anything against the Church's tenets. The legend of King Francis I. as founder and St. Theobald as patron of the Order in the Carboneria's traditional history represents the Society as closely connected with both the monarchy and the Church.⁴ As late as 1820, when edicts and condemnations had made the Curia's attitude clear, the hope of a reconciliation with the Papacy had not been abandoned. On the 20th of November, 1820,⁵ after the outbreak of the revolution, the Neapolitan clergy sent a petition to the Pope to induce him to withdraw his Edicts of 1815 against the Society. They protested that the Order strictly observed the Church teaching, and, while admitting its political activities, maintained that these were intended to assist, and not to overthrow, monarchies. Local efforts were also made in Naples: on the 23rd of December, 1820, Troyse, Minister of Ecclesiastical affairs, tried to persuade the higher clergy in Naples that the Bulls forbidding the grant of absolution after confession to members of secret societies did not apply to Carbonari, in view of the fact that by Article 12 of the constitution they had drafted for the Kingdom they acknowledged officially "no religion but that of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church", and that the Carboneria had by then laid aside all mystery and openly avowed its object, had ceased in fact to be a secret society.

To understand the relations between the Curia and the Carboneria we must examine more closely the Carbonaro claim that the Order was doing the Church's work. In the first degree, the Carbonaro teaching was moral rather than religious, in fact there is only one reference to "Our Grand Master Jesus Christ who willingly suffered death upon the Cross to win for us the crown of salvation". In the catechism of the degree religious allusions are more frequent, especially in the explanation of the symbols; but the teaching is in conformity on the whole with Roman Catholic mysticism. The Master Carbonaro's ceremony is frankly religious, it puts on the cloak of a short Passion play which follows the Gospel very closely; and the catechism is full of Christian and Roman Catholic symbolism. In fact nearly all Carbonaro symbols are explained in the light of some religious, and especially Roman Catholic, attribute. As the vast majority of Good Cousins knew only these two ceremonies, it is not surprising that they were not conscious of offending against the Church.

Yet such a view was wholly erroneous. The religious character of some of the Carbonaro ceremonies, so far from earning the favour of the Church, was an especial obstacle to an understanding. Not unreasonably, the Church could not allow either dogma or the conduct of religious worship to pass out of its control; it could not countenance any teaching which did not proceed from itself. Even more serious was the objection that, as Carbonarism enrolled all descriptions of men in its ranks, it extended toleration to all Christians, possibly in imitation

¹ Ottolini, p. 130.

² Memoirs, p. 22.

³ Memoirs, p. 55.

⁴ Dito, p. 141.

⁵ Memoirs, pp. 56, 213-220.

to some extent of Freemasonry.¹ The fundamental statute of the Carbonaro republic of West Lucania said: "All the Carbonari of West Lucania have the natural and inalienable right to adore the Almighty according to the dictates of their own understanding and conscience."² It is true that, as Leti says,³ the Good Cousins in many Vendite had to be Roman Catholics, but it was also postulated that their doctrine should be founded on the Gospel. Pepe also,⁴ in testifying to the good morals prevailing among the Carbonari, says that their religious views did not differ materially from those of the Freemasons, except that they leaned more to the teaching of the Gospel. This seems to imply that Good Cousins thought they could appeal direct to the Bible, without the intervention of the Church, a claim not unlike that of the early Protestants.⁵ Neither such a claim, nor toleration were consistent with the fundamental doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church that salvation could be achieved only through itself. It would have been impossible, therefore, for the Papacy to have tolerated Carbonarism, even if its religious views had been above suspicion.

They were not. Leaving aside for the moment the question whether in its most esoteric aspect the Carboneria was subversive of Church and State, the Society was suspected with good reason of distorting religion to suit its own purposes. Fidanza told Battaglia⁶ that, when the formation of the Order was being discussed by Freemasons of high degree, it was suggested that only religious ceremonies should be carried out at its meetings in order to gain the masses. This suggestion was sound. The lower classes in Italy were deeply attached to the Church and fanatically religious. It was by appealing to their religious feelings that Cardinal Ruffo was able to launch his crusade against the Parthenopean republic. The Carbonari undoubtedly tried to play on the religious feeling of the masses. Their symbols and their meaning were well calculated to arouse them, and on one occasion at least we know that pictures or statues of Our Lord and the Virgin Mary were carried in procession as Carbonaro emblems.⁷ Religion, in fact, was being used by the Carbonari for their own purposes rather than for its own sake.

Moreover, the Christ presented by the Carbonari was not the Christ of the Church or even of the Gospels, as Dito points out.⁸ In the Master Carbonaro's ceremony the chief emphasis is laid on the oppression Our Lord had to suffer; and it is not without significance that the episode of the Passion chosen is that of the trial before Pilate, Caiaphas and Herod, symbolising civil power, the Church and the Monarchy. Our Lord is represented in Carbonarism as a human type and anthropomorphic form of all those rights in nature which, it was said, were being denied to humanity. Christ was the vindicator of those rights on behalf of humanity and was persecuted and condemned on that account. Carbonarism protested that it was founded on civic virtue, and, therefore, an object for destruction in the eyes of tyranny. Christ was the prototype of the good citizen and tyranny's most illustrious victim, symbolised, according to Botta,⁹ by the Lamb slain by the wolf. The duty of Carbonarism was to avenge the Lamb. Such being the interpretation

¹ Nicolli, p. 58, speaks of a vague deism in the Grand Master's degree borrowed from Freemasonry. He refers to the use of "acacia", but does not explain the meaning or quote an authority.

² Chapter 2 Article 8, "Della esposizione dei dritti dei Carbonari della Republica Lucania Occidentale" (Explanation of the rights of the Carbonari of the West Lucanian Republic) Memoirs, p. 21.

³ p. 72.

⁴ vol. ii., p. 178.

⁵ *Lettres sur l'Italie*, quoted in St. Edme, p. 202, says: "Les Carbonari montrent une foi sincère dans la religion de Jésus, telle qu'elle se trouve dans l'Evangile et dégagée de tous les éléments que les théologiens ont introduit pendant des siècles. Ils sont à la fois des réformateurs politiques et religieux."

⁶ Ottolini, p. 44, Note.

⁷ Dito, p. 238.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 70.

⁹ vol. iv., pp. 258 et *subseqq.*

of Our Lord and of Christianity in Carbonarian teaching, we need not be surprised that the Church turned her back on the Society, especially when we consider the nature of the ceremony of the degree of Grand Elect, where the Candidate is made to represent our Lord at the Crucifixion. The teaching is not religious, but political, in fact it is not perhaps too much to say that the ceremony was blasphemous. There was also evidence that in the higher degrees the cloak of religion was cast aside entirely even in early days; we know that it was in the Carboneria's later developments. Pius VII. accordingly banned the Carboneria in his Bull of the 13th of September, 1821, giving the following reasons: It imposed an oath of secrecy, which, like that of the Priscillians of old, ran counter to the rules of the confessional; it admitted to its meetings men of all religions and sects; it allowed all to work out their own religion, thus tolerating religious indifference; it performed sacrilegious ceremonies on the subject of the Passion and the Sacraments; it condemned to death those who were untrue to their obligations; it preached rebellion.

The last reason shows that the Papacy was bound to be hostile to the Carboneria, not only on religious, but also on political grounds. Eminent Carbonari did not deny their aspiration towards organic reform of the Church, apart from dogma. There was in addition the question of free institutions, which affected the Pope like every other Italian ruler. Although the Papal government of Pius VII. was restive under Austria's predominating influence and for a time was lenient towards the Carbonari, it was as absolutist and as reluctant to grant constitutional concessions as any other government of the time in Italy. Dogmatism in religion would assort very ill with constitutionalism in politics. The Curia also did not dare to offend the Holy Alliance. When the Carbonari plotted rebellion and brought about revolution, the Papacy became uncompromisingly adverse. To us it is strange how time after time the liberals in Italy failed to understand that by its nature the Papacy could not avoid being hostile to free institutions and to the unification of Italy, yet we see this error repeated again and again.

Unable to gain even the toleration of the Church, the Carboneria's effort to gain the masses through their religion remained ineffectual. The Society on its side gradually cast off the religious element in its teaching. For this and other reasons also its ceremonial fell into abeyance; its propaganda became purely political and what spiritual element remained became rationalistic. The Pope became in the eyes of the Sect just one of several secular Princes; and the Carboneria became a purely political Sect.

As regards the political objects of the Carboneria, I have already stated *ad nauseam* that they were the independence of Italy from foreign domination and liberal institutions. These objects varied in urgency with different branches of the Society and in different periods. At the beginning the chief object was to drive out the French; and this was changed in due course to driving out the Austrians. That liberal institutions were to be set up once Italy was free was hardly questioned, for during the early period of the French domination republican institutions were in force. Under the Empire, when liberty had become little more than a name, the desire for a constitution became more pronounced. In the South it was strong enough to ruin Murat, for, though the Carbonari showed some disposition to support him against Napoleon, they had no intention of setting up an autocratic Murat in his stead and even preferred their despicable Ferdinand of Bourbon when the prospect of a constitution was held out in his name.

After the restoration of the old rulers, when independence had been achieved to some extent, the desire to expel the foreigner, who was now Austria, diminished and a constitutional form of government became the principal objective.¹

¹ Ottolini, pp. 132-133.

Among the early Carbonari, many of whom were recruited from the Jacobins who were impregnated with the principles of the French revolution, republican ideas were strong and persisted to the end. But there grew up an influential monarchical element; and after 1815 the monarchical party definitely gained the ascendancy.¹ Both in Naples and in Piedmont, when republicanism raised its head, it was easily suppressed.² Even in the Papal States republicanism was not strong, at any rate at first. Yet both monarchists and republicans were united in their desire for a constitution.

The question how far the Carbonari desired the union of Italy into one state needs more consideration and we must first of all determine what we intend by unity. If we mean a confederation of states which can vary in form from a mere alliance on equal terms to a closely knit federal state with a recognised common government, our evidence shows that such an idea was always present in the minds of the Carbonari. If by unity we mean fusion into one state, such as took place eventually, the case is far different.

Many eminent men in the past, conscious of the kinship of all Italians, had desired such a union, but had regarded it as an impracticable ideal until after the French revolution. According to Botta³ the idea of political unity had already appeared among the members of the "Black League". In 1797 the noted economist, Professor Gioia, who plotted in 1814 and was arrested in 1821, won a prize offered by the Cisalpine government for an essay in which he urged the formation of a republic embracing the whole of Italy.⁴ Similar suggestions were made by others, including the Genoese newspaper "Difensore della libertà" (Defender of liberty). Under Lombard influence the idea also made some progress in central Italy after the French conquest of the Legations; and Papal ministers were ordered not to allow the desire for unity to gain too great an impetus.⁵ By 1799 the leaders of the "Rays" were sufficiently inspired by the idea to concert anti-foreign action between Cisalpines, Romans and Neapolitans⁶; and according to Crose⁷ the idea of "Italy, a free and united republic", found favour among the Neapolitan Jacobins in the same year. In 1800 we have de Atellis⁸ writing, too optimistically, that there was not one Italian who "does not cherish an ardent wish to become part of a great nation". These early aspirations led to nothing at the time.⁹ In Naples they died away; and according to Botta,¹⁰ La Hoz, when mortally wounded, said to Captain Decoquel: "I saw regretfully that it was easier to imagine than to hope for the Italian republic. We are too much divided into different states as regards laws, customs and opinions". Under the Empire, Italy was under one supreme ruler and the administration was uniform. Though Italians were still divided, common opposition to a common enemy gave rise once again to unitarian aspirations,¹¹ but, so long as Napoleon's might stood firm, they had to remain latent.¹²

When the Carboneria, therefore, came into existence, it inherited an idea which had already been current among its predecessors, and Cantù,¹³ Thayer¹⁴ and other writers go so far as to say that unity was part of its programme. There is some support for this contention. The idea of Italian unity had obtained

¹ Soriga, quoted by Leti, p. 66. Ottolini, p. 74.

² In Naples Pepe punished Major de Atellis for raising in public the cry "Viva la Repubblica" (Long live the republic). Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 31.

³ vol. ii., p. 4.

⁴ Dufoureaux, p. 62.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 568.

⁶ Ottolini, p. 15.

⁷ p. 229.

⁸ Ottolini, p. 18.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ vol. iii., p. 454 *et subseq.*

¹¹ Ottolini, p. 13.

¹² Tivaroni, 1789-1814, vol. i., p. 150.

¹³ Conciliatore, p. 484.

¹⁴ p. 197.

some support from the English authorities before the treaty of Prague in 1814. In July, 1811, Bentinck was asked¹ his opinion whether Duke Francis of Modena would be a suitable ruler for an independent Italy. Prince Moliterno was continually urging on the British government the formation of a constitutional Italian state and of an "army of the Italian constitution".² On the 30th of June, 1812, Bentinck wrote to Castlereagh that, according to Moliterno, the object of a British expedition to the mainland of Italy should be to free the whole country and not Naples only, and that the country should then be allowed to choose its own government. There is a marked similarity between Moliterno's views and those held by Bentinck in 1814.

Among the Italians themselves the "Liberali" of South Italy, whom Helfert³ regards as an offshoot of the Carbonari, strongly favoured a united state with Rome as capital, though they would also have agreed to a federation. Further evidence of unitary feeling is found in St. Edme's book, which gives us two interesting Carbonarian schemes as to the form the government of the country might take after the French had been driven out.

The first is the well known Pact of Ausonia. This was read out in full in the ceremony of Grand Elect. St. Edme includes it in the documents which he says he copied in 1807, and this would date the Pact back to that year. Ottolini⁴ thinks it may have been drawn up earlier still at the time that "all souls had been set free by the French invasion" and adds that it had been in circulation in manuscript among the South Italians before it was printed. It certainly was the fashion during the last few years of the eighteenth century to produce paper constitutions almost on demand, Sieyès being especially prolific. Alberti⁵ agrees with the South Italian origin of the Pact, but dates it to 1815, when Murat made his attempt to gain a united kingdom.

The Pact contains 58 articles. The Ausonian state was to comprise all modern Italy with some additions, like the old Venetian possessions (Article 1). It was to be divided into 21 provinces, each of which would send a member to the central assembly (Article 3). This sovereign assembly was to be elected for 21 years and each year one member, chosen by lot, was to retire and his place was to be filled by election. The executive was to consist of two Kings, one to rule over the land and the other over the sea.⁶ They were to be elected for 21 years and were to appoint all the officers of the fighting services. Articles 22, 23). There was to be a paid civil service, a budget, separate ministries, but no cabinet (Article 23). Each province was to have its own assembly to deal with local affairs (Article 4) and there were further subdivisions, each ruled by a council, until we get down to the smallest, the communes, ruled by a municipality composed of one member per 300 inhabitants (Articles 5, 6, and 7). The Justices, the Church dignitaries and the National Guard also were to be elective. All citizens were to be equal and eligible for any office, except the military commands, and offices were to be held for a limited period (Articles 9-13). The state religion was to be Roman Catholicism "in its primeval purity". The flag was to be triangular in shape, divided into three triangles, blue, the uppermost, representing the sky, gold, representing the sun, and green, the lowest, representing the earth. This flag is exactly the same as that of the "Centres". The Pact of Ausonia is a mixture of republican and monarchical ideas, and in some of its features we can discern Roman influence; it had at any rate the merit that it postulated unity.

The other scheme of government given by St. Edme is in the shape of a draft proposal dated the 26th of December, 1813, and said to have been

¹ FO/70.

² *ibid.* Moliterno to Bentinck on 22.1.12, 30.3.12.

³ p. 132.

⁴ pp. 27-29.

⁵ Quoted by Leti, p. 90.

⁶ In the description of the regalia for the officials of Ausonia, however, we have a King for the army and navy and one for civil affairs.

presented to the English cabinet at St. James.¹ Italy was to be free and independent and her territory was to be somewhat similar to that of modern Italy, with the addition of Corsica. An Emperor, to be chosen from the royal houses of England, Sardinia or Naples, was to rule in Rome. The flag was to be red and white. An assembly was to be elected by the people and the army to determine the country's constitution so soon as the French had evacuated Italy. An army and navy were to be formed for further action against Napoleon as opportunity should occur. This scheme was simpler and more crude than the Pact of Ausonia and was obviously intended to meet the situation created by the war; and it obviously dates from before 1814. Like the Pact it was unitary in nature. It is not known whether it was ever presented to the British government, but, as we have seen from the Foreign Office correspondence, that government did toy with the idea of setting up an independent state in Italy.

These two paper proposals make it clear that unitarian ideas did exist among the Carbonari before 1814; and the feeling for unity was sufficiently prominent at the fall of Napoleon to attract the notice of foreigners. Baron von Hügel³ said that many Italians at that time wanted a united country; and, if allied dissensions continued, the unitarians might attain to their desire. The Neapolitans were actually trying to form an "Italian" party in Tuscany, without much success, however; and Murat was raising an "Italian" spirit in the Marches, which the Carbonari, Count Gallo and Fattibuoni favoured.⁴ A German diplomat is quoted by Ottolini⁵ as saying that all Italians disgusted with the settlement made in Paris were thinking of asking for a single ruler for all Italy. In 1814 the "Centres" hoped to restore Napoleon as sole ruler over the whole of Italy, though they were prepared to accept a federation,⁶ a view shared by Gioia, the old unitarian. In 1815 Tommasi asserted at Ferrara that the Carboneria's object was one government for the whole country and to make Italy once more one nation.⁷

After Napoleon's fall, some traces of this unitary spirit persisted as late as 1820, when Castlereagh, writing to Stewart, our representative at the congress of Troppau, says that the Neapolitan revolution was due to the Carbonari who aimed at upsetting all the states of the peninsula in order to unite them under one régime.⁸ We find a trace of the unitarian spirit in the catechism of the "Difensori della patria". The fourth question addressed to the candidate was: "Do you recognise for your Fatherland the whole of Italy?"

Nevertheless the greater part of our evidence goes to prove that a unitary state was regarded by the Carbonari as impracticable. In 1813, when some Carbonari were urging Murat to create an independent Italy, they postulated for two kingdoms; and from Ottolini⁹ we know that in 1814 General Filangieri deplored to Breganze the fact that the two Italian armies then in the field could not coalesce, as the Lombards remained faithful to Eugène, whom the Neapolitans would not accept. Nor did the Carbonari support Murat when he made his great bid in 1815. Lemmi¹⁰ goes so far as to say that at Tolentino, the scene of Murat's defeat, the unitarian idea died, as it was premature and few were prepared to risk anything for it. As Ottolini says, many parties had been working for Napoleon's overthrow, but no agreement had been reached

¹ This scheme was published in full in the "Gazette de France" of the 25th of April, 1821. *Annales de la Maçonnerie dans les Pays Bas*, vol. i.

² See also Ottolini, p. 54.

³ Lemmi, Von Hügel's diary, pp. 64-67.

⁴ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 416, 418.

⁵ p. 89.

⁶ Ottolini, p. 93.

⁷ Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 173, 388.

⁸ Bianchi, vol. i., p. 11.

⁹ p. 79.

¹⁰ *Le origini del risorgimento*, p. 44.

as to what was to replace his rule¹; and the feeling of unity among some of the upper classes found no echo among the lower classes, too wearied by the long wars to take any interest in political questions.² The officers' conspiracy of 1814 asked for only the restoration of the Kingdom of Italy, no more³; and Count Gallo stated at his trial that even some of Murat's followers, Professor Salfi and the minister Zurlo,⁴ said at Pesaro that it was not necessary to change the existing governments of the country in order to drive out the foreigners; and this opinion was expressed while Murat was bidding for a united Italy.

After 1815 unity was regarded by the Carbonari as a whole as an impracticable ideal. By the restoration of the old rulers, old loyalties were revived and the desire for unity waned; and we find instead a very large number of proposals for an Italian federation and for an Italian league.⁵ Of all the Sects connected with the Carboneria there was only one, the "Guelfia", which made unity one of the main objects of its political programme, and to the "Guelfia" may be due the fact that at the trial of Macerata the aim of the conspirators was stated to be independence,⁶ or at least one government for all Italy. Even then Naples was excluded from this unity. The "Guelfia" in this respect conserved the unitarian tradition of 1814 better than the other Sects and was the forerunner of "Young Italy", yet even the "Guelfs" admitted that the hopes of realising their object were small and were ready to agree to a federation or a league of states under the presidency of the Pope.⁷

In the revolutions of 1820-1821 the feeling for union was very weak in the South. The liberal government of Naples strongly disclaimed any desire to intervene in their neighbours' affairs and they refused help outside.⁸ Pepe though convinced that the independence of Italy could not be preserved without unity, admitted that prudence did not allow him to advance this argument; he was speaking when Palermo was in insurrection.⁹ In the North, even, unity was not universally desired. The Piedmontese were eager for a considerable measure of it, especially the Alessandrines¹⁰; and in Lombardy Rezia¹¹ was definitely a unitarian, but Confalonieri thought the idea was but a dream.¹²

After 1821 we find the cry for a closer union raised from time to time, but it remained feeble until Mazzini began his crusade. In the Romagne fusion with Piedmont was discussed as early as 1821,¹³ but nothing followed. Later we find that some revolutionaries, who attempted a rising in the Papal States under the leadership of the Bonapartes in 1830, aimed at one state, and not a confederation¹⁴; but their ideas were still academic and vague. The revolutionaries of 1831 rose in the name of a common fatherland, but carefully refrained from helping their colleagues in neighbouring states; and, according to Dito,¹⁵ dissensions in their ranks were still deep. Though the idea of unity was making progress, we must conclude that it never became a leading tenet of the Carboneria; and Cantù is near the truth when he says in one passage¹⁶ that Carbonarism as a whole did not postulate unity, monarchist or republican, and was derided for that reason by Mazzini. It was only gradually that the desire

¹ Ottolini, p. 65.

² *ibid.*, p. 71.

³ Ottolini, p. 98.

⁴ *Memoirs*, pp. 13-14.

⁵ Nicolli, p. 97. Rinieri, p. 51. Pierantoni, vol. i., pp. 200, 418 *et passim*.

⁶ *Memoirs*, p. 20.

⁷ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 376, 495. Bianchi, vol. i., p. 26. Ottolini, p. 123.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 35.

⁹ Pepe, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 297.

¹⁰ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 504-505. Dito, p. 341.

¹¹ Luzio, Pellico, p. 144.

¹² Gallavresi, vol. ii., p. 232, letter to Tartini of 23.3.20.

¹³ Nicolli, p. 145.

¹⁴ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, pp. 264-265.

¹⁵ p. 193.

¹⁶ Conciliatore, p. 81.

for unity became crystallised. The writers and literary men led the way. None had clearer views on unity than Manzoni, and he influenced Gabriel Rossetti and Berchet. But the cause of a united Italy, fused into one state, did not make any considerable progress until it was taken up by Mazzini and the Carboneria's greatest offshoot, "Young Italy".

Lastly, we must consider an aspect of Carbonarism which touches both religion and politics. It was a feature of the Carboneria, as of most secret societies, that the initiate in the lowest degrees should be kept ignorant of the Society's deeper secrets and ultimate aims. Foresti says of Fortini: "He was but an Apprentice and therefore knew nothing".¹ Foresti also thought it a mistake to inform even Masters of the political objects of the Society.² The reason for this secrecy in an ordinary society which has secrets, such, for instance, as our own, is to make an initiate go through an apprenticeship, so that he should not be entrusted with the higher knowledge before he is fit to receive it. In political societies there was the added reason of assuring oneself that a member was sufficiently trustworthy. Secrecy was, in fact, an essential precaution if the plans of the reformers or revolutionaries composing a Secret Society were to succeed against the forces of the absolute rulers.

The practice of restricting secrets to the higher degrees might raise the suspicion that the secrets were such as the lower ranks would not agree with or approve. In the case of the Bavarian "Illuminati" we have the admission of some of their leaders that the object was the overthrow of what we can briefly call civilisation; and as the disclosure of such an object would repel most men, they tried to worm themselves into other sects and into Freemasonry to try to gain control over them and make serve their purpose unknown to the ordinary members. As we have seen, the "Philadelphes" and the "Adelfi", in their higher degrees, had aims similar to those of the terrorists of the French revolution and their method was to penetrate Freemasonry, the Carboneria and the "Tugenbund" and to use those Societies as a screen for their own activities.

Some writers have taken the view that behind all major revolutionary explosions, like the French and the Russian revolutions, and even behind many agitations for reform, there is a sinister force, carefully hidden, whose object is subversive, which uses the reformers and insurgents as its dupes; and, even when all exaggeration is eliminated, there is a considerable amount of evidence to support this view. The whole question of the secret society movement in Europe in the first quarter of the nineteenth century needs investigation by a practised scholar; and I hope that, as Bro. Heron Lepper has been responsible for imposing this research into the Carboneria on me, my retaliatory efforts will be no less successful and that he will take in hand the task I have suggested.

In the narrative of the succession of events in Carbonaro history, we have noted many instances when the influence of the cosmopolitan revolutionary centres, whose nature was subversive, was strong. But although, as stated, there is no doubt that the subversive centres tried to and did use the Carboneria for its own purpose, there is the further question whether the Carboneria itself, as stated by several writers, cherished objects similar to those of the "Illuminati"; and we must now see what evidence there is to support this charge. From such information as we possess it is clear that the "Adelfia" and its ruling body the "Grand Firmament" were subversive; and I will try first to trace what evidence there is of any connection between the "Grand Firmament" and the Carboneria. For this evidence we shall have to rely on the accounts of Witt and Doria, both of whom admit having belonged to Sects, but only, they assert, for the purpose of betraying them, and the discoveries of the police, chiefly that of Austria.

¹ Vannucci, p. 610.

² *ibid*, p. 608.

On reading Witt's book, the first impulse is to cast it aside in disgust at his self-laudation, facile judgments, his vanity and obvious insincerity; and we are apt to regard it as a fairy tale. In comparing it, however, with other evidence, it is remarkable how often the author's statements can be corroborated, especially when we allow for the fact that Witt wrote in prison, from memory, without his notes. I hesitate, therefore, to reject his evidence and think that it contains much that is true, though, of course, great care must be exercised in sifting it.

The patriotic secret societies had been used by their governments against the French, but after the victory, when they wanted freer institutions, they fell under the rulers' displeasure. They were, therefore, in the mood which offers an opportunity to mischiefmakers eager to persuade them to adopt dangerous courses. In Germany there arose out of the "Tugenbund"¹ several sects which were dangerous, among others the "Bund der Gleichgesinnten oder Schwartzten" (League of the likeminded or the Blacks), founded by Adolf Charles Follenius, which hid "illuminist" designs under the cloak of literature. Follenius revealed the views he cherished when he told Witt in the summer of 1820 that all Princes ought to be murdered merely because they were Princes, irrespective of their conduct. Follenius, who may even then have been representative of the Parisian "Directing Committee" in Germany, was compelled to fly from Germany on account of a book which he had written.² A connection with Italy is reported in Pralormo's earlier dispatch of the 14th of February, 1824, in which he says that papers had been found on a Bavarian student, who was a Sectary, similar to those found on Andryane in Milan.³

After his flight, Follenius and a companion, Schmell, went to Coire in the Grisons canton of Switzerland and there met Prati, the extreme Italian revolutionary, who, according to Witt,⁴ had been frequenting the German universities for some years past. The three Sectaries went to Paris to confer with the "Directing Committee", and there they met Witt, who introduced Follenius to Cousin and d'Argenson. They met also the French barrister Rey, who informed them of the "Liberal Union" Society, which has been mentioned already,⁵ the members of which helped to found the "Charbonnerie". This "Union" was stated to be one of the usual façades for the inner revolutionary authorities. In the summer of 1820⁶ Follenius went to Switzerland with Witt.

At this time the attentions of the "Grand Firmament" and the "Directing Committee" were directed towards establishing closer co-operation between the Italian Sectaries in the various states. Micheroux, secretary to the Liberal Duke of Gallo, and another Neapolitan, Ripa, were then in Bavaria.

A little later Witt left Switzerland for Genoa, where he met Prati again and a German called Grätz, both of whom then represented the society of the "Sandists," which had arisen in France, and were trying to establish contact between Piedmont and the Neapolitan Carbonari and were in touch with Ratazzi, Palma and Appiani,⁷ who later were prominent in the rising in Alessandria. The three Piedmontese told Witt afterwards, when they were in exile, that they could then have been initiated into the "Sandists". Prati, as we have seen, had set up a revolutionary centre at Lausanne dependent on Paris and in contact with Buonarroti's similar centre at Geneva. From Genoa Prati went to Lausanne to gain control of the Masonic Lodge in that town and convert it to the Mizraim rite. According to Mrs. Webster⁸ adherents to this rite were

¹ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 22.

² *ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

⁴ p. 12.

⁵ See p. 46.

⁶ Witt, p. 176, Note.

⁷ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 44-45.

⁸ *World Revolution*, pp. 86-88.

very busy as emissaries on behalf of the revolutionaries in Italy. Witt¹ returned to Paris and became a member of the sub-committee which dealt with Piedmontese affairs and was a frequent visitor at the house of Dalberg, the late French ambassador to Turin.

In the summer of 1820 occurred the visit of Tartaro to Confalonieri,² who had already come into contact with the French revolutionaries through Angeloni. Confalonieri foretold a rising in Russia, which duly took place in 1825 at the death of Alexander I.³ Later, during his famous interview with Metternich,⁴ Confalonieri almost undertook to reveal all he knew about the liberal movements throughout Europe, but on second thoughts refused to make further disclosures and was sent to his fate in the Spielberg. If Confalonieri was not acquainted with the inmost counsels of the Paris revolutionary authorities, he was at any rate well informed as to their more open intentions. These facts seem to prove that a connection between the Carboneria and the "Grand Firmament" existed. But though they prove that the Society was used by the Firmament, it does not necessarily follow that the Carboneria itself cherished subversive aims.

After the rising of 1821 Witt was expelled from Piedmont by Count Thaon di Revel, Charles Felix' governor, and met in Switzerland, not only the three Alessandrian Carbonari, but also Caraglio and Priez; and he had some correspondence with Santa Rosa and Morozzo di San Michele.⁵ He met also two Neapolitans whom he calls, slightly misspelling their names, Charles Chiricone Klerckon, Duke of Isa Chiarino and son of the Duke of Fra Marino, Prefect of the King's palace, and the Sicilian Duke of Garatula. Klerckon, as we have seen, had been on friendly terms with Frimont, the Austrian general in Naples after 1821. Clercon (*sic*) is mentioned by La Cecilia as a young barrister who was friendly with the Austrian general Frimont in Naples, who protected persecuted Carbonari. It is well to remember this connection in view of what followed. Their mission was to discuss with the revolutionary chiefs in Paris whether the High Vendita in Naples should be dissolved. The eleven chiefs of the High Vendita in Naples had met in Capua soon after the Austrian occupation to discuss that point. This cannot have been the High Assembly of Naples, consisting of about 180 members, but was probably a more esoteric body. The Memoirs tell us that during the revolution some suspicion had been aroused of the existence of such a body and that Morelli and Silvati and especially Menechini, who had given the decisive impulse in that movement, had been far more influential in the Carboneria than appeared to be the case to ordinary observers. According to Witt, the reason for the proposed dissolution of the High Vendita was not concealment from the authorities, which was easy to achieve, but from the body of Sectaries, which had grown to enormous proportions during the revolution. Probably the inner circle felt the need to re-establish the inner mysteries and were inclined to transfer the High Vendita to Paris. It had been agreed that that body should be merged into the "Grand Firmament"⁶ and the two Neapolitan emissaries had been sent to carry the decision into effect. Klerckon had also been appointed inspector general of the Carbonari in Germany, Switzerland and France. Klerckon⁷ proposed to make Witt inspector general for Switzerland and Germany, and even showed him a patent ready drawn up. Witt eventually accepted, after hearing that if he refused the bloodthirsty Prati would be appointed.

¹ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 98.

² *ibid*, pp. 80, 115. Nicolli, p. 136.

³ Luzio, *Salvotti*, p. 82.

⁴ *ibid*, p. 310.

⁵ Witt, pp. 5, 114. Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 37.

⁶ *ibid*, p. 10.

⁷ *ibid*, p. 11. Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 122.

Witt found the instructions given to him insufficient for his purpose and approached Geneva, where Buonarroti ruled; and it was decided to hold a meeting of emissaries from all parts, including England, whence the Duke of Garatula and Colonel Piccoletti were sent as representatives. Before this could meet, Witt, who was living in a small house near Geneva on Piedmontese territory, was surprised by the police, arrested¹ and ultimately handed over to the Austrian authorities in Milan.

The meeting, however, was held² and was attended by Klerckon, Prati and Buonarroti. This was the meeting already mentioned³ at which the Frenchman Andryane was made Extraordinary Deacon of the "Supreme Perfect Masters" and sent to Milan. As we have seen, he was surprised by the notorious police agent, Count Bolza, almost as soon as he arrived in Milan, and all his papers fell into the hands of the authorities, including several secret documents of the "Grand Firmament". This was a disastrous blow for the Sectarian cause.

The misfortune to Andryane need not surprise us. Even before his mission on the 10th of December, 1821, only three weeks before his arrest, Confalonieri⁴ received a letter full of small bits of paper and on the inside of the wrapper was written "An east wind will bring you these papers. You are to take charge of them. From the gaol in Turin". Witt⁵ tells us that the revolutionaries imprisoned in Turin had found means to communicate with Milan and that he himself had sent letters to Klerckon, the Marquis d'Argenson, archbishop Grégoire and the Prince of Württemberg. On one of the pieces of paper in Confalonieri's letter was written "The Duke of Fra Marino, under the name of Miricone, will come to you from the South. Give him the enclosed papers and he will give you news and you will give him those of your country. Be good enough to let Major Palma (the Alessandrian conspirator of 1821) at Geneva know that this climate does not suit him, let him go for a change at once and tell him not to rely on the director of posts, who is devoted to the Piedmontese government". "Miricone" was the same as Chiricone or Klerckon. The rest of the papers were introductions to Prince Paul of Württemberg, who was a liberal, Grégoire and Jay. Salvotti⁶ says that this mysterious letter had been addressed to Confalonieri in Paris by Witt, and this is corroborated by the anxiety shown by Witt,⁷ when he heard that the Milanese Carbonari had been arrested, for the letter he had sent to Milan from Turin had been signed by him with his cypher as Princeps Summus Patriarchus in the Carboneria. The letter received by Confalonieri must have been in fact the same as the communication which Witt admitted he had sent from the prison at Turin. Salvotti's discovery led to the Austrian request to Piedmont that Witt should be handed over for examination by Salvotti's commission. There was some delay while the Commission was awaiting the arrival of one of the Austrian agents before questioning him. The agent was none other than Chiricone or Miricone Klerckon, a traitor throughout. Fortunately for himself Witt had escaped in the meantime. After wandering for a year he was arrested at Bayreuth on the 20th of February, 1824,⁸ transferred to Prussia and ultimately to his own country, Denmark, where he was finally imprisoned and where he wrote his book. Here we have clear evidence, of a kind, that within the Carboneria itself existed men whose aims were subversive, and that these men occupied important positions.

What I have just related can be regarded as the story of actual events. We have in addition the opinion of some of the men who possessed knowledge. Witt

¹ Witt, p. 37.

² Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 111.

³ See p. 39.

⁴ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 128-129.

⁵ p. 196.

⁶ Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 121.

⁷ Witt, p. 197.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. xviii.

himself says¹ that after the first three degrees the character of the Carboneria changed: in the fourth degree, that of the Apostles, the Candidate undertook to overthrow all monarchies, especially that of the Bourbons. In the last degree, the seventh, that of Summus Princeps Patriarchus, which Witt himself held, the object was precisely the same as that of the "Illuminati." The Carbonaro was both Prince and Bishop, the exact equivalent of the "Illuminati's" Homo Rex. The candidate swore to destroy all religion, all positive government institutions, democratic as well as autocratic; and to that end all measures, including murder, poisoning and false oaths, were allowed. Witt's name as Summus Princeps Patriarchus was Julius Alexander Jerimund Werther Domingone. Even more definite is the evidence of Doria.² The motto of the sixth Carbonaro degree, as we have seen, was "Lilium pedibus destrue", which clearly indicates hostility to the Bourbon dynasty. Doria says that after its first anti-French phase, and even during that phase, the Carboneria adopted as one of its objects the overthrow of religion and thrones. The aim of setting up a constitutional monarchy was, he asserts, a blind, a mere instalment towards complete democracy in the Jacobin sense. Doria also, therefore, ascribes to the Carboneria's inmost councils the same object as those of the "Adelfia" and the "Illuminati." Further corroboration is found in Gyr's book; but he is very unreliable. He says that the Carboneria's degrees were borrowed from the Mizraim rite. As I am not acquainted with that rite and have discovered hardly anything about the Carbonaro fifth and sixth degrees, I am not able to criticise that statement. Nicolli³ states, but without giving any authority, that the ultimate object of the Carboneria was a Jacobin republic administered in accord with Jacobin tenets. This object was known only to the supreme chiefs, a body called, significantly, "The Union of the Committee of the Mountain." We have also the reliable testimony of Mazzini⁴ that the Carboneria, after 1831, adopted the aim of overthrowing thrones and religion.

Witt's⁵ description of the "Federati" would indicate that the "Grand Firmament" made some attempt to control them. Some authorities think that this Association was created by the "Adelfi", in which case they would be under the "Firmament's" control, at any rate at first. Witt says that the Officers known as "Captains of Circles" were in contact with the "Grand Giunta", which was composed of Carbonari who leant to the views of the "Grand Firmament" more than to those of the High Vendita. This High Vendita is presumably that of Turin. Here again we have a hint of the existence in the Carboneria of something more esoteric and subversive. From the history and character of the "Federates" it is clear that they threw off from the "Firmament's" control.

Further evidence of the subversive nature of the inner councils of the Society is given by Mrs. Webster,⁶ largely of the authority of Dillon and Crétineau Joly. According to this evidence the successors of the "Illuminati" gained control of the Carboneria even before Napoleon fell. The "Roman High Vendita" had become illuminist and had gained control over all the sects. There was no such High Vendita in Italy; but it seems that the "Grand Firmament" at one time was called by that name, probably after it had absorbed the Neapolitan High Vendita. The leader of this High Vendita is stated to have been a dissolute Italian noble, who called himself Nubius and chose his emissaries largely among the Jewish adherents of the rite of Mizraim. Among these one was nicknamed "Piccolo Tigre" (Little Tiger), who was travelling under the guise of a jeweller and money lender from 1814 to 1848. He wrote to the

¹ Witt, pp. 21-24.

² Luzio, Mazzini, p. 354.

³ p. 62.

⁴ Rinieri, Pellico, vol. ii., pp. 4-5.

⁵ Witt, p. 87.

⁶ World Revolution, pp. 86-88.

Piedmontese High Vendita in 1822 instructing it to adopt the "Illuminati's" system of proselytising and suggested clearly subversive aims, such as the undermining of morals. Here again it can hardly be the Carbonaro High Vendita of Turin with which we are acquainted, it is more probably the Synod of "Adelfian" Grand Elects, which, we know from an Austrian emissary, held a meeting in 1820,¹ where it was openly said that the Carboneria was being used as a blind. Nubius was consulted by St. Simon and Bazard and all the earlier socialists. He spoke in a most derogatory way of Mazzini, who was intensely religious. Mazzini himself and his follower Melegari suspected the existence of this hidden body of many names; and it was one of the most important aims of his creation, "Young Italy", to emancipate the Italian sectarian movement from these subversive foreign influences. His friend Melegari wrote in 1835:² "We form an association of brothers in all points of the globe, we have desires and interests in common, we aim at the emancipation of humanity, we wish to break every kind of yoke, yet there is one that is unseen, that can hardly be felt, yet that weighs on us. Whence comes it? Where is it? No one knows, or at least no one mentions it. The association is secret even from us, the veterans of the secret societies". According to a strange story by an anonymous writer, "Conversion d'un Carbonaro", which has been already referred to, Nubius was poisoned in 1846 by means of the 'Aqua tofana', a tasteless, colourless poison, which is probably only legendary.

From this evidence, such as it is, and we cannot regard it as conclusive in view of its character, we are justified in concluding that behind the Carboneria, the patriotic Society, as it appeared to the generality, there was a mysterious, evil, subversive element connected with similar elements throughout Europe, possibly directing them all, which used the Good Cousins' activities for its own destructive purposes. Yet, when we look at all these terrifying activities, we find much ado and very little result. The "Grand Firmament's" intrigues and efforts to further the revolutionary cause had remarkably little success. Wherever the revolution broke out, it was the local liberals, among whom the Carbonari were numerous, who conducted it and maintained control of it, and fixed its aims. Wherever any subversive element lifted up its head, it was promptly suppressed. Menechini, for instance, fell out with Pepe and the liberal government and was eventually sent out of the way to Sicily. The men, in fact, who lurked in the background to fish in trouble waters, failed when they came into contact with the ordinary decency of the rank and file and the local leaders of the Carbonari who bore the brunt of the day; they were far less important and effective than they would have us think.

The history of the Carbonari gives us our best opportunity of judging the strength and weakness of a political secret society and its usefulness. The reason for the existence of such a society can only be to achieve a political aim which is banned by the authorities, of which the very discussion is forbidden. Its first object, therefore, must be propaganda and proselytising; and the second, for which the first paves the way, is the preparation of a rising, peaceful or violent, according to circumstances, to force the government to grant the desired concession or to overthrow it and establish one willing to do so.

The chief danger in the first of these objects is of course that involved in approaching persons who, after learning the society's secrets, reveal them to the authorities. The necessity for safeguarding the society against this danger leads to the creation of various degrees with their own secrets and the isolation of the individual members from all but a few of their fellows, in other words, to conceal from them the real objects of the society until they have given proof that they are reliable and by confining their power of doing mischief to as few

¹ Rinieri, Pellico, p. 24.

² Webster, *Secret Societies* p. 350.

of their fellows as possible. Such a procedure, however, may make the genuine aspirant a victim of exploitation by unscrupulous leaders.

As the object of a sect is to gain a large volume of support for its cause, the danger of disclosure increases in proportion to the success with which its propaganda meets. The Carbonari tried to keep this risk within narrow limits by confining knowledge to the few, with the result that they never gained sufficient support to ensure the permanent achievement of their aim. "Young Italy" tried the opposite course of preaching to the masses and did succeed in enlisting their support, but this support remained passive, as the flabby masses, though sympathetic, lacked a determined body of forefighters to throw down the gauntlet and take the first shock.

In the Neapolitan revolution, as the "Memoirs" justly comment, when the Carbonaro cause became successful, so many enrolled in the Carboneria's ranks and so widely known became its secrets, that it ceased to be a Secret Society. It is difficult to see how a sect can avoid the vicious circle. The greater its success, the less the secrecy essential to its safety and the easier for the government, so long as it is reasonably determined and competent, to combat it. Success is in fact very problematical unless the government is so weak as to be likely to collapse of its own accord. In the circumstances prevailing in Italy in 1815 Secret Societies were the only means available to liberals through which to work for political change, but the history of the Carboneria does not encourage the employment of such means.

I may perhaps quote here Carducci's¹ summing up of the varied character of the Society: "Among the Sects Carbonarism was at the same time the most complex and the most widespread; like the chameleon it assumed the hue of the feeling and the needs of the regions and the populations among whom it spread. You see it monarchical-constitutional and republican in turn, federal and unitarian, aristocratic-military and democratic, anarchical, criminal and brigand-like, Bourbonist and Murattist, anticlerical and catholic-apostolical and Guelfic."

As regards the actual methods employed by the Carbonari, the Good Cousins have been severely blamed for their errors. They were pioneers and suffered the fate of such, they sowed for others to reap, they blazed the trail for others to follow. Among them were men of all kinds and conditions, heroes and cowards, clever men and fools, honest men and traitors, martyrs and renegades. They blundered and they failed, but it is difficult to see how Italian regeneration could have taken place without their preliminary work and sacrifices. Many men and many forces took part in the great drama of the Risorgimento; and the Carboneria can justly claim that the part it played was neither negligible nor ignoble.

EPILOGUE.

My study of the Carbonari is now finished; and the outcome of the Society's work is to be found in the history books. Here I will only mention a few outstanding facts, which will complete my story.

Nearly all the men mentioned, who survived, played a prominent part in the events which followed. The crisis was precipitated by the election of Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, Pope Pius IX, to the Papal Chair in 1846 and his grant of an amnesty and some constitutional concessions. When the revolution broke out in many parts of Europe in 1848, nearly all the Italian sovereigns granted constitutions. Almost the last to do so was Charles Albert. His pledge to his predecessor pressed heavily upon him; but once he had become convinced that he might safely follow the example of the Holy Father, he yielded to the wishes of his subjects. Unlike the other rulers, his concession once made remained permanent and was until recently still Italy's "Statuto." In this manner, after

¹ Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 199.

long years of misunderstanding, the alliance between the liberal forces and the House of Savoy was consummated and the Carboneria and its old leader were reunited. But the old suspicions could not be cast aside at once. The story of the war of independence of 1848 is but one sorry tale of disunion and distrust, and Charles Albert listened to secret voices rather than to the precepts of sound strategy. Left unsupported, the Piedmontese Army was beaten in the field and driven back to its own frontiers. Ill in mind and body and bitterly disappointed, Charles Albert tried his fortunes again in 1849, only to meet with the crushing defeat of Novara. That field, already fatal to his hopes and those of the Carbonari in 1821, was no less fatal to their aspirations in 1849. Throughout the battle the spectres of his first failure rose before the King: his old friend, the Carbonaro Perrone, was carried past him, wounded to death at the head of his division; every name, every locality brought back bitter memories, yet even in the gloom of total defeat perhaps he was vouchsafed the vision which sometimes comes to those that are fey. "Yet Italy shall be" he was heard to exclaim as his routed soldiers were streaming past him. The same night he abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emanuel and took the road to exile. At the frontier it was Theodore of Santa Rosa, son of Santorre, who received his last farewell and his pledge that "wherever men could be found to resist Austria's domination, there would he be found in the ranks of her enemies, even if only as a private soldier." But Fate was inexorable towards him who had missed the opportunity she had offered. Three months later he died at Oporto. One of the last to see him was Collegno, now a Senator of the Kingdom, who brought him the homage of the Piedmontese Parliament. Charles Albert's body was brought to Turin and placed in the place of honour in the family mausoleum at Superga, his by right until a successor should claim it. He lies there still. He who should have taken his place rests, first King of United Italy, in the Pantheon at Rome.

During these tragic days Mazzini had been busy contriving and plotting. At his instance was founded on the 5th of January, 1848, the "National Italian Association", which all Sectaries were invited to join. This is probably the Association called "United Italy" in the *Augsburg Gazette*, which was quoted in the Paris "Constitutionnel" of June, 1852. Cantù¹ tells us that Mazzini went as its president to Milan after the five days' fighting in which the Austrians were expelled. In it Carbonari and "Young Italians" joined hands. A few Carbonari came from France to Genoa as volunteers.

Mazzini, on hearing of the disaster of Novara, might well exclaim: "How like a King," not realising that the Piedmontese defeat had destroyed any chance the defenders of Rome and Venice might have had of holding out successfully. Neither did he realise the significance of Charles Albert's last act. By his death and refusal to submit, Charles Albert had wedded the fate of his House inextricably to that of Italian independence and liberalism and had laid down the line of conduct which his successor followed so unswervingly. The cycle of events begun in 1821 was brought to its completion and, after both had passed from the scene, Charles Albert and Carbonarism had brought about that alliance which was to lead to Italy's liberation. In death they had attained to that which they failed to reach in life; by disaster and sacrifice Piedmont and her King had gained the leadership of Italy.

After Charles Albert's abdication Victor Emanuel was offered very favourable peace terms on condition that he abjured the constitution his father had granted: he refused point blank and said he was prepared to take the consequences. The alliance between the liberals and the House of Savoy brought about by his father's sacrifice was confirmed. The liberation of Italy was much more difficult to accomplish, but fortunately, instead of inexperienced Sectaries, one of the greatest statesmen of the age was ready to undertake this task. It was not long before Cavour was called to power by the new King. Piedmont, under his careful guidance,

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 794. Giglioli, pp. 184-206.

soon recovered from the disasters of 1849, but unfortunately the Mazzinians, now called the Reds or the party of Action, persisted in their hostility to the monarchy, their attachment to a republic and a predilection for petty sporadic plotting. Cavour saw that Piedmont by itself could never expel Austria; an ally was needed. While Mazzini and his followers clung to their faith in popular risings and to the delusion that the French republicans would help them disinterestedly, Cavour's insight told him that the old Carbonaro who sat on a somewhat insecure throne in France, against whom Mazzini never ceased railing, would, given the right circumstances, become that ally, and he set himself the task to bring about those circumstances. It was also essential that the leadership of Piedmont should be acknowledged by the vast majority of Italians; and here Mazzini's opposition threatened to interpose a fatal bar. But circumstances proved favourable and Cavour seized his opportunity. In 1853 the Mazzinians started one of the usual, futile plots in Milan. A few sentries were knifed, methods savouring more of murder than of patriotic revolution, and the action led to nothing but the execution of Speri, the hero of Bresica, and other precious lives. Most men of good sense became disgusted with these futilities and loudest in their protests were Medici, Garibaldi's follower who had defended the Villa Vascello at Rome until the city walls were stormed behind him, and Mazzini's own friend, Doctor Bertani. La Farina, the historian, whom I have quoted frequently, decided to see Cavour himself. He was received at night by the minister. Cavour realised at once that he had found the ideal secretary of a secret society, through whom he could carry on the propaganda and the agitation which was essential for his work, but with which the Prime Minister of Piedmont must have nothing to do. The two men understood each other perfectly and Cavour dismissed La Farina with the words: "Go with my blessing, but do not forget, I shall deny you like Peter." The result was the formation of the society called the National Italian Association or more simply "*Società nazionale*" (National Society). It gave the impulse which began the drift away from the Reds. Medici, Bertani and all the best of the old Mazzinians flocked to join the new society. The decisive blow was struck by Manin, the gallant defender of Venice, whose patriotism was as pure as Garibaldi's, but without that hero's lack of understanding, and whose republicanism was as strong as Mazzini's, yet sane enough to enable him to abandon his creed for the good of his cause. It was he who gave the famous promise on behalf of the republicans to support the House of Savoy provided it made Italy and the last act of his devoted life in 1857 was to enrol himself in La Farina's society. The Red opposition was broken and it was as leader of a united Italy that Piedmont entered the decisive campaign. The "*National Society*" was the true heir to the Carbonaro tradition and of what was best in "Young Italy."

Before Cavour could secure Napoleon's aid an incident occurred, which might easily have spoilt his whole plan. Orsini, who had suppressed the "*Infernal sect*" in the Marches in 1849, made an attempt on the Emperor's life in Paris and a wave of fury against Italy swept over France. Orsini before his execution wrote a letter to Napoleon urging him to free Italy. This communication from one Carbonaro to another seems to have touched some sentimental chord in the Emperor's heart; and the incident which might have ruined everything paved the way to a satisfactory conclusion. Shortly afterwards a definite agreement for a defensive alliance was reached at Plombières; and Cavour set out to force on the war.

It is now that the propaganda of La Farina's Association proved so effective. Everything was done to exasperate Austria, while Cavour maintained the most correct attitude. By April, 1859, Austria goaded to desperation, largely through the work of the National Association, sent an ultimatum to Piedmont to disarm; and on the evening of the day when the reply was due Cavour was able to tell his helpers: "We have made history: now let us have some dinner."

The truce of Villa Franca, which left Venetia in Austrian hands, was a bitter disappointment to the Italians, and Cavour resigned. It left unsettled moreover the question of the Duchies of Tuscany and the Legations, which had risen against their rulers during the fighting. Napoleon had insisted that no force should be used to restore the old rulers; and the "National Association," led by Cavour's agents, such as Farini, saw to it that nothing but force should effect that restoration. A dangerous impasse was brought about, which only the master hand could resolve. As he had not freed Venetia, Napoleon had given up his promised reward, Savoy and Nice. Cavour renewed the offer to cede these two provinces in return for the concession that the territories between the Po and the Appenines should be allowed to hold a plebiscite. The result of this Plebiscite after La Farina's preliminary work was a foregone conclusion and the foundation of the Kingdom of United Italy had been laid.

Cavour had shown how to make use of a political sect; he remained its master and did not become, as others had in the past, subservient to it. The Association having served its purpose was dissolved.

APPENDIX I (Continued).

After the failures of 1821, we find that many Sects disappeared, but new ones took their place, to disappear in their turn. In Piedmont the "Sublime Perfect Masters" persisted for a time, as we have seen, but we hear nothing more of their activities after Witt's escape; they probably soon ceased to exist, and this may perhaps be applied to the "Adelfia" as a whole so far as Piedmont and Italy are concerned. It may, however, have continued under a form which is not recognisable. New Carbonarian Sects arose, according to Doria, namely, the "Decurioni" (Decurions), "Silfi" (Sylphs), "Convulsionisti" (Convulsionists), "Diavoli di Londra" (London Devils) and "Vampiri" (Vampires). Of these the "Decurions" formed a noviciate for the Carboneria: Doria says Passano instituted them in order to test candidates for the Carboneria. They had separate signs and words. As the name indicates they were divided in groups of ten and knew only members of their own groups.¹ Of the others we know nothing more, and they must have died out. In 1830 we heard of the "Circoli" (Circles), also known as "Cavalieri della libert " (Knights of freedom), if indeed these two names denominated the same sect. There is no evidence that it was Carbonarian.² The "Costituzione Cattolica Apostolica romana" (Roman Catholic Apostolic Constitution) is said to have originated in Piedmont, though its activities seem to have been confined to Lombardy, where the Austrian police discovered it. As already described, it was a fraudulent enterprise posing as a Sect and of no importance. Melegari mentions a Sect, "Soci del randello" (Partners of the club), in Milan, of whom nothing further is known.³ They may have been the forerunners of the "Pantenna" or even the same Society, as randello, like pantenna, means stick. As regards Tuscany there is nothing to add in connection with the period 1821-1831.

In South Italy we find that the "Patriotti europei"⁴ (European Patriots) and the "Lega europea"⁵ (European League) have survived the fall of the liberal r gime, and the Patriots saved several victims of 1821. Both "League" and "Patriots" disappeared soon after. The Neapolitan Branch of the "Pellegrini bianchi" (White Pilgrims)⁶ persisted until 1823, when they seem to have disappeared from Naples. In 1826 we find them again in Sicily, and from there they returned to the mainland, but under the new name of "Sette

¹ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 415.

² *ibid.*, p. 416.

³ Leti, p. 85.

⁴ Melegari, p. 79. Note.

⁵ Dito, p. 270. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 87, quoting Raccioppi.

⁶ Melegari. Note, p. 79.

⁷ Cant , *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 218. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 95. Melegari, p. 79. Note.

Dormienti" (the Seven Sleepers).¹ There arose in addition a number of new Societies, all offshoots of the Carboneria. The "Cavalieri di Tebe" (Theban Knights),² whom La Farina calls slightly differently "Cavalieri Tebani"³ arose in Calabria. Melegari also mentions some "Cavalieri Tebani" in the Romagne. Their name is that of the Carboneria's third degree; but they seem to have been a separate Sect. In Calabria we find, in addition, the "Cavalieri Europei riformati" (Reformed European Knights)⁴ also called "Cavalieri riformati" (Reformed Knights).^{4 & 5} In Naples we hear of the "Scamicciati" (Shirtless ones)⁴ and the "Ordini" (orders),⁴ the "Riforma di Francia" (French Reform) and the "Nuova Riforma di Francia" (New Reform of France),⁶ the "Maestri supremi o Muratori perfetti" (Supreme Masters or Perfect Masons),⁵ the "Liberali decisi"⁷ (Determined liberals), "Filocleti" (Philocletes),⁸ "Carbonari riformati" (Reformed Carbonari), the "Filodelfi" (Philadelphians),⁹ the "Greci solitarii o dispersi" (Solitary or scattered Greeks),⁸ "Pellegrini Greci" (Greek Pilgrims),⁸ also known as "Greci del silenzio" (Greeks of silence) or "Cinque in famiglia" (Five in a Family) and the "Federazione italiana" (Italian Federation).¹⁰ Hardly any of these Societies outlived our period and we know nothing more about most of them. The "Cavalieri Tebani" were said to aim at the destruction of thrones and Princes, extremists in fact. The "Scamicciati" Sect, we are assured, was a variant of the Carboneria, and by 1823 had spread to Caserta, where the King's country palace was. One of their plans, we hear, was to assist the Spanish liberals against the French.¹¹ The "Ordini" were a "reform" of the Carboneria. The "Riforma di Francia" existed in 1822 and the "Nuova Riforma di Francia" must have been the same Sect with a new name, assumed possibly after some slight reconstruction. The "Nuova riforma" was discovered in Capua the following year, 1823. It had no signs, words or certificates; its emblems were the Phrygian cap of liberty and the consular fasces beloved by the French revolutionaries. Carbonari were admitted. This daughter of the Carboneria disappeared from the mainland soon after its discovery, but was found in Sicily shortly afterwards.¹² Heckethorn gives the following additional details about the "New reform of France." He links it with a society called the "Provinces," which is otherwise unknown to us, and he dates the "New Reform's" foundation to 1820. He says it admitted to its ranks, in addition to Carbonari, also Freemasons, "European patriots," and "Greeks in solitude." The oath ran as follows: "I . . . promise and swear to be the eternal enemy of tyrants, to cherish undying hatred against them, and, when opportunity offers, to slay them." The catechism was as follows:—

Who are you?—Your friend.

How do you know me?—By the weight pressing on your brow, on which

I read written in letters of blood "To conquer or to die."

What do you wish?—To destroy thrones and set up gibbets.

By what right?—By the right of nature.

For what purpose?—To acquire the glorious name of citizen.

And will you risk your life?—I value life less than liberty.

As usual, Heckethorn does not give his sources.

¹ Nicolli, p. 167.

² Dito, p. 271.

³ Vol. iv., p. 359.

⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 95. Vannucci, p. 166.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 416.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 218. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 95.

⁷ Nicolli, p. 164.

⁸ Dito, p. 270.

⁹ Nicolli, pp. 168-169.

¹⁰ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 130.

¹¹ Vannucci, p. 166.

¹² Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 218. Nicolli, pp. 164-165.

The "Maestri supremi o Muratori perfetti" are stated to have been founded in 1823 on the ruins of the Carboneria after the suppression of the revolution in Naples; they proscribed all religion and swore to destroy all monarchies. From Rinieri we learn that this clumsy name is only a new one for the "Sublime Perfect Masters",¹ chosen by the "Grand Firmament" after the failures of 1821. The "Reformed Carbonari" flourished much later, and it is possible that Nicolli is wrong in placing them among the Sects of 1821-1831, but we cannot exclude the possibility that a Sect of that name existed in South Italy then. The "Filadelfi" seem to have been the most effective of all the Sects of these ten years and were responsible for the rising in the Cilento district. Old Carbonari constituted it in 1825, and it was said that Lucien Bonaparte was its chief. It had "High Chambers" in Naples, Paris and Rome. It had ten degrees, each with its own secrets, but no emblems or certificates. Its meetings were few and small; and the oath was written out and the paper, on which it was written, burnt after the oath had been administered, as was the custom sometimes among the Carbonari proper. As we are told that these "Filadelfi" were the Carbonari under a new name, they probably had no connection with the old "Filadelfi" who came from France, degenerated into evildoers and were suppressed and absorbed into the Carboneria, though it is just possible that the adoption of the name was due to the influence of survivors of the earlier Society. The "Greek" Sects are thought by Dito² to have been branches of the famous Greek secret society, the "Heteria" connected with the Carboneria. "Cinque in famiglia" was probably a nickname, due to the fact that five members were enough to receive a Candidate. Traces of these "Greek" Sects are found also in Lombardy. The "Federazione italiana" was formed in Taranto by the brothers Cimino and had a committee at nearby Bari. It is possible that, as one would conclude from the name, it was a branch of the Northern "Federati," though the date, 1826, is late. Some relics of it were found as late as 1842;³ and it is the only Sect of South Italy of those mentioned in this paragraph which survived the decade.

Turning to Sicily, in addition to a strong revival of the Carboneria proper and the Sects already mentioned, we have the following names: The "Emuli di Bruto" (Emulators of Brutus),⁴ "Figli di Epaminonda" (Sons of Epaminondas),⁴ whom we have noted in South Italy during the Revolution, "Seguaci di Muzio Scevola" (Followers of Mucius Scaevola),⁵ "Imitatori di Sand" (Imitators of Sand, who was the murderer of Kotzebue),⁵ "Persecutori della tirannide" (Persecutors of Tyranny),⁵ "Fabii" (Fabii), "Seguaci di Alfieri" (Followers of Alfieri, the Piedmontese tragedian),⁵ "Silenzio" (Silence), "Luce nelle tenebre" (Light in the Darkness),⁵ "Gioventù spartana" (Spartan Youth),⁵ "Novelli Templari" (New Templars),⁶ "Repubblica" (Republic),⁶ "Società pitagorica" (Pythagorean society),⁶ "Veri patrioti" (True Patriots),⁶ "Società di Louvel"⁷ (Society of Louvel, the murderer of the Duke of Berry) and "Gioventù avveduta" (Cautious Youth). According to La Farina⁷ the "Seguaci di Muzio Scevola," the "Persecutori della tirannide," "Imitatori di Sand," "Silenzio," "Gioventù Spartana," "Fabii," "Seguaci di Alfieri," and "Luce," as he calls it, were only the names of Vendite. As La Farina was a Sicilian, a contemporary, and gives the names of some

¹ Dito says (pp. 329-330) the "Sublime Perfect Masters" were the same as the "Sublime Masters or Perfect Masons". These cannot have been the South Italian "Sublime Masters or Perfect Masons". It is possible that Dito is guilty of confusion here, and that there were no "Sublime Masters or Perfect Masons".

² p. 270.

³ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., pp. 132, 420.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 87, 416.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 218.

⁶ Nicolli, pp. 165-167.

⁷ La Farina, vol. iv., pp. 361-362. See also Vannucci, p. 164.

of their Grand Masters, he is probably right on this point. Vannucci¹ confirms La Farina as regards the "Seguaci di Muzio Scevola" and adds that this Vendita met in the Church of the Forty Martyrs. The "Gioventù Avveduta" also is said to have been merely a Vendita founded in 1824.² The "Novelli Templari" existed in Catania in 1822, as did also the "Repubblica," a Sect which copied the names of its offices from Roman history. The "Società Pitagorica" arose in 1827 and kept up a connection with Malta. The "Veri Patriotti" lived only for a short time and are known to have avoided all connection with Naples. Of these Sects only "Silenzio," "Imitatori di Sand," "Seguaci di Alfieri" and, possibly, "Luce nelle tenebre" existed after 1831. The "Imitatori di Sand" do not seem to have had any connection with the foreign subversive sect, the "Sandists."³

The Papal States, as we have seen, had not suffered from the repression of a revolution; in fact the only group which revolted openly and was scattered by a few troops was the "Unione patriottica dello stato romano."⁴ Nothing is known as to any secrets these men may have had and, though the name would indicate a secret society, it is by no means certain that this handful of Carbonari did actually form a separate Sect. On the other hand the Papal States continued to seethe with sectarian activity. The Sects which existed before 1821 and continued their existence after that date have already been referred to. In the report of the Rivarola trial, dated the 31st of August, 1825,⁵ we find the following mentioned: "Guelfia," "Adelfi," "Supreme Perfect Masters," "Latinisti," as separate Societies and the following as offshoots of the Carboneria: "Turba," "Siberia," "Fratelli artisti del dovere," "Difensori della patria," "Figli di Marte," "Ermolaisti," "Massoni riformati," "Bersaglieri americani" and "Illuminati." As we do not know how far back the period covered by this report extends, we cannot assess its value as evidence as to the date at which these Sects were active; but, though we know that the "Guelfia" and the "Latinisti" had been absorbed by the Carboneria some time before, we can reasonably conclude that the remainder of the Societies mentioned still existed at the time of the trial. Regarding the others of whose continuance we have information, the "Difensori della patria," of whom we last heard as a subordinate Sect in Forlì, are now the corresponding Sect in Cesena, and their place in Forlì has been taken by the "Figli dell'onore" (Sons of Honour);⁶ probably this indicates mere changes of name. Both these subordinate Sects are now described as branches of the "Cacciatori Americani." The "Cacciatori," as we have seen, continued in vigour and we hear that in 1828 some "Americani,"⁷ who are no doubt the same Sect, were so bold as to drill openly in the Pineta, the pinewoods near Ravenna.⁸ In Ravenna, always a turbulent town, we hear in addition, in 1823 and shortly after, of the "Sacra Fratellanza" (Sacred Brotherhood),⁸ the Società della medaglia" (Society of the medal),⁸ the Società del Duca d'Emilia una e indivisibile" (Society of the Duke of Emilia, one and indivisible).⁸ Signorina Pignocchi tells us that the two parties in Ravenna were known as the "red caps" and the "black caps," but she does not make it clear whether these were Sects or mere badges or nicknames.⁹ The rivalry of the "White Pilgrims" and the "Pilgrims of the Catholic Society" has already been mentioned. Other Sects we hear of are the "Figli della patria" (Sons of the Fatherland) mentioned by Cantù,¹⁰ the "Società degli amici della scienza

¹ p. 164.

² Nicoli, pp. 165-167.

³ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 44-45.

⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 137.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 154.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 140, vol. iii., p. 416.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 166.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 416.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 153.

¹⁰ *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 313.

e seguaci della virtù" (Society of the friends of science and followers of virtue)¹ in Ferrara and the "Pancie nere" (Black Bellies)² who flourished at the time of the Jubilee in Rome. They were epicureans and it is not clear to which side they adhered.

Rome itself, as already stated, was fairly free from Sectarian activity. Besides the "Braccia,"³ about whom little is known beyond the fact that they were the Carboneria under a different name, we hear only in 1822 of the "Eremiti riformati" (Reformed Hermits),⁴ who may have derived their origin from the Hermits of the years before 1821. They were founded in the Roman prisons, met in "Romitori" (Hermitages), and as usual pledged themselves to obtain daggers and rifles. They were discovered and their leader Pannelli was brought to trial. They are said to have spread later to South Italy. Nothing more is heard of all these Sects after 1831.

There are in addition two Sects which cannot be ascribed to any particular state. Of the "Liberia," mentioned by Bacci⁵ we know nothing but the name. The "Apofasimeni" are much better known, especially at a later period, owing to their relations with Mazzini.⁶ Charles Bianco, the Piedmontese conspirator, was at one time its leader in Rome and it extended to the Romagne, to Piedmont and abroad, in fact there is reason to think that it originated among the exiles of 1821, in France or Switzerland, and that their chief centre was abroad. Buonarroti seems to have exercised the general direction over it. Its statutes were discovered in Mazzini's trunk with a double bottom, which was seized by the Piedmontese authorities at a later date.⁷ The "Apofasimeni," according to these papers, took the usual Carbonarian form, but the Vendite were known as "Tende" (Tents) and the members as Heads of Cohorts, Centurions and private soldiers.⁸ Mazzini⁹ describes it as "a sort of military organisation—a complex mixture of oaths and symbols with a multiplicity of grades and ranks and an exaggeration of discipline."

After the collapse of the movement of 1831 the Sects were more numerous than ever, but the confusion grows as the political Sects fall into disuse and ordinary associations come more into favour; we frequently cannot tell which are Carbonarian and which are not. The majority are for us mere names. The Carboneria itself practically vanishes in Italy as an organisation, surviving in isolated fractions. The Sect which most closely followed the original Society is the Carboneria riformata, already described in the text.

Of the Societies we know, only the "Imitatori di Sand," the "Seguaci di Alfieri," "Silenzio," the "Cacciatori Americani," "Figli di Marte," and, as the informer Santarini¹⁰ testifies, the "Figli della Patria," the "Difensori della patria" survived. "Luce nelle tenebre" may have survived in the new "Luce,"¹¹ but we cannot draw any definite conclusion from the name alone.

Taking the individual states, as regards Piedmont Mazzini mentions a Society "Amici del Popolo italiano" (Friends of the Italian people) in Turin in 1833, of which we knew nothing.¹² A report from Broglia in May, 1843, refers to a sect in Alessandria which plotted against Charles Albert.¹³ It seems to have been a complete perversion: it was said that it practised demonolatry

¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 153.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 166.

³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 137.

⁴ Nicolli, p. 163.

⁵ p. 233.

⁶ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 434; Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 115, 121; Massoneria, p. 242.

⁷ Rinieri, Pellico, vol. ii., pp. 258 *et subseqq.*

⁸ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 312. Note.

⁹ Mazzini, p. 65.

¹⁰ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 313.

¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 292.

¹² Luzio, Mazzini, p. 499. Note.

¹³ Bianchi, vol. iii., p. 198.

and blasphemy. We do not know its name. "Young Italy" will be dealt with later.

In Lombardy the "Figli di Bruto", which had affiliations in Tuscany, gave birth to the "Selva Nera" (Black Forest) of which we know nothing. In addition we hear of a curious Society called "Pantenna" (Stick)¹ in Milan after 1831. Its members pretended to be roysterers and indulged in boisterous activities, like those of our 18th Century Mohawks, making any citizens they met dance under the threat of their symbolic Stick. The initiate was made half drunk before being examined and admitted to the Society only if he were able to maintain secrecy under those conditions. Other Societies, which suffered severely from ill-timed loquacity, might well have copied this example. The "Pantenna" had a curious feature, not all its members were sectaries, and this probably added to its safety. Its defect was that it was likely to sink into corruption. In addition we hear in Mantua of the "Cavalieri verdi" (Green Knights),² whose full title was "Cavalieri nazionali toscani del verde" (National Tuscan Knights of the Green). Tivaroni says that they flourished in Mantua in 1844, though their name and nature would indicate Tuscany as their sphere. They were more a society of students than a revolutionary Sect and probably were not Carbonarian. They aped the dress and the manners of the 16th Century, grew beards, and wore white or black broad brimmed hats with a green feather.

We have no actual proof that the "Federates" of Piedmont and Lombardy spread South of those countries; a roll of a "Congregation of Federates" was discovered by the authorities at Ancona in 1832³ and this congregation may have been a late survival of the famous Northern Association, but was more probably, as the word "congregation" indicates, a branch of "Young Italy," whose full name was "Federation of Young Italy." Next year, as we have seen, Bernetti seized in Ancona documents belonging to "Young Italy." The name appears again in the "Federati italiani" (Italian Federates) of 1842, a Sect which probably acted in the Papal States and was led, it is said, by the Bonapartes and Masponi. Of the "Federali"⁴ mentioned by Cantù we know nothing.

The Romagne, crushed after 1831 and misgoverned, sank deeper into confusion and strife. We hear only of the "Ingenui" (Ingenuous ones),² in 1836, the "Rigenerazione dell'indipendenza d'Italia" (Regeneration of Italian independence)² in 1843 in Ferrara, in addition to those of the older Sects which survived, and nothing is known of these beyond the name and their sphere of activity. A military commission discovered a Sect called "Speranza" (Hope) in Ravenna in 1843 which had local leaders in other Romagnol towns. One of its members was L. C. Farini.⁵ There was also an association of young men in Bologna who wore black velvet coats and white hats, who may have formed a secret society.⁶ After the rising of 1848, when the Republic was set up in Rome in 1849, we hear of a "Setta infernale" (Infernal Sect),⁷ which probably was not its real name, which tried to wreak vengeance on the Reactionaries for their past persecutions. They allied themselves with brigands and so great did their excesses become, that Orsini, the Carbonaro, who governed Ancona under the Mazzinian régime, declared martial law and suppressed them by force.

In South Italy, where the persecution of liberal opinions was severe, we have very few Sects, the "Vedovella" (Little Widow)² of 1836 is in fact the only one we know of during the thirties. Later, when an opposition had taken shape and Pius IX. was regarded as the "Pope Liberator", we hear of a

¹ Gualterio, vol. ii., p. 443.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 450.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 336.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 292.

⁵ Gualterio, vol. i., pp. 211-212.

⁶ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 301.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 1083.

"Unione Evangelica" (Evangelical union), a "Fratellanza cristiana" (Christian Brotherhood)¹ and a "Gioventù italiana" (Italian Youth).

In Tuscany the period after 1831 saw the greatest development of Sectarian activity in that Grand Duchy. Cantù² tells us that there were soon after that year nine societies with republican leanings and thirty-one which were wholly republican; but we have no means of analysing this statement. The town of Lucca seems to have become a hive of Sectarian activity. In addition to a nameless sect which wore blue and black cockades,³ which as usual had to procure rifles and cartridges for itself, we have the "Compagnia liberale" (Liberal company),³ which subsidised a secret printing press and the "Trentunisti" (Men of 1831),⁴ about whom nothing more is known. There were also in Tuscany generally the "Federali" (Federalists),⁵ "Riforma della Giovine Italia" (Reform of Young Italy),⁵ "Enotria," "Spillone" (Hatpin),⁶ the "Veri Italiani" (Real Italians), "Indipendenti" (Independents), "Amici del popolo" (Friends of the people),⁷ "Carbonari riformati" (Reformed Carbonari), "Setta recondita dell'Arno" (Hidden sect of the Arno),⁸ "Fratelli Italiani" (Italian Brothers), "Amici della patria" (Friends of the Fatherland), "Legione Italiana" (Italian Legion),⁹ and some members of the "Figli di Bruto" at Leghorn. The semi-criminal "Fusciacca rossa" during this period changed its name to "Bucatori" (Piercers) some time after 1831. Of the secrets and signs of these societies we know nothing and there is little to add to their bare names. Their part in history has already been related. In view of the close intercourse between France and Italy at this time, it is perhaps not too speculative to regard "Amici del Popolo" as an Italian branch of the famous French society "Amis du Peuple". According to some information given to Charles Albert the "Indipendenti" became known after a time as the "Emancipazione universale" (Universal Emancipation) and absorbed some members of "Young Italy".¹⁰ Mazzini mentions a sect "Amici del popolo Italiano" (Friends of the Italian people) in Piedmont. These, in my opinion, must have been a branch of the "Amici del popolo" and I have regarded them as such in the text.¹¹ The "Setta recondita dell'Arno," we are told definitely, issued out of the Carboneria, but became connected with "Young Italy" and also the "Parisian committee," yet maintaining at the same time its independence. The Carbonari's Vendita discovered at Leghorn in 1836 was composed entirely of members of this Sect, and Menz thinks it may have been merely a Carbonarian Vendita. I think this is wrong owing to the inclusion of the word "Setta" in the title.¹² Cantù⁶ tells us on the other hand that it formed part of a group which arose under the impulse of "Young Italy," the others in the group being the "Federali" (Federalists), "Riforma della Giovine Italia," "Società di Louvel," "Imitatori di Sand," "Seguaci d'Alfieri," "Spillone," "Luce" and "Silenzio." Cantù is clearly wrong as regards some of the names, which, as we have seen, were most probably those of Carbonaro Vendite. It is now in fact impossible to tell what Sects were Carbonarian or not, as the influence of "Young Italy" was growing and the tendency to join in liberal Associations instead of Secret Sects increased. The "Fratelli Italiani" were definitely not Carbonarian. They were founded by the liberal Montanelli.¹³

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1148.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 288.

³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 334.

⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 450.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 212.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 292.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 348. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 450.

⁸ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 449. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, p. 360.

⁹ Montanelli, p. 53. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1267. Gualterio, vol. i., p. 529.

¹⁰ Montanelli, pp. 64-65. Rosati. Gualterio Documents, p. 466.

¹¹ Luzio, Mazzini, p. 499. Note.

¹² Gualterio Documents, p. 517.

¹³ Montanelli, p. 89.

Cantù tells us, probably erroneously, that the "Legione Italiana" developed into the "Fratelli Italiani." Montanelli, the founder of the "Fratelli," does not confirm this.¹ In Tuscany we have another instance, according to La Cecilia, of persons using the Sectarian movement for their own unworthy purposes. About 1828 a secret society, whose name is unknown, was formed in Leghorn, whose sole purpose was promiscuous sexual intercourse. It had no relation with Carbonarism and was suppressed.

There are in addition several Sects which cannot be regarded as belonging to one territory only. These are the "Vindici del popolo" (Avengers of the people) of 1843,² the "Sterminatori" (Destroyers)² and "Perfezionamento" (Perfection),² the "Legione straniera" (Foreign Legion),³ "Amici della patria" (Friends of the Fatherland),⁴ "Società del Conte bianco" (Society of the white Count) which flourished from 1835 to 1848,⁴ the "Fédération della Giovine Italia" (Federation of Young Italy),⁵ "Esperia,"⁶ "Young Europe" of Modena in 1836. Of these little is known beyond the name. Cantù says that the "Fédération della Giovine Italia" was founded by Misley. This Sect's name was the full name of Mazzini's famous Society and probably Cantù was mistaken here. Mazzini in fact tried to conceal the secrets of "Young Italy" from Misley. What connection, if any, the "Riforma della Giovine Italia" had with Mazzini's Society is not known. Its name would indicate a reform of Mazzini's group, perhaps confined to some particular district. "Esperia" is a society to which the Bandiera⁷ brothers claimed to belong and nothing further is known about it. "Young Europe" of Modena may have been connected with Mazzini's attempt to expand "Young Italy" into a federation of national societies on the analogy of his own. We may also mention here the "Society for the emancipation of Italy" and the "Central Society," which, as we have seen, were merely names of the Italian Subcommittee in Paris.

The most famous of all the Carboneria's offshoots, more famous perhaps even than the parent stem, was "Young Italy." According to Cantù⁸ its badge was a cypress bough. The oath ran as follows: "I swear before God, my country and all men of honour to be a good son of Young Italy, a constant, faithful, steadfast republican soldier; to obtain the arms I am ordered to procure for myself, to learn to handle them and to hold myself ready to obey every call of the Society. I promise to obey blindly the rulers of the Association without ever hastening or retarding events by independent action and observe all the duties and precepts set forth in the catechism of Young Italy. I renounce every idea of self aggrandisement, leaving the rulers of Young Italy free to dispose of me as they shall think fit. I swear to be always faithful to my oath of a republican soldier, whatever may be the sufferings and the injustices I may undergo in the Society. I renounce all my property and swear to hold it in common with all brethren converted to our tenets, to the service of the cause and of my country. Almighty God, who lookest into the innermost recesses of my heart, thou knowest the purity of my intentions and the flame of charity and justice which urges and guides me. And you my worthy Brother who have converted me, to whom I am indebted for the words of truth, the light of life, take this dagger, emblem of our patriotic union, a weapon lovely to the eye of every true Italian, terrible only to those of the stranger and oathbreaker, should I be so vile as to forget the oaths uttered before God, my country and you, I should be unworthy to see the sweet light

¹ Montanelli, p. 53. Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 1267. Gualterio, vol. i., p. 529.

² Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 450.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 338.

⁴ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 449.

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 268.

⁶ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 164.

⁷ These were famous martyrs of the Italian cause. They led an expedition against South Italy, were captured and shot.

⁸ *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 289 et subsequ.

of day; in that case kill me, noble son of Young Italy." The motto of the Society was: Liberty, Equality, Humanity, which three words according to Mazzini embodied its principles.

The original organisation, as given by Mazzini¹ himself, was as follows: An executive commission, the "Congrega Centrale", ruled over the whole Society; its members were John Ruffini, Melegari and Bianco. This "Central Congregation" sat at Marseille. Each Province had a "Provincial Congregation". Each town had an "Ordinatore" (Organiser) elected by the "Provincial Congregation". The degrees were only two: "Federato propagandista" (Propagandist Federate) or Initiator, three of whom formed a "Provincial Congregation", and "Federato semplice" (Ordinary Federate)² or Initiated. The "Initiators" directed local activities and looked after the correspondence, the "Initiated" obeyed orders.

The members knew each other as "Good brothers" and, in the case of women, as "Good Sisters". *Noms de guerre* were used—Mazzini retained his old Carbonarian name of Strozzi—Melegari was Facino Cane; La Cecilia, Muzio Scevola and Nicholas Fabrizi, Corso Donati;³ and members undertook to obtain a rifle and 50 cartridges and pay a subscription to the Provincial authority.

Cantù gives a different and much more complicated organisation, which may be a later development or simply a local variant. He says: "In the organisation there were not lacking High Lights, Grand Masters, Communication Officers and Invisible ones. Those called Stabene (Allright) did not take any open action, that was left to the Lance spezzate (Broken lances, a medieval term referring to men at arms) and Fanti perduti (Forlorn hopes). The justiciar executed sentences. The Society was organised in groups of ten and the ten knew only the Member who acted as connecting link with the other groups, so that if one group was discovered the whole Society was not broken up."

The sign was: a member clasped his own hands up to the knuckles and placed them over the heart, to be answered by a similar handclasp with the arms extended towards the other Brother, palms outwards. Then the following words were exchanged: "What o'clock is it?"—"Time to fight." Then the right index fingers were interlaced. The Propagandists had also a password which was changed every three months, and they exchanged the words: "Now"—"And always."

Melegari, who founded the "Congregation" of Parma, gives us the signs settled by Mazzini himself for the purpose of communicating between the various "Congregations" and sent to Melegari in a letter at the end of 1832.⁴ The challenger placed his hand to his left side, as if about to draw a sword. The respondent placed his hands with the palms open on his breasts, the right on the right breast and the left hand on the left breast. The challenger then asked: "In whom do you place your faith?" to which the answer was: "In our right and our sword." They then kissed each other on the forehead. Special signs were arranged for within each jurisdiction. In 1833 Mazzini also settled the signs to be used between "Young Italians" and the "Real Italians." These⁵ were: The first member placed his right hand under his coat or waistcoat, showing only the thumb which was placed against the outside of the garment. The other then asked: "Whom do you seek?", which was answered: "Brothers." The second then continued: "You have them both for life and death." They then exchanged the fraternal kiss on the lips. After the discoveries in Piedmont in 1833 the signs of Young Italy were changed.⁶ The

¹ Luzio, Mazzini, pp. 115-118. Melegari, pp. 35-36.

² *ibid.* pp. 449-451. Letter of Mazzini to Garnier Pages of 27th of February, 1833. Mazzini, pp. 177-180.

³ Melegari, p. 34.

⁴ p. 41.

⁵ Melegari, p. 107.

⁶ *ibid.* p. 233.

challenger placed his index finger over his heart, which was answered by the respondent placing his index finger on his closed lips. The first then said: "Martyrdom," which was answered by: "Resurrection." The cypress remained "Young Italy's" emblem and every member was to have a sprig about his person. Its motto was "Ora e sempre" (Now and always). Its banner was the Italian tricolour with, on one side, the inscription "Liberty, Equality, Humanity," and on the other "Unity and Independence." Young Italy dated its years from 1831, *i.e.*, year I., II., etc., as in the case of the French Republic.¹ Like the Carboneria it had offshoots. At the very beginning Giglioli founded at Macon, whither he had fled, the "Society of the Italian emigrants in Macon, for instructions in handling arms and other war activities." The name of this Society sufficiently indicated its purpose.² Mazzini also founded at Marseille the "Society for the propagation of light in Italy", a purely propagandist and probably short-lived body.

The "Associazione nazionale" (National Association) or "Unity Italy," founded by Mazzini to unite the efforts of all Sects in 1847³ had the following organisation, on paper at any rate: The unit was a "Circle," of which there were five kinds: "Grand Circle", and "General", "Provincial", "District" and "Parish Circles". The supreme direction was exercised by a "Grand council" which formed the "Grand Circle". There were eight "General Circles", in Rome, Turin, Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, Palermo and Cagliari and a "Grand Unitarian" presided over each. The lesser "Circles" followed geographical divisions. Each "Circle" was composed of not more than 40 "Associates" under a "President", four "Councillors", a "Questor" and a "Master". The "Associates" were divided into three "Orders": 1. "United Adepts" or plain "Unitarians". 2. "Presidents" and "Councillors" of the several "Circles". 3. "Grand Unitarians" or "Members of the Grand Circle" and "Presidents of the General Circles". Each "Order" had its own secret word. The "Questor" collected the dues after each quarterly meeting, part of the funds being used locally and part remitted to the central treasury. Every "Associate" could present a Candidate, who was sworn, given the password and then entrusted with the emblems and the badge. Disobedience was punished with death. Widows and Children were provided for and each member had a right to be protected by the Society. A branch of this society was created in London by Giglioli, who became its president, but it was in no way a sect, merely an association for propaganda and collecting funds for the Italian cause.⁴ Gioberti founded in Turin a "National Society to promote and attain an Italian federation," but this seems to have been an independent body.⁵

It only remains now to mention very briefly the principal foreign societies with which the Carboneria was connected; and, as it is not within the purview of this paper to go into this question in any detail, I shall not do more than to give a list of their names. The most important is probably the "Tugendbund" (League of Virtue), which was called in Italy at the Synod of "Sublime Perfect Masters" held in Turin in 1820 as "Società dei patrioti europei" (Society of the European patriots), which gives it a wider scope.⁶ In addition we have the names of several German sects in 1819,⁷ the "League of the Blacks," the "League of the independents or of the likeminded," the "League of Freedom and Right," the "Universal Association of the Young," several "Gymnastic Associations" and the "League of the uncompromising." There was also a society of "Sandists," but it is not clear whether this was French or German.

¹ Melegari, p. 34.

² Giglioli, p. 62.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 794. Giglioli, pp. 194-206.

⁴ Giglioli, pp. 195-204.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 336.

⁶ Rinieri, Pellico, vol. ii., p. 29.

⁷ Nicolli, p. 135. Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 22-45.

In France we have the "Philadelphes" and the "Adelfes" and later the "Francs régénérés", "Orphelins" and "Veuve," which may have been one society called "Orphelins de la Veuve." It is not clear if the last was French or Italian. There were also the Charbonnerie and the "Amis du Peuple." The "Universal Society for the improvement and perfecting of social institutions in Europe",¹ was probably, as we have seen, not a proper society but one of the various screens for the "Grand Firmament," as was also the "Liberal Union." In Greece we find traces of contact with the "Heteria." In the Spain the Carboneria seems to have had a footing as early as 1811, and it was revived about 1822. It naturally had relations with the "Hermanos," the "Comuneros" and "Spanish Freemasonry," which in those years was political. General Pepe during his brief sojourn in Spain started a shortlived Society intended to federate all patriotic liberal Sects in Europe and was called the "Circle of Constitutional Society of European patriots,"² or more shortly, "Constitutional Brothers of Europe."

After the movements of 1821 there were developments among the reactionary societies as well as among the liberal ones. The Pellegrini della società cattolica (Pilgrims of the catholic society)³ rose in Ravenna in 1823, and adopted their name to distinguish themselves from the Carbonarian "Pellegrini Bianchi" (White Pilgrims), and the "Black Caps"⁴ mentioned by Signorina Pignocchi, a name which may have been merely a generic nickname. The "Società Cattolica" (Catholic society) was probably but a Piedmontese branch of the "Santa Fede." Helfert⁵ regards that name as another appellation for the "Concistoriali," but their nature resembles more that of the "Santa Fede." According to Bianchi⁶ it was in existence in 1827 and worked against Charles Albert's succession to the throne. Gualterio⁷ represents it as plotting against him even after his accession, and working for Austria. The minister of police Lascarena was prominent in its ranks and was practically an Austrian agent. He behaved in a very overweening way, being rude to the King himself, until Charles Albert lost all patience and dismissed him.⁸ On the other hand we are also told that the "Società cattolica" was suppressed by Charles Felix and Lascarena's protégés were the "Amicizia cattolica." The "Amicizia cattolica"⁹ (Catholic friendship) may have been the same society as the "Società" under an alternative name. It was suppressed by Charles Albert¹⁰ for treasonable activities in the circumstances just described at a time when he was anxious about a revolutionary raid on Savoy in 1831. Once Charles Albert felt reasonably secure on his throne he was as ill-disposed to allow intrigues on behalf of reaction as plots on behalf of liberalism, especially when the reactionary activities were likely to favour Austria.

After the revolution of 1831 an association which partook of the nature of a militia and a sect was formed out of the "Santa Fede" by Cardinal Bernetti, the "Centurions."¹¹ It was largely controlled by the Duke of Modena, when he became the chief reactionary leader in the North, and Canosa. Though originally raised by Bernetti to oppose the Austrian troops, it became the "Santa Fede" in an acute form, except in the Legations, where it wore uniforms and acted

¹ Nicolli, p. 136. Nicolli says this society was formed in Switzerland by Buonarroti and Prati.

² Pepe Memoirs, vol. iii.

³ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 153.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 166.

⁵ p. 290.

⁶ vol. i., p. 173.

⁷ vol. i., pp. 592, 610, 621-622, 627-630.

⁸ Bianchi, vol. iv., pp. 30, 46.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 85.

¹⁰ Poggi, vol. i., p. 418, says Charles Felix suppressed this society, in error, I think.

¹¹ Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 225. Farini, vol. i., p. 67. Gualterio, vol. ii., p. 117.

as a popular militia, and carried on the war of murder and outrage against the liberals in 1832 and after. The "Centurions" received the regular pay of two paoli a day and wore white bands round their hats. As in the case of most societies of this kind, it overreached itself and after a time was forbidden to carry arms. When the liberal minded Mastai Ferretti was elected to the Papacy, it raised riots, whereupon it was disbanded and a civic guard formed in its stead. The organisation of the "Centurions" was as follows¹: 10-12 members formed a "Decury", 10-12 "Decuries" a "Century", 12 "Centuries" a "Command" and 10 "Commands" a "Division". All these units had a proper staff.

Austria also followed the general fashion in the Romagna and contrived the formation of a sect in favour of her interests, the "Società ferdinandea" (Ferdinand's society) soon after 1831.² Its object was to raise disorders in the Papal States to discredit the government and lead to Austrian occupation. It opposed the "Centurions". A few inexperienced Carbonari seem to have been seduced into joining it. It reached its greatest development in 1838 and 1839. As late as 1841 one of its members, Castagnoli, was tried in Bologna,³ where it was active.

Cantù⁴ informs us of the existence in the Romagna of an Association known as the "Congregations of the Cross" about 1831. As these were set up in the four towns of Forlì, Ravenna, Faenza and Lugo only, that is in some of the chief Carbonaro centres, it would appear that they were special bodies, formed to oppose the Carboneria where it was strongest, shock troops we might call them. Their object was to uphold the Roman Catholic religion, and the rights of absolute monarchy, more especially that of the Pope. In each city a chief was to be appointed and the four rulers were to act on close accord. Each of them had a secretary and treasurer selected by himself. The chiefs chose each four followers, each follower four subordinates and they in their turn four more each, and so on. The usual condition was laid down that each member should know only his immediate chief and his four immediate followers, and only the supreme chief knew the full membership. A special feature was that candidates were not required to take an oath, they had only to sign a paper. There were three classes of members, distinguished according to the amount of their subscription, namely, one, two or three paoli. The badge of the society was a Cross on which was a crosshilted sword, the Cross signifying that the society supported religion and the sword that it supported absolute sovereignty.

APPENDIX II (Continued).

CARBONARIAN CIRCULAR IN ENGLISH WRITTEN BY MAZZINI.

(From an autograph MS.)

(In the Milanese archives: *Trials of "Young Italy"*, No. 1002).

NOTE. The spelling and phrasing is Mazzini's.

A... L... G... D... G... M... D... V.... y D Sdo... P... D... O....

When tyranny has said: let us usurp the rights of humanity: let us put our will in the room of the general will, she trusted upon the natural credulity of the multitudes, the cunning sad tricks of her wit, the help of the religious authority and the weapons of her adherents; but above all this she trusted upon a mean very powerful to render useless the working of the many: *desunion*.

¹ Gualterio Documents, p. 104.

² Farini, vol. i., p. 81. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 232. Gualterio, vol. i., p. 143.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 692.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 313. Note.

She said to herself: the united strenghts of men would deprive me of the fruits of my projets, would condemn me to sloth and infamy: but I shall spread between them the seed of suspicion: I shall pour into their hearts the poison of diffidence. I shall divide their endeavours to subdue them singly. The union of individuals can give them the conscience of their own strenghts, and this is sufficient to annihilate us. Let us dry up this conscience at the very spring; let us try to make them foes to each other: divided by different ways, they shall become weak and impotent.

Then some ones, inflamed with love of humanity, whose rights they aspired to revenge, entered into a great thought, in order to oppose to the wicked attempt: they took the resolution to fasten the ties wich bound men to mutual brotherhood: to accumulate means and the strenghts of thousands spread over the surface of the earth, ranging them into a regular system and a common center: to sanction at last with a stronger and more sacred knot the union of men to a noble and generous end. A word they found, that could in a sudden make known the good to the good: proper signs were chosen, of which every one revealed a soul: a secret society was formed. Preserver of the sacred fire, invisible in their proceedings, firm and persevering, they adopted for their instrument the union of the good, for danger martyrdom, for their triumph, the triumph of Liberty.

But if they are or are to become powerful, the spring of their strenght must be concord: concord the first virtue of every state and society, the first nerve of commonwealths, the first weapon of men against their oppressors. If we open the volumes of the world's history, the same pages which relate us the decline of towns, the calamities of humankind, mention always the foregoing dissensions. Much more than two thirds of the generous attempts made, since the existence of tyrants and free men, to renew degenerate nations, to restore decayed men to their former dignity, were struck to death, because discord insinuated itself amongst those who aimed to that end. It is an element of strife, wich obstructs, spreading them elsewhere, those strenghts wich, were all directed against the common foe, would gain the victory; for bundles wich closely tied defy the arms of the man, when untied and detached are easily broken one after another.

If in the secret societies the principle of division is introduced, they will but afford a heap of personal dangers, without giving a compensation in the well founded hope if reaching the proposed term. Divided in as many, different, small, spread and separate bands, for which the action of one is stopped by that of the other, they shall be crushed one by one, by tyranny, wich might instead some day or other be crushed by their simultaneous action.

Brethren and friends!—Should we have come to this? Should we have spent so many toils, defied so many dangers, passed through so many cautions, to waste after all in foolish dissension all the elements of our strenghts? Should we have arisen from so many blows and griefs to tear us with our own hands? We would then be unworthy protectors of the most sacred cause; we would deserve instead of the tacit agreement of the good and the hatred of tyrants, the compassion of the first and the contempt of the second. We would act against our former institution, wich is to join together under the same colour all the cosmopolites and lovers of the liberty of universe.—Look at Spain! at the heroic and unhappy Spain! and may this sight quench every dissension or contest of pre-eminence. From year to year, she endures things which are not to be spoken: form year to year, she waits the hour of revenge.—Now, will you have every hope vanished for us? The world despairing upon its own destiny? The european tyrants sneering at our mysteries? Do you like to bring despond into our bosoms, to make our power consume itself in useless quarrels, neglecting in the meanwhile the substantial object, wich has till now kept us together? Will you have destruction?—Divide yourselves. But if

existence and freedom are dear to you, if you are fond of that glory, that follows the happy success and makes a hero of him who has contributed to it, be and remain unanimous, embrace yourselves like brothers strayed but for a while.

Show to each other the common intent and towards this turn all your efforts, all your doings. Sons of St. Jhon! scattered Commoners! unite yourselves to the Carbonari! United by natural disposition, by oath of institution, by passions, by wishes, don't spoil the fairest work that has for ever been undertaken. All free men from pole to pole must have no enemy but the wasters and arbitrators of humanity: as long as they watch and continue in their deeds of oppression, it would be an unpardonable crime to forget them, even for an instant, in order to apply ourselves to other contentions and quarrels, to create new foes. Our cause is universal, difficult and dangerous; it cannot prevail but for untamed unanimity, for admirable firmness and for inalterable perseverance. Do not lose these essential characters. To whatever land you belong, stretch out your hands and tie a chain of brotherhood, that may never be broken. Do not grieve your brethren with the scene of a mournful and shameful dissension. Do not keep in your bosom the snake of suspicion.—From the very moment that its poison will be spread upon you, you shall remain slothful, and immovable—and when perceiving your fault you shall try to efface it, it will be perhaps too late—Swear then by your country, by the long endured tortures, by the bitter tears, which for so many centuries have been shed, and by future Liberty, to consecrate yourselves wholly to our sacred cause, swear that it shall be the object of your thoughts, the name, the guide of your actions and the happiness, the recompense of your labours.

Time is fecond with events: combinations may be complicated and multiplied into a thousand ways; who knows what circumstances may be produced? Perhaps an important epoch is approaching: perhaps a moment may arise; but this will pass inobserved, if we are divided in thought and doing. Let us prepare ourselves! At length we must be taught by the experiment of misfortune. Let us not forget the past, let us not waste the present and renounce to the future.—Union! Union! Union! May this be our last word. Without this nothing is possible, with this nothing impossible.

G Mtre
Marte

(The heading and the signature are in Doria's handwriting. His pseudonym in the Carboneria was Marte. The circular was drafted by and is in the handwriting of Mazzini.)

APPENDIX III (Continued).

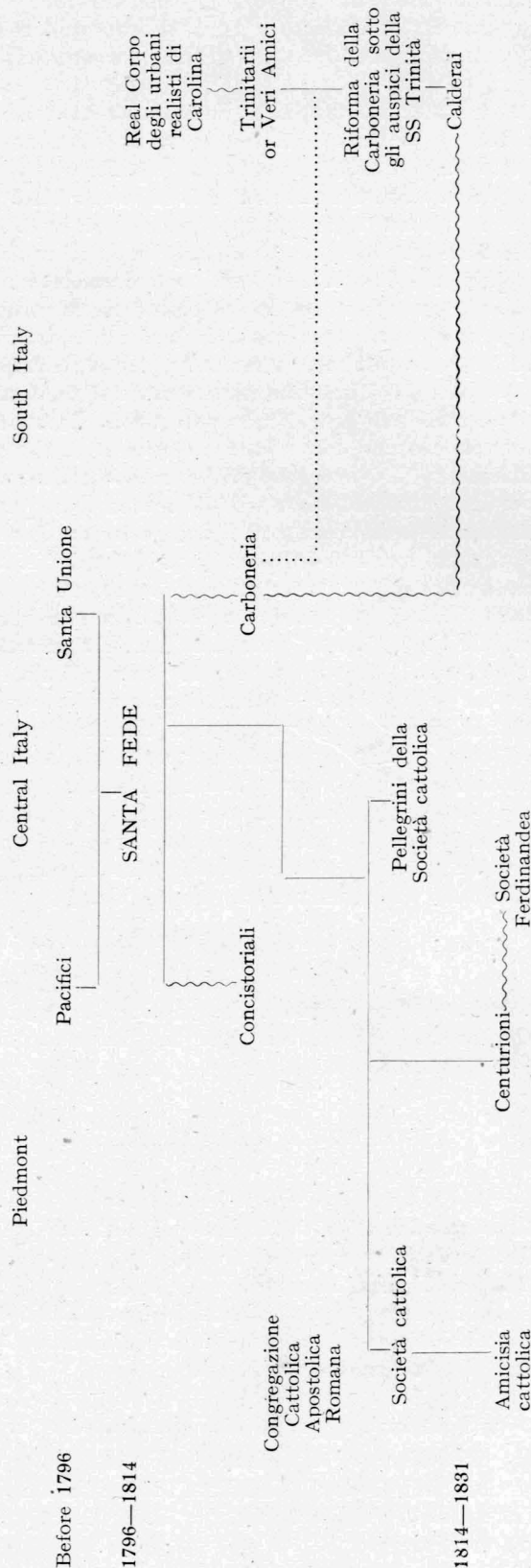
A. Original authorities for the Carboneria.

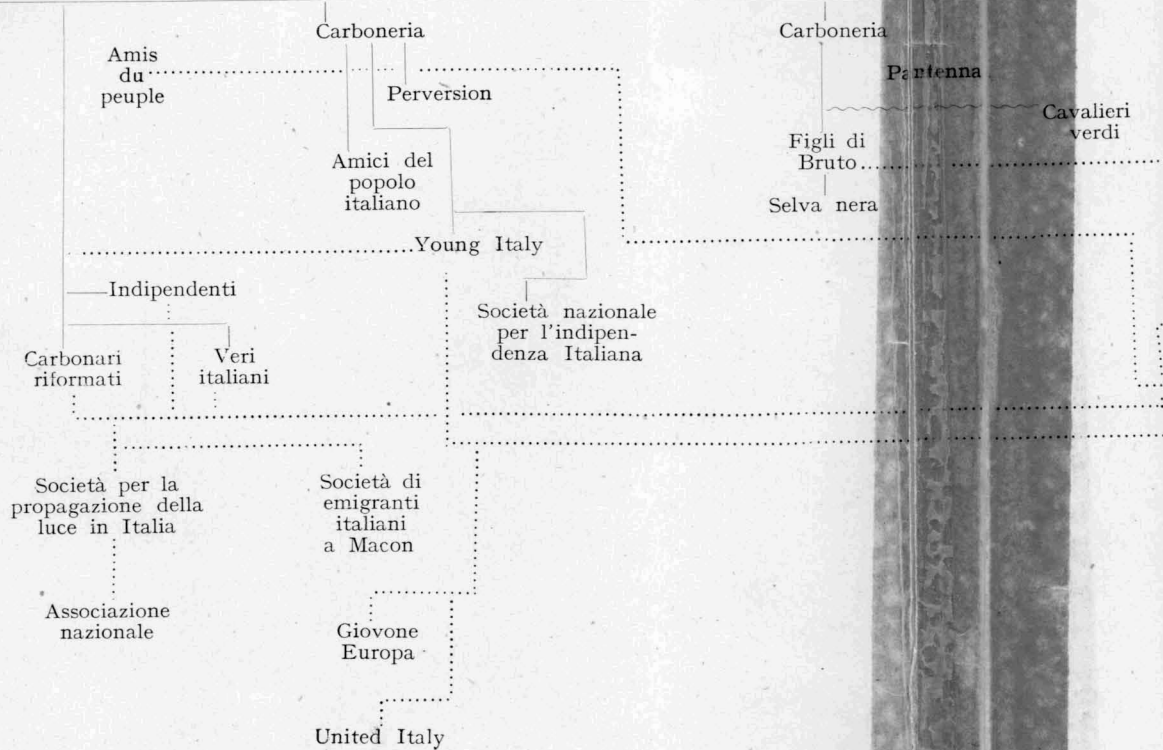
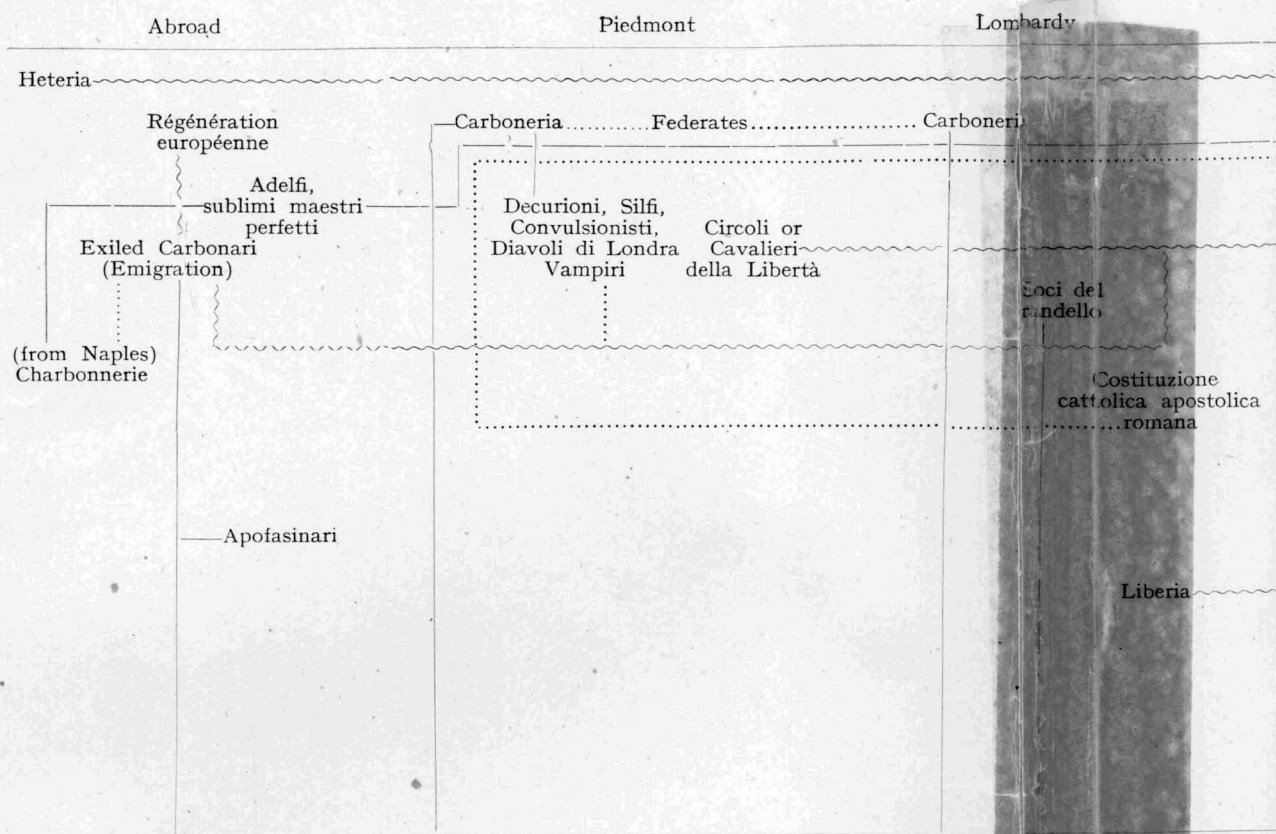
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B. Original authorities for the period and incidentally for the Carboneria.

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- Mazzini. *Life and Writings*. Smith, Elder & Co. London, 1864. In London Library.

REACTIONARY SOCIETIES.

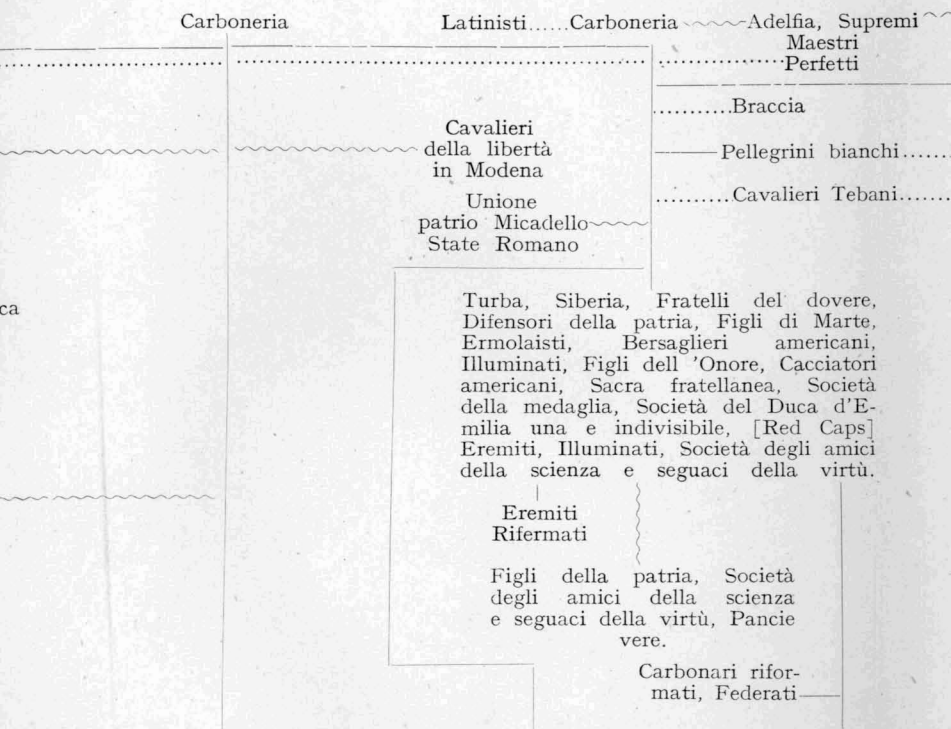




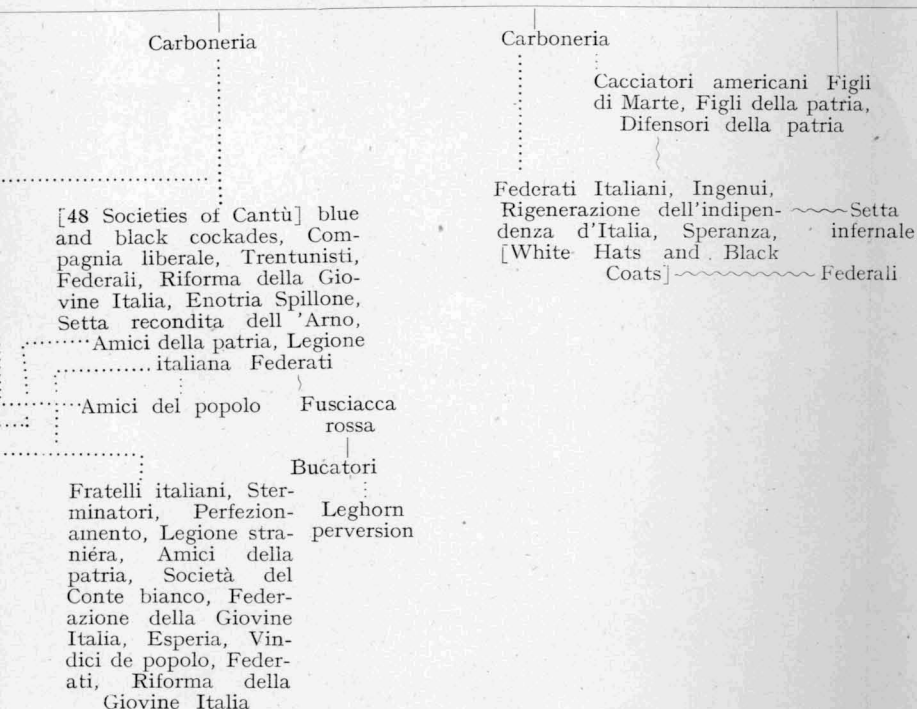
REVOLUTION OF 1821.

TUSCANY

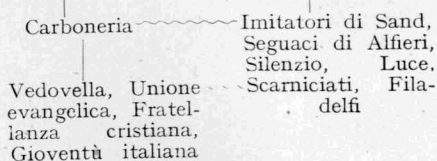
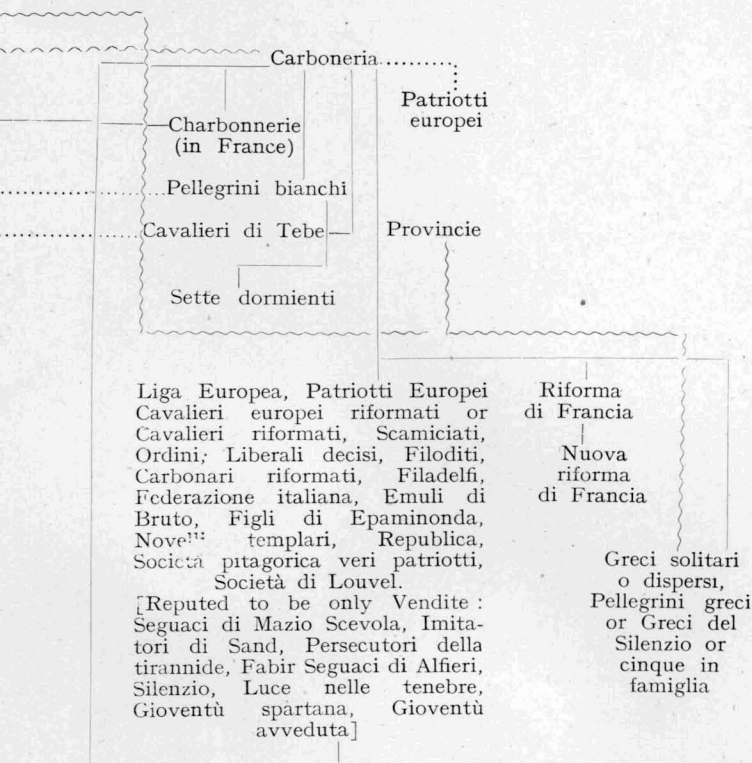
PAPAL STATES



REVOLUTION OF 1831.



South Italy



- = Direct descent from the Carboneria
- = Direct connection with the Carboneria
- ~~~~~ = Probable connection with the Carboneria

Montanelli. *Memoires sur l'Italie*. Chanerot. Paris, 1859. In London Library.

Rosati. *Carlo Alberto di Savoia e Francesco IV d'Austria d'Esse*. Albrighi e Segati. Rome, 1907. In London Library.

C. *Works on the Carbonari and other secret societies.*

A.Q.C., vol. xxxii. *Origin of the additional degrees*. By Bro. Tuckett.

Bacci. *Il libro del Massone italiano*. Vita Nuova. Rome, 1822. In Grand Lodge Library.

Perreux. *Au temps des sociétés secrètes*. Hachette. Paris, 1931.

Webster. *Secret Societies and subversive movements*. Boswell. London, 1924. In S.R.I.A. Library.

Do. *World Revolution*. Do. do. do.

D. *General Works.*

A.Q.C., vol. xviii. *Ragon*. By Bro. Songhurst.

Blanc. *Histoire de dix ans*. In London Library.

Do. *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*. A. Lacroix et Cie. Paris, 1880. In London Library.

Berkeley. *Italy in the making*. Cambridge University Press. 1932. In London Library.

Cesaresco. *Italian characters*. In London Library.

Giglioli. *I Giglioli di Brescello*. Albrighi, Segati & Co. Milan. 1935.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to Bro. Radice for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. Ivanoff, seconded by Bro. Edwards, comments being offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. W. I. Grantham, W. J. Williams, J. Heron Lepper and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. B. IVANOFF said:—

We have heard the concluding part of Bro. Radice's paper on the Carbonari. This paper is the outcome of a truly great work of historical research. In the five parts of it he gave us not only a mass of carefully studied and scrutinised facts which had not been known to most of us, but also a clear and detailed picture of the ethical, religious and political aspects of that most prominent, active and widely spread organisation among the many Secret Societies that sprang up into being in Europe in the beginning of the nineteenth century. In addition to giving a very valuable contribution to our own knowledge and records, Bro. Radice, by writing this paper, has rendered a service to the English speaking students of history in general, as, to my knowledge, it is the first serious research work on the Carboneria ever published in English.

I said that the Carboneria was an organisation very widely spread at the time. In this connection I should like to mention that in some books I read about the movement of the Russian Dekabristes which came to such tragic end in December, 1825,—a fact that gave them their name ("Dekabr" is December in Russian)—they were sometimes referred to as the Russian Carbonari. No doubt you know that after the prohibition of Freemasonry by Emperor Alexander I in 1822 because it had become too political, some of the Russian masons started that movement, the principal aims of which were to obtain: liberal reforms for the Country, the abolition of serfdom and a strict limitation of the Emperor's powers by establishment of a Constitutional and Parliamentary

Regime instead of the Absolute Monarchy. I have never seen any explanation as to why they were called Russian Carbonari. Was it only because their aims were similar to those of the Carbonari or because they were inspired and directed by the Carbonari from abroad? I wonder if Bro. Radice, in his studies, has come across any facts establishing a definite link between the Carbonari and the Dekabrist.

As I have already had an opportunity of speaking about Bro. Radice's paper on another occasion, I shall not take much more of your time. I want only to repeat that I am full of admiration for his skill and industry and of gratitude to him for having undertaken and so successfully accomplished this enormous work of research, as well as for having presented the results of it to us in such lucid and interesting form. The same feelings can be found in the numerous comments and remarks made by various other brethren after the reading of the preceding parts of Bro. Radice's paper. I am sure they are shared by everyone who has read or heard it, and I know, therefore, that the vote of thanks to Bro. Radice which I have the privilege and pleasure to propose will be welcomed by all the members of the Lodge as an expression of our unanimous, sincere and deep appreciation.

BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

We have again to thank Bro. Radice for another instalment of an interesting and valuable contribution to the history of Secret Societies. As this instalment deals chiefly with matters of a political or historical character, perhaps I may refer to one or two questions to which it has given rise in my mind. One is that which so often occurs in the biology of politics as to how and in what particular circumstances revolutionary movements arise, how they develop and how in some cases the moderate, and in others the extreme, elements become the dominating and effective force. From this point of view a contrast and a comparison between the Russian Revolution of 1917, in which the extremist minority prevailed, and that of the Carbonari, in which, as Bro. Radice points out, the moderate party ultimately became effective, would be of great value. Perhaps the success of the moderates may have been due to the fact that at a later stage opportunity was given for them to combine with the other forces in Italy and with the military prowess of Garibaldi and the subtle statesmanship of Cavour, and to see the realization of, at any rate, some of their ideas under Victor Emmanuel.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER *writes*:—

The paper we have just heard brings us to the end of what Bro. Radice has modestly called "An Introduction to the History of the Carbonari", and for my own part I can do little more in the way of comment than reiterate my admiration of the scholarship and industry that have rendered this great achievement possible.

In following the course of the Carboneria in Italy, from its first appearance there as a side degree given in a French military Masonic Lodge, a degree that possessed no special symbolism or charm to render it more attractive than others propagated by the same means, to its final disappearance as the result of its gradual loss of all vitality and purpose, the philosopher will find ample matter for reflection. This much is certain: in the days of its full vigour the Society was a great power, whether for good or evil is a matter for argument, and what it helped to accomplish still stands as a United Italy.

It seems worth reiteration that during its career the Carboneria assumed as many shapes as Proteus. How greatly most of these differed from the original pattern Bro. Radice has taught us. What's in a name? Well, the name in Italy stood for any secret association that was "agin the Government". Let it go at that.

Was Daniel O'Connell a Good Cousin? I very much doubt the possibility of this. For long years he had been the leader of those who fought for Emancipation by Constitutional methods and had been frustrated by secret societies, bitterly opposed to one another, but equally hampering to his efforts. The very name of a secret society was anathema to him—in his public utterances at any rate. It is hard to see what he could have expected to gain from the Carboneria, or the Carboneria from him.

Was there any connection between the Carboneria and Illuminism? From the evidence presented by Bro. Radice we are led to suspect a similarity of aim; but in this matter I should like to quote a passage that still expresses my opinion, though written ten years ago:—

"Other writers have traced a continuity of Illuminism in every revolutionary event that has happened in Europe from 1789 to the present day; but in so far as this theory connotes any unbroken 'laying on of hands' from Weishaupt to Lenin, it would seem to be far-fetched, and unproven by any evidence hitherto produced.

"But is not the converse position equally untenable? That Weishaupt and his associates had no influence on the course of the world beyond their own day, and but little in that? Let us hearken to a reluctant parable from Heine, the poet of revolt, who dreamt that he was being followed about everywhere by the shadowy form of an executioner carrying an axe, and that when he challenged the spectre to say what it was and why it dogged his footsteps, the answer came: 'I am the deed that follows on your thoughts'.

"Thoughts, even as flames spreading through a city, can leap over barren spaces to material ripe for the burning, and during the last four hundred years have become more indestructible than ever in the written word; nor is there anything impossible or too fantastic in the suggestion that the bold speculations of the Illuminati may from time to time have caught the attention of those spiritual brethren of theirs who have in various epochs and divers countries been seeking to change the moral and civil bases of society, and caught it, moreover, without the intervention of any secret association to preach the lesson, a printed page being quite potent enough for the purpose."

Men pass and vanish, but their ideas remain.

Once again I tender my own personal gratitude to Bro. Radice for all the time and trouble he has spent for the increase of our knowledge.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

We have now before us Part V of this Introduction which is now completed. It will, I think, be regarded by the Brethren as one of the very best efforts made for the Lodge during the 50 years and upwards of its existence.

The great mass of material brought together by the essayist covers a period of the most complex happenings during a fairly long and crucial period of Italian history.

The chequered character of Italy's history still continues, although the Carbonari have long since finished their course. They certainly did infiltrate

their own country to some effect. The narration undoubtedly is the longest of any particular essay printed in our *Transactions*, and yet this testifies to the great and skilful labour Bro. Radice has concentrated upon his complicated subject.

I have in previous comments spoken highly of the ability displayed to such advantage. Little, if anything, is left to be added by those Freemasons who may hereafter consider the subject and its relation and striking contrasts to and with Freemasonry. The divergencies are numerous and fundamental; the similarities are merely superficial.

When speaking on the matter in Lodge, I ventured to commend Bro. Radice for the judgment he had shown in refusing to be drawn aside into irrelevant avenues which might have enticed some of us from the actual subject of the paper.

I confirm my previous remarks on his work and cordially join with those who have unanimously supported the vote of thanks moved from the Chair.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The study of the Carbonari suggests that a political secret society has very little value for educational purposes. Its chief value is that it brings together those with similar views and aspirations. It may have a purpose according to its rules, but it is the enthusiasm of the individuals who join it that decides what work is done.

The methods of the Carbonari who tried to govern the mass by restricting knowledge to a small inner circle is really a survival from the old Guild practice. In the mediæval guild it was a small body of masters who governed, the men paying to be governed. It suggests a phase of thought that some of us find difficulty in visualising. The great change in Freemasonry when it entered upon its popular career was in the substitution of a lodge which elected a master for a master who owned and summoned a lodge. It may be true that the thinking is still done at the top and that the rank and file acquiesce in the arrangement, but the troops choose the officers, and blind obedience is not the basis on which the organisation is built up.

A history of "Freemasonry" in which the term was interpreted as freely as "Carbonari" would perhaps bring into the limelight defunct secret societies which would surprise us in the scope and tenour of their activities. But perhaps they could not vary more from Freemasonry than some of Bro. Radice's sects varied from charcoal burning.

Bro. RADICE, in reply, *writes*:—

The W.M.'s remarks about the Dekabrists are of great interest. I am not aware of any direct connection between the Society of the Carbonari and the Russian Sect, but there must have been an indirect connection. As I have stated on page 151, Count Confalonieri actually prophesied that a rising would take place in Russia in 1825. It was that of the Dekabrists. Confalonieri was, therefore, aware of the Russian movement. The Dekabrists seem to me to have been the Russian counterpart of the Carboneria, to have risen in similar circumstances and to have cherished similar aims. They may have modelled themselves on the Carbonari and may have been influenced by their ideas. In fact, they were one of the national liberal societies which were more or less under the direction of the revolutionary centre in Paris, which formed the link between them.

It is difficult to answer Bro. Edwards' very interesting comment without diverging far from my subject. The Italian movement stands out in sharp contrast to both the French and Russian revolutions. One of the reasons may be that the social and economic evils which led to those tremendous explosions had been already eradicated to a large extent as a consequence of the irruption of the French Republicans into Italy before the Italian movement began. That movement was, therefore, national and constitutional rather than social and economic, though social and economic grievances no doubt, and the hope of their reform, gave powerful support to the political reformers. This may explain its moderation and the failure of the extremists to seize control.

As regards Illuminism, I see no reason at present for dissenting from Bro. Heron Lepper's views. As I said before, a study of the European secret societies in the early part of the nineteenth century is badly needed, and I only hope that some time in the future Bro. Heron Lepper will undertake the task.

Bro. Williams' and Bro. Bullamore's comments need no reply.

I will conclude with a few final remarks. First let me thank once again all those Brethren who have helped me with my task and all those who have encouraged me with their kindly criticism. Especially do I wish to thank Bros. Songhurst and Vibert, now no longer with us, and Bros. Heron Lepper and Rickard. I have called my paper an "Introduction", not from modesty but because that is what it really is. Although I have consulted about 150 works, these constitute but a small portion of the material which should be examined for a complete history. A research thus restricted can produce only partial results; there are many lacunæ to be filled up and too many facts still to be checked and collated before a work worthy of the name of a "history" can be written. I have been careful to give in every case the source of my information so that future students may find it easier to confirm or reject my conclusion as their researches throw more light on the reliability of the authorities on which they are based. That many of these conclusions will be altered I have no doubt. I have never had much sympathy for those who, in order to maintain a spurious appearance of infallibility, have preferred to avoid stating any definite opinion, lest that opinion be upset later on the discovery of fresh evidence. I have preferred to state what, on the evidence available, seemed to me to be the truth, and, if my judgments have to be corrected as the result of future study, I certainly shall be the first to rejoice. My essay is very far indeed from finality, it is but a beginning.



FRIDAY, 3rd OCTOBER, 1941.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, P.M., as W.M; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., S.W.; *Wing Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; and F. R. Radice.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. G. E. Arnold; J. S. Ballance; H. Johnson, P.A.G.St.B.; R. W. Strickland; C. S. Bishop; A. H. Wolfenden; A. F. Hatten; F. A. Greene, A.G.Supt.Wks.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; F. K. Jewson; *Capt.* F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.S.B.; H. E. Elliott; L. Veronique; L. G. Wearing; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; D. L. Oliver; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; A. F. Cross; G. C. Williams; and C. M. Giveen.

Also Bro. R. R. Newitt, Royal Gloucester Lodge No. 130, Visitor.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., Pr.G.M., Bristol, 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., Chap.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; David Flather, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Telepneff; Douglas Knoop, M.A., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., I.P.M.; B. Ivanoff, W.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., J.D.; H. C. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.; R. E. Parkinson; Geo. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Sup.W.; and Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

Bro. Lewis Edwards, M.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.R., 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. Ruddle was re-elected Tyler.

Ten Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The following paper was read:—

THE LODGE OF LIGHTS No. 148.

BY BRO. J. ARMSTRONG.



HIS is the oldest Lodge in Warrington and the third oldest in West Lancashire; the other two being St. George's Lodge of Harmony No. 32 in Liverpool, warranted in 1753, and Lodge of Loyalty No. 86 in Prescott, also warranted in 1753.

Although no connection has as yet been found between the Lodge of Lights and Elias Ashmole's 1646 Lodge, yet Freemasonry was probably practised here between 1646 and 1765, when the Lodge of Lights was founded, for we had at least seven Founders, who, so far as we know, were local men, and who therefore must have learned their craft in the district.

The Founders were—Richard Higginson, Henry Mather, Benjamin Yoxall, Joseph Lawrenson, John Kendrick, James Worrall, and Thomas Phillips, all of whom, except Joseph Lawrenson, James Worrall and Thomas Phillips, served as Master.

The Lodge was warranted on 8th November, 1765, and was then No. 352 on the Register of the Premier Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns"). Unfortunately the Minute Books of the Lodge from 1765 to 1790 are missing, but we know from Grand Lodge records that it met in various places and under various numbers until it received its name "Lodge of Lights" in 1806, and its number, 148, in 1863.

The following is a list of meeting-places, dates and changes of number:—

1765	Golden Fleece Inn, Buttermarket Street ...	352
	(about where the Empire Picture Palace now stands)	
1769	Lingham's Coffee House, Horsemarket Street ...	352
	(now converted into a shop)	
1770	Woolpack, Sankey Street ...	289
1780	(number changed to)	231
1782	(number changed to)	232
1786	Swan Inn, Bridge Street (now demolished) ...	232
1792	(number changed to)	198
1797	Golden Fleece Inn (second time) ...	198
1806	Golden Horseshoe and Grapes, Horsemarket Street (opposite Pig Hill, now demolished) ...	198
1814	(after the Union of the two Grand Lodges) ...	246
1820	Bear's Paw, Buttermarket Street (near Market Gate, now demolished) ...	246
1825	Waggon and Horses, Buttermarket Street (opp. Academy Street, now reconstructed) ...	246
1832	(number changed to)	173
1836	George Inn, Bridge Street (where Boot's, Cash Chemist, now stands) ...	173

1839	Bull Inn, Horsemarket Street (now demolished) ...	173
1842	Nag's Head, Sankey Street (now demolished) ...	173
1858	Blackburne Arms, Market Place ...	173
1863	Returned to Private Rooms, Nag's Head ...	148
1893	Masonic Rooms, Bold Street (formerly Officers' Mess, Lancs. Militia) ...	148
1921	Lion Hotel, Bridge Street ...	148
1933	Masonic Hall, Winmarleigh Street ...	148

At first the Lodge was known by its number, though sometimes referred to as the "Warrington" Lodge; but in 1806 permission was granted by Grand Lodge to call it the "Lodge of Lights."

About the beginning of the nineteenth century the original Warrant of Constitution, granted to Lodge No. 352 (now 148) on 8th November, 1765, was "either mislaid or improperly detained," but a Renewal Warrant, a copy of the original, was granted by the Prov.G.M. in 1808, and now hangs in the ante-room of the 148 suite at the Masonic Hall; and under this the Lodge worked until 1863, when a Warrant of Confirmation was granted by the United Grand Lodge.

In 1865 the Lodge had met continuously for 100 years, and application was made to Grand Lodge for permission to wear a Centenary jewel. At that time there was no standard Centenary jewel as there is now, and each Lodge chose and submitted for approval a jewel of its own design. Altogether there were only 42 of these special jewels authorised by Grand Lodge, and of these only two came to West Lancashire, the other Lodge to have one being the Lodge of Loyalty No. 86, Prescott.

Royal Arch Masonry has been practised in Warrington from a very early period, as the following extract from a Minute Book of the Anchor and Hope Lodge No. 37, Bolton, shows:—

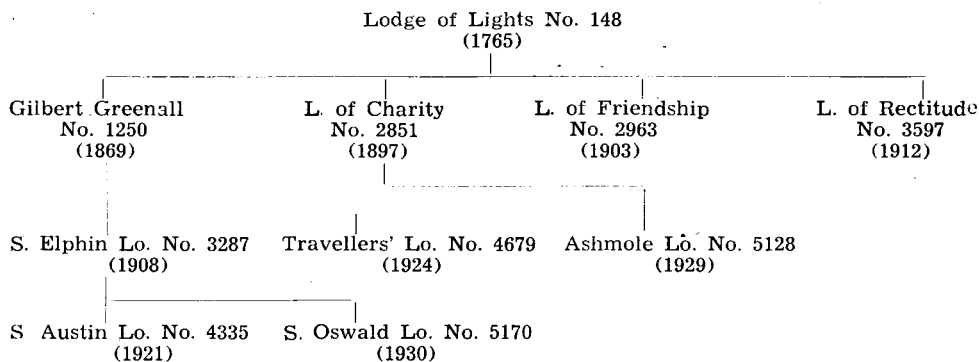
"31st Dec. 1767 Expences at Warrington in making three Arch Masons, viz: Thomas Ridgway, Barlow and Rhodes . . . £1 - 11 - 6"

It is known, of course, that some R.A. working was incorporated with the Craft ritual, and that amongst the "Ancients" a special degree was made of it; but, so far, no evidence, documentary or otherwise, has been found, which would establish as a fact, that a R.A. Chapter existed in Warrington prior to 1796. After that date we are on safe ground, for in 1796 the Chapter of Benevolence No. 98 was warranted by the "Blayney" Grand Chapter, and met on Sundays at the Bear's Paw Inn. This Chapter was erased in 1861.

There was also a Chapter in connection with the Lodge of St. John No. 322 (afterwards joined to the Lodge of Lights) and in all probability, an irregular R.A. Chapter connected with the secessionist Lodge of Knowledge No. 5 under the Grand Lodge of Wigan. Officers' jewels in cast brass, which probably belonged to this irregular Chapter, are in the display cabinet at the Masonic Hall.

Then in 1866, the following Brethren of the Lodge of Lights—Bros. H. B. White, John Bowes, Shaw Thewles, Gilbert Greenall, Joseph Maxfield, G. J. Higginson, J. F. Greenall, B. P. Coxon, H. Syred, W. Smith, J. Nixon Porter, Chas. Pettitt, J. H. Beckett and Wm. Rigby applied for and obtained a Warrant to found a new R.A. Chapter to be called the Elias Ashmole Chapter No. 148.

During its long life the Lodge of Lights has helped in, or sanctioned the formation of many other Lodges in Warrington and District. Its direct descendants are:—



In addition, the old Lodge has been instrumental in founding the following :

The Lodge of Harmony No. 705, Knutsford; warranted June, 1818; erased December, 1851.

Lodge of Love and Harmony No. 852, Winsford; warranted December, 1830; erased December, 1851. This was the Lodge which bought the furniture of the old Lodge of St. John No. 322 after it had combined with the Lodge of Lights.

Lodge of Faith No. 484, Ashton-in-Makerfield; warranted July 1842.

Ellesmere Lodge No. 758, Runcorn; warranted 9th October, 1858.

Marquis of Lorne Lodge No. 1354, Leigh; warranted 16th March, 1871.

Makerfield Lodge No. 2155, Newton-le-Willows; warranted 8th April, 1886.

HISTORY OF THE LODGE OF LIGHTS FROM THE OLD MINUTE BOOKS.

As previously mentioned, the first Minute Books of the Lodge (*i.e.*, 1765-1790) are missing, and the first meeting of which we have any record was on—

“Nov. 28th, 1791, when Josiah Lea (who was an Innkeeper) was W.M., others present being Bros. Holmes, Wainwright, Goodwin, J.W., Simmons, S.D., Kay, J.D., Secy and Treas., Willson, Mather, Jackson, Nickson, P.M., Birchall, Keckwith and Worthington, Tyler. A lecture was given on the first step of Masonry by Bro. Holmes. James Allen and Joseph Leather were raised (initiated) to the first Degree.”

At that meeting the Brethren also agreed that as St. John's Day would fall on Tuesday, 27th December (*i.e.*, the day after the Regular meeting), they would meet at 11.0 o'clock to celebrate the day. Dinner ordered for 14 brothers at 1/6.

At the Regular meeting on 26th December, 1791,—

“Bro. Newton was raised to the first and second degree of Masonry.”
and on the same evening, but separately recorded—

“Bros. Allen and Leather were raised to the second degree of Masonry.”

On the following day, Tuesday, the Festival of St. John, the Lodge met again—

“When a lecture was given by the W.M. on the 3rd Degree of Masonry and Bros. Allen, Leather, Newton, & Birchall were raised to the 3rd Degree.”

It will be noted that in two days Bro. Newton had been taken through the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd degrees. This, however, was unusual. Even in those early days the course of Masonry did not always run smoothly, as witness this extract from the Minutes of

"Apr. 30th, 1792. It is unanimously resolved this night by the Brothers attending, that T—— B—— (a late Brother), be for ever expelled this, as well as all other Lodges, for his behaviour in cutting (?) off his apron, daming the whole Lodge without aney just caus or provocation and ridiculing the same in different places, but particularly at Bro. Lays (*sic*) in a large company and refusing his summons, this to be communicated to ye Grand Lodge, to request their having him eraised, and notice be given to the different Lodges, not to suffer him to be admitted in future."

What came of this decision it is impossible to say, as the incident is never again alluded to. The Bro. Lay mentioned in it was probably Bro. Lea, an Innkeeper, and the other Lodges to be notified were probably those at Leigh, Prescott, and Wigan, from which visitors frequently came. The offending Brother was a coach proprietor.

Candidates for membership of the Lodge were then, as now, reported, that is proposed, but at the meeting held on 28th May, 1792,—

"Edward Alcock was balloted for and excepted (*sic*)."

No one is named as his proposer, but he sent the following petition:—

"Your petitioner, Edw. Alcock, begs to be come a member of No. 232, and am willing to make any concession the W.Master and Wardens and the rest of the Brethren think propper to accept."

The meeting on 4th January, 1793, is interesting for the following entry:—

"In pursuance of information from the Grand Lodge, the number of this Lodge is changed from No. 232 to No. 198."

This remained the number of the Lodge until the union of the two rival Grand Lodges in 1813; and in 1814 the number was changed to 246.

Up to now the degrees had been written as 1st, 2nd, or 3rd, but on 27th May, 1793,—

"Bro. Cropper was raised to the degree of a Master Mason, and Bros. Alderson and Milner were made Fellowcrafts."

At the meeting on 26th August, 1793,—

"Bro. Godfree was invited to attend Lodge."

This probably refers to Bro. Rev. Page Godfrey, Provincial Grand Orator, Cheshire, who no doubt was to be invited to give an address.

A rather interesting entry was on 30th December, 1793—

"Five Brethren (names given) gave notice to resign and become in future visitors."

Presumably subscribing members paid an annual subscription, while visiting members paid a fixed sum on the nights they attended.

On 27th May, 1793, Bro. R. C. was raised to the degree of Master Mason; but in the following March—

"Bro. K ——— fined 1/- for being in ——— (scratched out, but probably 'in liquor') Bro. R. C. fined in 4/8 for being in the same state and behaving several times disrespectfully in the Lodge,

contrary to the Bye-laws, and it is further required by the Master and Wardens, that he shall not only pay his fines but make a proper submission and concession to the Lodge the next Lodge night, or otherwise be expelled."

After some weeks delay—in May, 1794—

"Bro. R. C. this night delivered in his concession and agrees to pay his fines."

Bro. R. C. was, however, an unsatisfactory member. He was constantly in trouble for various offences—drinking, insulting behaviour, etc.—until at last in October, 1797, he wrote declining to be any longer a member of the Lodge; but it was not until January, 1798, that the following entry appears:—

"It was this night unanimously agreed (*nem. con.*) that R.C., late a member of this Lodge, for his certain infamous conduct in general, be for ever expelled this Lodge, *ipso facto*, and that he never be readmitted."

In those early days there were comparatively few of the members who were capable of working the ceremonies, and it was not uncommon for a visiting Brother to take part; for example:—

"This present 24th June, 1794, being St. John's, the members of this Lodge met to celebrate the Festival, when the Lodge was opened in due form on the 3rd degree, and Bro. Harpley gave a lecture upon the Temple."

Bro. Harpley was a member of the Caledonian Lodge No. 132, Liverpool, which lapsed in 1794.

Occasionally there seemed to be some difficulty in keeping order in the Lodge, for in July, 1794,—

"Bros. S. and C. were fined in 2d each for being too late."

And again in December, 1794,—

"Bros. S. and C. were fined 2d each for not behaving with due decorum in the Lodge by whispering to each other."

At the meeting on 27th April, 1795,—

"Bros. G. and M. were, by a majority of the members, fined five shillings each for breaking a jug, the property of the Lodge, and it was then ordered that Bro. G. be suspended this Lodge until next St. John's Day for refusing to obey the orders of the W.M., and that in the meantime, he shall make a proper concession in writing, for the same."

This Bro. G. did, and at the next meeting he was appointed J.W., though later on—

"Bro. G. was fined 2d for swearing."

The incident of the breaking of the jug is interesting, for the Lodge possesses three very old jugs, embellished with masonic designs, and one of these has been broken and bound together again with strips of metal; so it is probable that this was the one the two Brethren were fined for breaking.

There does not appear to have been, at this period of our history, any regular or organised subscription to charity, but in December, 1795,—

"Upon the motion of Bros. Kay P.M. and Mather S.W. it was agreed, *nem. con.*, that the members of the Lodge should (according to their abilities) contribute annually a sum towards the support of some public Charitable Institution."

As there is no further mention of this, it is not possible to say what the result was.

The problem of a rejected Candidate being initiated elsewhere is not new, for in April, 1796,—

“ Bro. Mather gave notice that next Lodge night, he intended to make a motion relative to future candidates, viz:—That if any person applying to be made a mason in Warrington Lodge, be rejected on ballot and shall afterwards go to some other Lodge, and be made there, such person shall be deemed unlawful and never to be either received by the Lodge or countenanced by the members thereof.”

This resolution was debated at more than one meeting but was probably withdrawn, as there was no mention of it being carried.

Although, as previously stated, there does not seem to have been any organised subscription to charity, yet the members could, and did, assist necessitous cases. In May, 1796, it was reported that Bro. Withnell had been seriously ill for eight months and that his wages had ceased. He had been recommended to go to Liverpool or Manchester Infirmary, but could not afford it. The Brethren therefore decided that he should be assisted, and Bro. Goodwin took him to Liverpool; but unfortunately he died, and was given a masonic funeral at Wigan; Brethren from Warrington, Wigan, and Ormskirk attended, and the funeral oration was delivered by Bro. J. Evans of Warrington. In this connection the following items from the Lodge Accounts are interesting:—

“ Repaid Bro. Goodwin his expenses taking our late	
Bro. Withnell to Liverpool	£1 — 10 — 8
Repaid to Bro. Wilson (Treasurer) for	
Bro. Withnell's relief	1 — 1 — 0
Paid to the Tyler for his journey to Wigan	3 — 0

Expulsion from the Lodge was occasionally threatened, but seldom enforced. In 1796, however, there were two cases. Bro. T. W. refused to pay his arrears or subscription, or to resign, and threatened to attend this, or the Wigan Lodge, when he liked, because, he said, he had not been put into office (for which, said the Minutes, he has never yet been capable). He was therefore expelled, and the Secretary was instructed to write to the Wigan Lodge, informing them of the fact. In the same year Bro. H. S. was expelled for trying to persuade a Candidate to join the Prescott Lodge rather than that in Warrington, and “speaking very indecently of the Warrington Lodge.”

There seems to have been some discord creeping into the Lodge at this period, for in September, 1796, we find the following:—

“ It was unanimously agreed that if any Brethren of this Lodge shall have any quarrel or disagreement, by which the Society shall be degraded, the same shall become the decision of a Lodge of Emergency, and the offending Brother shall pay the expenses of the evening, and it is agreed that the same shall become a rule in the Bye-laws of the Lodge.”

This method of smoothing over difficulties was not very successful, for further disputes arose, and twelve months later, in October, 1797, a Lodge of Emergency was called, to take into consideration the best and most effectual means of restoring due tranquility and unanimity to the members of the Lodge, and this resolution was passed:—

“ Resolved that Bro. Mercer of Wigan Lodge of Sincerity No. 402 should be called in as Umpire of such differences as at present subsist among us.”

Whether Bro. Mercer came or not cannot now be stated, for nothing more dealing with the above is recorded in the Minutes.

It has already been noted that visitors were sometimes invited to take part in the Lodge proceedings, and one of these, Bro. Thomas Garnett, Professor of Physics and Philosophy at Glasgow University, was invited to give a lecture on Astronomy at a special meeting, held on a Saturday; and it is recorded that—

“After the Lecture, the members present ended the evening with decorum and harmony and the Lodge was closed in due form at 11 o'clock.”

On the following day (Sunday), an Emergency meeting was called, when—

“Dr. Thomas Garnett and Edward Alcock were passed the Chair in due form, and the Lodge closed at 8 o'clock.”

At this period the Installation meeting was held in December, for on 27th December, 1796,—

“being the anniversary of St. John the Evangelist, the Lodge met to celebrate the same, when it was opened in due form at 12 o'clock at noon, when Bro. Wm. Mather was installed into the office of Master, Joseph Goodwin proclaimed Senior Warden, and Thomas Carter, Junior Warden, to serve for the ensuing six months.”

It was customary at that time for the Master and other Officers to serve for periods of six months between St. John the Baptist's Day in June and St. John the Evangelist's Day in December, though quite often the periods were extended.

At this meeting the sum of two guineas which had been collected for charity was voted to the Liverpool Infirmary, probably in recognition of what they had done for the late Bro. Withnell.

Since 1786 the Lodge had met at the Swan Inn, Bridge Street; but circumstances now arose which terminated their occupancy of these rooms. Monday, 30th January, 1797,—

“Bro. J. Evans, Secy, having requested the Tyler to get a little ink from the House, he accordingly requested the Landlady to furnish the Lodge with a little, to which the Tyler was churlishly answered, they had none. The Tyler suggested the idea of borrowing a little, to which he was also answered that they would neither lend nor borrow, consequently the Tyler returned without. The Tyler, being interrogated in the usual solemn form of masons, declared the above was true, on which it was considered by the above Brethren (*i.e.*, Bro. Wm. Mather W.M. J. Goodwin S.W. T. Carter J.W. T. Wilson P.M.Treas. J. Evans Secy, J. Leather P.M. H. Holmes P.M. J. Wainwright P.M. W. Simmons P.M. J. Williamson R. Cropper T. Bolton) that it was intended (among many former circumstances of a disrespectful nature shown to the Lodge) as an insult. On which it was agreed that the business should be fully discussed the next Lodge night.”

The question was discussed at the next meeting and in March—

“The Brethren, on account of the several inconveniences at the ‘Swan’ as well as several insults we have received from the House have unanimously agreed (*nem. con.*) that this Lodge be removed to the house of Bro. T. Cross at the ‘Fleece Inn’ in future, and that Bro. Alcock be authorised to remove the effects of the Lodge to the house of Bro. Cross.”

An entry in the Minutes for 31st July, 1797, throws light on the conditions obtaining at that period—

“Mr. S. B. of Burton Wood was this night intitated into the first degree of Masonry.

N.B. He was much intoxicated, but reprimanded for it, and counselled to come no more in that condition.”

It was about this time that Napoleon Bonaparte was threatening the peace of Europe, and one of the results of his activities may be noted in the following extract from the Minutes of the Lodge meeting held 26th March, 1798:—

“On reopening of this Lodge of the same evening and date (the Lodge had evidently been closed) it has been unanimously decreed, that an immediate application be made to his Grace the Duke of Portland, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and to the Rt. Honourable William Wyndham His Majesty's Secretary at war for permission to incorporate and arm, in defence of our excellent Constitution in Church and State, against its Foreign and Domestick Enemies.

J. Evans, Master, by Direction
of the Brethren present”

These letters were sent, for in the Lodge Accounts for that month it is noted “2 London letters 1/4.” What answer was returned is not recorded; but eight months afterwards we find that the opening of the Lodge was deferred, in consequence of the Master and several other members being on duty with the Warrington Loyal Volunteer Corps of Infantry (the old “Bluebacks”).

The fear of Napoleon, however, did not prevent the Brethren from meeting regularly, though, outside Masonry, there seems to have been a slight spirit of lawlessness, for two gentlemen of Knutsford were proposed, balloted for and accepted, but when invited to attend for Intitation they replied that they were busy, but that they might embrace the opportunity some other time. It was decided that they had defaulted, and apparently their proposer had to pay half-a-guinea for each.

This unfortunate event probably led the Lodge at a later meeting to pass the following:—

“It was this night unanimously resolved that every future candidate shall pay into the hands of his proposer, and such proposer shall pay to the Lodge, the full sum of Two Pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence, to be faithfully returned if not accepted on the Ballot, or such candidate shall not be admitted on report.”

As previously stated, the result of the request of the Lodge to incorporate and arm seems to have been that many Brethren joined the Warrington Volunteers, for towards the end of 1798 we read—

“This present Thursday, Nov. 29th, 1798, in consequence of the Master and several other members being members of the Warrington Loyal Volunteer Corps of Infantry, and being ordered to attend the Corps at the delivery of the Colours to the Ashton Volunteer Cavalry at Garswood, the seat of Sir Wm. Gerrard, Bart., on Monday the 26th inst. the opening of the Lodge was deferred till this night, when the Lodge was opened in due form on the 2nd degree at 7 o'clock.”

In this connection it is interesting to note that, in one of his books, *Walks about Warrington*, the late Wm. Beaumont, Esq., tells how the Warrington “Bluebacks” went to Garswood to attend the presentation of the colours to

a contemporary Corps, and that the Officer receiving the Colours made this short but pretty acknowledgment to Lady Gerrard, who presented them,—“ We thank your Ladyship for your kindness in presenting these Colours. We receive them with gratitude, we will defend them with fortitude, and if the French shoot away the silk, we will bring you home the poles”.

The old “Bluebacks” (so called from their blue coats) were disbanded in 1801; but, in 1803, another Corps, called the Warrington Volunteer Infantry, was formed. These, on account of their scarlet coats, were dubbed the “Red-breasts.” Then in 1859 the 9th Lancs. Volunteer Corps was formed.

In 1799 rather stringent laws regarding Secret Societies were passed by Parliament, but Freemasons’ Lodges were allowed to continue, provided that the names, addresses, etc., of all the members should be sent each year to the Clerk of the Peace, and this is still done. The following shows how this Lodge proceeded:—

“ Aug. 26th 1799. It was unanimously agreed on that the Master & Secretary of this Lodge should make the affidavit before some magistrate, that the members of this Lodge conform to the conditions mentioned in an Act of Parliament lately passed, for the better preventing of seditious & traitorous purposes.”

The nineteenth century began well, for at their first meeting the Brethren sent a donation of 21/- to the Grand Lodge Charity Fund. There were still, however, occasional differences; for example, two Brethren were suspended until they gave satisfaction for introducing a cowan into the Lodge-room.

In February, 1802, there is in the Minutes a very full account of the funeral of Bro. John Johnson, Innkeeper, giving the order of the procession—

Prescot Lodge No. 101

Leigh Lodge No. 301

Warrington Lodge No. 198

The Body

The Mourners

The members of the White Hart Inn Benefit Society

The following account is from the *Chester Courant* for 9th February, 1802:—

“ On the 26th inst. was interred at Warrington Churchyard, Mr. John Johnson, Innkeeper, with Masonic Funeral Solemnities, attended by the members of Prescot, Leigh and Warrington Lodges. A sermon was preached by Bro. Rev. Jeremiah Owen, the funeral was conducted by Bro. John Evans, the R. W. Master of Warrington Lodge with great order and propriety; he also delivered the Masonic Oration in a most solemn & impressive manner.”

The deceased Brother was J.W. of the Lodge.

Fortunately we, in these more enlightened days, do not get anything like the following happening:—At the meeting on 28th March, 1803, Bro. Holmes (who had been initiated three years before) took the chair because the W.M. “came intoxicated to the Lodge”, for which apparently he was suspended until the following May.

That there was not the fierce antagonism between the “Ancients” and the “Moderns” in the Provinces, as was shown by the Brethren in London, is shown by an entry on 25th July, 1803:—

“ It was also agreed upon that a Brother re-admitted from any ‘Modern’ Lodge, shall pay the sum of one pound one shilling. It was at the same time agreed upon that a Brother admitted from an ‘Ancient’ Lodge shall pay the sum of one pound eleven shillings and sixpence.”

Evidently the two groups of Brethren were coming closer together, though the union of the two opposing Grand Lodges did not take place until ten years later, in 1813.

On 25th June, 1804, Bro. John Webster, Schoolmaster, took the chair as W.M., though there is no evidence that he had served as Warden. He was, however, Secretary and Treasurer.

Even in the early days of the nineteenth century Grand Lodge had some Charity Funds, at its disposal, for, in 1805, application was made on behalf of a distressed Brother and the sum of Five pounds was sent for his relief.

The Lodge was still meeting at the Golden Fleece Inn, now kept by the widow of Bro. Cross; but in December, 1805,—

“It was unanimously agreed when Mrs. Cross removes (*i.e.*, from the Golden Fleece) to the Golden Horseshoe & Grapes, in the Horsemarket, the Lodge be removed there also, as the members of the Lodge are extremely obliged to Mrs. Cross for her particular attention to them.”

The following entry in the Minutes for May, 1806, is interesting:—

“A vote of thanks was given to our R.W.M. (Bro. T. K. Glazebrook) for his great attention and exertions in obtaining a new title from Grand Lodge viz:—No. 198 to be called the Lodge of Lights.”

Also this entry—

“The W.M. having applied to the Grand Lodge for permission to have the Lodge denominated the Lodge of Lights, an answer was duly received, conveying full denomination thereof, a copy of which follows.”

Unfortunately, though a space was left in the Minute Book, no copy was entered.

In 1806 a charge was brought against John Cross for introducing a number of boys into the Lodge Room and showing them the Lodge furniture. He said it was not intentional, as they were passing through and saw the Eagle, etc., which had not been locked up, as the cupboards were not ready. This John Cross appears to have been only a boy, probably the son or other relative of the Landlady. Another case which cropped up was against another boy who declared that he was concealed and saw and heard all that passed at a Royal Arch Meeting, and that he would shoot Mr. Worthington the Tyler. The boy was sent for, but now said that all he saw was like a military parade, when he sat at the street door, and that he said those things only to aggravate Mr. Evans (the Secretary). Bro. Glazebrook gave him a severe reprimand, and he said he would never do the like again. This account is interesting from the fact that the Eagle is mentioned.

There is in the Cash Account for 1800 an entry which reads—

“By paid for carving Eagle £2. 2. 0.;”

and, by the way, the Globes we now use were purchased about the same time.

The conduct of some of the Brethren still left something to be desired, for, on 27th October, 1806,—

“The Lodge was closed with love and harmony at 10 o'clock except that Bro. A. was disguised in liquor and nine times violated the Rules of Morality & of this Lodge by swearing, and Bros. K. and A. called for a bottle of wine for their own use.”

The Regular Meeting was not held in September, 1807,—

“on account of it being Bro. T. Hollingworth's Theatrical Benefit.”

Bro. Hollingworth was not a member of the Lodge, but attended as a visitor at the next meeting.

On 2nd May, 1808, the Prov.G.M. (F. D. Astley, Esq.) ordered a Provincial Meeting of Lodges in Manchester, and the Lodge requested the W.M., Bro. Evans, S.W., Bro. Alcock, and J.W., Bro. Goodwin, to attend. They did so, and afterwards reported that the Prov.G.M. agreed to grant a Renewal Warrant of Constitution in lieu of the original one which had been "either mislaid or improperly detained". Accordingly a formal request was signed by the majority of the Brethren and the Warrant was granted. This was an exact duplicate of the original, and now hangs in the ante-room of the 148 suite at the Masonic Hall. The Lodge worked under the Warrant until 1863, when it was pointed out that a Warrant was required from the United Grand Lodge of England, and the Warrant of Confirmation was obtained under which we are still working.

At this meeting also (30th May, 1808) a Brother Robert Barber, of Domestic Lodge No. 234, an "Ancient" Lodge, was admitted a member of the Lodge of Lights, he having promised allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England in due and regular form.

At the first meeting in 1809 there were only five members present, so they spent their time in

"desultory conversation on Masonry"

and the expenses of the evening were:—1 qt beer 8d., 1 glass rum & water 4d., punch 2/6, tobacco 1/6.

Freemasonry was evidently at a low ebb in 1809, for the attendances recorded are—January, 5 present; February, 5; March, 3 (but the Lodge was opened); April, 5 and 2 visitors; in May 6 were present, but they held an election of Officers (expenses 8/6 liquor 3/4 candles); June, for dinner 7 members and 3 visitors.

Perhaps it was this lack of interest which caused the passing of the following resolution:—

"It was this night agreed upon the motion of Bro. J. Evans (duly seconded) that future candidates be admitted members (if accepted) at the rate of £2-7-0 instead of £3-8-0 as heretofore."

As the registration fee, payable to Grand Lodge, was five shillings, the Initiation fee was thus reduced from three guineas to two guineas.

Apparently in those early days it was not the custom for each member to have a copy of the By-Laws, for in August, 1810,—

"It is ordered that in future the Bye-Laws of the Lodge be read every Quarterly night, say in the months of March, June, September and December, and at, or soon after, the Initiation of a new member, or the admission or re-admission of any member previously initiated."

Probably there was only one MS. copy kept by the Secretary.

In this year (1810) also a change was made in the night of meeting. The Lodge meetings had always been held on the last Monday in the month, but now—

"It is intended and moved that the future Lodge nights shall be the Monday on or before each Full Moon."

and the Secretary was instructed to make out a scale of the nights of meeting for the succeeding year and to deliver a copy to each member. The idea behind this change is obvious when we consider the bad unlit roads which the country members had to travel; but, as it was not successful, the Lodge two years later reverted to the original last Monday in the month.

The year (1810) was the Jubilee Year of the King (George III.), so the Brethren met to celebrate it—

“When after a very comfortable Dinner, the members again assembled in the Lodge Room and spent the remainder of the day in harmony and loyalty. The Lodge closed at 10 o'clock.”

In 1811 a list of members present was given:—

“Mr. Brown W.M., Holmes S.W., Goulden Treas., Evans Secy., Barber P.M., Alcock, Candlesnuffer Senr. Director 45°.”

What the last means remains a mystery; if intended as a joke, it is the only example to be found in the Minutes of the old Lodge.

In the books there are numerous entries of relief having been given to distressed Masons, some of whom are afterwards classed as rogues or imposters; but in 1812 the Brethren subscribed for the relief of Bro. T. of Leigh Lodge, who was a prisoner in Lancaster Castle (probably for debt).

The November meeting in this year was not held on the last Monday because—

“The Warrington Fair being to be held on Monday the 30th inst. which would greatly disturb the meeting of the members of the Lodge if held at that time, it was thought proper to hold the Lodge on the preceding Monday the 23rd inst.”

This would refer to the Horse Fair which used to be held, for at that time the Lodge met at the “Golden Horseshoe and Grapes” in Horsemarket Street.

There is little reference in the Minutes of the historical event, the Union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813, beyond a lecture on the Union preparatory pact given by Bro. John Evans, though one of the results of that union may have been thus recorded on 24th April, 1814:—

“When it was unanimously agreed that any future candidate shall, by his proposer, send a petition in writing of his intention to become a member, and that no such candidate shall be admitted on report or Ballot without such petition being first produced, and also the sum of one Pound as Deposit Money towards his Initiation Fee, which will be faithfully returned in case he shall be rejected; that every member requiring a copy of such Petition shall be furnished with the same on application to the Master or Secy. or such other person as the Master may request to do so.”

About this period the Lodge seemed to be again struggling to survive. At one meeting only two members attended, no Master or Wardens, and on a few occasions no meeting appears to have been summoned, possibly because there were no candidates; but in February, 1815, twelve members turned up for an Initiation, the House expenses being—2 bottles Rum 10/., Tobacco 10d., 3 quarts ale 2/., 2 glasses rum 8d.

In January, 1816, the Initiation Fee was again raised to three guineas, and later on we find—

“It was proposed and agreed that each member pay, every Lodge night 1/6, and in case of non-attendance, 3/- the following Lodge night, with the regular fine for non-attendance. It was further proposed that the expenses be settled regularly each night, and that all money received be, in future deposited in a box appointed for that purpose, and kept in the Lodge.”

Early in 1817 all the members in arrears were asked to attend “to say whether the amount is right or not”, for, according to the Lodge Accounts, the arrears of four of them were 12/., £1 - 13 - 6, 14/., 12/., while the next statement shows the arrears of three of them as £1 - 14 - 0, £1 - 6 - 0, and £2 - 5 - 6. There seems to have been some slackness in the disposal of the Funds, for, in

1811, the balance owing to the Landlady was £28-16-7½. Now, in 1817, Mrs. Cross seems to have been pressing for payment, as "the former amounts are so irregular and appears so dissatisfactory to the members that a ballance should be stated betwixt the Lodge and Mrs. Cross". Accordingly three members were appointed to interview the Landlady, and they succeeded in arranging a final balance in settlement of all claims.

The trouble with Mrs. Cross being amicably settled (the Lodge met at the same place for the next three years), the Brethren began to put the screw on to obtain funds, for on

"Dec. 29th 1817. Agreed that Bros. John Evans, Wm. Leather, Wm. Jackson and Geo. Green be suspended from visiting the Lodge, untill the arrears of their accounts be paid to the Lodge and that their names be not returned to the Grand Lodge as subscribing members untill some satisfaction be given on their behalf."

This seems rather to point to some disagreement between the Lodge and Bros. Evans and Green, for their subscriptions were paid up to the previous half year. Of the other two, one owed £1-19-9 and the other £2-5-6. None of these names appears again.

Another result of the Fair appears in the Minutes for July, 1818, when the meeting was adjourned as the room was required for use by the traders at the Fair.

In September of that year—

"Bro. James Asnip was raised to the sublime degree of Master Mason, after receiving the 1st and 2nd degrees at Lodge 248, Wigan. The above degree was given to Bro. Asnip by the particular desire and mutual consent of the Brothers belonging to 248, and quite agreeable to ourselves, he being resident in Warrington."

By the year 1818 the United Grand Lodge was getting a firmer grip on the Provincial Lodges, for we are told—

"In consequence of an order from the Grand Lodge that in future Registering Fees for Initiation shall be seventeen shillings including six and sixpence for a Grand Lodge certificate, it was unanimously agreed that the Initiation Fee should be advanced to Four pounds in future."

It is interesting to note that more than 100 years after this the registering fee to Grand Lodge is still seventeen shillings.

It is a pity that the information given in the Minutes at that early period was so brief and scrappy. Here is an Installation Ceremony—

"Dec. 28th 1818. Being the regular Lodge night the Lodge was opened on the 3rd Degree in Form at 6 o'clock, when the Officers elected the preceding meeting were duly enstalled to their respective offices. When after a most comfortable supper provided by Mrs. Cross according to order, and a comfortable evening spent in the greatest order, Harmony and Brotherly Love, the Lodge was closed in peace and Decorum at 11 o'clock.

Expences to Mrs. Cross	£2-0-0
„ „ Waiter	3-0-0

Although the number of members was small at this time, they seemed to be an amiable body of men, as witness—

"Feb. 22nd 1819. Though we were few in number (8 present) we are happy to insert this remark that we are extremely comfortable with each other, cheering that Brotherly Love which we hope will always continue amongst us in future."

Very often meeting after meeting went by when no particular business was transacted, but we do sometimes get an interesting entry, such as—

“July 26th 1819 when the W.M. in the name and on behalf of the Lodge, presented Bro. John McCall with a very elegant silver Past Master’s Jewel as a memorial and reward for his services and attention to the benefit and welfare of the Lodge &c., and which Bro. John McCall received in the most gracious and thankful manner, assuring the Lodge and Brethren that whatever lay in his power in future to contribute to their welfare should not be neglected.”

Bro. McCall had occupied the Chair for two successive years and had delivered many lectures, and the presentation was made six months after he had vacated the Chair.

About this time Mrs. Cross, the Landlady, died—

“June 26th 1820, when in consequence of the death of our late Landlady, (of the Golden Horseshoe & Grapes, Horsemarket Street) it was proposed and unanimously agreed that the Lodge, with the furniture &c. should be moved to the House of Bro. John Holmes, Sign of the Bear’s Paw, Warrington, at which the above resolution was notified to Mr. Thomas Malley (successor to the late & aforesaid Mrs. Cross) who immediately agreed and considered the removal as an act of Brotherly Love, existing in the Order (himself being not a mason) when it was agreed that the whole of the Furniture Cupboards &c. &c. should be removed without delay as a convenience to Mr. Thos. Malley and which was accordingly done the following day.”

The end of this year (1820) provides an example of rapid promotion when John McGinnis, aged 21, glass engraver, was Initiated in September, Passed, Raised and elected Junior Warden in October. He was then appointed Secretary, Senior Warden in 1825, and W.M. in 1826. This, of course, was very unusual.

An historical meeting was held in July, 1821, for, by particular request of the Committee appointed to celebrate the coronation of George IV.—

“the Lodge was opened on the 3rd degree at 10 o’clock and closed in harmony and brotherly love at 2 o’clock.

Present 15 members and 11 visitors.

The entry for June, 1822, is significant—

“No business of consequence—when after enjoying ourselves with Bro. Holmes’ good ale and punch, being St. John’s Day, the Lodge was closed at 11 o’clock, after a convivial evening spent in truly Masonic Harmony, Peace and Brotherly Love.”

Evidently a red-letter day.

There seems to have been, as yet, no really well-organised Masonic Charities, for, late in 1822 and early in 1823, the Brethren themselves assisted two of their fellows who were sick, and in one case excused his arrears, though in the next year, 1824, a member was expelled for refusing to pay up his arrears; at the time, this Brother was J.D. of the Lodge.

In December 1824, there occurred an entry which is probably unique in Lodge Minute Books—Bro. Wm. Titterington was installed W.M. and Bro. Richard Burrows was appointed S.D. Amongst the visitors, listed in the Minute Book as being present, were Ann Burrows and Mary Burrows. Whether these two ladies were related to the S.D. and whether they attended only at the dinner (as we may presume) it is impossible now to say.

In October, 1825, in consequence of Bro. Holmes of the Bear’s Paw going to reside in Liverpool, it was unanimously agreed that the Lodge should be

removed to the Waggon and Horses, which was accordingly done. The Landlord of the new meeting-place was John Cowman who was afterwards Initiated, Passed and Raised in the Lodge, and in 1826—

“It was proposed that Bro. John Cowman should be requested to accept the Office of Relief Master for the town, which was agreed. A deputation waited on Lodge No. 322 (the Lodge of St. John) stating the above which was unanimously agreed on by them, and much obliged to Bro. Cowman for accepting the Office.”

In the following year, 1827, a special dispensation was obtained from the Prov.G. Master to enable Bro. Cowman to hold office as S.W. (the Landlord of any Hotel or Inn where the Lodge meets may not hold office without a dispensation—B. of C. Rule 138).

The difficulties and expense of transport seem to have prompted this resolution in March, 1828,—

“When it was unanimously agreed that the Lodge shall pay one pound to the Officers and Brethren appointed to attend the Annual Provincial meeting, according to summons from Pr.G. Lodge.”

In the year 1829 the Initiation Fee was raised to Four guineas. In 1803 the fee was Three guineas, afterwards, owing to the dearth of candidates, reduced to Two guineas in 1809. Then in 1818, when the Grand Lodge fee was increased from six to seventeen shillings, the Initiation fee of the Lodge was raised to Four pounds which now, in 1829, was made Four guineas.

At this same meeting, that is December, 1829, it was decided to invite the Brethren of the Lodge of St. John No. 322 (the only other Lodge in the town) to attend the next Regular meeting for a conference. At this meeting it was proposed by the W.M.—

“that the Lodge of St. John No. 322 with the whole of the furniture, Warrant &c. should be joined to this Lodge of Lights No. 246. This was agreed.”

Hence in January, 1830, the two Lodges were amalgamated, and, as previously recorded, the Warrant of Lodge 322 was sold to form a Lodge at St. Helen's, which afterwards moved to Bury, and is now working as the Lodge of St. John No. 191, while the furniture was sold to the Love and Harmony Lodge No. 852, Winsford, which died out in 1851. Many of the members of the old 322 Lodge, including Bro. Joseph Stubbs (file manufacturer) and Bro. Thomas Eskrigge (cotton manufacturer) became subscribing members of the Lodge of Lights.

After this there seems to have been no interesting event until 27th August, 1831, for on that date—

“It was proposed that a meeting should be called on Wednesday evening next to take into consideration respecting joining the intended procession on Sept. 8th, being the coronation of King William the Fourth.”

Whether the Brethren took part in this procession or not it is impossible to say as there is no further mention of it in the Minutes. Perhaps it fell through as there were so few Brethren attending the Lodge at this period. In fact, it happened more than once that the Lodge was not opened on account of the scant attendance. For example, on 30th April, 1832, there were only six present—

“When, after an evening spent agreeably though few in number, we mustered (?) several songs and we drunk to our absent Brethren most cordially in hopes of better attendance.”

About this time Bro. John McCall, P.M. Secretary, died, and Bro. Samuel Astles, the W.M., took over the duties. Bro. Astles was a victualler, and the writing and spelling in the Minutes were poor, *e.g.* "the was" for "they were." Bro. Astles' tombstone in Frodsham Churchyard (of which we have a photograph kindly supplied by W.Bro. S. L. Coulthurst, P.Pr.G.D., of Helsby) is elaborately decorated with masonic symbols.

The Lodge of Lights now for a year or two was struggling along, never quite giving up, but apparently in low water, for on 31st August, 1835,—

"It was unanimously carried that no more than 6d. each shall be spent every Lodge night for every subscribing member."

and yet on 28th November, 1836,—

"It was agreed to send the M.W.G.Master the Duke of Sussex, a present."

This was evidently in response to an appeal from Grand Lodge for subscriptions, for in 1838 an elaborate silver candelabrum was presented to the Duke of Sussex to commemorate his completion of twenty-five years as Grand Master of English Freemasons. This candelabrum is now in the Masonic Temple in London.

Now follows an interesting and historic event for both the town and for the Lodge of Lights, for under a dispensation granted by Bro. John Drinkwater, D.Prov.G.M., the Brethren were allowed to take part in the ceremony of fixing the key-stone of the new Warrington Bridge over the River Mersey. They met at the National School in Church Street, the use of which had been obtained by Bro. Furnival (one of the managers of the school) and then assembled in full regalia, in front of the Market Hall where the order of procession was formed. Included in the procession were about 200 Blue-Coat Boys, dressed in blue velvet and walking two and two, Constables and the Deputy Constable, Churchwardens and Sidesmen, Gentlemen of the town four abreast, preceded and followed by music. A glass box containing gold, silver and copper coins was handed to the Deputy Grand Master, R.W.Bro. John Drinkwater, (acting for R.W.Bro. L. G. N. Starkie, Prov.G.M., who was unavoidably detained) who placed it in a cavity in the side of the key-stone, and fixed it with cement. This box is now in the Warrington Museum. The W.M. of the Lodge at that time was W.Bro. Joseph Stubbs, but he was evidently unable to be present and his place was taken by the S.W., Bro. Dr. Hall. The bridge, a handsome stone structure of three arches was built by Mr. Gamon of Knutsford, whose son, George, was initiated in the Lodge to enable him to take part in the proceedings. Following the ceremony there was a service held in the Parish Church, where the Rev. T. B. Bayne, M.W., delivered an appropriate sermon, and the Brethren adjourned to the Lion Hotel for dinner. Money was subscribed to give also the Blue-Coat boys a good dinner.

Several instances of rapid promotion in the Lodge have already been noted, but the following is noteworthy—On 26th December, 1836, Bro. J. H. Beckett (joining member in March, 1835) was installed W.M.; Dr. Edw. Hall (initiated in January, 1835) S.W.; and John Furnival (initiated in July, 1835) J.W.

Another change of address took place in January, 1831—

"It was unanimously carried that the Lodge of Lights No. 173 should be moved to the George Inn, Bridge Street."

No reason for this change is given, and the Minutes of this meeting are interesting also because the appointment of Stewards is mentioned for the first time. Usually the list of Officers ended with the Deacons. For some reason the Lodge did not stay long at the George Inn, for on 25th March, 1839, it was proposed that—

“A special meeting should be called to consider the propriety of paying Bro. F. Thorpe's charge of £2-2-0 per year for the rent of the Lodge and ante-rooms. Notice of motion was also given to move—‘that the Lodge be removed from the George Inn to some more convenient place.’”

At the next meeting, on 29th April, 1839, it was decided that the Lodge be removed to the house of Bro. J. H. Beckett, the “Sign of the Bull.” Two years later, however, in December, 1841, the Lodge was removed from the “Bull” to the Nag's Head in Sankey Street, again without any reason being given.

On 28th February, 1842, a code of by-laws was submitted for the consideration of the Lodge by Bro. Hunt, seconded by Bro. Barrow, and carried.

At the May meeting in the same year the Brethren were informed that the following resolution had been passed by Prov. Grand Lodge—

“That in future all Lodges not represented at Prov.G.L. be fined 20/.”

In October, 1842, it is recorded that—

“The W.M. and several members of this Lodge attended the first opening of the Lodge No. 711 at the ‘Horse and Jockey’, Newton.”

This was a daughter Lodge of the Lodge of Lights, warranted 6th July, 1842, and is now working as the Lodge of Faith No. 484, Ashton in Makerfield.

After this the Lodge seems to be again just existing with a struggle, many meetings being missed altogether, though the Minutes written by Bro. John Furnival were fuller than formerly, and we can gather that the ceremonies worked were very similar to those with which we are acquainted.

At an Emergency meeting held in May, 1845, the Lodge considered a letter—

“received from the Prov. Gr. Secy. of Devon stating that the G.L. had made a proposition for the increase of the contributions of Lodges in London District by one half, and in the Country District to double the present amount.”

The letter asked “as to the propriety of opposing the increase,” so it was decided that the Secretary should write to the G.L. to enquire into the allegation before any steps were taken. What reply was received or what further action was taken is not stated.

In July, 1846, the W.M., Bro. Joseph Perrin, and twelve Brethren of the Lodge attended a Prov. Gr. Lodge in Liverpool when Prince Albert laid the foundation stone of the Sailors' Home, and in the same year there was a curious entry—

“Bro. P. C. Haddock, Treasurer, was obligated and invested with the jewel of his Office.”

Although a code of By-laws had been adopted in 1842, as previously recorded, yet on 22nd February, 1847, Bro. James Bayley (who was a solicitor) proposed a new code of By-laws which were read seriatim and seconded by Bro. Hunt. Two years later there was a sequel recorded in the Minutes—

“Feb. 26th 1849. A bill having been presented to the Lodge from Bro. James Bayley, amounting to £7-7-0, being £5-5-0 for drawing up the Bye-laws and £2-2-0 for applying to the Clerk of the Peace to register the Lodge according to Act of Parliament, the Lodge took the matter into consideration and determined that, as Bro. Bayley had never been employed for either of the above purposes, but according to the recollection of all the Brethren then present, volunteered of his own accord to do the same, and himself proposed that the laws be past, that the Lodge do not consider themselves called upon to pay any part of the said bill.”

After this Bro. Bayley's name disappears from the list of members, and the final entry comes on 25th February, 1850, when it was decided that the sum of two guineas be offered to Bro. Bayley for the By-laws.

The meeting in August, 1847, is interesting because the rule for closing down in summer was initiated—

“Resolved that no meeting be held in the months of May, June, and July.”

In 1848 this vacation was unduly protracted, for there were no meetings between March and November.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the ceremonial working, for on 26th March, 1849,—

“Proposed and seconded and carried that a pair of trowsers be provided for the use of the Lodge.”

And an entry in the Cash Book shows these trowsers cost £1-1-0.

In August, 1849, “Bro. Bullough presented to the W.M. a hardwood common gavel” (probably the one now used by the D.C. at refreshment).

It has previously been observed that visiting Brethren were sometimes invited to work some of the ceremonies, as for example on 24th February, 1851—

“Bro. Thomas Johnson, P.M. and Secy. Lodge 711 (Lodge of Faith, Ashton in Makerfield—now 484) took the Chair and Raised two candidates.”

In January, 1852, the Lodge subscription was raised to 18/-; in June, the day of meeting was changed to the last Tuesday in the month; and in December the W.M. was elected by show of hands. The change in the day of meeting lasted only until June, 1854, when the Lodge reverted to the last Monday in the month.

The Lodge now enters upon a period of quiet prosperity, and in February, 1855, we have the last entry of the irregular practice of allowing a Brother to “pass the chair” to enable him to join the Royal Arch Chapter, at that time confined to P.Ms. The prosperity of the Lodge is shown by the number of candidates accepted. In 1852 there were three; in 1853, two; in 1854, five; in 1855, one; in 1856, thirteen; in 1857, six.

It was in this year, 1855, that the Foundation Stone of the Warrington Museum and Library in Bold Street was laid by Wm. Beaumont, Esq., who had been the first Mayor of Warrington after its incorporation in 1847. A procession was formed in the Market Square and proceeded to the site via Horsemarket Street, Bridge Street, and the Arpley Cannons; and the school-children from the day schools took part. Although Mr. Beaumont was not a member of the Craft and the occasion was not really Masonic, yet many of the Brethren took part, amongst them being Bro. Gilbert Greenall, Esq., M.P. An account in the *Warrington Guardian* for 22nd September, 1855, reads—

“Mr. Stinger, the Chief Masonic Officer, next proved that the stone was properly set, by applying the Plumrule and Square, which were handed to him by Bros. Geo. Haddock, R. Chorley and Joseph Chrimes.”

Of the Brethren mentioned, the name Mr. Stinger is a misprint for Bro. Robt. G. Stringer, who was W.M. of the Lodge of Lights, while Bro. Geo. Haddock was S.W. and Bro. R. Chorley J.W. After the ceremony the Masons had dinner at the Nag's Head, amongst the visitors being W.Bro. Joshua Walmsley, Prov.G.Secy.

A rather curious incident happened about this time. In May, 1856, Bro. Cartwright was Initiated, in July he was Passed, and the same evening proposed another candidate. In August he was Raised, and proposed yet another candidate. Of these two candidates only one went forward.

In November, 1857, a grant of ten pounds from the funds of the Lodge was given to the fund for the erection of the Liverpool Masonic Hall, but carried only by the casting vote of the W.M.

In 1858 the Nag's Head was closed for some reason, probably alterations, and the Lodge therefore moved to the Blackburne Arms, where they remained until 1863, when they returned to Private Rooms at the Nag's Head.

One of the many attempts to copy and pollute Freemasonry is mentioned in the Minutes of the Lodge, 31st October, 1859,—

“The Secretary reported that communications had been received relative to the holding of spurious lodges at Smyrna and at Stratford in Essex, and cautioning the Brethren against receiving members of such.”

The following is a copy of the letter from G.L.:—

Freemasons' Hall
London

24 October 1859

Dear Sir and W.Master

I am directed to inform you that it has come to the knowledge of the Board of General Purposes, that there are, at present, existing in London, and elsewhere in this country, spurious Lodges claiming to be Freemasons.

I herewith furnish you with a copy of a certificate issued by a Lodge calling itself “The Reformed Masonic Order of Memphis, or Rite of the Grand Lodge of Philadelphus” and holding its meetings at Stratford in Essex.

I am directed to caution you to be especially careful, that no member of such body be permitted, under any circumstances to have access to your Lodge, and that you will remind the Brethren of your Lodge, that they can hold no communication with irregular Lodges, without incurring the penalty of expulsion from the Order, and the liability of being proceeded against under Law 39 George III. for taking part in meetings of illegal secret societies.

I am further to request you that you will cause this letter to be read in open Lodge, and the copy of the certificate to be preserved for further reference in case of necessity.

I remain, dear Sir & Brother

Yours fraternally

(signed) Wm. Gray Clarke, G.S.

The letter was written on the back of a copy of one of the certificates issued by the irregular Lodge referred to. The certificate is printed in French and English, and purports to receive the candidate into Freemasonry. It is signed by the following:—

Le Ier Surveillant	...	...	Leman Stephanson
L' Orateur	...	...	John Stewart
Le Trésorier	...	...	C. Turner
Le Ven de la L	...	...	Robert Meekle
Le 2me Surveillant	...	...	David Booth
Le G. Expert	...	...	Stephen Smith
Le Secrétaire	...	...	William Cox

From now on the proceedings and ceremonies of the Lodge approximate more nearly to our modern usage. The Minutes are regularly confirmed and signed by the W.M., S.W., J.W., and Secy.; but they did not seem to mind missing a meeting, for in April, 1860, the regular meeting at the Blackburne Arms was not held, as the room was occupied by the Officers of the 4th Lincs. Militia.

It is interesting to note that in June, 1860,

“The Brethren dined in full dress costume.”

This may mean “evening dress”, for in December of the same year it is stated that

“The Brethren dined in Masonic Costume.”

The October and November meetings were abandoned—

“There were not sufficient members present to warrant the W.M. to open the Lodge.”

On 1st May, 1861, the W.M. read a notice from the Supreme Grand Chapter of the Royal Arch Masons of England, intimating that the Chapter of Benevolence No. 173, had, among others, been erased for non-payment of dues, etc. This was the old Chapter of Benevolence No. 98, warranted in 1796.

About this time much of the ceremonial work of the Lodge was done by Bro. James Hamer, Prov.G.Treas., who was elected an honorary member of the Lodge in 1862. The Hamer Benvolent Institution (named after this Brother) was founded in 1873 to provide annuities or grants for aged and distressed Masons of West Lancashire.

New By-laws were adopted in 1862, among the provisions being the following:—

Installation in December

Tyler to be paid one shilling and sixpence every time he attended a Lodge

Initiation Fee to be four guineas

Members disturbing the harmony of the Lodge after having been admonished by the W.M. three times, shall be excluded.

An incident occurred at the Regular Meeting held 29th December, 1862, which would be impossible now—

“When Bro. Woods was passed to the degree of F.C. by the Master Elect (Bro. H. B. White) who stood on the left of the W.M.’s Chair. The meeting then adjourned to the next day (Tuesday) when Bro. H. B. White was installed as W.M. and Bro. Gilbert Greenall, M.P., was raised to the 3rd degree by Bro. Thomas Wylie, Pr.G.Secy. acting as W.M.”

At an Emergency meeting held 14th January, 1863, the members decided—

“That the Lodge be removed (from the Blackburne Arms) to the private rooms in Sankey Street, which have been taken for the purpose, and which formerly formed part of the Nag’s Head Hotel.

In February, 1863, there is a Minute of peculiar interest, as it throws some light on the method of working—

“Mr. George Blackhurst, having been elected at the last meeting, was now initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry by the W.M., the W.Ts. being explained and presented and the Ancient Charges on Masonic behaviour read by the J.W. and the usual Charge delivered by the J.D. after which an original address was delivered to Bro. Blackhurst by the W.M. (Bro. H. B. White).”

Although the members, as a Lodge, took no official part in the celebrations on the marriage of the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII.), yet at the W.M.’s request, each member wore a white rosette at the Regular meeting, and the Lodge room was illuminated. The following is a newspaper description:—

“The Lodge of Lights No. 173 of the Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons which was unable to take any official part in the proceedings of the day—exhibited at the Masonic Rooms, Sankey

Street, which have lately been fitted up at considerable expense, an emblematical device of a very chaste and pleasing description. It was cut out of sheet iron, filled in with stained glass, and illuminated from the back. The device consisted of a Square and Compasses of variegated white glass in the centre, enclosing the number of the Lodge (which has been established nearly a century) in crimson. On the corners at the top were five-pointed stars, also in crimson, and underneath, the words, Lodge of Lights, in what was really a deep blue, but the operation of the gas-light and reflector combined gave the appearance of being constructed of silvered glass and had a pleasing effect. The illumination was designed by the W.M. of the Lodge (W.Bro. H. B. White) and carried out by Mr. Kertland of Winwick Road."

That there were some queer characters in the Lodge at that period cannot be denied, for an entry in the Minutes for June, 1863, reads:—

"A brother present, brought before the notice of the W.M. and Brethren assembled, the fact that Bro. ———, a member and P.M. of the Lodge, had, in a conversation with him, made use of language and threats to the following effect,

1st That Masonry is nothing but a cloak for d——d villainy.

2nd That it was nothing but humbug.

3rd That the Ob. is not binding—that he had no compunction in violating it, and that he would do so on every occasion.

4th That he would do all in his power to expose and prevent everyone he could joining Masonry."

It was decided to summon Bro. ——— to the next meeting, to give an explanation of those charges. At the next meeting Bro. ——— was present and apologised, saying that he did not remember using any such language, but if he did, he regretted it, and promised to be more cautious in future. It was then decided that his apology should be accepted.

At the July meeting, 1863, it was recorded that the W.M., J.W. and other Brethren were present at the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Manchester Masonic Hall. There was also a printed notice—dated 6th July, 1863—informing the Brethren that the Lodge number had been changed from 173 to 148.

An incident is recorded in the Minutes for 28th September, 1863, which would be impossible now. The W.M. was absent, a P.M. took the Chair and a candidate was passed to the 2nd degree by the J.W., who stood at the right of the acting W.M.

In May, 1864, there is a record of a practice which has probably died out. The W.M. distributed a number of "In Memoriam" cards, sent for the purpose by the widow of a member who had recently died. At this same meeting Bro. Wm. Smith, of the Lodge of Light No. 468, Birmingham, became a Joining member. (This Lodge is still working).

At another meeting this year a stranger was announced seeking admission, and Bros. H. B. White and J. Hepherd were deputed to prove him. They reported him to be a negro, quite incapable of proving himself to be a mason and evidently an imposter.

At the September meeting Bro. Gilbert Greenall, S.W., in person presented an oil painting, "Elterwater", to the Lodge. This picture was painted by Bro. Charles Pettitt, then Secy. and J.W., and now hangs in the Lounge at the Masonic Hall.

In December, 1864, the W.M. announced the presentation to the Lodge of a First Tracing Board which had been painted by Henry Woods, R.A., and presented by his father, Bro. Wm. Woods, S.D. This now hangs in the Ante-room of the 148 suite.

In November, 1865, the Lodge celebrated its Centenary. Bro. Gilbert Greenall, M.P., was then Master, and in honour of the occasion the Prov. Grand Master, Sir Thomas Hesketh, Bart., M.P., held a special meeting of Prov. Grand Lodge at the Public Hall (now the Royal Court Theatre), Warrington, when Bro. Gilbert Greenall was invested as Prov.S.G.W., and the Prov. Grand Master was presented with a Lodge Centenary Jewel. The meeting was held in the morning, and in the afternoon the Brethren, in full regalia, and headed by the Blue-Coat School band, walked in procession via Suez Street, Bold Street, Sankey Street, Buttermarket Street, and Church Street to the Parish Church, where a service was held conducted by Bro. the Rev. A. A. O'Neill, P.Prov.G.Chaplain, Bro. the Rev. F. Terry, of Arley, Prov.G.Chaplain (Ches.), and Bro. the Rev. J. W. Tanner, of Antrobus, P.Prov.G.Chaplain (Ches.), and the sermon was preached by Bro. the Rev. G. H. Vernon, of St. Stephen's, Liverpool, Prov.G.Chaplain. A profusion of flags was displayed by the leading tradesmen along the route. After the service a banquet was held at the Public Hall, presided over by the R.W. Prov. Gr. Master, after which the usual loyal and masonic toasts were proposed and heartily responded to, and musical items enjoyed.

The Centenary Festival was brought to a close on the following day, when a Grand Miscellaneous Concert was given in the Public Hall, which was crowded and presented a lively and animated appearance.

"The full dress masonic costumes, the bright scarlet uniforms of the local Rifle Corps, combined with the gay attire of the large gathering of fair Lancashire witches, rendered it a striking contrast to the success usually witnessed in the Hall".

Among the musical items rendered were—

The Welsh Melody. The Maid of Athens. Will o' the Wisp. As sure as I am a Father (duet). Alice, where art thou? What phrase sad and soft (quartette), and the four part song, The Homeward Watch.

That these Centenary Festivities had raised public interest in Freemasonry is proved by the circular for the December meeting, when there were four Initiates, three due for Passing and three for Raising.

In January, 1866, one of the visitors to the Lodge was Bro. August Samuel Leopold Leonhardt, Branch Lodge Urania, of the Grand Lodge Royal York of Friendship, Berlin. This Brother was a F.C. and asked to become a Joining Member to be Raised. Enquiries were made and the following is a translation of the letter received from Berlin:—

Berlin, Mar. 5th, 1866

To the Lodge of Lights, Warrington.
Worshipful and beloved Brethren

With regard to your brotherly enquiry of the 30th January last, we have the honour humbly to reply that Brother August Samuel Leopold Leonhardt is a member of our Lodge, and that he has fulfilled his duties towards it. Bro. Leonhardt was initiated as an Entered apprentice on the 13th August, 1863, and passed as a Fellowcraft on the 17th October, 1864; he wishes now to be raised to the degree of Master Mason, and as his stay in your country will be of some duration yet, it is his and our wish that he should enjoy the advantages of attending the labour of your Lodge.

We, as Brothers, therefore humbly request you to receive the said Bro. Leonhardt and raise him to the degree of M.M. and to receive from him the expenses &c. connected with it.

Assuring you of our always being ready to equal brotherly compliance, we greet you with our sacred signs.

Your faithfully united brethren

(signed by)

W.M.

D.M.

S.W.

J.W.

Secy.

On 23th May, 1866, Bro. H. B. White reported that the Supreme Grand Chapter had granted a Warrant for a Chapter to be attached to the Lodge, to be called the Chapter of Elias Ashmole No. 148. This, of course, was the second Chapter connected with the Lodge of Lights, the first being the Chapter of Benevolence No. 98, warranted in 1796 and erased in 1861.

After the regular meeting in June, 1866, a lecture on "The Origin, Nature, Object and Tendency of Freemasonry" was given, but not delivered in open Lodge, as the matter was somewhat in the nature of controversial religion, that is, a discussion of the wideness of Christianity in our ritual. The lecture is significant in view of what occurred six years later, in 1872, as will be seen.

About this time also the sculptor, John Warrington Wood, some of whose work is in the Art Gallery at the Museum, was initiated.

That the Brethren were not afraid to adopt stern measures is proved by an entry in the Minutes of this time—

"That Bro. ———, P.M., P.Prov.G.Supt. of Wks., having been guilty of conduct unworthy of a man and a Mason, he be excluded from the Lodge."

This was passed unanimously, but what the nature of the offence was is not stated.

In response to an appeal from Grand Lodge the Brethren sent a donation of five guineas for the relief of distress on Turks Islands, West Indies. The appeal had been sent by the Turks Island Lodge No. 647, as a hurricane had almost wiped out the houses and industrial equipment (chiefly salt manufacture) and left the people destitute.

In April, 1867, the Initiation Fee was raised from four to six guineas and about this time Grand Lodge again warned the Brethren to be careful in admitting visitors. It was laid down that if a visitor was not known and vouched for, he should be asked to produce his G.L. certificate.

The following extract from the Minutes of July, 1867, speaks for itself:—

"During the evening, Bro. ——— who had been twice rejected by the Lodge (in 1866-67) and had since been accepted by a new Lodge at Salford, Manchester, in a most unmasonic manner, being unknown to every member, and no enquiries made, applied for admission. After mature consideration, it was resolved to represent to Bro. ——— that his presence in the Lodge would destroy its harmony, and to ask him if, under the circumstances, he pressed for admission. The J.W. was delegated to make this representation to Bro. ——— in the ante-room, which he did, and on his return, reported that Bro. ——— would not press for admission then, but he believed he would renew his application on another occasion."

In December, 1868, and on many subsequent occasions this Brother was admitted as a visitor, and tendered greetings, apparently without comment. Arising out of this application for admission, notice of motion to the following effect was given:—

"That no Brother shall be admitted as a visitor to this Lodge, who has previously been rejected in it as a candidate for Initiation, until a ballot of the members has been taken, when, if two black balls appear against his admission, he shall not be received."

This was, however, withdrawn at the next meeting, probably because it was found to be irregular. A similar resolution had been withdrawn in 1796.

In December, 1867, a Lodge of Instruction was formed under the Warrant of No. 148. Bro. D. W. Finney was Secy. and Bros. H. B. White, J. Bowes and Stevenson, Preceptors.

The following year, in December, 1868, after a petition from a number of members who wished to form a new Lodge, to be called the Gilbert Greenall Lodge, had been read, the following resolution was passed:—

"That the petition just read is approved, sanctioned and recommended by this Lodge."

Hence the founding of the Gilbert Greenall Lodge on 12th April, 1869.

Masonry now moved forward quietly and serenely.

The next interesting event happened at the meeting on 30th January, 1871, when—

"Bro. Jackson, S.W., announced that arrangements were being made with a view to forming a Lodge at Leigh, and asked No. 148 to recommend the petition."

Resolved—

"That the W.M. and Officers of the Lodge be, and are hereby authorized to sign a recommendation for a new Lodge at Leigh, on the said petition being prepared and sufficiently signed to their satisfaction."

This satisfaction must have been forthcoming, for the Marquis of Lorne Lodge No. 1354 was warranted 16th March, 1871.

That some of the Brethren were interested in more than the mere working of the ceremonies is proved by an entry in the Minutes for June, 1871, when—

"Bro. Secretary delivered the lecture on the Second T.B., whereupon it was moved by the W.M., seconded by Bro. W. Woods, W.M. 1250, and unanimously resolved that the thanks of the Lodge are due and hereby tendered to Bro. Bowes for his excellent lecture. Bro. Bowes in acknowledging the compliment said that they, as a Lodge, had hitherto looked upon the ceremonies as everything, while their sacred and deep meaning oftentimes escaped them altogether. He had now mastered most of the ceremonies, and he intended in future, to give attention to their meaning, and from time to time, as circumstances permitted, give his Brethren the result of his labours."

This Bro. Secretary was Bro. Dr. John Bowes, Master of the Blue-Coat School and P.Prov.J.G.W. of Cumberland and Westmorland, who, with Bros. H. B. White, W. H. Robinson, Wm. Sharp, D. W. Finney, and others, had raised the standard of work in the Lodge to a high level as compared with a few years before, when they had to import Brethren from out of town, e.g., James Hamer, Prov.G.Treas. (Hon. Mem), as well as others, to work the more important ceremonies such as an Installation.

In March, 1872, it is recorded that Bro. Wm. Cooper (surgeon) presented the "Emblems of Mortality" to the Lodge. Previously the emblems had been embroidered on velvet or made of wood. About the same time Bro. Wm. Sharp (solicitor) presented an embossed sword and scabbard, a "sharp instrument & sheath" and a heavy setting maul.

About this period an Annual Masonic Ball was held for a year or two (in conjunction with the Gilbert Greenall Lodge), but as they resulted in a financial loss they ceased.

At the end of the year 1872 the Brethren received something of a shock by the resignation of one of their most prominent and active members. The following extract from a long letter he addressed to the Brethren gives the reason:—

“ . . . I cannot continue to uphold a Society which, at one and the same time, declares the Bible to be the unerring standard of Truth, and practically ignores Christianity.”

It may be remembered that a few years ago an address was given in the Lodge on the subject of Christianity in our Ritual. If one may hazard a guess, this Brother was greatly influenced by some manuscript lectures which had belonged to Bro. Smith of the old Lodge of St. John No. 322, and which this Brother had transcribed into a book (now in the Hall Library). These lectures, which had been accepted as genuine old York working, had in them many references to Christian doctrines. Later research has proved that they were copied from the Lectures published by Wm. Finch, and that the Christian references were interpolations by some person unknown. It is sad to think that a really great and keen Mason left the Craft under a misapprehension.

In 1875 it was resolved—

“ that in future the W.M. may not invite more than three visitors to the annual banquet at the expense of the Lodge.”

This privilege of the W.M. seems finally to have ceased when complimentary banquet tickets were sent to certain Officers of the other Lodges. During this year also, the three pillars which used to stand by the three principal chairs in our old Lodge room were purchased from the Lodge No. 119, Whitehaven, at a total cost of over twelve pounds.

The Installation of the Prince of Wales (Edward VII.) as Grand Master of English Freemasons in June, 1875, was attended by Bros. John Bowes, W.M., W. H. Robinson, S.W., Thos. Tunstall, J.W., John Harding, I.P.M., Jas. Hephherd, P.M., and John Laithwaite.

In March, 1876, it was unanimously resolved to present an address of congratulation to Bro. Sir Gilbert Greenall, Bart., M.P., on his being raised to a Baronetcy. This was done, and the Minutes record—

“ The address which was beautifully written and illuminated in book-form on vellum, and elegantly bound in blue Morocco, with suitable masonic emblems in their proper colours, was greatly admired by the Brethren.”

The address was presented at the June meeting in 1876, and was suitably acknowledged by the recipient, a long account of the ceremony appearing in the “ Freemasons’ Chronicle ” for 17th June, 1876.

In August of this year (1876) the Joining Fee was raised from 15/- to two guineas, and the Initiation Fee from six to ten guineas, and in October it was agreed—

“ That five guineas be paid from the Lodge Funds towards the cost of the Sedilia (stone seats in the chancel) in Chester Cathedral.”

About this time also Bro. Sherwood gave a lecture on Spiritualism to the members and their friends in aid of the Masonic Charities. Of course this was not done in the Lodge.

At the Installation meeting in 1876 a gold P.M.’s jewel was presented to the I.P.M., and this practice has been continued.

In March, 1878, a report was received from Grand Lodge drawing attention to certain alterations in the Constitution of the Grand Orient of France, and withdrawing recognition from that Body as it had removed from its Constitution "those paragraphs which assert a belief in the existence of T.G.A.O.T.U.," and because "such alteration is opposed to the traditions, practice & feelings of all true and genuine Masons from the earliest to the present times."

In the same year the 6ft. by 3ft. T.B.'s were purchased for £30. These are still in use.

At the Installation meeting in December, 1878, the W.M. announced that he had received a letter from Bro. S. Schonstadt, W.M. of the Lodge of Israel No. 1502, Liverpool. The bearer of the letter was Bro. Flatau of Hamburg, who had been initiated in the Lodge of Israel, and had come over for the express purpose of being Passed, but as the Initiate had to return before the next meeting of the Lodge of Israel, they asked that he should take his 2nd degree in the Lodge of Lights. The W.M. (Bro. Jos. Pickthall) gave a fraternal welcome to Bro. Flatau and to Bro. Gabrielson, who attended him as the representative of the W.M. of No. 1502, and finding that Bro. Flatau proved himself proficient in the former degree, he was passed to the degree of F.C. Both these visiting Brethren were invited to the banquet and both accepted.

At the next meeting was read a letter from the Secretary of the Lodge of Israel, thanking the W.M. for passing Bro. Flatau, and enquiring if any charge had been made, and if so, for what purpose. He was referred to the By-laws.

In 1882 the W.M. and several members of the Lodge attended the Preston Guild and were present at the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Harris Museum by the Earl of Lathom, Prov.G.M.

In 1884 the following resolution was passed—

"That a letter expressive of condolence with the Royal Family in their bereavement occasioned by the death of Prince Leopold be forwarded to the Prov.G.Secy., to be sent by him to the proper quarter."

In the following month the Secretary announced that the Lodge had been directed to assume mourning for three months.

About this period (1885) there was a movement on foot to form a new Lodge to be held in Latchford, and the following resolution was passed—

"The members of the Lodge of Lights No. 148 view with strong disapproval the attempt to form a new Lodge in Warrington, believing that ample accommodation is afforded by the two Lodges already established, and desire to represent to the Grand Secretary, that for this and other weighty reasons, such a step would be unnecessary & indiscreet."

This matter is not again mentioned in the Minutes.

On 31st May, 1886,—

"Bro. Brierley asked the favour of the loan of any portion of the Lodge Furniture that might be found necessary to assist in the Consecration of the new Lodge (Makerfield No. 2155) at Newton, and it was proposed by Bro. Tunstall, seconded by Bro. Finney, that the same be lent if required. Bro. Brierley thanked the Lodge and undertook to be responsible for the safe return of the same."

So far back as 1876 the Lodge had voted Five guineas towards the cost of providing sedilia in the chancel of Chester Cathedral. Now in 1890 one guinea was subscribed to the fund for the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral. In the same year it was decided to present a Bible to the Vicar of St. Peter's Church (now nearly completed). An inscription in the Bible reads—

“Presented to St. Peter’s Church for ever, by the Lodge of Lights No. 148 of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons.

W. H. Young W.M.

W. H. Robinson Secy.

Rev. T. Rigby Chaplain and
Vicar of St. Peter’s

Recently this Bible was repaired and rebound at the expense of the Lodge.

In 1892 a circular from G.L. ordered the Lodge into mourning for three months owing to the death of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence & Avondale.

In September, 1893, the Lodge gave up the rooms at the Nag’s Head, Sankey Street, and took the rooms in Bold Street which had formerly been the Mess Rooms of the Officers of the Lancs. Militia.

There had evidently been another attempt to form a new Lodge in Warrington, for a letter from W.Bro. Goodacre, Prov.G.Secy., dated 9th July, 1894, informed the Brethren that it had been decided not to favour the formation of an additional Lodge in Warrington; yet in 1897 the Lodge of Charity was founded.

In the following year, 1898, all three Lodges took part in a picnic to Eaton Hall, Chester.

About this period, the Prov.G.M. (Lord Lathom) suffered a tragic bereavement by the death by accident of his wife, Lady Lathom, who was killed in a carriage accident near her home; and about a year later Lord Lathom himself passed away, and a vote of condolence was passed—

“The Worshipful Master and Brethren of the Lodge of Lights No. 148, Warrington, desire to express the most profound sympathy with the family of the late Rt. Worshipful Grand Master and Pro Grand Master of England in their sad bereavement.”

Only the month before Lord Lathom had presided at a Prov.G.Lodge meeting, when a presentation had been made to him to mark the close of twenty-five years as Prov.G.M. Included with the presentation was a cheque for £500 to be used by him for any Charity he chose. This sum was given to the Ormskirk Cottage Hospital in which the late Lady Lathom had taken a deep interest. A letter, written by Lord Lathom himself, had been received, thanking the Brethren—

“for the magnificent present they made me, and more especially for the cheque of £500 to be devoted to some charity in memory of my beloved wife. I can only hope that the object to which I shall devote it may prove of lasting benefit to a class in the welfare of whom Lady Lathom took the deepest interest.”

At the December meeting in 1898 it was announced that the M.W.G.M. had been pleased to appoint R.W.Bro. the Earl of Lathom, P.G.W., to the Office of Prov.G.Master for West Lancs. in the room of the late M.W. Brother, the Earl of Lathom, G.C.B.; so the son succeeded his father, and the W.M. and Brethren of the Lodge received a letter from him expressing his grateful thanks for their kind expressions of sympathy.

In December, 1899, the sum of Ten guineas was voted to the Lord Lathom Memorial Fund, and in the following March, Five guineas towards a G.L. Fund to relieve Masonic Brethren in South Africa, who were suffering in consequence of the Boer War.

In January, 1901, the Lodge was placed in mourning for three months owing to the death of Queen Victoria, and the following resolution was passed—

“This Lodge records the loss of our Beloved Sovereign, in sorrow and sincere allegiance to our Beloved Brother, her successor King Edward VII.”

In December, 1902, the Secretary read a communication from G.L. respecting the new Licensing Act, and a committee was set up to consider the document and report. At first this Committee thought it would be necessary to register the Lodge as a Club, but later on they were advised that this was unnecessary.

In the following year, 1903, the old Lodge gave birth to her second daughter, and the Lodge of Friendship No. 2963 was warranted on 9th April, 1903.

In 1904 the Warrington Lodge subscribed to a Fund for the building of the Chapter House in Liverpool Cathedral, as a memorial to the late Prov.G.M., Lord Lathom; and then in 1906 the Lodges presented silver candlesticks to W.Bro. Roger Parr as a wedding present.

In 1912 another daughter was born to the Lodge of Lights, and the Lodge of Rectitude No. 3597 was warranted on 19th March, 1912.

In 1914 the By-laws were revised and printed.

Then came the Great War, and, during the whole four years it lasted, no refreshments were served at the regular meetings except on the 150th anniversary of the Lodge in 1915. The money thus saved on refreshments was given to the Warrington Infirmary War Fund.

The 150th anniversary meeting in November, 1915, was a special occasion for which the Master, W.Bro. C. J. Smith, invited the Masters, P.Ms. and Wardens of all the Warrington Lodges to be present; certain of whom took part in the Lodge ceremonial, the W.M. of No. 1250, W.Bro. W. Maddock as S.W.; I.P.M. of No. 2651, W.Bro. W. H. Ticket as J.W. The W.Ts. of the first Degree were presented and explained by W.Bro. H. Woods, W.M. of No. 3597; W.Ts. of the second by W.Bro. T. S. Steel, W.M. of No. 3287; and W.Ts. of the third by W.Bro. J. Moore Murray, W.M. of No. 2963; and a very meagre dinner followed.

In 1915 two members of the Lodge, who held no Office, were elected to serve on the Lodge Committee for the first time.

The members of the Lodge assisted in presenting a motor ambulance for the use of wounded soldiers and subscribed to a fund for the relief of Brethren interned in Germany.

The lease of the old rooms in Bold Street ran out in 1921, and the Brethren, after considering various premises in the town, which might be satisfactory or capable of reconstruction, finally decided to rent rooms at the Lion Hotel, while some of the other Lodges which had used the Bold Street Rooms went to the Assembly Rooms in Cairo Street. At the same time a committee, representative of each Lodge which had used the old rooms, was formed to take steps to secure a permanent Masonic home in the town. For several years this committee and others tried to find means for effecting this object, but it was not until 1932 that seven of the Warrington Lodges decided to build a Hall. These were the Lodge of Lights No. 148, the Lodge of Charity No. 2651, the Lodge of Friendship No. 2963, the Lodge of Rectitude No. 3597, St. Austin Lodge No. 4335, the Ashmole Lodge No. 5128, and St. Oswald Lodge No. 5170. As a result the Foundation Stone of the Masonic Hall in Winmarleigh Street was laid on 22nd September, 1932, by W.Bro. Arthur Foster, P.G.D. (Eng.), Deputy Prov.G.Master, West Lancs., acting on behalf of the Prov.G.Master, R.W.Bro. Llewellyn Crawshay Bailey, P.G.D. (Eng.), Prov.G.Master; an Emergency meeting being held by the Lodge of Lights at the Patten Hall to which all the other Lodges were invited.

On the completion of the building it was consecrated by W.Bro. Arthur Foster, P.G.D., D.Prov.G.M. and his Prov.G. Officers on 22nd November, 1933.

In January, 1936, the Lodge was placed in Masonic mourning for three months, owing to the lamented death of our beloved King George V.; and, as a mark of respect, the banquet which should have followed the Installation of

Bro. T. J. Hopkins as W.M. was abandoned; and a vote of condolence and sympathy with the Royal Family was passed at the Installation meeting.

At the September meeting in 1935 W.Bro. Isaac Bowen, Ch.Ra., was tendered the grateful thanks of the Brethren for his many generous gifts to the Lodge. Amongst those were the mahogany pedestals of the three principal Officers; and now was presented to the Lodge a magnificent mahogany Honours Board with five panels and carved pillars, which is now fixed to the wall in the Lodge room of the 148 suite. On the panels are inscribed the names of those who have held the Office of Master of the Lodge from 1765 to the present day. The Brethren heartily concurred in the vote of thanks accorded to W.Bro. Bowen.

At various times the Lodge has possessed a Banner. At least two old ones are in existence, but they are so worn and tattered that the symbols on them are absolutely indecipherable; and therefore the Brethren were all the more grateful when Bros. T. C. and J. R. Locker decided to present one to the Lodge.

The regular meeting, held 28th September, 1936, is memorable, because on that evening the Lodge banner, to replace the old one, gift of Bro. T. Cecil Locker and Bro. J. R. Locker, was unveiled and dedicated. The Banner, the beautifully embroidered design of which is intended to illustrate symbolically the name "Lodge of Lights," shows the three Great Lights of Masonry with symbols of the Sun, Moon and stars, the All-seeing Eye, and the torches of Light and Learning, spiritual and secular. It was presented by the donors in memory of their father and their uncle—W.Bro. James T. Locker and W.Bro. Thomas Locker—and a silver plate on the pole records that fact. The Banner was unveiled during a specially arranged ceremony by Bro. T. Cecil Locker and dedicated by the Assistant Prov.G.Master, W.Bro. Dr. G. C. Barnes, P.G.D.

And so this history of our good Old Lodge to date comes to an end, and no one better than the writer knows its many imperfections. There was so much material to draw on that it would have taken more than one volume to do justice to it, for much has of necessity been left out. However, the writer's hope is that it may prove both interesting and instructive, and that it does give a close and connected history of a Lodge which has had a continuous existence for 173 years.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Armstrong on the proposition of Bro. Lewis Edwards, seconded by Bro. Ivor Grantham, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, W. J. Williams, F. L. Pick, and Geo. W. Bullamore.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

In proposing the vote of thanks to Bro. Armstrong for his interesting paper, and to Bro. Rickard for reading it, I should like to say how useful are researches into the minute books and records of the old Lodges in helping us to form a picture not only of masonic customs of the past, but also of the social customs of the times.

Might I add a few remarks on some details of the paper? Is not Bro. Armstrong a little too hopeful in saying that no connection as yet has been found between the Lodge of Lights and Ashmole's Lodge of 1646, in view of the fact that seventeenth century Freemasonry was probably sporadic in character? Can he make any suggestion of what the Lectures were which were given on the 28th November and 27th December, 1791, respectively? Some information as to the make and character of the "three very old jugs" in the possession of the Lodge would interest those of us who are collectors of masonic pottery. Is the "Grand Lodge Royal York of Friendship, Berlin" that in which the Duke of Sussex was initiated in 1798, and which took its name from the Duke of York, his uncle, who was initiated therein in 1765?

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

In seconding the vote of thanks I should like first of all to confess the regret we all feel that illness has prevented Bro. Armstrong from reading his own paper this afternoon.

Bro. Armstrong's labours have assuredly earned the gratitude of those students who delight in imparting life to the early records of masonic Lodges; but the value of his paper would, I think, be considerably enhanced if Bro. Armstrong could add by way of an appendix a list of members and a list of visitors covering at least the first fifty years of the existence of this Lodge. Although the minute books for the years 1765 to 1790 are missing, it might be possible to compile a list of members for that period from the Grand Lodge Registers if from no other source.

Reference to the letter books in the Grand Lodge Library might reveal unsuspected correspondence affecting the Lodge of Lights as well as the nature of the replies received by this Lodge to the two communications addressed to Grand Lodge in 1806 and 1845; and reference to Chester Courant and other local newspapers of the period in question might throw a flood of light upon the darker patches in the history of this Lodge. If Bro. Armstrong or any one else on his behalf has searched such newspapers with negative results an indication of the period covered by such search might save other masonic students from undertaking another fruitless search of the same files in the future.

Possessors of Lane's *Masonic Records* would be well advised to note in their copies of that work the removal of the Lodge of Lights to The Waggon and Horses, Buttermarket Street, in 1825.

In the course of this paper it is stated that in 1860 the minutes were regularly signed by the Worshipful Master, Senior Warden, Junior Warden and Secretary. It would be of interest to know what the practice was in the earlier minute books of this Lodge.

We are informed that in 1867 a Lodge of Instruction was formed. Is it to be inferred from this that the minutes of the Lodge of Lights contain no earlier reference to a Lodge of Instruction or to the rehearsal of ceremonies?

If an early inventory of Lodge furniture exists a copy of such inventory might be worthy of inclusion in this paper. The eagle carved in 1806 at a cost of two guineas was presumably a lectern. The price of one guinea for a pair of trousers in 1849 appears to be a trifle high if we are not mistaken as to the purpose and nature of this garment. Is it clear from the relevant entry in the minute book that the price of one guinea relates to a single pair of trousers, or is it possible that the entry refers to three pairs each of a slightly different cut?

It is to be hoped that before final publication of this paper in our *Transactions* the names of those Berlin brethren who signed the letter of March 5th, 1866, will be added to the text of that communication for the benefit of future generations of masonic students.

The record of the presence of Ann and Mary Burrows amongst the visitors on the occasion of the Installation Meeting in 1824, when Bro. Richard Burrows was appointed Senior Deacon, is certainly a matter for surprise. Bro. Armstrong suggests that Ann and Mary Burrows may have been two ladies who attended the Installation Dinner. Another possibility which should be taken into account is that these two persons may have been the Senior Deacon's infant daughters—perhaps twin daughters—to whom a reception ceremony on continental lines was being accorded by their father's Lodge. If the ages of these two visitors cannot be ascertained from local records, perhaps Bro. Armstrong could tell us whether any foreign names occur amongst the list of those brethren present on this occasion.

Bro. Armstrong will, I trust, forgive this battery of questions; but he has aroused our interest and we desire such further information as he can give us. The Lodge of Lights has evidently experienced fluctuating fortunes in the course of its existence extending over the best part of two centuries. That Bro. Armstrong has earned a cordial vote of thanks will—to use an expression extracted from his own Lodge minutes—be “unanimously agreed (*nem. con.*)”.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

I congratulate Bro. Armstrong on a delightful piece of work that has increased the Masonic knowledge of all of us, and is particularly grateful to me personally, because it affords confirmatory evidence about a matter to which I have recently been devoting some time and research.

It must have struck every inquirer into the condition of English Freemasonry in the eighteenth century that a great many Lodges which remained loyal to the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, yet never changed their old ritual and remained faithful to the same forms as were observed by their antagonists of the Antient Grand Lodge. We need a special term to describe such Masons, and I have suggested that “Traditioner” would suit the case; for they maintained two great traditions of loyalty, to their Grand Lodge and also to those things that do not admit of innovation.

I have been inclined for a long time to believe that Lancashire was a stronghold of Traditioner Lodges. Minutes of the Lodge of Lights suggest that it too was of that complexion. I would draw attention to the entries showing:

(a) That the Lodge was accustomed to meet on the festival of St. John in Winter and Summer and celebrate these days

(b) That it was acquainted with a ceremony of Installation or “passing the Chair”.

(c) That no bitter hate existed between the two rival schools, and that when an Antient Mason was received as member of the Lodge of Lights all that was demanded of him was an oath of allegiance to his new Constitution, and no instruction in a new ritual was given or needed.

(d) Masons in Warrington practised the degree of Royal Arch.

It is only by the accumulation of evidence such as the foregoing that we are enabled to construct a fairly true picture of Masonic life in a particular period or place. Hence the particular value of papers such as this one whose material is drawn from contemporary documents.

Other customs of the period alluded to here which are commonly met with in contemporary Minutes of other Lodges are: that visitors paid a fixed fee for their refreshment; that a well-instructed Brother from another Lodge would attend for the purpose of conferring a degree; and that St. John's Day was always an occasion for special refreshment.

I should like to add that the incident which occurred in December, 1862, when a Brother who had not yet passed the Chair conferred the 2nd Degree on a Candidate, was quite a common event in by-gone days. Though impossible in England nowadays, so far from being impossible it might be called an everyday happening in another Masonic Constitution with which I am well acquainted.

Those who wish to learn something more about the illegal Grand Lodge of Smyrna in 1859 will find the facts in my paper on “The Poor Common Soldier” (*A.Q.C.*, xxxviii, 164).

Bro. Armstrong has put us all in his debt, and I have much pleasure in heartily supporting the vote of thanks.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

The Brethren of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle are indebted to Bro. Armstrong for his very interesting contribution to our proceedings. We thank him for it. Our regret is that owing to the state of his health he was unable to be present to read the paper. This regret is, however, moderated by our pleasure that he has not suffered his physical weakness to deter him from undertaking the work which is now before us. It is worthy to take a high place among the numerous articles on the history of private Lodges which have appeared in our *Transactions*.

In my early days as a Masonic student the references to the reception of Elias Ashmole into Freemasonry in 1646 at Warrington and the subsequent meeting in 1682 at Masons Hall attracted my attention; and one of the first things I did was to see whether there was still a Lodge at Warrington. In that way the existence of the Lodge of Lights was soon discovered. But like our Brother, I was, after searching for news, bound to come to the conclusion that nothing could be found by me to bridge the gulf of years linking the Lodge at Warrington in 1646 with the Lodge of Lights Warranted by Grand Lodge on 8th November, 1765; and indeed the only subsequent mention of Bro. Ashmole as a Freemason consists in the entry in his own diary of the meeting at Masons Hall in 1682. These entries show clearly that he was not an operative but an accepted Mason.

There seems to be but little hope that this hiatus in the History of Freemasonry in Warrington will ever be disposed of, but we must not entirely lose what little hope is left.

The usual lament has to be uttered that because the minutes of the Lodge from 1765 to 1790 are missing we know very little of the Lodge until the meeting of November 28th, 1791.

We know the names of the four meeting places of the Lodge in 1765, 1769, and 1770 and 1786, and are left to assume that the meeting of 28th November, 1791, was held at the Swan Inn, although the minute as printed gives no statement as to the place of meeting.

It is to be desired that in all Lodges there should be an annual audit of all important records such as Minute Books, Lodge accounts, Warrants and other documents which may be sought for in the years to come. Some of the documents are left in the private custody of the Secretary or other member of the Lodge and, when they cease to function, something may hinder their transmission of such items to the continuing authorities of the Lodge.

Presumably enquiry has been made of the Provincial Grand Lodge and Grand Lodge itself as to whether any such documents now missing may have found their way into their keeping.

It is not many years ago that Bro. Hughan traced a number of original MSS. of the Old Charges belonging to the York Lodge. They were found in the custody of the Grand Lodge of England, who, when asked for them, delivered them to the rightful owners, who had omitted to look after their property.

The paper includes a table of the direct descendants of the Lodge of Lights, but that table does not include Lodge No. 711, although it is said that this was a daughter Lodge of the Lodge of Lights, warranted 6th July, 1842, and now working as the Lodge of Faith No. 484, Ashton in Makerfield. As that Lodge precedes in time any of the other daughter Lodges some explanation seems desirable. The earliest in that table is Gilbert Greenall Lodge No. 1250 (1869). Possibly the explanation is that all the Lodges in the table are still working at Warrington; but surely a daughter is no less a daughter though going to reside in another locality. There are other Lodges listed after the table of descendants, but the first two of these have been erased, leaving the Lodge of Faith as the oldest surviving daughter of the Lodge of Lights.

There are several distressing incidents in the Lodge history, such as drunkenness of a member even at the time of his initiation, and the occasional condemnation of the Lodge by some disgruntled member. The Brethren so distinguished by such actions must have disregarded the warning given by Bro. Robert Burns:—

There is a chiel amang ye taking notes
And faith he'll print them.

or if he does not some one else will, and though there may be a temporary shortage of ink in War-time (as happened in the Lodge in 1797) record is made and ultimately, like scum, rises to the surface.

The poet who, through his translator, avers that he—

Was never deep in anything but—Wine,

also says—

The Moving Finger writes; and having writ,
Moves on: nor all thy Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it.

(Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*, 41 and 51).

There are the Minutes, and they have been written and duly read and confirmed.

But I must not dilate upon such notes in the Sunbeams of the Lodge of Lights nor indeed upon a score of other incidents and topics arising out of the minutes.

The Brethren will themselves inscribe upon the tablets of their own memories a précis of the simple annals of the Lodge of Lights. It is refreshing to go through such a connected narrative which brings back to memory days of long ago and reminds us that we and our predecessors have had in their composition the full quota of Potter's clay.

May I suggest that it would be an improvement to some papers based on Lodge minutes if a list of Masters of the Lodge and a record of Grand or Provincial Grand Lodge Honours could be included, together with a list of documents and articles of value or masonic interest, the property or in the custody of the Lodge. Particulars might also be given of the furniture of the Lodge, laying stress upon all rare or antique pieces and any notes relating to their acquisition or presentation.

Bro. F. L. PICK writes:—

Bro. Armstrong is to be congratulated on his interesting and valuable account of Masonic development in yet another part of the Provinces. Warrington has a special claim upon our consideration as the Masonic birth-place of Elias Ashmole, and it is a pity that nothing has yet come to light to bridge the gap between Ashmole's Lodge and the Lodge of Lights, or to give some account of early Royal Arch Masonry in Warrington.

Participation in ceremonial work by visitors was not uncommon. Bro. Kelly refers to it in his *Fifty Years Masonic Reminiscence*, in which he mentions that during his early years when the Deputy Provincial Grand Master was not available, Bro. Lawrence Thompson had to be summoned from London to act as Installing Master. In 1895 Bro. H. L. Hollingworth, of Oldham, referred to the time when it was customary to engage the services of one "Masonica John" of Saddleworth, Yorks, at installations, but by that year

it had become customary for every Master to instal his successor. The calling in of independent umpires or arbitrators was also resorted to in Oldham in 1819 in connection with a Lodge dispute.

Bro. C. P. Noar gave an account of an attempt to form a Loyal Masonic Volunteer Corps, under Bro. Joseph Hanson, in Manchester in 1803 (Trans. M.A.M.R., vol. v). Whatever the success of this effort, Freemasons then, as now, loyally supported their King and Country.

It is evident that in Warrington, as in so many parts of the country, the hostility between the rival Grand Lodges was largely overlooked or misunderstood. Bro. Armstrong's reference to the Golden Eagle is interesting. There was some correspondence on this subject in *Misc. Lat.* (vols. xviii and xix). Such an emblem still stands in the Lodge Room of the Duke of Athol Lodge No. 210, Denton, and others are referred to in the records of Caledonian Lodge No. 204, Manchester; Peace and Unity No. 314, Preston; and Cestrian No. 425, Chester. Of these Lodges Nos. 204 and 210 were "Antient", No. 314 "Modern" and No. 425 the successor of a "Modern" Lodge.

"Passing the Chair" to obtain a qualification for the Royal Arch was a common practice down to the 'forties, but Bro. Armstrong's example in 1855 is surely a late one.

The lecture on Spiritualism given (out of the Lodge) in 1876 might have established a dangerous precedent. The late Bro. Col. Powney was strongly of the opinion that excursions into controversial political and sectarian religious discussion was responsible for the unfortunate position of the Craft in many countries.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The minutes of the Lodge of Lights are of great interest as showing how the Craft has developed until the present Lodge has been evolved. But I do not understand why "passing the chair" is regarded by Bro. Armstrong as an irregular practice. Surely the irregularity was the admission to the Royal Arch without the chair secrets having been communicated.

As I understand Freemasonry, the higher degrees had the right to admit candidates and could communicate all secrets leading up to that degree. There was some trouble with Masters' Lodges on this account which of course ceased when they merged with the Fellowship. The Royal Arch avoided initiation into Masonry and chose its members from those in possession of the chair secrets. It was entitled to give them but preferred to work in harmony with the Craft.

It may be argued that the possession of the chair secrets led to a false appearance of having ruled a Lodge. But it is obvious that they are only granted to suitable candidates and that ruling the Lodge is a subsequent happening which does not affect the possession of the secrets.

It is not unusual, outside the Craft degrees, for parts of a degree to be conferred in order to qualify for a higher degree. This was done in "passing the chair" to qualify the recipient for the Royal Arch. It seems to be a right belonging to any high degree, and I cannot see its irregularity.

Bro. J. ARMSTRONG writes, in reply:—

Before replying to the comments and questions on my paper, *The Lodge of Lights No. 148*, may I express my appreciation of the generous way in which your members have received it? Although I have been for many years a member of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research, I have never

been a member of the Q.C. Correspondence Circle, and it was only with extreme diffidence that I permitted Bro. Dr. C. J. G. Bourhill to send my paper along, as, in my opinion, it was of local interest only. However, if it has given you pleasure and some profit, I am amply repaid.

May I also claim your indulgence if my replies are brief and not so full as they might be, as I am writing under some difficulty from a sick bed and have therefore no opportunity of referring to books, &c.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper's comments were of great interest to me, and I heartily agree that Lancashire was a stronghold of what he aptly calls "Traditioner" Lodges, which, while remaining loyal to their own Grand Lodges, whether "Antient" or "Modern", yet accepted much of the traditional working of both. There were undoubtedly many of both in this district, and the members seem to have had no hesitation in visiting each other's Lodges.

In the Lodge of Lights (the name was not given until 1806) we seem to have had a great deal in common with the "Ancients'" usages. Not only did we hold the two St. John's Festivals, but the Installation of Master and appointment of Officers sometimes took place twice a year at six months intervals, which explains why we find in our records instances of two Masters in one year. The ceremony of "passing the chair" was also common and did not cease in this Lodge until 1855; and, more noteworthy still, we have a letter in our Archives showing that, when the Chapter of Benevolence No. 98 was formed in 1786 (erased 1861) under the Blayney Grand Chapter of the "Moderns", our Brethren consulted a prominent "Ancient" Brother of Liverpool, Bro. Michael Alexander Gage, as to the regalia, &c., to be used. This Bro. Gage was afterwards one of the prime movers in the secession of some of the Liverpool Lodges from the United Grand Lodge and the formation of the so-called Wigan Grand Lodge. This letter is extremely interesting, giving rough pencil sketches of the headdresses to be worn by the Principals and the Scribes, and the different colours and furs to be used in the robes. The fact that headdresses were worn at all seems to point to the influences of Irish Masons in the Chapters of the "Ancients". Thus we see that there was considerable co-operation between the two sections at any rate in this part of the country.

There seems also to be some traces of an older working in the phraseology of some of our ceremonies. Many of the Lodges in Lancashire now appear to be drawing closer to strict Emulation working, yet in the Lodge of Lights we still carry on with the ritual as we have done for forty years past that I can remember; that is, our ceremonies are still mainly Emulation; but the Brethren will recognise small differences in these two quotations which come to my mind.

"When the T at Jerusalem was completed by K.S., assisted by the Sgth of H.K.T. and the skill of H.A.B., its costliness, &c.", or

"On approaching his Royal Master, A—m was about to kneel, which the King prevented by taking him thus:—Saying Rise . . . the import of the word being *Excellent Mason, Stone Cutter or Stone Squarer*".

In reply to Bro. W. J. Williams, I am wholeheartedly with him in his remarks about Elias Ashmole. It has been a great ambition of mine for many years to trace some connection between the Lodge which "made" Ashmole in 1646 and our own Lodge, founded in 1765, but so far I have not succeeded. A Warrington resident, Mr. Edward Sankey, who wrote (probably copied) the Charges presumed to have been used at Ashmole's Initiation, and which are dated 16th October, 1646, lived at Sankey Old Hall, Warrington. The original MS. is in the British Museum and is known as the *Sloane* MS. No. 3848. Some months ago Sankey Old Hall was demolished, and I spent many hours there during the demolition, especially of the private chapel connected with the Hall, not only in the hope of picking up some information on Freemasonry, but also

to see if some of the red sandstone, of which the Hall was built, had come from an Augustine Friary in the neighbourhood, closed by Henry VIII; but I found nothing.

I also entirely agree that all Lodge effects, furniture, regalia, books, papers, &c., of every Lodge should be regularly checked, to prevent anything being lost or mislaid. For sixteen years I was Secretary of the Lodge of Lights and I always attended to this.

As to our missing Minute Books 1765-90, I am afraid that nothing is known, either at Grand Lodge or Provincial Grand Lodge. In fact, out of the seven founders of this Lodge, whose names we know, Grand Lodge can give me particulars of only two, as there were so many names not registered in those early days.

Regarding the Lodge of Faith No. 711 (now 484), Ashton in Makerfield, I did not include it in our table, because I mentioned only those Lodges which were still working in the County Borough of Warrington, and also because the references in our Minute Books were so scrappy that I could not find out exactly what part we played in the founding of the Lodge, though I know that the members of the Lodge of Faith look upon the Lodge of Lights as their Mother Lodge.

It will also please Bro. Williams to know that his suggestions *re* recording the names of Masters of the Lodge should be done, has already been done. We have a list in our By-Laws of all the members of this Lodge, over six hundred and fifty of them, from 1765 to 1938, with particulars such as date of Initiation or Joining (with number of previous Lodge), and in the case of P.Ms. the year of Installation and Prov. Honours (if any). Naturally this was far too big to include in any paper, but I am sending a copy to your Secretary in case any member is interested.

Bro. Ivor Grantham has evidently taken a great interest in my paper, and I am only sorry that I can help so little. I was particularly interested in his suggestions as to the various sources which might be tapped in trying to gain further information. Many of those I have already explored, and I am eager to extend my researches if and when health permits.

I think it was round about 1860 that the Minutes began to be signed regularly by the Principal Officers and the Secretary; prior to that they had been signed by the Master or the Secretary or the Treasurer, or as often as not left unsigned.

I am afraid we have no very early list of our Lodge effects, but I have made out one, and traced the origin of some of our treasures from old Cash Books and other sources; for example, we have:—

2 Old Globes (*circa* 1800); an Eagle Lectern (1800); a Crane and pulleys with perfect ashlar suspended by lewis (prior to 1800, in which year it was repaired); a painted Floor Cloth, date uncertain.

Our three principal Chairs (Chippendale, I believe) are the original 1765 ones. I believe also that the Collar Jewels of the W.M., S.W. and J.W. are the original ones, made of white metal, and, strangely enough, have texts from the New Testament engraved on the backs. Our Deacons' Collar Jewels also, which are still in constant use, are not the usual Dove and Olive Branch, but Mercury bearing the Caduceus. We have also a 1599 copy of the Geneva (Breeches) Bible and an eighteenth century "Exposure," "J—— and B——", 1767 edition, an analysis of which I wrote for the Manchester Association some time ago.

Regarding the purchase of "trowsers", whether there was more than one pair I do not know, as the old Cash Book mentions only one pair.

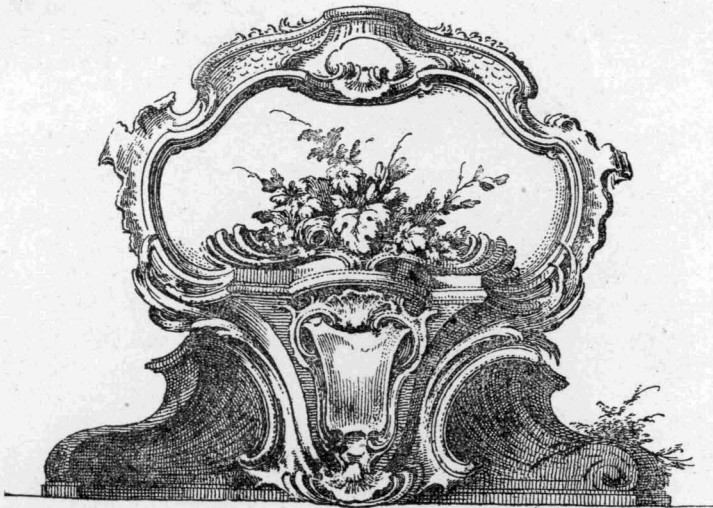
I have not had opportunity yet for further investigating the circumstances of the visit of the two ladies mentioned as having attended a meeting, but will follow up Bro. Grantham's line of enquiry when I get the chance.

As to the names of those who signed the Berlin letter in 1866, I have at the moment no means of verifying this, but I rather think that the letter was written in German script and translated by one of our members, Bro. Christopher Ekkert, Professor of Languages. Whether he translated the names in full English characters I do not now remember, but will try to find out when I am allowed to leave my sick room.

Bro. F. L. Pick's remarks were of peculiar interest to me, and I trust that some day we may meet in Manchester and talk over much that we have in common. At a time when there were so few Brethren who were capable or willing to work the ceremonies, these visiting Brethren who would oblige (for a consideration or without) certainly had their uses. Bro. James Hamer, who gave his name to the West Lancs: Hamer Benevolent Institution, was made an honorary member of this Lodge, as he gave so much assistance in this way.

I am afraid that Bro. G. W. Bullamore and I have quite different ideas as to what constitutes irregularity in our ceremonies. I still think that "passing the chair" to gain the R.A. was irregular, and that the Craft Lodge had no right to confer any such favour, not even those Craft members, either individually or collectively, who were Companions.

In any case why was the practice stopped if it was not irregular? And Bro. Bullamore cannot be sure that suitable candidates were always the recipients of the secrets. One visitor "passed the chair" in this Lodge after having given the members a lecture on another subject (not masonic), and immediately afterwards left the district again.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

SATURDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1941.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 12 noon. Present:—Bros. B. Ivanoff, W.M.; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., I.P.M.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., S.W.; *Wing Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, J.D.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; and F. R. Radice.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. W. Strickland; A. W. R. Kendrick; F. A. Greene, A.G.Sup.Wks.; *Capt.* F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.S.B.; W. Edwardson; F. T. Cramphorn, P.A.G.D.C.; H. W. Chetwin; A. F. W. Argent; H. Boutroy; A. L. Collins, P.A.G.R.; F. C. Taylor; L. Veronique; F. Brown; S. J. H. Pryne; C. J. Curtis; A. C. Cooper; C. Newman; S. W. Freeborn; A. F. Cross; L. G. Wearing; H. W. Martin; E. Alven; F. L. Edwards; J. F. H. Gilbard; and *Lt.-Col.* G. D. Hindley, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. H. Hack, L.G.R., Anglo-Colonial Lodge No. 3175; J. H. B. Beer, Amor Lodge No. 5330; and E. G. Leiseake, P.M., Frederick Lodge of Unity No. 452.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., Pr.G.M., Bristol, 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., Chap.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; D. Flather, P.G.D., P.M.; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; 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; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C.; R. E. Parkinson; G. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Sup.W.; and W. E. Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

Six Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Report was made of the resignation of membership of the Lodge received on behalf of Bro. B. Telepneff, who has been for some years, and still was, abroad.

Bro. Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.R.*, 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. W. I. Grantham	S.W.
„ F. L. Pick	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ J. Heron Lepper	Treasurer
„ F. M. Rickard	Secretary
„ H. C. Bristowe	S.D.
„ G. Y. Johnson	J.D.
„ F. R. Radice	I.G.
„ G. H. Ruddie	Tyler

The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“That W.Bro. Boris Ivanoff, 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 NOTES ON THE FRENCH MASONS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.



THE primary purpose of this address is to call attention to the great mass of material that exists for obtaining a knowledge of the ways of life and of work of our operative brethren in France in the Middle Ages. There is much material also in regard to those in Italy, Germany, Spain and the other European countries, but for obvious reasons it is best to deal only with the best-known and the nearest of the lands beyond the Channel, and even then the time at my disposal will, unless great care be exercised, be subjected to a heavy strain, so much so that with regard to many topics I can at best only mention them, while treating others with some although necessarily rather inadequate detail. Matters on which I have not touched but which press for treatment—however small the yield must be, as I suspect, in some cases—include the conditions of apprenticeship; the rate of pay of the ordinary workmen; the numbers employed; the sources of the building material; and the building methods employed. I can at best say something of the character and development of the trade organisation, the different classes of workmen, the status of the architect, the conditions of work, and the literary references to or artistic representations of the working masons. I hope that from the popular point of view what I say may not be without interest, and from that of scholarship, that it may stimulate those with more leisure and learning, when the fair fields of France are once more free from the invader, to attempt some such research as that which Bro. Knoop and his collaborator have accomplished in laying bare the history, customs and organisations of the masons on this side of the English Channel.

It is not proposed here to deal with unpublished material; the published sources and certain works of a more general character are fully sufficient to give a clear idea of the main features of the subject. In English, Gould himself deals with it, and there is much information in Lethaby's *Mediæval Art* and in Swartwout's *Monastic Craftsman*. In French, collection of texts like those of Mortet and Deschamps on architecture and that of Fagniez on industry and commerce, and treatises like Levasseur's on the working classes, Martin Saint-Leon's on the French guilds, and an extremely useful and well documented thesis by Minviella on the status of the architect, give a good grounding on the subject, with the assistance of monographs by Stein, Lefèvre-Pantalès, Brutails, etc., and a multitude of articles in the transactions and journals of the French archæological societies, many of these last being unprocurable in England, even in such libraries as those of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

At the outset it is perhaps advisable to answer an objection that may be taken that the subject under discussion is not relevant to the proceedings in a lodge of English speculative masons. It is generally admitted that our speculative science derives from the operatives of the Middle Ages, and much useful and fruitful study, as has been¹ mentioned, has been recently given to

¹ *Architectes des Cathédrales Gothiques*, p. 104.

these latter so far as their life and work can be gathered from the English authorities. The internationalism of mediæval thought and the foreign travels of not only scholars but also of craftsmen are not always fully realized. If to these general features there be added the close intellectual kinship, the topographical proximity, and the common subjection to the ruling dynasties which united England and France at any rate previously to the Hundred Years War, and in many cases during its continuance, a little consideration will show that the institutions of the two peoples in their likeness and even in their dissimilarity are worthy of study, each for the sake of the other.

Of this community and interchange of thought and work the story of the mediæval architects and builders itself offers several examples. Stein¹ speaks of "the simple foreign workmen who having come to our workshops to be apprenticed to famous masters having become masters themselves in their turn, have brought back to their own country the processes and plans of which they soon began to make instructive use." In July, 1431, Jean James combines the office of master of the works of the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris with a similar office under the municipality of that city. The plan and construction of the choir and transept of the thirteenth century church of Saint Urbain at Troyes are due to the work of Jean Langlois, of whom Stein suggests that he was either of English origin or had travelled on the other side of the Channel. As I mention later, in 1325-6 Master Nicholas of London is found among those surveying and building on the Grand Pont at Paris. The story of the Canterbury builders, William of Sens and William the Englishman, for so long known to historians from the Canterbury Chronicler, has recently been popularised—and on the scene of their works—by Miss Dorothy Sayer. Finally in the far North in the thirteenth century we see Stephen de Borneuil becoming master of the works of the church of Upsala in Sweden and contracting to take with him a team of "compaignons et bacheliers" to assist him in the work.

One sees it occasionally contended that the craft-guilds in this country are descended from the Roman collegia, in spite of the difficulty such a theory involves of bridging the debated and little-known Dark Ages. In France the claim to such an origin is more easily tenable; quite possibly in the North, in spite of the Barbarian invasions, in the case of the Parisian guilds of the sailors and the butchers, and probably in the South, where the continuity of the Roman tradition is more certain. However this may be, it is much easier to trace the early history of the French guilds to that re-born love of freedom and of individual and corporate liberty which manifested itself in the eleventh century and showed itself in another but a kindred manifestation in the birth of the communes. Consisting originally only of masters and of those apprenticed to that rank, the guilds by the fourteenth century had evolved an intermediate class of *va(r)lets*, *ouvriers*, or, as we should say, journeymen. As these guilds developed, they became more exclusive and oligarchical in character. While the road to mastership for the son of a master was made easier, that for others was made more difficult by the fees for admission as master becoming more and more prohibitive, as became also the cost of the accompanying feast; the cost in money and in toil of the masterpiece, a later development, became greater, and the requirements of the judges more arbitrary and exigent. To the increasing exclusiveness of the mastership is attributed the rise and development of the *campagnonnage*, the fraternity of travelling journeyman masons with its traditional history, its secrets and its customs. It is not my task to pursue the history of the guilds of the Renaissance period, so there is no need to do more than mention their deterioration from voluntary associations into more or less royal corporations as an administrative and fiscal department of the ancient régime, with the added vice of the sale of the mastership—a financial expedient dating back to later mediæval times. Although the guilds were to an extent free and voluntary associations, yet it is well to note that nevertheless

they were under the general authority of their feudal lord; under the King, in the royal towns and cities; under the local feudal lord if within the territory of the latter. In Paris for example, not only were the crafts subject to the regulation and jurisdiction of the Provost, as the King's representative, but the King would himself appoint the head of a particular craft. There is a record of Saint Louis conferring "the mastership of the masons on Master William of Saint-Patu for so long as he pleases," and stating "that Master William has sworn at Paris in the lodge of the Palace as aforesaid (*Es loges du Palès*) that he will well and loyally guard the said mystery." With this we may compare the hereditary mastership of the masons of Scotland of the house of Saint Clair of Roslyn, so well known in British masonic history.

The three classes of craftsmen were the masters, the journeymen, and the apprentices, but in addition among the masters there seems to have been something of a further sub-division, inasmuch as we read among them of *jurés* and *bacheliers*. As has been suggested, this rather corresponds to that between the masters and bachelors of arts in the universities, both classes being out of their apprenticeship or discipleship, but admitting among themselves of further grading according to their standing, and the extensiveness of their experience. From among the more skilful and experienced of the master-masons were selected the *maîtres des œuvres*, this title being perhaps rather that of an office than of a rank, as we speak of the leader of an orchestra, or even of its conductor. The work of the *jurés* was extensive and important and Fagniez¹ quotes several instances at Paris from the National Archives to this effect. They seem to have combined the functions of experts, assessors, surveyors, and arbitrators. We see them in 1393 surveying and detailing the repairs necessary to the mill at Crolebarbe, near Saint Messel. In 1325-6 eight of these *jurés*, masons and carpenters, including Master Nicholas of London, on the complaint of one Soupplicet, a chasuble-maker, and by command of the provost of Paris, survey a tenement and report that it is "dangerous, verminous and uninhabitable", and that for the safety of Soupplicet's premises and that of the Grand Pont on which it stands it must be immediately demolished. Of the date 1349, there is a valuation made by *jurés*, two masons and one carpenter, of a house in the Rue Thibaut, together with a receipt for the fees of their work. In 1372 the famous Ramon du Temple, the King's mason, went to view a vacant site in the Rue aux Obloies, otherwise the Rue de la Licorne, and to estimate its rental value. In 1371 two *jurés*, a mason and a carpenter, are instructed to visit two houses in the Rue du Temple and to make their recommendations on a question of easements as between the two properties, while in 1315 four *jurés* at the request of the provost of the church of Saint Magloire have to determine another question of easements arising out of two properties on the estates of that church. In 1379 we have a document giving the report of the King's *maîtres des œuvres* in carpentry and masonry, who, in the presence of several carpenters, masons, tilers, plasterers and other workmen, have examined certain works executed in the Auge district and find that they have been well and faithfully executed according to contract.

With regard to the workmen, Fagniez states that they were generally paid task-work, whether for the whole job or so much for each unit thereof, but even from a document printed by him relating to works executed at the Augustinian Convent in 1299-1301 it appears that this custom was by no means universal, since therein we find a payment to William, the stone-cutter, for five days' work, followed by an entry for making hammers, without a mention of time. The owner supplied materials, scaffolding and machines. What these machines looked like we can see from the illustrations in Villard de Honnecourt's Album and also from those in some of the mediæval manuscripts. When the job was of

¹ *Etudes sur l'Industrie . . . à Paris au 13ième et au 14ième siècle (1877).*

long duration the owner was bound to supply and replace the workman's tools. Work which need not be carried out on the scaffolding was done in a covered workshop or lodge, which was heated in winter-time, and we have a note in 1385 of Henry Poussart and Simon de Vien, carpenters, having carried out the carpenter's work for a covered lodge for the wood-work of the pavilion of the castle of Poitiers to be made in.

Besides the mason, called both in French and in Latin by many different names, there were employed on or about the stone portion of the building, the quarrier, who sometimes cut the stone before it reached the site; the plasterer; the mortarer; those workmen who erected the scaffolding; and those who dug the foundations of the intended structure. Included in the payments for making the foundations and clearing the site of rubbish and stone there is an entry for a payment to female workmen and in another document there are entries of payments to boys for cutting the stone. Among the other classes of workmen we should note the "*couvreurs*", who cover the roof with thatch, slate, or tiles—our tilers.

Sometimes the workmen had their meals from those for whom they worked, and when by reason of the approach of bad weather or from other causes it was necessary to work as uninterruptedly as possible, they had their food and drink on the site. Certain festivals of the church, the beginning or end of stages in the work, and the visits of the owner, were marked by the bestowal of gifts (e.g., of gloves) or of money or by the holding of a feast. On Shrove Tuesday, according to the arrangements for building operations at the college of Beauvais in 1376-8, the workmen were to be given a sheep for consumption. On Ascension Day the *maître de l'œuvre* presided over a feast of the men. The laying of the first stone, the driving in of the first nail, the placing of the keystone of the vault were similarly the occasions for a common feast. In summer, when the days were long and droughty, and when the men were bringing up stone, lime, sand and other materials, frequent drinks were to be supplied. As the builder had to pay for materials and labour before the work was finished, he was re-imbursed, on the production of the architect's certificate, as he was on a similar voucher for anything done on the completion of the job. Any faults or omissions in the construction were to be made good by those to whose default they were due. Occasionally a guarantee, e.g., for three years, was given with the work.

A revealing light is thrown on the thoughts, methods and attainments of the mediæval architect by a manuscript at present in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and which was a few years ago lent temporarily to the French Exhibition at Burlington House. Its author, Villard de Honnecourt (the personal name is spelt in more than one way) came from the neighbourhood of Cambray and, though the evidence to this effect is chiefly inferential, seems to have attained to considerable eminence as a architect, not only in his own district, but on the continent generally. His *Album or Sketch Book* is, as Quicherat says, "an itinerary: his steps may be traced in it through France from north to east, and across the German Empire to its extreme limits." He visits Laon and sketches one of the towers of its cathedral, "the most beautiful that the world contains." Similarly he sketches Rheims—but in some detail—Meaux, Chartres and Lausanne. His long professional residence in Hungary is attested in its pages. He declares to the reader in his work that "Villard de Honnecourt salutes you, and implores all who labour at the different kinds of work contained in this book to pray for his soul, and hold him in remembrance. For in this book may be found good help to the knowledge of the great powers of masonry, and of devices in carpentry. It also shows the power of the art of delineation, the outlines being regulated and taught in accordance with geometry." Perhaps within the limits of space a good idea may be obtained of the contents of the

Album by giving the classification adopted by the editors, with instances from each class:—

1. Sacred or Emblematical Figures: e.g., of Christ, the Virtues and Vices.
2. Secular Figures: warriors, wrestlers, copies from the antique, etc.
3. Animals: e.g., lions.
4. Flowers and Foliage.
5. Architecture and Construction:
 - (a) Plans: e.g., of a church planned by Villard and by Pierre de Corbie.
 - (b) Drawings: of cathedrals at Laon, Rheims, etc.
 - (c) Practical Geometry: e.g., to lay out a square cloister.
 - (d) Masonry: voussoirs and vaults, etc.
 - (e) Carpentry: e.g., roof for a side aisle.
 - (f) Machines: sawmill, the missile-throwing military engine called a trébuchet.
 - (g) Receipts: e.g., for hydraulic cement.

While it has to be remembered that Villard was in all probability an exceptionally gifted master of his craft, yet even with this caution it must be recognised from his book that the wonders of Gothic architecture were not so incommensurate with the theoretical attainments of these master-builders as is sometimes supposed. The drawings, whether originals or copies, are in most cases full of life and beauty and, again as something of a revelation, show that the mediæval artists were by no means unskilled in the drawing of the nude figure. The plans and elevations are skilfully drawn, though sometimes with some want of fidelity due to their being rather recollected than drawn on the spot. Moreover, Villard's pages show much more of a many-sidedness than is now common in the more specialised profession. But however much we may say to explain his Album, one feels there is only one way to appreciate his work and that is by examining it in one of the several editions of it which have been published.

Gould was much impressed by the existence of the Charles Martel tradition among the mediæval French masons and thought that it pointed either to the derivation of the French and English legends from a common source or even to the English traditional history having received a French impress. In coming to this conclusion he used the argument that though many crafts use the hammer ("marteau") and have not adopted Charles Martel as patron, yet the masons have done so, although they never use a hammer. Admittedly any falsity in this part of the argument does not seriously affect his conclusion, but I feel bound to point out that, contrary to his statement, entries for making hammers ("pro fabricando martellos") do occur among the building items for the work at the Augustinian Convent in 1299-1301 and show the hammer to have been a mason's tool.

As has been already stated, there is in the Masons' section of the *Livre des Métiers* a statement that Master William of Saint Patu took the oath on his appointment to the mastership of the Paris masons in the lodge of the Palace ("es loges due Palès"), and, controverting arguments to the contrary, Gould takes the words to mean simply within the precincts or enclosures of the Palace. If he had added to his many good French authorities a study of Fagniez's *Etudes sur l'Industrie . . . à Paris, au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle* (1877) he would have found two quotations rather telling against his argument: one a statement of payments to the carpenters and masons who made the lodge for the masons ("qui firent la loge aus massons") and the other also of payments made to two carpenters for the carpentry-work of a covered lodge to be used for making the woodwork of the pavilion of the castle of Poitiers ("pour avoir

fait et assis la charpenterie d'une loge rendue couverte pour ouvrir dessous à fere la charpenterie du pavillon du chasteau de Poitiers.") As against Fort, Gould states that Paris masons never called their workshops "lodges" and that French artisans have not even yet become familiarized with the use of the word in this sense; but these quotations seem effectively to answer Gould's argument. I am not suggesting, naturally, that the mediæval lodge was a speculative lodge, but I do think it clear that the word was used in mediæval French in the sense in which it was used, say, in the Fabric Rolls of York Minster.

The question is often asked whether mediæval buildings had what we should call an architect. The word *architectus* in a special sense was rarely used in the Middle Ages. Enlart says it was introduced by the pedantry of humanity only in the sixteenth century and was only accepted when the art had broken with national tradition. Richard of Saint-Victor in the twelfth century divided architecture into that which belonged to the masons ("ad latomos et caementarios") and that pertaining to the carpenters ("ad carpentarios et tignarios"), and this division is supported by the constantly close connection between the master-mason and his associates and those of the master-carpenter and his in the building works of the time. The mason, and frequently the master-mason, is called *caementarius*, *lat(h)omus* or *lapicida*, or in French *machon* or *masson*. The term most frequently used for the performer of architectural functions was *maître d'œuvre*, although our authorities give a host of other expressions, both in Latin and in French, for that official. In discussing his functions it has to be remembered that with the development and ensuing complications and extensions of the building art there has been a process of evolution which has rendered these functions more sharply defined and the lines of demarcation between those originally closely allied more and more rigid. In the days of Romanesque architecture the work of building was much simpler than it became with the development of Gothic, with its vaults and flying-buttresses, and much of it could be done by the more or less amateur skill of the monks. The schools of the latter in time developed a class of professional craftsmen, and these originated and developed the intricacies of the Gothic style. The use of the word "*fecit*", which in this connection as often means "caused to be made" as "made", has led to a popular misconception of the mediæval builders, fed by the glowing panegyrics of such works as Montalambert's *Monks of the West*. The man who "made" the structure might, unless the contract or other circumstances made the point clear, be either the bishop or abbot who ordered the building; his representative who bought the materials, hired the labour and made his arrangements with, as we should say, the architect; or the architect himself. The last-named, so far as we can generalize, was in a position of much less independence than his nearest modern counterpart. In Minvielle's opinion there was no architect in the modern sense of the term and no building contractor. He does not see the counterpart of a modern architect drawing up his plans and designs, in general control of the work, the agent and representative of the building owner, a member of a liberal profession, but as "a simple workman almost always a mason, who, by his intelligence, his capacity, his labours has succeeded in perfecting himself, in distinguishing himself from his companions, in raising himself above his modest rôle, but who still remains a workman, a master-mason forming part of his corporation and subject to the regulations which govern it. Having passed through all the degrees of his professional hierarchy, he carries on manual work, very frequently with the companions whom he directs, sharing their life and occupations, living with them in the lodge annexed to the work-shop, and even like them being paid by the day." Further Minvielle points out that when a building is to be put up the owner or his representative treats separately with the chief of each particular craft to be employed, with the master-mason, the master-carpenter, the master-locksmith, etc. Moreover it is the owner or his

agent, not the so-called architect, who buys the materials and engages the labour. With regard to this agent there was a certain specialization of function, it has to be noted, and it was he if anyone who exercised general control and superintendence of the work; he was known as the *operarius* or *procureur de la fabrique* and sometimes—to add to our confusion—as the *maître de l'œuvre*.

But I think it may be contended that this picture does not give a complete view of the functions and particularly the status of the *maître de l'œuvre*. It may be granted that all or most of these men worked their way up from the status of simple workmen, but in so doing some at least of them must have acquired such craftsmanlike skill and such theoretical and general knowledge as would have enabled them to vie successfully with members of the liberal professions. No doubt much of their skill was acquired from the practice and teaching of the schools of architecture which we must suppose to have been formed around the great ecclesiastical buildings; even a Renaissance architect could say that "in building, practice teaches what is to be done"; but unless we regard him as an isolated phenomenon, who can read Villard de Honnecourt and not recognize that the mediæval master-craftsman was something more than just what that phrase now implies, and that he was sometimes a scholar and that the action of a Duke of Brittany who in the year 1437 ennobled a master-carpenter was no unworthy one?

Moreover, though Minvielle states that the master-craftsman was, like his workmen, paid by the day, this was by no means the invariable rule. On occasions he was given a fur robe—a sign of some social consideration in the Middle Ages; he dined at the abbot's table; his services are solicited throughout the European continent—French craftsmen go to Hungary, to Sweden, to Heidelberg, to Canterbury. Presents, cajolery, and threats are employed to obtain his services. The Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme lends the Bishop of Le Mans the monk John, his architect, and, pleading and menacing by turns, has to write threatening excommunication if the recalcitrant craftsman does not return to his old employer. The Chapter of Troyes cathedral sends presents to the wife and daughter of Chambiges, their architect, to put pressure on him to do their work. With regard to the earnings of the *maître de l'œuvre*, there is a considerable difference of opinion between the authorities. Dr. Coulton seeing in general little distinction between the artist and the artisan, states that the cathedrals were built from top to bottom by artisans receiving artisans' wages, the master-mason generally getting the same as the master-carpenter or master-smith. Mr. Briggs, differing from this view, says that the mere fact that the master-mason's emoluments were paid as wages proves nothing, that he was paid much more than an ordinary mason and often more than anyone else. Lance in his estimates of earnings shows that these would approximate to what we should now consider those of the less well-paid professional class. That the *maître de l'œuvre* was something much more than a mere operative workman is suggested by two extracts from the sermons and writings of the Dominican friar, Nicholas of Biard (c. 1261), in which he speaks of that official with his rod and gloves bidding his workmen "Hew me that stone," but standing idle himself, although he receives higher wages, "as do many modern prelates." And again, "Some work by their mere word. Note: 'On these great buildings there is wont to be only one chief master who just issues his instructions and never or rarely does a hand's turn himself, but yet receives more pay than the others.'"

To sum up, if I might venture a humble opinion, I should suggest that with his wages, with presents and payments in kind, with his fees for professional opinions, with permission assumed or granted to take up simultaneously more than one non-continuous job, and bearing in mind the social consideration enjoyed and the substantial fortunes acquired by several, the *maître de l'œuvre* of the Middle Ages was a person whose remuneration was not altogether

incommensurate with his great gifts. Esteemed in his life-time, after his death there was no stint of funerary brass or marble, and many a memorial on the Continent and in England—some of them still existing—commemorates those who were subtle artists in wood and stone. Nor, contrary to the popular view, did these artists either seek or achieve anonymity. Pierre de Montereau was described on his tomb at Saint-Germain-des-Près as “doctor lathomorum”; Hugh Libergier’s grave at St. Nicaise, Rheims, was marked by the beautiful slab that has been so often reproduced. Though estimates differ widely, it is clear that from documents and other records we have the names of hundreds, if not thousands, of these master-craftsmen in disproof of the claim of anonymity.

For those who wish to get some idea of the mediæval craftsman in his habit as he lived and with his tools as he worked, there is adequate rather than copious material in works of art such as the windows of Chartres Cathedral for the mason, the choir-stalls of Poitiers for the architect, and in the illuminations of contemporary manuscripts. There are two romances of the Middle Ages which in the field of literature give interesting glimpses of the work and customs of the craftsmen. In the tale of Renaud of Montauban, one of the Four Sons of Aymon, the hero comes to the church of St. Peter at Cologne, on the building of which he finds many masons employed. He offers his services to the master-mason, who agrees to employ him, bidding him: “Go help these four that you see there, that may not bear the stone, for they be but knaves.” Then Renaud goes to the four men, takes up the stone, charges it on his neck, and carries it to the wall where it is to be set. The workmen are shocked and say “We shall earn but little as long as this man is with us”; but the master-mason is delighted and asks him to hold the stone until the place is ready for its setting. Afterwards he is bidden to fetch mortar and he carries ten times the load of the ordinary workmen. At the end of the day, when the men leave work and receive their wages, the master gives them their fivepence a day, but offers Renaud whatever it may please him to ask, while the latter refuses to take more than a penny a day and that for food. Thus and with this little pay, the hero labours for many day, “serving the masons as it is said for the love of God.” His fellow labourers are filled with envy, “for they saw that they were all set aside for the great service that he did the masons,” conspire against him, so that when they leave work and go to dinner and Renaud is resting under the vault of the great house, one of them takes a great mason’s hammer and drives it deep into his brain. Then they put the body in a sack, load it into a cart, and cast it into the Rhine. By a miracle the fishes in the river bear up Renaud’s remains, the corpse is recovered and put on a cart, and none of the concourse feeling themselves worthy to move the holy corpse, the cart moves “by the power of God, no man aiding”, straight out of the city to the tomb that had been prepared for it. The workmen confess their crime and beg to be punished, but the Archbishop bids them do penance and sin no more.

In the poem containing the legendary history of Girart de Roussillon, the hero’s wife, the Countess Bertha retires to Vézelay and there founds a monastery in honour of the Magdalen. On an occasion going to view the progress of the building she sees a pilgrim working ceaselessly, carrying stone, mortar and water in buckets up to the site. Wishing to share in the work, she arranges to meet him with her chaplain at midnight, and for the space of a month they fetch sand up the hill, carrying it in a sack by means of a pole. The tongue of slander reports these midnight meetings to Girart, who comes to Vézelay to see what is happening. He hides himself behind a bush, and sees the Countess and her chaplain meet the pilgrim with his sack and stick. Then a wondrous light shines over her and her husband sees the pilgrim filling the sack with sand while she on her knees holds it out for him. The sand is heavy and the sack is large; the pilgrim holds it against him and walks behind, the

Countess in front with slow steps. She accidentally treads on her gown with her right foot and falls forward on the ground. But the pole which supports the sack still remains in place! The Count, struck by these two miracles, recognizes at once his wife's innocence and her piety, takes hold of the pole, and with the Countess at the head and again bearing her burden, the party reaches the monastery where the bells are ringing out.

A study of these operative masons discovers several points of interest to those acquainted with the ritual of the speculative degrees, but I would beg my hearers and readers to beware of seeing in these names, places, or customs anything more than their circumstances warrant. A document of the early eleventh century speaks of one Rudolph as being very skilful in the whole art of casting "like a second Bezaleel", and Mortet comments that this name was given in the Carolingian Palace to Eginhard, superintendent of buildings under Charlemagne, and to Thietmar, who helped Saint Poppo of Stavelot in the building of his church. A little later in the same century, a building bishop is addressed as "that wise man who ruled his house so well and built it up out of living and chosen stones and supported it on wondrous columns", and Mortet again comments that the expression "living stone" dates back to Roman antiquity, from which it passed with Saint Augustine into Christian and hymnological Latinity, as in the hymn "Cælestis urbs Jerusalem". The use and presentation of gloves or mittens for workmen was common in the Middle Ages. The Cistercian Statutes of 1157, for example, forbid the use of all kinds of gloves, whether of leather or of cloth, except that craftsmen are allowed to use that kind "which is commonly called mittens." Minvielle however does not regard them as peculiar to the masons, pointing out logically that on the one hand we see depicted a stone-mason without gloves and that on the other both nobles and clergy wore them. But on the whole I think we can consider gloves as associated, though not peculiarly so, with the masons.

In conclusion, may I express the hope that even these few notes have shown what a mass of interesting material we have close at hand for the story of the ways of our operative predecessors, and may spur others to undertake the task of sifting and presenting it?

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. Lewis Edwards was born in Westminster in 1888. He was educated at Westminster City School, where he was a Scholar and Gold Medallist, and also at Lincoln College, Oxford, where he was a Scholar. In 1910 he was called to the Bar in Lincoln's Inn. He saw military service during the Great War of 1914/18 in the Leicestershire Regiment. His activities in the field of research have been extensive. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Statistical Society, and of the Royal Economic Society. He is also Honorary Treasurer of the British Archæological Association and a Member of the Council of the Monumental Brass Society. He is the author of *The Professional Costume of Lawyers, illustrated principally by Monumental Brasses*, which appeared in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, and in the Journal of the Monumental Brass Society; and also of *Mendoza*, which appeared in the Journal of the Jewish Historical Society of England.

Bro. Edwards holds a long record in Freemasonry. He was initiated in the Sir Francis Burdett Lodge No. 1503, of which he is a P.M. and the Treasurer. He was a Founder of two Lodges—the Westminster City School Lodge No. 4305, of which he is a P.M. and the Treasurer, and Lodge of

Assiduity No. 4844, of which he was the first Master and is now the Secretary. He is also a member of the Middlesex Masters Lodge. In 1929 he became Prov. J.G.W. in Middlesex; in 1930 London Grand Rank was conferred on him, and in 1936 the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar in Grand Lodge. In 1936 Bro. Edwards was appointed Prestonian Lecturer, when he took as his subject *Freemasonry, Ritual and Ceremonial*.

In Royal Arch Masonry Bro. Edwards was exalted in Dalhousie Chapter No. 865, of which he is a P.Z. and the Scribe E. He is also a P.Z. of Granite Chapter No. 1328, and was a Founder and first Z. of Chapter of Assiduity No. 4844, of which he is now Treasurer. London Grand Chapter Rank was conferred on him in 1935; Prov. G.Registrar for Middlesex in 1936; and Past Grand Standard Bearer in 1936.

In the Mark Degree Bro. Edwards is a P.M. and the Secretary of Prince of Wales Lodge No. 4; and he became Grand Senior Deacon in 1938.

He has also occupied the Chair of Prince of Wales R. Ark Mariner Lodge; is a P.M. in the Cryptic Rite, a P.M. in the Allied Degrees, and a P. Ruler in the Order of the Secret Monitor.

Bro. Edwards is a supporter of all the Masonic Charitable Institutions, being a Vice-President of the R.M.I.G., the R.M.I.B., and the R.M.B.I.; and a Vice-Patron of the Masonic Hospital, and Vice-President of the Mark Benevolent Fund.

With regard to Quatuor Coronati Lodge in particular, Bro. Edwards joined the Correspondence Circle in 1923, and was elected a full member of the Lodge in November, 1934. Besides the many and valuable comments upon papers read in the Lodge, Bro. Edwards has contributed papers on *Anderson's Constitutions of 1738*; *Freemasonry, Ritual and Ceremonial*; and *The Duke of Sussex*. In addition, Bro. Edwards is the author of several works on Freemasonry, viz.: *The Law and Custom of Freemasonry*, *Differences between the Book of Constitutions and the Regulations of Supreme Grand Chapter*; *The Colours of a Royal Arch Chapter*; *The History of the Prince of Wales Mark Lodge*.

We give a hearty welcome to Bro. Lewis Edwards as Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.



THE TRACING BOARDS OF THE BRITANNIA LODGE

No. 139.

BY D. FLATHER.



WHEN the late Bro. E. H. Dring was preparing the matter for his classic Paper on *The Evolution and development of the the Tracing or Lodge Board* (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxix, p. 243) he sent out a large number of very interesting circulars inviting Brethren and Lodges to report to him any old Tracing Boards of which they had knowledge.

The result of this appeal was most gratifying to him, as it furnished him with a store of records which enabled him to make a complete and most valuable study of this very interesting branch of Masonic History.

As my own contribution to the enquiry I gave Bro. Dring details of the set of three Tracing Boards which are the property of the Britannia Lodge No. 139, Sheffield, and which are in regular use by all the other Lodges of Sheffield.

Bro. Dring's comments on these boards will be found on page 294 (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxix) and a photograph of the 3° board is given opposite page 297.

"No. 139, Britannia, Sheffield.

"The first and second boards are an early Harris type. The third board is earlier and is peculiar in having no inscription or letters either on the name-plate or elsewhere, while the figure 5 is represented three times by a pentalpha.

On the reverse there can be seen (beneath a coat of thick black varnish, which has defied all attempts made to dissolve it) the outlines of the emblems of the first two degrees, including a beehive. In the inventory of the Lodge, taken in 1810, "a tracing board" is mentioned which might possibly be the same as the present third degree board."

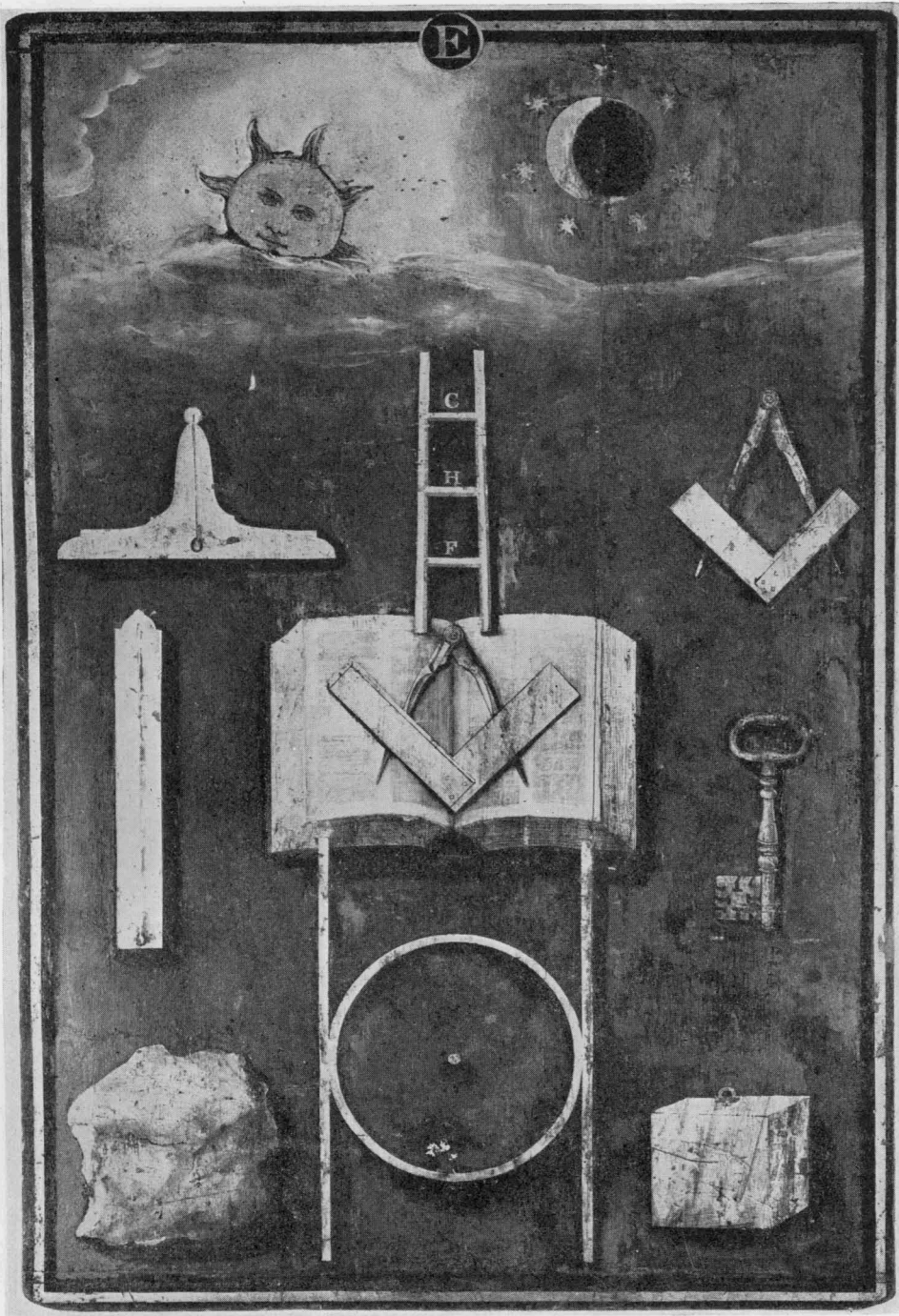
I am now in a position to give some further information than was known when Bro. Dring wrote his paper; and, although the information is far from complete, I hope it will be of some interest to the Brethren.

It is a curious fact that in spite of a complete examination of the records of the Britannia Lodge I have not found any trace either of the purchase of any of the Tracing Boards or of the purchase of designs for copying by local artists.

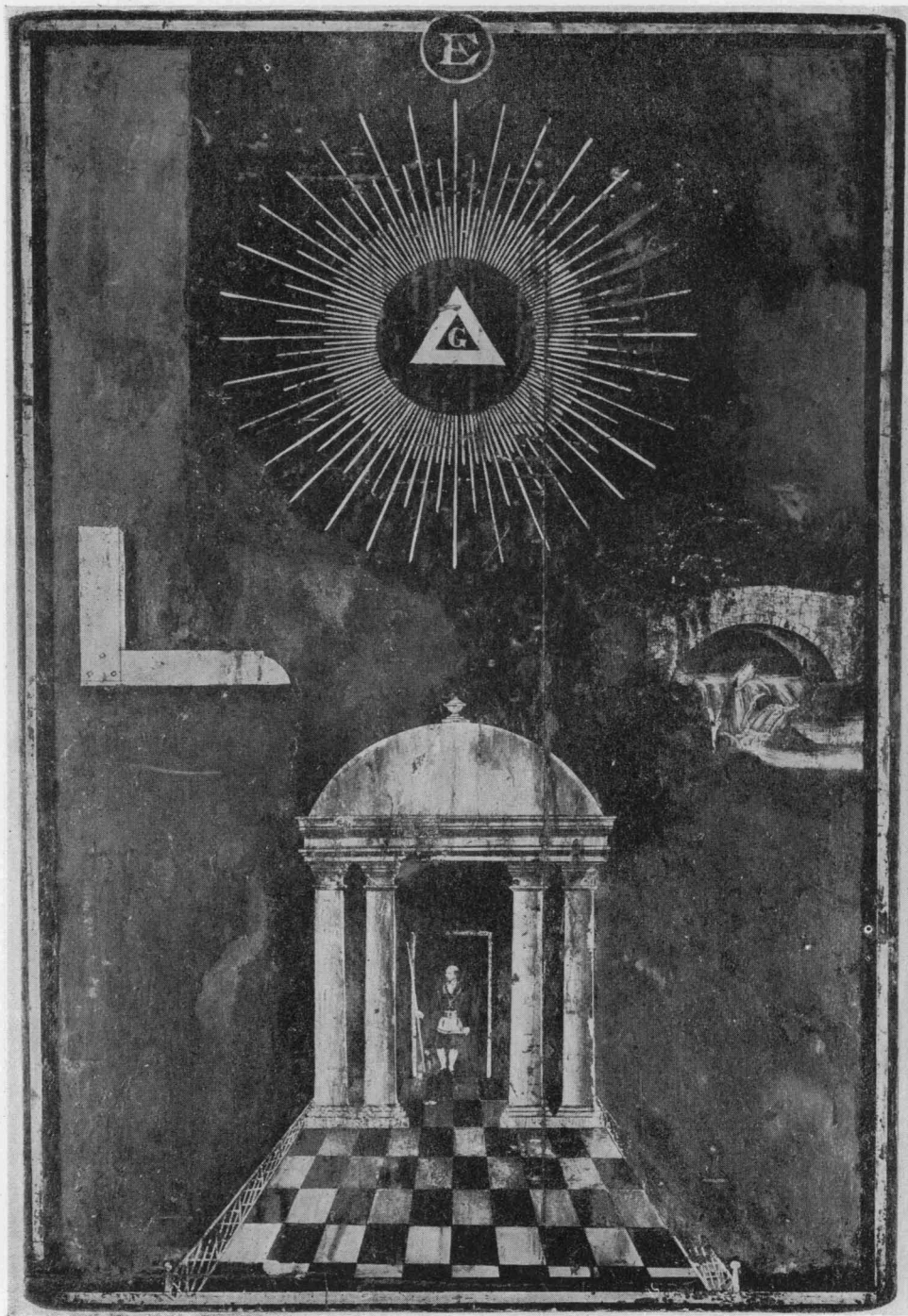
There are references to the accounts of Bro. Cole and Bro. Harris, but these are for comparatively small amounts and were probably charges for printing forms for Lodge Summonses.

The first of these was "Bro. Cole £1.5.0", dated 11th February, 1774. This would no doubt refer to Bro. William Cole; and it is, of course, possible that the charge of £1.5.0 might have been for the sale of designs. As I now know, the design of the triple board is certainly not similar to those published by John Cole in 1801. It is possible that William Cole at his death left many designs and drawings which would be of great value to his son, John, who took

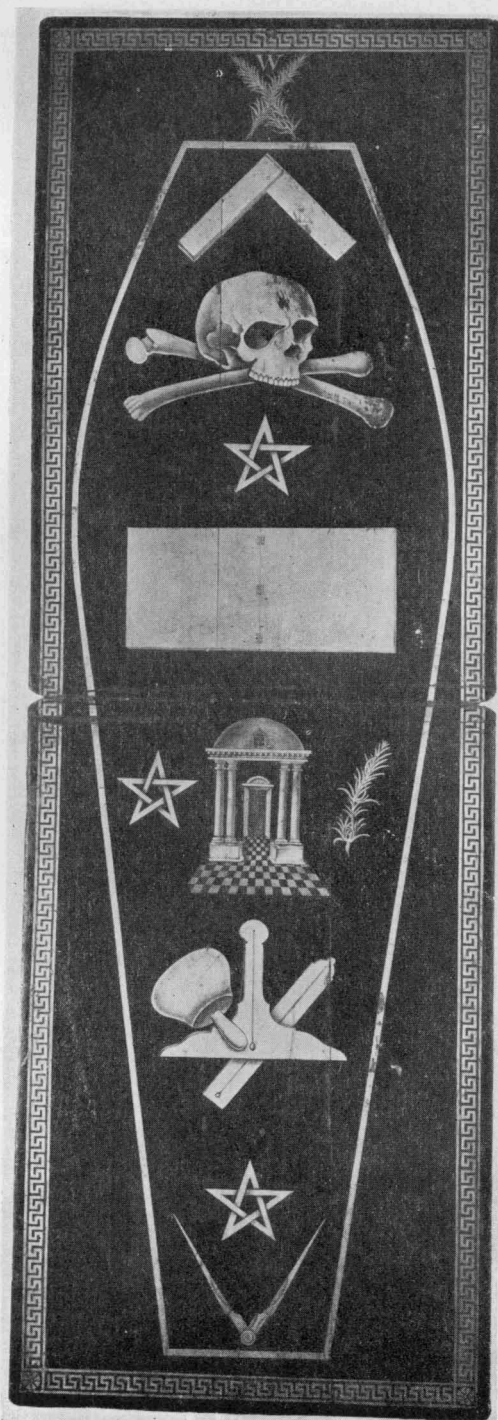
ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.



TRACING BOARD—BRITANNIA LODGE.



TRACING BOARD—BRITANNIA LODGE.



TRACING BOARD—BRITANNIA LODGE.

over the business. In May, 1771, there is an earlier reference to Cole—viz.: a payment of £2.10.0 for “repairing the Lodge Plate”.

Inventories. In 1810, in the Inventory of the Lodge property, “the Lodge Board” is recorded.

The Inventory of May, 1835, clearly shows that the Triple board was in regular use on that date, as the following record shows:—

“The Floor Board Painted in
three degrees—in Mahogany Case”

As already stated, we have no record to show the date when this Triple Board was acquired; but, in the procession at the opening of the Infirmary in the year 1797, it is recorded that in the Masonic portion of the Procession the

“Lodge covered with White Satin carried by four Master Masons.”

This definitely describes a single board and not three boards.

It is disappointing that it has not been possible to fix the date upon which the old Triple Board was acquired by the Lodge. The explanation of the absence of records in the minutes may be that it was customary in the Britannia Lodge for many years to look upon special requirements—such as (1) The decoration of the Lodge Room, (2) Purchase of Regalia and Furniture, and even (3) The cost of the Warrant and Frame—as being outside the needs of the ordinary Lodge finance, the expense being met by a private appeal to the members for contribution. In such cases it would not be considered necessary to make records in the minutes.

Reverting now to Bro. Dring’s comments upon the photograph of the Britannia Lodge Tracing Boards, the second and third degree Boards were beyond doubt designed by Harris, and I am inclined to think that they were copied from Harris’ published Designs in or about the year 1843. It is very probable that they were the gift of Bro. M. M. de Bartolomé, who joined the Lodge in 1838 and who played a leading part in the restoration of Masonry in Sheffield.

Having in mind the fact that in the Inventory of 1835 the “Triple” board was recorded and that the 1° and 2° Harris Boards were not acquired until about 1843, we are enabled to assume with almost absolute certainty that the Lodge decided to retain the 3° side of the Triple Board and obliterate the 1° and 2° sides by covering with black paint or varnish. Thus the Tracing Boards used by the Lodge from 1843 consisted of the 1° and 2° Harris Boards and the 3° side of the old Triple Board.

About the year 1902 it was decided to ensure the safety of the old boards. Copies were made and presented to the Lodge, the originals being carefully preserved. While this work was in process I made a very careful study of the oldest (Triple Board), and to my delight I found on the two outer sides of the folding board, when examined in a strong oblique light, very clearly defined outlines of a number of masonic symbols which could be traced as being beneath the black varnish.

Many attempts were made to remove the black varnish, but without success. At last, when all hope was abandoned, W.Bro. J. F. Horner, P.M. of King Egbert Lodge No. 4288, offered his services. Bro. Horner is an expert in dealing with and restoring paintings, and we gladly accepted his offer. After many months of patient and skilful work Bro. Horner succeeded in removing the black varnish completely, as will be seen from the photographs herewith. These however cannot show the wonderful colour values of the design, which are fresh and luminous, and there is a striking use of gilt in both boards.

It will be noticed that the design does not include any indented border on the 1° and 2° sides, and that on the 3° a Greek key pattern is used as a border. Also it should be noted that the 1° and 2° sides indicate the E. and

the 3° the W. This certainly indicates that the Boards would, when in use, be placed upon the floor of the Lodge and not placed upright or vertical.

After a very complete examination of the copies of Tracing Boards given in Bro. Dring's paper and of many other published designs I have come to the conclusion that this Triple Board is the work of a local artist and is to a great extent an original design, based, however, upon other known designs. There are certain points in the arrangement of the symbols which coincide with Cole's design, though with a more "pictorial" execution. On the 2° design, the inclusion of an arched bridge with the waterfall is unique. It is this portion which in my first report to Bro. Dring I took to be a Beehive.

By the way, it may be useful to point out how universal is the introduction of the symbol of a Key into Tracing Board designs, and in doing so suggest that it should not be taken as being the symbol of money or of the office of Treasurer. It is no doubt the symbol of "Secrecy."

In regard to the substitution in the 3° design of three Pentalpha in place of three figures 5, this is unique and is in my view a confirmation as to the originality of the artist, who certainly was a Mason and a member of the Lodge.

In connection with the 3° it may be of interest to record that in 1817 the Lodge purchased the "Emblems of Mortality", which it was, and still is, the custom in the Lodge to display on the floor at the N.E. corner of the Lodge during a raising. In the ceremony, after the address to the candidate, the W.M. explains the Tracing Board; then leads the candidate to the Emblems and continues the address. It will be seen that there is a secret allusion by which the candidate can deduce that as he was received into Freemasonry at the N.E. corner, as his end is symbolized by the Emblems on the same spot.

DAVID FLATHER.

NOTE.



ALTER HANCOX (1599).—In a paper on *The use of the Word "Freemason" before 1717* (*A.Q.C.*, xlviii, 1935, pp. 140-198) a note is included referring to Walter Hancox (1599), a Freemason (see page 254).

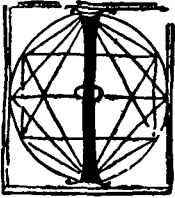
In the *Times* of 22nd Nov., 1939, page 2, is an article headed *Shropshire Seat Sold*. It is recorded that Condover Hall . . . was built by Judge Thomas Owen in the last years of the sixteenth century. Judge Owen's monument is in Condover Church. He was a Justice of the Common Pleas, and his Tomb in Westminster Abbey was designed by Walter Hancock, who had supervised the building of Condover Hall. In the volume on Westminster Abbey issued by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) references are made to the Tomb in Westminster Abbey. At page 56 is a key plan of South Aisle of Nave, E. half, which shows the position of that Tomb. On page 57a this is printed:—

"(5) [Monument] of Thomas Owen, 1598, justice of the Common Pleas, combined altar-tomb and wall-monument, almost uniform with monument (19) in N. Aisle but without the recess in the front. The effigy is in judicial robes."

These particulars supplement the record in the *Transactions* and seem worthy of noting.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Jan Willem Bek, of Sourabaya, Java, in 1941. Bro. Bek was a P.M. of Lodge No. 35 (N.C.), and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1934.

Alphonse A. Burnand, of Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A., on 3rd September, 1941. Bro. Burnand held the rank of Past Grand Master and Past Grand High Priest. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in March, 1891.

William Thomas Calderwood, of Morpeth, Northumberland, on 24th November, 1941, aged 48 years. Bro. Calderwood was a member of Faraday Lodge No. 4852 and of Napier Clavering Chapter No. 2821. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1927.

Christopher Coleman Gill, of Bath, on 18th August, 1941. Bro. Gill held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1909.

Capt. **R. Henderson Bland**, of London, N.W., on 20th August, 1941. Bro. Bland was P.M. of Drury Lane Lodge No. 2127. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1937.

William Marsden, of Huddersfield, in 1941. Bro. Marsden was P.M. of Holme Valley Lodge No. 652. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in May, 1912.

Charles Arnold Newman, of Cotterstock, Northamptonshire, in September, 1941. Bro. Newman held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1912.

Percy Pemberton, of Leeds, in September, 1941. Bro. Pemberton held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1923.

George William Richmond, of London, N.W., on 20th October, 1941. Bro. Richmond was a member of Lodge No. 788 (S.C.) and of Chapter No. 36 (S.C.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in November, 1921.

Alfred John Thorpe, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on 12th July, 1941. Bro. Thorpe was a P.M. of Lodge No. 3 (B.C.), and a member of Andrew Chapter No. 3328 (E.C.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1921.

Ernest Costley White, *O.B.E.*, *B.A.*, of Cheltenham, Glos., on 11th August, 1941. Bro. White was a P.M. of Lodge No. 1162 (S.C.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1919.

William Mortimer Wilson, *M.A.*, of Alfreton, Derbys., in July, 1941. Bro. Wilson held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.J. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1905.

ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1941:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Provincial Grand Lodge of Nottinghamshire, Nottingham; St. Augustine's Lodge No. 972, Canterbury, Kent; Royal Military Lodge No. 1449, Canterbury, Kent; Telegraph Cable Lodge No. 2470, London, W.; Tankerton Lodge No. 5153, Whitstable, Kent; Masters' and Pastmasters' Lodge No. 130, Christchurch, New Zealand; Saltburn Masonic Trust, Ltd., Saltburn by the Sea, Yorks.

BRETHREN:—Kenneth John Aveling, of Bushey, Herts., P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.S.; Reginald Stuart Bagnall, of Utttoxeter, Staffs., 4169, *456*; W. Baxter, of Plymouth, 4098; Joseph Bolton, of Middlesbrough, P.M. 4510, 602; *Sergt.-Major* Reginald William Cawthorn, New Zealand Expeditionary Force, 122, 25; Reginald Vincent Cooper, of Durban, S. Africa, 5495, 738; Joseph Edward Davison, of Southsea, 4505; William Robert Dixon, of Eaglescliffe, Co. Durham, 4510, 602; J. W. Dodd, of Erdington, Wores.; *Air Cdre.* Bertie C. H. Drew, C.M.G., C.V.O., C.B.E., of Taunton, P.M. 4844; Alan Elgee, of Middlesbrough, 4510, 602; Bartholomew Foskett, M.C., of Sevenoaks, Kent, P.M. 1414, P.Z. 1414; James Scott Fox, of Leeds, 1542; Charles Mildmay Given, of London, W., 2, 2; *Ft. Lt.* Arthur George Graham, R.A.F.V.R., of London, W., 5056; Charles Edward Green, of Barnet, Herts., 3038; Martin Henry Grundy, of Oxford, 3005; William Gregory Ibberson, of Sheffield, 4480, 2491; Stewart Logan, of Edinburgh, 392; *Rev.* Ramsay Malcolm Bolton Mackenzie, of Shrewsbury, 262; Tom Norman Pack, of Portsmouth, 5150, 5150; Ernest John Page, of Cheam, Surrey, P.M. 5508, P.Z. 2262; Reginald Francis Palmer, of Sydney, N.S.W., P.M. 2933, 2970 (E.C.), P.G.D., P.G.Supt.W. (S.C.); Frederick James Patrick, of Ashford, 227; William Patrick, of Bournemouth, W.M. 227; William Lye Pattison, of Middlesbrough, Pr.G.W., P.Pr.A.So.; Frank Powell, of Solihull, Warwicks., P.M. 4167, 4167; Henry Martyn Robin, of Canterbury, Vic., P.G.St.B., P.G.St.B.; Edward Robson, Monkseaton, Northumberland, 1626; John F. Roberts, of Colyton, N.S.W., P.M. 541, P.Z. 93; Norman Rogers, of Bolton, Lancs., P.Pr.G.D., P.Z. 37; Athelstan Cumming Shepherd, of Mansfield, Notts., P.M. 5368, 4410; Sydney Alfred Suffolk, of Burton on Trent, W.M. 4873, 353; Francis William Torrens, of London, W., L.G.R., P.Z. 2563; *Lt.-Col.* Douglas Royle Tweedie, of Kitale, Kenya, P.Dis.G.D., P.Z. 5082; Raymond Van Cor, of San Diego, Calif., 574.

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.



SECRETARY :

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.Swd.B.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM :

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