

Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum



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



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

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LODGE PROCEEDINGS.

	PAGE
Friday, 2nd January, 1942	1
Friday, 6th March, 1942	27
Friday, 1st May, 1942	64
Wednesday, 24th June, 1942	161
Friday, 2nd October, 1942	284
Saturday, 8th November, 1942	324

OBITUARY.

Baker, R. F.	159
Balls, H. J. K.	351
Blood, <i>Major</i> J. N.	351
Boileau, <i>Sir</i> R. F.	351
Booth, H.	159
Boutroy, H. M. A.	351
Brown, A. R. D.	351
Burrington, G.	159
Cawthorn, J. E.	351
Devey, W. S.	351
Edmonds, E.	159
Fuller, A. L.	159
Ginsberg, F.	159
Green, C. E.	159
Gregory, W. R.	160
Hall, J. W.	160
Hickox, N. B.	160
Humphries, S. J.	160
Jarman, <i>Rev.</i> T. H.	160
Lee, G. T.	160
Maddocks, A. H.	160
Parnall, R. H. B.	160
Phillips, E. M.	160
Porter, B. F.	351
Ragle, H. M.	160
Spooner, F.	160
Tarrant, H.	160
Underhill, H. M.	160
Ward, <i>Sir</i> J. C.	351
Williams, G. C.	160

PAPERS AND ESSAYS.

The Genesis of Speculative Masonry. By Douglas Knoop	4
--	---

Method of Approach, 4; Early Masonic Ceremonies, 4; Conditions in Scotland, England and Ireland, 5; Nature of the Changes, 7; Place of the Changes, 13; Places and Dates of the Changes, 15; Originators of the Changes, 18; Conclusion, 18.

PAPERS AND ESSAYS.—*Continued.*

The Apollo Lodge, No. 301, Alcester. By S. J. Fenton	PAGE 28
Alcester, 28; Creation of Province of Warwickshire, 29; Constitution of Apollo Lodge, 30; Earliest Records of Apollo Lodge, 30; Minute Book No. 1, 31; Original Members, 32; The Warrant, 32; Furniture of the Lodge, 33; Jewels, 34; Early Expenses, 35; Meetings before Consecration, 36; J. Sketchley, 37; The Consecration, 37; Progress of the Lodge, 39; By-Laws, 43; F. B. Ribbans, 44; Revival in 1840, 45; Members in 1841, 50; Minute Book No. 2, 50; Minute Book No. 3, 55; Inventory of Furniture, 55; Warrant of Confirmation, 56; Centenary Meeting, 56; Royal Arch Masonry in Alcester, 57.	
Les Philadelphes et Adelphe. By F. R. Radice	66
Writers on these Brotherhoods, 66; Offshoots of the Narbonne Rite, 67; Military Links, 68; Philadelphes de Narbonne and Philadelphes de Besançon, 68; Jacobinical tendencies, 69; Reflection of Illuminati, 69; The Grand Firmament, 70; Connection between Revolutionary Centres in Paris, the Italian Revolutionaries, and the German Secret Societies, 72; Degrees in the Rite, 73; Organisation, 74; Form of the Sanctuary of the Synod, 76; Words of Recognition, 77; Chronology, 77; Spread of Influence, 79; Connection with Carboneria, 81; Decay and Collapse, 87; Appendices—Document in Record Office, 88; Statutes of the Society of the Adelfi, 89; Sublime Elect, 92; Relations of Synod and Church, 104; Decrees of Grand Firmament, 105; Documents attached to Metternich's Memorandum, 113.	
William Finch. By F. M. Rickard	163
Early Days, 163; Apprenticeship and Freedom in Canterbury, 164; Marriage, 165; Initiation in Lodge of Industry, 166; Exaltation into R.A. Masonry, 167; First Publication in 1801, 168; Letters from Dr. Perfect, 168; Removal to London, 174; Indictment by Committee of Charity, 176; Chapter of Universality, 180; Accusation in Grand Lodge, 181; Special Committee of Investigation, 182; Charges against several Brethren before the Committee of Charity, 184; Finch's Appeals, 186; St. Peter's Lodge of Promulgation, 190; Finch and Dr. Hemming, 202; Legal Case, <i>Smith v. Finch</i> , 209; Masonic Magazine, 213; Finch and Dr. Oliver, 216; Death, 219; Sale of Library, 219; Various Publications, 220; Codes, 240; Plates, 241; Aprons, etc., 242; Mentions by various authors, 244; Character and Temperament, 252.	
Masonic History, Old and New. By Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones ...	285
The "Imaginative" and the "Authentic" Schools, 285; Imagination and History, 285; Some prevalent Errors:—(i) Clergy the Medieval Architects, 287; (ii) Distinction between "Cathedral Masons" and "Gild Masons", 287; (iii) Masons' Craft Gilds, 288; (iv) Secret Methods of Recognition among English Masons in the Middle Ages, 288; (v) Over-simplification of great changes, 289; (vi) The Athelstan Legend, 289; The Interpretation of the Facts:—(i) The Gothic Style and Freemasonry, 290; (ii) The Reformation and Freemasonry, 291; (iii) The terms "Entered	

PAPERS AND ESSAYS.—Continued.

	PAGE
Apprentice " and "Fellow Craft", 292; (iv) Operative and Speculative Masonry, 293; Conclusion, 298.	
The Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent. By S. Pope	121
An Anti-Masonic Leaflet of 1698; with Commentary by Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones	152
Notes on Some Irish Building Accounts of the XIIIth Century. By R. E. Parkinson	340
Inaugural Address	326
Toast of Worshipful Master	338

NOTES.

Richard Carlile	155
A French Certificate	155
Inventory of Goods of a Craftsman in XVth Century	156
"Cole, Engraver": The Earliest	156
A Priestly Speculative and Operative Mason	346
The "Edinburgh Letter", 1745, on Templary	346
Operative Masons in Ireland	348

REVIEW

The Story of Royal Brunswick Lodge, Sheffield, 1793-1943. By Douglas Knoop. ... J. Heron Lepper ...	349
---	-----

INDEX

	PAGE		PAGE
Academician, European ...	73	Cornish Freemasonry ...	178
Adelphia, Organisation ...	76	Correspondence Circle... ..	326
Alcester	28	<i>De Templo Salamonis</i> , Migne ...	286
Apollo Lodge, Consecration ...	35, 37	Deacons of the Adelphie ...	74
" By-Laws	43	Dekabrists	87
" Founders	31	Dundrum, Co. Down	341
" Furniture	34, 55		
" Jewels	34		
" Members in 1831 ...	44	" Entered Apprentice " ...	292
" " 1840	50	Evidence, search for	314
" " 1861	53		
" Revival in 1840 ...	45		
" Warrant	32		
" Warrant of		Exhibits :—	
" Confirmation	56	Advertisement (Newspaper	
Appeal to G. Lodge by W. Finch	187	cutting) of Grand Feast	
Assemblies	292	on 27th December, 1725	65
Ausonia	78	Aprons—" Finch " designs	162
		French	3
" Bandouliers "	69	home-made—Irish	
" Barbets "	69	K.T.	3
" Blue Brothers "	69	printed with	
		" Cole " design	3
		Certificates, Craft—	
Carboneria	73, 79, 81, 85	Clearance, Lodge No.	
Ceremonies, Early Masonic ...	4	184, Brest	3
Certificate, French	155	Private Lodge, No. 99 ...	3
Charge to newly-admitted		M.M.M. issued by	
Brethren	8	Friendship Lodge	
Charges of a Freemason	9	No. 238	65
<i>Civilization of Europe</i> , Guizot	163	M.M.M. issued by	
Committee of Charity, Action		G. Mark Lodge	
against W. Finch... ..	176	regularising that	
Committee, Special, of Enquiry		from Friendship	
re W. Finch	181	Lodge	65
Constitution of a new Lodge ...	10	Freedom of Company	
		of Cutlers in Hal-	
Constitutions :—		lamshire	65
Aberdeen	12	Medal, engraved with Em-	
Cooke	287	blems, bearing Arms of	
Dumfries, No. 1	297	" Moderns " G. Lodge,	
" No. 2	37, 297	and initials " R.A." ...	
" No. 3	297	and " K.T."	65
" No. 4	286	Publications by W. Finch...	162
Grand Lodge, No. 1	295		
Harris, No. 1	297	" Fellow Craft "	292
Lansdowne	295	Finch, William, in Canterbury	163
Lavender-York	295	" in London	175
Melrose, No. 1	21, 295	" mentions by	
" No. 2	26, 295	various writers	245
Regius	287	" publications	220
Roberts	6	Firmament, Grand ... 70, 73, 83, 84,	
Sloane	295	" degrees	87, 88
Supreme Council	293	" " 91, 105	
Thorpe	295	<i>Freemen of City of Canterbury</i> ,	
Trinity College, Dublin ...	15, 17, 292	Meadows Cooper	164
Wood	295	French Revolution	66
Woodford	293		
York, No. 1	295	Gilds, Mason Craft	288
" No. 3	295	Globes	62
" No. 6	297	Gothic Style	290
		Grand Chapter, Claims of, W.	
Constitutions of 1723	8, 13	Finch on... ..	200
Constitutions, Pennell's	12	<i>Grand Mystery of Freemasonry</i>	
		<i>Discovered</i>	14
		Greencastle, Co. Down	340

	PAGE
Historians, Masonic, Schools of	285
Independent Chapter of University	180
Installation of a Master	11
Installation Ceremony	15
Irish Buildings	340, 348
Irregular "Making" in King's Bench Prison	123
Jewels, Early Masonic	158
Kent, Prov. G. Lodge, Charity	131
" " Officers	122, 126, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 144
" " Regulations	125
Legal Case—Smith v. Finch	209
Letter from G. Mistress of Female Freemasons	14
Lodges referred to:—	
Aberdeen	5, 292, 296
Aitchison's Haven	292, 297
All Souls No. 226B	173
Alnwick	296
Amity No. 187, Poole	173
Ancient Dundee	292
Antiquity No. 2	258
Apollo No. 301, Alcester	29, 173
Ashburton No. 2189	155
Athol No. 74, Birmingham	29
Attention No. 572, Lynn	173
Bard of Avon No. 1080	53
Benevolent No. 540	173
Chatham No. 10	129
Concord No. 262, Barnard Castle	175
Druids No. 103	172
Dumbarton Kilwinning	292
Dunblane	292
Edinburgh	6, 292
Faithful No. 499	173
Faversham	122
First Volunteer No. 620, I.C.	257
First Volunteer No. 637, I.C.	257
Fortitude No. 517, Maidstone	141
Fortitude No. 63, Manchester	172
Friendly No. 88, Great Yarmouth	172
Friendship No. 158, Lyme Regis	173
Friendship No. 133, Norwich	172
Friendship No. 431, Wrotham	135
Friendship and Sincerity No. 394	173
Glasgow Kilwinning	292
Goodwill No. 401	173
Greenwich No. 15	135
Hamilton Kilwinning	292
Harmony No. 133	122
Harmony No. 255	202
Haughfoot	292
Hope No. 241	173
Howard of Brotherly Love No. 51	172, 194
Industrious No. 498, Canterbury	141
Industry No. 326	166
Innocence and Morality No. 573	173

	PAGE
Lodges referred to:—	
Kelso	292
Kilwinning	292
King's Head No. 118, Gravesend	132
Lights No. 198, Warrington	173
Love and Harmony, Falmouth	169, 172
Love and Honour No. 502, Shepton Mallett	173
Love and Unity No. 518, Dover	141
Mariners No. 362	173
Melrose	292
Minerva No. 363	173
Peebles Kilwinning	292
Perfect	167
Philotropic No. 291, High-bridge	175
Phoenix No. 289	206
Prince Frederick No. 549B	173
Probity No. 6, Halifax	172, 175
Reason No. 581, Ashford	173
Red Lion No. 259, Faversham	132
Reformation No. 353	173
Reunited of Friendship No. 501	132
Rose No. 480, Dartford	132
Royal Brunswick, Sheffield	349
Royal Cinque Ports No. 566	173
Royal Clarence No. 469	173
Royal Edward No. 284	173
Royal Gloucester No. 373, Gloucester	173
Royal Gloucester No. 503, Southampton	173
Royal Larne No. 508 I.C.	258
Royal Larne No. 615 I.C.	258
Royal Militay No. 371	123
Royal Military No. 463, Woolwich	132
Royal Navy No. 157	172
Royal Oak No. 324	173
Royal Somerset House No. 4	121
Royal York of Perseverance No. 322	179
Sea Captains No. 49	172
St. Alban's No. 176, Birmingham	29
St. Bede's No. 308	173
St. George's No. 348	173
St. John No. 255	173, 188
St. John's No. 538, Henley in Arden	29
St. Mary's No. 117 S.C.	56
St. Paul's No. 43, Birmingham	29
St. Peter's No. 249	196
St. Peter's of Promulgation	197
Shakespeare No. 284	29
Shakespeare No. 426, Spilsby	33
Shakespeare No. 516, Stratford-on-Avon	29, 36
Strict Benevolence No. 553B	173
Swalwell	296
Tamworth	39
Trinity No. 254, Coventry	29
Trinity College, Dublin, I.C.	7
True Love and Unity No. 360	173
Truth No. 371	173
Union No. 162	173
Union No. 555, Carlisle	173
Unity No. 175, Ringwood	173
Walsingham No. 2148	121

Lodges referred to:—		PAGE	Persons referred to:—		PAGE
Well Disposed No. 28	...	172	de Moenes, William	...	342
Chapter of Fortitude	...	26	de Prene, William	...	341
Chapter of Prudence	...	167	de Spineto, William	...	342
Chapter of Temperance	...	...	Deans, J.	...	182
No. 162	...	58	Desaguiliers, <i>Dr.</i>	...	6
Magazine, Masonic	...	178	di Revel, Theon	...	85
Masonic Working, revolution of	...	4	Dite	...	71, 79
Memorandum of Metternich,	...	...	Earnshaw, J.	...	182
documents of	...	113	Elkington, G.	...	178
"Miquiletes"	...	69	Elliott, J.	...	182
Narbonne, Primitive Rite of	...	67	Farley, William	...	164
Operative, The Term	...	293	Farquhart	...	200
Persons referred to:—			Finch, William	...	163
Anderson, <i>Dr.</i> James	...	7, 292	Firminger, W. K.	...	69
Andryane	...	72, 87	Follenius, Adolf	...	81, 82
Angeloni	...	71, 79	Fowler, John	...	259
Appiani	...	85	Francis, T.	...	330
Arkwright, R.	...	289	Franklin, Abel	...	41
Athelstan	...	289	Frederick, <i>Capt.</i> Charles	...	122
Aubrey, John	...	18	Freer, T.	...	49, 51, 52
Barnes, T.	...	122	Frost, A.	...	152
Barzin	...	71	Garelli, <i>Lieut.</i>	...	84
Baxter, R. H.	...	328	Garland, M.	...	168
Bayford, J.	...	182	Gastone, <i>Dr.</i>	...	79
Bede, <i>Ven.</i>	...	286	Geminus, Thomas	...	156
Bingham, C.	...	286	Giffenga, <i>General</i>	...	79, 80
Birkhead, M.	...	292	Glover, <i>Dr.</i> T. R.	...	155
Bissett	...	38	Gould, R. F.	...	66, 190, 255, 291
Brandish, J.	...	32, 40	Goyot	...	71
Browne, J.	...	177, 195	Grafton, W.	...	42
Buonarotti	...	73	Grandi	...	79
Burel, Thomas	...	341	Guillemard	...	68
Burrow, R.	...	155	Gunther, <i>Dr.</i> R. T.	...	157
Calcott, Wellins	...	201	Hammond, W.	...	158
Campbell, Thomas	...	30	Hanley, W.	...	32
Carlile, <i>Rev.</i> J. C.	...	155	Harper, E.	...	158
Carlile, Richard	...	155, 175, 244	Hemming, <i>Dr.</i> S.	...	202
Champagne, <i>Marquis</i> de	...	69	Hextall, W. B.	...	191, 250
Charles Albert, <i>Prince</i>	...	84	Hobbins, Stephen	...	35, 40
Charles Felix	...	85	Hughan, W. J.	...	180, 194, 205, 251, 285
Clementson, Isaac	...	182	Hyman, Leon	...	191
Cole, Benjamin	...	156	Inwood, <i>Rev.</i> J.	...	168
Cole, John	...	156, 177	James, <i>Sir</i> W. J.	...	198
Cole, Humphrey	...	157	John of Stratton	...	342
Cole, Samuel	...	176	Johnstone, <i>Dr.</i> J.	...	202
Conder, E.	...	288	Jones, G.	...	40
Confalonieri, <i>Count</i>	...	78, 82, 84, 86	Kay, John	...	289
Constant, Benjamin	...	75	Kirk, Robert	...	297
Coppi	...	78	Klerckon, C. C.	...	85, 87
Corvehill, <i>Sir</i> William	...	346	Knight, John	...	178
Coulton, G. G.	...	299	Knoop, Douglas	...	349
Coustos, J.	...	200	La Fayette	...	71
Crawley, <i>Dr.</i> Chetwode	...	13, 218, 285, 293	Laneri, <i>Lieut.</i>	...	84
Creswell, John	...	122	Lantoine, A.	...	67
Creswell, Simon	...	122	Larousse	...	66
Cromwell, Oliver	...	213	Leigh, <i>Lord</i>	...	56
Crossle, P.	...	7	Lepper, J. Heron	...	6, 156
Cruickshanks, J.	...	41	Levander, H. C.	...	241
d'Amand, C.	...	67	Lintot, L.	...	200, 201
D'Ohsson, de M.	...	250	Littleton, J.	...	158
Daynes, G. W.	...	328	Locke, John	...	285
de Bentlev, John	...	342	Luzio	...	78
de Claverle, Adam	...	342	Lyon, Murray	...	6
de Cokeley, Gregory	...	342	Macbride	...	308
de Cruys, Hugh	...	342	Mackey, A. G.	...	218, 285
de Isham, Thomas	...	342	Maghella	...	79
de Lyddyard, John	...	342	Malct, <i>Colonel</i>	...	69
			Mape, Henry	...	342
			Marvell, Andrew	...	300
			Mathen, John	...	342
			Metternich	...	72
			Micheroux	...	83
			Moir, <i>Earl</i>	...	167
			Moore, J.	...	41

Persons referred to:—		PAGE	Persons referred to:—		PAGE
Moreau ... ..	...	69	Thory, C. A. ... ..	...	67, 201
Morrall, A. ... ..	...	32	Timmings, James ... ..	...	32
Mount Norris, <i>Earl of</i> ... ..	...	182	Timms, J. ... ..	...	42
Mouton ... ..	...	200	Toy, Samuel ... ..	...	36
Neadham, <i>Rev. M. H.</i> ... ..	...	155	Tuckett, J. E. S. ... ..	...	66, 346
Nicholas of Gloucester ... ..	...	341	Tufnell, I. J. ... ..	...	191
Nicolli ... ..	...	71	Vibert, A. L. ... ..	...	285
Nodier, C. ... ..	...	66	Virgo, F. ... ..	...	82
Noorthouck, J. ... ..	...	200	Walsingham, <i>Hon. Robert</i> ... ..	...	121
O'Brien, <i>Hon. James</i> ... ..	...	14	Watt, James ... ..	...	289
Ogilvie, <i>Lord</i> ... ..	...	346	West, Thomas ... ..	...	175
Oliver, <i>Rev. G.</i>	200, 216, 246, 285	...	Westcott, <i>Dr. W. Wynn</i> ... ..	...	181
Orselli, <i>Count</i> ... ..	...	80	Whissil, Brandon ... ..	...	32, 40
Osborn, J. G. ... ..	...	178	White, W. H. ... ..	...	171, 182
Osborne, James ... ..	...	42	Willard, C. F. ... ..	...	201
Oudet, <i>Colonel</i> ... ..	...	68, 69	Williams, W. J. ... ..	...	298
Palma, <i>Major</i> ... ..	...	85	Winchester, J. ... ..	...	295
Palmer, <i>Rev. F.</i> ... ..	...	42	Winter, M. ... ..	...	152
Penn, Springett ... ..	...	14	Witt ... ..	...	66, 70, 75, 86
Perfect, <i>Dr. W.</i> ... ..	...	167, 171, 177	Wonnacott, W. ... ..	...	201, 205
Perth, <i>Lord</i> ... ..	...	346	Woodford, A. E. ... ..	...	201, 290
Petre, <i>Lord Robert</i> ... ..	...	125	Wren, <i>Sir C.</i> ... ..	...	286
Plenty, W. ... ..	...	207	Yarker, J. ... ..	...	188
Plot, <i>Dr. Robert</i> ... ..	...	7	Zuboli, J. ... ..	...	80
Poggi ... ..	...	71	Phillipi, Order of ... ..	...	250, 260
Poole, <i>Rev. H.</i> ... ..	...	285, 287, 296	Pillars, The Two ... ..	...	297
Porter, Samuel ... ..	...	36	Pocket Companion ... ..	...	14
Potter, Gillie ... ..	...	346	Provincial Grand Masters ... ..	...	62, 63
Prendergast, <i>Sir Thomas</i> ... ..	...	14	Publications by W. Finch ... ..	...	220
Prescot, James ... ..	...	29	Reconciliation, Lodge of ... ..	...	205
Prescot, William ... ..	...	29	Records, Masonic, Value of ... ..	...	328
Preston, William ... ..	...	38, 195, 285	Records, Newspaper ... ..	...	329
Ramsay, <i>Chev.</i> ... ..	...	201	Reformation, The, and Free-	...	...
Rattazzi ... ..	...	85	masonry ... ..	...	291
Rawlings, <i>Sir W.</i> ... ..	...	182	Royal Arch Symbol ... ..	...	57
Reading, T. ... ..	...	42	Sanctuary of the Synod ... ..	...	76
Regent, <i>Prince</i> ... ..	...	174	Sandists ... ..	...	83
Reid, William ... ..	...	293	<i>Silvia Pellico</i> , Rinieri ... ..	...	91
Ribbans, F. ... ..	...	51	"Speculative", The Term ... ..	...	293
Ribbans, F. B. ... ..	...	45, 50, 51	Speculative, Development ... ..	...	13
Rinieri ... ..	...	71	„ Organisation ... ..	...	6
Rylands, W. H. ... ..	...	285	„ Working ... ..	...	6
Sadler, H. ... ..	...	13, 219, 251	Sublime Elects ... ..	...	73, 192
Sanders, Thomas ... ..	...	34	Sublime Perfect Masters ... ..	...	71, 72, 73, 74
Sare, R. ... ..	...	152	Sublime Perfect Masters,	...	...
Sawbridge, <i>Colonel Jacob</i> ... ..	...	150	Statutes ... ..	...	89
Scambler, J. ... ..	...	41	Synod and Church, Relations... ..	...	104
Schmell ... ..	...	82	Temple, Solomon's, References	...	...
Serre, <i>Count</i> ... ..	...	82	to ... ..	...	286
Seymour, <i>Lord Henry</i> ... ..	...	28	Trigradal System ... ..	...	17
Shailer, F. C. ... ..	...	34	Tugenbund ... ..	...	72
Shaw, T. H. ... ..	...	181	Tyler, Payment of ... ..	...	54
Shepherd, Julius ... ..	...	122	<i>Use and Abuse of Freemasonry</i>,	...	...
Shirley, Washington ... ..	...	42	Smith ... ..	...	124
Sketchley, James ... ..	...	32, 35, 36, 37	Vindication, Freemasons' ... ..	...	14
Smyly, <i>Dr. J. B.</i> ... ..	...	15	Warden General ... ..	...	5
Solly, John ... ..	...	122	Warwickshire Provincial Grand	...	...
Songhurst, W. J. ... ..	...	156, 327	Lodge ... ..	...	29
Speth, G. W. ... ..	...	285, 293			
Stokes, <i>Dr. John</i> ... ..	...	124			
Stukeley, <i>Dr. William</i> ... ..	...	13			
Styles, Arthur ... ..	...	33			
Sumpter, W. ... ..	...	122			
Swarthwout ... ..	...	299			
Tartaro ... ..	...	83			
Thompson, Thomas ... ..	...	29			

CONTRIBUTORS

	PAGE		PAGE
Baxter, R. H. ...	256, 302	Knoop, D. ...	4, 25, 152, 261, 285
Bland, C. ...	62	Lepper, J. H. 19, 61, 118, 257, 301, 349	
Bullamore, G. W. ...	24, 63, 119, 275	Meekren, R. J. ...	275
Covey-Crump, W. W. ...	260	Moss, W. E. ...	156, 346
Edwards, L. 19, 61, 117, 254, 298, 338		Parkinson, R. E. ...	156, 340, 348
Fenton, S. J. ...	28, 63, 262	Pick, F. L. ...	61, 300
Grantham, W. I. ...	22, 255, 299, 326	Poole, H. ...	20, 305
Hallett, H. H. ...	266, 308	Pope, S. ...	121, 274
Hamilton-Jones, J. ...	309	Radice, F. R. ...	66, 119, 265, 307
Ivanoff, B. ...	118, 263	Rickard, F. M. ...	163
Johnson, G. Y. ...	264	Smith, S. N. ...	273
Jones, G. P. ...	152, 285	Williams, W. J. ...	23, 155, 303, 346

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
Portrait:—		An Anti-Masonic Leaflet of	
W. I. Grantham ...	<i>Frontispiece</i>	1698 ...	152

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Proceedings, 2nd January, 1942	1	Exhibits	65
Audit Committee	2	Les Philadelphes et Les Adelphees	66
Exhibits	3	The Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent,	
The Genesis of Speculative Masonry	4	1769-1785	121
Proceedings, 6th March, 1942	27	An Anti-Masonic Leaflet of 1698	152
Apollo Lodge No. 301, Alcester	28	Notes	155
Proceedings, 1st May, 1942	64	Obituary	159

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THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Library has been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Kingsway, 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.

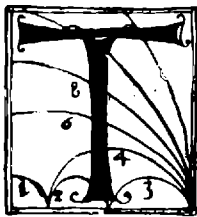
Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them 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 LV.

FRIDAY, 2nd JANUARY, 1942.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:--Bros. Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *W.M.*; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, as *S.W.*; F. R. Radice, as *J.W.*; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, *Chap.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*, *Treas.*; and *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*, *Secretary*.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:--Bros. J. O. Dewey; G. I. Davys, *P.G.D.*; F. A. Greene, *A.G.Supt.Wks.*; *Capt.* F. H. H. Thomas, *P.A.S.B.*; H. Johnson, *P.A.G.St.B.*; A. I. Logette; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*; C. M. Giveen; L. G. Wearing; A. W. Lane, *P.G.St.B.*; C. H. Lovell; H. Carr; H. Bladon, *P.A.G.D.C.*; Wm. Smalley; B. Foskett; J. S. Ballance; T. Ludstone Found, *P.A.G.St.B.*; A. E. Evans; W. T. Mellors; T. H. Muffett; W. J. Mean; Eric Alven and F. C. Ruddle.

Also the following Visitors:--Bros. A. Beveridge, *P.M.*, *Knole Lodge No. 1414*; and M. W. Beastall, *Holmsdale Lodge No. 874*.

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.*; W. J. Williams, *P.M.*; D. Flather, *J.P.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; *Wg.-Comdr.* W. I. Grantham, *M.A.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex*, *S.W.*; 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.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *Pr.G.Sec.*, *Armagh*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Derbys.*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *J.W.*; H. C. Bristowe, *P.A.G.D.C.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*; R. E. Parkinson; Geo. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Supt.Wks.*; and W. E. Heaton, *P.A.G.D.C.*

One Lodge and six 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 2nd, 1942.

Present:—Bro. Lewis Edwards in the Chair, with Bros. J. H. Lepper, W. W. Covey-Crump, H. Poole, 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 1941.

BRETHREN,

During the year we have had to record the provisional resignation of membership of Bro. B. Telepneff, who has been abroad for several years past. The membership of the Lodge is now 24.

Unfortunately a further large number of resignations from the Correspondence Circle has occurred, resulting principally from the influences of the War.

Volume lii. of the *Transactions* for 1939 has been issued, but our hope to issue two Volumes during the past year has been prevented by stress of circumstances. However, efforts will continue to be made to bring the publication of *A.Q.C.* up to date.

In the accounts now presented to the Lodge, approximately £1.200 remains in reserve for each of Vols. liii. and liv. Subscriptions amounting to over £670 are still outstanding. At the beginning of the year a special appeal was made to all members for prompt attention to payment of subscriptions, especially arrears; but the response generally has not been equal to the hope that Brethren would meet their obligations.

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

A few changes during the past year have occurred amongst Local Secretaries, but under present circumstances it has not been found possible to make definite re-arrangements.

The Committee wish to express their deep appreciation of the services of the Secretary in managing the affairs of the Lodge so successfully and courageously during a period of great difficulty and stress.

For the Committee,

LEWIS EDWARDS.

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the Year ending 30th November, 1941.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Cash in Hand	464	17 10	Lodge	26	12 11
Lodge	58	16 0	Salaries, Rent, Rates and		
Subscriptions	1682	4 1	Taxes	766	2 5
Cash in Advance and un-			Lighting, Heating, Cleaning,		
appropriated	98	3 9	Telephone, Insurance, Car-		
Medals	4	14 0	riage and Sundries	204	9 3
Binding	29	12 5	Printing, Stationery, etc.	881	14 0
Sundry Publications ...	28	16 2	Medals	7	13 4
Interests and Discounts	36	15 4	Binding	35	15 4
Publication Fund ...	15	12 10	Sundry Publications	4	7 10
			Library	6	0 6
			Postages	158	4 8
			Local Expenses	5	12 9
			Loss on Exchange	5	12 0
			Cash at Bank ...	317	7 5
	£2419	12 5		£2419	12 5

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

French M.M. Apron, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide and 12 inches deep, white satin, lined with pale blue silk, edged with thin blue satin slightly gophered, false flap, decorated with braid and spangles. Date uncertain. Similar to the apron illustrated in A.Q.C., volume v, plate 8, No. 52.

Apron, printed with "Cole" design.

Large home-made Apron, edged with three colours, blue, red and black. Irish Knight Templar Apron of early nineteenth century.

Private Lodge Certificate, issued by Lodge No. 99 in 1804.

Clearance Certificate issued in 1808 by Lodge No. 184 at Brest. The peculiarity of this certificate is that, though issued to a Frenchman at a time of war between England and France and by a Lodge in France, the Certificate is in English.

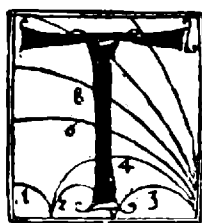
A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Brother who had kindly lent the objects for Exhibition.

The following paper was read:—

THE GENESIS OF SPECULATIVE MASONRY.

BY BRO. DOUGLAS KNOOP, M.A., P.M.

The Method of Approach. Early Masonic Ceremonies. Conditions in Scotland, England and Ireland. The Nature of the Changes: 1. The History and the Charges; 2. The Charge to new admitted Brethren; 3. The Installation Ceremony; 4. Elimination of Horseplay; 5. Drawing the Lodge; 6. The Opening Prayer; 7. The Trigradal System. The Place of the Changes. The Places and Dates of the Changes. The Originators of the Changes. Conclusion.



The Method of Approach. In this paper¹ no attempt is made to discuss the origin of freemasonry: I take for granted that it developed out of the customs and practices of operative masons. Nor have I any fresh facts to lay before the Brethren; the most that I can claim is that I approach the established facts from an angle somewhat different from that which is customary. It has been usual to treat the history of masonry in England, Scotland and Ireland as a separate development in each country; but I am convinced that these developments cannot be rightly or fully understood in isolation. It is indeed convenient and desirable to have distinct accounts of the rise and extension of local and central masonic organization in each country; but it is necessary to guard against the error of thinking that in the later seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries, when accepted or speculative masonry was evolving from operative institutions, an entirely independent process was in operation in each of the three kingdoms. Had that been the case, we should have had not one, but three systems of speculative masonry. It is necessary, therefore, to consider as a whole the evolution of masonic working in that period, and to co-ordinate the ascertained facts, regardless of whether they relate in the first instance to England, Scotland or Ireland.

EARLY MASONIC CEREMONIES

In my Prestonian Lecture on The Mason Word, in my paper on Pure Antient Masonry (*A.Q.C.*, liii), and in *A Short History of Freemasonry to 1730* (in collaboration with G. P. Jones), I have briefly discussed the available evidence concerning early masonic ceremonies. Here, therefore, I need only summarize the information. (i) In England, certainly from 1560, a version of the *M.S. Constitutions of Masonry* was read to the candidate, who had to swear to keep the Charges. As the latter were addressed to masters and fellows, I presume that the candidate was being admitted to the Fraternity as a fellow or member of the Masons' Fellowship. (ii) In Scotland, certainly from 1598, the Mason Word, with all that it implied, was imparted to candidates in two instalments. By the first the candidate was admitted as an entered apprentice,

¹ In the preparation of this paper, which is to be communicated very shortly to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, I have had the benefit of very helpful suggestions and criticism from my colleagues, G. P. Jones and Douglas Hamer. I am also indebted to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, Secretary of the Manchester University Press, for very kindly arranging for the printing. I have also to thank my colleague, A. G. Pool, for reading the proofs, and Bro. J. Heron Lepper for very kindly sending me various comments. As, in general, he is in agreement with my conclusions, I do not attempt to incorporate his remarks, but leave him to place his views before the Brethren when the paper is read in Lodge.

after serving seven years as a handicraft apprentice; by the second he was admitted a fellowcraft, after serving for a period as an entered apprentice. (iii) In Scotland, commencing in the second half of the seventeenth century, a version of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, copied directly or indirectly from some English original, was read to the candidate at the same time as the entered-apprentice secrets associated with the Mason Word were imparted to him. (iv) In Scotland, where non-operative or gentleman masons were admitted to operative lodges as early as 1600, the two admission ceremonies were not infrequently combined for the benefit of such candidates, who might thus be admitted entered apprentices and fellowcrafts on one and the same occasion. (v) There is no evidence, so far as I am aware, that English operative masons made use of secret methods of recognition, and there are even some grounds for thinking that no such system, comparable with the Scottish institution of the Mason Word, existed in this country generally. It is possible, however, that the Scottish Mason Word was in use among operative masons in the extreme north of England. (vi) There is evidence to suggest that, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, English non-operative or speculative masons, meeting in lodges of accepted masons, made use of signs and tokens, and other methods of recognition, which were probably the same as those associated in Scotland with the Mason Word. The likelihood is that the English non-operative or accepted masons derived their masonry (directly or indirectly) from Scotland. (vii) The Charges General and Singular of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* contained various moral precepts, in addition to numerous trade regulations, but there does not appear to have been any attempt to veil the morality in allegory, or to illustrate it by symbols. Furthermore, such information as is available regarding the phrases and practices associated with the imparting of the Mason Word, suggests that, apart from the morality implied by the sanctity of an oath, the Mason Word was not concerned with morals, and that symbolism played little or no part in any ceremony associated with it.

CONDITIONS IN SCOTLAND, ENGLAND AND IRELAND

The main object of this paper is to consider the first steps by which the somewhat confused history of the building industry, the trade regulations and the moral precepts of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, together with the rather crude usages and phrases associated with the imparting of the Mason Word, were so modified and elaborated as ultimately to justify the claim of freemasonry to be a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols. In order to form an opinion as to when and where the fundamental changes in masonic practices were introduced which ultimately transformed the whole character of masonic ceremonies, the masonic conditions prevailing in England, Scotland and Ireland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries must be briefly examined. We may commence with Scotland, as it is from that country that accepted or speculative masonry apparently obtained the foundations on which the speculative superstructure was ultimately erected.

Scotland. In Scotland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, non-operative or gentleman masons joined the old-established operative lodges, which regulated the masons' local affairs, in so far as they were not governed by trade incorporations. The authority of each particular lodge, apart from any limitations imposed by the existence of a local incorporation of the building trades, was subject in some cases to the supervision of a more important neighbouring lodge, and in all cases to the central control exercised by a royal official known as the Warden General and Principal Master of Work. Although the non-operative members might outnumber the operative members, as was the case in the Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670, nevertheless they would not appear to

have been in a position materially to transform the character of the practices associated with the imparting of the Mason Word, which was an operative institution widespread in Scotland. It may be that in the course of years the Mason Word was modified, and that additions were made to it, though whether as a result of non-operative influence it is impossible to say, but such modifications and accretions, so far as one can tell, left the character of the practices fundamentally unchanged. That these old-established practices had been adopted by English accepted masons, and had been subject to little change as late as 1721; is strongly suggested by the fact that when Dr. Desaguliers, the former English Grand Master, desired to visit the operative Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721, he was found "duly qualified in all points of masonry" and received as a brother.

Murray Lyon, referring to this visit, states that he has "no hesitation in ascribing Scotland's acquaintance with, and subsequent adoption of, English Symbolical Masonry to the conference which the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system held with the Lodge of Edinburgh in August, 1721." That at a somewhat later date Scotland imported its speculative or symbolical masonry from England is probably true, but to what extent, if any, Desaguliers was responsible for the establishment of that system, and for the introduction of the various changes, is another matter, which I shall examine shortly. Here I may remind the Brethren that it was not until 1736, fifteen years after the visit of Desaguliers to the Lodge of Edinburgh, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland was formed on the English model. Thereby non-operative masonry in Scotland became subject to a new central control, which, however, was not universally accepted there until nearly the end of the nineteenth century. It is possible, of course, that English speculative *working*, as distinct from English speculative *organization*, had been introduced into Scotland before 1736, though I am not aware of any lodge minutes which suggest that this was so. More probably, it was not until after the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736 that such modifications as had been made by that date in English masonic ceremonies, were introduced into Scottish lodges. This probably explains why Scotland did not adopt the ceremony of installing the Master of the Lodge, that ceremony having been dropped by lodges under the Grand Lodge of England before 1736. It formed part of the working of the Grand Lodge of the Antients, but did not become the general practice in England until after the union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813. It was not adopted in Scotland until the eighteen-seventies. In the light of the available evidence, it seems practically certain that the transformation of operative into speculative working did not originate in Scotland, and it is probably true to say that Scottish influence counted for little or nothing in this development.

England. In England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries non-operative or gentleman masons apparently did not join operative lodges, as in Scotland; in the records of the old operative lodges at Swalwell and Alnwick there is no evidence of the admission of non-operative members before 1732 and 1748 respectively. On the other hand, some working masons were members of lodges of accepted masons in London and at Chester and York; and, according to the New Articles of those versions of the *MS. Constitutions* which belong to the *Roberts* family, at least one workman of the trade of freemasonry was to be present when a freemason was accepted.

There is evidence to show that some men who were masons by trade were also accepted masons; but it may be presumed that the ceremony by which they were admitted as accepted masons was different from any which may have been used upon their admission to an English operative lodge. There is, moreover, no evidence at all to suggest that societies of accepted masons were in any respect subject to control by any organisation of operative masons. In so far as any control existed, it was exercised by accepted masons, both before

and after 1717, in which year Grand Lodge was established. It follows that accepted masons in England, being freer from operative control than were non-operative masons in Scotland, had greater power to introduce innovations and elaboration of the traditional working. Further, since the essential condition of freedom from operative control may be presumed to have existed before 1717, it follows that innovations might as easily have been introduced into English accepted masonry in 1707, or in 1697, as in 1727.

Ireland. A consideration of Irish conditions in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries adds to the existing uncertainty regarding the date or dates of the fundamental changes in masonry, a further uncertainty regarding the place or places where such changes originated. The facts known about freemasonry in Ireland prior to 1730 are unfortunately very few; most of what is known is due to the researches of Chetwode Crawley in the 1890's, supplemented by the more recent investigations of Bros. Lepper and Crossle. Irish operative masons do not appear to have associated in "territorial" lodges, as Scottish masons did; but from time to time English masons worked in Ireland and may have introduced a knowledge of their customs and practices amongst Irish stoneworkers, from whom, in due course, Irish gentleman masons may have obtained their knowledge of the Craft. Bro. Lepper certainly stresses the fact that for some years before 1688, when a lodge of accepted masons can first be traced at Trinity College, Dublin, a good many building operations had been in progress at the College. If non-operative or accepted masons in Ireland had belonged to lodges of operative masons, as in Scotland, it would be reasonable to assume that they had obtained their knowledge of masonry from Irish operative masons, but in fact they do not appear to have belonged to lodges of operative masons. The meagre evidence available points to non-operative or accepted masons in Ireland meeting in lodges of accepted masons, as in England. The Lodge of Freemasons at Trinity College, Dublin, referred to in the tripos of 1688, and the Lodge held at Doneraile House in 1712 (assuming that the episode of the Hon. Elizabeth St. Leger and the lodge whose working she is supposed to have overheard, is not purely mythical, in any case so far as the lodge is concerned) were both, so far as one can tell, lodges of accepted masons on the English model. It seems to me, therefore, more likely, in view of the close literary, intellectual and social connections between Dublin and England at that period, that the adopted or accepted masonry which Dr. Robert Plot, writing in 1686, stated was more or less spread over the nation, had reached Ireland in a manner similar to that in which it had reached various parts of England. In that case, it was under even less effective central control than any which may have existed in England prior to 1717, and afforded, consequently, even greater opportunities for the introduction of fundamental changes in the working.

We now approach the central problem of this paper, namely, an examination of *what* changes were introduced into masonic working *circa* 1700, in so far as those changes can be traced, together with the three closely associated problems of *when* such changes were made, *where* such changes were made, and by *whom* such changes were made.

THE NATURE OF THE CHANGES

1. According to the old operative practice, the legend or history of the building industry, together with the charges or regulations governing the masons' trade, as contained in the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, was read to practice three modifications were introduced. (i) The history of masonry was the candidate, who had to swear on the Bible to keep the charges. Into this edited and largely revised by Anderson for his *Constitutions* of 1723, where it was laid down that this new version of the history was "to be read at the

admission of a New Brother," presumably in place of the old version. (ii) The charges were "digested" by Anderson for his *Constitutions* of 1723, the Charges General and Singular of the *MS. Constitutions* being replaced by "The Charges of a Free-Mason," which were "to be read at the making of New Brethren," presumably instead of the Charges General and Singular. (iii) The old instruction in the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* regarding the administration to the candidate of the oath to observe the charges was omitted from the *Constitutions* of 1723.

Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 contained an Approbation of Grand Lodge, and also an Order, signed by the Grand Master and the Deputy Grand Master, for the publication of the book. Nevertheless, the question of the confirmation of the General Regulations, "so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry," was raised at the Annual Meeting of Grand Lodge on 24th June, 1723, doubtless on the technical ground that the Approbation and the Order to publish had been approved only at Quarterly Communications. Whether it was the *Constitutions* as a whole, or the General Regulations in a narrow sense, for which confirmation was sought, is not clear from the minutes of Grand Lodge. Actually, no confirmation was granted; instead a resolution was passed "that it is not in the Power of any person or Body of men to make any Alteration or Innovation in the Body of Masonry without the consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge," a resolution, it may be noted, claiming for Grand Lodge powers wider than those claimed now. From the proceedings at the Annual Grand Lodge it would appear that Anderson's *Constitutions* did not meet with entire approval even in Grand Lodge. Outside they encountered a good deal of hostility. Anderson's version of the history was attacked in the *Briscoe* pamphlet of 1724, and was made fun of in *An Ode to the Grand Khaibar* of 1726; and the author was derided in the writings of the Gormogons. The stress laid in Grand Lodge upon "the Ancient Rules of Masonry" has sometimes been held to imply that it was primarily the working masons in the Craft who were opposed to Anderson's innovations, but the warmth with which many present-day freemasons resist attempts to depart from old-established practices or ritual inclines me to think that the opposition to Anderson need not necessarily be sought among those who were masons by trade.

2. Within a few years of the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 a different revision of the charges of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* made its appearance; it can first be found in Smith's *Pocket Companion for Free-Masons*, published in London in December, 1734. The *Pocket Companion* contains what is described as "A Short Charge to be given to new admitted Brethren." This bears no relationship to the Apprentice Charge contained in certain versions of the *MS. Constitutions*, a charge of a definitely operative character. It agrees in a good many respects with Anderson's "Charges of a Free-Mason," but it also embodies entirely different matter. To show this relationship, I print the "Short Charge to new admitted Brethren" in full, side by side with parallel passages from Anderson's Charges of a Free-Mason.

Charge to new admitted Brethren

Charges of a Free-Mason

You are now admitted by the unanimous Consent of our Lodge, a *Fellow* of our most Antient and Honourable *Society*; *Antient*, as having subsisted from Times immemorial, and *Honourable*, as tending in every Particular to render a Man so that will be but conformable to its glorious Precepts. The greatest Monarchs in all Ages, as well

Charge to new admitted Brethren

of Asia and Africa as of Europe, have been encouragers of the *Royal Art*; and many of them have presided as *Grand-Masters* over the *Masons* in their respective Territories, not thinking it any lessening to their Imperial Dignities to level themselves with their *Brethren* in Masonry, and to act as they did.

The World's great *Architect* is our *Supreme Master*, and the unerring Rule he has given us, is that by which we Work.

Religious Disputes are never suffered in the Lodge; for as *Masons*, we only pursue the universal Religion, or the Religion of Nature. This is the Cement which unites Men of the most different Principles in one sacred Band, and brings together those who were the most distant from one another.

There are three general Heads of Duty which MASONs ought always to inculcate, viz. to *God*, our *Neighbours*, and *Ourselves*.

To God, in never mentioning his Name but with that Reverential Awe which becomes a Creature to bear to his Creator, and to look upon him always as the *Sum[m]um Bonum* which we came into the World to enjoy; and according to that View to regulate all our Pursuits.

To our Neighbours, in acting upon the Square, or doing as we would be done by.

To Ourselves, in avoiding all Intemperances and Excesses, whereby we may be rendered incapable of following our Work, or led into Behaviour unbecoming our laudable Profession, and, in always keeping within due Bounds, and free from all Pollution.

In the State a MASON is to behave as a peaceable and dutiful Subject, conforming chearfully to the Government under which he lives.

He is to pay a due Deference to his Superiors, and from his Inferiors he is rather to receive Honour with some

Charges of a Free-Mason

[P. 54.] No private Piques or Quarrels must be brought within the Door of the *Lodge*, far less any Quarrels about *Religion*, or *Nations*, or *State Policy*. [P. 50.] A *Mason* is obliged, by his Tenure, to obey the moral Law . . . yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all Men agree . . . whereby Masonry becomes the *Center of Union*, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain'd at a perpetual Distance.

[P. 54.] You may enjoy yourselves with innocent Mirth, treating one another according to Ability, but avoiding all Excess.

[P. 50.] A *Mason* is a peaceable Subject to the Civil Powers, wherever he resides or works.

[P. 52.] These Rulers and Governors, *supreme* and *subordinate*, . . . are to be obey'd in their respective Stations

Charge to new admitted Brethren

Reluctance, than to extort it.

He is to be a Man of Benevolence and Charity, not sitting down contented while his Fellow Creatures, but much more his *Brethren*, are in Want, when it is in his Power (without prejudicing himself or Family) to relieve them.

In the Lodge, he is to behave with all due Decorum, lest the Beauty and Harmony thereof should be disturbed or broke.

He is to be obedient to the Master and presiding Officers, and to apply himself closely to the Business of MASONRY, that he may sooner become a Proficient therein, both for his own Credit, and for that of the Lodge.

He is not to neglect his own necessary Avocations for the sake of MASONRY, nor to involve himself in Quarrels with those who through Ignorance may speak evil of, or ridicule it.

He is to be a Lover of the Arts and Sciences, and to take all Opportunities of improving himself therein.

If he recommends a Friend to be made a *Mason*, he must vouch him to be such as he really believes will conform to the aforesaid Duties, lest by his Misconduct at any Time the Lodge should pass under some evil Imputations. Nothing can prove more shocking to all faithful MASONs, than to see any of their *Brethren* profane or break through the sacred Rules of their Order, and such as can do it they wish had never been admitted.

3. A Postscript to Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 contains the manner of constituting a new lodge, including the installation of the new Master. So far as I am aware, it is the earliest known reference to the manner of constituting a new lodge, or to the installing of a Master of a lodge, and it is possible that this double ceremony, which is described in some detail, represented a considerable elaboration of any existing practice, and may have been entirely new. As it is the only official account we possess of a masonic ceremony as practised in the year 1722, I print it in full, with italics and capitals as in the original.

A New Lodge, for avoiding many Irregularities, should be solemnly constituted by the *Grand-Master*, with his *Deputy* and *Wardens*; or in the *Grand-Master's* Absence, the *Deputy* shall act for his *Worship*, and shall chuse some *Master* of a *Lodge* to assist him; or in case the *Deputy* is absent, the *Grand-Master* shall call forth some *Master* of a *Lodge* to act as *Deputy pro tempore*.

Charges of a Free-Mason

... with all Humility, Reverence, Love, and Alacrity.

[P. 55.] If you discover him to be a true and genuine *Brother*, you are to respect him accordingly; and if he is in want, you must relieve him if you can, . . . But you are not charged to do beyond your Ability.

[P. 53.] You are not to hold private Committees, or separate Conversation, without Leave from the *Master*, nor to talk of anything impertinent or unseemly, nor interrupt the *Master* or *Wardens*, or any *Brother* speaking to the *Master*: Nor behave yourself ludicrously or jestingly while the *Lodge* is engaged in what is serious and solemn; nor use any unbecoming Language upon any Pretence whatsoever; but to pay due Reverence to your *Master*, *Wardens*, and *Fellows*, and put them to worship.

The *Candidates*, or the new Master and Wardens, being yet among the *Fellow-Craft*, the GRAND-MASTER shall ask his *Deputy* if he has examin'd them, and finds the Candidate Master well skill'd in the noble Science and the royal Art, and duly instructed in our *Mysteries*, &c.

And the *Deputy* answering in the affirmative, he shall (by the *Grand-Master's* Order) take the *Candidate* from among his *Fellows*, and present him to the *Grand-Master*; saying, *Right worshipful GRAND-MASTER, the Brethren here desire to be form'd into a new Lodge; and I present this my worthy Brother to be their Master, whom I know to be of good Morals and great Skill, true and trusty, and a Lover of the whole Fraternity, wheresoever dispers'd over the Face of the Earth.*

Then the GRAND-MASTER, placing the *Candidate* on his left Hand, having ask'd and obtain'd the unanimous Consent of all the *Brethren*, shall say; *I constitute and form these good Brethren into a new Lodge, and appoint you the Master of it, not doubting of your Capacity and Care to preserve the Cement of the Lodge, &c.* with some other Expressions that are proper and usual on that Occasion, but not proper to be written.

Upon this the *Deputy* shall rehearse the *Charges* of a *Master*, and the GRAND-MASTER shall ask the *Candidate*, saying, *Do you submit to these Charges, as Masters have done in all Ages?* And the CANDIDATE signifying his cordial Submission thereunto, the GRAND-MASTER shall, by certain significant Ceremonies and ancient Usages, install him, and present him with the *Constitutions*, the *Lodge-Book*, and the *Instruments* of his Office, not all together, but one after another; and after each of them, the *Grand-Master*, or his *Deputy*, shall rehearse the short and pithy *Charge* that is suitable to the thing presented.

After this, the Members of this *new Lodge*, bowing all together to the *Grand-Master*, shall return his *Worship Thanks*, and immediately do their *Homage* to their *new Master*, and signify their Promise of Subjection and Obedience to him by the usual *Congratulation*.

The *Deputy* and the *Grand-Wardens*, and any other *Brethren* present, that are not Members of this *new Lodge*, shall next congratulate the *new Master*; and he shall return his becoming Acknowledgements to the GRAND-MASTER first, and to the rest in their Order.

THEN the *Grand-Master* desires the *new Master* to enter immediately upon the Exercise of his Office, in chusing his *Wardens*: And the NEW MASTER calling forth two *Fellow-Craft*, presents them to the *Grand-Master* for his Approbation, and to the *new Lodge* for their Consent. And that being granted,

The *senior* or *junior* GRAND-WARDEN, or some Brother for him, shall rehearse the *Charges* of *Wardens*; and the *Candidates* being solemnly ask'd by the *new Master* shall signify their Submission thereunto.

Upon which the NEW MASTER, presenting them with the *Instruments* of their Office, shall, in due Form, install them in their proper Places; and the *Brethren* of that *new Lodge* shall signify their Obedience to the *new Wardens* by the usual *Congratulation*.

This description of the Installation Ceremony contains the first allusion known to me to "the Charges of a Master" (possibly the prototype of the Charges now printed at the beginning of the *Book of Constitutions*), to "the Charges of Wardens" (possibly the prototype of what is now called the Address to the Wardens), and to "the short and pithy Charge that is suitable to the thing presented," which was to accompany the presentation of each of the instruments of office (the forerunner, possibly, of the practice of moralizing upon the working tools on the occasions when they are presented to Candidates).

4. The general impression left on the mind of the reader of Anderson's description of the Installation Ceremony is that of the dignity of the proceedings, something so very different from the ceremonies depicted in the early masonic catechisms, with their "thousand ridiculous postures and grimaces" to frighten the candidate. The effort to eliminate horseplay and to maintain the

dignity of the proceedings was probably one of the changes introduced by the recently formed Grand Lodge, and is reflected in one of the by-laws adopted (on the recommendation of Dr. Desaguliers) by the lodge constituted at the Maid's Head, Norwich, in May, 1724, which reads: "6. That no ridiculous trick be played with any person when he is admitted."

5. A newspaper advertisement of 1726, quoted by Henry Sadler, refers to the "Innovations" lately introduced "by the Doctor [probably Desaguliers] and some other of the Moderns," which apparently consisted mainly in replacing the old method of "drawing the lodge" with chalk and charcoal by a system of tape and nails, which in its turn was superseded by the floor cloth and the tracing board.

6. An early example of the modification of masonic ritual is afforded by "A Prayer to be said at the opening of a *Lodge*, or making of a *Brother*," printed in Pennell's *Constitutions*, published in Dublin in 1730, which is not in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, though in other respects this was closely followed by Pennell. To show the elaboration in the ritual, I print Pennell's Prayer side by side with "A Prayer before the Meeting" embodied in the Mason Charter of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670.

Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730

MOST Holy and Glorious LORD GOD,
thou great Architect of Heaven and
Earth, who art the Giver of all good
Gifts and Graces; and hast promis'd that
where two or three are gathered together
in thy Name, thou wilt be in the Midst
of them; in thy Name we assemble and
meet together, most humbly beseeching
thee to bless us in all our Undertakings,
to give us thy Holy Spirit, to enlighten
our Minds with Wisdom and Under-
standing, that we may know, and serve
thee aright, that all our Doings may
tend to thy Glory, and the Salvation of
our Souls.

And we beseech thee, O LORD GOD,
to bless this our present
To be added when any Undertaking and grant
Man is made. that this, our new Brother,
may dedicate his Life to thy Service,
and be a true and faithful Brother among
us, endue him with Divine Wisdom, that
he may, with the Secrets of Masonry,
be able to unfold the Mysteries of
Godliness and Christianity.

This we humbly beg in the Name and
for the sake of JESUS CHRIST our
LORD and SAVIOUR.

AMEN

Aberdeen MS of 1670

The: Might of the father of heaven
with the wisdom of the glorious son, and
the grave and goodnes of the holy ghost
thes three persones in one god head, be
with us in our begininge and give us
grace to governe our selves that wee may
live in that bless which shall never have
ane ending: Amen:

7. Another matter on which Pennell did not follow Anderson raises an even more interesting point, namely, the introduction of the trigradal system. The difference in the wording of the first paragraph of the Fourth Charge of a Free-Mason, which is headed, "Of Masters, Wardens, Fellows and Apprentices," is very suggestive. I print the relevant passages from Pennell and Anderson side by side.

Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730

. . . And no *Master* should take an *Apprentice* unless he has sufficient Employment for him, and unless he be a perfect Youth, having no Maim or Defect in his Body, that may render him incapable of learning the *Art*, of serving his *Lord*, of being made a *Brother*, and a *Fellow-Craft*, and in due time a *Master*; and when qualify'd he may arrive to the Honour of being *Warden*, then *Master* of a *Lodge*

Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723

. . . that no *Master* should take an *Apprentice*, unless he has sufficient Employment for him, and unless he be a perfect Youth, having no Maim or Defect in his Body, that may render him incapable of learning the *Art*, of serving his *Master's Lord*, and of being made a *Brother*, and then a *Fellow-Craft* in due time, even after he has served such a Term of Years as the Custom of the Country directs; and that he should be descended of honest Parents; that so, when otherwise qualify'd, he may arrive to the Honour of being the *WARDEN*, and then the *Master* of the *Lodge*

But for the comma, Pennell's phrase, "made a *Brother*, and a *Fellow-Craft*," might imply that "a *Brother*" and "a *Fellow-Craft*" were one and the same thing. That possible interpretation, however, is eliminated by the succeeding paragraph, which reads:—

No *Brother* can be a *Master*, *Warden* or *Deacon* of a *Lodge*, until he has pass'd the Part of a *Fellow-Craft*:

which clearly shows that Pennell regarded "a *Brother*" and "a *Fellow-Craft*" as two distinct categories. It follows, therefore, that Pennell had three degrees in mind, namely, those of (i) *Brother* [*i.e.*, Entered *Apprentice*], (ii) *Fellow-Craft* and (iii) *Master*, whilst Anderson refers only to the two degrees of Scottish operative practice, viz., (i) *Brother* [*i.e.*, Entered *Apprentice*] and (ii) *Fellow-Craft*. This suggests the possibility that a change had been introduced between the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions* in 1723 and Pennell's edition of 1730, and the further possibility that the change originated in Ireland, two matters to which I shall refer more fully shortly.

THE PLACE OF THE CHANGES

Having endeavoured to show that England and Ireland offered greater opportunities for a fundamental transformation of operative into speculative masonry than did Scotland, I have now to examine more closely the available information about what may be called the masonic atmosphere of those countries. It may be possible thereby to decide what kind of changes, if any, might be expected to have been made in either country. For this analysis I rely very largely on the pioneer work of Henry Sadler and Chetwode Crawley.

In England accepted or speculative masonry from 1717 onwards appears to have developed as a relatively well-to-do, if not aristocratic institution, attaching more weight to sociability and to the banquet than to the working of ceremonies. The stress laid on the Annual Feast in the General Regulations of Grand Lodge, and the allegation of Laurence Dermott, that "about the year 1717 some joyous companions who had passed the degree of a craft (though very rusty) resolved to form a Lodge for themselves," may perhaps be accepted as indications of these tendencies. If this summing up is correct, private lodges under the premier Grand Lodge were probably little more than convivial societies in the early days after 1717. Two indications of their neglect of the ceremonies are afforded by the difficulty, mentioned by Dr. William Stukeley, of finding members enough to perform the ceremony in 1721, when he was made a mason, and by the undoubted fact that lodges under the premier Grand Lodge ceased

from an early date to work the ceremony of installing the Master, if ever they had worked it. Two of the changes which I have previously enumerated, namely, the attempt to suppress horseplay and the substitution of the use of tape and nails for the old practice of drawing the lodge with chalk and charcoal, would seem to agree with what is known of the development of freemasonry under the premier Grand Lodge. The presence of an aristocratic and wealthy element would tend to develop a certain formality and dignity in the proceedings; the use of chalk and charcoal to draw the lodge, and its subsequent removal by the youngest entered apprentice with mop and pail, would no longer be suitable when the floor of the lodge room was no longer of stone, but covered with carpet, as was probably the case with the more well-to-do lodges.

In Ireland, in the early eighteenth century, freemasonry was apparently a less aristocratic institution than in England, more importance being attached to the work and to the universality of the Craft, and less to refreshment and to the social standing of the members. Possibly it would be true to say that there was a greater intellectual interest in masonry in Ireland than under the premier Grand Lodge in England. It is certainly noteworthy that the two replies to *The Grand Mystery of Free-Masonry Discovered* (London, 1724), the one by way of skit—*A Letter from the Grand Mistress of the Female Free-Masons* (Dublin, 1724)—and the other by way of defence—*The Free-Masons Vindication*—both emanated from Ireland. All the available evidence in the eighteenth century points to Irish masons, and to masons in England belonging to lodges under the Grand Lodge of the Antients, with its close association with Irish masonry, being firm upholders of old-established masonic practices and strong opponents of changes and innovations in the ritual.

Until 1730, or even somewhat later, English and Irish masonry would appear to have been practically identical. In 1725-26 Sir Thomas Prendergast, Bart., was simultaneously Junior Grand Warden of England and Senior Grand Warden of Ireland; other prominent Irish masons, such as the Hon. James O'Brien and Springett Penn, Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Munster in 1726-27 and 1727-28, were members of London lodges; Lord Kingston, a distinguished Irish mason, was Grand Master of England in 1729 and Grand Master of Ireland in 1730. The year 1730 also saw the publication in Dublin of Pennell's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, which was very closely modelled on Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723. After 1730 the position is less clear. In 1735 an Irish edition of Smith's *Pocket Companion for Free-Masons* (published in London in 1734) made its appearance in Dublin, and even contained an Approbation of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which seems to imply that English and Irish masonry were very much the same as late as 1735. Some minutes of 1730 of the premier Grand Lodge, however, lend themselves to the interpretation that certain changes in ritual were made in that year, though at the time when the changes were rescinded, and the old practices restored, in 1809, the minute of Grand Lodge refers to changes introduced in or about the year 1739. Thus the exact date of the innovations which ultimately led to the severance of relations for a long period between the premier Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of Ireland, remains uncertain, but we are probably safe in saying that these changes originated in the 1730's. With those particular changes, however, we are not concerned in this paper.

In the light of what I have called the masonic atmosphere in England and Ireland in the early eighteenth century, we have now to ask ourselves where the various changes which can be traced in the evolution of operative into speculative masonry originated. Of the seven changes reviewed above, three, so far as one can tell, would appear to be definitely associated with the premier Grand Lodge in London, viz., the revision of the History and Charges, as printed in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723; the substitution of tape and nails

for the old method of drawing the lodge with chalk and charcoal, and the endeavour to enhance the dignity of the proceedings by the elimination of horseplay. It may be noted that none of these changes had to do directly with ritual, in the working of which the premier Grand Lodge and its subordinate lodges were apparently somewhat lukewarm, and to the preservation of which unaltered the Irish craft attached such great importance. The other four changes or elaborations very definitely concerned ritual. Nevertheless, they were undoubtedly accepted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and in three of the four cases there are even some grounds for thinking that they may possibly have originated in Ireland.

The new Opening Prayer was first printed, so far as is known, in John Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730, and this certainly suggests that it originated in Ireland. The Charge to new admitted Brethren, so far as I am aware, was first printed in Smith's London edition of *A Pocket Companion for Free-Masons*, which was published in December, 1734, but the Irish edition of the following spring contains an Approbation of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which immediately follows the particular Charge, and might be considered as applying to it more especially. Further, it has been held by some that William Smith was an Irish mason, and by others that he was possibly the writer of the Charge in question. If both hypotheses are sound, the Irish origin of the Charge to new admitted Brethren is clearly indicated. The earliest known reference to three distinct grades of masons, each with its own secrets, is found in the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* of 1711, a document forming part of the collected papers of Sir Thomas Molyneux (1661-1733), a famous Dublin doctor and scientist, and, in the opinion of Dr. J. Gilbert Smyly, Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, possibly written by Molyneux. Thus until rebutting evidence can be produced, there would appear to be a *prima facie* case for attributing the development of the trigradal system to Irish masons. The remaining innovation, as compared with operative practice—the ceremony of constituting a new lodge and of installing the master of a lodge—was first described in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, so that it is not unreasonable to attribute the origin of the new ceremony to masons associated with the premier Grand Lodge, if not to Anderson himself.

Thus we are left with the somewhat surprising tentative conclusion that Irish masons, who abhorred innovations, were possibly responsible for three important changes in ritual, and that English masons associated with the premier Grand Lodge, who strove after the curtailment and simplification of masonic ceremonies, were possibly responsible for the construction of a new and elaborate ceremony. These tentative conclusions appear quite incompatible with the estimates formed by Henry Sadler and Chetwode Crawley as to the character of English and Irish masonry in the eighteenth century. If we accept those estimates, and I know no grounds for refuting them, then we must re-examine the position regarding the origin of these particular changes to see whether we cannot find explanations more in harmony with the established character of contemporary English and Irish masonry. In seeking such explanations, the question of the dates at which these changes were introduced will immediately arise. The problem of *where* the changes were first made is inextricably mixed up with the problem as to *when* these changes were first made, and I propose to examine these two problems together.

THE PLACES AND DATES OF THE CHANGES

The Installation Ceremony. Anderson states in his *Constitutions* of 1723 that the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge, including the installation of the Master, is "according to the ancient usages of masons," a statement which has been received with considerable doubt; Vibert, for example, refers to the

"inevitable tag . . . which is here even more inappropriate than usual. In justice to Anderson it must be remembered that the Lodge of Kilwinning had undoubtedly constituted daughter lodges in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, so that it is always possible that there existed "ancient usages" associated with such proceedings. It is, however, to the ceremony of installing the Master of a lodge that I wish to refer more particularly, as new Masters must have been more frequent occurrences than new lodges. If Anderson and his friends, such as Dr. Desaguliers and George Payne, had been responsible for constructing the ceremony, it would seem unlikely that they would allow it promptly to be dropped out of use by the subordinate lodges under the premier Grand Lodge. But it would seem even more unlikely that Laurence Dermott and the Grand Lodge of the Antients, who prided themselves on their adherence to old-established usages, would have been so enthusiastic about a ceremony invented by those whom they scornfully designated as the Moderns. They doubtless adopted it because it was approved by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which, having been established within a couple of years of the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, would hardly have been misled by Anderson's claim for the "ancient usages," unless there were some grounds for believing that the ceremony had existed before Anderson's time.

In what concerns the "short and pithy charge" which was to accompany the presentation of each of the instruments of the office of Master, it is not impossible that the practice of morahzing upon the mason's working tools had been introduced by accepted masons at an earlier date, as the use of tools by Freemasons is referred to by Randle Holme the third in a well-known passage in his *Academie of Armory* published in 1688: "I cannot but honour the Fellowship of the Masons because of its antiquity, and the more as being a member of that society called Free-Masons; in being conversant amongst them I have observed the use of these several tools following,¹ some whereof I have seen borne in coats of arms." Unfortunately he does not explain "the use" made of the "tools" by the freemasons.

Anderson's expression, "according to the ancient usages of masons," need not necessarily imply "derived from the operatives"; the practice might have originated amongst seventeenth-century accepted masons and yet not unfairly be described as "according to ancient usages."

The Charge to new admitted Brethren. The fairly close relationship between this Charge, as printed in the *Pocket Companion*, and Anderson's Charges of a Free-Mason has already been pointed out. If this Charge was based on Anderson, it could not have been prepared until after 1723, and in that case Irish masons must have accepted it, notwithstanding its very recent origin. There is, however, nothing definitely to show that this Charge was based on Anderson; it seems to me equally probable that Anderson had the Charge before him when he was preparing his Charges of a Free-Mason. In support of this view, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Charge to new admitted Brethren begins, "You are now admitted by the unanimous consent of our Lodge, a *Fellow* of our Antient and Honourable Society," a statement which would doubtless be true of a seventeenth-century lodge of accepted masons, who, so far as one can tell, would appear to have admitted candidates as Fellows straightaway, but which would not correspond to the practice implied by Anderson or Pennell, according to which candidates on their first admission were received as [Entered] Apprentices.

The Opening Prayer. Although the extended form of Opening Prayer has not been traced earlier than 1730, when it was printed in Pennell's

¹ In the manuscript of Chapters 14-22 of the Third Book of *The Academie of Armory* [B.M. Harl. MS. 2033, printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1905], Randle Holme treats of the working tools of various trades, but those of the masons do not appear to be included.

Constitutions, it does not necessarily follow that it had then only recently been composed. It may well have existed when Anderson was preparing his *Constitutions*, but as a Scottish divine he might have been unwilling to print a set form of prayer. In view of its definitely Christian character, it would seem probable that this prayer was composed at a time when Masonry still had a Trinitarian basis. Once Anderson's first charge, "Concerning God and Religion," which replaced Christianity by Theism, had appeared in 1723, or Pennell's revision of that charge, which made Masonry entirely non-sectarian, had been prepared, it is difficult to understand how the extended form of Opening Prayer could have been written as part of the ritual. Granted that it probably took its rise before 1723, I see no reason why we should not owe it to an accepted mason or masons of the late seventeenth century, a period when, according to Plot, the custom of admitting men to the Society of Free-Masons was spread more or less over the nation.

The Trigradal System. Although the trigradal system, as a complete scheme of three separate ceremonies, has not been traced before 1725 or 1730, there can be little doubt that the preliminary changes, by which the esoteric knowledge originally shared among two categories of operative masons came to be divided among three categories of accepted masons, had taken place at an earlier date. That this had happened as early as 1711 can be gathered from the following passage from the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.*:—

The masters sign is back bone the word matchpin. The fellow craftsman's sign is knuckles & sinues y^e word Jackquin. The Enterprentice's sign is sinues, the word Boaz or its hollow. Squeese the Master by ye back bone, put your knee between his, & say Matchpin. Squeese the fellow craftsman in knuckles, & sinues & say Jackquin squeese the enterprentice in sinues & say boaz, or its hollow.

The *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* appears to have been a mason's *aide mémoire*, and the passage quoted gives the impression of being an attempt to set down in writing information which had previously been transmitted orally, possibly through a long chain of accepted masons. If that impression is correct, the division of the esoteric knowledge into three may be considerably older than 1711, though it must be emphasized that such division does not necessarily imply three ceremonies: there is no reason why three sets of secrets should not have been communicated to an accepted mason on his admission, just as gentlemen masons in Scotland were admitted Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft on one and the same occasion.

Our immediate problem is to consider whether this threefold division of the masons' esoteric knowledge, introduced by accepted masons in place of the twofold division practised by operative masons in Scotland, originated in Ireland at some date prior to 1711, or whether it had taken its rise among accepted masons in England at a still earlier date, and been transmitted from England to Ireland, either at the time when accepted masonry was first introduced into Dublin prior to 1688, or at the time when it was re-introduced into Dublin prior to 1711, assuming that it had died out after 1688. Unless the Irish accepted masons of *circa* 1700 were very different in their attitude towards masonic customs from their successors of *circa* 1725, it seems to me very unlikely that Irish masons originated the threefold division of the esoteric knowledge; I am inclined, therefore, to think that it was introduced into Ireland from England. To judge by Plot, the 1680's were an active period in accepted masonry, whereas no such indications exist regarding the first decade of the eighteenth century. The chances, therefore, would seem to be in favour of the threefold division of masonic secrets being originated by English accepted masons in the late seventeenth, rather than in the early eighteenth century.

THE ORIGINATORS OF THE CHANGES

Our final problem is to consider by whom the changes we have traced were first made. As mentioned previously, Murray Lyon has described Desaguliers as "the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system" of symbolical masonry, Dr. James Anderson being presumably cast by him for the other leading part. This dictum seems to me, however, to be contrary to the weight of the available evidence, which points to the evolution of operative into speculative masonry being a gradual process, and not a sudden revolution brought about by any one or two men. As I see it, the process probably began as early as the second half of the seventeenth century, and was certainly very far from having been completed by 1735. So far as one can tell, the premier Grand Lodge was not very interested in matters of ritual, nor did it normally interfere in such matters, the changes introduced in the 1730's, and rescinded in 1809, being exceptions. Just as the practices associated with the imparting of the Mason Word to operative masons in Scotland appear gradually to have changed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as a result of various accretions and modifications, so accepted masons in England gradually erected during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a substantial superstructure of moral teachings upon the foundations provided by the somewhat crude usages and phrases connected with the imparting of the Mason Word. In neither case were the changes sudden, and in neither case is it possible to say that any particular person was responsible for introducing the changes.

Conclusion. The arguments brought forward in this paper may be summed up by saying that when the English and Irish evidence relating to masonry in the early eighteenth century is co-ordinated, the balance of probabilities appears to favour the view that various important changes in masonic working, which can be definitely traced only in the third decade of the eighteenth century, had actually originated at an earlier period, very possibly in the 1680's, or even somewhat earlier. In support of this tentative conclusion, attention may be drawn to the fact that as early as 1688 the operative mason's practice of relieving brethren in distress had apparently been adopted by accepted masons in England and Ireland, to judge by Aubrey's statement of 1686 that "when any of them fall into decay, the brotherhood is to relieve him," and by the reference in the Dublin tripos of 1688 to the help given to a reduced brother by the Fraternity of Freemasons in and about Trinity College. The only reference to Charity contained in the *MS. Constitutions* is the charge to receive and cherish strange masons, either by setting them to work for at least a fortnight, or by refreshing them with money to the next lodge. On the other hand, the Statutes of 1670 of the Lodge of Aberdeen contain regulations about the Mason Box. If Relief had been adopted as one of the Grand Principles of accepted masonry by 1688, as would almost appear to have been the case, it would seem not unlikely that some kind of address on Charity had been introduced into the ceremony of acceptance by that date, to supplement any reference to Charity which might be contained in lodge bylaws. If this surmise is correct, yet another change had been introduced into masonic working by *circa* 1680. That considerable modifications of the operative working had probably been introduced by accepted masons by 1686 is also suggested by Aubrey's statement that "the manner of their Adoption is very formall," a statement which would not apply very aptly to the somewhat crude customs and phrases associated in Scotland in the seventeenth century with the imparting of the Mason Word. Thus, taking everything into account, there would seem fairly good grounds for thinking that some of the important changes introduced by accepted masons into the old operative ceremonies were already in existence in the last decades of the seventeenth century, thirty years or more before the date commonly accepted.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. L. Edwards, seconded by Bro. J. H. Lepper; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. H. Poole, W. I. Grantham, W. J. Williams and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I have pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Bro. Knoop for his interesting paper and to Bro. Rickard for reading it in his unavoidable absence.

When Bro. Knoop's contributions to masonic learning have to be considered—and without being hazardously prophetic I do feel that future scholars will appreciate them just as much as we do—it will be found that they fall into three classes: raw materials like his annotated reprints of building accounts; his joint work on the Old Charges; and his summaries of general and of early masonic history.

Of this last class the present paper is an example, and by reason of the scanty nature of the materials available, it must have about it something of the tentative and hypothetical. That every deduction may not commend itself to everyone, and that some may be disproved and others confirmed, scarcely detracts from its value as a rough but stimulating working hypothesis. I leave to others the task of commenting in detail, but there are a few general observations I should like to make.

We have two outstanding facts in our early history. On the one hand we have a clear and not inconsiderable body of literary evidence, chiefly of the later seventeenth century, of the existence of some form of speculative freemasonry. On the other hand we have the dates and the facts of the organization of 1717 and the years immediately following, and our task is to connect these two periods. Through the veil more and more facts and still more tendencies are discernible. A point that would appeal to Bro. Knoop's mind, at once historical and scientific, is that few, if any, institutions are invented off-hand, and that in fact they are all creatures of growth. If we find one of them organized and in working order at a certain date, it is on general grounds, to say the least, highly probable that, whether or not we find traces of it, it has existed for many years, perhaps a generation or two, in a rudimentary and unorganized form; and this is obviously the case with speculative freemasonry. There seems little doubt that it was the period before 1717 that was the important and formative period in the history of the Craft, at any rate so far as the ritual is concerned; and all attempts, particularly Bro. Knoop's, to clear up the mysteries of these years must command our attention and our gratitude.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

I should like to add my congratulations to the many he must have received, to Bro. Knoop for his masterly survey of what is probably the most fascinating problem in Masonic research. We have here, surely, an irrefutable answer to those who would say that the work of masonic research is ended.

I am, naturally, particularly interested in the part which Bro. Knoop holds has been played by Ireland in the genesis of Speculative Freemasonry. Political controversies of the past century have tended to emphasize those factors which separate Ireland from Great Britain, and it is perhaps not out of place to remark the many ties which bind our two countries. It is perhaps not fully realised to-day how closely connected were England and Ireland when Scotland was a foreign, and often a hostile country.

The loss of Irish national records is well nigh irreplaceable, and one almost despairs that a brother will ever arise who will do for Ireland what Bro. Knoop has done in his studies of the mediæval craft of masonry.

Crawley's dictum that English and Irish Freemasonry until 1730 were "practically identical", because Prendergast and others held office under both Grand Lodges, seems to me to be an example of loose reasoning, and looser expression, which he himself would have been the first to demolish in an opponent with one salvo of his dialectical artillery. Granted that these aristocratic brethren were more than mere figureheads, their masonic knowledge need have been no more than was necessary to enable them to play their parts gracefully in Grand Lodge; this certainly does not imply identity of esoteric work, or even of external organization.

I trust I will not be deemed too fanatical an Irishman if I suggest that the Installation Ceremony was developed in Ireland. We do not know when the Grand Lodge of Ireland came into existence, and so far back as 1688 we have the tantalising reference to "Freemasonized the *new* way." Irish conservatism in masonry was, and is, no hidebound adherence to an established formula, as witness the enthusiasm with which the Royal Arch, Knight Templar, and other degrees were taken up; on the other hand, Irish masons did insist on a logical development from what had gone before. It is certainly remarkable that, if the ceremony were an innovation of the London Grand Lodge, that it should have been enthusiastically adopted in Ireland, and abandoned by its putative parent.

Anderson distinctly says that the ceremony was as practised by the Duke of Wharton; I speak diffidently, but Wharton appears to have been one who would take up a novelty with enthusiasm, and, until the novelty palled, would devote his not inconsiderable powers to its development. He sat in the Irish House of Lords as Marquis of Catherlough, taking his seat the very same day as Lord Rosse, our first recorded Grand Master, with whom he was on terms of the most intimate friendship.

When Pennell came to revise "Anderson" for the use of the Irish Craft, the Constitution ceremony was the only part of the work he left untouched; as it stands, this might be held to argue either way, but, taken in conjunction with other circumstances, it may be held to tip the scale in the Irish direction.

Finally, when the Grand Lodge of Ireland came to issue Warrants, a decided, if obvious innovation in practice, stress was laid on the succession of Masters and Wardens. Altogether, the Irish conception of a Lodge was a body of brethren under a legitimate succession of Masters, without particularising its habitat, while the English conception appears to have centred in a Lodge located at a particular place.

Bro. H. POOLE said:—

I am exceedingly sorry that Bro. Knoop could not be here to-day—I am sure we all hope most heartily that his health may before long be restored.

Before passing to criticism, may I say how much I have enjoyed his paper, and how highly I value it, as one which, right or wrong, tends to provoke the thinking and re-thinking which are necessary if we are to arrive at even comparative truth.

My contention with Bro. Knoop amounts to something like this—that he seems rather to treat the evidence as if we had plenty of it, and to forget that what we have is probably no more than a small and unrepresentative sample. Thus, I should not expect to find evidence for the early use of secret modes of recognition among operatives; but the fact that such were found in late seventeenth century among English non-operatives affords a certain measure of

probability that they belonged to an earlier date; and the fact that the earliest references to the "Mason Word" come from Scotland does *not*, to me, indicate anything so strong as a likelihood that English speculative Masonry was derived from Scotland. The fact (if it was one) that the Scottish versions of the Old Charges were derived from England would seem to point in the opposite direction; and as there seems to be no reason to doubt the genuineness of the date, 1581, associated with the lost *Melrose 1 MS.*, which takes us back even before the earliest Scottish evidence of any kind, there would (to me, at any rate) be a strong presumption that the "Mason Word" passed from England to Scotland at the same time or even earlier. Bro. Knoop is, at any rate, surely wrong in suggesting that in Scotland the reading of a version of the Old Charges commenced in the second half of the seventeenth century.

We have not, in fact, sufficient evidence to base an opinion as to this point, even in Scotland, where so much early evidence exists. There must have been much going on of which we have no knowledge whatever. It must not be forgotten that at the very time of the Schaw Statutes, which assigned third place to the Lodge of Stirling, there is no evidence of any such Lodge, or even of a separate organisation of the operative Masons of Stirling, whose only status was that of membership of a Gild, shared with the "mechanics" of the town, which rejoiced in the name of the "omnium gatherum".

Again, in England, I do not know of any evidence that justifies the "presumption" (as Bro. Knoop has it) that the admission ceremony for the Accepted Mason differed in any way from that for the operative. The evidence of the "New Articles", which can hardly be later than about mid-seventeenth century, suggests that, at perhaps that period, a cleavage between the two was becoming acute: while their insistence on operative representation in a Lodge at an admission surely suggests that the control had formerly been more exclusively operative.

Bro. Knoop seems to imply that the "manner of constituting" was new in 1723: I submit that there is no evidence whatever as to the age of this ceremony. But both the phrases "the short and pithy charge", and still more "the usual Congratulation", suggest that it was well established before ever it got into print: the addresses on the W.T., by the way, I have long suspected of being among the older survivals in the Craft of to-day. The seven changes, in fact, which Bro. Knoop suggests were introduced c. 1700, seem to come down to a revision of the charges read (and presumably the omission of the historical introduction); an unimportant modification in the method of "drawing the Lodge"; an elaboration of the prayer; and *perhaps* the trigradal system. Apart from this last and still highly controversial matter, I doubt whether any of these is of any significance at all. We know that the charges had been repeatedly revised at various periods from the fifteenth century; and there is nothing fundamentally new in the 1723 revision; there may well have been as large a variety in the method of drawing as there certainly must have been in the drawing itself; and I suspect that Pennell's printed prayer of 1730 may have been merely one of the many variations and expansions. As regards the trigradal system, after making out a (I consider sketchy) "*prima facie* case for attributing the development . . . to Irish masons", Bro. Knoop proceeds to demolish his own case (on equally sketchy grounds), and to conclude, if I follow him rightly, by attributing it to English Masons of late seventeenth century—though why that period is not clear: it might equally well have been a century earlier.

To put it all shortly: I do not think Bro. Knoop has proved that *any* substantial changes or additions were made within half a century of the date (c. 1700) which he takes for his datum. Apart from the "degree" question, the only changes which he suggests were such as had actually in one case, and quite likely in the rest, occurred repeatedly during the previous three centuries;

and by his own admission the trigradal system belongs to the pre-historic period of Masonry. Furthermore, he has shown no reasons for believing that the speculative Masons in England, Scotland or Ireland at any time made any substantial contribution to the sum total of what to-day we call the Craft.

I repeat that I am exceedingly sorry that he is not here to-day. I enjoy my arguments with him, and I think he does, too; and I fancy that a hot (not heated) argument clears the air for real progress better than the cool atmosphere of printed criticism.

BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM *writes*:—

Once again Bro. Knoop has placed this Lodge under a debt of gratitude; but on this occasion the vote of thanks which I have the pleasure of supporting is confined to himself alone. Most of the previous papers read to us by Bro. Knoop have been the joint product of himself and of a colleague who, to our regret, has not yet felt impelled to seek admission to the Craft, in spite of his obvious interest in our operative ancestors. The nature of the paper to which we have listened to-day is sufficient to account for the omission of that colleague's name, except in a footnote, and for the substitution throughout the paper of the pronoun "I" for the "We" to which the members of this Lodge have become accustomed when listening to Bro. Knoop.

This paper affords an illustration of the advantages to be derived from a periodical re-examination of existing evidence. Bro. Knoop does not claim to have laid before us in this paper any fresh facts; but he has brought his trained mind to bear upon existing records and suggests that we may be justified in inferring that various important changes in masonic working, which can be definitely traced only in the third decade of the eighteenth century, had actually originated at an earlier period, very possibly in the 1680's, or even somewhat earlier.

To me personally Bro. Knoop's arguments are certainly attractive, but some of his conclusions appear at first sight somewhat startling. Those tentative conclusions must, however, command respect in view of Bro. Knoop's wide experience as a masonic student—a respect which deepens when we recollect Bro. Knoop's accustomed caution. It may well be that his conclusions are justified upon the evidence, but before those conclusions are finally accepted some of us perhaps would wish for an opportunity of studying afresh the arguments advanced by former members of the Lodge who have also made a study of this question. For most of us that opportunity is not likely to occur until peace has been restored to a troubled world.

In the meantime there is one piece of evidence mentioned by Bro. Knoop upon which I would venture to offer a brief comment. I refer to the Postscript to Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, which contains the manner of constituting a new lodge, including the installation of Master. Careful consideration of this earliest known reference to a ceremony of installation has led me to share Bro. Knoop's view that this description may well be a description of ceremonial already established in 1723. Bro. Knoop has alluded to the expression "the short and pithy charge" which was to accompany the presentation of each of the instruments appertaining to the office of Master. In this connection I would stress, if I may, the use of the definite article. The expression is "*the* short and pithy charge", not "*a* short and pithy charge". To my mind the use of the definite article in this context suggests strongly that the charge referred to was already in existence. It might also be fairly argued that the word "pithy" is one not likely to have been employed by a writer setting out to describe something new. This expressive epithet is surely much more likely to have been used by the author to describe something already well known to his

readers—a charge which would be readily recognised by this description. Again, the phrase “other expressions that are proper and usual on that occasion” is to my mind, in spite of Bro. Vibert’s criticism, equally suggestive that the expressions referred to were already in existence in 1723. If the directions for constituting a new lodge and installing a Master were introducing something new, some such phrase as “appropriate to the occasion” would surely have been more natural than the words “proper and usual on that occasion”.

This inadequate contribution to the discussion must not be taken in any sense as a measure of my appreciation of Bro. Knoop’s latest work. The paper to which we have been treated to-day has been most refreshing, and my personal pleasure has been enhanced—as must that of other members of the Lodge—by the gift of a copy of the paper suitably inscribed by the author. I cordially support the vote of thanks.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

This essay by Bro. Knoop brings together in a useful way a number of facts relating to the variations in masonic practice and principles during and prior to the period up to the year 1730.

On p. 11 of the essay the period is stated to be *circa* 1700, but in fact the period dealt with extends at least as far as to 1730 (see p. 19).

In considering the subject I have been confronted with the fact that what seems to me to be the greatest and most fundamental change of all has been passed by without any specific comment. I refer to the alteration made by the first article of the 1723 *Constitutions*. The article is headed:—

“Concerning God and Religion”,

but, paradoxically, it contains no mention whatever of the Deity while commending a religion said to be that to which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves, while stipulating that a mason is obliged to obey the Moral Law and can never (if he understands the Art) be a stupid Atheist nor an irreligious Libertine.

This new state of things was said to be then thought more expedient than the former. Its effect was to abolish the practice, which is clear from the *Old Constitutions*, that all Masons must avow themselves to be Christians.

The 1738 edition of the *Constitutions* (Q.C.A., vii, p. 113) shows the motive source of this momentous alteration. It occurs under date 24th June, 1721, in the Report of the Installation of the Duke of Montagu as Grand Master:—

“His Grace’s Worship and the Lodge finding fault with all the Copies of the Old Gothic Constitutions ordered Brother James Anderson A.M. to digest the same in a new and better method”.

As a result of this the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* came into being and the Regulation into force.

There can be little doubt that a number of leading Masons of that time were Deists, and consequently the Old Charges with their clear statement of Trinitarian doctrine were obnoxious to them.

Thus the old *Constitutions* (all of them) were discarded. The new *Constitutions* were reported on by a Committee of 14 and ordered to be printed. It is doubtful whether more than a very few of the Brethren realised that such a fundamental change was being made, and perhaps this gave rise later on to the discontent manifested at the Annual Meeting of Grand Lodge held on 24th June, 1723, and referred to on page 12 of the Essay.

The rejection of the Old Charges and the substitution of the New Regulation left the Craft without any stated rule of Faith.

suggest that it was then that the degrees were telescoped, the prayers eliminated and God, King and Country replaced by civil, moral and religious duties. The older ceremonies might have survived as an Anti-Puritan, and subsequently a Jacobite Society.

Bro. KNOOP, in reply, *writes*:—

In thanking the Brethren for their comments, I shall not attempt to deal fully with all the points raised, as some of the problems involved are too large. I used the term "theism" without any philosophical implication, to convey the idea of a belief in God, as distinct from a belief in the Trinity. The admittedly important problem of "deism" and its possible influence on freemasonry, raised by Bro. Williams, seems to be outside the scope of my paper, which is mainly concerned with the practices associated with accepted or speculative masonry prior to 1723. The influence of "deism" may have made itself felt in freemasonry before that date, as "deism" had its adherents as early as the second half of the seventeenth century, but I know of no evidence pointing to such a conclusion, nor, seemingly, does Bro. Williams. The connection between the development of freemasonry and contemporary religious, philosophical and political thought calls for separate treatment, and we must hope that in due course it will receive attention.

Another problem calling for separate treatment is the scope and method of masonic history, of which Bro. Poole appears to have his own peculiar conception. He has worked out, by what he himself has described as "imaginative theorizing," a picture of masonic evolution, which is embodied in his paper on "The Antiquity of the Craft" (*A.Q.C.*, li). Where the evidence on which I rely conflicts with his masonic fantasy, he questions the evidence brought forward in my paper; he suggests that it is probably no more than a small and unrepresentative sample. A sample, according to the dictionary, is a portion of anything taken as a pattern or specimen to show the quality and character of the whole. Bro. Poole, as a mathematician, is probably acquainted with the method of sample enquiries frequently adopted by statisticians where an investigation of the whole field is beyond their resources. When Bro. Poole suggests that I use a small and unrepresentative *sample* of the evidence, I feel that his comment is misleading, because I have not used a sample at all. I have endeavoured to examine the whole of the extant evidence, such as it is. That the available evidence is not very comprehensive must be obvious to all, but that it is unrepresentative no one not claiming to be omniscient can possibly say. Another respect in which I feel that Bro. Poole's comments are misleading is when he states that I imply that the "manner of constituting" was new in 1723. More careful reading of my paper would show him that, unlike Vibert, I incline to accept Anderson's statement that the manner of constituting a new lodge, including the installation of the Master, is "according to the ancient usages of masons", or, in any case, that it was not new in 1722.

Bro. Poole refers to the "New Articles" and the insistence in certain cases on operative representation in a lodge to show that the control had formerly been more operative. I equally believe in the operative origin of speculative masonry, but suggest that the available evidence points to the original operative control being Scottish and not English. An English operative mason present in an English lodge of accepted masons in the seventeenth century would be an operative mason who had originally been admitted into the Acceptation of the London Masons' Company or other lodge of accepted masons, just as a working mason attending a lodge of freemasons to-day would previously have been initiated in a lodge of speculative masons. Again, Bro. Poole and I are in agreement that all the available evidence points to the Old Charges having

There is not in the regulations, as far as I know, any reference to the Bible as the Great Light, and I should like to know when and how such reference first occurred, and also when the definition of Freemasonry as a peculiar system of morality was first authoritatively promulgated.

That definition, however, was quite a logical result, and reminds one of the distinction between Paley's two famous works, one on Natural Religion and the other on the Evidences of Christianity.

The phrase "We only pursue the universal Religion or the Religion of nature" occurs in the Charge to new admitted Brethren, printed at page 14, and opposite the somewhat similar passage culled from page 54 of the 1723 *Constitutions*.

The Prayer from Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730 (page 19 of the Essay) seems clearly to have been intended as a protest against the introduction or continuance in Ireland of the new Regulation 1.

Much more remains to be said on this most important topic. The Irish practice as to the use of definitely Christian prayers prevailed for a very long period, and only ceased (if it has ceased) a few years ago.

The Ancients, according to their *Ahiman Rezon*, used distinctively Christian Prayers, and in the same volume insert a special prayer to be used by Jewish Brethren.

How far Regulation 1, as varied up to the last Revision of the *Constitutions* of the Grand Lodge of England, is consistent with the description of the functions of the Bible as set forth in the Charge to the Initiate I will not here discuss.

It is beyond question that the Initiate is charged to regard that book as going much further than anything expressed or implied in Regulation 1.

Before closing I may mention that the Records of the Masons Company give at least one instance of the emblematic use of the working tools. It is to be found in my paper on the City of London Records relating to the Masons Company, but being away from my books I cannot now give the exact reference.

Such emblematic uses are frequent in Ancient and Modern literature.

I have noticed lately that, instead of the word "Deism", which was the word used to indicate the system which rejected Revelation, the word "Theism" is coming into use. "Theism" is the word used in the Essay before us. All Christians are Theists; but having regard to the history of the Deistic controversy they would not willingly be ranked with Deists.

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

BRO. KNOOP states that in England "there is no evidence at all to suggest that societies of accepted masons were in any respect subject to control by any organization of operative masons."

This does not fit in with the fact that the accepted masons were undoubtedly a part of the organization of the London Company which governed the trade. During the rebuilding after the great fire unattached masons were instructed, when detected, to go on the acceptance or enrol as apprentices. It was a system of collecting quarterage, and the clerk of the Company was bound by oath not to issue copies of the *Constitutions* without permission. These copies seem to have acted as warrants to form a lodge. It was in harmony with Guild procedure. The high amounts of quarterage paid in by some members of the London Company are more likely to represent lodge collections than years of arrears.

A factor in the evolution of the ceremonies was probably the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1654. Under Cromwell the name was changed from "Company of Freemasons" to "Company of Masons", and I

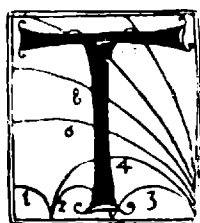
originated in England, and to the Scottish versions being derived from English sources. I suggest that a reading of a version of the Old Charges in Scotland commenced in the second half of the seventeenth century, because the earliest known Scottish versions date from that period. The so-called *Melrose No. 1 MS.* (the original from which *Melrose No. 2 MS.* was copied in 1674) bears the date 1581, when, to judge by the certificate at the end, the document was in English ownership. There is no evidence to suggest when, if ever, the document came into Scottish ownership. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the Mason Word passed with the Old Charges from England to Scotland; actually there is no evidence that the Mason Word was ever in use among English operative masons.

These points illustrate the fundamental difference between Bro. Poole and myself. I restrict myself in my account of masonic development to the recorded evidence and what can be deduced from it, in accordance with the practice of historians, whereas Bro. Poole is prepared to make good the absence of evidence by the use of his imagination. That is strongly borne out by the last paragraph but one of his comments, where he implies that the changes with which I deal in my paper are some three centuries older than c. 1685, in support of which date I suggest that some evidence can be adduced. For his suggested pre-Reformation development of speculative masonry there is no evidence whatsoever, so far as I am aware. For a more detailed examination of some of the problems raised by Bro. Poole I must refer the Brethren to a recent paper by G. P. Jones and myself on "Masonic History, Old and New" (to appear in *A.Q.C.*, lvi).

I welcome suggestions made by Bro. Ivor Grantham and Bro. J. Heron Lepper. The former draws attention to the fact that the use of the definite article in the expression "*the* short and pithy charge" (in Anderson's manner of constituting a new lodge) strongly suggests that the charge referred to was already in existence in 1723. He also points out other phrases which seem to imply that parts at least of the installation ceremony were known before Anderson's time, all of which help to strengthen my argument. The latter suggests that the installation ceremony was "developed" in Ireland. If by that Bro. Lepper means that it originated in Ireland, I do not feel that I can accept his view. If, however, he means that it was transmitted, and possibly modified or elaborated, by Irish masons, I have every sympathy with his suggestion. Once we accept the hypotheses (a) that an installation ceremony of some kind existed in England or Scotland before 1723, and (b) that the ceremony was very soon dropped out of use by the subordinate lodges under the premier Grand Lodge established in London in 1717, as actually appears to have been the case, then we have to ask ourselves how the ceremony was preserved in this country until it was worked by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, which was not formed in London until 1751. The answer may be that it was not preserved in England, and that it was re-introduced by the Antients who acquired it from Irish masons, along with the rest of their knowledge of masonic working. In that case, the installation ceremony was transmitted to us by Irish masons, and it is always possible, as Bro. Lepper seems to suggest, that they may have introduced some modifications or elaborations into the ceremony during the years in which they were its sole guardians.

Finally, I thank the W.M. for his observations in proposing the vote of thanks, and Bro. Bullamore for his comments, though I do not find myself in agreement with them.

FRIDAY, 6th MARCH, 1942.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., W.M.; Wg.-Comdr. W. I. Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, S.W.; Fred L. Pick, F.C.I.S., 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. R. Radice, I.G.; and S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Chown, P.A.G.St.B.; J. O. Dewey; A. G. Harper, P.G.St.B.; F. P. Reynolds, P.G.St.B.; L. G. Wearing; Wm. Smalley; A. F. Hatten; H. M. Ridge; W. J. Mean; A. Beveridge; H. W. Martin; H. M. Boutroy; F. C. Ruddie; Wm. Patrick; E. A. Hyett; H. E. Elliott; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; E. Alven; F. Woodhams; A. E. Evans; D. L. Oliver; B. Foskett; C. M. Giveen; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; and H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. A. Fowler, Elysian Lodge No. 5242; H. D. Montague, P.M. Beverley Lodge No. 5006; C. R. Russell and S. A. Preston, Forum Lodge No. 3537; F. E. Jones, Union Lodge No. 127; and H. H. Langrishe, P.M., Priory Lodge No. 241 (I.C.).

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.; D. Flather, J.P., 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.; Lt.-Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; R. E. Parkinson; G. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Supt.Wks.; and W. E. Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

Upon Ballot taken:—

Bro. HENRY HIRAM HALLETT, residing at Mansfield House, Taunton, Somerset. Schoolmaster. P.M. Lodge No. 3746. Past Grand Standard Bearer. Author of Papers, published in Somerset Masters' *Transactions*, on *Lodges of Promulgation, Reconciliation, Stability and Emulation; Freemasonry in Taunton in 18th Century*.

was elected a joining member of the Lodge.

Eight Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. S. J. FENTON read the following paper:—

APOLLO LODGE No. 301, ALCESTER.

No. 537 — 1794. No. 563 — 1814. No. 378 — 1832. No. 301 — 1863.

BY BRO. S. J. FENTON.

CHAPTER I.



HERE may be Freemasons who will read these notes on the History of the Apollo Lodge No. 301, held at Alcester in the County of Warwickshire, who are not members of the Lodge and who have never been to, and perhaps never heard of, the Town of Alcester; therefore a few words on the history of the town and also on the period of the formation of the Lodge, may create an atmosphere which will make the reader feel more at home with the surroundings of the Brethren recorded in this history, than would have been the case if these preliminary remarks had been omitted.

Alcester is now a small town of about 2,300 inhabitants, situated 20 miles south of Birmingham, 15 miles from Warwick, 18 miles from Worcester, 8 miles from Henley-in-Arden (which fact has some bearing on the early history of the Lodge), and 8 miles from Stratford-on-Avon, the birthplace of Shakespeare.

It is the largest town in that part of Warwickshire which includes the following places described in traditional doggerel as:—

Piping Pebworth; dancing Marston;
 Haunted Hillborough; hungry Grafton;
 Dagening Exhall; papist Wixford;
 Beggerly Broom and drunken Bidford.

The above is frequently credited to Shakespeare's pen, but it does not appear in any of his printed works and the Baconian School decline to acknowledge that the authorship is due to their candidate.

From this agricultural district and from some of the villages mentioned above, Brethren following many vocations have been members of, or visited, the Apollo Lodge in Alcester; and it is not surprising and easily understandable, why the "Wednesday nearest the Full Moon" was selected for the day of Meeting, probably for the enlightenment of the homeward journey.

The Town of Alcester is of ancient origin. It is situated on the Roman Road, Icknield Street, where it crosses the River Arrow, a few miles before that interesting little stream joins Shakespeare's "Avon". It has an ecclesiastical history dating back to the eighth century, a Town Hall which was built prior to 1640, wherein to-day the Lodge holds its meetings. A mile away is Ragley Hall, the seat of the Marquis of Hertford, whose family has long been connected with Freemasonry, the 6th Marquis being Worshipful Master of the Apollo Lodge in 1882 and Provincial Grand Master of Warwickshire 1906-1912. Ragley Hall was the residence also of R.W. Bro. Brig.-Gen. Lord Henry Seymour,

D.S.O., Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire, Past G.W. of England and Asst. Prov.G. Master of Warwickshire from 1935 to 1939.¹

At the end of the eighteenth century, or to be more exact 1793-4, when the Lodge was founded, the conditions of the English countryside were prosperous. The French Revolution was in full swing, food prices were high; wool, the staple industry of the district, was in great demand, and there were at that time several needle factories in the town.

Masonically, local conditions were also very interesting. Warwickshire had been created into a Province only two years previously, when Thomas Thompson, Esq., Member of Parliament for Evesham, in the County of Worcestershire, received a Patent from Grand Lodge, dated 2nd May, 1792, appointing him Provincial Grand Master of Warwickshire. Prior to 1792 there was no local supervision over the Lodges and no Provincial Grand Lodge. It is recorded in Grand Lodge Minutes under the date of 1728 that William Prescott was Prov. G. Master when the first Warwickshire Lodge was constituted at the Woolpack in Warwick, but there is no further reference to him, and he probably acted in that capacity only for the purpose of constituting that Lodge.

The records of the Grand Lodge of England, formed in 1717, do not mention a single instance of the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master for a Province prior to the constituting of the first Lodge in a Province. Therefore the record of James Prescott being P.G.M. for Warwickshire, despite the fact that it appears in the Minute Book of Grand Lodge in reference to the Lodge at the Woolpack in Warwick in 1728, is of doubtful authenticity.

At the date of the formation of the Apollo Lodge there were only five Lodges in Warwickshire, and it would not be an exaggeration if we put the entire Masonic population of the Province at less than 150. It may be of interest to give a few brief particulars of these Lodges, which reveal the fact not generally appreciated, that the Apollo Lodge is now the third oldest of the Lodges which have been constituted in the Province of Warwickshire.

St. Alban's Lodge No. 176, Birmingham, was working under a warrant dated 23rd February, 1762. *This Lodge was erased in 1829.*

St. Paul's Lodge, Birmingham (now No. 43), in 1794 was working under a warrant issued to them by the "Modern" Grand Lodge and is now the senior Lodge in the Province.

Trinity Lodge, Coventry (now No. 254). Their warrant is dated 4th May, 1785, and it is therefore the second oldest Lodge in the County.

St. John's Lodge No. 538 at Henley-in-Arden, of which the Apollo Lodge was an off-shoot, was warranted 5th October, 1791, and lapsed in 1811.

Shakespeare Lodge No. 516 at Stratford-on-Avon. Warrant dated 1st February, 1793; *erased 1799.*

Apollo Lodge, Alcester. Warrant dated 23rd April, 1794, is therefore now the THIRD oldest Warwickshire Lodge.

The Shakespeare Lodge No. 284, now held at Warwick, is an older Lodge and can claim seniority to the Apollo Lodge on the register of the Grand Lodge of England, but not in the Province of Warwickshire. It was originally formed in Norfolk in 1792 as a regimental Lodge, but did not settle in Warwickshire until 1808.²

The Athol Lodge No. 74, Birmingham, appears in the Warwickshire Masonic Calendar as the second oldest Lodge in the Province. The petitioners of this Lodge did not apply to the Antient Grand Lodge for a warrant until 1811, and they were allocated the warrant of a Lodge which had been held in

¹ "Lord Henry Seymour (Initiated in The Household Brigade Lodge No. 2614) joined the Apollo Lodge when he came to reside permanently in the district in 1924. He was installed Wor. Master in 1927, and in the same year was appointed Provincial Grand Warden, becoming a Grand Lodge Officer (Senior Grand Warden) in 1931 and Assistant Provincial Grand Master of Warwickshire in 1935. He died 19th June, 1939.

² *History of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 284*, Pub. 1912.

Stockport, but at that date defunct. (This was due to the 1799 Act of Parliament regarding secret Societies). The Athol Lodge had never made any claim to a date earlier than 1811, but has had unwarranted seniority thrust upon it by Provincial Grand Lodge.¹

The Apollo Lodge is an offspring of the St. John's Lodge No. 538, held at Henley-in-Arden, which Lodge was formed only in 1791, three years previously, and became extinct in 1811. Although the two Lodges were closely connected, geographically, socially and masonically for a few years, as will be shown in these records, it is unnecessary to give many details of its history because it has been very fully written by the late Wor.Bro. T. M. Carter, P.M. 1404, in a paper entitled *St. John's Lodge No. 538, Henley-in-Arden, 1791-1811*, published in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. xxxix. (1926).

The original Minute Book, Cash Book and Tyler's Book of St. John's Lodge are now in the Museum and Library of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire, in Birmingham.

The Apollo Lodge must be congratulated on the fact that they have now (1942) their complete minutes from 1794, also their original warrant and their original furniture. Like many other Lodges, it has had its day of prosperity and periods of grave anxiety; it has never had a very large membership; it has been the means of propagating the true spirit of Freemasonry in one of the out-of-the-way districts in rural England; and it is the endeavour of the author to put before its members and other Freemasons, who are interested in the history of the Craft, some details of its career.

CHAPTER II. (1793).

From the previous chapter the reader will be able to appreciate the Masonic conditions of the Province of Warwickshire and will have noted the fact that there were, at the time the Apollo was formed, only two Lodges in Birmingham, one at Coventry and two in the neighbourhood of Alcester, *i.e.*, one about 8 miles away at Henley-in-Arden and another about the same distance away at Stratford-on-Avon.

The poet, Thomas Campbell, tells us in "Lochiel's Warning" that "Coming events cast their shadows before", and this quotation may be appropriately used in reference to an entry which appears in the Minute Book of the St. John's Lodge No. 538, Henley-in-Arden, under the date of:—

1793. November 1st.

Wm. Sarsons made an enter'd apprentice gratis, he being intended as tyler to a Lodge intended to be erected at Alcester by our worthy Brothers resident in Alcester aforesaid.

This entry is the first intimation we have that a Lodge was going to be "erected" in Alcester, and a fortnight later it is recorded:—

1793. November 15th.

Bro. Wm. Sarsons and Bro. Bishop passed Fellow Crafts. Bro. Sarsons raiz'd to the Sublime Degree of a Master Mason.

The above entries were written and the ceremonies performed with apparently definite information that a Warrant was going to be granted for the formation of a Lodge at Alcester, because the first meeting of the Lodge did not take place until the following February and the Warrant was not dated until 23rd April, 1794.

¹ *History of Athol Lodge No. 74, Historical Notes 1811-1911*, Pub. 1911.

The initiation of Wm Sarsons was not the first occasion on which Brethren of St. John's Lodge had made a mason gratuitously. Less than 12 months previously we find in their minutes:—

1792. December 20th.

“Edward Busby was nominated a Candidate for Masonry ballotted for and accepted and made and enter'd Apprentice and was unanimously agreed that he should be made gratis, on account of the establishing of a Lodge at Stratford-on-Avon, and he being proposed and approved as Tyler thereto.”

This refers to the Shakespeare Lodge No. 516 at Stratford-on-Avon. (Warranted 1793, erased 1799).

1794. May 2nd.

“It was unanimously agreed that those Brothers who have not passed their degree be brought forward as fast as possible on account of the intended procession at Alcester.”

1794. July 4th.

“An invitation being given from the Alcester Lodge to our Worshipful Master for the attendance of this respectful Lodge at their Installation which is fixed for the 30th July next inst., it is therefore requested by our Right Worshipful that a Lodge of Emergency be called for the bringing forward our Bros. Payton and Wylde for the above Installation and that they may have an opportunity of seeing the Consecration.”

The foregoing extracts are all taken from the Minute Book of St. John's Lodge, Henley-in-Arden, before the consecration of the Apollo Lodge. We can now take our records from the Apollo Minute Books.

MINUTE BOOK No. 1.

The first page of this Book commences with the following entry:—

ALCESTER
APOLLO LODGE No. 537
Opened February 26th, 1794.

OFFICERS.

Joseph Brandish.	Surgeon	R.W.M.
Brandon Whissell		S.W.
Abel A. Morrall		J.W.
James Wyatt		T. (Treasurer)
Stephen Hobbins		S. (Secretary)
William Manley		S. (Steward)
William Sarsons		Tyler.

and the first actual minute is headed:—

“Opening of the Apollo Lodge No. 537 Alcester 26th February, 1794”, and informs us that at that meeting Mr. James Wyatt and Mr. Arthur Stiles were proposed as members. The accounts show that they both deposited 10/6d that evening, but they were not initiated until the meeting on the 5th March and were eventually made Master Masons on 23rd April, 1794, so that, on the date described as the opening of the Lodge, the Brother, who is named as Treasurer, was not actually a member of the craft. (He was a Gardener at Ragley Hall).

It is one of the unwritten landmarks of the order that a Lodge cannot be formed by non-masons, and it is always interesting to discover who were the founders of a Lodge and their previous Masonic history. We have accounted for the masonic origin of Bro. Wm. Sarsons, the Tyler, and shown that Bro. Wyatt was initiated in the Lodge.

Joseph Brandish was initiated in St. John's Lodge, Henley-in-Arden, on 17th May, 1793, became a M.M. five days later and Senior Warden on the 8th July the same year. It is very definite that he did not serve twelve months before becoming W.M. of the Apollo Lodge. He is described as Rt. Worshipful on no less than twelve out of the fifteen meetings which the Lodge held prior to its Consecration, which took place on 30th July, 1794.

Brandon Whissel, the first S.W. and I.P.M. in 1796 was a joining member of St. John's Lodge on 7th September, 1792. He may have been W.M. of some Lodge elsewhere, or, as he placed the R.A. symbol after his name, he may possibly have "passed the Chair" and never actually have been installed as W.M. of a Lodge.

Andrew Morrall was initiated in St. John's Lodge on 5th April, 1793, and raised on 22nd May the same year.

Wm. Hanley was also initiated in St. John's Lodge 3rd May, 1793.

All six Brethren who came from St. John's Lodge ceased to be members of that Lodge at the end of June, 1794. In fact, the Henley-in-Arden Lodge seems to have simply been the means of these men becoming Freemasons for the purpose of forming the Lodge at Alcester.

Thus we see a young Lodge, for St. John's Lodge was formed only in 1791, giving no less than six of its members to form a Lodge only a few miles away; and, as St. John's Lodge had a year or so previously fostered the Shakespeare Lodge No. 426 at Stratford-on-Avon, it is no wonder therefore that the Mother Lodge never had great vitality and passed out of existence in 1811.

Fifteen meetings were held between the first meeting and the Consecration on July 30th, 1794; and as regards the Consecration itself, *it is not recorded in the minutes.*

The Warrant of the Lodge was dated 26th February, 1794. It was signed by Thomas Thompson, the first Provincial Grand Master for Warwickshire, who had been appointed less than two years previously (7th June, 1792). It is signed also by James Timmins as D.P.G.M. and witnessed by James Sketchley as P.G.Sec. It is not a usual warrant of the period and was issued locally, although it states that it was "Given in London". Secondly, at that period it was quite usual for a Lodge, having obtained its warrant with the W.M., S.W. and J.W. named therein, to carry on until it was convenient for a Grand Lodge Officer or a Provincial Grand Lodge Officer to come and consecrate the Lodge; and, when that took place, it was usual for all the minutes of meetings held prior to the Consecration, to be read and confirmed by the Consecrating Officer, and this is exactly what took place at Alcester. All the minutes of the 15 previous meetings were read and the minute dated 26th July (the 15th meeting) has the following addition in the writing of the D.P.G.M.:—

"The foregoing minutes being read are approved".

Jas. Timmins, Deputy Provincial Grand Master.

July 30th, 1794.

J. Sketchley P.G.S.

Before describing the Consecration of the Lodge let us go through the Cash Account, where we find some interesting expenses regarding its formation.

The earliest date we have of any activity of the Brethren is in the Cash a/c, and is dated two months prior to the first minute. It is interesting, but, unfortunately, not very enlightening.

1793 December 24th.	Paid Michael O'Flaherty's Bill	£1. 6. 7.
	Gave him to drink	1. 0.
	do ... Mr. Watson's Men	1. 0.
	Canvas	5. 3.

Who Michael O'Flaherty was and what he sold (or drank) will probably remain a mystery.

The Cash Accounts from 1793 to 1811 are in the Minute Book and contain very interesting information, but at this stage I do not propose going into them beyond the first year or so because we are at present studying only the formation of the Lodge.

On the receipt side we find absolutely no money received except initiation fees, the custom being the payment of 10/6d when proposed and £2 12. 6d., making £3 3. 0. in all, for initiation. The amount received in this manner between February, 1794, and August, 1796, was £92. 3. 6.

But it is the expenses side of the account from which we obtain the most valuable items of the early history of the Lodge, and some of these we can only surmise, because unfortunately there are seldom sufficient details given of the expenditure either in the minutes or cash account. The most important is perhaps the following. On the date of the first meeting of the Lodge we find

1794 Feb. 26th	Paid Arthur Styles	20. 0. 0.
1795 Dec. 19th	„ „ „	10. 0. 0.
1796 April 11th	„ „ „	7. 16. 0.
1796 Sept. 17th	Paid Mr. Styles the full Balance of his Bill	
		24. 13. 11.
		<hr/>
		62. 9. 11.

On the Debit side of the account there is

1796 Sept. 17th	Subscriptions of the Brothers to pay Mr. Styles Bill etc.	30. 19. 6.
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Apparently therefore £31. 10. 5. was taken from Lodge funds and £30. 19. 6. raised by subscriptions.

What do we know regarding Arthur Styles?

We know that at the first meeting of the Lodge, 26th February, 1794, he was nominated as a candidate for Freemasonry and described as a Joiner, and we find also that he was paid the same day £20 by the Lodge. In the very rare first (and only) issue of what was described as the "Masonic Directory No. 1", supplement to Vol. iv. of the *Freemasons Magazine* of July, 1795, we find Arthur Styles described as a Cabinet maker; and, when we consider the additional sums paid to this Brother during the next two years, making the "full Balance of his Bill £62. 9. 11.", we are probably correct in coming to the conclusion that the first initiate of the Lodge made the furniture of the Lodge, and the Lodge should be very proud of the fact that the furniture is still in use to-day, after considerably over 140 years of practically continuous use.

Was there any reason for such elaborate furniture? Let us for a few moments travel to Spilsby in Lincolnshire, where there is to-day, held by the Shakespeare Lodge No. 426, founded in 1835, an almost identical set of furniture, full particulars of which are to be found in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. x., pages 41-45 (1897).

The furniture at Spilsby was originally the property of the sister Lodge to the Apollo Lodge, the Shakespeare Lodge No. 516, consecrated at Stratford-on-Avon in 1793. This Lodge was erased in 1799 and its furniture was taken

over by the St. John's Lodge, Henley-in-Arden, No. 492, the mother Lodge from which both Shakespeare No. 516 and the Apollo Lodge No. 537 originated. The mother Lodge got into difficulties about 1797, and lay dormant for a few years, but was resuscitated in Birmingham in 1811. No doubt the furniture of the Lodge went to Birmingham, where it was bought in 1834 by Thomas Sanders,¹ Governor of Spilsby Prison, for the sum of £15, and a further sum of £10 was spent in renovating it. The furniture consisted of a Master's Pedestal of Mahogany, with a picture on Copper let into the front panel representing Shakespeare leaning against a column pointing to the working tools on the floor.

The Apollo pedestal is of exactly the same pattern, with a picture on Copper let into the front panel, representing Apollo apparently playing to or singing about Working Tools depicted upon an Arch.

The original Stratford-on-Avon furniture included also a Master's and two Wardens' Chairs somewhat similar in design to those at Alcester.

The Spilsby Lodge possesses a sword which has an elaborate brass pierced guard of Masonic design. The blade bears one of the original numbers of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 492, and about 28 masonic emblems.

The Sword of the Apollo Lodge, for which £6. 12. 0. was paid on December 27th, 1794, has a similar brass guard with masonic emblems, but much more elaborate than its counterpart at Spilsby. I am definitely of the opinion that the blade of the Apollo sword is not the original blade, which would have been more of the rapier pattern to correspond with the original handle and guard. The present blade is quite plain, but the scabbard has some masonic engraving. Who knows but that during the past 140 years some brother accidentally or playfully broke the original blade and it has been replaced with one of heavier pattern. There is no record of the Tyler having had to use it in the performance of his duty.

Then we get an item regarding which there is also some mystery.

“Mar. 11, 1794. Mr. Brown's Jewells. £4. 0. 0.”

In 1884 a Masonic Exhibition was held at Worcester, the Catalogue² of which is still a valuable work of reference.

An item in it records the loan to the exhibition by the Apollo Lodge No. 301 of:—

“Eight Silver Jewels Presented to Lodge 301 by the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV.”

These Jewels were lent to the exhibition by the then W.M. of the Apollo Lodge, Wor.Bro. F. C. Shailer, and I do not think any W.M. would describe the Lodge Jewels in such a manner unless he had strong grounds for making such a statement, but unfortunately the Minute Books do not give us any information or any record of the Presentation. Bro. Brown's Jewels, £4. 0. 0., may have been the original Jewels and a further set presented to the Lodge by the Prince Regent at a later date. He did not become George IV. until 1820; and, as the Prince Regent, he frequently visited Ragley Hall.

I have examined the Jewels, and it is quite definite that they are not all of the same date. The I.P.M. Jewel, “Compasses, Arc, and Sun”, is pre-Union, and of the ordinary design of the period up to about 1814.

We next come to an item of £2. 2. 0. for “Globes”. Globes seldom appear in the inventory of a lodge to-day, but at that period and very much later Globes were regular articles of Lodge furniture.

¹ From *Centenary Handbook of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 426 Spilsby Lincolnshire*, published in 1935, we learn that Thomas Sanders was born in 1784 and came from Alcester and was a member of the Apollo Lodge. Thos Sanders, Tanner of Stratford-on-Avon, Initiated 27th December, 1808.

² *Catalogue of Masonic Soiree and Exhibition, Worcester. 27th August, 1884*

There are two items which leave much to the imagination.

July 30th, 1794 (that is the date of the Consecration)

Bro. Bissetts Bill	£3. 6. 4.
Bro. Sketchleys Bill	13. 19. 0.

Bro. Bissett was Prov. Grand Steward and he may have had to provide refreshments. Bro. Sketchley was Prov. Grand Secretary, and it is quite possible that he had to provide for the Band, etc., and also travelling facilities for D.P.G.M. from Birmingham. In addition he was a printer, and he may have supplied printed matter for the Consecration. Anyway, from what I know of his character he was probably the live wire of the entire proceedings.

We find also an item "Paid D.P.M. Registering Fees £4. 5. 0.", and again later £3. 10. 0.

It would be very interesting to know whether the following advertisement is the item of expenses entered under May 20th, 1795:—

"Holl and Co. Worcester. Advertisements £1. 4. 6."

It was quite usual at that period to advertise the Lodge meetings in the Local Paper, and payment may have been delayed. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, July 7th, 1794:—

MASONRY.

A grand Festival of the most Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons under the Grand Lodge of England will be held at the Angel Inn, Alcester, Warwickshire, on Wednesday, the 30th day of July, 1794, for the Consecration of a new Lodge called the Apollo, No. 537 and for installing their Officers. A Procession of the Brethren attending will be made to the Church and a sermon will be preached on the Occasion by the Rev. Brother Green, Chaplain of the St. Alban's Lodge No. 150, Birmingham.

The Procession will move at Ten o'clock.

The Company of any regular made Masons will be esteemed a favour.

N.B. A Ball in the Evening for the Ladies.

STEPHEN HOBBS, Secretary.

We now have to bring ourselves back to domestic conditions in 1794 to appreciate the following items. At that period neither electric light nor gas was available, but the Lodges found a heavy running expense in Candles. Wax Candles 16/6, 11lbs.; Wax Candles £1. 5. 0., and there may be further quantities in Tradesmen's Bills. I know a lodge which sold the unburnt ends of their candles, but all Tylers were not economical even in those good old days.

A little later we find an item for January, 1797.

"A Lodge Seal 18/-"

Every Lodge used to have its own seal, but the custom has been dropped and no impression of this seal is now known to exist. Another item in the early days of the Lodge, "Paid for Transparent Sun and Box 12/-s". This may be a very important item. A transparency was fairly common in the Midlands, but the only one I know that is actually now in use is at the Trinity Lodge No. 254 at Coventry, and that Lodge was of the same generation as the Apollo. Later we find:—

Preston's Illustrations	6/-s
Aprons	£1. 7. 6.

Regarding aprons, it was frequently the custom for the Lodge to keep a stock of aprons which the Brethren used, but did not take home.

I think, in going into the details of some of the expenses in the formation of the Apollo Lodge, it is evident that the Lodge was started in a somewhat extravagant manner, and that is to be accounted for by the fact that the Shakespeare Lodge No. 516 at Stratford-on-Avon (which also had been formed out of the St. John's Lodge a year previously), came into the world with a wonderful flourish of trumpets, and the Alcester Brethren, who had mostly been in the same Lodge originally, did not want to be considered any less important or less imposing. This will be apparent when we come to the Consecration and first Installation of the Lodge, which, as I mentioned previously, are not recorded in the Minute Book of the Lodge, but, fortunately for us to-day, are to be found in considerable detail in the *Freemasons Magazine* of August, 1794.

The fifteen meetings held prior to the Consecration are of particular interest. On thirteen occasions the chair was occupied by "The Rt. Worshipful Master Jos. Brandish", but at a Lodge of Emergency on 23rd April, 1794, the Rt. Worshipful Master was "Saml. Toy in the Chair P.T.", and at the same meeting J. Sketchley acted as J.W., P.T. There is no evidence that Brandish had previously been installed, but he probably occupied the W.M. Chair entirely on the authority of the Warrant in which he was named W.M. dated 23rd April, 1794. At the next meeting, 7th May, 1794, we find "Saml. Porter in the Chair P.T."

Samuel Toy was a member of St. Alban's Lodge, Birmingham, No. 176 (initiated 15th November, 1785, age 37, Steel maker), and is described as a P.M. of that Lodge. A few days prior to the Consecration of the St. John's Lodge at Henley-in-Arden in 1791 Bro. Toy visited that Lodge and occupied the Chair and was thanked for the "honor he had done in visiting the Lodge", and a few days earlier, "Bro. Sketchley came from Birmingham, brought and read the order of procession to Church, the Ceremony of Constitution and Installation which was unanimously approved and ordered to be adopted for the Installation". It is therefore probable that Toy and Sketchley visited the Apollo Lodge prior to the Consecration for a similar purpose, and again we find them both in the Programme of the Consecration, described as W.Bro. Toy, Principal of the R.A. Chapter of Fortitude, and Bro. Sketchley as Prov. Grand Secretary.

Samuel Porter was an equally important Mason and particularly so regarding the Apollo Lodge, because he was Master of the St. John's Lodge at Henley-in-Arden from its inception in 1791 until January, 1794, and had initiated all the Brethren in that Lodge, who had become the first members of the Apollo Lodge. He had also been the first W.M. of the first Masonic offspring of the St. John's Lodge, the Shakespeare Lodge No. 516 at Stratford-on-Avon, a lodge which, as I mentioned previously, was launched with such extravagance as to be recorded in the *Freemasons Magazine*, as follows:—

FREEMASONS MAGAZINE

"Never since the Celebration of the Jubilee has there been such a numerous and elegant assemblage of people, the Ladies in particular seeming to vie with each other, who should best express their respect on the occasion. On the next night a Free Ball was given, which for Beauty and Brilliance far surpassed anything of the kind ever remembered at Statford. Every Brother appeared in his Apron and the Grand Provincial Officers, and the Masters and Officers of the different Lodges wore their Sashes and Jewels. One Brother wore a suit of Buttons with Masonic Emblems, &c., elegantly set, which cost upwards of Ten Guineas, and many wore Aprons worth from Five to Ten Pounds each".

Brother James Sketchley¹—Enough cannot be said of this Brother. The Province of Warwickshire owes him a great debt of gratitude. In my opinion it was through his energies that the County was first made a Masonic Province in 1792 and he was appointed the first Prov. G. Secretary. He was one of the original members of No. 124 "Antients", which is now St. Paul's Lodge, and became its second W.M. in 1764. After a long and useful Masonic career he eventually came to straitened circumstances and received charity from some of the Lodges in which he had assisted at their Consecration.

Although there is no mention in the Minutes of the Apollo Lodge regarding a donation to Bro. Sketchley, the cash account of January 13th, 1797, records "Gave Bro. Sketchley £2. 2. 0."; and we find that also St. John's Lodge, Henley-in-Arden, collected £1. 4. 0. for him on December 27th, 1796. He eventually went to America, where he died in 1801.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE LODGE.

Freemasons Magazine for August, 1794, records:—

ALCESTER July 31st.

YESTERDAY the Lodge of APOLLO was constituted here, and afforded one of the most grand spectacles ever seen in this quarter.

The different Lodges that attended the procession were formed at the Angel Inn, and then crossed to the Town Hall, where the Lodge of Apollo was held. At ten o'clock the procession began to move in the following order to the Church.

Band of Music,
Tyler, with a drawn sword,
Shakespeare Lodge, Stratford, No. 516,
Junior Brethren two and two,
Secretary and Treasurer,
Senior and Junior Wardens,
The Bible, Square and Compass on a crimson velvet cushion carried by a
Past Master and
supported by two Stewards with white rods,
The Master,
Lodge of St. John Henley, in same order,
New Lodge of Apollo,
Tyler,
Junior Brethren with Ashlars,
Secretary, with the Warrant of Constitution,
Treasurer with Purse,
Senior and Junior Wardens,
Book of Constitution carried by a Master,
Bible, Square, and Compass, &c., carried by a Master supported by two
Stewards,
The Master,
Visiting Brethren two and two,
Lodge of St. Alban's Birmingham in the same order,
Lodge of St. Paul's Birmingham ditto,
Royal Arch Chapter of Fortitude in all their Ensigns and different Orders
according to their degrees, followed by the W. Br. Toy, Principal,
Provincial Grand Lodge,
Grand Sword Bearer,

¹ See *James Sketchley of Birmingham, Auctioneer, Printer, Publisher and Freemason*, by S. J. Fenton. Lecture at Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076. London, May 1st, 1937. *A.Q.C.*, vol. 50.

Rev. Bro. Green as Grand Chaplain,

Bro. Sketchley G. S.

Br. Parker G. T.

Br. B. S. Heaton Esq. G. S. W.

Br. C. Downs, G.J.W.

Bible supported by Br. J. Timmins, Esq., D. P. G. M.

Supported by Br. J. Zouch, Esq., and Br. J. Bisset,

Grand Stewards with gold Rods.

number of Masons in the procession was 121.

To gratify the curiosity of an amazing concourse of people the procession went round the town to church, the distance of half a mile. When they arrived at the porch the junior Lodges fell to right and left, leaving a space in the midst for the Provincial and Senior Lodges to pass between them, the youngest Brethren entering last. The service at Church was opened by appropriate music, composed by Br. J. Clark of Birmingham, and sung by Bro. Moore, Clark, &c. Hymns adapted for the occasion were sung by the Charity-Children; and after a most pathetic and excellent sermon preached by the Rev. Br. Green, the company returned in the same order to the hall, when the dedication and consecration took place, which was conducted in such a solemn manner as to give infinite pleasure to every Mason. The W. D.P.G.M., in a well delivered oration, laid down the duty of every man, both as a Mason, and as a member of society. During the ceremony sacred music was performed and I never witnessed anything more grand or solemn, nor heard any music that so enraptured the senses, as when we sung in full chorus, "Glory to God &c.,"

Everything was conducted with such propriety as to do great credit to the respective officers; and the thanks of the Fraternity are justly due to Br. Bisset, G.S. for the order and regularity in which he kept the procession, as under his management the whole was conducted.

After an elegant entertainment the company adjourned to the Bowling-green where many loyal, constitutional, and Masonic toasts and sentiments were given, and the day was spent with great harmony, mirth and conviviality. Peace, unity and brotherly love reigned solely there. Some favourite Masonic songs were given by Brs. Clark, Moore, Bisset, Toy, James Porter, Morrel, Cox, Barber, &c., &c., and in the evening a free Ball was given for the Ladies, which was numerously attended; and it was not till Phœbus had made his appearance that the company thought of parting. Every countenance exhibited marks of satisfaction, and I am happy to observe that Freemasonry seems to be held in universal estimation in this county; and I make no doubt but it will extend its cheerful rays through every county in the kingdom: which that it may is the sincere wish of your Brother. J. M.

P.S. All the Provincial Grand Officers were clothed in aprons ornamented with purple and gold, with elegant gold enamelled jewels, presented to each by the Worshipful Br. Timmins, D.P.G.M., who much to his honour, has done everything at his own cost, without putting the Provincial Lodges to any expense.

The Consecration of this Lodge was sufficiently important to be worthy of record by Wm. Preston in his *Illustration of Freemasonry*, wherein he states under the date of:—

1794. July 30th.

The Lodge of Apollo at Alcester was constituted in due form in the presence of 121 Brethren. At ten in the morning a procession was made to the Church where a sermon was preached before the Lodge by the Rev. Brother Green. After which the Brethren returned to the Hall, when the ceremonies of Consecration and Dedication took place according to antient usage".

A Lodge was consecrated at Tamworth in August, 1795. This Lodge has for many years been considered as a Staffordshire Lodge, but in an article in *The Freemason* of 1936 the author produced facts which prove that the Lodge was a Warwickshire Lodge and its warrant stated that it was to be held "in that part of Tamworth which is in the County of Warwick". The Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire have up to the present time ignored the Lodge entirely, although in 1803 it was removed to the Three Tuns in Sutton Coldfield, where it continued for a few years and was eventually erased in 1821.

This Consecration, however, was attended by the Brethren from the Apollo Lodge; and for some reason, now unfathomable, we find recorded in the minutes of St. John's Lodge, Henley-in-Arden, a curiously worded minute showing that apparently the Apollo Lodge attended at the Consecration under the protection or guidance of its Mother Lodge.

1795. September 4th.

"Tis ordered that the Thanks of the Lodge be given to the Alcester brethren who attended at Fazeley, and that the following letter be sent to the Master thereof.

Rt. Wl. Sir.

As upon the Demeanour of Masons, and the orderly Conduct observed by the Brethren at their Meetings in a great degree contributes to the Welfare and Success of our Most Ancient and Honbl Order. It is with the highest satisfaction I inform you that the Thanks of our Lodge is voted to the Alcester Brethren who attended at Fazeley, by which you discover our entire approbation of their conduct while under our Governance.

Wishing you and the other Brethren perfect health and happiness and to the Holy Cause in which we are engaged, the highest possible success, I am,

By order of the W.M.

Yours etc.,

The minutes for the first ten years of the Lodge are very disappointing reading. They tell us absolutely nothing but the dates of the meetings, who occupied the W.M., S. and J.W. Chairs and who was secretary, who was proposed for membership and the fact that each candidate paid 10/6d when proposed and £2. 12. 6. when initiated, and the date he was eventually passed and raised.

From the Minutes, plus the Cash Account, we are able to obtain a complete list of the members up to 1812. The meeting usually concluded with a lecture from the Chair on the First, Second or Third Step in Freemasonry.

Sometimes the lecture would be on the First Step only, and sometimes on two or three Steps, and it did not seem to matter (so far as the minutes inform us) whether the Lecture was given in relation to the degree performed that evening.

Lectures on the "Steps of Masonry" continued to 1799, when the description was altered to "Lectures from the Chair on the first, second, or third "Degrees of Masonry", and thereafter they were always called "Degrees".

Installations took place every December. There is no suggestion of an actual Installation Ceremony. The Meeting prior to the end of December each year generally recorded "This evening being appointed for the Electing of new Officers for the year ensuing".

The officers elected being Rt. Worshipful Master, Past Master, S. and J. Wardens, Steward, Treasurer, Secretary and Tyler, and at the next meeting we invariably find:—

“And agreeable to the resolutions of last night the following Brothers were Installed in their Respectful Situations”.

The election of a Past Master may seem somewhat unusual, but as Bro. Jos. Brandish was regularly re-elected W.M. from the first meeting in 1794 until 1808, it is obvious that the supply of Past Masters was limited, and for most of the period mentioned Bro. B. Whissell occupied that position. He was a Royal Arch Mason, and therefore probably a P.M., but of which Lodge it is not known.

There is one sentence in each minute which becomes an absolute obsession. It is the closing expression, unaltered and apparently unalterable.

“The Lodge closed in due time with perfect harmony and all Honours paid to the Grand”.

For the next few years the meetings were held regularly every fortnight, with the occasional omission of a meeting in July, August, and September until 1799; and there is nothing of particular interest recorded beyond the very regular attendance of the Worshipful Master, Jos. Brandish, who was seldom absent from more than one meeting a year, and the record of the death of the Treasurer when it is recorded on September 6th, 1797.

“In commemoration of the recent death of our Brother Hobbins late Treasurer. Our Worshipful Master favoured us with a discourse on the Certainty of Death and the pleasing hope of Everlasting Bliss afterwards”.

The Lodge carried on, according to the Minute Book, without any alteration of address, alteration of Bye-Laws, or any other change until 1802, *i.e.*, 8 years, during which time 155 meetings are recorded in the Minute Book, when we find on 3rd March, 1803:—

“On a proposition being made by Br. Jones it was resolved that in future the Lodge shall be held the Wednesday on or next following every full moon and directions were accordingly given for its insertion in the calendars”.

We will give details only of such minutes as are of outstanding interest, in chronological order and comment on them.

1806. September 3rd. The Worshipful Master being called away there were not sufficient Members left to open a Lodge on the first degree.

This seems the beginning of a lean time for the Lodge, for during the next twelve months not a single ceremony is recorded. Bro. Brandish had been re-elected W.M. at the Meeting on 16th December, 1807, but the next meeting informs us:—

1808. January 13th. “The Worshipful master being about to leave the town for the present, Bro. Geo. Jones was elected master in his stead”.

Bro. Jones was initiated in the Lodge 5th November, 1794, and acted as Junior Warden in 1801. His election and appointment without any previous notice having been given seems unusual to us to-day, but we must remember that this happened in 1808, before the Union of the “Antients” and “Moderns”, and moreover as Bro. Geo. Jones was also a Medical Practitioner in Alcester, the same as his predecessor, matters were probably arranged between

them. Bro. Jones may have been acting *locum tenens* for Brandish and have arranged to take over the Lodge as well as the practice during his (Brandish's) absence.

1808. June 8th. A brief entry in the minutes reads:—

“Resolved that no gentleman whatever be admitted from this time forward to view the Furniture or Formation of this Lodge”.

and, when we know what that furniture consisted of in the third degree, we are not surprised!

1808. 27th December. We find “Abel Franklin was made an Entered Apprentice as tyler to the Lodge”. He was not raised till 23rd August, 1809. He was by trade a Joiner, age 33. We must assume that Bro. William Sarsons had died quite recently. He had served the Lodge since 1794.

1810. July 18th. “One pound bill was unanimously voted to an indigent Brother in Worcester Castle”.

The Cash account records it as:—

“Gave Bro. Frenchman in Worcester Castle £1 0. 0.”.

At this period owing to the Napoleonic Wars there was a large number of French Prisoners in England, but I do not know of a definite French Prisoners' Camp or Prison at Worcester at that date.

On 27th December, 1813, the Rival Grand Lodges joined hands and formed the United Grand Lodge of England, under whose jurisdiction our Lodges have prospered ever since; but it must be remembered by every student of Masonic History that prior to 1813 there were two Grand Lodges in England and that they were at times definitely antagonistic.

The Apollo Lodge was a staunch supporter of the Grand Lodge formed in 1717, commonly known as the “Modern” Grand Lodge. On more than one occasion we find in the minutes that a member of the “Antient” Grand Lodge became a member of the Apollo Lodge, and this is recorded thus:—

1808

May 11th

Mr. Jno. Scambler of Birmingham an Antient Mason was proposed as a candidate for Modern Masonry by Bro. J. Reading, was Ballotted for, accepted and made an entered Apprentice paying two guineas as his initiation fee.

1811 Mar. 13th. Mr. John Moore an ancient Mason was accepted and made an entered apprentice, paying for the same one guinea and half.

The fee for initiation at this date was £3. 3. 0., but it will be noted that an “Antient” Brother, coming into the Apollo Lodge, was not accepted without re-obligation under the “Modern” Grand Lodge. There is no record that these two Brethren went through the other two degrees, but earlier in the History of the Lodge (5th November, 1794) we find John Cruckshanks, an “Antient” Mason, was proposed, ballotted for and accepted. At the next meeting he was made an Entered Apprentice and at a later meeting he was passed and eventually raised, for which he paid one and a half guineas.

1811. June 24th. It is difficult to visualise how Freemasonry was carried on at this period, in comparison with the methods of the twentieth century.

We can often gather important items from the advertisements in the Public Press of the period, of which the following is an example:—

ARIS'S BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE.

June 17th 1811.

FREEMASONRY.

Under the patronage of the Hon. WASHINGTON SHIRLEY Provincial Grand Master and JAMES OSBORNE, Esq., Deputy Provincial Grand Master for the County of Warwickshire, A MEETING of the APOLLO LODGE of FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS will take place on Monday the 24th June inst., at Alcester in the County of Warwick, being St. John's Day, when there will be a procession to the Church and a sermon preached by brother Rev. F. Palmer. The Company of every regular Brother is particularly requested by

W. Grafton R.W.M.

Now let us see how the Apollo Lodge records this meeting, which was sufficiently important to spend money on advertising a week previously.

1811 June 24th.

St. John's Day.

Regular Lodge Night.

The R.W. Master W. Grafton in The Chair.

Bro. T. Reading S. W.

Bro. J. Timms J. W. pro. tem.

A Lecture from the Chair on the first degree of Masonry. The Lodge closed in due time with perfect harmony and all honours paid to the Grand.

J. Timms Secty.

A Procession to Church where the Rev. Bro. F. Palmer delivered a Masonic Oration on this day.

The following is a copy of the Returns of the Apollo Lodge held at the Angel Inn, Alcester, Warwickshire (post mark February 18th, 1813), as made to Grand Lodge:—

			When made	
Jno. Stephens	27	Farmer, Arrow	Dec. 24th. 1811	5. 0.
Robert Welchman	24	Tanner, Brackley	Jan. 21st. 1812	5. 0.
Geo. Wood	39	Factor, Studley	May 1812	5. 0.
Contribution to the Cumberland School				1. 1. 0.
Contribution towards purchasing the Jewel for our P.A.G.M.				
Earl Moira as a token of our esteem				1. 1. 0.
Contribution to the Fund of Charity				1. 3. 0.
				<hr/>
				£4. 0. 0.

Dear Sir and Brother,

Enclosed is £4 for the above purposes from the Apollo Lodge, for whom, I am with respect your

Humble Servt. & Brother,

G. Pardow. P.M.

1812. June 24th. For the first time we find recorded a Joining Member, stating the number of his original Lodge. Brother J. Walker of the Syrian Lodge No. 379.

1813. After an absence of five years from the Chair Bro. J. Brandish apparently returned to Alcester and was again elected Worshipful Master on September 8th, 1813.

1814. October 28th. We find it

“determined and resolved that whoever does not pay off their arrears due should in future be excluded from the Lodge and their name erased from the Books”.

1814. December 27th. Exactly one year after the formation of the United Grand Lodge of England the Apollo Lodge records its new number on the Grand Lodge Register No. 563. The reason of the new number being lower than the original number No. 537 was due to the amalgamation of the two Grand Lodges.

1818. The initiation fee was raised to 3½ Guineas, but there is no minute to this effect, and for some time there were very few candidates, and in

1819 it was decided (6th October, 1819) that in future the Lodge be held on the Wednesday nearest the full moon every Quarter during the next year, and the payment shall be 5/-s each quarter, and that those not paying their “arrearsages” will be dealt with according to the Directions contained in the Book of Constitutions.

The Lodge duly records the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge held in London 17th December, 1819, in its minutes as follows:—

“The Most W.G.M. H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex addressed the Brethren on the subject of the Lectures, when he stated that it was his opinion that so long as the Master of a Lodge observed exactly the Landmarks of the Craft, he was at Liberty to give the Lectures in the manner and language best suited to the character of the Lodge over which he presided, and that no person is or has been permitted to practice as a Lecturer to other Lodges, being decidedly against the Rules and Regulations of the Craft.”

1820. We find that Bro. Rev. Francis Palmer has become Prov. Grand Chaplain. This is the first reference to Prov. Grand Lodge Honours bestowed on a member of the Lodge.

1820-25. There appears to have been quite a normal influx of initiates during this period; but, for some unrecorded reason, the Minutes break off suddenly on June 29th, 1825, and we are left entirely in the dark regarding the history of the Lodge for the next five years. Although the minutes were not recorded during 1825-1830, the Lodge met regularly, the Tylers' book recording 26 meetings and at least 8 initiates. The next entry is 10th March, 1830. There is however one record of this period which has been handed down to us; it is a printed Copy of the Rules dated 27th December, 1826, and in this we find some names of members which have not been previously mentioned in the Minutes; but it is recorded in the volume of Provincial Grand Lodge Minutes for 1817 to 1844 (which were discovered only in 1936) that on the 4th July, 1825, only a few days after the last minute recorded, a Provincial Grand Lodge was held at the Angel Inn, Alcester.

THE BYE-LAWS OF THE APOLLO LODGE.

A perfect copy of the bye-laws dated 27th December, 1826, printed by Brother Maund of Bromsgrove, gives us some insight into the working of the Lodge at that date. There are only 15 regulations and they appear to be of local origin and not copied from any other Bye-Laws of the period.

1. States that the Lodge shall meet “on the Wednesday on or nearest the Full Moon, at 6 in the evening in the Winter and at 7 o/c in the Summer and any member of the Lodge or any Candidate wishing to have a Lodge of Emerg-

ency shall defray the full expense thereof", but it is not stated anywhere in the bye-laws where the Lodge is to hold its meetings or the amount of the Annual Subscription.

2. Proposers must deposit half a guinea at the time of proposing and the Candidate on his initiation a further sum of three Guineas. No persons shall become a Member of the Lodge but such as are free born, of mature age, sober, honest, and of good report, and by no means addicted to Gaming at Taverns or Houses of a like description, that the Craft may not be degraded, and he must have an Estate, Profession, Office, Trade Occupation, Calling or some visible means of acquiring an honest and respectable livelihood, becoming the Members of the Antient and Honourable Society.

9. That if any Brother of this Society, shall behave himself, either in or out of the Lodge, so imprudently as to give the Society just cause for uneasiness, it shall be the duty of the Master duly to admonish him, . . . if any Brother comes into the Lodge intoxicated, he shall be censured and fined as a majority shall determine.

12. That the regular time for closing the Lodge "ought" never to exceed Eleven o'clock.

13. That as there are many spurious Masons who travel the country . . . making a kind of Trade of Masonry, to the great disrepute of the Craft, it is expedient to adhere to the following resolution:—

That no one professing to be a Mason (foreigners excepted) shall be relieved from the funds of this Lodge, except those who produce a Certificate from the Grand Lodge of either England Ireland or Scotland, or otherwise satisfactorily proves himself to be accepted Mason.

I have selected only a few specimens of this really unusual set of Bye-Laws which were issued at a time when the Lodge was not in a state of prosperity, and these rules definitely have the suggestion of originality which makes them very valuable and interesting to Masonic students.

And now we come to a series of brief minutes, all in one handwriting, covering the period from 10th March, 1830, to 10th October, 1832, also one for 1833 dated 2nd October, and the statements that:—

"These minutes copied verbatim into this book by Br. F. B. Ribbans P.G.D. of Warwickshire" and

"Copied verbatim from the rough minutes by F. B. Ribbans, Sec. Pro. Tem." and

"These minutes were copied from the rough memorandums by F. B. Ribbans".

As Brother F. B. Ribbans will appear in the history very prominently during the next few years, it is well to state who he was. Frederick Bolingbroke Ribbans, Fellow of Society of Antiquaries. He was probably made a mason in the Lodge of Emulation No. 21, London (one of the Red Apron Lodges), and was a Grand Steward in 1835.

He was W.M. of St. Paul's Lodge, Birmingham (No. 43), then No. 51, in 1839, and was appointed P.G. Deacon in 1840.

One of the very few records we have of the 1830-1833 period is a return of the members dated 25th March, 1831.

PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF WARWICKSHIRE.

A list of contributing Members of Lodge Apollo No. 563, held at the Angel Inn, Alcester, with Payments to the Funds of the Provincial Grand Lodge up to March 25th, 1831.

When made or joined	Surnames	Christian do.	Title or Age Business	Residence	Quarterly	Initn. or Joing Fee
W.M.	Palmer	Francis	Chapln.	Alcester	0. 2. 0.	
	Freer	Thomas	Farmer	Wheetley	0. 2. 0.	
	Overbury	Richd.	Victualler	Alcester	0. 2. 0.	
	Burrish	William	Solicitor	do.	0. 2. 0.	
	Heywood	William	Tanner	Rouse Lench	0. 2. 0.	
	Webb	John	Surgeon	Alcester	0. 2. 0.	
	Cawley	Robert	Broker	do.	0. 2. 0.	
	Buckerfald	John	Grocer	do.	0. 2. 0.	
	King	Saml. John	Auctioneer	Stratford	0. 2. 0.	
	Phipps	John	Cabnt. Maker	do.	0. 2. 0.	
	Gale	Robert	Surveyor	Alne	0. 2. 0.	
	Corbet	Richd. Ashwin	Farmer	Quinton	0. 2. 0.	
	Sheldon	Jonathan	Miller	Birmingham	0. 2. 0.	
	Rimmer	John	Victualler	Alcester	0. 2. 0.	5.0
Initd. 27. Ap. '30.	Gibbins	Wm. F.	Solicitor	Stratford	0. 1. 6.	5.0
Joined Ap. 27. 1830.	Pemberton	Isaac		Worcester	0. 0. 6.	5.0
Initd. Dec. 7. 1830.						
					1.10. 0.	15.0
			Initn. & Joing. Fee		15. 0	
					2. 5. 0.	

1830. December 1st. The Minutes state .

N.B. It was agreed that we should dine at 3 o/c. and pay 10/-s each, including a bottle of wine (black bottle). December 7th, Book of Constitutions lent to Br. Palmer.

1831. February 23rd, Bro. Rev. F. Palmer returned Book of Constitutions.

There is no item of importance in the minutes copied into the book by Bro. Ribbans, which conclude with the entry of 2nd October, 1833, and there is ample evidence that they were not entered in the book until 1840, thereby showing that the minute book had not been properly kept since 1825 (15 years), and it is probable that the lodge had got into a state of irregularity and may not have been functioning from 1833 to 1840.

EARLY VICTORIAN REVIVAL.

1840 Revival commences a new era in the History of the Apollo Lodge, and, whilst we must thank Bro. F. B. Ribbans for what we do know, we should have been much wiser to-day if he had told us just a little more. We can therefore only come to certain conclusions until time or circumstances provide fresh items of the Lodge history and tell us what happened before the meeting of 15th April, 1840, the Minutes of which are signed by:—

F. Bolingbroke Ribbans P.M. R.A.
 Past Grand Steward of No. 21.
 P.G.S.D. for Warwickshire
 Secretary (Honorary)

The Minute is headed:—

“The Apollo Lodge No. 378”
 (The Lodge had been renumbered in 1832)

Emergency:—

Bro. Rev. F. Palmer	W.M.
Bro. Frier	S.W.
Bro. Buckerfield	J.W.

1840. April 15th.

“By Command of the W.M. the members were summoned to meet at the Royal Albert Rooms. Br. Banks, near *Market Hall Birmingham* for the purpose of receiving new joining members, filling up certain appointments, revising certain By Laws and for the Initiation of Two Candidates.

The Lodge was opened in due form at 7 o/c and the minutes of the last lodge were read and confirmed (The minutes of the last meeting were read on the announcement that this was the regular Lodge Day)”.
 .

The following brethren were then severally ballotted for as joining Members and unanimously received:—

Br. Lloyd	P.M.	51
Br. Ribbans	P.M.	51
Br. Broomhead		51
Br. Kidder		51
Br. Morris Banks		51
Br. Wheeler		51
Br. Blumenthal		51
Br. W. Bull		51
Br. Stafford		51
Br. Moss		51

The Officers elected were:—

Br. Overbury	S.D.
Br. Blumenthal	J.W.
Br. Franklin	Tyler.

Thus it appears there were present besides the W.M., S.W. and J.W., only Bros. Overbury and Franklin, of the Alcester Brethren (Franklin being Tyler); and it is difficult to imagine how these five alone could open the Lodge, propose, second and duly elect 10 new brethren, who had not been previously proposed as joining members.

The minute continues and states that the Initiation fee for the future will be Seven Guineas. Mr. Chas. Ratcliff and Mr. W. Harris were proposed and “initiated according to ancient usage” and “the charge was ably and faithfully delivered by Br. Lloyd.

House Bill etc this day	£3. 18. 0.
Carriage of Furniture	3. 6.
Br. Buckerfields a/c for conveyance	1. 19. 0.
	<hr/>
	6. 0. 6.

Now what do these minutes convey to us?

Firstly. That an attempt was being made to revive the Lodge and the meeting was held in Birmingham for that purpose.

Secondly. Bro. Ribbans seems to have been the moving spirit and had the support of nine fellow members of St. Paul's Lodge, Birmingham, then No. 51 (now No. 43).

Thirdly. They apparently intended to stay in Birmingham, as we find the item "carriage of Furniture 3/6d".

I have looked through the minutes of St. Paul's Lodge, but have found no reference whatever to this meeting of its members in connection with the Apollo Lodge in 1840.

During 1840-1842 we find some references to the Apollo Lodge in the *Freemasons Magazine*.

It is not known who was the local reporter to that Magazine, but very many references in it refer to the activities of Bro. Ribbans in connection with the Apollo Lodge and St. Paul's Lodge.

The first report is in reference to the above meeting and reads:—

FREEMASONS MAGAZINE Date 1840 page 252.

"ALCESTER — APOLLO LODGE April 15th, 1840. A Lodge of Emergency having been summoned to meet at Birmingham, for the purpose of receiving into Masonry two friends of our true-hearted Brother Blumenthal, and the Reverend F. Palmer, W.M., incumbent of Alcester, having kindly undertaken to preside, a list of choice souls assembled to salute him. The venerable Pastor was assisted by our indefatigable friends, Brothers Ribbans and Lloyd, in such a manner as to imprint a very favourable impression upon the minds of those who were brought to Light. Nothing could surpass the ardent desire of the Rev. Brother to make all around him happy; and it is but justice to say that the accommodations afforded by Brother Banks were replete with every comfort".

We cannot pass over this notice without referring to the expression "a list of choice souls", and it is curious that the wording "it is but justice to say", etc., reads remarkably like Bro. Ribbans, who, it will be noticed, writes in the minutes of the Apollo Lodge on 17th September, 1840, "it is but an act of justice to add", etc.

Apparently Brother Ribbans was his own trumpeter. *Verbatim* speeches made by him at dinners, and even poetry, on quite unmasonic topics, seem to have priority of place in the *Freemasons Magazine* of the period, so we may not be far wrong in our conjecture if we put these printed reports of the Apollo Lodge to his credit.

The next meeting of the "Revivalists", if we may so call them, took place the following month, 13th May, 1840, and was held at the Royal Albert Rooms in Birmingham.

There appear to have been present only five Masons, all of whom were elected members at previous meetings, plus two Visitors, but Bros. Ratcliff and Harris were duly passed to the second degree.

Bro. Ribbans signs as	W.M. p.t.
W. Lloys	S. Wm. p.t.
J. Kidder	J.W. p.t.
Blumenthal	J.D.
W. Bull	S.D.

and the minutes state that

“The Lodge closed at Half Past Eight o'clock and at Half Past Ten the Brethren separated having spent a very pleasant evening”.

House Bill to-day paid £3. 12. 6.

The *Freemasons Magazine* records the meeting:—

“ALCESTER—APOLLO LODGE May 13th, 1840. The Reverend W.M. of the Apollo, having delegated to our Brother Ribbans the authority to hold a regular Lodge for the purpose of passing Bro. Ratcliff and Harris, we are happy to say that the meeting was one of order, peace, and harmony”.

We can hardly appreciate these statements without making comparison with Freemasonry as we know it to-day.

Just imagine what would be said by the P.G. Sec. if he heard that the W.M. of the Apollo Lodge at Alcester had delegated a P.M., not of, but only P.M. in the Lodge, to hold a regular meeting of the Lodge in Birmingham and pass two Brethren.

All we can say is “*Autres temps, autres mœurs*”.

1840. June 10th. This meeting appears to have been held at Alcester, but it is not stated where.

“Bro. Ratcliff was entrusted.

The Brethren were then called off by the J.W. from Labour to Refreshment and enjoyed an excellent dinner provided by Br. Overbury. (Bro. Overbury was Landlord of The Angel, so it is probable that the meeting was held at that Inn.)

The J.W. having given notice that the time usually allowed from high noon had expired, the brethren resumed labour and Bro. Ratcliff was raised to a M.M. Bro. Ribbans proposed that the W.M. and Officers of this Lodge be changed every six months. The Lodge funds were declared to be exhausted.

Happy have we met
Happy have we been
Happy may we part
and happy meet again.

F. B. Ribbans, P.G.S.

Sec. Honorary.

The next meeting took place on 17th September, 1840. There were eight present, including Bro. Harris, who was raised that evening, but signed as Secretary p.t., and two visitors. It was called an Emergency Meeting; Bro. Ribbans was W.M. *pro tem*. It is not stated where it was held, but the following—the final wording of the minute recording the meeting—shows that it was held in Birmingham.

“The Lodge was formally closed in Harmony Peace and Good Will”.

“It is but an act of justice to add that the entertainment provided on this occasion by our excellent Brother Ratcliff was of a most liberal and delightful character at his own private rooms in Broad Way, Birmingham, and the Brethren who partook of the supper, enjoyed themselves most happily”.

We next get in the Minute Book a copy of the first recorded Summons of the Lodge.

"Copy of Summons"

Birmingham, November 23rd, 1840.

Sr. and Br.

Being inconvenient for some of the Brethren of the Apollo Lodge to attend on Wednesday next, be good enough to be punctual at the Plough and Arrow on Wednesday the 2nd December instead, at 7 o.c., precisely on G.L. and other business.

Rev. F. Palmer W.M.

W. H. Harris Sec. p.t.

The Meeting was duly held at the Plough and Harrow, Hagley Road, Birmingham.

There were four members of the lodge present (including the two Brethren recently initiated, Radcliff and Harris). Bro. Ribbans is again W.M. *pro tem.* and four visitors.

The Grand Lodge business was an account for payments to the Benevolent Fund on account of five Brethren, the amounts due being:—

Rev. F. Palmer	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ years	6.	6.
J. Buckerfield	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ years	6.	6.
J. Overbury	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ years	8.	6.
Thos Freer	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ years	6.	6.
Abel Franklin	19 $\frac{1}{4}$ years	1.	18. 6.
		<hr/>	
		3.	6. 6.

We find that a lodge was held at the Angel Inn at Alcester on 4th January, 1841. The following rather quaintly worded entry appears:—

"This being the day (on account of not being able to meet in December) for appointment of Officers, it was proposed by Br. Ribbans and seconded by Bro. Freer that our present most excellent W.M. be requested to fill the Chair for the next term, which proposition was carried unanimously and with one cheer more. Br. Palmer was then declared to be the W.M. and he returned thanks in his usual manner full of kindness and goodness".

1841. Michaelmas Day. Meeting was held at the house of Bro. Chas. Ratcliff, near Birmingham. It is described as an Emergency Meeting, but the minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. Three Brethren resigned, Bros. Lloyd, Blumenthal, and Broomhead, all of the Lodge of St. Paul's, who became members on 15th April, 1840, and in this minute we get a copy of the full list of members as returned to the Clerk of the Peace.

Apollo Lodge No. 378.

Rev. F. Palmer	W.M.
Br. Ratcliff	J.W.
Br. Harris	S.W.
Br. Ribbans	Treasurer
Br. Buckerfield	Sec.
Br. Overbury	
Br. Frier	P.M.
Br. Franklin	Tyler.

Seven Members and the Tyler. (Bros. Ratcliff, Harris and Ribbans belonged to Birmingham).

There was one more item of importance at this meeting.

"A Ballot was taken for Bro. Ratcliff to serve as W.M. of this Lodge for the ensuing year and declared to be unanimous".

He was duly installed on 23rd December, 1841. Only 20 months passed between his Initiation and his Installation. He is described in 1840 as a Lamp Manufacturer and in 1861 as Captain.

The records to this date are all contained in the first Minute Book of the Lodge.

Copy from Minute Book between September and December, 1840.

	Initiated	Passed	Raised	Joined	£ s. d.	Resigned.
Br. Rev. F. Palmer, W.M.						
Br. John Arthur Moss S.W.				Ap. 15 1840	2. 6.	Dec. 40.
Br. A. Blumenthal J.S.				" " "	2. 6.	" "
Br. Thos Freer. S.D.	May 24 1815	Oct. 18	Jan 17 1816	May 24th 1815		
Br. Jno Buckerfield J.D.						
Br. Overbury Steward						
Br. Morris Banks, Treasurer				Ap. 15 1840	2. 6.	" "
Br. F. P. Ribbans P.G.S.D. Secy.				" " "	2. 6.	
Br. W. Broomhead				" " "	2. 6.	Feb. 41
Br. Jno Kidder				" " "	2. 6.	
Br. Wm. Lloyd				" " "	2. 6.	Feb. 41.
Br. W. D. Wheeler				" " "	2. 6.	" 40.
Br. Wm. Ball				" " "	2. 6.	Jan 41.
Br. Chas Ratcliff S.W.	Ap. 15. 40.	May 13	June 10		17. 6.	
Br. Wm. Harris J.W.	" " "	" "	Sep. 17		17. 6.	
Br. A. Franklin, Tyler						
					£2. 17. 6.	

Wanted Two Certificates for Bros. Ratcliff and Harris.

The above is a copy of the list transmitted to Grand Lodge on the 19th October, 1840, by Bro. Ribbans, who sent the money also, at the same time, direct to the Grand Secretary in London.

Entered in Minute Book by
F. B. Ribbans.

SECOND MINUTE BOOK.

Vol. II.

The second Volume of Minutes covers the period from 23rd December, 1841, to 5th July, 1871.

1841. December 23rd. This Meeting was held at Alcester, and duly recorded the Installation of Bro. Ratcliff, and it states "The Tyler having tendered his Sword and Jewel of office, a Ballot was taken for Bro. Abel Franklin and he was re-elected for the thirty-third year as Tyler of this Lodge".

1842. June 8th. Mr. Frederick Ribbans of Trinity College Dublin was proposed by his Father W.Bro. F. B. Ribbans.
1842. October 28th. Mr. F. Ribbans was balloted for and unanimously admitted, his initiation was deferred in consequence of unavoidable absence, but his fees were paid so as to secure his admission on any future occasion".
- It is rather interesting to note that when the Lodge came to Birmingham in April, 1840, the Initiation fee was made "£7. 7. 0. for the future". No alterations are recorded in the minutes, but we find that Mr. Ribbans paid only £3. 3. 0.
1842. November 25th. For no apparent reason this meeting was held at Dee's Royal Hotel, Birmingham.
1842. December 26th. Held at Alcester. The W.M., S. and J. Wardens were absent, and substitutes occupied their chairs. Bro. Freer, P.M., was elected W.M. and Bro. Ribbans Treasurer.

Freemasons Magazine, page 68, records the meeting as follows:—

December 26th, 1842.

"ALCESTER—THE APOLLO LODGE. Bro. Ribbans continues his exertions to bring this Lodge into working repute, and although at the distance of twenty miles, attends as regularly as resident members. On the 26th December last, he initiated a young clergyman (Rev. Thos. Roberts, Curate of Alcester), and installed the W.M. for 1843. The P. G. Chaplain, Bro. Palmer, with several others in the province, rendered their assistance".

The expression used—"exertions to bring this Lodge into working repute"—confirms the statement I made that the Lodge had obviously come very near extinction about 1835-1840, and from December, 1842, no meetings were held, the next minute being of an Emergency meeting held at Alcester on June 18th, 1844. The only thing of importance being Bro. Wm. Currier was unanimously readmitted. He was made a Mason in 1811, but there is no previous record of his resignation.

There is however a sinister footnote on this page. It reads:—

"At this Lodge the Brothers voted a Vote of Censure against F. B. Ribbans for his base conduct toward the Brothers of the Apollo Lodge of which he was a member".¹

We must recapitulate the proceedings of the Lodge from 15th April, 1840, to 26th December, 1842, during which period it is apparent that Bro. Ribbans had a considerable influence in its proceedings. He appears to have rescued it from lapsing, and made great efforts to revive its popularity; thus it is difficult, without any minutes to enlighten us, to account for the sudden change of feeling.

¹ It is not the first time that such things have happened in Freemasonry. It is recorded in the Minutes of St. Paul's Lodge No. 43, Birmingham:—

In 1776. Received visit from Rt. Wor. Bro. Calcott P.M., who after an introductory Lecture from ye Chair gave a most excellent Lecture on ye first step and likewise some very good observation on some subjects that cannot be regularly introduced in a Lecture.

Yet two years later in the same minute book we find, January, 1778:—

Wellins Calcott for severe reflections on Masonry in general and of this Lodge in particular is forbid for ever visiting it.

Wellins Calcott was the Author of "A Candid Disquisition on the Principles and Practices of Free and Accepted Masons" 1769. He was a member of No. 71 Antients in Birmingham in 1758.

Yet it is quite possible to understand that the Brethren who lived in Alcester were justified, if the result was that under Ribbans' control they would have to come frequently to Birmingham to their Lodge Meetings.

There is an entry in the Minute Book under the date of 15th October, 1845, which probably has a definite reference to the Vote of Censure of 18th June, 1844. It reads:—

Furniture detained by Bro. Ribbans
Marble Pedestal, Gilt Letters, Gavels and Collars, Banner Staffs,
Mahogany Box, Syrpluses 3, Stewards Jewel and Collar. Deacons
ditto. Large Mallet, 24 in Gauge. (See Appendix A).

1842-1845.

From December, 1842, to January, 1845, only two minutes are recorded—that of 18th June, 1844, previously referred to, and an undated minute probably about the same date. In January, 1845, the minutes start again and we find the meetings recorded monthly. That there had been some lapse of meetings is apparent from the following:—

EXTRACT FROM *FREEMASONS MAGAZINE*.

“ALCESTER, June 25th, 1845. After a lapse of some considerable time, the Apollo Lodge has been once more brought into active operation, many thanks to Bro. Freer, the respected and persevering W.M. Several additions have been made to the numerical strength of this venerable section of the great Masonic confederation, and everything promises well, with regularity of attendance, uniformity of discipline, and increasing numbers, for a long continuance of prosperity. A very harmonious party of Brethren celebrated the Festival of St. John, at the Angel Inn, to-day, when two of the initiated having been preferred to a higher degree, and other ancient forms peculiar to the fraternity, duly observed, the Brethren sat down to dinner at four o'clock, and terminated their temperate conviviality about eight”.

During the years from June, 1845, to March, 1851, the Lodge settled down under the guidance of Thomas Freer, Senr., who was W.M. until 1848, when he was succeeded by his son, T. R. Freer; and, except for the years 1853 and 1854, a Freer, either father or son, was Master of the Lodge until 1857.

The meetings were held regularly every month without a break until 18th March, 1851, when for no stated reason the minutes read “No Lodge”. 1848. March 15th. There is the minute of a Lodge of Instruction No. 378, held at the Barley Mow Inn, Studley, Host. Bro. Malen; but it is the only reference to a Lodge of Instruction or a meeting at Studley. (Studley is about 4 miles from Alcester).

About this date the Initiation fee was increased from £3. 3. 0. to 3½ Guineas and the subscription to 5/-s per quarter.

1851. January 14th.

“It is proposed and carried unanimously that a memorial be sent to the P.G.M. Earl Howe to allow a procession of Masons to attend Church and have a collection for the Benefit of Freemasons in this Province”.

There is no further reference to this application except that it was signed by the Brethren present.

1852. September 30th. It was agreed

“that Bro. Overbury should be Insured 8 brothers suppers every Regular Lodge Night”.

Bro. Overbury was the Landlord of the Angel Hotel, where the Lodge was meeting.

During the past few years there had been several alterations of day of meeting, but it was always on the Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday nearest the Full Moon.

1853. February 23rd. It was agreed that the Lodge present 20/-s towards the Testimonial to the late P.G. Master of Warwickshire, Earl Howe. Earl Howe resigned in favour of Lord Leigh in 1852. From 1852 to 1855 the meetings were held very erratically.

1853, 3 meetings.

1854, 3 meetings.

1855, 4 meetings.

In January, 1856, the Lodge appears to have taken a new lease of life, and under the Secretaryship of H. Pratt we get quite a detailed account of the proceedings of the meetings.

1856. January 15th. We find Mr. Joseph Lee was made an entered apprentice. Bro. Lee was elected Tyler at the next meeting, so we can only assume that the faithful Tyler, Abel Franklin, had recently died. Abel Franklin was the Second Tyler of the Lodge and served from 1808 to 1848.

1856. January 23rd. The Installation took place at the Angel Hotel, and it is evident that Wor.Bro. Perkins, P.M. 696, acted as Installing Master and Bro. T. Freer, Jnr., was Installed.

1857. December 30th. Bro. Hance (S.W.) was appointed "Relieving Officer of the Lodge".

1859. May 24th. Congratulations are recorded to Bro. W. J. Hobbes (Attorney of Stratford-on-Avon, initiated 20th February, 1856) on his appointment as W.M. of the new Bard of Avon Lodge No. 1080.

The Bard of Avon Lodge No. 1080, Stratford-on-Avon, consecrated 20th June, 1859, had a very uninteresting career, and it was suggested that the Lodge be "desolved" in 1872. Grand Lodge induced several London Masons to join the Lodge, which was in 1876 transferred to Hampton Court, Middlesex. It is now No. 708 and incidentally the third oldest Lodge in that Province.

Nov. 24th, 1861.

List of present Members subscribing to Lodge.

Name	Profession	Residence	Age	When Made
Charles Ratcliff	Captain	Edgbaston	23	April 15. 1840.
Henry Overbury	Druggist	Alcester	38	Feby. 19. 1845.
Joseph Overbury	High Bailiff	„	35	Octr. 7. 1846.
Francis Mander	Registrar of Births	Astwood Bank	43	Decrb. 28. 1846.
John Worthy Hance	Coml. Traveller	Worcester		Feby. 26. 1850.
George Wyman	Surgeon	Alcester		Dec. 26. 1855.
James Brown	Coml. Traveller	Chester		„ „ „
Joseph Lea	Tailor	Alcester		„ „ „
Thomas Harvey	Farmer	Knighton		Feby. 20. 1856.
William Jas. Harper	Attorney	Stratford-on-Avon		„ „ „

1862. April 15th. For the first time the Minute Book is signed by the W. Master.
All minutes from 1794 to date had been signed by the Secretary only.
1863. March 17th. The petition to the M.W.G. Master was then read and signed by the Brethren. The petition was for a warrant of Confirmation.
At this meeting Bro. Albert Seymour and Bro. Richard Seymour, Apollo Lodge No. 460, Oxford (now No. 357) were proposed as joining members.
1863. July 1st. A vote of thanks to the W.M. (Rev. J. Ray) for attending the meeting of Grand Lodge in London to explain the loss of the Warrant belonging to the Apollo Lodge, and that the expenses of his journey be paid by the Lodge.
1864. September 14th. It is interesting to record an initiate at the full (and mature) age of 70, Mr. Richard Fisher. This Brother became a very regular attendant at the Lodge Meetings, was Steward for the two years prior to his death, in the early days of 1867.
1864. October 12th. The Bye-Laws of the Lodge are written in the Minute Book. They are short and concise, being only 10 in number.
- Annual Subscription £1. 10. 0. including G.L. and Pr.G.L. dues and Banquet exclusive of wine.
The Initiation Fee £5. 5. 0.
Joining Fee ... 1. 1. 0.
The Lodge is to meet every month at the Angel Inn on the Wednesday nearest the Full Moon and the Installation is fixed for the April Meeting.

But at the same meeting it was resolved to move the Lodge to the Swan Inn, Alcester.

1864. November 16th. We find that the amount of Subscriptions in arrears amounted to £22. 19s. 6d., and the Treasurer estimated that the current year's subscriptions would amount to £42. 0. 0. This shows that the membership was then 23.

1865. May 10th. This Meeting records no less than five resignations.

1865. June 7th. We get a curious minute:—

It was proposed "That in future a certain sum of money (the amount to be decided upon later) be paid to the Tyler for each attendance instead of accepting his services gratuitously as heretofore".

In reference to the minute of 16th November, 1864, we find:—

"That Six Pounds be voted from the fund of the Lodge for the purpose of defraying the expenses incurred in the unsuccessful attempt to obtain admission into the Masonic Schools the children of our late Bro. Thomas Reuben Freer".

1865. July 5th. It was agreed that the Tyler should be paid 3/6d each Lodge night.

About the middle of the nineteenth century it was customary to put the Lodge into Mourning and have what was sometimes described as a "Mortuary

Oration" when a member died. It will be noted that as late as 1876 (February 9th) the inventory of the Lodge included "Mourning for the W.M., S.W. and J.W."

In 1868 W.Bro. Dr. Fryer, P.M. of 301 and P.Prov. G. Organist of Warwickshire, died, and "A Tribute to his Memory" was "Read on April 16th after the closing of the Apollo Lodge Alcester, to all the Brethren voluntarily remaining" by W.Bro. Rev. Bramwell Smith, M.A., P.M. 301, P.Pr.G. Ch., Warwick.

There is a copy of this "Mortuary Oration" in the Warwickshire Masonic Museum, published in 1868, price 6d, and it is evident from the unusual "Advertisement to the Craft" in the form of a foreword, as well as the fact that it was not read until after the Lodge was closed, that it was something out of the common.

It is apparent from the foreword that the same or a similar oration had been given by Rev. Bramwell Smith on the occasion of the death of a member of the Howe Lodge No. 587, Birmingham, some short time previously, and that the Pr.G. Master, Lord Leigh, had expressed some objection "to the carrying out of this Ancient usage in the Province".

APOLLO

Minute Book No. 3.

From 1871 to 1921.

This Volume brings us to comparatively recent times, but there are many items which show that the Brethren of Alcester conducted their Masonic duties with a steadfastness of purpose and that independent spirit which have always been characteristics of the Lodge, due probably, to some extent, to its comparative isolation from neighbouring Lodges.

1875. On 21st July the Senior Warden presented the Lodge with a complete set of Working Tools (which are still in use), and Past Master Richards presented "a handsome set of Firing Glasses". At the same meeting it was proposed

"That whenever any ceremony had to be performed, an expert brother should be invited to attend at the expense of the Lodge, to afford assistance and instruction to the Officers".

"It was resolved that the Lodge in future only pay for the wine drank by the Tyler and Visitors and that each member pay for what wine and spirits he liked to order".

The foregoing was passed because several Brethren had absented themselves from the Lodge "in consequence of the Wine Bills at dinner being so heavy".

One of the earliest recorded Lectures in the Lodge was given on 13th October, 1875, by Rt. Wor. Bro. Murray, Past District Grand Master of China, on "History of Freemasonry in different parts of the World".

1876. February 9th.

An inventory of Lodge property included, amongst other items, Raising Box, Boot Jack, Pair of Slippers, Pair of Smalls, 2 Rollers, Ladder, Rough and Smooth Hanging Stones, Royal Arch Warrant, Three Stands for Royal Arch, Mourning for W.M., S.W. and J.W., Brush and Comb.

Of these, the "Pair of Smalls" was probably the entire costume of the candidate; and, if such was the case, they were apparently used in Alcester at a later date than in Birmingham, where the custom had died out. Rough, Smooth and Hanging Stones probably refer to Ashlars.

Mourning for Officers was probably a survival of the days when the Lodges were dressed in mourning at the memorial service of a Brother.

1878. A Banner was presented to the Lodge by Bro. G. H. Fosbroke, Senior, which had been made by the members of his family. This banner is still in use.

About this period on more than one occasion we find the entry "The Secretary at the request of the W.M. read aloud the "By Laws of the Lodge".

1879. 5th March.

Robert Berridge, stonemason of Alcester, Member of St. Mary's Lodge No. 117, Scotland, proposed as a joining member to act as a serving Brother. Grand Lodge granted a dispensation and he was duly elected and admitted into the Lodge, and the Ceremony of re-obligating him was performed by the Master, W.Bro. G. H. Fosbroke, jnr. Robert Berridge acted as Assistant Tyler until 1879, and as Tyler from 1889. He died in 1911.

Joseph Lee, jnr., age 30, was proposed as a fit and proper person to be made a serving Brother in this Lodge in view of his becoming Assistant Tyler. He had been initiated 12/1/76, and appointed Assistant Tyler on 10th May, 1876.

1889. February 10th. J. Lee, senr., died. He had been a most worthy and highly respected Tyler of the Lodge for 33 years.

1878. September 17th.

The Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire was held at the Town Hall, Alcester, under the banner of the Apollo Lodge. Lord Leigh, Pr.G. Master, presided; there were present 12 members of the Lodge and 77 visitors. After Pr.G. Lodge had been opened the Brethren went to service at the Parish Church, and afterwards returned to the Town Hall "when the remainder of the Grand Lodge business was concluded and the Lodge closed".

1885. April 28th.

A rather curious minute is recorded to the effect that the Lodge was opened, and minutes confirmed; Bye Laws of the Lodge and Pr.G.L. were read; and the W.M. gave notice of a proposition for the next meeting; and then the minute continues:—

"A sufficient number of Brethren not being present to open the Lodge in the Second degree, the ceremonies of passing and raising had necessarily to be postponed".

As there appears to have been present only the W.M., one Steward, the Secretary, and two Brethren besides the Tyler, one is tempted to ask, "Had they sufficient present to open the Lodge in the 1st degree"?

In December, 1885, the Lodge recommended the formation of the Swan of Avon Lodge No. 2133 at Stratford-on-Avon, and in 1899 signed the petition for the Seymour Lodge No. 2804 at Ipsley (Redditch).

Centenary Meeting, 1894.

During this year Wor. Bro. the Marquis of Hertford occupied the Chair of the Lodge, and on 25th September a largely attended meeting was held at the Town Hall, Alcester. Prov. Grand Lodge business was transacted. The Brethren then went to the Parish Church, and afterwards held a banquet at the Corn Exchange, at which there were 116 present under the Presidency of Lord Leigh, the Prov. Grand Master.

It will have been noted under the year 1860 that the warrant had been lost and a Warrant of Confirmation obtained. Perhaps it is one of the romances of Freemasonry to record the following, from D'Arcy Power's *History of the Lodge*, written on the occasion of its Centenary in 1894:—

"I took care to examine everything belonging to the Lodge during my year of office as Worshipful Master. I discovered, amongst

other things, a box full of rubbish, which seemed to have lain undisturbed for years, in a cupboard. It was full of pieces of string, old summonses, brushes and bits of carpet. When all these were turned out, I found a parchment which had been folded to make a lining for the bottom of the box. I pulled it up to see what had been used, and, behold, it was the original Warrant, which had been lost for more than thirty years. I folded it up carefully in the original creases, and had the satisfaction of restoring it to the Lodge at the meeting held on 26th February, 1894, exactly one hundred years after it was granted."

Tyler's Books.

The Tyler's Books of the Lodge are exceptional, and it is seldom that a Lodge has been able to retain its "Attendance Register" from its inception. These books are frequently overlooked, but I have always found them to be of great value when compiling a Lodge History. They have a personal touch about them and tell us of the regular (or otherwise) attendance of the members, and also give us some enlightenment regarding the company the Lodge kept.

Students of Caligraphy would find the Tyler's Books of this Lodge a field for research. For instance, the first signature is that of Joseph Brandish on February 26th, 1794, obviously that of a young medical man in his prime, and his last signature, October 6th, 1819, shows that after 25 years he has the same style but that it has slowed down.

There was a curious custom, maintained up to about 1875, of the Initiate stating his age with his first signature.

In 1799 we find a visitor placing $\begin{smallmatrix} T \\ H \end{smallmatrix}$ after his name (not a triple tau). This symbol became particularly noticeable against members' signatures in 1809. 5 members out of 11 on 26.7.1809. 4 visitors and 4 members.

In 1811 we get $\triangle E$ (E in triangle) after members' names.

APPENDIX A.

ROYAL ARCH MASONRY IN ALCESTER.

From the Minutes of the Lodge we read:—

1876. January 12th. "It was unanimously agreed that it would NOT be an advisable step at present, to have a R.A. Chapter attached to the Lodge".

The above item is of particular interest, as it is the first reference in the Lodge records regarding Royal Arch Masonry, although there had been a Chapter connected with the Lodge; and I take this opportunity of placing certain facts, as an appendix, entirely referring to the R.A. in Alcester.

In 1794, when the Lodge was founded, we find in the original list of Officers the names of Joseph Brandish and Brandon Whissell, and both Brethren

attached the R.A. Symbol to their signatures $\begin{pmatrix} T \\ H \end{pmatrix}$, but no further particulars regarding their connection with that degree are available.¹

¹ There may perhaps be a solution of this action, and although I have no definite evidence to produce, I am under the impression that many of the Masons who, about this period and for many years afterwards, added Royal Arch symbols after their signatures, did so to show that they had been through the ceremony of "Passing the Chair", which ceremony entitled them to become R.A. Masons at some future date, but having no opportunity of actually joining a Chapter, because there was not one in their locality, let it be known, by putting T.H. after their signatures, that they were eligible. I have not seen this theory suggested by any Masonic writer, but offer it as a solution, or a matter for further investigation.

In Grand Chapter Register (now in Grand Lodge Library, London) we find the following details:—

Temperance Chapter, Alcester, No. 162. 5 February, 1811.		
Returns made: -1812. Jan 28.	Watson, W.	5 June, 1810
„	Franklin, A.	do
„	Morrall, A.	14 Aug, 1811
	Merry, W.	
	Timmins, J.	
	Hancock, Z.	
	Sanders, D.	25 Sept, 1811
	Field, R.	do
and later (probably in 1819)	Currier	2 June, 1812
	Whitehouse, W.	2 Decbr, 1817
	Morrall, E.	10 March, 1818

This list of eleven names is the only return made to the Grand Chapter, and, with two exceptions, they were all members of the Apollo Lodge.

The Warrant of the Chapter was deposited in the Warwickshire Masonic Museum and Library in 1912 by the Lodge.

Extract of Minute, 23rd October, 1912.

It was decided that the Picture, the Board with the 47th Problem and the old Chapter Charter and the old Tylers Jewel be sent on loan to Bro. Swinden, at the Museum, New Street, Birmingham.

In the *Laws and Regulations* issued by the Supreme Grand Chapter, dated 5th February, 1823, we find a List of Chapters which had conformed to the Bye-Laws of Grand Chapter and attached themselves to the Lodges specified by their numbers. This list includes No. 563, Chapter of Temperance, Alcester, Warwickshire. There are only two other Chapters in Warwickshire recorded in that list, viz.:—No. 58, Chapter of Fortitude, Birmingham.

No. 76, Cumberland Chapter, Coventry.

From the returns made to Grand Chapter in 1819 it is obvious that the Chapter was working between 1811 and 1818; but at present we have no records from 1819 to 1842.

From 1840 to 1843, while Bro. F. B. Ribbans was practically in control of the Apollo Lodge, there appears to have been some effort to revive the Chapter, as will be seen from the following reports in the *Freemasons Magazine*, of 1842, probably contributed by Bro. Ribbans himself:—

June, 1842 (page 210).

Alcester. Chapter of Temperance. Comp. F. B. Ribbans has been elected Z. of this Chapter and it is expected that his success in this Order may rival that which attended his exertions in resuscitating the Apollo Lodge in this Town, over which the present W.M., Brother Charles Ratcliff, presides, to the perfect satisfaction of its members.

December, 1842 (page 427).

Alcester. Royal Arch Chapter of Temperance No. 378. This Chapter will before long rank high in the Province of Warwickshire. The Officers, with our most Excellent Companion Ribbans as First Principal, Z, will not doze away the season, they are determined to be up and doing. Nothing tends to bring Freemasonry into higher repute in the country than a good working Royal Arch Chapter. The Apollo Lodge, under the present W.M., Bro. C. Ratcliff, has been and doubtless will continue to be, regularly attended throughout the year. Bro. Ratcliff is a good man, and in all cases of Charity, whether by his purse, or his opinion, is entitled to our esteem and support".

Despite the foregoing, it is very doubtful whether the Chapter was revived at that date. Bro. Ribbans was W.M. of St. Paul's Lodge, Birmingham, No. 43, in 1841, and he did considerable work in reviving the Fortitude Chapter attached to that Lodge, and was probably its Z. about 1842; and, although he is described as Z. of the Alcester Chapter in 1842, there is no other evidence of the Chapter holding meetings.

In 1845 we note in the Apollo Minute Book a list of "Furniture detained by Bro. Ribbans", which he had taken to Birmingham. The list includes (among other items)—

Marble Pedestal,
Gilt Letters,
Banner Staffs,
Syrpluses, three.

and these definitely refer to R.A. Regalia.

The last item in the Lodge Minutes, having any reference to the ill-fated Chapter, appears 87 years after it was warranted.

1898. October 26. Six Wood Candlesticks which were never used were presented to the Temperance Chapter, Birmingham.

These Six Candlesticks each now bears a plate engraved:—

Temperance Chapter No. 739, from Apollo Lodge, No. 301. April 1899.

and they were used by the Temperance Chapter in Birmingham.

APPENDIX B.

Brothers made in the Apollo Lodge, Alcester, No. 537.

Name	Profession		Where live	When made
Joseph Brandish	Surgeon			
Brandon Whissell				
Abel A. Morrall				
Stephen Hobbins				
William Manley				
William Sarsons				
James Wyatt	Gardener	25	Ragley	Mch. 5. 1794
Arthur Stiles	Joiner	36	Alcester	Mch. 5. 1794
Edmund Jinkes	Baker	36	Evesham	Mch. 19. 1794
Thos. Boulton	Innholder	32	do.	Apl. 16. 1794
Wm. Clarke	Liquor Merchant	46	Alcester	May 21. 1794
Thos. Bartlett	Factor	23	Birmingham	Jul. 2. do.
Wm. Grafton	Tanner	26	Alcester	Aug. 6. do.
Jno. Cheston	Tanner	52	do.	Aug. 20. do.
Jno. Cogden	Binder	33	do.	Aug. 20. do.
Geo. Jones	Surgeon	23	do.	Nov. 5. do.
Jno. Cruikshanks	A Grazier	51	do.	Nov. 5. do.
T. Humphries	Qtr.Mast. Warwk. Fencible	42	do.	Feb. 14. 1795
Michl. Morrall	Needlemaker	27	do.	Mch. 15. do.
Richd. King Thomas	Mercer	35	Evesham	Mch. 15. do.
Jno. Moseley Cheek	Attorney	23	do.	Mch. 15. do.
Jno. Petford	Farmer	26	Feckenham	May 6. do.
Jno. English	Needlemaker	36	do.	May 6. do.
Jno. Blew	Druggist	35	Worcester	Jun. 3. do.

Name	Profession		Where live	When made
Wm. Blew	Wine Merchant	39	do.	Jun. 3. do.
Benj. Miles	Factor	44	Alcester	Jun. 23. do.
Geo. Eades	Attorney	26	Feckenham	Jul. 1. do.
Wm. Johnson	Needlemaker	37	Alcester	Nov. 4. do.
Wm. Langstone	Miller	24	do.	Nov. 18. do.
Wm. Dewhurst	Joiner	29	do.	Jan. 20. 1796
Chas. Yardington	Malster	43	Evesham	May 3. do.
Wm. Malins		29	do.	Aug. 3. do.
Stephn. West	Attorney	44	Worcester	Sep. 7. do.
Josh. Smith	Innholder	43	Evesham	Nov. 2. do.
Geo. Peter Strubol	Groom of Chamber	29	Ragley	Feb. 1. 1797
Thos. Brandish	Stationer	27	Evesham	May 19. do.
Jno. Mascal	Needlemaker	30	Alcester	Dec. 20. do.
Richd. Miner	Lieut. 22nd. Dragoons	39	do.	Oct. 3. 1798
Geo. Pardow	Needlemaker	24	Heydonway	Oct. 17. do.
Shadrack Owen	Dancing Master	23	Henley	Dec. 18. 1799
Wm. Milward	Needlemaker	22	Heydonway	Jan. 21. 1801
Jno. Reading	Needlemaker	34	Studley	Jun. 3. do.
Maurice Robet	Cook to the Marquis of Hertford	36	Ragley	Sep. 3. do.
Thos. Grayling	Farmer	21	Sittingbourne	May 5. 1802
Banj. Green	Hatter	29	Stratford	Jul. 6. 1802
Sherlock Wilkes	Mercer	24	Alcester	Dec. 11. 1805
Edwd. Engleheart	Carver	60	Ragley	Mch. 5. 1806
Jno. Parrott	Gentleman	33	Broadway	Jul. 30. do.
Edward Beck	Liquor Merchant	39	Oxford	Feb. 5. 1807
Geo. Whissell	Victualler	38	Alcester	Dec. 16. do.
Zachariah Hancock	Innholder	43	do.	May 11. 1808
Jno. Scambler	A Factor	28	Birmingham	do.
Wm. Watson	Glazier	39	Alcester	Oct. 5. do.
Wm. Scambler	Factor	24	Birmingham	Nov. 9. do.
Rev. Francis Palmer	Rector	30	Alcester	Dec. 22. do.
Thos. Sanders	Tanner	34	Stratford	Dec. 27. do.
Abel Franklyn	Joiner	33	Alcester	Dec. 27. do.
Jacob Williams	Excise Officer	41	Alcester	Apl. 5. 1809
Wm. Merry	Factor	28	Redditch	May 3. 1809
Jno. Alcock	Joiner	36	Alcester	May 31. do.
Jno. Gould	Paper Maker	31	Harvington	Jun. 28. do.
Jno. Timms	Grocer	38	Alcester	Jun. 28. do.
Jno. Andrew Holmes	Schoolmaster	36	Stratford	Dec. 27. do.
Chas. Bernard	Sadler	26	Alcester	Dec. 12. 1810
Edward Marroll	Mans Mercer	27	Alcester	Dec. 12. do.
Jns. Wright	Factor	23	Birmingham	Mar. 13. 1811
Jno. Moor	A Shopkeeper	47	Alcester	Mar. 13. do.
Richd. Field	Schoolmaster	23	Alcester	Jun. 5. do.
Wm. Currier	Needlemaker	32	Alcester	Oct. 2. do.
Jas. Westwood	Shopkeeper	39	Redditch	Oct. 2. do.
Thos. Keen	Innkeeper	40	Camden	Oct. 2. do.
Jno. Baylis	Dancing Master	35	Halesowen	Oct. 2. do.
Robert Payne	Joiner	36	Arrow	Nov. 27. do.
Jno. Stephens	Farmer	24	Arrow	Dec. 24. 1812

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Fenton for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. L. Edwards, seconded by Bro. W. I. Grantham; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, F. L. Pick, C. Bland and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I think we must all agree that it was a very happy accident which placed the minute books of the Apollo Lodge at Alcester in the skilled hands of Bro. Fenton and so provided him with the material for this interesting paper. There are so many old Lodges which have lost one or more of their minute books, that the completeness of the records in this case is an additional matter for congratulation. To what the paper states regarding Alcester I may perhaps be permitted to add that Admiral Paget Seymour, who took his title from the town, was Senior Grand Warden in 1890. The migration of the Lodge from Alcester to Birmingham, and what seems to us other irregularities, might well provoke a modern Provincial Grand Secretary, but it was often to these irregularities that old Lodges owed their continued existence. It is interesting to note that a payment of one guinea was considered as adequate a contribution to the Fund of the Cumberland School, and the Institution for Girls, as it was to the presentation fund of that magnificent prodigal, the Earl Moira.

It is with much pleasure that I move that the thanks of the Lodge be accorded to Bro. Fenton for his paper.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

Bro. Fenton's paper calls for little comment. He has extracted for our benefit the cream of the Minutes of Alcester Lodge, and for so doing I, for one, return him my hearty thanks.

The story of the recovery of the missing Warrant is notable, as showing the little regard paid to such an important document, and such disregard was too common under a Constitution which did not demand, as some others do, that the Warrant of the Lodge shall be exposed during all the time that a Lodge is at labour. It always strikes me as strange, even at this late day in my Masonic career, to look round a Lodge and look in vain for that important piece of furniture, which is the hall-mark of our Regularity, and the outward and visible sign, at least, it should be so, of our loyalty to that Constitution in which we have the honour to serve.

My only other comment shall be about the addition of the letters TH after the names of some of the members. There is no necessity for Bro. Fenton to advance any new theory on the matter, for a much more obvious one is that such Brethren had obtained the degree of Royal Arch when visitors to some other Lodge. Note the word Lodge, for the degree in those days was more often than not conferred by Time Immemorial custom in Lodges both Antient and Modern, and the existence of a Chapter in the neighbourhood is not needed to postulate their having obtained the degree in what was then regarded as a perfectly legitimate manner. Other times, other customs. We must read our old Minute Books in the light of such customs, so far as we are aware of them.

Bro. FRED L. PICK said:—

It is with pleasure that I support the vote of thanks to Bro. Fenton for his interesting contribution to the study of Masonic development in the town of Alcester, in which is included valuable material essential to one who wishes to recapture something of the atmosphere of the times with which he deals.

I am afraid that in his statement that the records of Grand Lodge do not mention a single instance of the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master for a Province prior to the constitution of the first Lodge therein, Bro. Fenton overlooks the small county of Rutland, which, as a Province, was ruled over by four Provincial Grand Masters, including the well-known H. J. da Costa, who was present at the celebration of the Union, though the first Lodge to be constituted in the county was my Mother Lodge, the Vale of Catmos, 1265, founded in 1869.

Pairs of globes are still to be seen in many North-country Lodge Rooms, including Preston and Oldham.

The relief of brethren confined for debt was often a problem dealt with by the craft. John Hassall, of the Grand Lodge of All England at York, was himself in this unfortunate predicament, and in 1802 a meeting of brethren confined in Lancaster Castle was held, when a fund was opened for the benefit of indigent brethren who had the misfortune to be imprisoned for debt in that prison.

The members of the Apollo Lodge evidently took seriously their constitution under the premier Grand Lodge of England. It would be interesting to investigate the circumstances which influenced brethren in the provinces in their adherence or even recognition of the various Grand Lodges. One may mention the Lodge at Southampton, now Royal Gloucester, 130, which not only had warrants from Antients and Moderns, but paid dues to both bodies; in many parts of Lancashire it is apparent from the records that, except at times when some local quarrel caused the breach to open, partisanship was, to say the least of it, lukewarm. True, the members of the Antient Lodges in Liverpool opened a Fund of Charity in 1806 and decreed that this was to benefit their own members only.

The dictum of the Duke of Sussex that "no person is or has been permitted to practise as a Lecturer to other Lodges" would appear to have been one of the more obscure speeches of that impulsive leader.

There are still Lodges which provide special garments for initiates. I have seen one in use in Harrogate and simpler garments are used in some Lodges in Lancashire, including Rochdale and Shaw.

The publication of Bro. Fenton's paper in *A.Q.C.* cannot fail to be of great interest not only to our Warwickshire brethren, but to the many members of the Correspondence Circle.

BRO. C. BLAND *writes*:—

I have read Bro. Fenton's paper with the greater interest because my own Masonic experience has been acquired in Country Lodges. Herein one finds examples of individuality and conservatism. When circumstances seem to warrant it, a departure from "common form" is boldly taken, rarely with any ill effect.

Bro. Fenton's statement about the appointment of Provincial Grand Masters is too sweeping. The example of Rutland may be used to show that:

1. Rutland had P.G.Ms. for nearly a hundred years before a Lodge was consecrated in the County in 1869.
2. The day this Lodge was opened it ceased to have its own P.G.M., the Provinces of Leicestershire and Rutland being merged in one Province.

It seems more probable that the G.M. made appointments of P.G.M., particularly in a Province which had no Lodges working, merely to reward some Brother for his good work and to give him a status in Grand Lodge which he would not otherwise be able to obtain.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

With reference to the authenticity of the statement that James Prescott was P.G.M. of Warwickshire in 1728, the case against it is not very clear. The Lodge at the Woolpack in Warwick is recorded as constituted on 22nd April, 1728, a few weeks after New Year's Day. Perhaps the wording of the minute makes the objection clear.

The Provincial Grand Lodge seems to have been sometimes a lodge which could meet as a craft lodge, or as a Provincial Grand Lodge when necessary. Its W.M. and Wardens were then Provincial G.M. and Wardens.

The Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" was based on the Fellowcraft, and it was not necessary to be a M.M. to hold grand rank. Before the Union there must have been some activity in taking the M.M. degree, which was then as distinct as the Royal Arch of the present day. Brethren who had qualified for union with the "Antients" may have denoted the same when signing the Tyler's Book. Is it possible that the symbol mentioned in the penultimate paragraph has this significance?

Bro. S. J. FENTON *writes* in reply:—

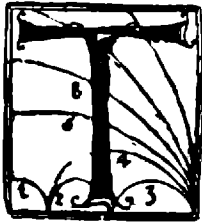
I thank the proposer and seconder of the vote of thanks accorded to me for my paper and also the other brethren for their comments. I desire also to express my thanks to the Brethren of the Apollo Lodge for the facilities placed at my disposal in compiling the History of their Lodge, and if I have left off at the end of their first one hundred years, it is in order that future historians may have some material to work on.

Bros. Pick and Bland both comment on my statement in reference to the first P.G.M. of Warwickshire, and I thank Bro. Bland for giving me such a useful loophole, to get out of an obvious mis-statement, by stating that such appointments were possibly made as a "reward for good work and to obtain a status in Grand Lodge". But this excuse is not quite satisfactory in the case of Prescott. Grand Lodge have no record of his actual appointment or his attendance at Grand Lodge or any other Lodge, and there is not a trace of him in Warwickshire Masonry except in the Minute Book of Grand Lodge referred to on 22nd April, 1728. In any case, Grand Lodge did not "appoint" a P.G.M. for Warwickshire until 64 years later (1792), although there was an effort made by brethren in the Province to obtain a P.G.M. in 1785.

I thank Bro. Lepper for his comments regarding R.A. Degrees being conferred in LODGES, but I think there is a big field of research open for further investigation regarding "passing the Chair", and I hope some Brother will take the matter up and enlighten us.

The History of Freemasonry is not obtainable in one book, such as Gould. It is only to be gathered from the histories of individual Lodges and, perhaps more critically, from the lives of individual masons, the Lodges and men who were the pioneers of English speaking Freemasonry, and there still remains a vast field of research open to brethren to place on record particulars of extinct lodges, which, by reason of their being unconnected with present day lodges, have been neglected by the students. Much has been done by members of this Lodge and similar Lodges, and after the War there will be many extinct Lodges on the Continent, and their history should be carefully recorded.

FRIDAY, 1st MAY, 1942.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4 p.m. Present:—Bros Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *W.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *I.P.M.*; W. J. Williams, *P.M.* as *S.W.*; F. R. Radice, as *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 H. Hiram Hallett, *P.G.St.B.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. B. Beer; J. O. Dewey; A. E. Evans; F. A. Greene, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*; F. Coston Taylor; C. G. Greenhill; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*; A. W. R. Kendrick; A. Beveridge; C. D. Melbourne, *P.A.G.R.*; F. Woodhams; F. P. Reynolds, *P.G.St.B.*; B. Foskett; E. Alven; L. G. Wearing; J. V. Vidler; F. W. Harris; H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*; H. B. Q. Evans; W. T. J. Gun; C. P. Brown; J. W. Hamilton-Jones.

Also the following Visitor:—Bro. T. E. Jones, Union Lodge No. 127.

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.*; D. Flather, *J.P.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; *Wg.-Comdr.* W. I. Grantham, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex*, *S.W.*; 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*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *J.W.*; H. C. Bristowe, *P.A.G.D.C.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*; R. E. Parkinson; Geo. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*; and W. E. Heaton, *P.G.D.*

Ten Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. Wallace E. Heaton, *Past Grand Deacon*; F. B. Brook, *Grand Treasurer*; E. S. M. Perowne, *Grand Deacon*; C. T. Mabey and Harry Bladon, *Past Grand Deacons*; E. H. Holmes, *Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works*; *Lt.-Col.* W. J. Kent, *Past Grand Sword Bearer*; Harold Uttley, *Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies*; Wm. R. Bond, R. A. Dix, P. M. Mitchell, *Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies*; *Capt.* G. F. Shepherd, *Past Assistant Grand Sword Bearer*; George B. Cotton, *Grand Standard Bearer*.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. L. EDWARDS.

• Cutting from the *Daily Post* of 21st December, 1727, showing Advertisement of Grand Feast to be held on 27th December.

Medal, silver, engraved on obverse with masonic emblems and the words "Amo Deo"; on reverse "Benjn. Brooks" and the words "Ludi Magister". It bears the arms of the "Moderns", but no date; and also the initials "R.A.", "K.T."

Two Certificates—

- (a) Friendship Lodge (Craft) No. 238, "Mark Master Mason", issued to Willm. T. May, dated 20th May, 1858. Place of issue, Devonport.
- (b) Grand Lodge, Mark Master Masons, showing that W. T. May was regularised in 1861.

Note:—Friendship Lodge lost all their records in an air-raid. But the Secretary stated that his recollection was that the Craft Lodge minutes showed the conferring of the Mark Degree in 1817, when a copy of the printed Certificate was inserted in the Minute Book; the copper-plate of the Certificate is now with Grand Mark Lodge. A further reference showed that the degree was according to "old working".

By Bro. D. FLATHER.

Certificate of Freedom of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire—that of George Witon, dated 28th November, 1777—after having served apprenticeship.

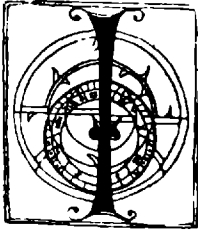
As an essential part of the Grant of Freedom a grant of "Mark" is included. The actual mark *intaglio* is struck upon a leaden tally affixed to the Freedom certificate. This "mark" is a personal one, to mark the knives made by him; and he had to pay an annual rent for the mark, of twopence.

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

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

LES PHILADELPHES ET LES ADELPHES.

BY BRO. F. R. RADICE.



IN my paper on the Carbonari I have had to mention often the Philadelphes and the Adelpes.¹ These societies are fully worthy of separate treatment, not only because of the amount of the information available about them, which makes it impossible to render justice to the subject in a paper concerning another society, but also because investigation tends to prove that these two societies were more important than had been supposed at one time.

The Philadelphie has been referred to incidentally by Brothers Gould and Tuckett in their works; but, in my opinion, the views they have expressed, before some of the evidence available to myself had come to light, need modification. Further, several of our most eminent Brethren have been engaged in the task of rebutting the accusations of certain ignorant and unreliable writers, who affirmed that Freemasonry had been largely instrumental in sapping the power of the authorities before the French Revolution and had greatly helped in bringing about that catastrophe. Very few, who are acquainted with those Brethren's investigation, will now affirm that French Freemasonry was in itself subversive or hostile to the monarch or responsible in any way for establishing the Jacobin Terror; but there has been a tendency to go too far in the other direction. In clearing the fair repute of Freemasonry it has become fashionable to deride any suggestion that secret societies took a prominent part in the Revolution and, still more, that there was a secret, hidden body guiding the whole revolutionary movement and preparing for revolution by ceaseless, subversive efforts and by preaching the overthrow of all established order, religion and good administration. In this paper I shall not touch on the question of the work of the secret societies in the Revolution itself, as, so far as I am aware, the societies I am dealing with arose only after the Terror had been broken; I shall deal with only the years after the establishment of the Directory in Paris.

The scepticism as to the existence of a secret revolutionary centre is not surprising, in view of the fact that for a long time our chief informants on the subject of the Philadelphes and the Adelpes were Witt and Nodier. The stories told by both of these writers seem at first sight fantastic. Witt especially, vain, egoistical, exaggerative, prone to cheap and facile judgments, appears to us more as the author of a romance than as a serious informant, and it is not difficult to find contradictions and mistakes in his work. Yet it should be remembered, in fairness to him, that he wrote when in prison, from memory and without his papers or notes. Nodier's book is more sober and might have been accepted, but for the wild and extravagant claims he makes as to the power of the Philadelphes and their influence on the fall of Napoleon, a description of Freemasonry which shows that he knew nothing whatever about our Institution and casts doubt on the reliability of the remainder of his work, and the description of a ceremony of initiation which resembles more a tale of terror than the ritual of a secret society. Larousse has come to the conclusion that

¹ Adelpes and Adelfi are synonymous terms, one being French and the other Italian.

the whole of Nodier's book is a phantasy. Other works, like that of Gyr, are even less reliable. Yet even taking Witt's and Nodier's books by themselves, it is surprising how many of their statements can be corroborated from other sources. Further corroboration has become available recently, in fact it would appear that throughout Witt's story there is a substratum of truth, supported by documents in the archives of Vienna, Italy and London; and, with the three exceptions mentioned, there is little that seems unworthy of belief in Nodier's book. Some of this evidence will form a material part of my paper; and I must leave Brethren to draw their own conclusions.

The history of the Philadelphie and of the Adelphe is, like that of most secret societies, wrapped in mystery, in fact the two names have been used without discrimination to express at one time the same society and at other times different ones. This tangle I will endeavour to unravel so far as I can.

From the evidence at present available the Philadelphie is the older of the two societies. Brother Gould, in fact, dates it back to 1780, a conclusion with which Brother Tuckett tacitly agrees. Here we are at once confronted by a grave difficulty. The society described by Nodier was founded, according to him, at Besançon towards the end of the eighteenth century; and its character is totally different from that of Gould's society of 1780. We must decide, therefore, whether Gould and Nodier are referring to the same body, or different bodies with identical names.

Gould says¹ that "in 1780 a society was formed at Narbonne, which took the name of Philadelphians, Lodge and Chapter of the Primitive Rite. . . . They were unattached to any Grand Orient and founded no subordinate Lodges". In his paper on *Military Masonry* in *A.Q.C.*, xiv.,² he suggests that the "Philadelphes of the French army were in some shape or form an offshoot of the Narbonne Rite". He refers to the Narbonne society as the "Primitive Rite of Narbonne" and also as the "Rite of the Philadelphians". It will be noticed that Brother Gould's statement that the Narbonne Lodge formed no daughter Lodges is not quite consistent with that which says that the military Philadelphie was an offshoot of the Narbonne Rite, though this discrepancy can be explained.

Bro. Tuckett in his paper on *Napoleon and Freemasonry*³ also calls the society the "Rit primitif de Narbonne" or "Philadelphes de Narbonne". More definite than Brother Gould, he says that "the society known as the Philadelphes of the army was a branch or offshoot of this Rite, which spread through the army with extreme rapidity and quickly acquired considerable power. In its early years truly masonic, this society later developed into an association almost frankly political in its aims." The "Acte constitutif" of the "Rite primitif" shows that, as Brother Gould and Brother Tuckett say, the "Rite primitif" was known also, colloquially at any rate, as "Rite des Philadelphes" or some such expression. The "Acte constitutif",⁴ which may have been manufactured by the head of the Rite, Chefdebien d'Amand, in the circumstances described by Brother Tuckett, runs as follows:—"nous créons . . . à l'Orient de Narbonne, France, la première Loge de St. Jean réunie sous le Rite Primitif au dit pays de France, pour, par la dite Loge, porter désormais la dénomination et le titre distinctif des P. . . ." In his translation of the "Acte" Tuckett makes this P. . . . read "Philadelphes". Thory and Lantoin agree to this designation: Thory⁵ seems to imply that the Lodge existed before the Rite, as he says that the Rite was "attached" to the Lodge, and Lantoin⁶ definitely states that the Lodge was the earlier.

¹ *History of Freemasonry*, vol. iii., p. 120.

² p. 44.

³ *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., p. 109.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁵ Thory, *Annales*, p. 194. *Acta latomorum*, p. 145.

⁶ Lantoin, *Histoire de la Franc-Macounerie française*, p. 220.

Brothers Tuckett and Gould therefore give us a picture of a Mother Lodge of the Philadelphes at Narbonne with ramifications in the army and elsewhere. Brother Tuckett also states that there was a Lodge of the Rite Primitif de Narbonne at Strassburg, where Chefdebien d'Amand was stationed for many years while serving in the Chasseurs de Malte, and adds that in his opinion it belonged to the military Philadelphes.¹ He gives no authority for his conclusion; and his statement is also in flat contradiction to Gould's opinion that the Lodge of Narbonne established no daughter Lodges. Tuckett also quotes from a "Note communiquée" contained in the *Mémoires historiques et secrètes de l'impératrice Josephine*", by Mlle. Le Normand, to the effect that "the illustrious initiate (Napoleon) met the chief of the Philadelphes" in Cairo, and gives reasons for thinking that this chief was Oudet. These Philadelphes must have been of the military branch. The point in this passage which bears upon the present argument is that Tuckett quotes it as evidence that Napoleon was a Freemason, and that we must therefore regard the Philadelphes as part of Freemasonry. This would be true of course as regards the Philadelphes of Narbonne. It seems clear, therefore, that both Brothers Gould and Tuckett regarded Nodier's Philadelphes of Besançon as a branch, or at least part, of the same society as the Philadelphes de Narbonne. There is only one more fact which might be taken as supporting this view. Johnson² states that the ritual of the Sublime Perfect Masters, who were a degree of the Adelfi, the society which absorbed the Philadelphes, and did not come into existence until long after the Rite Primitif had been absorbed by the Grand Orient of France in 1807, contains certain phrases which bear a distinct resemblance to the allocutions of the Albigenses of the twelfth century; and Narbonne is in the Albigenian country. This connection, however, seems to me too devious and vague to merit serious consideration.

Brothers Gould and Tuckett, however, give no evidence to support their statements which, either directly or by suggestion, affirm that the Philadelphes de Narbonne and the Philadelphes of Besançon were connected; and I can only regard their view as an induction from the fact that both bodies bore the same name. My researches into the history of the Carbonari have taught me that identity of name cannot be regarded as any proof of derivation or even of connection; and I am by no means convinced that the argument can be maintained.

Nodier and Guillemard,³ the only two Besançon Philadelphes whose writings we possess, do not seem to know anything about the Narbonne society, at any rate they do not mention it in their accounts of the military Philadelphie. Nodier's statement that the Besançon society did not exist before about 1796 and the character he gives to it, which is totally different from the Narbonne Association and runs counter to the views of Brothers Gould and Tuckett. Witt⁴ asserts that there were two separate societies, one at Narbonne which he calls rightly the Philadelphes, and one at Besançon, which he miscalls the Adelfes. This mistake may be due to the fact that when Witt came into contact with the French and Italian secret societies, the Philadelphes and Adelfi in Piedmont were indistinguishable and may have already been amalgamated and known by the collective name of Adelfi. Nodier makes it clear that the Besançon society was called the Philadelphes. With great reluctance, therefore, I feel bound to conclude that Brothers Gould's and Tuckett's induction, made, I must repeat, without all the evidence which has since come to light, is mistaken, and Brother Tuckett's statement that "the story of the Philadelphes as a society with these nefarious schemes has been discredited" is made on false premisses. My conclusion on this first difficult point is that Witt's statement is correct,

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., p. 112.

² *The Napoleonic Empire in South Italy*, vol. ii., pp. 24-25.

³ *A.Q.C.*, xiv., p. 44.

⁴ p. 18.

the Philadelphes of Besançon were totally distinct from the Rite Primitif of Narbonne and that therefore the Philadelphie of the army had no connection with the Narbonne society.¹

The fullest account of the Besançon Philadelphes is given by Nodier in the *Histoire des sociétés secrètes de l'armée*, an anonymous work of which he has been proved to be the author. He was himself a Philadelphie. His story is that the society was at first an association of young idealists, who had republican tendencies. It was formed at Besançon for social purposes and to discuss liberal opinions. Besançon was called by this group "Philadelphie". Nodier says that at the time he was writing, which cannot have been earlier than 1814, as he alludes to the restoration of the Bourbons, the society had been in existence "for the last eighteen years", which dates it back to 1796, roughly. Besançon is not far from the Jura, where some remnants of the old French Charbonnerie, the old craft society which was, on the whole, non-political, still existed; and we shall see that some connection was established between the two bodies.

The Philadelphes soon developed anti-napoleonic tendencies; and under the leadership of the old Jacobin, Colonel Malet, became a political secret society with republican and even Jacobinical tenets. Soon afterwards it was joined by Colonel Oudet,² a native of the Jura, who may be the same Oudet who signed, as Secretary General, a letter from the Grand Orient of France to a Savoyard Lodge in 1790, as stated in Brother Firminger's paper on *Continental Freemasonry in the XVIII. Century* in *A.Q.C.*, xlv. He soon became Censor or head of the society; and under his leadership numbers increased. Nodier gives it a membership of 6,000³; and it was widely spread in the army, where the Philadelphes were known as the "Blue Brothers". Nodier, who considers Oudet a great man, attributes to him the design that the Philadelphes should penetrate other secret societies, gain control over them and direct their activities in accordance with their own aims. This was, of course, the method of the Illuminati, and the notorious Bavarian society was copied in more than one instance by the Philadelphes. For instance, members of the second Philadelphic degree assumed pseudonyms, for the most part classical, which was a practice of the Illuminati. In some cases identical names were used in both societies.⁴ Oudet is said to have been acquainted with, and a member of, most of the secret societies of Europe and was probably familiar with Illuminism. Following this plan of action, the Philadelphes gave help to the Miqueletes of the Pyrenees, the Barbets⁵ of the Alps and the Bandouliers of Savoy and the Jura, who at various times carried on a partisan warfare against the French.⁶ The Bandouliers are said by Nodier to have been raised among the Charbonniers of the Jura by the Marquis of Champagne, a Philadelphie who bore the name of "Werther".⁷

In 1801 Oudet enlisted the help of Moreau for his schemes and yielded up the Censorship to him; but, as we know, the plot was discovered and Moreau arrested. Oudet then resumed the leadership of the society until 1809, when

¹ Dito suggests, p. 332, that when Freemasonry became subservient to Napoleon, the "Rite Primitif" remained hostile and founded the Besançon society in order to work against him. He gives no evidence and I can only regard this suggestion as based on surmise.

² Nodier, p. 16.

³ *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, xiv., p. 45, "Military Masonry." The unknown author of the "Sociétés secrètes en Allemagne", who is acquainted with Nodier's book, asserts that the Illuminati were in correspondence with the Philadelphes, but gives no evidence. He adds to the list of Philadelphes the Duke of M . . . (? Montebello or Lannes) who was not much use to the society, as he was too great a friend of Napoleon, the Duke of Cast . . . (? Castiglione or Augereau), Drouet d'Erlon, Vid . . . , Oudet, Bar . . . (? Barras), Malet, Guidal, Lahorie, Sarr . . .

⁵ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. i., p. 90.

⁶ Nodier, p. 54.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 269.

he was killed at Wagram in circumstances suggesting that he was murdered by Napoleon's orders.¹ Malet succeeded him and was the author of a plot in 1812 which failed and led to Malet's execution. Nodier says that the Philadelphes were responsible for the revolts of Schill, Hofer and others against Napoleon, which would connect the Philadelphes with the German Tugenbund, and that they concocted a vast conspiracy against Napoleon in 1813, of which Moreau and Bernadotte were the chiefs.² He even claims that the Philadelphes were the authors of the Emperor's overthrow. He states that their object was the restoration of the Bourbons and, once that object was achieved, the society ceased to exist, at any rate in France.³

According to him there were offshoots of the society in England and America and three branches in Italy.⁴ Of the regions in which these branches were set up he mentions only Parma; we know there were Philadelphes in Apulia, and presumably the third branch was in North Italy. Nodier's story, as already stated, has been regarded as fantastic by some French writers, including Larousse. Nodier, however, is corroborated by Guillemard, who was at one time Oudet's secretary and narrowly escaped sharing his fate at Wagram and tells very nearly the same tale; and Brother Gould regards him as worthy of belief.⁵

Witt also confirms several of Nodier's statements. He wrote later than Nodier and may have read his book, though he does not refer to it. Witt's story is that the Philadelphes were formed by republican Freemasons after Napoleon had gained control over Freemasonry, and called themselves at first *Maîtres Charbonniers et M: : Philadelphes* and that the members were mostly soldiers. He claims to have known the Marquis de Champagne personally and says that he was at the head of an alliance of Philadelphes, Charbonniers and Bandouliers.

The Philadelphes⁶ were ruled by a Censor; and there were at least two degrees below that Censor. The lowest degree knew little of the objects of the society, a feature which we meet repeatedly in secret associations and is also present in the Carboneria, while the members of the second degree had to swear to become the blind instruments of their chiefs. It is in this degree that classical names were adopted: Oudet was Philopoemen, Moreau Fabius and Lahorie Thrasybulus. Three Philadelphes were sufficient to "receive" a Candidate. The election of Moreau as Censor was a most complicated process,⁷ but it is not clear that this process was used on more normal occasions. The ruling body of the Philadelphes was known as the *Areopagus*.⁸ This is what we know about the Philadelphes. Their end will be referred to shortly.

The next important question is whether the *Philadelphie* and the *Adelphie* were separate societies or not. As we have seen, Witt confuses the two names, though he keeps the societies distinct; other writers do the same, and one can never be sure which society is meant when the term *Adelphie* is used. There is, however, a considerable body of evidence in favour of the existence of separate societies. Witt, who asserts that it is so, quotes in support of his contention what he calls the earliest decree of the Grand Firmament still in existence in his days, which runs as follows:—

"Decree of the Grand Firmament supplementary to the Statutes of the 'Sublimi Maestri Perfetti'.⁹

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xiv., pp. 44-45, "Military Masonry".

² Nodier, p. 231.

³ *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ Nodier, p. 248.

⁵ *A.Q.C.*, xiv., pp. 44-45, "Military Masonry".

⁶ Nodier, p. 39.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁸ *A.Q.C.*, xiv., p. 44.

⁹ Witt, p. 9. The Sublime Perfect Masters were the second degree of the *Adelfia*.

The grand Firmament decrees as follows:

2. The Association of the Adelphe and the Philadelphes is incorporated in the order (of the Sublime Perfect Masters).
3. Each Adelphe or Philadelphie will receive, as soon as he is admitted, unless he is already a Freemason, the three symbolical degrees without fees beyond those necessary for his initiation.
- 4 & 5. Each Adelphe or Philadelphie can be presented to the O. . . (?Orient) and immediately after his particulars have been reported by the "Délucidateur"¹ his reception will take place in accordance with the Statutes. The Adelphe and Philadelphes received in this way are relieved of all subscriptions.

Issued under the Equator, the 22d of the 7th month, lunar, 5812". This statute is quoted with small variation by Rinieri.²

Further evidence to show that the societies were distinct is given us by the history of the origin of the Adelfi.

Dito³ tells us that the Adelphe were founded in Paris in 1804 by La Fayette, the Corsican Poggi, Servan Goyot, Barzin, the Roman Angeloni, and Oudet. It is unfortunate that Dito does not give his authority for this invaluable statement, but he is a careful writer and is seldom at fault. He is not to be disregarded lightly. The inclusion of Oudet, if correct, gives us an important link between the Philadelphes and the Adelphe. Angeloni is well known as the friend of Malet who narrowly escaped sharing his fate for taking part in Malet's conspiracy of 1812 and is therefore another link. In addition to these definite statements, we are told of differences of detail between the Philadelphes and Adelphe, which bear out the contention that at the beginning at any rate the societies were separate. Nicolli mentions a rank of the Adelphe called Archon,⁴ which does not appear among the Philadelphes. The ruling body of these Adelphe was known as the Grand Firmament, the mysterious council referred to by Witt, while Guillemard called the corresponding body of the Philadelphes the Aeropagus.⁵ It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that there were two societies founded in different places and at different dates, that they came, some time or other, into close contact with each other, that both were jacobinical and were finally amalgamated by the decree of the Grand Firmament quoted above into one single body. That the Firmament decreed the union would indicate that the Adelphe gained the upper hand and absorbed the Philadelphes.

We have another version of the Adelphe's history in the documents quoted by Rinieri⁶ in his *Silvio Pellico*, which tells us that the Austrian authorities thought that the sect of the Sublime Perfect Masters, by which they meant the Adelphe, a designation which really was that of the second degree of the Adelfia,

¹ The duties of this officer are described later—see p.

² Document 20. Decree of the Grand Firmament, No. II, in the Book of the Supreme Perfect Masters:

2. The Society of the European Patriots in the Academic Degree and consequently that of the Philadelphes, incorporated in the Order.

3. All European Patriots and the Philadelphes who are not Masons will receive the three symbolical degrees without any expense, beyond that of their initiation.

Rinieri comments that an informer who had been initiated into the Adelfia at the Turin Congress, who will be referred to later, was told that the Society of the European Patriots was the old Tugenbund, which was described as one of the most wide spread societies. This would indicate that after its patriotic work had been done, the society changed its name at some time, possibly after its activities in the liberal cause had attracted to it the unwelcome attentions of the police. Possibly it may amount to no more than that the Tugenbund was known in Italy under the name of "European Patriots". At the time of the Turin Congress, 1820, great hopes were entertained in Italy of German co-operation, and there were German emissaries in Piedmont, as we shall see.

³ p. 327; Nicolli, p. 29. Romano Catania, *Del Risorgimento d'Italia*, p. 11.

⁴ See Decree E of Grand Firmament, Artic. 8 in FO 70/92. *Del risorgimento*

⁵ A.Q.C., xiv., p. 44, "Military Masonry".

⁶ Rinieri, *Pellico*, pp. 27-28.

had originated during the French Revolution, had died out after Oudet's death and had been revived later in some unknown way. There is clearly confusion here between the Adelphe and the Philadelphie, as this summary would describe Philadelphie better than the Adelphe. Rinieri however tells us that the Austrian Government had no definite knowledge of the Adelphe's activities before Andryane's arrest, though it had some vague knowledge of its form and intentions.

In coming to some of my conclusions, I have assumed the existence of the Grand Firmament as proved. Although several reputable Italian writers share this view, there are some authorities who doubt whether such a body ever existed outside Witt's imagination. The evidence supporting Witt consists of two documents. The first is in the British Record Office and is numbered FO 70/92. Johnston mentions it in a footnote in connection with his statement about the Albigeois referred to above. I have looked up the document, which has never been published, and I have deemed it of sufficient importance to have a typed copy of the original Italian placed in the A.Q.C. library and a translation appended to this paper. It is impossible to tell how this document found its way among the correspondence of our representatives at the Court of Naples with the Foreign Office about the year 1820, as the covering letter in which it was forwarded to England, if it ever existed, has disappeared. The date 1820 is suggested by the fact that it is bound up with correspondence of that year. It is a copy made by two different scribes of a "book" of Statutes of the Order which must have fallen into the hands of the authorities. In the Statutes themselves we have frequent references to such "books"—see Appendix. This copy contains the Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters, the second degree of the Adelphe, those of the Sublime Elects, the third degree of the Adelphe; the ritual, complete as far as can be seen, of the ceremony of advancement to the degree of Sublime Elect and several decrees of the Grand Firmament which amended and amplified the Statutes of both degrees. The document FO 70/92 gives us a very good picture of the society, possibly as it existed about 1820. If we had access to the Austrian archives, we might discover if this document is a copy of that handed to the Austrian authorities after the Adelfic Congress of Turin by an informer and whether the informer or traitor was one Chiricone, who will be mentioned later.

The other document was found, Rinieri says in his book on Silvio Pellico, among the papers of an Austrian diplomat. It consists of a memorandum prepared by or for Metternich and apparently submitted to the Austrian Council of Ministers in 1824. It purports to give evidence of the connection between the revolutionary centre in Paris, the Italian revolutionaries and the German secret societies. The memorandum is based on the papers captured from Andryane, the ill-advised French conspirator, at the time of his arrest in Milan in 1822, and others handed to the authorities by a man who had been initiated at an Adelfic Congress held in Turin in 1820 and was either an Austrian agent or a genuine Adelphe who turned informer. It comments on and quotes from the constitutions of the Sublime Perfect Masters and the Tugenbund, the papers of Andryane's trial, the depositions of the Turin initiate and some decrees of the Grand Firmament. Rinieri gives us only excerpts from the annexes to the Memorandum, but these fill some of the gaps left in the information given by the Record Office document and is in fact to some extent complementary to it. As these excerpts are available in Rinieri's book in the British Museum, I have not given them here in full, except where they are of interest. I have also intercalated in the translation of FO 70/92 passages from Rinieri which explain obscurities in that document, and have given those decrees, etc., of the Grand Firmament which are not already contained in FO 70/92. Many of the papers of Rinieri are of a later date than FO 70/92 and the comments of Metternich contained in the Memorandum are especially interesting. These documents speak for themselves, and, as they were taken seriously by the Austrian government and authorities in Italy, I think they may be taken as genuine.

We do not find in them any description of the composition of the Grand Firmament beyond one mention of a President, and this is not surprising, as we are informed that not even an Adelphe of the lowest degree was allowed to know of its existence. But references to this body abound throughout the Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters and also in those of the Sublime Elects, who were unknown to the Sublime Perfect Masters, and to disbelieve its existence amounts to treating both documents as forgeries. On present evidence I am not prepared to do this, and indeed I consider such a conclusion unjustified.

Let us now consider the nature, character and structure of the Adelphe, or, as it was called in Italy, Adelfia. Originally it seems to have been simple, consisting of but one degree. Andryane had been informed by Buonarroti that it had ceased to exist on several occasions; but it was always revived. The first known decree of the Grand Firmament is dated 1811, according to Rinieri,¹ since when its existence, so far as we know, was continuous until its final dissolution. At some date in the teens of the century, 1818 is the actual date suggested, which is perhaps late, the second degree, that of Sublime Perfect Master, was instituted. It may be that the change was due to events in Italy. In loyal Piedmont, the Adelfia's chief sphere of action, a subversive society did not have much opportunity for growth. The Grand Firmament possibly thought it necessary to create the new degree, so that the real aim of the society might be better concealed, the preliminary degree becoming harmless and assuming the appearance of one of the numerous patriotic societies like the Carboneria and the Tugenbund. The form of the Adelfia becomes more vague in outline and less recognisable. Mere membership of the Carboneria and the Philadelphie qualified a man for admission to the society's first degree, the first degree proper of the Adelfia having apparently fallen into disuse. The name European Academician is also used—see Ritual in the Appendix—but it is not clear to what exactly it applied. In due course the name Sublime Perfect Master came to be used to designate the society as a whole. This is the case almost throughout the memorandum quoted by Rinieri.

Later still, possibly in 1820, it was found necessary to set up a yet more esoteric degree, that of Sublime Elect; and soon after the society reached the fullest development that we know. The discourse in the Sublime Elect's Ritual hardly mentions, in referring to the first degree, any constitutional aims. In the second degree, watered down after the constitution of the Sublime Elects', the aim was a constitutional monarchy. Only in the Sublime Elects' degree was the real object, a jacobinical, antireligious republic, disclosed. It must be remembered that in those days, when monarchies were mostly absolute, republicanism was looked on largely as something undesirable and Jacobinism as something fundamentally evil, to be rooted out at all costs; and it is difficult for us, now accustomed to equally extreme forms of society, to understand fully the horror it inspired in our ancestors. In Rinieri's documents we find that the Sublime Perfect Masters were regarded as extremists. It may be that the second degree, after its moderation, had relapsed into extremism, but perhaps this reputation is merely due to the loose use of their name to designate the whole Adelfic society, which, after the disclosure of the Sublime Elects' ritual, was known to be subversive.

The second degree was the principal instrument for the society's propaganda, the Sublime Elects were too secret a body to embark on a task in which some publicity was inevitable. This duty, and the manner in which it was to be carried out, was imposed by two decrees of the Grand Firmament quoted in part in Rinieri's document No. 10—see Appendix. Especial attention was to be given to undermining the fidelity of the army and to winning the support of the country folk. Of some interest is paragraph 2 of the second decree, in which leaders of the Order are told to secure the direction of any revolutionary movement

¹ *Pellico*, p. 29.

which might break out. They conspicuously failed to accomplish this object in Piedmont and Naples, or indeed in any Italian movement.

In this connection we may note an interesting point which closely concerns our own Brotherhood, Freemasonry. Each Church of Sublime Perfect Masters was ordered to form a Masonic Lodge which was to remain attached to the church. The Lodges ostensibly conformed to the rules of the Craft, in reality they were completely under Adelfic control and their activities were used for the purposes of the Adelfie. Ordinarily the Adelpes would have acted like the Illuminati and introduced themselves into existing Lodges in order to gain control. In Italy, however, Freemasonry had been proscribed after the fall of French domination, and the Lodges had ceased to meet. Hence the need for forming fresh Lodges, which though clandestine would lead ordinary Freemasons to suppose that their Brotherhood was being revived and thus made them tools of the Adelfie. According to Metternich's Memorandum a special secret language was used by the Adelpes in these Lodges' meetings in order to keep their meaning secret from the ordinary Brethren. According to the Turin informer, in this code charity meant liberty, secret meant revolution and money meant arms.¹

The Sublime Elects were set up to control and guide the whole work of the Order. Articles 5 and 6 of their constitutions show that all the principal offices of a Church were held by Adelpes, who held the corresponding offices in the Synod of Sublime Elects which supervised it. The Church was, therefore, completely under the Synod's control. From the regulations governing the relations of Synod and Church we see that the lists of Officers submitted for election were compiled by the Synod, which also exercised a veto over subjects for discussion and the admission of new members. The Sublime Elects also dealt with all questions affecting other secret societies. The powers of the Sage of the Synod were not, however, so great as those he exercised in the Church, for he could be overruled by the Council of the Synod. Under article 15 the Sage was the only channel of communication between the local bodies and the Grand Firmament, but, as we shall see, he was able to communicate with only the Deacon, who in his turn transmitted the correspondence to Headquarters.

In fact the usual question, *quis custodiet ipsos custodes*, had arisen, and the Grand Firmament solved it by the institution of the Deacons. The "départements" of the French Empire and the cantons of Switzerland, except Geneva, were constituted into Circles of the Order, over each of which was set up a Territorial Deacon to control the local Sages and Assemblies. These were in turn supervised by "Mobile" or Travelling Deacons. Buonarroti (Polycarp) was one of them. In addition there were "Extraordinary Deacons" appointed for special missions like Andryane. All correspondence from the localities passed through the hands of the Deacons before reaching the Grand Firmament. They carried out all inquiries into crimes, and they were given, about 1819, power for three, extended later to five, years to initiate candidates summarily, without formality. The Deacons also exercised some supervision over finance, a matter to which the Grand Firmament attached much importance. It enjoined that no poor men who might be unable to pay their subscriptions should be accepted as members and it exacted for itself two thirds of the funds of the Order. The Travelling Deacons could also set up superior assemblies known as Cathedrals, a kind of Provincial Grand Lodges composed of the Officers of the local Assemblies. The Deacons' duties are set out fully in the decree E in the Appendix, which also contains some additional ones for the Sages.

It is interesting to compare in our documents the rules for the second with those for the third degree. For instance, those of the second degree concerning crimes against the society specify only the members' obligation to denounce it, its forms and the penalties; those of the Sublime Elects cover in addition the

¹ Rinieri, *Pellico*, Document No. 8.

investigation, inquiry into the crime and trial. The Sublime Perfect Masters also seem to have had but a vague acquaintance with the Deacons.

The Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters call for no special comment, nor do the four decrees of the Grand Firmament appended to them. The pre-eminence of Turin as the chief Adelfic centre in Italy appears in the last of the decrees, decree D in the Appendix, in which we have also an example of action by one of the Deacons, and of some of the Order's classical pseudonyms: Argolis (Lombardy), Nicea (Turin). P . . . , the signatory, is probably Pompeo (Pompey) and C . . . Collatinus. The note at the end is interesting. It tells us that all the Grand Firmament's correspondence was in French, as might be expected in the case of a French society, and from the signatory's title it appears that the same officer could be both a Sage and a Deacon.

The following points of interest concerning the second degree may be added from Metternich's memorandum. Occasionally the Church seems to have been called a "Workshop", but it would appear from Rinieri's document No. 16—see Appendix—that the word "Workshop" denoted the body or committee which administered the Church. The Council of the Church which decided as to the admission of candidates consisted of the Sage and the two Grand Stars. We are also given an explanation of the duties of the Délucidateur, the Adelphe who had to gain a candidate's confidence and report on his fitness for membership, and the duties are set forth at length in the Regulations for both the second and the third degree quoted in Rinieri's document No. 13—see Appendix.

Rinieri's document No. 7 gives us a summary of the Grand Firmament's decree of the 16th day of the first month of 5817 (1817), which orders the Deacons to communicate to the Workshops of Sublime Perfect Masters the criminal code of the society. It does not seem to have devolved powers of trial and inquiry on the Churches, as it is largely a list of the crimes against the Order and an instruction, not quoted in full by Rinieri, as to how criminals were to be charged. In paragraph 6 death is made the penalty for treason and imprudence, if committed collectively by several members, which involves the suspicion of design, abuse of power in office to the detriment of the Order, unauthorised possession, theft or forgery of documents, and disclosure of their contents. The following also seem to have been punishable by death: usurpation of rights not lawfully conferred, sedition, revelation even to another member of any details concerning the Grand Firmament, its objects, constitution and location, repeated refusal to submit to minor penalties and omission to denounce a crime. Minor penalties were fines, expulsion and suspension.

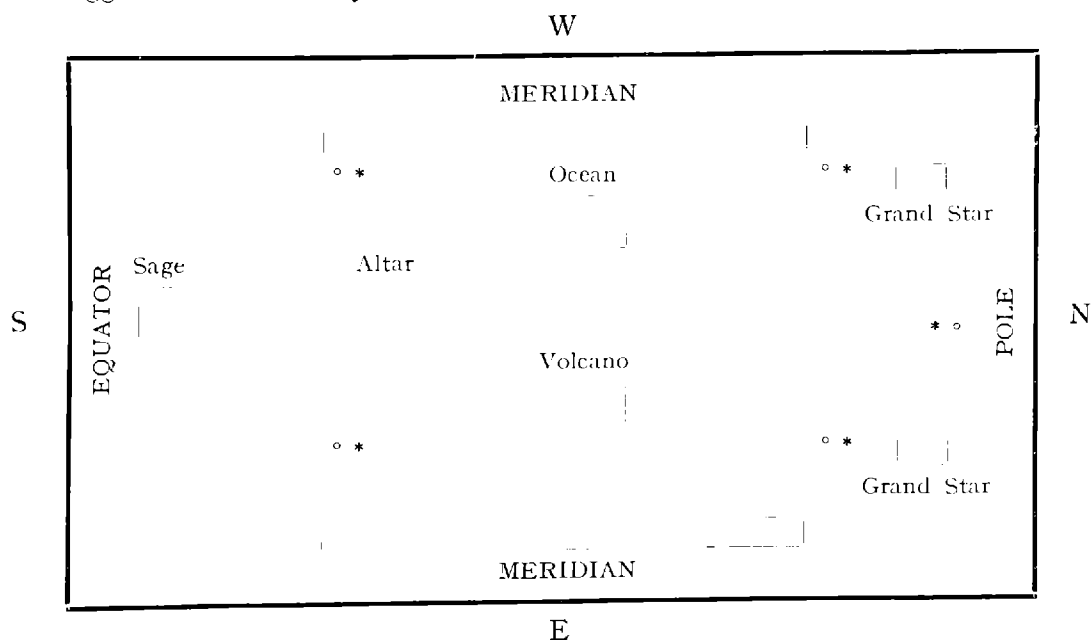
The question of the secrecy of the Grand Firmament deserves a little consideration. Witt says: "The distinctive characteristic of the Grand Firmament (which he calls the Directoire des sociétés secrètes) was a continuous tendency to gain control over other societies, even if the object was contrary to its own: but it is not enough for it to achieve its object, it must reach it while keeping in the background, so as to make all these outside bodies serve to execute its own plans without appearing to do so." This is the Illuminati's system again. It is said that Benjamin Constant's paper, the *Minerve*, which proved effective in countering the activities of the Austrian police in Italy, was issued under the auspices of the Grand Firmament.

Metternich's memorandum states that members of both degrees of the Adelfi were obliged to obey a Grand Firmament to them unknown. Yet we have seen that imparting information regarding the Firmament was an Adelfic crime in the Code communicated to the second degree. This seems to presuppose that some Sublime Perfect Masters must have been aware of the Grand Firmament's existence. Its decree of the 19th of the 3d month of the year 5815 (1815) enacts that no information concerning it is to be given to anyone not in possession of the signs of a Sublime Perfect Master. Perhaps we can explain the discrepancy by assuming that the information in question was communicated only to the Council of the Church, whose members were Grand

Elects. Members of that degree knew of course of the Grand Firmament, as the labours were opened in its name—see Ritual.

We have, therefore, a picture of the complete structure of the Adelfia in its furthest development so far as we know: the secret Grand Firmament at the top, carefully concealed even from most of the members of its own Society, the Travelling Deacons, supervising the Territorial Deacons, who controlled the Cathedrals and Synods, the Sublime Elects of the Synods governing the activities of the Churches of Sublime Perfect Masters, and the Sublime Perfect Masters carrying out the work of propaganda and infiltration into the other societies, from whom were recruited the Adelfi of the first degree. The Grand Firmament's decree of the 1st of the 6th month of the year 1829 (11th of August, 1920) shows that irregularities rendered necessary the enforcement of discipline.

It is not certain that the degree called in the ritual of the third degree European Academical had any fixed ceremony; if it had it is lost. Nicolli states that the Adelfi of the first degree met in Churches, ordinary, provincial and central, and that the officers were: a Bishop, two Administrators, a cashier and a Column or doorkeeper. Nicolli may be referring to an earlier state of affairs than that described in the MS. He also tells us that the emblems were a lion, a Phrygian cap, columns, overthrown altars and crowns and pictures of scenes from the French Revolution, but does not say in which degree they were used. Of the ceremony of the Sublime Perfect Masters we have a few fragments, including the declaration of faith and the obligation, given by Rinieri. The Candidate was chained as well as blindfolded. It may be that, as Rinieri suggests, the ceremony was of little interest. We can form a good idea of the lay-out of the Church from the description of the Sanctuary of the Synod, which was like the Church except for a few additions, referred to in the ritual. I have ventured to suggest a tentative lay-out.



* torches (for Sublime Elect ceremony only)

The Equator must have been the end of the room where the Sage sat, the South, and the Pole at the opposite end. The mystic A, which, in the case of the Synod, was enclosed in a regular pentagon, probably alludes to "Adelphie". When in the Sanctuary the Deacon wore on a saltire an O. Rinieri¹ says this referred to Oudet, but the ritual says it meant "Occide (kill)". The same symbol was placed over the symbols in the Church. Rinieri³⁶ says that the

¹ Pellico, p. 29.

Order honoured "Audetri" who fell at Wagram. This is an obvious corruption of Oudet, a form of distortion such as one would expect an Italian to perpetrate.

The Turin informer stated that at the meeting of 1820 the following words of recognition were used by Sublime Perfect Masters: "How did you enter the Church?—By means of three questions". "Whence do you come?—From Poland". When the secrets were betrayed, the Grand Firmament decreed on the 1st of August, 1822, that Synods should be known as Academies and the Sublime Elects as Perfect Masons (*Maissoners Parfaits—sic*), but the officers were to retain their usual designations.

The list of towns at the end of FO 70/92 is a formidable one, but it is doubtful whether it represented the actual number of Churches or only future intentions. The names of the members are mostly classical, but there are also some biblical and medieval and modern ones, including some foreign ones. The hieroglyphical signs differ from those given by Witt, which are shown later.

It is impossible to interpret the chronology. A few dates are those of the ordinary calendar, some are masonic and some revolutionary, but we can never be certain which particular year they refer to. I give all I have found with the interpretations assigned to some of them by Rinieri and others. The reasons for their interpretations, which are very illogical, are unknown.

5815 (possibly 1811) at the head of FO 70/92.

1st day of the 1st month of the year 6. Decree D.

1st day of the 11th month of the year 5819. Appendix to Decree D.

16th day of the 1st month of the year 5815. Decree G.

19th day of the 3d month of the year 5815 ,, H

1815 ,, I

1st day of the 8th month of the year 5815 ,, J

1st day of the 6th month of the year 29 (11th of August, 1820) Decree K.

1811, according to Rinieri the date of the first decree of the Grand Firmament.

18th day of the 5th and 7th month of 1821. Metternich's memorandum.

22d day of the 7th month of the year 5822 (1812). Rinieri's Document No. 1.

16th day of the 1st month of the year 5817 (1817) ,, 7.

18th day of the 6th month 5118 (1818) ,, 10.

58 (18th of June 1818) ,, ,,

17th day of the 7th month 1820 ,, ,,

Thermidor of the 38th year ,, 11.

20th day of the 7th month 1921 ,, ,,

1st of the . . . month 1822. ,, ,,

21st day of the 12th month 1817 ,, 15.

7th day of the 2d month 5817 (1812) ,, 16.

14th day of the 5th month of 1821 ,, 17. & 21.

10th day of the 7th month of 1822 ,, 22.

1st of August 1822. ,, 23.

There is little to add to what has already been said about the history of the Philadelphes. The society was brought into Italy by the French armies, as Brother Tuckett informs us, about 1796 and Witt corroborates this statement. Witt, however, must be regarded as untrustworthy here, as he mixes up the Philadelphes and the Carbonari. The Philadelphian Society does not seem to have extended its membership very far beyond the French troops. We hear nothing about the Philadelphes in Parma except that they reverted to Freemasonry, and hardly anything about those in other parts of North Italy. In the South, and especially in Apulia, there were Filadelfi, who may have been a branch of the Philadelphes, introduced by the troops of St. Cyr soon after Marengo. These, as described in my paper on the Carbonari, degenerated into a criminal society, and are stated to have been absorbed eventually by the Carboneria. The later society of the Filadelfi, which arose in the twenties of the 19th Century has nothing whatever to do with Oudet's society, in my opinion.

The Philadelphes seem to have had an offshoot in Piedmont: the society which bore the name of Ausonia, which penetrated into Italy during the French régime and spread to Lombardy, according to a very obscure statement of Cantù. It seems to have become quite harmless. The Filadelfi Maestri Perfetti (Philadelphian Perfect Masters) may have been an offshoot of the Philadelphes or of the Adelphe; possibly the name may be only a confusion between Philadelphes and the name of the second degree of the Adelphe. Leti alone, not one of our best authorities, mentions them. As nothing is known of this society, the matter is unimportant.

As regards the Adelphe, also all that is known of their origin and their early history has been already related. The date of the amalgamation of the Adelphe and the Philadelphie is given as 5822, and it is suggested by Rinieri that this date is 1812: 5822 can hardly be 1822, as it would be if it were a Masonic date, as that would be too late. This date, 1812, is not impossible, but as explained we have no real guide as to the Adelfian chronology. In view of Nodier's statement that the Philadelphie ceased to exist after the return of the Bourbons it is more probable that the amalgamation took place some time about 1815 or 1816. Witt tells¹ us that the joint societies were known as the Société de la régénération européenne, which probably another screen, behind which the Adelphe concealed itself.

So far as we know, the first contact between the Italian liberal movement and the Adelphe was made when Count Confalonieri, the Milanese liberal leader, met Angeloni in Paris in 1814, during the peace negotiations following Napoleon's fall. Angeloni introduced the Count to several of Malet's friends and revealed to him under the pledge of secrecy the existence of the Philadelphes and Adelphe and the nature and aims of these societies, but he failed to induce the Count to become an initiate. It is clear, however, from subsequent events, that Confalonieri was well acquainted with the European revolutionary movement and kept in touch with it, even though he did not become a sectary. In 1818 he visited England and became a Freemason; and on his return he got into touch in Paris with La Fayette and his revolutionary Directing Committee. This body, as I have described in my paper on the Carbonari, was not sectarian, though it had relations with the sects, it consisted of liberals who favoured a renewal of the Revolution. He may also have renewed contact with the Adelphe. At some date between these two visits of the Count to Paris, the Adelphe was probably introduced into Italy. On this point we have several versions. Coppi² says that Freemasonry which had decayed after Napoleon's fall, was revived in the Italian Adelphe or Adelfia in 1816, which was the same as the "Maestri sublimi e muratori perfetti" (Sublime Masters and Perfect Masons), and was subversive and anti-religious and celebrated the four great feasts of the French Jacobins. This description corresponds to that of the Adelfia in FO 70/92, but there are other versions concerning the meaning of the words Perfect Masons, as we have seen in one of the Firmament's decrees, and it would seem that Coppi has confused two societies. Luzio³ refers to a statement by Valtangoli, the Tuscan, that the Adelphe was introduced from France with the object of opposing Freemasonry, which was pro-French during the Napoleonic régime, and that it used Masonic symbolism but gave it a different interpretation. This theory involves an earlier date for the coming of the Adelphe into Piedmont than 1816,

¹ This joint society seems also to have been known as "European Confederation". The Abbé Gyr says that the name "Société de la régénération Européenne" was given to a combination of societies directed by Oudet, which had for sign "O . . .". He also mentions a separate society of "Adelphe" and says its old name was "Palladium." Gyr's *La Franc-Maçonnerie et ses rapports avec les autres sociétés secrètes de l'Europe notamment avec la Carbonerie italienne* is a very inaccurate work, but in such an obscure subject I hesitate to omit any information, however untrustworthy in appearance.

² Quoted by Dito, p. 327.

³ *Massoneria*, vol. i., p. 196. Helfert, p. 137.

by which year the French domination, which supported Freemasonry, had ceased. The date 1816, on the other hand, is confirmed by an Austrian agent's report¹ dated the 22nd of January, 1824, which says that in 1816 there were two Societies in Italy, the Carboneria and the Adelfia, that both were democratic, but, while the Carbonari supported the Agrarian Law, the Adelfi were frankly regicide. The centre of the Adelfi is given as France. The Adelfia may have arrived earlier than 1816 in Italy, or it may merely have absorbed shortly before that date the Philadelphie of Piedmont.

According to Dito,² the chief responsibility for introducing this formidable sect into Piedmont rests on Angeloni; and this is very probable, as he and Buonarroti were among the first Italian exiles to work outside Italy in sectarian circles to assist the liberal cause in that country. Buonarroti became very prominent during and after 1821 in acting on behalf of the Adelfia.

Angeloni met with some success: an Adelfic centre was set up in Turin under the control of the Grand Firmament,³ and Doctor Gastone and Grandi, the Carbonaro leaders, became heads of the Adelfia, which was known in Piedmont also under the name of Delphic Order.⁴ Angeloni even succeeded in enrolling General Giffenga,⁵ the commander of the Cacciatori (Rifles), who was entrusted with the leadership of the Society;⁶ and, according to Helfert, all prominent liberals, including Santa Rosa, Collegno and the Prince of Cisterna, became members.⁷ In the meantime Buonarroti was establishing a strong Sectarian centre at Geneva,⁸ a connecting link between Piedmont and Paris.

While the Carboneria in Piedmont, being the outcome of patriotic feeling, was a political society with a leaven of Jacobinism, the Adelfia was a subversive society with a patriotic façade, whose principal object, as stated in FO 70/92, was the establishment of republics.

The Adelfi naturally supported the liberal societies in their efforts to overthrow governments. They supported, as we have seen, patriotic and liberal movements, hoping to gain control over them and twist them to their own ends. In pursuing this object they sponsored in 1816 the formation⁹ of the *Federazione italiana* (Italian Federation) also known as the *Federati* (Federates), a liberal fighting organisation in which all the Sects were eventually combined.¹⁰ The *Liberi Italiani* (Free Italians), for instance, merged into it at the instance of Santa Rosa himself,¹¹ who strongly recommended this concentration of efforts to the Free Italian Fechini. Witt¹² thinks that this Association was modelled on the French *Fédérés* of the "Cent Jours", as Napoleon's return in 1815 is called. Of these *Fédérés* I know nothing, but the Adelfi, ruled and directed from France, would naturally follow a French model. The Federation grew rapidly and spread into Lombardy, a development which led the Austrian authorities to suppose that it originated in that country. Nevertheless the patriotism and good sense of the Piedmontese proved an obstacle to the Adelfia's designs, which the society was unable to surmount, although it exercised considerable influence.¹³ In 1820 the old Carbonaro Maghella succeeded in effecting a combination between the Federates

¹ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 214.

² p. 333.

³ Niccoli, pp. 91-93. Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 179.

⁴ Leti, p. 82.

⁵ Romano Catania, p. 25.

⁶ Dito, p. 339.

⁷ Helfert, p. 127.

⁸ Niccoli, p. 102. Tivaroni, 1815-1849, vol. iii., p. 376.

⁹ Dito, p. 333. Niccoli, p. 96. Tivaroni, *L'Italia*, 1815-1849, vol. ii., p. 133. suggests that the Federation arose in the Papal States after the Macerata trial. I think that is a mistake.

¹⁰ Torta, p. 34.

¹¹ Dito, p. 342.

¹² p. 86.

¹³ Witt, p. 87.

and the Carbonari,¹ but the Carbonari soon gained the predominance in the new Association, the Adelfia falling more into the background.

In 1816 the Adelfi reached Parma and seem to have absorbed there any Philadelphes who may have survived.² The Society flourished and by 1820 its members were more numerous in Parma than in any other city.³ From Parma it spread to the neighbouring Modena which became second only to Parma for the number of its Adelfi. We are told by Tivaroni⁴ that in 1818 the Sublime Perfect Masters reached Modena. As this degree of the Adelfia was founded probably about that year, this may mean no more than that the degree was introduced that year among the Modenese Adelfi.

They spread to the Papal States apparently from Parma;⁵ and late in 1819 or early in 1820 they reached Bologna. Zuboli, the notorious Bolognese Carbonaro, was already acquainted with the Adelfia and may even then have been a member.⁶ He admitted later that he had received a letter from Piedmont about the time that the revolution broke out in South Italy, that is in the middle of 1820, which said: "When Nicea writes, all Italy will rise".⁷ Nicea was the Adelfic name for Turin and, as the liberals in central Italy were in close connection with Piedmont on the subject of bringing about a rising to help the Neapolitan liberals, we have here evidence that the Adelfi were at work to spread the revolution. On the evidence of Casali at his trial we know that there was in Bologna a Church with ten members when he visited that city.

We next hear of them in Ferrara. Foresti, later one of those imprisoned in the Spielberg—see *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, p. 130—heard of the existence of the sect from his fellow Carbonaro Tommasi.⁸ This must have taken place before Foresti's arrest, which occurred on the 7th of January, 1819. Further South the Romagnols had first heard of the existence of the society from Valtangoli, himself an Adelfo, who had come from Tuscany with proposals for co-operation between the Tuscan and Romagnol Carbonari.⁹ The Romagnols had been in correspondence with Piedmont for some time and Canonici¹⁰ says that the Adelfia's existence in Piedmont was known; but the knowledge of the society in the Romagne was of the vaguest: the existence of the Grand Firmament was unknown, which need not surprise us in view of the efforts made by that body to keep its existence concealed, and Prince Charles Albert was reputed to be an Adelfo, which was palpably absurd. The Romagnols were under the impression that the Adelfia was just another patriotic society, like the Carboneria, and was under the leadership of General Giffenga. The Adelfia soon made its appearance in the Romagne at Forlì in 1820. It may have been introduced by Casali, who was a native of that town. Amaducci, a Carbonarian chief, had been given a catechism of the Adelfia by Valtangoli at the time of his visit; he now became head of the Forlì branch and received some candidates.¹¹ Count Orselli gave at his trial the names of seven Adelfi of Forlì, whose Adelfian name was Sicione (Sykion), and said that the town was intended to be the Adelfian metropolis in the Romagne, a position which was in full accord with Forlì's importance in that region.¹² Among the seven Adelfi was Pasquali,¹³ who, possibly for that reason, was chosen by the Romagnol Carbonari as emissary to Piedmont to establish connection with the revolutionaries in that country,

¹ Nicolli, p. 96.

² Austrian report of 22.1.1824 in Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 219-228. Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 226, 280.

³ Pierantoni, vol. ii., p. 301.

⁴ 1815-1849, vol. i., p. 612.

⁵ Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 254-255, 329.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 264.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 176.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 170, 208.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 306.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 435; vol. ii., p. 359.

¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 297, 361.

¹² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 297.

¹³ *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 297, 303.

when Piedmont was about to rise in revolt.¹ The number of members in Forlì, however, never became sufficient for the constitution of a metropolis or Cathedral. Orselli² also tells us of Churches at Faenza, Cesena, Ravenna and of individual Adelfi at Rimini and Imola. Count James Laderchi and Caporali, both Carbonarian chiefs, carried on the Adelfi's correspondence with other parts of Italy, which is another instance of Carbonaro leaders being closely implicated in Adelfian activities. The pretext put forward by the Adelfi for their infiltration into the Romagna was the necessity of binding together the disjointed Sects throughout Italy and to provide a safe channel for communications, as Casali was informed at his reception into the Society. They posed as a kind of reformed Freemasonry, a clever move, as an attempt was being made then in that region to revive Freemasonry at the expense of the Carboneria. By 1820 the Adelfia had established itself in Central Italy, a fact confirmed by an Austrian report of the 22d of January, 1824.³ This is also borne out by the interesting information⁴ that a meeting of Sublime Perfect Masters was held at Reggio, in the duchy of Modena, in the summer of 1820. The object of the meeting was to consider ways of altering the form of government in various states. A prominent member was Panizzi, later, when in exile, librarian of the British Museum Library.

While the Adelfia was making progress in Italy, penetrating into the Carbonarian societies and endeavouring to use them to its own ends, the Grand Firmament had been extending its tentacles into Germany. When the Tugenbund, the patriotic society which corresponded to the Italian Carboneria, after the fall of Napoleon adopted a liberal constitution as its aim, it became revolutionary once it found its desire thwarted by the rulers of Germany and it put off several offshoots, some of which were certainly subversive.⁵ It may be that this change was due to the influence and action of the Grand Firmament, but this is not certain. One of the most prominent German revolutionaries was Professor Adolf Karl Follenius, a dangerous extremist. He founded the extremist "Bund der Gleichgesinnten oder Schwartzten" (League of the like minded or the blacks).⁶ He told Witt⁷ in the summer of 1820 that all princes should be murdered irrespective of their conduct merely because they were princes. Witt, then still an ardent youth, had come into contact with him, and, according to his own account, had become intermediary between the German and French sects. Follenius was obliged to fly from Germany on account of a book which he had written. In order to save him Witt⁸ took upon himself the authorship of the book, but escaped any severe punishment, doubtless on account of his youth. Follenius and another German, Schmell, went to Coire in the Grisons of Switzerland and there met the Italian extremist Joachim Prati. According to Witt,⁹ Prati had been frequenting the German universities for some years past and was then engaged in setting up at Coire a centre of inter-communication between the revolutionaries of Italy and Germany. He is stated by Rinieri¹⁰ to have been special messenger of the "Unbedingten" (Unconditionals), one of the most extreme offshoots of the Tugenbund, which contained all the most virulent members of the Blacks mentioned above. According to Rinieri¹⁰ the three sectaries decided to found a central sect which was to co-ordinate sectarian action in all countries, the idea of the Illuminati, in fact; and for that purpose they set out for Paris.

¹ Pierantoni, vol. ii., pp. 297, 303.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 301.

³ Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., pp. 219-228.

⁴ Leti, p. 145.

⁵ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 22 *et subseqq.*

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷ p. 176. Note.

⁸ pp. xiii.-xiv.

⁹ p. 12.

¹⁰ *Costituti*, pp. 44-45.

With this visit to Paris began a series of intrigues and negotiations set forth by Rinieri,¹ which I will describe, not because of their importance, but because they give us an idea of the sectaries' methods and way of acting. On their arrival in Paris, Follenius and Schmell met Witt, who in the meantime had also reached the French capital. Follenius had a letter of introduction to the famous Italian Freemason and liberal, Professor Salfi, but we know not whether he met him on this occasion. Witt introduced the two Germans to Cousin and D'Argenson, in this way placing them in touch with the revolutionary Directing Committee. This meeting was followed by an excursion to Montmorency in which the German Professor Stichlin and the French barrister Rey participated. Rey became later prominent in the founding of the new French Charbonnerie. This society was not the old Craft Association of the eighteenth century but a revolutionary society with the same name. He informed Follenius that, as we already know, a society, such as he was thinking of founding, already existed, and, in the absence of a definite name, was known as the *Union libérale*. It had no clear cut political object but cherished republican leanings, and it was trying to enter into communication with all sects, whatever their nature. I do not think that we shall be far wrong in recognising in this *Union libérale* one of the numerous façades adopted by the Grand Firmament to conceal its manœuvres. A similar façade had been formed by the *Union* in the same year, January, 1819, ostensibly to defend the liberty of the press, in reality to screen its activities. Follenius and the Frenchmen then discussed the affiliation of the *Unbedingten* to the body which ruled the *Union*. By this time Witt had grown cautious; he had placed himself under the protection of Count Serre, the ex-minister for Justice, and the murder of the Duke of Berry had disgusted him. He accordingly refused to have anything to do either with the *Union* or the committee; but he did not sever his connection with the secret societies, as we shall see.

Count Confalonieri, the Milanese liberal leader, now comes into the picture. As we have seen, he had been informed regarding the *Adelphie* by Angeloni some time before. At his trial he stated that during the winter of 1819-1820 the chief liberal centre in Paris was the directing committee of the newspaper "*Minerve*", which included noted French liberals like Benjamin Constant, Etienne and Jay. The "*Minerve*" had succeeded the "*Mercure*" which had been suppressed in 1817, and it busied itself with liberal propaganda throughout Europe. We know that copies of it were eagerly sought and read in Italy and especially in Piedmont. Confalonieri himself wrote to his fellow liberal Count Porro to obtain copies and send them to Milan.

It was becoming clear by the end of 1819 that the revolutionary movements in Italy engineered by the Carbonari must soon come to a head. The Grand Firmament would have preferred to start the revolution in France and, as we have seen, had taken some steps to that end. But the intensification of police supervision which resulted from the murder of Kotzebue by Sand on the 23d of March, 1819, and the attempt on Ibell, president of the Regency Council of Nassau, on the 1st of July of the same year, rendered the prospect of a rising hopeless. When the outbreak in Spain early in 1820 seemed to provide a favourable opportunity, the Grand Firmament decided to foster a rising in Italy in support of the Spanish rebels.

In the winter of 1819-1820 Prati and Schmell had asked Witt to go to South Italy in order to establish a connection between that Kingdom and the sectaries in the other parts of the peninsula; but Witt² was still cautious and pointed out that there were already two Neapolitan sectaries in Bavaria, Micheroux and Ripa, who would be far more suitable instruments for this purpose than himself. Micheroux was secretary to the Duke of Gallo, a prominent Neapolitan

¹ *Costituti*, pp. 40-45, 78-84, 98, 115-117.

² Witt, pp. xv.-xvii.

liberal who, after the outbreak of the Neapolitan revolution, was sent as envoy to the Congress of Laibach and was detained in Lombardy on his way by the Austrian authorities and refused admission to the Congress. During the investigations into the Carbonarian plots of 1820-1821 in Lombardy, the Austrians questioned some of the Romagnols brought before their inquiry as to the activities of Micheroux. We do not know whether Witt's suggestion was adopted.

At this time yet another society appeared in France, the Sandists, no doubt named so after the murderer of the German minister Kotzebue. When the Spanish outbreak took place this society was used to set up connection with the sectaries in Italy; and Prati and another German sect leader, Gräter, were sent to Genoa, where they came into contact with Rattazzi, Appiani and Palma, Piedmontese Carbonari who became leaders of the rebellion of Alessandria in March, 1821. These leaders told Witt after the suppression of the revolution, when they were in exile, that, had they been willing, they could have secured admission to the Sandists through Prati and Gräter. It is at this time, January, 1820, that a great Adelfian Synod was held in Turin and decided to set up an Adelfic Congress for all Italy and to work for a Jacobinical republic. We do not know whether Prati and Gräter attended. This was the congress attended by the Austrian agent or Adelfo, who turned King's evidence, who has been already mentioned. He delivered to the authorities not only a full report of the Turin meeting, but also a "book" of the Adelfian constitutions. The information he gave was later confirmed by the documents seized at the time of Andryane's arrest. No special action seems to have followed the Turin Congress.

Witt himself went to Switzerland with Follenius in the summer of 1820, just before or just after the Neapolitan outbreak, and a little later came to Genoa to see Prati. No practical result followed on all these activities, as we know that the liaison between the various Italian movements was extremely bad. Prati left for Lausanne, where he tried to convert the Masonic Lodge there to the Misraim Rite, whose adherents, according to Mrs. Webster, were active supporters of the sectaries. There he was within easy reach of Buonarroti and his centre at Geneva. Witt returned to Paris and became a member of a sectarian committee which dealt with Piedmontese affairs.

For the success of the revolutionary movement in the North of Italy it was essential to secure the co-operation of the Piedmontese and Lombards. Buonarroti and Angeloni had already been at work on this task. In the summer of 1820 Count Confalonieri, who was the recognised leader of the Lombards—the Grand Firmament had given orders to all its adherents to await the signal from him—was visited by a Maltese called Tartaro, who had connections with London and Paris. Tartaro pretended to be an agent of the Universal Bible Society and was travelling through Italy from South to North. He informed Confalonieri of yet another society with the prodigious name of "Universal Society for the betterment and perfecting of social institutions" and showed him its programme. He also visited Mompiani, who was engaged with Confalonieri in establishing schools for mutual instruction. This Universal Society was another of the Grand Firmament's blinds, and the use of the Universal Bible Society as a cover for sectarian emissary is said to have been common at this time, though probably the Bible Society was quite unconscious of the use to which its organisation was being put. At his trial Confalonieri said that the Universal Society had met with a certain amount of success; he knew of its existence in Switzerland at Geneva, in England, Poland and Prussia, but Tartaro's propaganda in the Romagne and Tuscany had failed. It was not Masonic, but, following the usual Adelfic method of procedure, it was trying to graft itself on to other sects. We hear no more of this society.

These few scraps of information of the activities or suspected activities of the Grand Firmament show us how the leaders of the Adelfi were trying to bring about their object. For their efforts they had little but failure to show. They

did all they could to help the Carbonarian rebels, but these were mostly honest patriots. When their risings had succeeded, they kept the subversive elements strongly in check and reduced them to harmlessness. As regards the Neapolitan revolution of 1820, Confalonieri himself tells us that the effect of foreign influence on that rising was very small indeed. Only after the rebellion's success did the literary works of the liberals gain a certain amount of currency and the "Minerve" serve as a model for the Neapolitan "Minerva". It is not known whether the Adelfia ever penetrated as far as Naples. Neapolitan towns are mentioned in the list of Adelfic centres in FO 70/92, but we are not given the name of the kingdom itself. The only information which may have a bearing on this point is that there was a suspicion current in Naples¹ that the known leaders of the Carbonari in Naples were but puppets directed by hidden chiefs, among whom it was said were Morelli, Silvati and the priest Menechini who brought about the outbreak. Witt² tells us of a High Vendita of 11 members, which eventually amalgamated with the Grand Firmament and had been obviously in close touch with it. This incident will be discussed later. The Carbonarian chief assembly in Naples had over 180 members and cannot have been the smaller body mentioned by Witt. It is therefore possible that this council of 11 was a smaller esoteric body, possibly Adelfian. This, however, is but surmise. In addition we know that there were some extremist elements in South Italy whose aim was a republic and caused a considerable amount of trouble to the constitutional, moderate government, but these were overmatched. We do not know how far the Adelfi may have influenced these; all we can say about the connection of the Adelfia and the Neapolitan revolution is that there is reason to think that the original impulse may have been due to a secret body subject to foreign influence, and this body may have been Adelfian. On the other hand, the Neapolitan movement was remarkably local and self-contained, and we have hardly any real evidence of foreign interference.

In the case of Piedmont, the Adelfi were already established in the country and had succeeded in bringing about a certain amount of co-operation between the sects, as stated. When Naples rebelled, the Grand Firmament endeavoured to rouse the North in support of the South, as has been related. The Adelfi had a special cypher for the King's cousin Prince Charles Albert of Carignano, the designated leader for the rising, viz. $21 \frac{1}{4}$ = Charles, $21 \frac{1}{2}$ = Albert. It was even rumoured in the Romagne, as we have seen, that the Prince was an Adelfo, which was absurd. But the only Adelfi who took a prominent and open part in the revolution were Lieutenant Garelli at Alessandria and Lieutenant Laneri in Savoy. On the day that Turin rose, it was noted that many people of sinister appearance marched through the streets and some of the citizens shut their doors through fear of them. On the 14th March the crowd adopted a very threatening attitude, when it demanded a constitution from Charles Albert, who had become Regent after the King's abdication; but even then it dispersed quietly when its object was achieved and there was very little disorder. Such subversive elements as existed had far more influence on the mind of the Regent himself than on the course of events. The story of the negotiations between Piedmontese and Lombards has been told in my paper on the Carbonari. In spite of the Grand Firmament's pressure they came to nothing. The Adelfi in fact were in a small minority in loyal Piedmont and could do little to influence the objects of the conspirators, while in Lombardy Confalonieri had apparently become convinced that the Piedmontese would fail and refused to move unless they invaded the country. It is said that he became suddenly aware of the existence of a subversive sect, and this cooled his ardour. This sect was of course the Adelfia. Confalonieri possibly only then realised its sinister character. The incident which opened his

¹ *Memoirs of the Carbonari*, p. 87.

² p. 5.

eyes is said to have been a proposal by the Parmesan Adelfi to murder the Austrian commander Bubna.

In the Duchies of Parma and Modena the Adelfi set up a new form of the Carboneria, in which an oath was sworn to strive for the freedom of Italy, another example of their usual method of procedure.¹ It was intended to rise in favour of Piedmont at an opportune moment and demand a constitution, a very mild demand indeed in view of the real nature of the Adelfi's aim, and the idea was even suggested of fusion with Piedmont, which was very advanced political thinking at that period. But when every possible instance has been cited we find that the effect of the Adelfi's action was very small. The Romagnol emissary Pasquali, sent to Piedmont just before the revolution broke out, who was himself an Adelfo, reported that though the Adelfia was widespread it possessed little influence and that no one of importance belonged to it. When the outbreak had taken place the power was seized by the patriots, who, though revolutionaries, were faithful to their King: they dominated the movement and any attempts at subversive action were sternly discountenanced. In the North also, we must conclude that the Grand Firmament had effected very little.


By April, 1821, the failure of the Italian revolutions was complete. The victorious reactionaries at once took steps to sever all the threads of the conspiracies. Witt was expelled from Piedmont by Count Thaon di Revel, the representative of King Charles Felix. In Lombardy inquiry was proceeding, soon to be followed by arrests. From Naples and Piedmont fugitives streamed abroad in thousands. After his expulsion Witt met in Switzerland Rattazzi, Appiani and Palma as well as other prominent Piedmontese revolutionaries. He met also two Neapolitans whom he calls 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. La Cecilia, the Neapolitan Carbonaro, tells us that Clercon, as he spells him, had drawn the Austrian Marshal Frimont's attention to the possibility of an outbreak of the reactionary sect of the Calderai in Naples during the Austrian occupation which followed the Revolution. In view of later events this connection of Clercon with the Austrians should be noted. The mission of the two Neapolitans was to carry into effect a decision to dissolve the Carbonarian High Vendita, or ruling body of the Carboneria, in Naples. The body in question was the small council of eleven members mentioned by Witt. The proposal was due, not to the fear of detection by the authorities, but to the necessity for regaining that secrecy from the general body of the Carbonari which had been lost during the revolution, when the secret leaders had been obliged to come into the open to some extent. This reason, which is given by Witt, would seem to strengthen the supposition that this esoteric body was Adelfian, in view of the strictly observed maxim of the Adelfian chiefs to remain concealed even from their own followers. The two Neapolitans were to make the arrangements for the amalgamation of the High Vendita with the Grand Firmament. Clercon had also another proposal. He had been appointed Inspector General of the Carboneria in France and Switzerland and he was to offer the Inspector Generalship for Germany to Witt. He had brought the necessary patent with him. Witt accepted only when he found out that the alternative was to be the blood-thirsty Prati.² He found, however, that his instructions were incomplete and approached Buonarroti at Geneva on the subject. Although the question he raised was apparently purely Carbonarian business, a meeting which seems to have been under the ægis of the Grand Firmament was called at Geneva of emissaries from all parts, including England. Buonarroti, Prati and Clercon attended. Witt had been rash enough to stay in a house on Piedmontese territory near Geneva: he was surprised by the royal police and taken to Turin, and was therefore absent.

¹ Rinieri, *Pellico*. Document 3, pp. 43-66.



² Prati eventually recanted and submitted to Austria. Nicoli, p. 103.

The Grand Firmament had already taken the first steps to repair the network of conspiracy in Italy which the failures of 1821 had destroyed. Two emissaries had been sent to Piedmont after Witt's expulsion, but they were arrested.¹ The meeting at Geneva now decided to send, to Lombardy this time, a Frenchman, Andryane, who was made Special Deacon of the Adelphees for the purpose. As Andryane was a vain, giddy young man, we can only marvel at the Grand Firmament's choice of instruments.² More wise was the suggestion that the various societies should drop their distinguishing signs and passwords and accept instead the symbols of the Sublime Perfect Masters. The Firmament's object is obvious to us, but, though in the course of time, circumstances made it necessary to introduce many simplifications, the Societies, and especially the Carboneria, persisted for the time in adhering to their distinctive rituals.

Meanwhile Witt, in the gaol at Turin, had found means to communicate with the outside world. At an early stage of his captivity he found on his bed in his cell in one of the prisons in which he was confined in Piedmont a note on which was written: "Whoever you be who enter into this room read carefully what is written over the door". This note was marked with the following signs:—

••• , — ••• ,  , ••• the marks respectively of the Freemasons,

of the Carbonarian Apprentices, of a Synod of Sublime Perfect Masters (here Witt is wrong, as a Synod could be composed of only Sublime Elects). According to Gyr, this was the mark of the Society for European Regeneration. In a footnote to his book Witt gives the marks somewhat differently:—

••• , ••• ,  ,  , which were namely those of the Carbonari,

the Society of European Regeneration, a Church of Sublime Perfect Masters and of a Synod of the same (wrong again). Over the door was the inscription "Be you guilty or innocent, never admit your crime", followed by the same four marks as in the note.³ It is not surprising, therefore, that, as he states⁴ himself, he was able to send letters to Clercon, the Marquis d'Argenson, Archbishop Grégoire and the liberal Prince of Würtemberg and to Milan. On December the 10th, 1821, a few days before his arrest, Count Confalonieri received a letter full of small sheets of paper.⁵ On the inside of the envelope was written: "An East wind will bring you these papers. You are to take charge of them. From the gaol in Turin". Salvotti, the Austrian judge who inquired into the conspiracies, says that this letter had been addressed in Paris by Witt himself. This seems to have been true, except as regards Paris, for Witt became greatly alarmed on hearing of Confalonieri's arrest, as he had signed the letter with his cypher as Princeps Summus Patriarchus in the Carboneria. It seems more probable that the missive was sent from the Turin Gaol and not from Paris. The letter contained a note for Confalonieri, which said: "The Duke of Fra Marino, under the name of Miricone (obviously intended to be Chiricone, that is Clercon), will come to you from the South. Give him the enclosed papers and he will give you news. You will give him those of your country. Be good enough to let Major Palma (the Piedmontese conspirator then in exile) 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". The rest of the contents of the letter were introductions to Prince

¹ Witt, p. 72.

² Rinieri, *Costituti*, p. 111.

³ Witt, pp. 108, 112, 134.

⁴ p. 196.

⁵ Rinieri, *Costituti*, pp. 128-129.

Paul of Würtemberg, Grégoire and Jay. This letter was apparently seized at Confalonieri's arrest and may be the reason which led the Austrian authorities to ask for Witt to be handed over to them in Milan. He was to be questioned more especially concerning the sects known as the *Francs régénérés* and the *Orphelins de la veuve*. His interrogatory was deferred until a certain Austrian agent should arrive in Milan with some vital information; but before this could take place Witt had escaped. He wandered about Piedmont for some days, assisted by the Sublime Perfect Masters, whom he found in most localities, and finally crossed the frontier into Switzerland. A year later he was arrested at Bayreuth, on the 24th of February, 1824, was transferred to the Prussian authorities and finally to those of his own country, Denmark, where he was imprisoned and where he wrote his book while in gaol. He does not come into our story any more.

The agent for whom Witt was kept waiting turned out to be no other than Clercon, who had been a traitor throughout. He may also be the informer who handed over the Adelfic documents after the Turin Congress of 1820, though this is less probable. It is not surprising therefore that Andryane's mission came to grief. As soon as he arrived in Milan he was arrested by Count Bolza, the notorious Austrian police agent. Andryane was a shiftless young man, his arrangements were defective and he did not even succeed in destroying his papers, which all fell into Austrian hands. This was a severe blow to the Grand Firmament, as they revealed many of its arrangements throughout Europe. These papers and those delivered by the initiate at the Turin Synod of 1820 gave Metternich all the information he wanted.¹

Count Confalonieri had been arrested primarily because of his plotting with the Carbonari and their affiliated societies. Andryane's papers and other information implicated him in the general European revolutionary movement. In judging of Austria's conduct towards the Italian liberals, we must remember that her government regarded the Italian movement as a part only of something much wider and more dangerous, which affected the safety of the whole continent and the stability of the existing order of society. Confalonieri, at his famous interview with Metternich, was closely questioned as regards the machinations of the sectaries throughout Europe. He seems to have promised at one time to reveal all he knew, but changed his mind and was accordingly sent to the Spielberg. Although Confalonieri denied that he was ever initiated into a revolutionary sect he was very well informed as to the European movement. He foretold the rising of the Dekabrists which duly took place in Russia in 1825 at the death of Alexander I.

While the Grand Firmament was trying with disastrous results to restore sectarian activity in Italy, it was trying also to influence the many exiles who had flocked to France as a result of the failure of the revolutions. It is very difficult to trace out what it did, as the Emigration, the collective name given to the Italian exiles, dealt chiefly with the Directing Committee; and we do not know how far the Firmament was in league with that Committee or supported it from its secret hiding place. An attempt was made by the minister Pasquier to enrol the Italians into a society to be called European Regeneration,² which name is the same as that assumed by the united Adelphe and Philadelphie according to Witt and of the combination of societies which, according to Gyr, was formed by Oudet. Beyond this identity of names it is said by Witt to have been modelled on a French society called the *Francs régénérés*, on the subject of which Witt was to have been questioned in Milan, a somewhat significant fact. The society held one meeting at Lausanne on the 21st of August, 1821, a district swarming with dependents of the Grand Firmament. But the fall of the ministry, to which Pasquier belonged, brought this scheme to an end.

¹ See Appendix.

² Witt, pp. 218-225.

After 1822 we have hardly any mention of the Adelfi. The information which had fallen into the hands of the Austrian authorities enabled the reactionaries to deal so severely with the subversives that their whole organisation withered. The Grand Firmament's decrees quoted by Rinieri—see Appendix—show the desperate efforts made by the ruling body to undo the mischief caused by revelation and capture. According to Andryane,¹ the Adelfi had given up the idea of effecting a change within a given time by violent means; in fact the fulfilment of its objects had been put off to more favourable times. For the present it would limit itself to propaganda in favour of mild liberal institutions. But all the Firmament's efforts seem to have been in vain and the Adelfia disappears.

The Firmament itself, on the other hand, remained active for many years still. In the late twenties we find it in Bern, its name changed to Grand Amphitryon. Soon after it had to retire to Brussels. Just before the Paris revolution of July, 1830, it returned to the capital of France, and no doubt continued its mysterious activities. When the Italians were plotting the rising of 1831, and some deluded liberals were proposing to make Francis IV. of Modena, the arch reactionary, constitutional King of Italy, the Grand Amphitryon blessed the scheme when many shrewder liberals remained suspicious. This rising formed part of a series of revolutionary movements throughout Europe, and we may well believe that the Grand Amphitryon was continuing its hidden work. Mrs. Webster mentions after this time a "Haute Vente romaine", which, she says, became "Illuminist". This may have been yet another form of the Firmament, but is more likely to have been the body created by Buonarroti to revive the waning Carboneria in order to stem the advance of Mazzini's Young Italy which was supplanting it. In a letter of the 11th of October, 1832, Mazzini mentions a "Babylon", and it is possible that we have here an obscure reference, the last, to the once powerful secret body.

From this fragmentary evidence I conclude that it would be very rash to argue that secret revolutionary bodies with subversive ends did not exist outside the imagination of unreliable writers; the indications to the contrary are too many to allow of scepticism. If, however, we try to sum up the effect produced by the Grand Firmament and similar bodies on the history of their own times, it must be agreed, on present evidence, that despite much activity and energy the results were very small. The subversives, under whatever name they worked, never acquired the importance to which they aspired, still less that which they wished other people to believe that they possessed.

APPENDIX.

TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENT IN THE RECORD OFFICE.

[Words in square brackets are my own comments. The footnotes marked with an asterisk are those in the original document, mostly in the margin.]

[The document is in manuscript, half margin with occasional notes on the blank margin. Two copyists were employed on the work, to judge from the handwriting, and it does not seem as if they were high class Italian scholars, to judge from their mistakes. On the first page of the document there are the following notes in pencil on the blank portion of the half margin:]

"Statutes of a secret society embracing the whole of Italy. The secret names of place etc. are explained. I find a date 5815, which may mean 1811. There is a date 11 August 1820 (see page 27 [of the MS.])."

¹ Rinieri, *Pellico*. Document 5.

STATUTES OF THE SOCIETY OF THE ADELFI.

SECOND DEGREE. SUBLIME PERFECT MASTERS.

ART 1. The object of the society of the Sublime Perfect Masters is to spread natural science, to extend the rule of patriotism, of courage and of light, and to comfort and succour honest and unfortunate men.

Art. 2. The Sublime Perfect Masters respect the laws of the countries in which they live, obey those of their Order, the rules of the Church¹ and the requests of their Sages, they relieve the unfortunate, offer free help, correct vices and excesses of all kinds, they pursue the study of the moral sciences, they love silence, discretion and loyalty, they strive to enlighten men by means of appropriate books, wise addresses and exemplary conduct. They attend to the education of youth, they courageously defend innocence and misfortune, work for the diffusion of the society and keep an inviolable silence towards everyone who is not a member on anything regarding its (*sic*) organisation, its ceremonies and its symbols and everything which is transacted within it.

Art. 3. The Sublime Perfect Masters are divided into Churches.

Art. 4. Every Church has a president called the Sage, whose office is annual.

Art. 5. The Sage maintains order and decency in the Church, has the right to call its meetings, to preside over them and to direct their labours. It is his care to conduct and carry out its legitimate deliberations and to enforce strict observance of the laws of the Order and to attend to its interests. He is, besides, in charge of the tests.

Art. 6. The Sage is elected by the Church by a majority of the votes after notice repeated three times² by the outgoing Sage, who cannot admit as candidate any Sublime Perfect Master who has not reached the full age of 30 years.

Art. 7. The Churches meet in order to instruct Sublime Masters in the laws, institutions, rites and doctrines of the Order, to admit and initiate candidates, to assist the unfortunate, to carry on the business of the Church and to attend the fraternal banquets.

Art. 8. No resolution is valid unless approved by the Sage, who can also suspend and close discussions and close the labours whenever he thinks it desirable.

Art. 9. So far as possible, there will be in each Church two Grand Stars or Superintendents charged with assisting the Sage during the meetings and act for him when necessary; a Grand Pontiff or Orator charged with enforcing the observance of the laws and the maintenance of the purity of the doctrine, the instruction of the Sublime Perfect Masters, supervising and giving an account of their conduct; a Column or Grand Expert charged with the details of the initiations and ceremonies, a Secretary and a Cashier.

Art. 10. The Sage and the two Grand Stars form the Council of the Church; it has the administration and the direction of the Institution exclusively in its hands.

Art. 11. The Officers mentioned above are elected by the Church every year by a majority of the votes.

Art. 12. The two Grand Stars and the Grand Pontiff are nominated by the Church after notice repeated three times in respect of each of them by the outgoing Sage, who cannot accept the candidature of any brother who is not 30 years old.

Art. 13. No one can be admitted as Sublime Perfect Master unless he be of the full age of 25 years, if he be not a Master Mason, if he be not an European Patriot of the degree of Academician and Master Carbonaro, if he

¹ This word means Lodge, or the place of meeting of the Adelfi of the 2d degree.

² Literally "triplicate notice". I think the translation given above gives the intended meaning.

be not unanimously elected, if he has been condemned by the lawcourts for any infamous act or for reasons which reveal an evil heart, if he be lazy or irregular in his conduct.

[I think the "degree" qualifications stated above are alternative; very few can have possessed all the degrees mentioned. The wording is not clear.]

Art. 14. To every Church a Lodge of Freemasons will be attached; its administration and its property will be in the hands of the members of the Church.

Art. 15. European Academicians and Philadelphes of exemplary conduct shall be initiated in the three symbolical degrees without other expense than the reimbursement of the expenses incurred for their initiation.

Art. 16. The Lodges attached to Churches will take care to obtain their constitution from the Grand Orient of the country in which they work and will use no other ritual than that of the Grand Orient of France.

Art. 17. No one can be recognised as a Sublime Perfect Master unless he can answer accurately the signs of the degree.

Art. 18. In order to be admitted to the labours of a Church of which one is not a member one must give the pass word to the Sage and to him who acts on his behalf.

Art. 19. The pass word is forwarded to the Sage of each Lodge (*sic*) at the Spring and Autumn Equinoxes.

Art. 20. This word is sent out by the Grand Firmament.*

Art. 21. The Sage communicates it to the Council [of the Church].

Art. 22. He does not communicate it to other members of the Church unless they have to undertake a journey, and then only after hearing the views of the Council.

Art. 23. In the case of the Sage's death, the First Grand Star gives the notice thrice repeated for the nomination of his successor.

Art. 24. The Churches meet to elect their Officers on the Summer Solstice.

Art. 25. Voting is by ballot. The Column collects the votes and counts them in the presence of the Secretary and the Grand Pontiff.

Art. 26. The installation of the Officers takes place on the day of the feast of the Order.

Art. 27. No proposition can be approved or rejected on the day on which it is made, unless the Sage allows it to be discussed.

Art. 28. No one can speak in the Church except by leave of the Sage.

Art. 29. The essential characteristics of a well managed Church are friendship, decency, tranquillity, order, selfrestraint and dignity.

Art. 30. Each Church must draw up bye-laws for its internal administration and discipline, and these must conform to the laws of the Order.

Art. 31. The Sublime Perfect Masters engrave in their hearts the principles and the laws of the Order.

[Rinieri starts off this paragraph: Sublime Perfect Masters must abstain from putting anything in writing, etc.]

Art. 32. Nothing must be put in writing. After each meeting the Secretary draws up the minutes, and he must read them at the next meeting.

Art. 33. In case of serious difficulty, the powers of the Sage, given him under Articles 5 and 8, are exercised by the First Grand Star, to whom the Sage is bound to communicate all matters concerning his duty as they reach him.

Art. 34. The Blind** pay at their reception a sum of not less than 30 francs. Every member of the Church will pay a monthly contribution, fixed by the Council, of at least 1 franc. Two thirds of the funds of a Church must always be at the disposal of the Grand Firmament, which must be notified of the financial position of each Church Fund before the password is sent.

* This is the supreme directing Council of the society.

** Persons who are not members of the Society.

[As regards the Masonic Lodges attached to Churches of Sublime Perfect Masters, Rinieri¹ gives us the interesting information, based on the report of the Turin initiate, that when the Adelfi wanted to communicate with each other in a Lodge without letting the ordinary Masons into the secret, they used a code of words known only to themselves. In this code liberty was called "charity", revolution "secret" and arms "money".]

A. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

Art. 1. The right to deal with crimes against the security of the Order after denunciation pertains exclusively to the Deacons.

Art. 2. Every member of the Order is bound to reveal to a Deacon* any betrayal or indiscretion within his knowledge, adding any further information he has concerning the circumstances of the crime and the criminal.

Art. 3. These denunciations must be in writing and signed by the denouncer.

Art. 4. Whoever shall be convicted of having failed in this duty shall be punished as an accessory to the crime which he has not denounced.

Art. 5. A false accuser who shall be convicted of having acted with evil intent shall be punished with the same punishment as that which would have been inflicted on the accused, had he been guilty.

Art. 6. Death inflicted with due precautions shall be the penalty for crimes of this kind.**

[Rinieri gives further information on the Adelfian criminal procedure.]

B. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

The Grand Firmament decrees that the following articles be added to the statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters.

Art. 1. The Grand Firmament nominates Deacons or Agents to whom it grants all the powers which they require, so that the Sages may know them and see that they are acknowledged by others when necessary.***

Art. 2. Members of the society of the European Patriots holding the degree of Academicians and of the Philadelphes are received into the Order.

Art. 3. All European Academicians and Philadelphes who are not Freemasons shall receive the three first symbolical degrees without expense to themselves beyond those for their reception.

Art. 4. They can be proposed to the Churches by only the Council of the Church.

Art. 5. The Philadelphes and Academicians received in this manner shall be initiated into the Church summarily without any expense to themselves: Summary initiation consists solely in reading the statutes, the order of the labours, the extract, explanation and oath of the degree and the communication of the signs, grips, words and enigmatic questions.

Art. 6. It is essential that the Candidate should invariably write out and sign his oath beforehand and deposit it.

[Note in Rinieri "Under the Equator 22 day of 7th month 5812 (1822).] This is the decree of amalgamation of the Philadelphie and Adelphe. Witt gives another version—see text.

C. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

The Grand Firmament decrees as follows:

1. Each member of the Order must pay a contribution of one franc per month from the day of his initiation to the degree of Sublime Perfect Master,

¹ Document No. 8.

* These are the provincial or travelling emissaries of the Society.

** [No note corresponds to this.]

*** Wording is obscure.

in addition to any payment which may be imposed on him, under Article 34 of the Statutes of the degree, by the Council of the Church to which he belongs.

2. This decree shall be added at the end of the Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters.

D. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

In view of the report of the Travelling Deacon in charge of the correspondence with Argolis,* the Grand Firmament decrees as follows:

Art. 1. In default of regular election, the outgoing Officers of the Churches of Sublime Perfect Masters will continue to exercise their functions until an election is held.

Art. 2. The establishment of a central Treasury at Nicea** by the Travelling Deacon in Office is confirmed; The Deacon must report the amount contributed by each private fund.

Art. 3. Where the Adelfia is banned there will be no formal labours. Under the Equator the 1st of the 1st month of the year 6 of the true Light.

P.....

This translation, which was made with the authorisation of the Grand Firmament, has been compared by me with the original French version and agrees with it. Under the Equator the 1st day of the 11th month of the Year of the true Light 5819.

The Sage and Deacon

C.....

I

E ***

SUBLIME ELECT.

3/d DEGREE OF THE SOCIETY OF THE ADELFI.

As the degree of European Academician is necessarily the first step in this society as are also those of Master in Freemasonry and in the Carboneria, this degree is, therefore, the third and last of the Order.

Furniture etc. for a Synod.**** Three rooms are required. The first, for the Candidate's preparation, is simply decorated and the Candidate remains in it up to the time of his reception: it is lighted by a few lamps. There are a few chairs and a table, on which is placed the Book of Wisdom, which is that of the Dialogues of Phocion.

The Candidate wears the regalia of a Sublime Perfect Master.

The second is the Mystic Room; it is well lighted. On the walls all round are the letters O.T.E.R.O.B.A. At the end are steps on which stands a lion wearing a crown and a royal mantle. Any other analogous symbol can be used instead of the lion. The Cathedral of Nicea***** uses this symbol only for the candidates' tests, which will be described later; but for a reception it substitutes for it a bust of Cæsar wearing the imperial ornaments. There can be also other symbols relating to the degree, such as daggers, tricoloured ensigns, a statue of liberty and others of similar nature.

The third room is the Sanctuary. It is arranged like the Churches of the preceding degree with the exception of the modifications which follow. Five great mystic torches are placed as follows: two at the equinoctial extremities of the Meridians, two at their polar extremities and one at the Pole. The

* Lombardy.

** Turin.

*** I=Isotis (Equality), E=Eleutheria (Liberty).

**** This is the name of the meeting of those who hold this degree.

***** The principal body of the Order in Turin.

great symbolic A is placed in a regular pentagon. In front of the altar is a small transparency on which are the mystic numbers 14, 10, 21, 16, 22.*

The apron of this degree is white with a black edge and lining. It has in its centre a dagger surrounded by five red flames. The cord is black and has a small dagger attached to it by means of a small red knot. It is worn over the left shoulder to the right hip. The names of the Officers are the same as those of the preceding degree [see Arts. 4, 9]. In addition to the level, the Sage wears on his breast the letter O in a halo or glory. When a reception is held, a dagger is placed in the volcano.

1.

ORDER OF THE LABOURS.

The Rules and Regulations contained in the book of the degree of Sublime Master (*sic*) regarding the order of the sittings and the visitors are communicated to the Sublime Elects.

2.

TESTS.

When an Academician has been initiated into the mysteries of the Sublime Masters, the Sage and the Council must make every endeavour to discover if he has those qualities of mind and spirit which are indispensable for promotion to the highest degree, taking great care, however, never to mention anything to him beyond the mysteries of his own degree. The Officers of the Church will strive to discover his opinions by putting questions to him and making every effort to inspire him with confidence in themselves. All the members of the Synod have the right to propose any Candidates whom they judge worthy of promotion. No one can be proposed who is not a Sublime Master and of the full age of 21 years. At every meeting the Sage will ask the Brethren if they intend to propose any Sublime Master for initiation to the degree of Sublime Elect. The Brethren put forward their propositions *viva voce* and the Sage declares that all Sublime Masters who are of the required age and who obtain two thirds of the votes are duly proposed. From this moment it is the duty of the Council to observe the Candidates and to supervise the tests, which they must undergo, under the directions of the Sage. Above all the Council must ascertain that the Candidates are well instructed in the mysteries of the "Regenerative" societies and more especially the societies in activity at the particular moment, that they are ingenious, able, educated and capable to become heads of a society, that they know several languages and at least French, Italian and Latin, that they are not badly off, vicious or without reputation in their own country, in fact, men who are not likely to become a charge on the society's funds. The Council must assure itself as to their conduct towards the Order from the time of their first initiation to the degree of Academical and skilfully put their discretion to the proof by giving them some idea of the existence of this degree, but telling them that it has not been regularly drawn up. For this purpose it will show to the Candidate, as bases for such a degree, the symbols of the Mystic Room, and will contrive to make him set out in writing a scheme of ceremony for the superior degree. From this it will see whether he is sufficiently endowed with the necessary qualifications and if his ideas are sufficiently sound. The Council must in addition inquire as regards the desires, habits and defects of every Candidate. The Candidate must then present to the Council a declaration that he is ready to take an oath similar to that of the Degree. The assistance of the Intimate Brother must also be invoked, as in the

* These numbers indicate the 14th July, the 10th of August, memorable dates in the history of the revolution. The 21st of January is the day of the death of the King, the 22nd of September and the 16th of October the days on which died the Queen and Mme. Elisabeth of France.

preceding degree, and the courage and the disinterestedness of the Candidate put to the proof. The report by the Council to the Synod must be independent [The meaning is very obscure here] and must be unanimous in favour of the candidate. From the time that the candidate's name is proposed to that when the report is presented, no one is allowed to discuss the matter in the Synod. After reading the report and discussing it the Synod proceeds to a secret ballot on the question: "Should the candidate's instruction proceed?" Two thirds of the votes are required to pass this resolution; if it be rejected, the initiation does not take place. If it be passed the Synod nominates at once an "Enlightener" [Délucidateur] to perform the same duties as in the previous degree. This functionary will make his report one month later. Then the Sage will summarise all that has been said in favour and against the candidate and the Synod, in regular meeting and without taking account of the conclusions of the Grand Pontiff, will decide finally and orally as regards the promotion, which can be decreed only by unanimity of the members present. A Sublime Master whose promotion is rejected cannot be proposed again until a year has elapsed, and his name will be forwarded to the Firmament.

Art. 2.

PREPARATION.

The man who is capable to lift up his mind to the height of the principles of this degree is entitled to be greatly trusted. The only important point then is to assure oneself of his sincerity, which is done by means of the examination of his conduct in the Church and by means of the moral tests referred to above. The object then of the initiation is not to test the candidate, but to impress his imagination strongly and not to leave any doubt as to the doctrine held in the degree. On a day fixed by the Sage the Candidate is led into the Room of preparation. He is received by the Column* who will welcome him in a brotherly manner, but with gravity and, after making him don the regalia of a Sublime Master, will exhort him to patience and reflection and leave him alone in the room.

Art. 3.

OPENING OF THE LABOURS.

When the preliminaries prescribed in the previous degree have been carried out, the Sage gives six knocks, five and one (00000—0). The First and Second Grand Stars reply. The Sage comes to order and is followed by all the Brethren.

To come to order the hand is placed vertically on the breast, fingers apart. Then the Sage says: Brother First Grand Star, are you a Sublime Elect?

First Grand Star: I acknowledge the Pentagon, the five mystic numbers, and I bow before the glorious letter which shines on your breast.

Sage: Who are you, in your quality of Sublime Elect?

First G.S.: The son of Nature.

Sage: What is your call for help?

First G.S.: Vengeance.

Sage: What is your mission?

First G.S.: To free the earth and to destroy Royalty.

Sage: Brother Second Grand Star, What is your age?

Second G.S.: Nineteen less three.**

Sage: What is the age in which we live?

Second G.S.: The age of the republics.

* This is the "Terrible Brother".

** That is 92 years, as according to the ritual of the degree 5 represents one unit, thus $5 \times 19 = 95 - 3 = 92$.

Sage: Such being our mission, our desire and the age to which we have arrived, let us hasten, o citizens, to open our labours.

He gives the sign, which consists in holding up a number of fingers with his right hand. The Brethren all reply by showing the complementary number of fingers. If the Sage show five, all the Brethren show a closed fist, and vice versa.

The Sage gives the six mystic knocks. The Grand Stars repeat them. All the Brethren, led by the Sage, give the knocks of the degree, five and one, and the salute ends with the cry: "Long live the republic!" Then he says: "In the name of the Grand Firmament I declare that the labours of a Sublime Elect of the Sanctuary of . . . are open. Citizens, let us be seated".

In this degree each Brother uses his mystic name in substitution for his own, which it is forbidden to write or to utter.

Art. 4.

RECEPTION.

After the opening of the labours the business of the order of the day is transacted. If there be visitors, a report about them is made as in the previous degree, and on their admission they have to answer the questions of the opening. The Sage will then have the Statutes of the Order and the Bye Laws of the Synod read. As soon as the Candidate is shut up in the Preparation Room the Column informs the Sage secretly, who, when he thinks fit, gives one knock and speaks in the following terms: "By the decree of the . . . the Synod has agreed to receive in its bosom the Sublime Master N . . . in order to have the advantage of his advice in the important operations in which it will be engaged. Brothers Grand Stars, invite the Citizens who are at the two Meridians to give any reasons they might like to put forward for the annulment of this decree".

The Grand Stars rise from their seats, go along the Meridians and inquire separately from each brother. If there be any objections which have not been raised and discussed previously, the order of the day, which is the reception, can be passed only by unanimity. If the order of the day be rejected, the Column, on the instruction of the Sage, passes the Candidate through a mock reception ceremony, binding him with an oath to keep silence under the penalty of death and will warn him that in due time he will become acquainted with his new Brethren. In the contrary case, the Sage orders the Grand Pontiff to invite the Candidate to inform the Synod as to his opinions and to lead him to the Polar Door in the manner prescribed by the rules.*

The Grand Pontiff, accompanied by the Column and some other Brethren, leaves the Sanctuary and, on entering at the Preparation Room, embraces the Candidate and addresses him as follows: "My Brother, good and energetic Citizen, your lights on the politics of this Century, on the iniquities of the rulers, on the restiveness of the ruled and your zeal for true liberty have opened to you the access to this threshold. Here also men gather together, shed bitter tears over the loss of this freedom which is symbolised by the death of the Respectable Master of the Freemasons. You know that superstition, despotism, the pride of privilege were the real cause of that loss. We are all aiming at discovering the most suitable means to rebuild the symbolic Temple of universal happiness, which the murderers of humanity have destroyed from its foundations. You can co-operate effectively in our important search for the materials necessary to rebuild it. Do you wish to join your efforts to those which we are making ceaselessly for the success of so noble an enterprise?"

Can.: "Yes with all my energy".

* He is divested of all metal, wears his hat on his head, carries a dagger in his right hand and a tricolour scarf in his left hand.

The Grand Pontiff leads the Candidate to the Polar Door and gives the knocks of a Sublime Master. The First Grand Star reports to the Sage, who says: "Brothers Grand Stars, see who knocks". The report is made in the usual way. The Grand Pontiff answers: "I bring with me a Sublime Master, who is prepared to join his efforts to ours in rebuilding the Temple". The Grand Stars pass this reply back to the Sage in the usual manner. He says: "Find out his name, age, and the object he has set before himself".

The Grand Stars admit the Grand Pontiff, who replies to the Sage, after returning to his place: "The person I am presenting to you is called N . . . , he is 89 years old and appears to cherish in his bosom designs similar to those we are meditating".

The Sage says: "Citizens, to order and prepare to receive this Sublime Master with the honours which are due to him".

The Brethren stand to order as Sublime Masters. The Grand Stars admit the Column who introduces the Candidate and leads him to the Pole, standing to order in his degree. The Grand Star dictates the answers which he is to give to the Sage's questions.

Question: "N . . . , for what purpose have you come amongst us?"

Answer: "I have come to join my efforts to yours so that we may act together for the rebuilding of the sublime edifice of universal happiness".

QU.: "Are you a Sublime Perfect Master?"

An.: "I have travelled from the Pole to the Equator, I know the unhappiness which crushes the human race in a great part of the world and especially in Europe".

The Sage puts other questions in conformity with the ritual of the preceding degree, which the Candidate must answer. The Sage says: "Give to the First Grand Star the grip, the sign, the sacred word and the password of your degree". The Candidate obeys. The First Grand Star says to the Sage: "The grip, sign and words are correct". The Sage: "Exchange with the Brother Second Grand Star the questions and the enigmatic queries". This is done and the Second Grand Star reports the result. The Sage: "We can no longer have any doubts now as to your character and your lights; tell us, o Brother, your ideas regarding the means to be adopted in order to repair the evils caused by the loss of liberty brought about by the conspiracy of tyrants, priests and oligarchs.

The Candidate must explain his ideas. If he does not, he is reminded of the paper in which he has drawn up a scheme for a superior degree and is invited to expand it.

A discussion is set in train between the Candidate and the Grand Pontiff, who argues against him, so as to bring out further his abilities and the firmness of his principles.

Then the Sage says: "N . . . the weightiness of your reasoning, the clearness of your explanation and the unshakable spirit of freedom contained in your maxims give us further pledges of that confidence to which you are entitled from us. You were not admitted among us without the most weighty reasons; most important secrets will be revealed to you, but before we inform you of the great things we have good reason to expect from you, you must of necessity give us fresh new guarantees of your secrecy and your courage, in the following

Oath.

"I swear before the Great Architect of the Universe, on my honour and as a Sublime Master to reveal nothing, either to the Blind or to the Sublime Masters who shall not have done what I have done or have seen done, anything that I have seen or heard from the beginning of this ceremony as also anything that I shall see or hear hereafter. I swear also to write nothing of all this without the permission of the Head of the Church to which I shall be attached.

I swear to use all my physical, intellectual and pecuniary means to further the spread of the Order and to obey with the greatest fidelity and precision the orders of its Rulers, to track out evil and to promote the republican system. I will submit to the penalty of death, if I ever violate this oath''.

The Sage adds: "Have you any objection to confirming it?"

Answer: "No, not at all".

The Sage: "Rise, citizens, draw your swords and stand to order as Sublime Masters". He then repeats the oath, which is repeated word for word by the Candidate. He then continues as follows: "The fact that the chief of the assassins of liberty is alive is the greatest obstacle to the success of our schemes. It is necessary that crime should be punished in the most exemplary manner, so that no one may be tempted to commit it in future. Up till now our efforts have been in vain: that is why you see us wearing mourning. Nothing however can cool our zeal, and we have sworn not to reveal our secrets to anyone except those who have proved to us by their prudence and courage that they are animated by the same desire to avenge so deadly an attempt. Prepare for the high enterprise. Travel from the East to the West, from the Pole to the Equator, seek in the bowels of the Earth, in the most fiery volcanoes the weapon with which you must kill the scoundrel". The Column leads the Candidate five times from the Pole to the Equator, starting by the East and returning by the West. At every journey the Sage will pronounce these words: "Strength—Courage—Faith—Disinterestedness—Modesty". At the end of the last journey the Column places the Candidate between the Volcano and the Ocean, his back to the Equator. The Sage says to him: "Observe carefully that fire and that Phoenix: they are the symbol of the fire* which must come before a quiet and peaceful life [can be achieved]. Search in the Volcano for the weapon which you need".

The Column gives the dagger to the Candidate, and then the Sage continues: "Go to the shores of the Ocean and, by plunging the steel which has been given to you into its waves, give it that temper of virtue and that balance** without which you would aspire in vain to do good".

The Column makes the Candidate perform five more journeys starting by the West and back by the East. At the end of the fifth journey the Candidate is placed between the Volcano and the Ocean with his face to the Equator, and after plunging the dagger again into the water, he stands, dagger in hand, to order as a Sublime Master. The Sage says: "Go, strike and return in triumph". The door is opened, the Column conducts the Candidate into the Mystic Room and after a few moments of silence, invites him to engrave on his memory the meaning of the seven letters which he sees written on the walls of the Room and points them out to him, stating in a firm voice: "Occide Tyrannum et recupera omnia bona antiqua". He warns him then that he will not be able to receive the promised communication unless he repeats the word and the explanation which he has just been taught. Then he says to him: "Observe, reflect and follow the impulse of your conscience".

The Candidate must lay hold of the image, stab it and seize its ornaments.*** The Column gives him a brotherly embrace and leads him to the door of the Synod and knocks as a Sublime Master. The Grand Stars report and the Sage orders them to find out who has knocked. The Second Grand Star opens the door slightly and asks: "Who are you?" The Column answers: "Long live the Republic. Citizen N . . . , laden with the spoils of the enemy, comes to receive the reward due to his constancy". The Sage: "Let him come in, and you, Citizens, rise, draw your swords and come to order in our degree". (This is done).

* Revolution.

** Equality.

*** The crown and the mantle.

The Candidate enters with his dagger raised in one hand and the spoil in the other and says: "Justice is accomplished". All the Brethren answer "Long live the republic. Let the emblems of the most odious plot be destroyed by fire". The Candidate, led by the Column, throws the spoils into the Volcano, where they are at once consumed.¹ The Sage says: "May the fate of all tyrants, sons of Beelzebub, be the same. Now, o citizen, give us an account of all you have found out during the arduous journey you have made". The Candidate: "My eyes were struck by seven letters".—"What are they?"—"O.T.E.R.O.B.A."—"What is their meaning?"—"Occide tyrannos et recupera omnia bona antiqua".—"What is the word derived from them?"—"Oteroba".

[Rinieri, Document 4, gives the word as Tieboar, = Tyrannum interfice et bona omnia antiqua recupera.]

The Sage: "The citizen N . . is worthy of your trust: let him come to the Equator to achieve the object he has set before himself".

The Column leads the Candidate before the altar, where the Candidate lays down his dagger and stands to order as a Sublime Master.

The Sage: "The degree which you have suggested and in which you have exercised yourself exists and we possess it: It is that of Sublime Elect. What you have seen must have given you a sufficient idea of the principles on which it is based".

He makes him repeat the oath and, with the left hand on the dagger and on the book of wisdom,* he makes him pronounce the professions of faith of the degree with these words: "Credo veram libertatem existere tantum ubi omnes, nemine excepto, ad legem sanciendam vocantur; ibi populus vere dominus, ibi respublica.—Credo auctoritatem legum ab uno vel a pluribus exercitam electione esse conferendam, neque usquam hereditatis ratione, vel ad vitae tempus: Credo usurpatorem supremæ potestatis a quocunque obtruncandum.** Credo prudentiam (et sufficiens), sobrietatem, justitiam, laborem, humanitatis patriæ et gloriæ amorem, in alienos fidem, et honorum divitarumque odium esse æternam placida² libertatis propugnacula. Credo nil tantum bonum assequendum nefas. Credo cor et caelum virtuti semper præmium præstare".

FORMULA FOR INITIATION.

"In virtue of the powers delegated to this Synod by the Grand Firmament and of those conferred on me by the Synod itself I constitute the citizen N . . . Sublime Elect".

Having said this the Sage gives six knocks, namely five and one, on the sword which he has placed horizontally on the head of the Candidate: he gives him five fraternal Kisses, entrusts him with the grip, the sign, the sacred word, the password and the enigmatic questions in the following manner:

"The grip consists of five taps with the thumb on the knuckle*** and in addition a harder, separate tap. This is given simultaneously by the person who proves and the person who responds. The sign is given by the one who proves, by showing his hand right. The respondent completes it. The sacred word is Oteroba and is given as in the previous degree.

This word has another meaning, the meaning of perfection, which is communicated to the Candidate, it is: Omnium tyrannorum extructione**** republicanorum omnia beata assequuntur.

The password is "Phyleos".

¹ Rinieri says these can be a crown, a sceptre, etc. Document 4.

* The dialogues of Phocion.

** It seems that this ought to be "obtruncandum".

² Rinieri, pp. 43-66, gives "aes sufficiens" and "æternam placidæ", which is more grammatical.

*** The Italian says the "Ordinary joint".

**** It seems that this ought to be "extinctione".

The enigmatic questions are as follows: "D'ou venez vous?"—"Du mont Ida". "Que lisez vous?"—"Arton".*

"Qui vous guérira?"—"L'or et le mercure".

Both together "Amen".

After these instructions the Sage invests the Candidate with the cord and the apron of the degree, instructing him to wear them in the Church and Sanctuary but never in the Academy.

Then the Candidate goes to work between the two COL (?) (that is the constitutions and all that follows them are repeated) and to be recognised by the Grand Stars. The labour consists in writing on a piece of paper the name of the tyrant of the country in which the initiation takes place, then the dagger is plunged into the Ocean, the piece of paper is pierced and thrown into the Volcano. The initiated citizen is then greeted with the knocks of the degree. The salute ends with the cry: "Long live the Republic". The Candidate then sits down at the end of one of the Meridians.

Art. 5

INSTRUCTION.

Are you a Sublime Elect?—I am acquainted with the Pentagon, the five mystic numbers and the glorious name which shines on the breast of all Sublime Elects.

What is the object of the desires of the Sublime Elects?—A Republic.

How long have you been a Sublime Elect?—From the time that I was called to avenge the loss of our liberty as symbolised by the death of the Respectable Master Hiram.

How are the assemblies of the Sublime Elects called?—Synods.

And their place of meeting?—Sanctuary.

In what manner did you enter the Sanctuary?—With one and three.

Explain the meaning of this phrase.—Through constitutional monarchy, which was the object achieved at the beginning of the ever famous French Revolution by uniting the three orders, nobility, clergy and people, into a single one, we arrived at a Republic.

How were you received in the Sanctuary?—With liberty and fraternity.

What did you do then?—I have had the satisfaction of opening my heart, revealing my thoughts and putting my maxims into practice.

What objects have you seen?—The same which strike my eyes in a Church.

Did you see anything else?—Five great torches, a pentagon, a sacred cry expressed by the letter O and five mystic numbers.

What do the five torches mean?—Five great names which must accompany you during our operations.

Name them.—(All brethren come to order) Aristogeiton, Timoleon, Brutus, Oliver Cromwell, and the founder of this illustrious order.** (The brethren resume their seats).

What does the pentagon mean?—Its five perfectly equal sides indicate the five bases of a well-organised and lasting republic.

What are these?—Liberty, Equality, Law, Force, Justice.

What are the five mystic numbers?—Three less one, two, five less four, five less three, four less four.

How do you read them?—According to the rules of our art.

Explain to me these rules.—The number five is equal to a unit and is never uttered.

What do the five numbers mean?—The 14th of July, the 10th of August, the 21st of January, the 22nd of September and the 16th of October.

* This means Aristogeiton.

** Believed to have been Carnot.

What dates are these?—Those of the capture of the Bastille, the proclamation of the republic, the death of the tyrant, that of his wife, and that of his sister.

What does the letter O mean?—Occide.

What did the citizens demand of you?—An obligation and a proof of zeal.

Repeat your obligation. (This is done.)

What was the proof to which your courage was submitted?—I was given the honour of avenging liberty.

Who armed your arm?—A Column was my support.

Who directed your blows?—A sacred inscription enlightened my spirit at that moment.

What did you do?—I slew the tyrant and robbed him of his insignia and made a sacrifice of them on the altar of liberty.

How shall I know that you are a Sublime Elect?—By the grip, the sign, the sacred word, the password, and the enigmatic questions.

Give me the grip and show the sign.—(Done).

What is the sacred word?—It is given by letters.

What is its meaning?—(It is given).

Tell me the password.—Phyleos.

What does this word mean?—Tribe, it indicates our strong and intimate union.

Let us give in turn the questions of the degree.—(Done).

What is their meaning?—As Mount Ida, according to mythology, was the spot from which Jupiter hurled his thunderbolts, so our order, like that Mountain, is the centre from which must begin the slaughter of the tyrants. Aristogeiton, successor* of the sons of Peisistratus, offers us a sublime example of our duties. Gold being the most perfect of metals, points out the purity of our institutions which are animated not by ambition or vile passions, but by the holy love of humanity. And Mercury, by its fluidity, is the emblem of revolutions.

What is your age?—Nineteen less three.**

Why do you answer in this fashion?—Because the year corresponding to such a number, namely 1792, was the great epoch of the regeneration of France, being the establishment of a republic which opened a glorious path to all civilised peoples.

What are your hopes?—The triumph of the republic.

The Sage says Amen. Then [the handwriting changes here] he gives the following

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.¹

After long centuries of barbarism and abasement, in which the Monarchies and the Aristocracies, marching together in step and sustaining each other in turn, reduced the unhappy peoples to the condition of brutes, after having undermined the edifice of Roman Law to the point of setting up the infamous trials by water and by fire, the shameful right of cuisage and even of designating them by the insulting phrase: “Jaques le Bonhomme qui pleure et qui paie”. After so many centuries of misery and distress, despised humanity rose in a mass and, under the blow of that omnipotent two-bladed axe, the universal will, overthrew the Nobles and the Monarchs, the Aristocracy and the Priesthood, tyrants of different kinds, but leagued together for the purpose of maintaining ignominious slavery for ever. This noble enterprise began in France in the last eight years of the past Century. All peoples girded themselves to imitate this immortal effort, but egoism, ambition and pride led

* *Sic.* It ought to be uccisore = slayer.

** 92.

¹ A brief summary of this is given by Rinieri. He draws it from the Book of the Sublime Elects of the Synod inaugurated in Turin. It is in p. 55 of that book. This seems to be an alternative source.

to the wane of patriotic fervour in that republic. An oligarchical Directory arose disguised by the apparel of liberty, a Dictator came to tread equality under foot and laid the first foundations of the most tremendous despotism that has ever afflicted humanity, while pretending to further the principles of the revolution in order to bend them all to his own advantage. He believed in his pride that the republic had been made for his own advantage and he cast immense chains over every branch of European culture in order to bind it all to his own tyrannical throne. It was then that the true sages, the true philanthropists, the pure republicans joined together, bound by secret, indissoluble knots, in order to oppose the torrent of revived tyranny, and, making use of the mysterious institutions already in existence, they created others within them, prescribing for the new societies as their solemn profession of faith the overthrow of the despot and the restoration of the republic. The Philadelphes of France insinuated themselves into the Masonic Lodges, the Free Patriots of Germany grafted themselves on to Illuminism, the order of the Northern Guelfs put on the garb of public philanthropical societies, and all these political associations together contributed to bringing about the accomplishment of European regeneration, which had been delayed but not thrown into chains by the strength of the new Cæsar. Men most revered for their patriotism, most disinterested, most enlightened, most honourable placed themselves secretly at the head of those liberal societies and together founded the immortal and powerful Order of the Adelfi. In raising this colossus and placing it in the van of public opinion and of the patriotic feeling of the civilised world, they adopted as sacred guiding principles of conduct those enunciated by the French Revolution. In this way they gave regular form to their institutions and the Adelfia became the hub of the great wheel of the regeneration of all peoples, which is advancing with great strides.

You have seen how this great work is put into effect, and observed the society's method of proceeding and the line of advance along which we must urge the spirit of men.

Admission to one of the principal patriotic societies scattered throughout Europe is equivalent to receiving the first degree of the Adelfi, and if the Adelfi preferred the Academic degree of the European Confederation, it was because that society was most widely spread in Central Europe, where the Adelfi were set up. But the Guelfic Order in the North and the Carboneria in Italy served equally as the first degree of the Adelfia for the purpose of allying, in theory at any rate, the mysteries of the Confederate Europeans to those societies' rites. After taking this first step, we commemorate in our second degree the reform of absolute monarchies into constitutional governments and our mystic labours are concerned with the memories of the revolution of 1789. By leading the Candidates unconsciously towards the animating principle of our Order we induce them to pass willingly and of their own choice into the third degree of our profession, that of Sublime Elect (to which you also, o citizen, have contributed with your researches, to the point of guessing part of it and giving it a reasonable form) and to adopt the dogma of the republic. We will not repeat the explanation of the emblems which surround you. You know them already; and the symbolical accomplishment of the sacred enterprise with which you were entrusted and the oral recital of our catechism must have given you further enlightenment. The five epochs which we celebrate are, however, the most interesting points in a knowledge of this degree. The establishment of the Republic and the slaying of the tyrants are the model set before us by them. Already in 1792 the sacred legion of tyrannicides had begun to overrun Europe in order to purge her of the enemies of liberty; already some of the great ones had fallen under the avenging dagger, which thirsting for that evil blood was ready to shed it in great torrents, when the illomened Directory, allying itself with the European Oligarchy, put a stop to the magnanimous enterprise.

But what use is it to complain of the past and of lost opportunities? Let us concern ourselves with the present and work with unshaken firmness and proceed without perturbation.

We have told you that the path traced by you for the human spirit must be followed slowly and steadily after the manner of this Society. This theory is easily put into practice.

As soon as one sees a civilised people, alarmed by the abuses of absolute power, discontented with the present, uncertain as to the future, one must immediately spread among this people constitutional maxims, inspire it with a desire for such objects and reveal that these constitutions are the only aim for wise men. You need not imagine that the passage from arbitrary power to the representative system is more difficult in states ruled by moderate monarchies, where the people considers itself happy; it is a natural tendency to wish to enjoy as a right what one really possesses only in virtue of a concession; the people in such a state is predisposed to reform, the only question which arises is how to make the privilege safe for the future. The desire for reform spreads and is adopted without opposition. Such is the passing from the Academical Degree, model of an elementary liberalism, to that of Sublime Perfect Master.

The Gothic and Vandal government of our barbarous ancestors had struck such deep roots in Europe, that monarchs and nobles are to this day regarded with superstitious awe by peoples. To attack these idols direct would alarm the mass of the populations, who would easily be induced by our enemies to think that it was proposed to substitute the tyranny of many in place of the not too heavy yoke of the mighty ones of the age, instead of a wise freedom. We must then begin to belittle them and to accustom the people to the mild rule of equality. As soon as the people, after being duly educated and made fit to receive it, is ready to accept with enthusiasm this political reform, it is desirable to please it as much as possible by flattering its favourites and raising them to the rank of the most distinguished heroes of mankind and to make both them and it think that the promotion of constitutional reform would be to their mutual advantage.

If this reform be imperfect, the people becomes discontented with the natural alliance between the aristocracy and the monarch. The nobility, unwilling to make concessions, alarms the monarch with the supposed dangers of this course. The monarch repents of the concessions made and wishes to withdraw them. Thus we have open enmity between the people and the nobles, and a king, to whom the name of a Marcus Aurelius had been attributed, comes to be regarded as a Nero.

If the reform be successful and the monarch agrees to it in good faith, one must foment disagreement between him and the nobility, for the aristocracy, powerful because of its wealth and its renowned descent, creates within the state an opposition party, which undermines the monarchy. Then comes the day of conspiracy. The monarchy is destroyed and on its ruins is set up, not an oligarchy, for the oligarchs, powerful enough against the King, are weak as against the people, but a republic. It is a strange fact that where the monarchy and the nobility are not abolished, they are bound owing to an inborn tendency to enter into an alliance. Then the day must come of necessity in which the Ruler makes a mistake and then the government is easily changed into a free régime. Once the people has come to regard the principal agent of the executive power as inferior to itself, it easily destroys, once the first enthusiasm is past, the symbol which it has itself set up.

It is indispensable above all to infect the people with hatred and envy against the nobles and the clergy, and this is easily done provided the people taste blood and become the aggressor. The offender never forgives the offence. The people must therefore be strenuously urged against the nobles and the high clergy. Already the riches of the first and the hypocrisy of the latter have

become objects of suspicion to it and form the subject of its satires. On the day of the popular movement the temporary triumph of the poorest rabble of the mob must be allowed, it must be permitted to pillage and imbrue itself in the blood of the patricians and priests. Its hatred and enmity will exceed all bounds and will never be appeased.

These are the means by which one passes from a constitutional monarchy to the republic. For these reasons you were made to plunge your dagger into the abhorred symbol and you were allowed to seize its regalia. Such is the passing from the degree of Sublime Master to that of Sublime Elect.

Let these deep truths, these deep lessons, the fruit of mature experience, be your guide in the glorious course you have undertaken. Impress on your mind your sublime mission, you are the people's educator, the head of the mysterious free societies, the promoter of Republics, the apostle of freedom and equality. Long live the Republic". All the Brethren answer "Viva".

Art. 6.

END OF THE LABOURS.

After the formalities prescribed by the preceding degree the Sage says: "Brother First Grand Star, what remains for us to wish?"

"Perseverance in our designs."

"What hour is it?"

"The hour of liberty which has already struck."

"Brother Second Grand Star, what remains to be done?"

"To fulfil our oath."

"What is this oath?"

"Long live the Republic."

The Sage: "Such being our mission and our vow, citizens, I invite you to join me in closing the labours of Sublime Elect of the Synod of . . ."

The Grand Stars repeat the announcement. The Sage gives six knocks in the usual form. He rises and is followed by the Brethren. He comes to order, gives the sign, the Brethren do the same and reply. Then all together give the knocks of the degree followed by the salute and the Sage says: "The Sanctuary is about to be closed. The labours of Sublime Elect are ended: let us go in peace."

Art. 7.

BANQUETS.

Banquets are rare. They are held in accordance with the rules prescribed in the previous degree. For the second toast the following is substituted: "Long live the Republic". The "exercise" (?) * is carried out with five and one.

Art. 8.

FEASTS.

The Sublime Elects hold each year four feasts. The Grand Pontiff must make a speech on each occasion explaining historically the symbols of the Degree.

The feasts take place on the 21st of January, the 14th of July, the 10th of August and the 22d of September.

III.

STATUTES.

Art. 1. Articles 1. and 2. of the Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters apply to the Sublime Elects.

* It is not known what this exercise is; perhaps it is a "fire".

Art. 2. The Sublime Elects are divided into Synods.

Art. 3. The Synods meet in order to instruct the Sublime Elects as to the laws, ritual and doctrine of their degree, to hold the feasts, to admit and initiate Candidates, to direct the deliberations of the Churches to which they are attached and to look after their administration.

Art. 4. The Synod, so far as possible, will have, like a Church, five Officers with the same titles.

Art. 5. The Sage, the two Grand Stars and the Pontiff will be the same persons as those who hold those offices in the Church.

Art. 6. The council of the Synod is the same as that of the Church. It exercises the same powers.

Art. 7. The Secretary, the Cashier and the Column are elected every year by a majority of the votes.

Art. 8. Votes at the elections are given by show of hands.

Art. 9. Three Brethren are enough to form a Synod.

Art. 10. There can be no valid discussion except with the Sage's approval, who can put an end to it, postpone the deliberations and close the labours, if he think fit.

Art. 11. Nevertheless the Council, with the addition of the Grand Pontiff on such occasions, can overrule the Sage, provided the vote be unanimous and his reasons have been heard.

Art. 12. The powers of the Officers of the Synod are the same as those exercised by them in the Church.

Art. 13. Arrangements for the elections are made one month before the summer solstice.

Art. 14. The installation of the Officers takes place one day before the feast of the Sublime Masters.

Art. 15. The correspondence between the Synod and the Church and the Grand Firmament is carried on solely through the Sage, who for that purpose is given the full confidence of the Order.

Art. 16. The new Sage immediately after his installation receives from the outgoing Sage all instructions regarding this correspondence and swears between his hands not to reveal anything about it under pain of death.

Art. 17. Articles 22, 27, 29, 31 and 32 of the Sublime Masters apply to the Synods.

Art. 18. If the Sage is prevented for valid reasons from performing his duties, the powers given him under Articles 10, 15 and 16 are exercised by the First Grand Star, to whom the Sage communicates all the secrets of his office as soon as they are entrusted to him.

Art. 19. On the occasion of their initiation to the degree of Sublime Elect, Sublime Masters have to pay a subscription which is fixed by the Council, but which cannot be less than 30 francs. Two thirds of the income of the Synod is always held at the disposal of the Grand Firmament, which must be informed of the state of each Synod's account before it forwards the word of recognition.

Art. 20. The income of the Charity funds forms part of the Funds of the Order.

RELATIONS OF THE SYNOD AND THE CHURCH.

These relations are concerned with: 1st the elections, 2d the discussions, 3d the initiations to the mysteries of the Sublime Perfect Masters.

Art. 1.

ELECTIONS.

The triple announcement which the Council is obliged to issue to the Church concerning the nomination of its Officers are drawn up by the Council in a secret ballot and by the majority of the votes.

Art. 2.

DELIBERATIONS OF THE CHURCH.

The Synod is the unknown director of the deliberations of the Church. If it is desirable to refer the discussion of some business to the Council of the Church, the Synod must be consulted and the Council shall no longer then be empowered to make the decision. The Sage, in exercising his veto, will conform to the decision of the Synod and its intentions.

Art. 3.

INITIATION TO THE MYSTERIES OF SUBLIME MASTER.

The Council of the Church must consult the Synod before making its report to the Church and will submit to it all the relative information and papers. The Firmament¹ will decide by ballot and unanimity if a report is to be made to the Church. Failing unanimity no report will be made and the Candidate's initiation will not take place. Before coming to a final decision, the Synod can order the Church to make additional tests, when it thinks it desirable.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH REGARDING INITIATIONS.

The Council may employ any means it thinks necessary in order to find out the feelings of the Candidate. It must order an intelligent brother, known by the designation of Intimate Brother, who is capable of gaining and enjoying the Candidate's whole trust, to insinuate himself into his confidence. This Brother will have to try, in accordance with the instructions of the Council, to induce the Candidate by means of skilful questions to reveal his views on all points which it is important to know, to arouse in him a desire to be initiated and to draw up daily a statement of all that he has heard him say or seen him do. All this will be written in a report which the Candidate² must submit to the Synod and to the Church if necessary. He must also obtain the documents mentioned in the book of the Sublime Masters.

SUPERVISION OF THE LIBERAL SOCIETIES.

Sublime Elects are bound to reveal to the Synod all information which they can gather concerning newly formed liberal societies whose existence has come to their notice. Should the Synod deem it necessary, it will take steps to have its members admitted to them in order to acquire over them that influence which their considerable knowledge should give them, which will be supplemented by all the information in possession of members of the Synods and the Churches. The treasury of the central Cathedral will defray all the expenses for this kind of service, which will be under the special supervision of the Travelling and Territorial Deacons.

These several societies will, when opportune, provide recruits for the Order, and then action will always be directed towards the achievement of the sole, true object of the Order's labours.

Sublime Elects will also discover and keep under observation hostile societies, who hold opposite views, and will denounce them to the Travelling and Territorial Deacons, who will concert direct with the Grand Firmament the measures to be taken in respect of them.

E. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

The Grand Firmament decrees that the following articles be added to the Statutes of the Sublime Elects.

¹ This seems to be an error for "Synod".

² This seems an error for "Intimate Brother".

Art. 1.

The Deacons are divided into Travelling, Territorial and Extraordinary Deacons. The powers of the Travelling Deacons have no fixed limit. Those of the Territorial Deacons are confined to the limits of the district assigned to them by the Grand Firmament.

Art. 2.

The Sages are subordinated to the Travelling and Territorial Deacons and must execute their orders.

Art. 3.

The Travelling Deacons are superior to the Territorial Deacons.

Art. 4.

Travelling and Territorial Deacons are charged with the supervision, direction and instruction of Churches and Synods, the propagation of the Order and its doctrine, the constitution of new Churches and Synods, the supervision of Treasurers and their funds, the duty of receiving and closing their accounts, but only as far as the funds belonging to the Order are concerned.

Art. 5.

Travelling Deacons are charged in addition with the task of correcting and perfecting the explanation of the mysteries, preserving uniformity and taking such measures in urgent cases as may be required, always however conforming to the laws.

Art. 6.

The duties of the Extraordinary Deacons are defined by their commissions.

Art. 7.

The power of initiating a Candidate summarily to the mysteries of Sublime Perfect Master and Sublime Elect has been conferred on Travelling and Territorial Deacons for three years from the date of the present decree, provided they conform to the rules prescribed in the order of the labours, and then only at a distance exceeding three postal leagues from a regular Cathedral,* or less, if authorised by a decree of the Grand Firmament.

Art. 8.

A Philadelphie, a Guelf and an Academician of the second degree of the European society, who is a Sublime Master, can be proposed for admission to a Synod. This proposition will be followed by the appointment of an Enlightener, after which will follow his admission or rejection, as set forth in the book of the labours.

Art. 9.

After a Philadelphie or a Guelf have been admitted, he will be initiated by the Synod summarily and free of expense.

Art. 10.

At a summary initiation there will take place only the reading of the Statutes, the Order of the labours and their explanation, the oath and the communication of the signs, the words and questions.

* A Cathedral is a higher establishment of the Order, composed of deputies from the Synods and Churches of a Province.

Art. 11.

Previous presentation of an obligation signed by the Candidate is essential.

Art. 12.

Only the Sage is entitled to hold the books and the Statutes of the Degrees of Sublime Master and Sublime Elect; he must copy such acts in quadruplicate in a Register for each degree and to keep the copies separately in a place of safety, of which he will inform the Council. He must pass them on to his successor and never leave them at the disposal of any other person. No one else is allowed to exercise this right.

Art. 13.

The Deacons have the right to demand the production of these Registers from the Sages, whenever the advantage and the safety of the Order require it. The Sages cannot oppose this request without committing a crime punishable by death.

Art. 14.

If the Sage has reason to fear that the documents confided to his care may fall into the hands of the profane or of Brothers who must not know of them, he must at once destroy them.

Art. 15.

The Sages are entrusted with the care of the money of the Order and are obliged to send to the proper Deacon: 1st, a nominal roll of the Brethren of the Church and the Synod; 2nd, The state of the funds and of the balances. This statement must be made before the equinoxes, that is before the months of March and September. The Sages who refuse to perform this duty will not be given the word of recognition.¹

Art. 16.

Cashiers cannot dispose of the funds of the Order without a regular authorisation bearing the seal of the Firmament and the visa of the Sage.

Art. 17.

The Travelling Deacon nearest to a place in which there is no establishment* of the Order has the right to set up one composed of Churches and Synods, but he can exercise this right only beyond a distance of five postal leagues from an existing Cathedral, on the previously expressed demand of three Sublime Elects at least, who live in that place, and on the unanimous proposition of his Council, who cannot submit it to him without the assent of the Territorial Deacon to whom it reports.

Art. 18.

Such an establishment must be granted only when it is recognised as indispensable for the propagation of the Order, the instruction of the Brethren and the improvement of the means of communication. The Presidents of the Cathedrals must assure themselves of the wisdom of the Sublime Elects who make the proposition, bearing in mind that there is a danger in multiplying too many establishments of this kind.

¹ Rinieri, in Document 18, says this report must be sent to the Territorial Deacon.

* A Cathedral.

Art. 19.

The installation can take place immediately after the promulgation of the decree constituting the Cathedral: it will be carried out by the President or the First Grand Star of the constituting Cathedral.

Art. 20.

The installing officer will proceed as follows:

1. He assembles the Sublime Elect Founders and draws up with their concurrence the lists from which the Cathedral must select the principal officers.
2. He assembles the Sublime Masters who will form the Cathedral.
3. He opens the labours in the name of the Firmament in the degree of Sublime Master with the assistance of members whom he will select.
4. He proves the Brethren and receives from them collectively a promise to submit to the Laws of the Order.
5. He reads the Statutes of the degree, proceeds with the labours and explains them.
6. He presents the lists in triplicate and proceeds with the election of the Officers in accordance with the procedure defined in Articles 11 and 12 of the Statutes of the Sublime Masters.
7. He proclaims the Cathedral and installs its Officers in the name of the Firmament.
8. The newly elected Sage then presides over the labours and ends them when he thinks fit.
9. The Installing Officer assembles all the Sublime Elects who will form the Cathedral in the degree of the Synod, proceeds in conformity with Articles 3, 4, and 5 and holds the election of the Synod's Officers in accordance with Article 7 of the Statutes of the Sublime Elects and following the procedure laid down in Articles 7 and 8 above.

Art. 21.

After the meeting is dismissed the installing officer sees that the Statutes and books of the two degrees are copied in quadruplicate in registers, he communicates to the Sage the enigmatic characters, the word of the half year, names the Deacon to whom he must report and makes him swear to preserve on this point the most inviolable secrecy under penalty of death.

Art. 22.

The President of the Constituting Cathedral must send to the Firmament a report of the newly constituted body as soon as it has been proclaimed, stating at the same time the locality of the new establishment, the names of the Founders and the time when the installation shall have been completed.

Art. 23.

The Firmament sends to the new Cathedral the constituting decrees for the two degrees.

Under the Equator the 26th day of the 5th month of the year of the true Light 5812.

Pompeo.¹

Rinieri² gives us some further information regarding the Deacons. In his version the following paragraphs come first in what he calls a "Supplementary instruction for Territorial Deacons":

¹ A Lombard Adelfo—see below.

² Document No. 9.

"1. In every district there is only one Territorial Deacon.

N.B. The Départements of the old French Empire and the Swiss Cantons each from one of these districts.

The Territorial Deacons are, on the one hand, in communication with all the Sages of their districts, and on the other with the Grand Firmament.

For communications with the latter those Travelling Deacons which are designated by the Grand Firmament are employed".

Then follow the first four paragraphs of the above decree of the 26th of the fifth month of 5812 as given in FO 70/92.

Rinieri¹ also quotes from paragraph 12 of the "Book of Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters", a version which differs from that in FO 70/92: "Instruction to Territorial Deacons:

So far as possible the correspondence must be carried out by word of mouth".

Rinieri² adds the following "Instruction to Territorial Deacons": "The Travelling Deacons send to the Grand Firmament the list of the Territorial Deacons, their names in the Order and in ordinary life, their address and the information contained in their civil (*sic*) reports".

F. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

Art. 1. Only the Deacons have the right to inquire into crimes against the safety of the Order, either in the course of their duties or after a denunciation.

Art. 2. Every member of the Order is bound to denounce to the Deacons all the betrayals or indiscretions which may be known to him and to add to the denunciation all he has been able to find out regarding the circumstances of the crime and the criminals.

Art. 3. This denunciation must be in writing and confirmed by the person who makes it.

Art. 4. Whoever is convicted of having failed in this duty will be punished as an accessory to the crime which he has not revealed.

Art. 5. A false accuser convicted of having brought a false charge will be punished with the same penalty which the denounced person would have suffered had he been found guilty.

Art. 6. A Deacon to whom a crime has been reported must try to obtain proof thereof and discover its authors.

Art. 7. If these elude his search, he reports the matter to the Firmament, while still continuing his investigations.

Art. 8. When a Deacon has proofs against or suspects an individual, he must co-opt two of the most reputable brethren of the place or district in order to form a Council of Inquiry, of which he will be the President.

Art. 9. Before entering on his duties, each member of the above-mentioned Council will pledge himself by oath to discharge the duties of his office with fidelity and zeal and to conceal his activities under the veil of the deepest silence.

Art. 10. The Council of Inquiry examines the matter, questions if necessary the denouncer and the witnesses, collects all information as to the moral character of the denouncer which is likely to give an indication of his reliability and also as regards the circumstances of the crime, it makes notes of all the salient points in cypher and, if necessary, draws up the charge.

Art. 11. The Council's report and the charge can be drawn up only in accordance with the majority of the votes.

Art. 12. The right to call together a Council of Inquiry and to promulgate its decision belongs to the President, who is also charged with the duty of cutting short unnecessary sittings.

¹ Document 14.

² Document 18.

Art. 13. Whatever be the decision of the Council the President must report it to the Firmament.

Art. 14. If the accusation be rebutted, the acts of the trial are burnt; if it be accepted, they remain in the hands of the President at the disposal of the Firmament.

Art. 15. If the denounced person has been charged, the members of the Council direct their attention to the measures of safety mentioned in the decree concerning the police.

The 16th day of the 1st month of the year 5815.

D.....

G. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

Art. 1. No one must be examined as to his possession of the Sublime Elect's degree unless he has been previously proved as a Sublime Master.

Art. 2. A copy of this decree shall follow the Statutes of the Sublime Elects.

H. OTHER DECREE OF THE SAME DATE.

It is strictly forbidden to disclose the least knowledge of the Firmament to anyone who is not in possession of the signs of Sublime Master.

The 19th day of the 3rd month of the year 5815.

I. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

Art. 1. The power to initiate summarily given to Deacons is prolonged to a term of five years.

Art. 2. The Travelling and Territorial Deacons may preside over the labours of Churches and Synods. The Sages are bound to call meetings at their request.

Art. 3. All Travelling and Territorial Deacons have the right to dismiss assemblies and to suspend members: they must in accordance with their responsibilities employ all means they think necessary to prevent any evil results arising from treason or indiscretion and are obliged to inform at once the Firmament.

Art. 4. A copy of the present decree shall follow the Statutes of the Sublime Elects.

.....1815.

J. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

Art. 1. Every Territorial Deacon has the right in his own district to give a dispensation from the rules and to allow a summary initiation to the mysteries of the Church or the Synod to take place following on the prescribed individual application being made by an Assembly.

Art. 2. When a Travelling Deacon happens to be in the district of a Territorial Deacon this right belongs to the former.

Art. 3. After the period of five years shall have elapsed, for the duration of which the Deacons have been granted the power of initiating summarily under the decree of the 13th of the 3d month 5815, this power shall lapse.

Art. 4. The present decree shall be communicated to the Synods under the charge of Deacons.

Under the Equator the 1st day of the eighth month of the year 5815.

P.....

Rinieri¹ gives in this connection the following decree: The Grand Firmament decrees as follows:

¹ Document 11.

“ Up to the end of Thermidor of the 38th year the Territorial and Travelling Deacons are allowed to receive new members among both Sublime Perfect Masters and Sublime Elects summarily and without any definite prescribed limit in all places in which there is no Lodge of Labour working.

Under the Equator the 20th day of the 7th month of 1821 ”.

He also quotes a decree giving the following extension of the Deacons’ powers: “ The Travelling Deacons are authorised henceforth to allow the admittance of Candidates before they have reached the legal age, that is to say after their twentieth year.

Under the Equator the 1st of the month, 1822 ”.

K. DECREE OF THE GRAND FIRMAMENT.

Art. 1. The Grand Firmament, in view of the report of the Travelling Deacon in charge of the correspondence with Argolis,* decrees as follows:

No Church can be allowed to exist without a local Synod, which must remain unknown to it.**

Art. 2. All elections of the first four Officers which are held by Churches otherwise than on lists secretly drawn up by their Synods and presented by the Sage in accordance with Articles 6 and 12 of the Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters are void.

Under the Equator the 1st Frimaire of the 4th year P— ***

The present copy agrees with another authentic copy with which it has been compared by me the undersigned Grand Star of the Synod of Aulis.****

The 1st day of the 6th month of the year 29 ***** (11th of August 1820).
Collatinus.

FRAGMENTS OF A STATE OF THE ADELFI IN ITALY.

Argolis—is the secret name of Lombardy.

Thebes is Milan.

Argos--Pavia

[Collatinus, not F.]

Pompey is one of the principal Adelfi (He is the only one known to the writer [Collatinus, not the author of the paper], although there are very many of them).

Achaia is Piedmont

Nicea is Turin

Eion—Alessandria

Ithome—Asti

Metaponto—Tortona

Mycene—Voghera

Tyre—Nice

Sidon—Genoa

Tiryns—Novi

NAMES OF A FEW ADELFI OF TURIN.

Cincinnatus is the Travelling Deacon

Miletus—Milo—Pisistratos—Piso—

At Genoa—Paris and Romulus

* Lombardy.

** The Society of the Adelfi is then very widespread in Lombardy.

*** This date seems calculated from the time the Society established itself in Lombardy. The epoch of the original use of this calendar is date from the establishment of the French Republic.

**** Parma. The mistake in copying this name from the original is due to the difficulty of It was thought that the name given to that city by the Society once called the European Patriots had been kept secret. [We cannot tell now what this mistake was.]

***** This is the only calendar date in the whole document.

At Alessandria—Servilius
 At Tortona—Terentius
 At Voghera—Quintilian
 At Asti—Hephaestion
 Aulis is Parma
 Corcyra is Piacenza
 Collatinus is the Territorial Deacon—Ilion is another Adelfo
 Arcadia is the state of Modena
 Itea is Modena
 Cyrus is there
 Elis is Reggio
 Nicomedes—Newton—Ovid—Saul
 Ionia is the State of the Church
 Leucas is Bologna
 Ferrara—Heraclea
 Cyrrha—Imola
 Tegea—Fusignano
 Sicyon—Forlì
 Faenza—Antipolis
 Ceusia (?)—Lugo
 Crissa—Ravenna
 Boeotia—Cesena
 Croton—Bagnacavallo
 Locris—Savignano
 Persepolis—Bertinoro
 Calchis—Meldola
 Mitylene—Rimini
 Sardis—Urbino
 Crete—Pesaro
 Scyrus—Ancona
 Eretria—Macerata
 Lampsacus—Fermo
 Nemea—Perugia
 Babylon—Rome

ADELFI OF THE ROMAN STATE.

Amalaric, Amulius, Numicius, Pliny, Plautus, Severus, Tigranes, Timon,
 Regulus, Publius, Afranius, Agesander, Carvilius, Cassander, Genseric,
 Albinovanus, Alcamenes, Cethegus, Charibert, Endymion, Sineccius,
 Caecilius, Drusus, Epicurus, Erastus, Flaminius, Aretino, Ariosto, Arivald,
 Catiline, Crassus, Lysippus, Valerius, Lycaon, Melampus, Admetus,
 Albert, Albinus, Castruccio, Catullus, Balduin, Belus, Capitolinus,
 Eteocles, Argus, Aristaeus, Curio, Germanicus, Glaucus, Arminius,
 Arsaces, Gundobald, Minutius, Plutarch, Alcinus, Alcmanus, Cleander,
 Cleanthus, Fénélon, Gessner, Annius, Appius, Cotta, Esau, Geta, Longus,
 Amerigo, Amurath, Clothar, Flavius, Diodorus, Inachus, Alkman,
 Alpinus, Clesidas, Clitus, Florus, Ixion, Apelles, Aratus, Clovis, Croesus,
 Gallus, Sanutus, Brennus, Bocchoris, Clodius, Aegeus, Furius, Melitus,
 Arreus, Arsenes, Curius, Cramer, Gelon, Maurus, Castor, Vetreius,
 Comodus, Aelius, Cromus, Lisias, Caracalla, Cartesius, Cassianus,
 Cleomedes, Aeolus, Almansor, Canuleius, Cosimo, Dolabella, Domitian,
 Laomedon, Maximus, Montanus, Orestes, Palamon, Postumius, Sertorius.
 Elatea is Naples (The distinctive name of the Kingdom is not known)
 Publicola is a Deacon
 Euboea is Tuscany

In it must be the following Adelfi (These must belong to the degree of Sublime Elect and some to a higher degree):

Maximianus, Mamertinus, Otho, Papirius, Ruffo, Priscus, Theocritus, Odoacer, Nisus, Phaon, Rutilius, Solomon, Jano, Gratian, Hesiod, Janus, Lucretius, Anicius.

Lesbos is Florence

Olympia is Leghorn

Rhodes is Siena

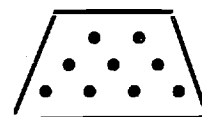
Delphi is Pisa

Hieroglyphic signs:—

A Church is indicated by the sign



A Synod „ „



A Cathedral „ „



The Firmament „ „



[These may be compared with those given by Witt.]

DOCUMENTS ATTACHED TO THE METTERNICH'S MEMORANDUM.

Not already quoted at length in FO 70/92.

No. 2. Profession of faith of a Sublime Perfect Master. [This document contains also the profession of faith of a Sublime Elect, which is exactly the same as that in FO 70/92 and is not repeated here.]

Credo a Deo, hominum patre et legislatore, justam beatam obtenturum immortalitatem; credo Deum sola caritate colendum, praeter quidquid cogitaveris stultitia est. Credo ad mutuam amorem divino naturalique jure homines quatenus ejusdem patris filios, aequaliter teneri.

Credo hunc esse divinum fontem aequalitatis, quam sancivit sociale foedus, cujus generali pacito, verae nempe legi, obedire vera libertas est. Credo quaecunque potestatem, aliunde ortam, sicut scelus esse damnandam.

No. 3. Act constituting the Italian Congress (Synod held in Turin in 1820).

On the proposition of the citizens Pausanias . . . and seconded by the Grand Pontiff, the Synod consisting of Italians has decreed the foundation of an Italian Congress on the following basis:

1. In Italy only a government which abolishes all privileges and distinctions of rank can be allowed to exist.

2. That this programme be presented for confirmation to the Grand Firmament.

[It was confirmed in March, 1822, when the formation of an Italian Congress was sanctioned and the following articles were approved:]

3. This Congress must try in every way to secure liberty and independence for Italy through a popular government.

4. It must take especial care to note all persons who, although not duly qualified to belong to this Society, are able to render themselves useful, at any rate through their wealth, influence and reputation.

For the time being Tangy (Geneva) is designated a seat of the Congress, and the Travelling Deacon Polycarp (Buonarroti) as president.

No. 4. Extract from the ritual of the Sublime Perfect Masters.

At the opening of every Church the Sage says: "We, who have dedicated our inspirations to human happiness, are compelled to fight continually against inequality, despotism and superstition. May the example of the heroes of the Bastille,¹ of the island of Leon, of Nola and Alessandria inspire us".

The candidate accepted in the Church after making the profession of Faith set out in document No. 2, must take the following oath: "I swear, in the presence of the Great Architect of the Universe and on my honour, to maintain the strictest secrecy concerning all which I have seen and heard during my reception and all that I shall see and hear hereafter. I swear never to speak of it to anyone who is not of my rank. I swear never to put on paper anything relating to this without permission from my superior. I swear to promote the interests of the society to which I shall now belong. I swear to obey faithfully the orders given to me by my superior. I swear not to belong to any other secret society whose existence, if known to me, I shall at once report to my superior. I submit to the penalty of death, should I break this oath, and I bind myself to pay the monthly subscription fixed by the laws".

The president orders then the candidate to be unbound and says: "I free you from these chains on condition that you apply all your power solely to fighting despotism, whose image they represent. Do you promise this?" The Candidate assents. He is then informed that every revealed religion is a fraud; and the labours are closed with a few insignificant ceremonies.

No. 10. Book of the Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters. Decree of the Grand Firmament.

4. Assemblies will take especially to heart the necessity for gaining an active influence over public opinion of the countries in which they meet.

5. For this purpose they will spread the information given to them and will direct the attention of the public to those administrative and legislative matters which shall be indicated by the Grand Firmament or which they will themselves, with the assistance of the Deacon, deem best suited to achieve the object.

6. In order to set to work prudently and to obtain the desired influence without compromising the Order in the various countries, it will be the duty of the Territorial Deacon of every district, with the approval of the Grand Firmament, to determine the manner in which to proceed and to see that the Brethren conform exactly to the decisions taken in the Assemblies, which they have themselves approved.

Given under the Equator, the 18th day of the 6th month 5818 (1818).

Decree: The Grand Firmament, in view of the consideration that, although it is the duty of the Brethren of the Order at all times to spread the true principles continually and as quickly as possible, it is no less necessary on the other hand to prevent so far as possible that the object of the institution be frustrated through precipitate action, decrees as follows:

1. The Assemblies will make continuous efforts in every country in which they meet, in conformity with paras. 4, 5 and 6 of the decree of the 58th (18th of June, 1818), to gain the approval of public opinion for a political develop-

¹ The places where the French, Spanish, Neapolitan and Piedmontese revolutions broke out. As the last broke out on the 6th of March, 1821, this ritual must be later than that date.

ment whose object is to obtain for the people a direct and complete influence on legislation. They must in addition make the hatred of oppression general and tamper with the loyalty of the soldiery, which until now has been the support of tyranny.

2. Should favourable circumstances bring about a revolution, the presidents of Assemblies must act so as to secure the direction of it themselves or for individuals dependent on themselves.

3. The Spanish and Italian revolutions and all others with the same tendency must be supported with all the means at the disposal of the Assemblies.

4. In Italy the Assemblies must be impregnated with the same spirit, namely to work for the liberty and independence of the Italian people.

5. Even in the most favourable circumstances the Order must remain secret.

Under the Equator, on the 17th day of the 7th month, 1820.

(N.B. The same decree is to be found under the same date in the Statutes of the Sublime Elects).

No. 12. Regulations of the Synods of Sublime Elects.

Before an initiation to the secrets of the Sublime Perfect Masters the Council of the Church will make inquiries as regards the acceptance of a Candidate. A Council of the description indicated above can be composed of three members.

No. 13. Regulation of the Churches and Synods.

Before a new member is accepted in the Council of an Assembly, all means must be used to study his inner feelings.

For this purpose a spy (*déliciateur*) is attached to him who bears the title of "Secret Brother" (*Frère intime*) chosen from among those Brethren of the Order who possess his confidence or who can gain it. This spy will seize every occasion of leading the Candidate to discuss such subjects as will reveal his principles and his character. He will instill into him little by little a wish to be received. The spy must draw up a diary of all the sayings and acts of the person he is watching and present it to the Council.

The acceptance into the 2d degree,¹ that is that of Sublime Elect, from that of Sublime Perfect Master, is carried out in the same way.

No. 15. Decree of the Grand Firmament.

The Grand Firmament, in consideration of the fact that the state of its finances controls in part the accomplishment of its objects, decrees as follows:

1. In addition to all other obligations which Sublime Perfect Masters undertake at their reception, they must agree to pay the monthly subscriptions fixed by the rules.

2. The Deacons will add the present ordinance to the book of the Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters as well as to that of the Sublime Elects.

Under the Equator 21st of the 12th month, 1817.

Decree of the Grand Firmament: Every member must pay every month 1 franc to the treasury of the Order, beginning from the time of his acceptance, and pay the dues imposed by the Council of the Order

Given the 22d day of the 7th month, 1815.

No. 16. Decree of the Grand Firmament.

The Grand Firmament, in order to safeguard the funds and to prevent any difficulties in their administration, decrees as follows:

1. "Workshops" of the Churches are asked to have boxes made, at their expense, with three keys, in which the Treasurers can keep the money of the Order. The Treasurer and two of the officers of the Order must each have one of these keys.

2. Every four years the Sages must audit and inspect the accounts.

¹ The Sublime Perfect Master's now seems to have become the first degree of the Adelfia, but this may be but a slip.

3. The statement of accounts must be presented to the Lodges.
4. Dishonesty in the administration of these moneys is punishable with death.
5. The Territorial Deacons can and must invest these moneys in bearer securities which give 5 % interest and place these in the box instead of the cash.
6. In case of danger and in case of the death of the Treasurer the Deacons and Sages must see to the safety of the funds.

Given under the Equator on the 7th day of the 2d month of 5817 (1812).
Statute of the Sublime Elects.

19. Two thirds of the funds of the Synods must always be placed at the disposal of the Grand Firmament.

No. 17. Decree of the Grand Firmament.

The Grand Firmament orders as follows:

Instead of the signs hitherto prescribed for Sublime Perfect Masters by the decree of the 14th of the 5th month of 1821 the following new signs of recognition are decreed: . . .

The Password is Elphador.

The questions are as follows:

What do you seek?—Nature.

How have you lost it?—Through an unfortunate blindness.

Ubi salus?—In the flames.

No. 21. Book of the Statutes of the Sublime Perfect Masters.

Decree of the Grand Firmament.

The Grand Firmament, in consideration of the reports which have reached it on the subject of the position of the Order in various countries, decrees as follows:

1. The signs of recognition and those prescribed by the formal laws of the Order must be changed as soon as possible; and in the meantime all labours and receptions are suspended, including the full powers given to Deacons, except those granted to the Travelling Deacon.

5. Every breach of this Order will be treated and punished as treason.

Under the Equator the 14th day of the 5th month of 1821.

No. 22. Decree of the Grand Firmament.

The Grand Firmament, in consideration of the fact that in those countries in which Freemasonry is forbidden, its rites no longer give that security which they were set up to ensure, and that in those countries assemblies of some duration cause danger to those who take part in them, and also that the preservation of voluminous documents may expose Brethren to police investigation, decrees as follows:

1. In all countries in which Freemasonry is forbidden the form of the labours will be as follows.

2. The wearing of all Masonic clothing will be discarded.

3. The only documents which are still to preserve the form of laws and which must be preserved by the Sages only are:

- a. The book of the statutes of the degree and the decrees it contains, with the exception of all that pertains to Freemasonry, as this is abolished.

- b. The new regulation for Churches and Synods.

- c. The new rituals.

4. These documents, which must be reduced to the smallest size possible, must be hidden in safe places with every care by the Sages; only the members of the Council of the Order may be acquainted with their existence.

5. The ritual of the Order, written on a very thin piece of paper, is the only document concerning the Order which may be used during proceedings. In case of surprise it must be burnt or swallowed. In order to avoid its use

Sages must try to learn its contents by heart.* A copy must be preserved in the same hiding place as the other documents.

6. The books in quadruplicate are no longer prescribed.

7. Old decrees must be destroyed by Sages and Territorial Deacons whenever they come into their hands. Only the Travelling Deacons are allowed to preserve the documents mentioned in para. 4.

Given under the Equator on the 10th day of the 7th month 1822.

No. 23. Decree of the Grand Firmament.

In consideration of the fact that the same reasons which have given rise to the decree of the 1st of July, 1822, apply also to Synods, the Grand Firmament decrees as follows:

1. The name Accademy is to be substituted for Synod. The Sublime Elects shall be called Perfect Masons (Parfaits Massons). The Officers will keep the designations of the Synod.

2. The present decree must be transcribed by the Territorial Deacons into the Statutes of the Sublime Elects.

Given on the 1st August, 1822.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Radice on the proposition of Bro. Lewis Edwards, seconded by Bro. J. H. Lepper; comments being offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. L. Edwards, J. H. Lepper, B. Ivanoff and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

It is a pleasure to rise to propose a vote of thanks, which I now do, to Bro. Radice for the latest of his studies of the Secret Societies of the early nineteenth century. I have to confine myself to a general appreciation because it does not seem too much to say that in this country at the present time there are very few who are qualified to give a critical appreciation of the paper. But even to the ignorant it is clear that Bro. Radice has brought light where there had been uncertainty, and that his claim, put forward so modestly and with so many double negatives, expressed or implied, to have proved the existence of secret societies with subversive ends is established with some conclusiveness, though we rather wonder, as he does, at the small results achieved by so much enthusiasm and propaganda. We all know and appreciate how great is so often the difference between what is put forward in documentary evidence as the aims, procedure, and inspiration of a movement and its achievements on the practical side. To judge from the importance attached to some of what we—whatever our political views—from the humanitarian standpoint consider the more blood-thirsty and more lamentable events of the French Revolution, and the references to the tyrannicides of history—Timoleon, Brutus and the rest—the societies in question seem to have been assassination societies; but we do not really know whether murder was in fact their main object. Again we do not really know whether the object of founding Masonic lodges for the furtherance of their propaganda was in fact achieved. At any rate, the ritual—on the discovery and preservation of which we must all congratulate Bro. Radice—shows a certain Masonic character in the references to the Great Architect, to Hiram, and in other details.

I think Bro. Radice is certainly correct in explaining the “exercises” as what we know as “fire”. One wonders, by the way, what George Borrow, with his Bible travelling, would have thought of the “Universal Bible Society” as an instrument of subversive propaganda.

* Apparently ceremonies were read, not recited.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

Any remarks I have to make on the present occasion will add nothing to our knowledge of a subject that Bro. Radice has made particularly his own, so I shall be as short as is consistent with courtesy and gratitude.

First of all I wish to associate myself with the thanks this meeting is going to give our Brother for the time and trouble which have gone to providing us with all the available evidence about an obscure subject, of great interest to us because of the connections, however tenuous they may have been, between the Philadelphes and the Masonic Order. I most heartily congratulate Bro. Radice on his discovery of fresh documentary evidence to lay before us; one of these pieces of evidence, the paper found in the Foreign Office archives, is of extreme importance and gives us a new point of vantage from which to review everything that is known about that extremely nebulous body known as the Grand Firmament. Since our Brother has fully indicated the implications involved in his discovery I can refrain on the present occasion from improvising variations on the same theme.

There is just one matter in the present paper about which I should like to throw out a suggestion for the consideration of students in general, and that is the origin of these political societies.

It comes as rather an unpleasant shock when one realizes that sometimes a society which could, without any unfairness, be labelled as dangerous and immoral in some of its objects, seems to have had a connection, or even a descent, from one whose objects were or are still purely innocent and laudable.

Such a connection, of course, as Bro. Radice has been careful to point out, may exist in a similarity of name only.

However, the case that has most interest for us is the one in which an actual connection is demonstrable.

My suggestion is that, regrettable as this may be and is, there is nothing very strange about the phenomenon.

Human nature being what it is, with a tendency to make the end justify the means, there is always the risk that a widespread Society which exists to forward innocent and laudable objects may become subversive in one of its branches; and if public attention is directed to that particular diseased branch, then general opinion will hurry to the conclusion that the parent stem is a malevolent Upas Tree. "Good wombs have borne bad sons".

It is a reminder to us all to be zealous in preserving our Order from infections such as these.

BRO. B. IVANOFF said:—

It is always with a great interest and pleasure that I hear and read research works on the Continental Secret Societies of the nineteenth century. They interest me not only because in most cases they were founded and directed by outstanding persons and played an important part in the intellectual and even spiritual life of the time, but especially because, in my view, their connection with Freemasonry may have been very much closer than appears on the surface and than is generally believed.

When we think and speak about Freemasonry we nearly always have in mind our English Freemasonry in its pure form, and are apt to forget that the English Freemasonry, having been introduced on the Continent with the purpose of propagating the high principles and aims which are its characteristics, very soon transformed itself into something similar to the Carbonari, the Philadelphes, the Adelphes and other Secret Societies, having various grades and rituals, vows of secrecy, discipline and obedience, but putting the spiritual development and perfection in the background and pursuing mainly antireligious, political and revolutionary aims. It is the Grand Orient with its numerous ramifications that

is known to the Continent of Europe as Freemasonry, and it was the Grand Orient with its ramifications that influenced intellectual life and political activities in the Continental countries generally—in France and Spain particularly—from the end of the eighteenth century until quite recently. As you know, it is quite a common belief on the Continent that even the collapse of Spain and of France was the result of the demoralising and destructive work of the Grand Orient. There is not much difference between the precepts of the Secret Societies described by Bro. Radice in this and the preceding papers and those of the Grand Orient; and I hope that he will find it possible to give us some information in one of his future works as to how close was the connection between these and other Secret Societies on one side and the Continental Freemasonry under the auspices of the Grand Orient on the other side; and as to whether it was the Grand Orient that gave birth to such Societies, or whether, on the contrary, the Societies, having been formed independently, influenced the original Continental Freemasonry in its English form to such an extent as to degenerate it into an atheistic and subversive Society known as the Grand Orient.

Another interesting point about the Secret Societies of the end of the eighteenth and of the beginning of the nineteenth century is that they all had rather elaborate and sumptuous rituals. Such rituals had also the numerous Masonic Orders and High Degrees that came into being about the same time on the Continent. Some of these Orders were spurious and died out, others were quite respectable from a masonic point of view and have survived. I wonder if the founders and leaders of these Masonic Orders and High Degrees simply followed the example of the Secret Societies or were instructed by them with a view to opening the doors of ordinary Freemasonry wider for their influence.

With these few remarks I heartily support the vote of thanks to Bro. Radice for his interesting and valuable paper we have heard to-day.

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The appendix given by Bro. Radice leaves little doubt that the aim of the Adelphi was the bringing about of violent revolution and also that Freemasonry was used as a cover to their activities. The use of the death of "respectable Master Hiram" as a symbol of the loss of freedom suggests that the degrees of Freemasonry had had their symbolism manipulated so that a gradual transition was arranged from a desire for greater liberty through various stages to terminate in sublime and elect degrees advocating bloody and violent revolution.

From a practical standpoint I do not imagine that this arrangement had much influence in the moulding of ideas, but it would get together in the different degrees the various grades of Liberalism. The danger of active propaganda is shown by the necessity of altering the modes of recognition.

Perhaps its advantages were financial. Such an arrangement utilised a large number of people in favour of reform by collecting their subscriptions and thus maintaining a fund to be administered by a governing body which favoured the wholesale murder of royalty and patricians.

BRO. RADICE *writes* in reply:—

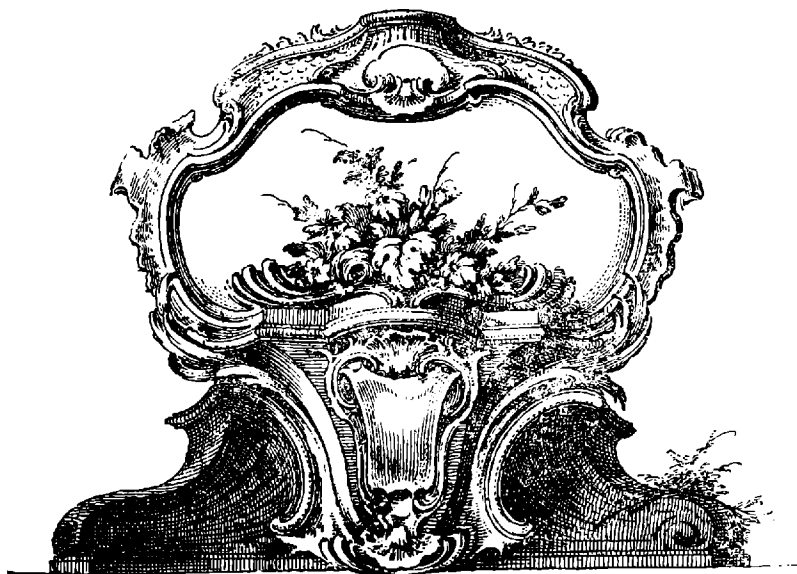
I wish to express my cordial appreciation of all the kind remarks which have been made on my paper. With regard to Bro. Edwards' remarks, I would not like to go as far as to say that assassination was definitely one of the objects of the Philadelphes and kindred societies. We have the famous historical murders of the Duke of Berry, Kotzebue, etc., and some of the passages in the

ritual can be read as a direct incitement to murder. At the same time the ritual can be taken to express a symbolical aim. Carbonarism did not as a rule favour assassination, but some parts of its ritual are bloodthirsty. I think these societies aimed at a Jacobinical uprising, which of course involves bloodshed and the overthrow of established order, in pursuit of which objects members were not to shrink from murder, if necessary to achieve those objects.

I do not know if any Masonic Lodges were actually founded by *Adelphes*, as enjoined by the Grand Firmament's decrees. Masonry was in abeyance in Italy at the time and one or two feeble attempts at reviving it failed. I have found no evidence whatever on the subject, and at present we can only conclude that no Lodges of Freemasonry were founded in the manner stated.

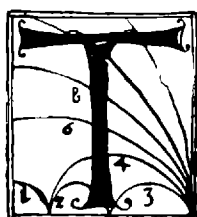
As regards Bro. Heron Lepper's remarks, we have only to glance at the lamentable history of Freemasonry in Italy during recent years to find an illustration of what Bro. Lepper says and to take warning. I have heard a story of some very revolting ceremonies practised in South American Lodges.

Bro. Ivanoff has raised a point of great interest and considerable importance to our Brotherhood. At present I can add nothing definite on the subject, but in the course of my researches I have formed the general view that even on the Continent Freemasonry was fundamentally respectable until the time of its eclipse in several countries in the early years of the nineteenth century. To trace its deterioration I think we must turn to its revival in the middle decades of that century, and if I may be allowed an expression of opinion, which is based on mere impressions, I think that the survivors and successors of the subversive societies influenced Masonry, in which sinister work they were assisted, very largely unconsciously, by those deluded men of all kinds who followed visionary ideals. This last point has been referred to in Bro. Bullamore's remarks.



THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF KENT 1769-1785.

BY BRO. S. POPE.



THE first Provincial Grand Master for Kent was the Honourable Robert Boyle Walsingham, who was installed at Chatham in July, 1769.

The following is a foreword to the By-Laws of the Walsingham Lodge No. 2148, under the heading—

“Why we took the name of Walsingham for Lodge No. 2148.

The Honourable Robert Boyle Walsingham, fifth son of Henry, first Earl of Shannon, born in 1736, was the first Prov. G.M. of Kent (1769); also first Prov. G.M. of Rutland (1776), Member of the Royal Somerset House Lodge No. 4 prior to 1768, and was probably initiated in that Lodge, as previous to its being located at Somerset House, it met on board H.M. Ship ‘Prince’. He entered the Royal Navy early in life, and in the year 1780 was appointed to command a squadron sent to the West Indies for the purpose of reinforcing Sir G. Rodney.

“In October last, in the West Indies, the Hon. Robert Boyle Walsingham, Captain of H.M.S. ‘Thunderer’, of 74 guns and 600 men, Colonel of Marines, only brother of the Earl of Shannon, and Member of Parliament for Knaresborough, in Yorkshire. He married one of the daughters and co-heiresses of the late Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, K.B. His ship foundering, this unfortunate commander was lost, with all his officers and crew in the dreadful hurricane.”

—*Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1781.

“Queen Elizabeth, in her 26th year, demised for 21 years, to Edmund Walsingham Esq., her Manor of Dartford, Cobham, Combe, and Chesilhurst, and all her lands, tenements, &c., belonging to the same in Dartford, and Wilmingham, the two wharfs in Dartford, and the issues and profits of the fairs and markets there, being parcel of her lands and possessions, called Richmond Lands.”

—Hasted, *History of Kent*, vol. i, p. 216.

This property remained in the Walsingham family for many years.

Why Robert Boyle took the name of Walsingham—

“A James Walsingham, by will, dated 16th Aug., 1727, devised the Manor and Rectory of Croydon to his sister, Dame Elizabeth Osborne, for her life, but did not dispose of it after her decease. He died 22nd October, 1728, without issue, possessed of other estates in Essex, Cambridge, and Norfolk, leaving three co-heirs, vizt., Dame Elizabeth Osborne, Anthony Viscount Montague, and Annabella Villiers.

“Lady Osborne, by will, devised the third part of the estates to Henry Boyle, the younger, he taking the name of Walsingham, and to his heirs male; remainder to Richard Boyle, eldest son of

Henry, the father, remainder to her kinswoman, the wife of Henry, the father.

"Henry Boyle Walsingham died, leaving only one son, Henry, who died an infant, without issue; Charles Boyle Walsingham (his younger brother) succeeded, and dying also without issue, Robert Boyle Walsingham, only remaining younger son of Henry, Earl of Shannon, inherited, and in 1770 sold to Anthony Joseph Viscount Montague, who thus became possessed of the whole."

—Manning & Bray, *History and Antiquities of Surrey*, vol. ii, p. 450; H. Sadler, "*Walsingham Lodge No. 2148*."

The list of subscribers to Calcott's *Disquisitions* (1769) includes "Robert Boyle Walsingham Esq., Member of Parliament, P.G.M."

Musgrave's *Obituary* mentions "Robert Boyle Walsingham, F.R.S., Captain in the Navy and brother of the Earl of Shannon". It is interesting to note that "among the original members of the 'Royal Society', which was definitely constituted in 1660, were Sir Christopher Wren and the Hon. Robert Boyle (1627-91) the inventor of the air-pump, who also founded the 'Boyle Lectures'".

Captain Charles Frederick.

The next Prov. Grand Master was Captain Charles Frederick, who, the Minute Book of the Faversham Lodge, now the Lodge of Harmony No. 133, informs us, was Proposed 27 Oct., 1773: Made 10 Nov., 1773: Passed 24 Nov., 1773, and Raised 22 Dec., 1773. He was a member of the Lodge and was elected J.W. on St. John's Day, 1773. He attended on Dec. 27, 1773: Jan. 25, 1774: Jan. 25, 1775. His name continues in the register until Dec., 1776, when he appears to have left four quarters in arrear.

There is a marginal note in the Minute Book:—

"17th Dec., 1774 Being a Provincial Grand Lodge", at which the following Officers were appointed:—

"Bro. Julius Shepherd	Dep. Prov. G.M.
„ Robert Lukyn	Prov. G.S.W.
„ Wm. Sumpter	„ G.J.W.
„ John Creswell	„ G. Treas.
„ John Solly	„ G. Sec.
„ Simon Creswell	„ G. Sword Br.
„ Thos. Barnes	„ G. Tyler"

Bro. Julius Shepherd was a Brewer. He was a founder of the Faversham Lodge and W.M. in 1763, 1766-7, 1771, 1778, 1783-4, 1786, 1794 and 1798.

Wm. Sumpter joined the Faversham Lodge in 1773, and was W.M. in 1774-5, also in 1780. In 1779 he assisted to exalt seven Brethren to the R.A. He was manager of the Government's Powder Works; in the Militia List for 1794 under the heading of "Cinque Ports Volunteers" there were shown to be in existence Faversham Companies under the Captaincy of William Sumpter.

John Creswell was initiated and raised in the Faversham Lodge 1763, and was Treasurer 1769-1797.

John Solly was a Draper. He was initiated and raised in 1763 in the Faversham Lodge, and was Secretary in 1765 and 1771-1775.

Simon Creswell was a founder of the Faversham Lodge, and was Secretary in 1763-1764, S.W. in 1774-1775.

Thomas Barnes was a Carpenter. He was initiated, passed and raised in the Faversham Lodge in 1773.

We also learn from the Minute Book of the Faversham Lodge that in 1775

"12th April, A Provincial Lodge Night.
26th „ do."

It would appear that the regular Lodge was absorbed in a Prov. Grand Lodge on these occasions, as four Candidates were "made, passed and raised" on these nights. From this it would appear that during this period the Prov. Grand Lodge of Kent had no separate organisation apart from that which existed within the Faversham Lodge.

Later on in this paper there is a note from the Minute Book of the Faversham Lodge which gives the names of the "Visiting Brethren" to the Prov. Grand Lodge meeting held at Faversham in 1777. These consist of 11 Brethren from Faversham, 6 from Canterbury, 3 from Chatham, one from Dover, and we are told that there were "one or two more unknown". This gives us, say, 23, to which we must add the 17 Prov. Grand Lodge Officers, making in all a total of 40. This information, together with some letters from Captain Charles Frederick to the Grand Secretary—one from "The Ship Lodge at Faversham" dated April, 1774, and another from "The Hague" dated 13th Feb., 1776—show that the early troubles of the Prov. Grand Lodge were financial: certain expenses such as those of the church for the service, band for the procession, etc., would be the same for 40 Brethren as they would be for 400.

Captain George Smith.

The next Provincial Grand Master was Captain George Smith, who was installed at Chatham 7th July, 1777.

According to the Army List, Captain George Smith's early appointments were Lieut. 34th Regt. of Foot, 11 Jan., 1760, and Captain of the 68th Regiment, 12 Feb., 1762. The Army Lists have been checked and no other officer holding the rank of Captain George Smith is to be found.

He served in the Prussian Army and was probably initiated into Freemasonry somewhere in Germany, but the time and place are unknown. He was appointed by the Lieut. Governor (Lt.-Col. J. B. Pattison) as Inspector of the Royal Military Academy in 1772, and was the first officer to hold this appointment, which he held up to 1783, and was succeeded by Captain M. Dorset. The duties were to supervise the course of education by seeing that the work of the Academics was conducted in an orderly and efficient manner, which meant that he was headmaster of the school of cadets.

He occupied the chair of the R.M. Lodge No. 371 for four years, and in 1783 he was charged (with another) for "making Masons in a clandestine manner in the King's Bench Prison". The matter was brought before Grand Lodge at Freemasons' Hall, November 19th, 1783.

Information had been given to the previous committee of charity—November 14th—that two brethren had lately held an irregular lodge in the King's Bench prison, where they had unwarrantably pretended to make Masons; and one of the Grand Secretaries having been ordered to write these brethren that unless they could disprove the charge, the next grand lodge would proceed to such censure as their conduct merited.

Brother White accordingly reported that he had written to them, and now read the answer he received; from which it appeared that several masons being in the said prison, they had assembled in that character, and had raised some brethren to the third degree, but a doubt arising as to the propriety of their conduct, the Royal Military Lodge at Woolwich adjourned with their Constitution to their Master in the prison; and this being one of those itinerant lodges that move with the regiment, the master judged, that wherever he might be, he had a right to hold lodges, and make masons: nevertheless, it having been hinted that the grand lodge might take umbrage at their proceedings, they had desisted from meeting; nor would they meet again without leave.

Resolved, That it is inconsistent with the principles of masonry for any free mason's Lodge to be held, for the purpose of making, passing, or raising masons, in any prison or place of confinement.

Resolved, That the Master and Wardens of the Royal Military Lodge at Woolwich, be summoned to attend at the next committee of charity, to answer for their conduct in making masons in the King's Bench prison, as stated in the letter now read.¹

In 1780 Captain George Smith was appointed Junior Grand Warden. This appointment was strongly objected to by the Grand Secretary, James Heseltine, on the ground that no one could hold two offices in the Grand Lodge at the same time, although at that time there was no regulation forbidding this.

In 1783 he published *The Use and Abuse of Freemasonry*:—

“Grand Lodge at Freemasons' Hall April 9 (1783). . . .

Among the minutes of the preceding committee of charity, now confirmed, was one, representing that Brother Heseltine, the grand secretary, had requested the opinion of the committee, on an application made to him by Captain George Smith, to procure the sanction of the grand lodge for a book he intended to publish, intitled, *The Use and Abuse of Free Masonry*; and that committee, after mature consideration, had resolved, that it be recommended to the grand lodge not to grant a sanction for any such publication.”

Noorthouck (*Const.*, 1784, p. 347), commenting on this, says:—

“No particular objection being stated against the above-mentioned work, the natural conclusion is, that a sanction was refused on the general principle, that considering the flourishing state of the lodges, where *regular* instruction and suitable exercises are every ready for all brethren who zealously aspire to improve in masonic knowledge; new publications are unnecessary on a subject which books cannot teach. Indeed, the temptations to authorship have effected a strange revolution of sentiments since the year 1720, when even *antient* manuscripts were destroyed, to prevent their appearance in a *printed* book of Constitutions! for the principal materials in this very work, then so much dreaded, have since been retailed in a variety of forms, to give consequence to fanciful productions that might have been safely withheld, without sensible injury either to the fraternity, or to the literary reputation of the writers.”

The work was published without the sanction, and the edition was speedily exhausted. In 1785 Captain George Smith was expelled from the Society for “uttering an instrument purporting to be a certificate of the G.L. recommending two distressed brethren.”

No record is available of his subsequent career or when and where he died.

The work of Captain George Smith as a Masonic author has been described by the late Bro. John Stokes in his Prestonian Lecture for 1928, *Masonic Teachers of the Eighteenth Century*, from which the following is taken:—

“Synopsis

Contemporaries of William Preston—Masonic Teachers of the Eighteenth Century.

Preston acknowledges his indebtedness to one brother only by name, but had doubtless been acquainted with most of the other writers of the period. . . .”

¹ This Lodge No. 371, formerly held at the Ship Tavern, Woolwich, being found not to have met there for some years, and no notice having been given of its removal, was erased from the list by order of the succeeding Grand Lodge, February 11th, 1784. Confirmed February 11th, 1784. (*Const.*, 1784, p. 350).

"Preston says in the preface to the 1775 edition of his *Illustrations*, p. 10 . . . : To my friends I am indebted for many extracts from old MSS. which tend to illustrate my subject, particularly to my worthy brother Captain George Smith, Inspector of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, from whom I had the pleasure to receive many notable annotations."

"He (Capt. Smith) was one of Preston's strongest supporters, and at the famous Grand Gala performance in honour of Freemasonry, May 21, 1772, he was one of the Stewards (fourth in the list) and took part in Section III of the First Lecture and was first in the list of Assistants. (Preston, 1772 Ed., p. 38)."

In addition to the *Use and Abuse* he wrote several works on military subjects, one of which, the *Universal Military Dictionary*, published in 1779, was for many years a standard work and is of value yet as a reference for military terms of the eighteenth century.

He must have been an able and cultured man, even if in masonic affairs he usually appears to have been "agin the government."

With regard to the work of Capt. George Smith as Prov. Grand Master of Kent, the old Minute Book of the Provincial Grand Lodge speaks for itself.

MINUTE BOOK OF THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF KENT.

Page 1

LAWS RULES
AND
REGULATIONS
FOR THE GOOD GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL
GRAND LODGE
FOR THE COUNTY OF
KENT.

Page 2 By Virtue of a power invested in George Smith Esq. Capt. and Inspector of the R.M.A. by the most Worshipful and Right Honble. Robert Edward Petre Lord Petre, Baron of Writtle &c. Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons in England, bearing the date the 18th day of January Anno Lucis 5777, and Anno Domini 1777, appointing the said George Smith Esq. Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, with full power to make Masons and constitute and regulate Lodges as occasion may require, and also to do and execute all and every other such acts and things appertaining to the said Office, and agreeable to the Laws and Regulations of the Grand Lodge of England &c.

Page 3 By Virtue of which power the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent shall consist in the following Officers, viz.—

- 1 Provincial Grand Master.¹
- 1 Do. Deputy Grand Master.
- 2 Do. Grand Wardens.

¹ "Of Provincial Grand Masters.

Art. 2. The appointment of *this Grand Officer* is a Prerogative of the Grand Master; from whom, or in his absence from his Deputy, a Deputation may be granted to such Brother of Eminence & ability in the *craft*, as he or either of them shall think proper; not for life, but during Pleasure.

Art. 3. The Provincial Grand Master thus deputed, is invested with the Power and Honour of a *Grand Master* in his particular District; and is entitled to wear the *cloathing* of a Grand Officer, to constitute Lodges within his own Province, and in all Publick Assemblies to walk immediately after the *Grand Treasurer*. He is also empowered to appoint a *Deputy*, *Wardens*, *Treasurer*, *Secretary*, and *Sword-Bearer*; who are entitled to wear the *cloathing* of *Grand Officers*, while they officiate as such within that particular District; but at no other Time or Place." (*Const.* 1767, pp. 328-9).

- 1 Do. Grand Chaplain.
- 1 Do. Grand Orator.
- 1 Do. Grand Artist.
- 1 Do. Grand Record Keeper.
- 1 Do. Grand Seal Keeper.
- 1 Do. Grand Treasurer.
- 1 Do. Grand Secretary.
- 1 Do. Grand Architect.
- 1 Do. Grand Master of Ceremonies.
- 1 Do. Grand Sword Bearer.
- 8 Do. Grand Stewards.

Page 4 And it is appointed as follows,

George Smith Esqr.	P.G.M.	.....	G.S.K.
Julius Shepherd Esqr.	D.G.M.	Gaml. Massiott Esqr.	G.T.
Robt. Lukyn Esqr.	S.G.W.	Mr. Thos. Fulljames	G.S.
Willm. Sumpter Esqr.	J.G.W.	Mr. Thos. Nicholson	G.Art.
Rev. Willm. Porter	G.C.	Baron de Mikoving	G.M.Cerems.
Geo. St. C. Mann Esqr.	G.O.	Mr. Henry Swinny	G.S.Bearr.
	G. Artist		
	G.R.K.		

Page 5

Mr. Jno. Creswell	}	G. Stewards
Mr. Jno. Hall		
Mr. Jno. Solly		
Mr. Thos. Roberts		
Mr. Jacob de Rippe		
Mr. Richd. Chapman		

The Provincial Grand Officers and Grand Stewards for the County of Kent are authorised to wear those Honourable and Distinguished Badges of Masonry, as are worn by the Grand Officers and Grand Stewards of the Grand Lodge of England, viz.—

Page 6 The Grand Officers Gold or Gilt Jewels appendant to Blue Garter Ribbands about their necks and white Leather aprons lined with Blue Silk. The Grand Stewards Gold and Silver Jewels appendant to Red Garter Ribbands about their necks and white Leather Aprons lined with Red Silk. These Grand Insignia may only be worn in the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent, and all such Kentish Lodges under the authority and Patronage of the Grand Lodge of England except the Provincial Grand Master who is entitled to wear the same on all occasions.

[“On March 17, 1730-1, The Grand Lodge (to cure some Irregularities) ordered, That none but the *Grand Master*, His *Deputy*, *Wardens*, *Treasurer*, *Secretary*, and *Sword-Bearer* (who are the only *Grand Officers*) shall wear their *Jewels* in *Gold* pendant to *blue Ribbons* about their necks and *White Leather aprons* lined with *blue Silk*, which sort of *Aprons* may also be worn by *former Grand Officers*.” (Const. 1767, p. 320.)

“Of the Stewards. The Stewards for the year are allowed to have *Jewels* of *Silver* (though not gilded) pendant to red Ribbons, about their Necks, to bear white Rods, and to line their white Leather *Aprons* with *Red Silk*.” (Const. 1767, p. 339.)

“Masters, Wardens, and members of *particular* Lodges, if they choose to line their white Leather Aprons, are to do it with white Silk, and the officers are to wear their Jewels pendant to white only.” (Const. 1767, p. 345.)

The word "Garter" in the Minute Book appears to be used to indicate the width of the "Ribbands" and it is also found in that sense in the newspaper report of the Provincial Meeting at Faversham on Dec. 23rd, 1777, where we find ". . . curious emblematic jewels, pendant to blue, red, and white garter ribbon."]

Page 7

GENERAL LAWS
FOR
THE GOOD GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL
GRAND LODGE
OF
KENT.

[The "General Laws for the Good Government of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent" are taken from the *Book of Constitutions* (1767), with slight variations, in most cases, to make them applicable to Provincial Grand Lodge.]

Page 8

Art. 1.

All matters in this Provincial Grand Lodge are to be determined by a Majority of Votes; each Member having one Vote and the Provincial Grand Master two Votes; unless the Lodge leave any particular thing to the Provincial Grand Master, for the sake of expedition

The opinions or votes of the Members are always to be signified by each holding up one of his Hands the Provincial Grand Wardens are to count; unless the number of Hands are so unequal as to render the counting useless; nor shall any other kind of Division be ever admitted in this Provincial Grand Lodge.

Page 9

Art. 2d.

At the third stroke of the Provincial Grand Master's Hammer (always to be respected by the Provincial Grand Wardens) there shall be a general Silence; and he who brakes Silence without leave from the chair shall be publicly reprimanded.

Under the same penalty, every Brother shall take his seat, and keep strict Silence whenever the Provincial Grand Master or his Deputy shall think fit to rise from the chair and call to order.

Page 10

Art. 3d.

In this Provincial Grand Lodge every Member shall Keep in his Seat, and not move about from place to place during Grand Lodge Hours; except the Grand Wardens, as having more immediately the care of the Lodge.

Art. 4.

Every one that speaks shall rise and keep standing, addressing himself to the Chair; Nor shall any presume to interrupt him, under the aforesaid penalty; unless the Grand Master finding him wandering from the point in hand, shall think fit to reduce him to order, for the said speaker shall sit down; But after he has been set right he may again proceed if he pleases.

Page 11

Art. 5.

If in the Provincial Grand Lodge any member is twice called to order, at one assembly for transgressing these Rules, and is guilty of a third offence of the same nature, the Chair shall peremptorily command him to quit the Lodge room for that night.

Art. 6.

Whoever shall be so rude, to Hiss at a Brother or at what another says, or hath said, he shall be forthwith solemnly excluded the Communication and

declared incapable of ever being a Member of a Grand Lodge for the Future; unless at another time he publickly owns his Fault and his grace be granted.

Page 12.

Art. 7.

There shall be a book kept by the Grand Secretary wherein shall be recorded all the Lodges in the County of Kent together with the numbers and the usual Day and Places of meeting, together with the names of all the Members of Each Lodge, as also, all the affairs of this Provincial Grand Lodge that are proper to be written.

Page 13

(Blank)

[The "General Laws" in the Minute Book finish with Art. 7, the following page (No. 13) being blank. The portion of the *Book of Constitutions* which follows that repeated in the Minute Book in Art. 7 reads as follows:—

"Art. XVI. That no Brother, for the future, shall smoak Tobacco in the Grand Lodge, at the *Quarterly* Communication, or *Committee of Charity*, till the Lodge shall be closed."

Although smoking was expressly forbidden in Grand Lodge in 1755 (Speth, *A.Q.C.*, vol. vii, p. 14), the following from the Minute Book of the old St. James Lodge, Uxbridge, twenty years after the "Laws, Rules & Regulations" of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Kent were drawn up, shows that smoking had not been stopped in Private Lodges:—

1796 "A motion was made by Brother Haycock that no smoaking of Tobacco be admitted during the Lodge, which motion was fuly seconded and carried nem con."

1798, December "Bro. Rayner proposed that Smoaking of Tobacco be admitted for the ensuing Quarter, which motion was seconded by Bro. Hodgson subject to a ballot, which ballot immediately took place, & smoaking of Tobacco was carried by a majority." (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xix, p. 104).

Under these circumstances one can understand that it might have been considered advisable to omit the rule forbidding smoking in Prov. Grand Lodge.]

Page 14

Art. 1.

Every Officer of this Provincial Grand Lodge shall at the time of his appointment, pay into the hands of the Treasurer for the time being ye following sums, viz.

Deputy Grand Master and	}	£. - s. - d.
Grand Wardens each		1 - 1 -
Grand Chaplain, Grand Orator,	}	-15 -
Grand Artist, Grand Record Keeper,		
Grand Seal Keeper, Grand Treasurer,		
Grand Secretary, Grand Architect,		
Grand Master of Cerems. & Grand Sword Br.	}	10 - 6.
Grand Stewards each		

A like sum to be paid annually at the last Grand Lodge each Year.

Page 15

Art. 2d.

The money arising from this Annual Subscription of the Grand Officers and Grand Stewards shall only be dispos'd of by the consent of a Majority of the Members in Grand Lodge assembled, except three Pounds three Shillings, which shall be paid annually to the Fund for Building a Hall &c. at every Quarterly Communication preceding the Grand Feast of Masons.

Art. 3d.

This Grand Lodge shall be held at least twice every Year, one of which to be upon, or as near the Feast-day of St. John the Baptist; and the first to be held in the Senior Lodge No. 10 at Chatham, the other to be held in such Lodges as the majority of the Grand Lodge shall think convenient, but as nearly Central as may be.

[“The Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent has met every St. John’s day since the year 1777, in different parts of the County, not only to celebrate that festival by a sermon, a procession, and a distribution of money to the poor of the parish where the sermon was preached, but to show a good example to the world in general, of rectitude and morality, and virtue of the Society, by their decent and suitable deportment. At these meetings the Brethren are acquainted with the transactions and laws of the Grand Lodge; which are always read and explained to them, together with the bye-laws of the Provincial Grand Lodge; and in order that the different Lodges in that County should be well instructed in their several duties as Masons, Laws, Rules, and Regulations for the good government thereof, are printed every two years, and distributed amongst the Lodges and principal grand-officers.¹ This method has had so good an effect, that the Kentish Freemasons are not only the most experienced, but the most hospitable, and charitable (probably) of any in England.

The following list shows the regularity with which these meetings were held and the way they were distributed over the Province. The date given in the Minute Book for the Canterbury Meeting in 1780, 18th July, is an error, as both the notice and report in the newspapers give the date as 25th July, 1780.

Chatham:	Mitre Tavern:	7 July, 1777.
Feversham:	Ship Tavern:	23 Dec., 1777.
Woolwich:	Ship Tavern:	9 July, 1778.
Gravesend:	King’s Head:	28 Dec., 1778.
Deal:	Three Kings:	24th June, 1779.
Dover:	Ship Inn:	27 Dec., 1779.
Canterbury:	King’s Head:	25th July, 1780.
Maidstone:	Bell Inn:	3 Jan., 1781.
Chatham:	Mitre Inn:	27 June, 1781.
Gravesend:	Falcon Tavern:	26 June, 1782.
Blackheath:	Br. Walker’s Assembly Rms:	8 July, 1783.

At the meeting at Chatham 27 June, 1781, it was “Resolved . . . and for the future (The Prov. Grand Lodge) to be an annual Meeting.”

In 1783 the meeting was advertised to be held, after being postponed, no Minutes were recorded in the Minute Book, but a letter in G.L. Library to the Grand Secretary shows that the meeting was held.

Kentish Gazette, June 12, 1776.

“Free Masons

You are desired to meet the Brethren of Lodge No. 10 at the Mitre in Chatham on Monday, 24th day of June inst., at nine o’clock in the Forenoon, in order to proceed to church (where a sermon will

¹ Smith’s Laws, and Regulations for the Good government of the P.G.L. of Kent in 12 m.o. 1781. (Smith’s *Use and Abuse*).

be preached by the Rev. Brother Butler from London) and celebrate the Festival of St. John the Baptist.

By Order of the Lodge,
T. R. Sec.

Dinner on the Table at Three o'clock.

Tickets to be had at the Mitre."

As we have noted, "The Prov. Grand Lodge . . . met every St. John's day since the year 1777." No. 10 Chatham was represented at every one of the ten Meetings of Prov. G. Lodge of which Minutes were recorded, during the time Capt. George Smith was P.G.M., and they would not have met at Chatham, "By Order of the Lodge", had there been a Prov. Grand Lodge meeting on that day—thus showing that these meetings were instituted by Capt. George Smith.]

Page 16 The members of this Grand Lodge shall consist of all present and past Grand Officers, all present and past Grand Stewards, and the Masters and Wardens of all the Regular Lodges in the County of KENT, acting under the authority of the Grand Lodge of England.

Any Brother belonging to, and a member of any regular Lodge under the Constitution of England, may appear in this Provincial Grand Lodge; but has no vote in the same. The Grand Secretary will always acquaint the Masters of every Lodge in Kent, when and where each Grand Lodge will be held at least one month before its meeting.

Page 17

Art. 4.

As it may be reasonably expected that all the present Provincial Grand Lodge Officers, and Grand Stewards will be present at every Provincial Grand Lodge; those who neglect that important duty (unless through sickness; or other very important reasons) shall Forfeit as follows viz.—

Provincial Grand Master and	}	£ - s. - d.
Deputy Grand Master each		10 - 6.
Grand Wardens each		7 - 6
Grand Chaplain, Grd. Orator, Grd. Treasr.	}	5 - 0
Grand Secy., Grd. Archt., Grd. Mastr. of		
Cerms, and Grand Stewards each		

These Forfeits to be paid into the hands of the Grand Treasurer, and to form part of the Fund of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

Page 18

Art. 5.

At every Provincial Grand Lodge, each Grand Officer and each Grand Steward present, shall pay into the hands of the Grand Secretary, for the time being the sum of 18 pence; as shall also the Masters and Wardens of each Lodge present pay 2s—6d.; and all visiting Brethren one Shilling each.

The Stewards will take care to provide a supper for the Grand Officers, Grand Stewards, the Master and Wardens of the respective Lodges, and such other Brethren who may choose to sup with the Grand Officers, at one Shilling a Head. The Liquor to be paid for by the Grand Secretary; and each individual to pay for his Supper.

But should the Grand Secretary not have a Sufficiency to defray the expence, each individual to pay an equal proportion of what may be wanting.

Page 19

Art. 6.

Such sums of money as each respective Lodge is accustomed to pay annually towards the general Fund of Charity; as likewise such other sums for Building a Hall &c. agreeable to the orders and Resolutions of the Grand Lodge of England, bearing the date the 29th of October, 1768; to be paid into the hands

of this Provincial Grand Lodge's Treasurer, at the last Grand Lodge of each year, or at least before the last of February the year following, in order that such Sums may be paid into the Fund of the Grand Lodge of England on each Quarterly Communication preceding the Grand Feast.

[Grand Lodge at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, Friday October 28, A.D. 1768. . . .]

The Grand Master in the chair then informed the brethren, that at a committee of charity held at the Horn Tavern, Fleet-street, on the 21st instant, he had presented a plan for raising a fund to build a hall, and purchase jewels, furniture &c. for the Grand Lodge, independent of the general fund of charity; that he apprehended the accomplishment of such a design would give a sanction to our assemblies; that the plan had been carefully perused by the brethren present at the committee; and several amendments having been made thereto, they were referred to this Grand Lodge for confirmation.

The several heads of this plan being proposed to the brethren, they resolved that the said resolutions do meet with the approbation of this Grand Lodge; and that they be strictly enforced by all regular lodges and masons under the Constitution of England, under the title of "Regulations for raising a fund to build a hall, and purchase jewels, furniture, &c., for the Grand Lodge independent of the General fund of Charity"; that they be forthwith printed and transmitted to all the lodges on record; that the above regulations do commence the 29th October, and that all the money collected in consequence of the above regulations, be paid to the grand secretary on or before each grand Lodge". (*Const.* 1784, p. 293).]

Page 20 The Grand Treasurer's printed account will be sent to each Lodge, by the Provincial Grand Secretary that each Lodge may see that those sums which have been paid into the Hands of the Provincial Grand Treasurer, have actually been paid into the Fund of the Grand Lodge of England.

Art. 7.

Every member of this Grand Lodge shall sign these Rules, Laws and Regulations, and thereby subject himself to the strict performance of the same.

Page 21 (Blank)

Page 22 At a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent, of the most ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, under the Constitution of England; the most Worshipful Capt. George Smith, Inspector of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich &c Grand Master, held at the Mitre at Chatham on Monday the 7th of July, 1777.

Being the First Provincial
Grand Lodge

Present.

Page 23	George Smith Esqr	P.G.M.	
	Julius Shepherd Esqr.	D.G.M.	
	Robert Lukyn Esqr.	S.G.W.	
	Willm. Sumpter Esqr.	J.G.W.	
	Galaliel Massiot Esqr.	G.T.	
	Mr. Thomas Fulljames	G.S.	
	Geo. St. C. Mann Esqr.	G.O.	
	Mr. John Nicholson	G.Archt.	
	Baron de Mikoving	G.M.Cers.	
	Mr. Henry Swinny	G.S.Bearr.	
	Mr. Jno. Creswell, Mr. Jno. Hall,		} Grand Stewards.
	Mr. Jno. Solly, Mr. Thos. Roberts,		
	Mr. Rd. Chapman, Mr. Jacob de Rippe		

And the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges viz.

Page 24	No. 10.	Post Office, Chatham.
	118.	King's Head, Gravesend.
	259.	Red Lion, Feversham.
	463.	Royal Military, Ship, Woolwich.
	480.	Rose, Dartford.
	501.	Reunited Lodge of Friendship, Gravesend.

Besides several other respectable Lodges.

[No. 10, Post Office, Chatham: Date of Warrant or Const. 28 March, 1723: Meeting in London 1723, Chatham 1748: Now the Kent Lodge of Antiquity No. 20.

No. 118, King's Head, Gravesend: Date of Warrant or Const. 8 June, 1751: Meeting in Gravesend: Named Lodge of Freedom 1789: Now No. 77.

No. 259, Red Lion, Feversham: Date of Warrant or Const. 28 August, 1764: Named Lodge of Harmony in 1791: Now No. 133.

No. 463, Royal Military, Ship, Woolwich: Date of Warrant or Const. 19 March, 1774. Erased 11 Feb., 1784.*

No. 480, Rose, Dartford: Date of Warrant or Const. 13 June, 1775: Meeting at Dartford 1775, West Malling 1787: Lapsed about 1803.

No. 501, Reunited Lodge of Friendship, Gravesend: Named 1780: Erased 1822: Date of Warrant or Const. 1776.

(Lane's *Masonic Records*.)

*The following petition concerning the Royal Military Lodge, Woolwich, is in the Grand Lodge Library:—

“Right Worshipful Grand Master!

We the underwritten set forth, that we are all regular made Masons and present members of different Lodges under the Constitution of England: that having the prosperiy of the Society at heart, and are willing to exert our best endeavours to promote the principles of Masonry that for the convenience of our respective dwellings, and other good reasons, have agreed to form ourselves into a new Lodge to be named the Royal Military Lodge, and have nomenated Capt. George Smith, Inspector of the Royal Military Academy to be Master, Capt. Elias Walker to be Senior Warden, and Capt. William Borthwick to be Junior Warden. That in consequence of this resolution we pray for a warrant of dispensation to impower us to assemble and hold a regular Lodge on the first Thursday in every month, at the home of Mr. Hodgson, known by the Sign of the Crown and Anchor in Woolwich, and then and there to make, pass, and raise Masons according to the regular forms of the Society, and to execute all the other duties of the Craft:

That the prayer of our petition being granted, we will faithfully obey all the Edicts or Commands of the Grand Lodge, and strictly conform to all her laws and regulations.

Woolwich, 7th January, 1779.

(Signed) George Smith.
Elias Walker.
Wm. Borthwick.
Chas. Hutton.
Chas. Smith.
Jas. Irving.
Gaml. Massiot.”]

The Provincial Lodge was opened in ample form, the Right Worshipful Master read his appointment as Provincial Grand Master, and immediately proceeded to Invest the Grand Officers with the ensigns of Respective Orders, delivering to each a proper charge.

The Laws regarding the Behaviour of the Brethren in Grand Lodge were read.

Page 25 Resolved that the Jewels and other Insignia belonging to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent, be paid out of the Fund of the Said Lodge, and to remain the entire Property of the Same. That each of the Grand Officers composing the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent, do take and keep in his possession such Jewel as is appropriate to the office he serves, and to be answerable for the same.

Resolved that each appointed Grand Officer present, do pay into the Hands of the Treasurer, such stipulated sums as are mentioned in the first Article of the By. Laws, which was accordingly done.

Page 26 (As on pages 4 and 5, with the "stipulated sums" against the names of the respective Grand Officers and Stewards as on page 14).

Page 27	Masters and Wardens No. 10.	2 - 6d.
	Gravesend King's Head 118	2 - 6d.
	Feversham 259.	2 - 6d.
	Woolwich 463.	2 - 6d.
	Dartford 480.	2 - 6d.
	Gravesend Falcon 501.	2 - 6d.

Resolved that the next Provincial Grand Lodge be held at Feversham, on the day of St. John the Evangelist, December 27th, 1777.

The Lodge was closed in ample Form, and the Evening concluded with the utmost Harmony, Festivity and Brotherly Love &c.

Page 28 At a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent . . . , held at the Ship Tavern Feversham on Tuesday the 23rd of December, 1777.

Being the Second Provincial
Grand Lodge
Present.

Page 29	Geo. Smith Esqr.	P.G.M.	£ - s. - d.
	Julius Shepherd Esqr.	D.G.M.	1 - 1 - 0
	Robert Lukyn Esqr.	S.G.W.	1 - 1 - 0
	Willm. Sumpter Esqr.	J.G.W.	1 - 1 - 0
	Gama. Massiott Esqr.	G.T.	15 - 0
	Mr. Thos. Fulljames	G.S.	15 - 0
	G. St. C. Mann Esqr.	G.O.	15 - 0
	Mr. Jno. Nicholson.	G.Arct.	15 - 0
	Mr. Wm. Witheridge	G.M.Cers.	15 - 0
absent.	Mr. Henry Swinny	G.S.Br.	15 - 0
Stewards Grand	Mr. Creswell	Mr. Hall	3 - 13 - 6
	Mr. Solly	Mr. D'Rippe	
	Mr. Roberts	Mr. Barrett	
	Mr. Wm. Fulljames each 10/6.		

Page 30	Master and Wardens No. 10	2 - 6.
	Gravesend 118	2 - 6.
	Dover 240	2 - 6.
	Feversham 259	2 - 6.
	Woolwich 463	2 - 6.
	Canterbury 498	2 - 6.
	Gravesend Falcon 501	2 - 6.

Resolved that three Guineas be sent to the Grand Lodge Annually, out of the Fund of this Lodge.

Resolved that as such Lodges as relieve a distressed Brother, shall mention in writing the Sum given, to the Mastr &c of the next Lodge that he may have occasion to call on.

[“Canterbury Jan. 3, 1778.

Extract of a letter from Faversham (*Kentish Gazette*).

Thursday the inhabitants were highly entertained with a meeting of a great concourse of Free Masons from all the different Lodges in the County of Kent, the majority being men of eminence and credit. I think this meeting is called a Provincial Grand Lodge, over which presided George Smith Esq., Provincial Grand Master: Julius Shepherd Esq. Deputy Grand Master: Robert Lukyn Esq. Sen. Grand Warden: William Sumpter Esq. Jun. Grand Warden: Gamaliel Massiott Esq. Grand Treasurer: and Mr. Thomas Fulljames Grand Secretary besides many more Grand Officers, Grand Stewards and the Masters and Wardens of the different Kentish Lodges. The different degrees and offices (in what they call the Royal Art) were distinguished by blue, red, and white aprons, besides very curious emblematic jewels, pendant to blue, red, and white garter ribbon, or brilliant lace. The procession began by two men with drawn swords, then white and red aprons, two and two, and lastly all the blue aprons, one after another, closed by two men with drawn swords. The procession was solemn, exceedingly regular, and with the utmost decorum. The insignia of the Grand Chaplain, Grand Orator, Grand Artist, Grand Architect, Grand Record-Keeper, Grand Seal-Keeper, Grand Master of Ceremonies, Grand Sword-Bearer were very expensive, pointing out in a judicious manner, the offices of those Gentlemen who wore them, said to be contrived and executed by that ingenious artist Mr. Neild, in St. James Street.¹ The discourse by the Rev. Mr. Taswell, as Grand Chaplain, was universally admired, and suited both as to time and purpose. The speech of George St. C. Mann Esq. Grand Orator, was elegant, pleasing, and highly satisfactory. At nine o'clock the Brethren withdrew to the Assembly Rooms at the Ship Tavern, where the Grand Stewards had ordered an Exceeding good Supper: A number of loyal Masonic Toasts were drank and the evening concluded with the utmost harmony and satisfaction.”

In the Minute Book of the Faversham Lodge (at that date No. 259) the following is written on the back of the page which gives the account of the Prov. Grand Lodge Meeting 23rd Dec., 1777:—

“Visiting Brothers.

Bros. Wilson	Fever- sham.	Bros. Hadrill	Canterbury
Bonney		Pettit	
Whitton		Edgumbe	
Hollensbee		Smith	
Chapman		Daniels	
Barnes		Taswell	Chatham
Coveney		Alexander	
Duly		Kent	
Barrett		Clapham	Dover
Cantis		Loach	
Murton			

and one or two more unknown.”]

¹ Neild, James, Philanthropist, Junior Grand Warden 1790; joined Somerset House Lodge 1772; born 1744; a Jeweller in the Strand; interested in prison reform. J.P. for Bucks, High Sheriff 1804; died 1814. (*G.L. Catalogue of Portraits & Prints*, vol. 2, p. 75.)

Page 31 Resolved that the next Provincial Grand Lodge be held at the Ship Tavern, Woolwich, on St. John's Day 1778.

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

[“When the *Grand Master* is present, it is a Lodge in *Ample Form*; otherwise only in due Form; yet having the same authority with *Ample Form*.” (*Const.* 1767, p. 189.)]

Page 32 At a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent ., held at the Ship Tavern, Woolwich, on Thursday, 9th of July, 1778.

Being the Third Provincial
Grand Lodge
Present.

Page 33	George Smith Esq.	G.M.
	Charles Marsh Esq. J.G.W. of the	
	G. L. of England as	D.G.M.
	Robt. Lukyn Esq.	S.G.W.
	Jno. Hull Esq. J.G.W. of the	
	G. L. of England as	J.G.W.
	The Rev. Willm. Porter	G.C.
	Bart Ruspini Esq. as	G.O.
	Gam' Massiott Esq.	G.T.
	Jno. Bessett Esq. as	G.S.
	Mr. John Nicholson	G.Arch.
	Mr. Jno. Domini	G.S.Keeper
	Mr. Wm. Witheridge	G.M.Cers
	Mr. Henry Swinny	G.S.Br.

Page 34	Mr. Jno. Creswell	Geo. Ayers Esq.	} Grand Stewards
	Mr. Jno. Hall	Mr. Dan. Barrett	
	Mr. Jno. Solly	Mr. Henry Thompson	
	Mr. Thos Roberts	Mr. Wm. Fulljames	
	Mr. Jacob D'Rippe		

And the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges Viz.—

Page 35	Grand Stewards Lodge of England	259 Faversham
	Lodge of Nine Muses	431 Wrotham
	St. Alban's Lodge	463 Woolwich
	Royal Arch Lodge	480 Dartford
	No. 10 Chatham	501 Gravesend
	15 Greenwich	
	118 Gravesend	

Besides many Brethren from Sundry Lodges.

[No. 15, Greenwich: Date of Warrant or Constitution 11 Sept., 1723, Meeting in London 1723: Royal Magazine, East Lane, Greenwich, 1754: Mitre, Church Street, Greenwich, 1775. Greenwich Lodge 1764: Fraternal Lodge 1784: Lapsed in 1803. The Minute Book of this Greenwich Lodge is in the possession of Lodge No. 208 at Dewsbury.

No. 431, Lodge of Friendship, Bull Inn, Wrotham: Date of Warrant or Constitution 19 June, 1772: Number became 339 in 1780: Its last appearance in the Prov. G. L. Minute Book is June 27, 1781, when it is given as “339, Rainham” (an error in copying). Lane gives Lodge as “Lapsed about 1776”.

It will be noted that no Lodge was represented at the Woolwich Meeting, which was situated farther away than Faversham. The following, however, shows that St. John's Day was not forgotten by

thereof explained by the Provincial Grand Master; spoke to by several of the Brethren.

[Grand Lodge Meeting at Freemasons' Hall April 8, 1778.

. . . "The Grand Secretary reported, that the Grand Master had lately convened the present and Past Masters, at the Thatched-House Tavern in St. James Street, for the purpose of considering the state of the Hall fund, and to concert means for discharging the debt due thereon; and also to consider of providing the grand master and his officers with cloathing suitable to the dignity and splendour of the Grand Lodge. That at this meeting his Grace proposed, that letters should be sent to all the Lodges in England as soon as possible, and to those abroad as conveniency offered, acquainting them with the present state of the debt on the Hall account, and with the average sum that would discharge the same by subscriptions together with the sums that particular Lodges had already subscribed, and to request their assistance; at the same time to intimate that if £2,000 could be now raised, no further subscriptions would be wanted; that when provincial grand masters were appointed, their encouragement and support of this application should be desired.

Resolved that this Grand Lodge do approve of his Grace's proposal, and that letters be sent accordingly."']

Page 41 Unanimously resolved the same be put into execution.

Resolved that a polite letter of thanks be sent to the Revd. Mr. Eccles for his excellent Sermon.

Resolved that the next Provincial Grand Lodge be held at the Lodge 118 at the King's Head, Gravesend on the 27th December next being St. John's day; but on account of that day falling on a Sunday that Festival to be celebrated the day following namely on Monday the 28th at Six O'clock, in the evening.

Page 42 The Lodge closed in Ample Form and the evening concluded with the utmost Harmony, Festivity and Brotherly Love.

Page 43 At a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent . . . , held at the King's Head, Gravesend, on Monday the 28th December, 1778

Being the Fourth Provincial

Grand Lodge

Present.

Page 44	Geo. Smith Esqr.	P.G.M.	£ - s. - d
	Geo. St. C. Mann Esqr.	D.G.M.	1 - 1 -
	Mr. Henry Swinney	S.G.W.	1 - 1 -
	Mr. Jacob D'Rippe	J.G.W.	1 - 1 -
	Gaml. Massiott Esqr.	G.T.	- 15 -
	Mr. Thos. Fuljames	G.S.	- 15 -
	Mr. John Domminae		- 15 -
	Mr. Roger Mann	G.S.B.	- 15 -
	Do. fine		5 - 3
Grand	Mr. Eggleston, Mr. Nash	}	2 - 12 - 6.
Stewards	Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Boncey,		
	and Mr. Barrett each 10/6		
Page 45	Master and Wardens No. 10		2 - 6
	Gravesend Kings H. 118		2 - 6
	Woolwich 463		2 - 6
	Gravesend Falcon 501		2 - 6

The Counties of

will admit

Kentish Masons with their Jewels &c.

the Lodges which were unable to attend owing to difficulties in travelling:—

(*Kentish Gazette*).

“Extract of a Letter from Dover, June 25, 1778.

“Yesterday being the Festival of St. John the Baptist, the Free and Accepted Masons of Lodge No. 243, Bulwark St., Private Room, with many visiting Brethren from Deal & Sandwich Lodges assembled on that occasion at the above mentioned place, Thence they went in procession to St. Mary's Church. The morning prayers were read by the Rev. R. Pitman, Rector of Chillenden, a sermon was preached by the Rev. Denward, of Walmer, the Text was taken from the 45th C. of Genesis and part of the 24th verse, “See that ye fall not out by the way”. In the ingenious discourse which followed that morning he judiciously expatiated on the glorious principles on which the Royal Art is founded and proved its basis still to be firm and permanent. The greatest decorum was observed by the Brotherhood, who made a very respectable appearance.”]

Page 36 The Brethren formed a Grand Procession in the following manner, viz. an excellent Band of martial Music, belonging to the Royal Regiment of Artillery, playing a Solemn Masonic march: Grand Tyler with a drawn Sword. Members of the Lodge 509, dressed in the insignia of the order, two and two; Wardens of do, past Master, present Master. Members of the Lodge 480, in the same manner. Members of the Lodge 463, two and two, Wardens, past Master, first Light carried by the Master of the Fourth Kentish Lodge; Master.

Page 37 Members of Lodge 259 in the same manner. Members of Lodge 118 in the same manner. Members of Lodge 15 in the same manner. Members of the Lodge 10 two and two, Wardens, past Master, second Light carried by the Master of the third Lodge, Master.

Lodge of the Nine Muses in their superb Jewels, two and two, Wardens, past Master, Master. Provincial Stewards, Juniors walking first. Members of the Stewards Lodge, two and two, Wardens of the Stewards Lodge.

Page 38 Master of Ceremonies, wearing his curious emblematical Jewel. Architect carrying the Impliments of Free Masonry. Master of the Fifth Lodge carrying the Bible on a Velvet Cushion. Grand Chaplain. Grand Secretary with the Bag. Grand Treasurer with the Staff. Grand Artist, Grand Sealkeeper, in their curious and expressive Insignia.

Thurd Light carried by the Master of the Second Lodge. Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge of England, Juniors walking first. Provincial Grand Wardens, Book of Constitutions, carried by the Master of the Senior Lodge.

Page 39 Deputy Grand Master, Grand Sword Bearer with Sword of State.
Provincial Grand Master
Grand Tyler with a naked Sword.

This procession walked regular, and with the utmost Solemnity to the Parish Church. On reaching the principal Entrance, the Brethren divided to the right and left forming a Street for the Grand Officers to walk first into church, which was exceeding crowded with a very genteel Audience. The Sermon was elegant pleasing and greatly edifying.

Page 40 The Text was from the words of St. John, Chapter 8th, Verse the 32d. The Procession walked from church, in the same manner they went and at four o'clock, sat down to an elegant Dinner. The Grand Lodge was opened at Seven O'clock in Ample Form. Laws relating to the behaviour of the Brethren in Grand Lodge was read. Minutes of the last G. L. was read and confirm'd. A letter from the Grand Lodge of England was read the nature

[This appears to have been an attempt to introduce inter-Provincial Lodge Visiting which would appear to contravene Art. 3, *Const.* 1767.

"He (P.G.M.) is also empowered to appoint a *Deputy, Wardens, Treasurer, Secretary, and Sword-Bearer*, who are entitled to wear the *clothing of Grand Officers*, while they officiate as such within that particular District; but at no other Time or Place". (*Const.* 1767, p. 328).]

Page 46 Resolved that the next Provincial Grand Lodge be held at the Royal Navy Lodge, Deal, on Thursday 24th June being St. John's day.

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

[(*Kentish Gazette* June 19-23, 1779)

"Kent. Captain George Smith (Provincial Grand Master for this County) of the most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons under the constitution of England, will hold his next Provincial Grand Lodge on the ensuing Festival of Saint John the Baptist (Thursday the 24th day of June instant) at the Three Kings Inn, in the Town of Deal in the said County.

The sermon (by appointment of the Provincial Grand Master) will be preached by the Reverend Bro. James Smith of ALKHAM, in Kent.

The Procession to begin at one o'clock.

The Dinner to be ready between the hours of Three and Four: and the Grand Lodge to be opened precisely at seven o'clock."

(*Kentish Gazette*)

"Canterbury June 30, 1779.

Extract of a letter from Deal, June 24, 1779.

'This day we had a most pleasing sight of a great number of Free and Accepted Masons from the different Lodges in the County of Kent. They assembled at the Three Kings Tavern in this town, and proceeded to the chapel in the following manner, with the proper ensigns of their order, viz.

Two Tylers with drawn Swords.

Two Stewards with wands.

The members and officers of the different Lodges
two and two.

The PVG Officers.

The Secretary supporting the Bible on a purple velvet cushion.
Several Clergymen.

PVGS. as PVG Sword Bearer.

PVGA as PVGM.

A Tyler.

An excellent sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. James Smith. They were attended to and from church by a band of musick; the whole was conducted with great order and decency much to the satisfaction of many thousand spectators'."]

Page 47 At a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent ., held at the Three King's Deal on the 24th June, 1779.

Being the Fifth Provincial
Grand Lodge

Present.

Page 48

Mr. John Nicholson as	P.G.M.
Mr. Willm Witheridge as	D.G.M.
P. Raineer as	G.Record Keeper

Mr. Jacob De Rippe
 Mr. Jno. Domminae
 Mr. Rd. Domminae as G.S.
 Mr. Chs Boncey

Many other Provincial Grand Officers and the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges.

No. 10 Chatham
 229 Deal
 243 Dover
 259 Faversham
 498 Canterbury
 501 Gravesend
 509 Sandwich

a Lodge from Dover Acting under a Dispensation.

Page 49 The P.G.M. being unable to attend this P.G.L. Brother Nicholson was requested to officiate as P.G.M. and formed the Procession to Church.

The P.G.L. being opened at half past 6 o'clock a motion was made by the Rev. Denward that as the Revd. Jno. Lyon of Dover had not been regularly made a Mason, he was not to be admitted in any Lodge of Free Masons.

Resolved that the thanks of this Lodge be given to the Rev. Bro. Smith, for the very excellent Sermon he gave us and that he might be requested to have it printed—which he politely declined.

Page 50 Resolved that the next P.G.L. be held at No. 243 Dover on Monday the 27th December.

Lodge closed at half past 8 o'clock in due form, and the Evening concluded with that harmony and Brotherly love, which is the characteristic of a Mason.

Page 51 At a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent . . . , held at the Ship Inn, Dover, on Monday the 27th of December, 1779.

Being the Sixth Provincial
 Grand Lodge
 Present.

[(*Kentish Gazette*, Dec. 22-25, 1779.)]

"Kent, Captain George Smith, Provincial Grand Master for the County, of the most ancient and Honourable Society of Free & Accepted Masons under the constitution of England, will hold his next Provincial Grand Lodge on Monday the 27th day of Dec. instant (being the Festival of Saint John the Evangelist) at the Ship Tavern in Dover. The Procession to be at twelve, Sermon at one, Dinner at Half past Two o'clock."]

Page 52 Geo. Smith Esqr. P.G.M.
 G. Prestes Esqr. as D.G.M.
 Thos. Roberts Esqr. as G.M.C.
 Gaml. Massiott Esqr. P.G.T.
 Mr. Thos. Fowle P.G.S.B.
 Mr. G. Hopkins
 Mr. C. Boncey
 Mr. E. Godier G. S.
 Mr. Jno. Tyson
 Danl. Barrett

And the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges viz.

Lodge No. 10
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.

The Procession began at one o'Clock in due form & an Excellent Sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Bro. Pitman. The Procession returned to Dinner at the Ship Inn and many loyal Toasts were given.

Page 53 The P.G.L. being opened in the evening

Resolved that the thanks of the Lodge be given to the Rev. Mr. Pitman for his very excellent Sermon—and he having consented to publish it, the following Subscriptions were immediately received.

Geo. Smith Esqr. for London	100 Copies
Mr. Thos. Roberts for Chatham	20
Mr. H. Hooder for Deal	10
Mr. E. Godier for Dover	30
Capt. Lamb	10
Mr. Prentis from Maidstone	15
Mr. Tyson for Dover	30
Mr. Farbrace	10
Rev. Bro. Denward for Deal	10

Bro. Willm. Witheridge resigned his Jewel as G.M. of the Ceremonies.

Page 54 Resolved that the next P.G.L. should be held at Canterbury on Tuesday the 26th Day of June, 1780.

[(*Kentish Gazette*, June 10-14, 1780.)

“FREE-MASONS

On Tuesday the 20th instant, Captain George Smith, Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, will hold a Grand Lodge at the King's Head Inn, in this City, where a very numerous and respectable body of FREE Masons from the different Lodges in the County, will attend and walk in procession.

A Sermon will be preached on the occasion.

Dinner on the Table at Three o'clock.

Canterbury, June 10, 1780.”

(*Kentish Gazette*, June 14-17, 1780.”

“FREE-MASONRY

The Provincial Grand Master orders me to acquaint you that he thinks it necessary to postpone the Meeting at Canterbury, as the present critical situation of the times renders it impossible for him to attend.

I am,

Your most obedient Servant,

Orpington, June 12, 1780.

Thomas Fulljames.”

(*Kentish Gazette*, July 19-22, 1780.)

“FREE-MASONRY

The Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent will hold a Grand Lodge at the King's Head Inn, in this City, on Tuesday the 25th inst., when the Brethren are requested to attend, by eleven of the clock in the Forenoon, to walk in Procession.

Dinner on the Table at Three o'clock.

Canterbury, July 17, 1780.”]

Page 55 At a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent ., held at the Kings Head Canterbury on Tuesday the 18th July, 1780.

Being the Seventh Provincial

Grand Lodge

Present.

Geo. Smith Esqr.	P.G.M.
Geo. Farbrace Esqr.	D.G.M.
Thos. Roberts G. Orator as	S.G.W.

	Jacob de Rippe	J.G.W.
	Rev. Mr. Denward as	G.Chap.
Page 56	George Prentis Esq.	G.O.
	Robert Bristow as	G.S.
	Mr. Gillman as	G.T.
	Mr. Gramshaw	G.M.C.
	G.S. { Eubulus Smith	G.S.
	Charles Bensoy	
	Geo. Hopkins	

and the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges

No. 10 Chatham
 243 Dover
 259 Feversham
 463 Woolwich
 498 Canterbury ¹
 501 Gravesend
 517 Maidstone ²
 518 Dover ³

[Canterbury July 26 (1780)]

"A P.G. Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the County of Kent, was held yesterday at the King's Head Inn, in this City, by appointment of George Smith Esq. P.G.M. for this County. At half past one o'clock they proceeded to St. George's Church, in their proper regalia, &c. &c., accompanied by a band of music playing a solemn march, in the following order.

Two Tylers with drawn Swords

The Officers of the different Lodges, in regular procession, according to the ancient Custom of Free Masonry.

The P.G. Stewards.

The P.G. Officers, & P.P.G. Officers.

A Brother supporting the Bible on a Velvet Cushion.

Two Divines

A Brother supporting the Book of Constitutions.

P.G. Orator.

P.J.G. Warden.

P.S.G. Warden.

P.G. Sword-Bearer.

P. G. M.

Two Members of the R.A.

A Tyler.

The Masters of the Three Senior Lodges, in their respective Situations, each with a G. Light &c.

An Excellent sermon adapted to the occasion of Solemnity, was preached by the Rev. Mr. De Lenoy, from the 2nd Chapter, 1st Epistle of St. Peter, Ver. 17. 'Honour all men. Love the Brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King'. After church they returned in the same order, amidst a great concourse of spectators, whose

¹ No. 498, Industrious Lodge, Canterbury. Date of Warrant or Const. 28 Nov., 1776. United with No. 37 (No. 24, Ancients of 24 March, 1806) 8 April, 1819. Now the United Industrious Lodge No. 31, Canterbury.

² No. 517, Lodge of Fortitude. Date of Warrant or Const. 26 Aug., 1779. Meeting at the Bell Inn, Week St., Maidstone, 1779. Haunch of Venison Inn, High St., Maidstone, 1805. Erased 1828.

³ No. 518, Lodge of Love and Unity. Date of Warrant or Const. 1779. Meeting at Private Room, Dover, Kent, 1779, Chequers Inn, Dover, 1786, Britannia Coffee House, 1788. Erased 18 April, 1792.

regular and decent behaviour testified their satisfaction of the procession of that most Ancient and Honourable Society."

"Canterbury July 29 (1780)

The P.G. Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons, held at the King's head, in this City last Tuesday, being solemnly opened, continued and ended in ample form, the following Brethren were appointed P.G. Officers with the universal approbation of the members of the different Lodges in this County assembled viz

The Rev. Br. Denward P.G. Chaplain.

Br. Farbrace of Dover D.P.G.M.

Br. Bristow of Strood.

Br. W. Gillman of Chatham.

Br. Eubusus Smith M. of the

Indus. Lodge, Canterbury.

} P. G. Stewards.

The occasional solemn business being finished, the Brethren spent the remainder of the day in social festivity and mirth, when several loyal toasts were drank. The greatest unanimity and harmony subsisted among all the Brethren present, which with benevolence and charity (which they had the pleasure to display) are characteristic of Free and Accepted Masons.

What Pain he shuns who dares be wise!

What Glory wins who dares Excell.

We hear that the next Provincial Grand Lodge will be held at Maidstone, on the 1st Wednesday in January, 1781."]

Page 57 The P.G.L. was opened at 10 o'clock in due form; when the Brethren formed a grand Procession in the most regular order, walking along the Street to the Church, where an excellent Sermon was Preached by the Revd. Br. Lenoy, from the words "Honour all men, love the Brotherhood; fear God, Honour the King".

A Collection was made in the church and given to the church Wardens for the use of the Poor of the Parish, where the Sermon was preached. The Sermon being ended the Procession returned in the same good order, amidst the acclamations of thousands of Spectators, to the King's Head, where a most sumptuous Dinner was prepared and many Loyal Toasts drank.

Page 58 At 7 o'clock the P.G. Lodge was opened in form, Laws relative the behaviour of Brethren in G.L. read.

Minutes of the last G.L. were read & confirmed.

The P.G.M. acquainted the Brethren, the Picture, intended as a present to the new Hall from the Kentish Lodges, was already begun; when the following Contributions were paid.

	£ - s - d
Danl. Renier Esqr. Sandwich	1 - 1 -
Phineas Strenger Esqr. Dover	1 - 1 -
Jno. Manning Esqr. Canterbury	1 - 1 -
A Brother	2 - 6.
Rev. Mr. Denward	- 5 -
Mr. Webster Gillman	- 5 -
Mr. Thos. Roberts	- 5 -
Mr. James Mitchner	- 5 -
Mr. Fowle	- 5 -
Sums subscribed and not paid	
Lodge No. 463 Woolwich	3 - 3 -
244 Dover	1 - 1 -
Mr. Wilson	- 1 -

Resolved that the thanks of this Lodge be made to the Rev. Br. Lenoy for his excellent Sermon.

Resolved that the thanks of this Grand Lodge be made to the Canterbury Lodge for the great attention and good regulation of this Days Ceremony.

Resolved that the next P.G.L. be held at the Bell Inn, at Brother Hopkins, Maidstone, on Wednesday the 3d of January, 1781.

Page 60 The G.M. was pleased to make the following Promotions viz.

Geo. Farbrace Esqr. to be	D.G.M.
Rev. Brother Denward	G. Chap.
Br. Thos. Wilkinson	
Br. Eubulus Smith	G. Stewards.
Br. Webster Gillman	
Br. Robt. Bristow	

The Lodge was closed in Ample Form; and the evening concluded with the utmost Harmony, Festivity and Brotherly Love.

Page 61 This P.G.L. was honoured with the presence of
Jno. Brooks Esqr. past Principal of the R.A.
Barthw. Ruspini Esqr. Principal of R.A.
Mauritus Lowe Esqr. Lodge of nine Muses.

[(*Kentish Gazette* Dec. 27-Dec. 30,) 1780.]

“FREE MASONRY

The Worthy Brethren of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free-Masons, residing in the County of Kent, are desired to meet George Smith Esq; Provincial Grand Master for the said County, at the Bell Inn, Maidstone, on Wednesday the 3rd of January next, when a Provincial Grand Lodge will be held, and a Sermon preached at the Parish Church before the Brethren there assembled, by the Rev. Brother Denward Provincial Grand Chaplain, at Two o'clock.”

(*Kentish Gazette*)

“Canterbury Jan. 13 (1781)

On Wednesday last a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent, of the most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, under the constitution of England, Captain George Smith, Grand Master, was held at Maidstone.—

The Provincial Grand Lodge was opened in due form at half past one o'clock, when the Brethren formed a grand procession in the most regular and due order, and proceeded to church, where an excellent Sermon was preached by the Rev. Brother Delanoy, from these words ‘Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.’ A collection was made for the poor of the parish, and the procession returned in the most regular order, amidst the acclamations of thousands of spectators, to the Bell Inn, where a most sumptuous dinner was prepared, and many loyal toasts drank.— In the evening, the Lodge being solemnly opened, continued and ended, in complete form, the following members were appointed Provincial Grand Officers, with the unanimous approbation of the members.

Rev. Br. Delanoy	D.P.G. Chaplain
Br. W. Gillman	P.G. Secretary
Br. R. Bristow jun	P.G. Artist
Br. — Fowle	P.G. Standard-Bearer
Br. Boncey, Br. Hopkins,	
Br. Mate, Br. Bushell	P.G. Stewards.
Br. Hayes, Br. Thompson	

The Greatest unanimity and harmony subsisted amongst all the Brethren which, with benevolence and charity (which they had the pleasure to display) are characteristic of Free and Accepted Masons."']

Page 62 At a Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent ., held at the Bell Inn, Maidstone, on the 3d of January, 1781.

Being the Eighth Provincial
Grand Lodge

Page 63

Present

Geo. Smith Esqr.	P.G.M.
G. Farbrace Esqr. as	D.G.M.
Mr. Thos. Roberts	S.G.W.
Mr. Pluckwell as	J.G.W.
Rev. Thos. Denward	P.G.C.
Revd. De Lenoy	D.P.G.C.
.....	G.O.
Mr. Webster Gillman	P.G.S.
.....	G.T.
Richd. Bristow Esqr.	G.A.
.....	G.M.C.
Mr. Charles Mate	} G. Stewards..
Mr. Jno. Bushell	
Chrisr. Hayes Esqr.	
Mr. L. Thompson	
Mr. G. Hopkins	
Mr. C. Boncey	

Page 64 And the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges viz.

No. 10 Chatham
243 Dover
259 Faversham
463 Woolwich
517 Maidstone
518 Dover.

At one o'clock the Brethren form'd a Grand Procession & in the most regular good order proceeded to church where an excellent Sermon was Preached by the Revd. Brother Lenoy from the words "Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her Paths are peace". A Collection being made for the Poor as usual, the Procession returned to the Bell Inn—an elegant Dinner was provided & the Friends to

Page 65

Masonry & to our Country were not forgotten in our Toasts.

P.G. Lodge was opened in form at 7 o'clock.

Minutes of the last P.G.L. read and confirmed.

P.G.M. Collected the following Contributions towards the Painting.

	£ - s - d.
No. 10 Chatham Lodge	3 - 3 -
243 Dover Lodge	1 - 1 -
517 Maidstone Lodge	2 - 2 -
518 Dover Lodge	10 - 6
Br. Bushell	2 - 6
Br. Yates	2 - 6
Collected for Charity	
517 Maidstone	1 - 1 -
10 Chatham.	2 - 2 -

Page 66 A motion was made by Br. Witheridge & agreed to, that Daniel Barrett be expelled the Lodge as an unworthy Member, being guilty of a detestable Crime.

Resolved that the thanks of this Lodge be given to Br. Lenoy for his Excellent Sermon.

Resolved that the thanks of this Lodge be made to the Maidstone Lodge for the great attention and good regulation of this Days Ceremony.

Gathered 12/6 for distressed Bro. Morris.

Page 67 The P.G.M. was pleased to make the following Promotions viz.

Rev. Br. Lenoy	D.G.C.
Mr. Webster Gillman	P.G.S.
Mr. Robt. Bristow	G.Artist
Mr. Thos. Fowle	G.S.Bearer
Mr. Mate	} P.G.S.
Mr. Bushil	
Chris. Hayes Esqr.	
Mr. L. Thompson	
Mr. G. M. Camack.	

[(*Kentish Gazette* 1784)]

“The Lord Chancellor has been pleased to appoint Mr. R. Bristow, Attorney at Law, at Rochester, a Master Extraordinary in Chancery.”]

Page 68 Resolved that the next P.G.L. be held at Br. Thompsons at the Post Office, Chatham on Wednesday the 27th of June, 1781.

The Lodge being closed in due form, the Evening concluded with the utmost Harmony and Brotherly Love.

[(“*Kentish Gazette*, Wed. June 6-Sat. June 9, 1781

FREE MASONRY

The Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, will hold a Grand Lodge at the Mitre Tavern, Chatham, on Wednesday the 27th Instant, where the Brethren are requested to attend by eleven o'clock in the Forenoon to walk in Procession.

A Sermon will be preached on the occasion

Dinner on the Table at Three o'clock.”

(*Kentish Gazette*)

“Canterbury July 4, (1781)

On Wednesday last a Provincial Grand Meeting of Free and Accepted Masons of the County of Kent, was held at the Mitre Inn, Chatham at which a very respectable number of Brethren attended, and they proceeded to Chatham Church with the usual ceremony, where an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Brother Hatherill, from the 2nd Chapt. 15th v. of the 2nd Epistle to the Thessalonians—‘Therefore, Brethren Stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or by our epistle’. The P.G.L. was opened at six o'clock in the afternoon, and the evening concluded with the utmost harmony and brotherly love. The next P.G.L. is intended to be held at the Falcon, Gravesend.”]

Page 69 At a Provincial Grand Lodge . . . held at the Mitre Inn, Chatham on Wednesday June 27th, 1781.

Being the Ninth Provincial Grand Lodge.

Present

The Provincial Grand Officers for the County of Kent and the Masters & Wardens of the following Lodges.

No. 10 Chatham
 96 Gravesend
 205 Faversham
 339 Rainham (Wrotham)
 370 Woolwich
 403 Canterbury
 406 Gravesend

At half past one o'clock a Grand Procession was formed and proceeded to church, where a Sermon was Preached by

Page 70 The Rev. Bror. Hatherill from the words "Therefore Brethren stand fast and hold the traditions which you have been taught either by word or deed. . . ."

P.G. Lodge was opened at seven o'clock
 Minutes read and confirmed.

	£ - s - d
The Lodge No. 10 Paid the P.G.M. towards the Painting	3 - 3
Rev. Br. Hatherill	- 5 -
Br. John Gibbons	- 2 - 6
John Smith	- 2 - 6
Rd. Edgumbe	- 5 -
John De Belford	- 2 - 6
John Lonsdale	- 5 -
Officers of Lodge No. 10 Paid P.G.M. for the fees due for making in the Lodge	7 - 10 -

N.B. The Maidstone Lodge, tho' entered as ——— having subscribed towards the Painting on a former P.G.L. did not advance the money——Notice was given that Danl. Barret was expelled

Page 71 the P.G.L. and that notices would be sent to all the Lodges in the world under the Constitution of England.

D.P.G.M. read a letter from the Rev. Bro. Smith Complaining of a neglect in not having Recd. the Money due to him for Sermons sent to the different Lodges.

And a motion was made, that each Lodge in the County of Kent should make a Collection towards defraying our Revd. Brother's expences, and gathered on the occasion £1 - 12 - .

A Motion was made by the Master of Lodge No. 10 and Unanimously agreed on, that when a person is proposed to be made a Mason in any Lodge in the County and not approved of, that the Master of that Lodge shall acquaint the P.G.M. of the circumstances immediately—who in consequence shall direct the P.G.S. to communicate the same to every Lodge in the County.

Resolved that the Thanks of this Lodge be given to the Revd. Br. Hatherill for his excellent Sermon.

Resolved that the account of money paid into the Treasurer's hands, be printed against next Lodge night.

Page 73 And also that the Subscriptions, towards the Picture be also collected.

Resolved that the next P.G.L. be held at the Falcon Tavern Gravesend, and for the future to be an annual Meeting.

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

[“1780, July 26, ‘For Bro. Smith’s Sermons 10/6’ (P.G.L. 24th June, 1779). It was published later & a number of copies purchased at a cost of 10/6, to which the brethren contributed 5/-”
(Hist. of Lodge of Harmony, Culmer, p. 17).]

(*Kentish Gazette*, June 8, 1782)

“FREE-MASONRY.

The Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent, will hold a Grand Lodge at the Falcon Tavern, Gravesend, on Wednesday the 26th of June instan. when the Brethren are requested to walk in Procession at Half past Twelve o'clock.

A Sermon will be preached on the occasion and Service begin at one o'clock. Dinner on Table at Four o'clock.

The Grand Lodge will open at Seven o'clock.”

(*Kentish Gazette*)

“Canterbury June 22 (1782)

We hear that a collection is to be made on Wednesday next, for the use of the Society for the Recovery of drowned Persons, at Gravesend Church after the sermon on the festival, which is held on that day (at the Falcon Tavern) by the free and accepted Masons.”

“On Masonic Charity” (*Use & Abuse of Freemasonry*, Capt. George Smith.)

“In 1782, the Lodge of Fortitude, at Maidstone in Kent, came to a resolution (in imitation of many foreign Lodges) to render service to mankind in general, by some singular transaction, more than the bulk of Masonry in *England* are accustomed to do, viz. The Maritime situation of *Kent*, a country from its nature and situation, in an especial manner liable to accidents by water, and to which, in consequence of these circumstances, the *Humane Society* owes its rise! An Institution so coincident with all the finest feelings of humanity, and so immediately interesting to the public welfare, by saving the lives of an order of men, who, in an eminent degree contribute to the public weal; in a maritime and commercial state like ours; who in occupying their business on the great waters are consequently more liable to accidents upon it. The Lodge of Fortitude maturely considering this, have distributed numbers of handbills through the county, containing the methods of treatment prescribed by the directors and medical assistants, generously offer an addition to the rewards paid by that Society, when life is restored, in unsuccessful attempts (provided the mode of treatment laid down by that Society has been used) to the publicans or other persons who receive the bodies readily into their houses; and the person who first brings the news of an accident to the nearest medical assistant. In short, the Lodge propose to persue every method which will enable them to be more useful in saving the lives of their fellow Creatures.

Permit me now my worthy Brethren, as father of the Lodge (being instituted by me in 1779)¹ to address you on so laudable and praiseworthy an undertaking, being the first attempt, in *England* of a Free Mason's Lodge rendering general utility to mankind. What pleasure you must feel by contemplating the hundreds of cases that have happened in one County alone, since the institution of the *Humane Society* in 1774. . . .”

(*Kentish Gazette*, June, 1782)

“Canterbury, June 29. Monday being the festival of St. John the Baptist, the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, assembled at the private Lodge Room, in Biggin St. Dover,

¹ During the regime of the early Provincial Grand Masters—Walsingham, Frederick, and Smith (1777-1785)—there had been no Lodges warranted by the Provincial Masters; there after all issues by the Moderns were Provincial. (*Provincial Warrants*, T. M. Carter, *A.Q.U.*, vol. xlii, p. 16.)

and afterwards went to the Castle, and joined the gentlemen officers belonging to the 59th Regiment of Foot, and walked in procession (accompanied with the band) to Bro. Dodd's, where an elegant entertainment was provided on the occasion, and the day spent in the utmost harmony and Brotherly love."

The Lodge meeting at "Biggin St." was probably the "Modern" No. 518, Lodge of Love and Unity. There is no record in "Lane" of a Lodge in the 59th Regiment of Foot, although there are records of Lodges in the 58th and the 60th Regiments. There was, however, an "Antient" Lodge No. 203 which was meeting at "Canteen, Garrison of Dover, Dover Castle" in 1777; it is significant to note that this Lodge was named in 1813 Lodge of Love and Unity, No. 518 having been erased in 1792.¹

Among the names in a "Masonic Directory" at the end of *Freemasons' Magazine*, June, 1795, is the following:—

Hopkins, George, Innkeeper (Bell) Maidstone, No. of Ldge 314."]

Page 74 At a P.G.L. for the County of Kent of the most Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons for the County of Kent, . . . held at the Falcon Tavern, Gravesend, on the 26th Day of June, 1782.

Being the Tenth Provincial Grand Lodge.

Page 75 Present.

Mr. Webster Gillman as P.G.M. and many other provincial Grand Officers & the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges.

No 10 Chatham.
14 Greenwich.
96 Gravesend.
385 Dartford.
406 Gravesend.
422 Maidstone.
403 Canterbury.

The P.G.M. being unable to attend the P.G.L. Brother Gillman was requested to officiate as P.G.M. and formed the procession to church.

Page 76 The P.G.L. opened in due form at seven o'clock.

Minutes of the last P.G.L. read and confirmed & several Accounts from the P.G.M. read and deferred till next P.G. Meeting.

A motion was made by the desire of P.G.M. to appoint Brother Willm. Cousins of Maidstone P.G.T. in the room of G. Massiott Esq. deceased, which trust Brother Cousins accepted of & the Balance of £9 - 1 - 9 due to the Lodge he was to receive of Brother Massiott's executors & to pay Brother Gillman his Charge for Advertising the different P.G. Meetings & for Printing the Rules of the P.G.L. & other Debts due to different Brothers.

Page 77 A motion was made by Brother Gillman that the Secretaries of the different Lodges in the County should make themselves acquainted with what number of Brethren have been appointed P.G. Officers & have not had their Jewels sent them according to Promise & to report the same at next P.G. Meeting with the name and Place of residence of each Brother, that the Jewels may be sent them.

¹ Note by Bro. J. Heron Lepper, Grand Librarian:—

Irish Lodge in the 59th Regiment No. 213. Warranted 1st April, 1751. Registered 65 members till 1797. In 1782 had a duplicate Warrant granted, the original being defaced and returned to Grand Lodge of Ireland. On 4th March, 1784, another duplicate Warrant granted, the former one having been captured by the Spanish Fleet off Gibraltar.

N.B. No Scots Lodge held in 59th Regiment.

A motion was made by Br. Gillman that such P.G. Officers in the County as cannot attend the P.G. Meetings shall within a month before the meeting is held send their Jewels to the care of the Master of the Lodge where the next P.G. Meeting is to be held, that the procession may be complete and the Master of the Lodge to take

Page 78 care they are afterwards returned to the P.G. Officers.

Resolved that the thanks of this Lodge be given to Brother Lenoy for his excellent Sermon.

Resolved that the thanks of this Lodge be given to the Brothers of the Gravesend Lodge for their great attention to this Days Ceremony.

The P.G.M. was pleased to make the following promotions.

Br. Rd. Brandon	Assist. S.G.W.
Willm. Cousins	P.G.T.
Thos. Couchman	D.P.G.T.
Petr. Reynolds	Assist. J.G.W.
Law. Ruck	Assist. P.G.S.

Page 79 Resolved that the next P.G.L. be held at the Granby's Head, Dartford.

The Lodge being closed in due form the Evening concluded with the utmost Harmony Festivity & Brotherly love.

The P.G.L. was removed from Dartford to Greenwich at the request of the Brothers of the Dartford Lodge, & altered from the 25th of June to the 8th day of July by the desire of the neighbouring Lodges in that part of the County.

Chatham, July 7th, 1783.

Webster Gillman,
P.G.S.

["*Kentish Gazette*, Sat. June 7th, 1783.

FREE-MASONRY.

The Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, will hold a Grand Lodge at the Mitre Tavern, Greenwich, on Wednesday the 25th June next; where the Brethren are requested to attend, to walk in Procession, at half past one o'clock.

A Sermon will be preached on the occasion.

Dinner on Table at Half past Three, and the Grand Lodge to open at Seven o'clock."

"*Kentish Gazette*, Sat. June 21, 1783.

FREE-MASONRY.

The Provincial Grand Meeting for the County of Kent (which has been advertised in this Paper, to be held at the Mitre Tavern, Greenwich, on Wednesday next, the 25th instant) is, at the particular Request of the Brothers of that Lodge, and of the neighbouring Lodges in that part of the County, deferred being held till Tuesday the 8th day of July next; when the Provincial Grand Master will hold a Grand Lodge at Mr. Walker's Assembly Rooms, Blackheath; where the Brethren are requested to attend, to walk in Procession to church, at one o'clock.

A Sermon will be preached on the occasion.

Dinner on Table at Half past Three o'clock and the Grand Lodge to open at Seven o'clock.

∴ A number of respectable Brothers are expected to attend this meeting from London."

There are no Minutes recorded of this Meeting, but the following letter in the Grand Lodge Library to "Mr. Jas. Heseltine, Doctor's Comons (dated) July 1783" gives some details.

" Sir,

I beg leave to inform you that the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Kent was held on the 8th Day of July, 1783, at Br. Walker's the Assembly House on Blackheath. When the following Provincial Grand Officers only attended, Br. Masters, Br. Cousins, Br. Prentis, Br. Hopkins, Br. Fulljames, and the Masters, Officers, and Brethren of Several Respective Lodges of the County.—There being no Provincial Grand Master. It was then unanimously agreed that Mr. Masters one of the Provincial Grand Officers should take the Chair and proceed on the Business of the Day as Provincial Grand Master, the Lodge was then opened in form and the proceedings was with the utmost Harmony.—A Motion being then made, Seconded and unanimously agreed to (If it should meet with the approbation of the Grand Lodge) that Br. — Harris Esqr. of Woolwich be appointed to fill that Important Office of Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, in the room of the late P.G.M. George Smith Esqr.

I am Sir,

Your most Obed. servant

& Brother

William Banks Secr. of

Greenwich Lodge

No. 14, D.P.G.S."]

The next two pages in the Minute Book are blank, after which we get the Minutes of the Meeting on Oct. 27th, 1785, Prov. Grand Master Col. Jacob Sawbridge, which is described as "the first Provincial Grand Lodge Meeting".

Nothing seems to have been done with regard to appointing a successor to Captain George Smith until the early part of 1785, when we find the following letter in the Grand Lodge Library:—

(To) White Esq.,
Grand Secretary,
Freemasons Tavern,
Great Queen Street,
London.

" Canterbury, 31 Jan., 1785.

Right Worshipfull
Secretary.

A worthy Brother of our Lodge Br. Lowen will go to town on Wednesday next to attend the Quarterly Communication, And our Lodge will be greatly obligd to you if you will give him your assistance and Interest with the Grand Master to obtain the appointment of Provincial G. M. for the County of Kent for our Worthy Brother Colonel Jacob Sawbridge of the Grenadier Guards, he resides in Canterbury which is quite a central situation and Bro. Lowen will Bring a Recommendation from the Lodges in this part of Kent with him. He will also bring the yearly returns of our Lodge which is three pounds for 12 makings and 10/6 to the fund of Charity. As the County has been so long without a G.M. we are in hopes the G. Master will appoint Colonel Sawbridge this meeting.

I am Worshipful Sir,

Your Obent Servt

and Brother,

Wm. Epps—Master of the Industrious Lodge
No. 404."

The List of Subscribers to *A Walk in and about the City of Canterbury*, 1777, includes "Major Sawbridge, 1st Troop of Horse, Greenadier Guards".

The following is the Petition:—

"To the Right Worshipful the Royal Grand Master and the rest of the Officers and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons held at their Hall in Great Queen Street, Lincoln Inn Fields, London.

At a meeting of the principal Lodges in Kent at the Bell Inn Maidstone on Monday the sixteenth day of May, 1785 convened for the purpose of recommending a Brother to the Royal Grand Lodge as a proper Gentleman to succeed Capt. George Smith as Provincial Grand Master for Kent. It was resolved that Colonel Jacob Sawbridge of the City of Canterbury was in every respect worthy and well qualified to take the charge of the different Lodges under his care.

We therefore in the name of our respective Lodges humbly hope that the Grand Lodge will be pleased to approve of Colonel Jacob Sawbridge and appoint him to the high honour of Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent. He is a gentleman of rank and property, a native of the County, wellskilled in the Royal and Noble Science; True and Trusty; and a lover of the whole Fraternity.

(Signed)

"Ed. Crowhurst — M. 10, Mitre, Chatham.
Jno. Hewitt, 14, Mitre, Greenwich.
Richd. Adams, 96, King's Head, Gravesend.
Philip Duly, 205, Red Lion, Faversham.
Wm. Epps, 404, King's Head, Canterbury.
Moses Adams, 406, Falcon, Gravesend.
Clemt. Taylor, 422, Bell Inn, Maidstone.
Charles Mate, 423, Chequers, Dover.
Thos. Smith, 439, Crown, Deptford."

The following is an extract of a letter from W. Gillman, Chatham to W. White, Esq.

" . . . I find the Eastern Lodges are in favour of Col. Sawbridge (nephew to Aldm. S.) who resides in the County and is much respected—

I should esteem your early answer a favour,
& remain,

Your sincere Bro.

W. Gillman.

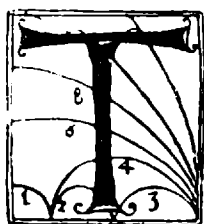
W. White, Esq."

Alderman S. was John Sawbridge, Lord Mayor of London, 1775.



AN ANTI-MASONIC LEAFLET OF 1698.

WITH COMMENTARY BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES



THIS leaflet was discovered in September, 1943, in the masonic collection of Bro. Albert Frost, of Sheffield. He had bought it some years previously from Challenger, a Sheffield second-hand book dealer, since deceased, who did not inform Bro. Frost how he had come by the document. Except that the two top corners show signs of having been turned over, the leaflet is in a very good state of preservation, and we think it may have lain for many years between the pages of a book. The single sheet measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches, with a type-face $3\frac{3}{8}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is printed on one side only. In the margin, near the bottom right-hand corner, there are two words in handwriting, which we read as *F[r]ances Lawson*. There is nothing written on the back.

We have been in communication with such libraries as, in our opinion, were most likely to possess specimens of such a document among their collections, including the British Museum, the Bodleian, Trinity College, Dublin, Dr. Williams's Library, the John Rylands Library, the London Library, and the National and University Libraries at Edinburgh; but none has an exemplar of this particular leaflet, or of any similar contemporary leaflet. Nor have we succeeded in tracing a copy in any masonic library in this country. There is a possibility that there may be a copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries (whose books and catalogue are at present in storage) or in some American library. We have made inquiries of a few leading libraries in the United States, without hearing of a copy of the leaflet. Although there are obviously many libraries with which we have not been in touch, we nevertheless incline to believe that the leaflet takes its place with certain other masonic rarities of which only one copy is known to exist. Bro. Frost has recently presented the leaflet to Grand Lodge Library, and it is by courtesy of the Board of General Purposes that we are able to reproduce it in facsimile in *A.Q.C.*

R. Sare was quite a well-known printer, but we have so far failed to find any trace of the M. Winter who was, presumably, the author of this leaflet, or to discover anything about the circumstances which led to its publication. It may be presumed from the language of the leaflet that Winter was a pious person, and the general tone of his denunciation suggests that he was a chiliast; but it is impossible on the internal evidence to tell to what sect, if any, he belonged. Knowing nothing about his connections or what kind of man he was, we cannot estimate his credibility as a witness. It is nevertheless possible that, even if he were a crank and ill-informed, his denunciation of the freemasons may have had some ground, however slight, in fact.

Attention may first be drawn to his equation of the "Freed Masons" with Anti-christ. Even in medieval times the papacy was sometimes regarded as an organised anti-christian power; and protestant reformers, from Luther onwards, commonly regarded the Pope as antichrist incarnate. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely (though not altogether impossible) that Winter intended to condemn the masons as crypto-Romanists. There is no evidence to suggest, what is inherently improbable, that masonry changed fundamentally in this respect

TO ALL GODLY PEOPLE,
in the Citie of
L O N D O N .

HAVING thought it needful to warn you of the Mischiefs and Evils practised in the Sight of GOD by those called Freed Masons, I say take Care lest their Ceremonies and secret Swearings take hold of you; and be wary that none cause you to err from Godliness. For this devillish Sect of Men are Meeters in secret which swear against all without their Following. They are the Anti Christ which was to come leading Men from Fear of GOD. For how should Men meet in secret Places and with secret Signs taking Care that none observe them to do the Work of GOD; are not these the Ways of Evil-doers?

Knowing how that GOD observeth privily them that ~~It~~ in Darkness they shall be smitten and the Secrets of their Hearts layed bare. Mingle not among this corrupt People lest you be found so at the World's Conflagration.

Set forth as a Warning to this Christian Generation by
M. Winter, and Printed by R. Sore at Gray's
Inn-gate, in Holborn.

1698.

James Jarvis

after the days of Elias Ashmole and Randle Holme, and then changed back again before the days of Anderson. Unless, therefore, he were given to the discovery of mares' nests, Winter would have no cause to accuse the masons of popery. It should, however, be remembered that, only twenty years before Winter's leaflet appeared, vulgar prejudice, religious rancour, and Whig propaganda had caused large numbers of people to believe in Catholic designs to overthrow the government; and it is not impossible that Winter absurdly believed the freemasons to be hatching some similar plot in secret.

If this possible, but not very likely, explanation be set aside, Winter may be supposed to use the term *antichrist* with some direct reference to its meaning in the only place in the Scriptures in which it occurs.¹ The author of the Johannine Epistles used the word to describe an opponent, and his followers, whose teaching and practice he felt bound to condemn, and whose appearance had been foretold. The precise nature of the false teaching is a matter of controversy, but it seems probable that it combined Gnostic and Judaising tendencies.² How far Winter understood the Christological differences at issue we cannot tell; but he may well have taken the passages in question as directed against Socinians or Unitarians: "This is antichrist, even he that denieth the Father and the Son . . . they that confess not Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the antichrist". It is well known that Socinianism was spreading during the later part of the seventeenth century, to the alarm of the orthodox. In the very year of Winter's leaflet, Parliament passed an Act stating that "any person . . . having been educated in or at any time made profession of the Christian religion within this realm who shall by writing, printing, teaching or advised speaking deny any one of the Persons in the Holy Trinity to be God" should be punished by deprivation of office, and for a second offence, by other penalties and three years' imprisonment.³

The question now arises as to how far Winter would have been right in regarding the freemasons as Socinians. It is by no means unlikely that some London freemasons, as individuals, held anti-trinitarian views; but there is not a scrap of evidence, so far as we know, to suggest any special (still less any official) connection of the craft with Socinianism. In the early eighteenth century, at least, as we have attempted to show elsewhere,⁴ the tendency among masons was to avoid discussion of doctrinal differences and to hold that, whatever masonry might be, it was certainly not something to be identified with any particular confession.

Finally, it may be observed that Winter may have used the term *antichrist* loosely and as a term of obloquy, without any direct reference to its meaning in the Johannine Epistles. That is perhaps suggested by the evident fact that his condemnation of the freemasons is based chiefly on the secrecy of their meetings and their signs. He assumes that such practices are necessarily evil: "for how should Men meet in secret Places and with secret Signs, taking care that none observe them, do the work of God?" The Epistles make no mention of secret meetings or signs as characteristic of antichrist; and perhaps Winter should be simply regarded as taking a vituperative and unjustified way to express his dislike of meetings which were not public. It is, no doubt, the same point that he makes in his second paragraph, in which *darkness* has probably the meaning of *secrecy*.

Winter further accuses the craft of swearing an anti-social oath. No contemporary version of the masonic oath known to us would accord clearly with his description; for, though masons swore to conceal their secrets, and were naturally hostile to those who divulged them, it is difficult to see what purpose

¹ See St. John's Epistles, I, ii, 18-22; I, iv, 3; II, 7.

² A. E. Brooke, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*, xlix.

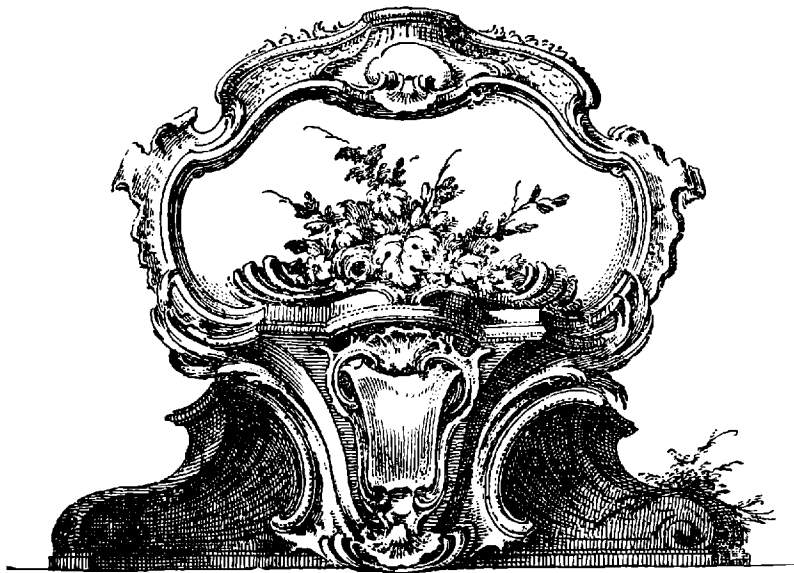
³ 9 William III, c. 35.

⁴ *Freemasonry and the Idea of Natural Religion*.

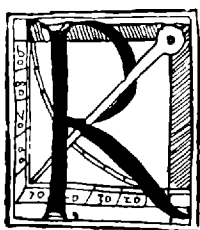
could be served by an oath against all non-masons. It is just possible that Winter is here condemning what he took to be an operative practice, a mutual enagement of apprenticed or of "freed" masons not to hire or work with unapprenticed or with "foreign" masons. In that event, the term "freed masons" should possibly be taken to mean members of the London Company or Fellowship, though the monopolistic and regulating powers of that body were in great decay by 1698.

So far as we know the leaflet is the earliest attack on freemasonry on religious grounds to appear *in print*. In Scotland, doubts about the character of the Mason Word had been raised at a Fifeshire synod in 1649, at the presbytery of Kelso in 1652, and by a Kirkcudbrightshire minister in 1695; but, so far as we are aware, these doubts were embodied only in manuscript records, and not printed at the time. At a later date, the "sinful and unlawful" character of the masons' oath was denounced in a pamphlet of 1747, quoted in the *Scots Magazine* of March, 1755-6 (*Early Masonic Catechisms*, p. 100). Such attacks have continued ever since, the most recent known to us being that contained in the Report of a Synodical Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church (Cape) on Freemasonry, issued in 1941.

If the reference in the leaflet to the freemasons being antichrist implies that they were anti-trinitarian, then we have a suggestion that freemasons had adopted a deistic attitude towards religion twenty-five years before the publication of the charge "concerning God and religion" in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723. That would support our suggestion in *Freemasonry and the Idea of Natural Religion* that the change in the masons' attitude towards religion had made itself felt well before 1723, and that Anderson was not introducing a striking innovation by basing freemasonry on deism, instead of on Christianity.



NOTES.



RICHARD CARLILE.—A supplementary note to a paper by Bro. S. J. Fenton in *A.Q.C.*, xlix.—Probably few of the Brethren were aware that the Rev. John Charles Carlile, C.H., C.B.E., Hon. D.D. (McMaster), Hon. D.Litt. (Acadia, Univ., Wolfville), who was trained for the Baptist Ministry at The Pastor's College (now known as Spurgeon's) and who was a Minister in Baptist Churches at Dockhead, 1884-93; Trinity, Marylebone, 1893-1898; Folkestone, 1898-1938, was a Freemason who was initiated in the Authors' Lodge.

Furthermore he was President of the Baptist Union 1921 and Acting Secretary of that Union in 1924-1925, and for many years edited the *Baptist Times* with much success. He kept himself by working as a journalist during his first pastorate.

It is now on record that he was a grandson of the above-named Richard Carlile, concerning whom an interesting paper was contributed to our *Transactions* by Bro. Fenton (see *A.Q.C.*, xlix).

His Father followed in the same way of thinking as Richard Carlile. John C. Carlile for his part became a Baptist. Dr. T. R. Glover narrates that on the night of John C. Carlile's Baptism his Father met him and said, "I always thought you a fool and now I know it."

Later on, however, he took to going to hear his son preach, and after a time was baptised by his son. He died in August, 1941, having been in the Ministry 57 years.

This note seems to be a fitting addendum to the paper by our P.M., Bro. Fenton.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

A French Certificate.—Ashburton Lodge No. 2189 has recently come into possession of an old French Certificate, dated 1818.

By the kind action of the Secretary of that Lodge, Bro. Rev. M. H. Needham, this certificate was sent to the Librarian of Grand Lodge, who translated it. The transcript is as follows:—

To the glory of the Great Architect of the Universe
In the name of the Most Worshipful Grand Master and under the
auspices of the Grand Orient of France
We the Master, Officers, and Members of the Respectable Lodge of
St. John with the distinctive title Commanders of Mount Tabor
in the Orient of Paris, Department of the Seine,
certify that our Very Dear Brother ROBERT BURROW born in
London Department on the 19th August, 1790, has received
the grade of Master that he has worked amongst us with Zeal,
Fervour, and Constancy, and has merited by his virtues our
esteem and attachment
We recommend him to the benevolence of all our Brethren, and
promise reciprocity to those who present themselves provided
with proper certificates.
Delivered in our Orient at the communication of the 5th day of the
3rd month of the year of True Light 1818
And we have caused the said Brother Burrow to sign his name

The certificate is signed by the W.M. *pro tem.* and various other officers of the Lodge, but the signatures are nearly all indecipherable; the signature of the Secretary is on the right-hand Pillar.

In the "glory" at the top of the parchment and below a triangle containing Hebrew characters (which are the same as on the English Grand Chapter seal) are the letters "B. . E. . N. . H. . E. .", which Bro. J. Heron Lepper has interpreted as signifying the Latin motto adopted by the Lodge—"BONUM EST NOS HIC ESSE"; which legend appears on a medal issued by the Lodge in 1807.

Bro. Needham drew attention to the signature of the recipient, who wrote only his surname. The recipient was probably one of the British Army of Occupation.

The interesting passage given below, which has been extracted by Bro. R. E. Parkinson from the *Liber Albus* of Christ's Church, Dublin, shows that a craftsman in the fifteenth century was often a man of considerable substance, able to advance money on pledges from his poorer neighbours.

The valuations affixed to the various goods and chattels are worth noting. Thus the two porcelain cups taken together are worth as much as a horse, and the latter is worth exactly as much as the "Tools of his trade". Economists will differ about the actual values involved, but I fancy we should multiply the figures by at least 15 to obtain equivalents in present currency.

20 November 1501. INVENTORY of the goods of Richard Wydon, carpenter, of the Parish of St. Warburge, Dublin.

He possessed 2 porcelaine cups (murras) worth 20s., 3 silver spoons, 8s., "apparatus corporis", 6s. 8d., 7 candlesticks, a basin and ewer, 5s., a basin in pledge, 6d sterling, a fyr dish 8d., 6 dishes 5 plates and 2 saucers, 8s., 1 banker, 6 coschynes, 2s. 8d., 3 bordclothis and a towayll, 4s., 3 sheets, 3s., a hanging bed with cortenys, 12d., 3 blankets, 3s., a feather bed, another of flokkys with 2 woollen coverlets, 10s., pledges of Ann Donogh 6s. 8d., a small bell, two small pots, a small posinet 8s., a tripod 4s., an old chafoure 2s., a table 5s., a cupbord in the hall 20d., in hay 2s., a horse 20s., tools of his trade, 20s., in silver 8s.

No. 49 in *Liber Albus* of Christ Church, Dublin.

Calendar by H. J. Lawlor, in *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, xxvii, C.1.

"Cole: Engraver": The Earliest.—Our lamented Bro. Songhurst, in A.Q.C., xx, p. 9, makes the suggestion that Benjamin Cole, whom we all know as Engraver of two edd. of the *Constitutions*, 1729 and 1731, and John Cole, who has other masonic claims to notice, came of an ancient family of Engravers and Goldsmiths. He gives a list furnished by Bro. Rylands of some seven assorted "Cole's".

The Art of Engraving, whether of maps to assist navigators, so much less costly than the MS. *Portolanos*, or of anatomical diagrams to assist Surgeons, or pattern-books or "Imbroderers", begins in early Tudor days.

There was an interesting man named THOMAS GEMINUS, or GEMINI, who came from the "Lowlands" and settled in England at least before 1524, when he "got into a row"—probably because his English was scant—he tells us this in one of his books. He was then called "douchman"; he described himself classically as "Lysoviensis" a good deal later.

My old friend and contemporary of fifty years ago, at Oxford, the late Dr. R. T. Gunther (Keeper of the old Ashmolean Museum), to whose contributions to *Archæologia* I owe much of my information, reads this as referring to a small village on the Lys. I rather think it is Gemini's spelling of "Lexoviensis"—of Liège—and that his name was a Latinised form of either "Jumeau" or "Zwilling"—"a twin".

Dr. Gunther thinks Gemini took into employ one HUMPHREY COLE, and taught him much of his mathematical knowledge. Yet he apparently assumes that Cole was born *circa* 1520. In 1578 Cole writes that "he was in his olde age". In 1590 Gideon Harvey calls him "old Cole". (There was, it seems, a younger Humphrey.)

However, in 1572 there appeared the first map ever in any English printed book; one of the Holy Land—"Grauen bi Humfray Cole / Goldsmith A English Man Born / in Y North and Perteyning To / Ye Mint in the Tower 1572". It is annexed to Richard Jugge's Bible of that date, and has engraved portraits of Elizabeth, Leicester and Burghley; not Cole's work according to Sir Sidney Colvin, but Francis Hogenberg's, an artist sometime employed by Archbishop Matthew Parker, whose portrait he engraved.

By his own statement Humphrey Cole went to the Mint in 1558. In 1560-1561 he was busy with the recoinage of the base money current ever since Henry VIII. There is a jolly, gruesome yarn about this. The workmen became sick with the fumes of the re-melting—probably arsenical—and were advised to drink a potion from cups made from human skulls. The Court of Common Council authorised the removal from the pikestaves on London Bridge of two criminals' heads to supply these.

Gemini published the first English book with engravings: *Morysse and Damaskin encreased and renewed very profitably for Goldsmithes and Embroderers*; by Thomas Gemini London 1548". We should call it "Moorish and Damascene" work.

More ambitious was his pirate engraved version of Vesalius' *Anatomia*, 1545, which got him undeserved repute as a surgeon and some kind of royal warrant.

In 1559 he made the "Great Astrolabe" for Queen Elizabeth, signing it "Thomas II 1559", using the Zodiac sign for "Gemini". He is considered to have made also an unsigned astrological astrolabe for the Queen. The former was quite unknown till the summer of 1936, when it was found, dismembered, among forgotten hoards of old instruments appropriated to the work of the Savilian Chair of Astronomy at Oxford.

Dr. Gunther thinks Gemini enlisted the services of Humphrey Cole as a craftsman for the laborious work of engraving intricate mathematical line-diagrams on these, and that Cole signed many with "V C", the "V" standing for "Vmfry".

However this be, Cole has left us a handsome bequest of varied implements with his name, dated from 1568 to 1582, and several undated. Of 1568 is the pretty "Combination-Dial" of gilt brass, made for Richard Jugge, the publisher, simulating a bound book with clasps, bearing on its covers his allusive "impresa" of nightingales "jug-jugging" in a tree. This is at Oxford. In 1569 he made "Sir Francis Drake's" Dial, another navigational compendium, like a big old watch, which has been at Greenwich (now the National Maritime Museum) since 1812. Though it has no inscription connecting it with Drake, it has a good pedigree and is considered a genuine relic of the hero.

In 1573 and 1582 Cole made two very large instruments, both belonging to the University of St. Andrew's for over 300 years, an Astrolabe two feet across, and an Armillary Sphere near eighteen inches high.

The British Museum owns a small Astrolabe made for Prince Henry of Wales in 1574, in a green velvet case with silver fittings. On the clasp is a

pentalpha inverted with "legs" added so that the central lines form the letter "M". No meaning has yet been attached to this. In addition to several pocket Dials of 1575 and a Nocturnal in the British Museum and elsewhere, the Museum has two "Gunner's Compasses"—(I think "Callipers" a better word, seeing that "calibre" has the same origin)—of about the same date. Lastly, St. John's College, Oxford, has lent to the Old Ashmolean a Theodolite of 1586.

Humfrey Cole died in 1591. His widow had letters of administration on 6th July, so he was intestate. Dr. Gunther thinks he was in reduced circumstances. I doubt the inference.

He was an old man for those days, and his progeny probable quite well off. What is the bearing of this on Masonic antiquarian remains?

The Astrolabe vanished on the home market before 1600, except as a pretty toy. As export goods, maybe the Barbary pirates still respected it as a seaman's "mascot".

Nothing was left but mathematical instruments and, possibly, surgical, neither calling much for decoration. This switched over to pocket-watch construction, expending itself on "pillars" and "watch-cocks". The gunsmiths made surgical tools, and to this day decorate the best fowling-pieces.

I come back to Bro. Songhurst's acute hint: that Humfrey Cole, Map-Engraver and Dial-Maker, of London, official "sinker" at the Tower Mint for years, certainly with a son, and not improbably a grandson, is a progenitor of the masonic engravers and Jewel-Makers of the eighteenth century, in right of craft and, for aught one knows, of name.

Curiously, one thinks of the well-known group at their workshop in the Tower, and wonders whether the irrelevant refrain to the ancient ditty, "Twankydllo"—Old Cole and Young Cole, and Old Cole of all—be some memory of a well-known London sight and no "village blacksmith" of complete obscurity!

We do not yet know very much about the early history of Masonic Jewels.

There are a few early "Officers' Jewels"—such as Dr. Rawlinson's—plain-sailing silversmith jobs with a bit of engraving by Burin.

These apart, is there any considerable "remanet" other than the early Royal Arch Jewels?

The Pierced Jewel is a thing of some importance in craftsmanship. It calls for a different, specialised tool-kit over and above that of a mere engraver.

As handicraft-creations, the Arch Jewels are the legitimate descendants of the Astrolabes and Portable Dials.

Have we any surviving, datable before 1760?

If you demur to the proposition on the ground that the interregnum seems excessive, I will say that, firstly, the civil war and the Cromwellian régime operated to suspend many activities, without abolishing them. There was a brief surcease, after which it recommenced, lasting practically till 1716, and the next year saw the birth of the premier G.L.

About 24 years later we hear of "Royal Arch". Twenty years and Royal Arch Jewels appear. Quite a number of makers independently turn them out, first, on the double triangle pattern, of surprising uniformity, save for minor detail; then, on its heels, of the "altar" type, with an occasional divergence into "ark" type.

The latter two are supposed to have been favoured by the "Antients". Notwithstanding, Bro. W. Hammond, in his *Treasures at Freemasons' Hall*, 1917, on p. 81, alludes to the double triangle as "Harper pattern". Bro. J. Littleton, in *A.Q.C.*, xxx, 213, twits the author for this quite gratuitous attribution.

That the "Antients" were zealous propagandists of R.A. Masonry may be allowed; and Harper was their G.Sec. and Deputy G.M. But there is no

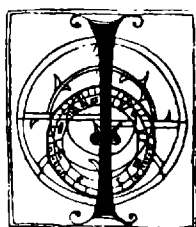
reason to father any such design on him. He was doubtless a good man of business, turning out work for either "Antient" or "Modern". The supposed "Antient" pattern is appreciably less common, and the "ark" type really rare.

It may further interest Yorkshire Brethren that there is reason to think Humphrey Cole was born and bred in the great county, and began life as what we should now call a "metallurgist", incidentally learning the laborious craft of die-cutting, for coins (perhaps at the Kippax Mint) and seals, which means that he was more than a simple brass-worker, but used to steel and the arts of smelting and refining ores.

Let me take the opportunity of counselling Brethren who care at all for this craft in which we are told Hiram Abiff excelled, that of worker in Brass, to visit the collections at the old Ashmolean and the British Museum, when these once more become visible.

W. E. Moss.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Reginald Francis Baker, of Burton-on-Trent, in October, 1941. Bro. Baker was a member of Aretas Lodge and Chapter No. 4268. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1932.

Herbert Booth, *F.C.I.S.*, of Harwich, on 2nd July, 1941. Bro. Booth was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1926.

George Burrington, of Peacehaven, Sussex, on 22nd January, 1942. Bro. Burrington held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C., and was a member of Homestreu Chapter No. 3277. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1929.

Erschine Edmonds, of Lydbury North, Salop., on 22nd February, 1942. Bro. Edmonds was a member of Lodge of the Marches No. 611, and was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1907.

Alfred Leonard Fuller, *F.R.C.S.*, of Bath, on 24th December, 1941. Bro. Fuller held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

Fritz Ginsberg, of King Williams Town, S. Africa, on 13th October, 1941. Bro. Ginsberg was a P.M. of British Kaffrarian Lodge No. 853, and J. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in November, 1933.

Charles Edward Green, of Barnet, Herts., on 15th January, 1942. Bro. Green was a member of Duchy of Cornwall Lodge No. 3038, and was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in June, 1941.

William Richard Gregory, of Ilford, Essex, on 6th March, 1942. Bro. Gregory held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1930.

John William Hall, of Peterborough, on 15th February, 1942. Bro. Hall held the rank of P.Pr.G.S.B. and P.Pr.G.So. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1905.

Norman Broadwell Hickox, of Evanston, Ill., U.S.A., on 15th April, 1942. Bro. Hickox was a P.M. of Lodge No. 524. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1923, and for a while acted as Local Secretary for his State.

Sydney John Humphries, of Hayes, Middlesex, on 14th April, 1942. Bro. Humphries was a member of St. Ambrose Lodge and Chapter No. 1891. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1938.

Rev. **Thomas Henry Jarman**, of London, S.E., on 20th January, 1942, aged 68 years. Bro. Jarman held the office of Pr.A.G.Ch., Kent. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1933.

George Trevelyan Lee, of Derby, on 19th December, 1941. Bro. Lee held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar and Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1910.

Alfred Henry Maddocks, of London, S.W., in 1942. Bro. Maddocks held L.G.R., was P.M. of Strand Lodge No. 1987, and P.Z. of Burdett Chapter No. 1293. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1907.

Robert Herbert Bond Parnall, of Newport, Mon., on 11th January, 1942. Bro. Parnall held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner, as well as the office of Prov. Grand Master and Prov. Grand Superintendent. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1914.

Edward Martin Phillips, of Croydon, on 17th February, 1942. Bro. Phillips was a member of South Norwood Lodge No. 1139, and was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in November, 1919.

Harace Mann Ragle, of Colorado Springs, U.S.A., on 29th October, 1939. Bro. Ragle was P.M. of Lodge No. 13 and P.H.P. of Chapter No. 6. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1938.

Frederick Spooner, of London, N., on 17th January, 1942, aged 81. Bro. Spooner held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1928.

Herbert Tarrant, of Guildford, Surrey, on 8th March, 1942. Bro. Tarrant was a member of St. George Lodge No. 2180, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since March, 1899.

Horace Melville Underhill, K.C., of Shaunavon Sask., Canada, on 20th January, 1942, aged 58 years. Bro. Underhill had held office as Grand Master, and also acted as our Local Secretary. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1934.

George C. Williams, of London, N., on 24th March, 1942. Bro. Williams was P.M. of Robert Burns Lodge No. 25, and P.Z. of Royal York Chapter of Perseverance No. 7. He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1907.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

COMPLETE SETS OF THE *TRANSACTIONS*.—A few complete Sets of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vols. i. to live, have been made up for sale. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary. Each volume will be accompanied so far as possible, with the St. John's Card of the corresponding year.

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	£	s.	d.
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A few complete sets only for sale. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary.			
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MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. In Silver Gilt, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel, 17/6 each.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

No. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY:

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.Swd.B.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

➤: Ars :➤ Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

VOLUME LV. PART 2.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Proceedings, 24th June, 1942	161	The "Edinburgh Letter," 1745. on	
William Finch	163	Templary	346
Proceedings, 2nd October, 1942	284	Operative Masons in Ireland	348
Masonic History, Old and New	285	Review—R. Brunswick Lodge, Shef-	
Proceedings, 7th November, 1942	324	field	349
Inaugural Address	326	Errata	350
Notes on Some Irish Building		Obituary	351
Accounts of the XIIIth Century	340	St. John's Card	352
A Priestly Speculative and Operative			
Mason	346		

W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
1944.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Library has been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Kingsway, 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

WEDNESDAY, 24th JUNE, 1942.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4 p.m. Present:—Bros. Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., W.M.; B. Ivanoff, I.P.M.; *Wing Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, S.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. R. Radice, I.G.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M., as J.W.; and H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; S. Pope; J. O. Dewey; F. H. Dwey; J. W. Hamilton-Jones; L. G. Wearing; H. Johnson, P.A.G.St.B.; J. H. B. Beer; H. C. K. Dixon; F. C. V. Lowell; W. Lewis; J. Vidler; A. Ed. Evans; W. Edwardson; F. A. Greene, P.A.G.Supt.W.; C. M. Giveen; J. F. H. Gilbard; F. T. Cramphorn, P.A.G.D.C.; F. C. Rundle; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, P.G.D.; H. M. Ridge; A. F. Cross; *Major* G. T. Harley Thomas, P.G.D.; Z. B. Edwards; A. F. Hatten; and R. A. Card, P.G.St.B.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. C. H. Duveen, Emulation Lodge No. 21; and G. M. McHallam, Albert Edward Lodge No. 1714.

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.; W. J. Williams, 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.; *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.; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; R. E. Parkinson; and Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

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

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Publications by W. Finch:—

Masonic Key—1st and 2nd editions bound together; 2nd edition separately.

Masonic Treatise—2nd edition.

Elucidation of Masonic Plates.

Supplement to Union Lectures—containing Letter to Lord Ellenborough, Letter to H.R.H. Prince Regent.

Craft Lectures—dated 1st January, 1814.

Lectures on Craft Masonry.

Claims of Grand Chapter—(typed copy).

Illustrations on Freemasonry—(typed copy).

Resurrection of Solomon's Temple—(typed copy).

Masonic Lectures—(typed copy of set in Library at Warrington).

Rituals—Royal Arch—original MS. in Finch's handwriting.

—Cornish—showing 26 degrees in code.

Portfolio, containing—

Broadsheets

Circulars

Plates

Certificates

Prints of Jewels

—issued by W. Finch.

Aprons—designed by W. Finch.

Craft, coloured diagrams

Royal Arch.

Print of Jug, inscribed “Madeley”—said to have been designed by W. Finch.

By Bro. H. H. HALLETT—

Circular Letter, dated 5th April, 1810, issued by W. Finch, advertising lectures of various degrees.

[In this letter is mentioned—“The long wished for Union being upon the point of accomplishment”.]

Copy of Circular, entitled “Freemasons' Arcanum”, signed by W. Finch.

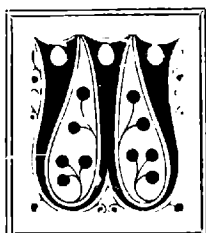
Circular—incomplete—regarding Finch's *Orrery*, and some other publications.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to those Berthren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition.

Bro. Col. F. M. RICKARD read the following paper:—

WILLIAM FINCH.

BY BRO. COL. F. M. RICKARD.



WILLIAM Finch is generally described as a Masonic charlatan, sometimes as an imposter. One writer has said, "The word 'charlatan' suggests a person who makes money out of the invention or development of spurious degrees, such a one as Finch was in the early years of the nineteenth century". But such a special application seems to show a measure of prejudice. In the Standard Dictionary the word 'charlatan' is defined as 'one who makes unwarranted or extravagant pretensions to the possession of knowledge or skill—originally a street mountebank who talked volubly of his wares'. 'Imposter' is defined as 'one who practises deceit'.

Whether or not these terms may with fairness be applied to William Finch would depend upon full consideration of all the evidence that can be adduced. Therefore, in order to approach the subject without bias, it would be only just to set aside any prepossession until able to draw a fair conclusion after studying all such evidence.

The thirty years before the close of the eighteenth century—at which time Finch was still a young man—was a period of turmoil when discontent, distress, and injuries were universal. Abroad—the Spanish and other wars, the insurrection of the American colonies, the French revolution: at home—the *Letters of Junius* had recently appeared, 'Wilkes and Liberty' had become a cry of the mob in London, Lord Chatham had declared that there never was a period which called more forcibly for serious attention and consideration, the Gordon Riots, publication of Paine's *Rights of Man* with its political consequences. All these tended to fan the flames of discontent. This was a period when political speeches upon discord were advocating dissension, when favouritism and mismanagement were subjects for denunciation on all sides, when intolerance of opposing opinions was prevalent and men considered themselves justified in going to any length to force their own views and obtain correction of what they considered to be irregularities and infringements.

A summing-up of the prevailing influence of the times is given by Guizot in his *Civilisation of Europe*, in which he comments on 'the burst of the human mind, the spirit of free enquiry' as the 'paramount feature of the eighteenth century', the characteristic of which was its universality, a movement that penetrated into all quarters with the peculiarity that it was purely speculative.

Thus it will be recognised that William Finch came into the world and spent his youth at a time when discord and dissension were rife.

With the kind assistance of the Curator of the Beane Institute in Canterbury, and by the permission of various custodians, I have been able to search the records in that City; and, in the Masonic Library of the Province, I was given great assistance by access to the books of the United Industrious Lodge.

The name 'Finch' is of frequent occurrence in Kent, particularly in Canterbury; but, after carefully sorting references and linking together records, I think I may surmise that the following represents the early history of the William Finch whose career it is desired to trace.

William Finch's father also was named William, and was a breeches-maker. His name does not appear in the lists of Freemen of Canterbury; and, as his son was apprenticed to another breeches-maker, who was a Freeman, and later had to purchase his freedom, this seems to indicate that the father was not a Freeman, and so the supposition is that he migrated to Canterbury from elsewhere.

I could not find in Canterbury any record, or ascertain any information regarding the date of birth of William Finch, junior; but there are records of two children born to William and Elizabeth Finch, namely Elizabeth Sarah in 1774 and James in 1776. Thus it may be supposed that William Finch, junior, was, as a small child, brought to Canterbury by his parents, and was born, perhaps, about 1772.

Finch, junior, was apprenticed to William Farley 'of this city', breeches-maker; and, when out of his indentures, apparently followed his trade for some years in Canterbury, perhaps assisting his father, as seems to be indicated by the following quoted records regarding the taking up of his freedom:—

City of Canterbury

Tuesday 20th May 1794

At a Court of Burghmote there holden on Tuesday 20th Day of May In the thirtyfourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third King of Great Britain etc.

In consideration of the general good conduct of William Finch the younger of this city Breeches-Maker in the course of his apprenticeship to William Farley of this city Breeches-Maker (altho' his service appears to this court not to be so strict as to entitle him to his Freedom thereby) this court do tolerate him the said William Finch to exercise his Trade in this City for the space of one Year without incurring any Penalty by Reason thereof and do order that at the End of that Period he be called on to purchase his Freedom.

City of Canterbury

Tuesday 30th Sept. 1800

At a court of Burghmote there holden on Tuesday the fourteenth Day of September in the fortieth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third King of Great Britain

William Finch of this City Breeches-Maker not being sworn to the Liberties and Freedom of this City pursuant to a former Order of this Court and he now petitioning again this Court to become a Freeman of this City It is ordered by this Court That if the said William Finch do within one month next coming pay to the Chamberlain of the City to the Use of the Mayor and Commonalty of the same City the Sum of Twenty Pounds Then he shall be admitted and sworn to the Liberties and Freedom of this City With Proviso that the same shall not extend to make the sons and daughters of the said William Finch free but himself and his Apprentices only Paying the Fees accustomed for the same.

That the Freedom was taken up seems to be a fact, as in *Roll of Freemen of City of Canterbury*, by Joseph Meadows Cowper, F.S.A., is shown under 'Freemen by Redemption'—Finch, William, Breeches-Maker, 1800.

It is not quite clear whether the following advertisements refer to William Finch, senior, or to William Finch, junior. One expression in the first advertisement—'in so short a space of time'—might indicate William Finch, junior. However, I am inclined to think that all these advertisements refer to the father, as it is doubtful whether the son was still resident in Canterbury in 1801. In any case the advertisements seem to show that the family business was flourishing at that period.

Kentish Gazette. Friday, January 2nd, 1795.

FINCH. Breeches Maker.

Sun-Street, near the Butter Market, Canterbury,

Thinks he should be deficient in gratitude was he not to return his most sincere and warmest thanks to his friends and the public in general, for the infinite encouragement he has experienced in so short a space of time, and begs leave to ensure them that nothing shall be wanting on his part to secure him their future favour and support, which shall ever be his utmost ambition and study to deserve, and flatters himself at the same time, from his knowledge and experience in the above trade, together with the support of his friends and the public, (the army in particular, from whom he has hitherto had the honour of preferment so repeatedly shown) to be instrumental in raising the business from that obscurity and contempt which bunglers had some time since brought it to, to that same estimation it was once held in.

Contracts with the army for any quantity of Regimental Breeches on the lowest terms, and a manner far superior to contracts in general, having procured some of the best workmen from London.

Gentlemen fitted with the greatest care and expedition. Contracts by the year or quarter.

Best Doe Skin Breeches from £1-8 to £1-11-6

Ditto — £1-4 to £1-8

Ditto -- £1-1 to £1-4

Ditto — 17-0 to £1-1

Best Grains — 14-0 to 16-0

Ditto — 11-0 to 14-0

Burdells, Gloves &c. &c.

Wanted immediately Seven or Eight Journeymen who may have employ all the winter. None but good workmen need apply.

Kentish Gazette. Friday, 18th April, 1800.

Wanted immediately. Six Journeymen Breeches-Makers.

Apply to W. Finch, Burgate, Canterbury.

Kentish Gazette. Tuesday, 3rd February, 1801.

Finch.

Breeches-maker and Glover High Street, Canterbury, (Late of Burgate Street. Begs leave to inform his friends and the public, he has removed from his late residence adjoining the Cathedral Gate to High Street, adjoining the Fleur-De-Lis; and having procured from the first trading houses in London, a large assortment of all kinds of leather of the finest qualities, begs leave to solicit a continuance of those favours he has already so liberally experienced, and for which he takes this opportunity of returning his warmest thanks; and flatters himself by possessing so peculiar an advantage, in having at all times a large assortment of the prime goods together with an unremitting attention to their commands, he shall be enabled to merit a continuance of that support which shall ever be his constant study to deserve.

N.B. Military contracts for Leather-breeches and Gloves executed with the utmost despatch, on terms the most liberal.

In the Cathedral register is a record, under date 6th January, 1794, showing the marriage of

William Finch, junior, was initiated into Freemasonry on 6th November, 1794, as is recorded in the Treasurer's Book of the Lodge of Industry; and, as already stated, payments for quarterage were made during 1795 and till July, 1796.

In 1796 a fire occurred on the premises of the Lodge, and as a consequence the Lodge was obliged to shut down for three years till 1799.

After 1796 the Masonic connection of Finch, junior, with Canterbury seems uncertain, because, though after 1799 the name of Finch, senior, appears in the books amongst the quarterly members, there is no such mention of Finch, junior. But in 1800 an entry shows—

1800 Sept 4 Visiting Bro. Finch junior 2-0

Moreover, when the *Sermons* of Bro. Rev. Jethro Inwood appeared in print in 1799, the list of subscribers included the names of both Finch, senior and junior, the elder taking three copies, but the younger is shown as belonging to the Lodge "Perfect". This statement was probably due to Finch's own assertion, for his name does not appear in the Register at Grand Lodge amongst the members of the "Perfect" Lodge. However, this is not conclusive.

The "Perfect" Lodge was consecrated in Woolwich by Dr. Perfect, the Provincial Grand Master for Kent, in November, 1796, four months after the date of the last-recorded payment by Finch, junior, in Canterbury. There is, therefore, a suggestion that Finch transferred his allegiance during the time the Lodge of Industry at Canterbury was shut down; and consequently a doubt arises regarding the date when he ceased to be a resident in Canterbury. At any rate it may be taken that he had at that time withdrawn from membership of the Lodge of Industry.

Another circumstance, which seems to point to uncertainty regarding the dates at which Finch, junior, still remained in contact with Canterbury, is his connection with Royal Arch Masonry. In his letter to the Earl Moira regarding the Claims of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, which he printed in February, 1812, he stated that he was

"exalted in the year 1796, at the Chapter of Prudence, then held at the Dog, St. James's Market".

This Chapter at first used to meet in Half Moon Street. The Register in Grand Lodge does not show any record later than 11th April, 1796. It may be that Finch was exalted after April in that year, or it may be that this is an instance of the inaccuracy in connection with dates shown by him in several places; because in this same letter to Earl Moira, dated 1812, he said he had been a Royal Arch Mason for 14 years.

The place of his exaltation into Royal Arch Masonry would indicate some connection with London at that time, and perhaps a period of residence there.

Of the manner in which Finch occupied his time for the five or six years after 1796 no conclusive evidence is available. But, taking into consideration the few incidents of which information has emerged, it may be surmised that he went to London in 1796 for a period, perhaps in connection with the tailoring business, thus being prevented from taking up his Freedom in Canterbury so early as was permissible; and that he remained in London till 1800, when he returned to Canterbury and petitioned for his Freedom. The payment of £20 for his Freedom in 1800 would indicate that on his return to Canterbury he intended to settle down in his trade.

Evidence is not forthcoming in respect of Finch's education while a boy, what school he attended or how he progressed at school. However, though it may be deemed that he did not diligently apply himself to the trade he had been taught, it must be allowed that he was of a studious turn of mind. For,

"William Finch, of the Archbishop's Palace, a Batchelor, and Ann Carter, of the Precincts of this Church, a spinster and minor—by licence".

This does not mean that Finch was in any way connected with the Archbishop. The designation 'Archbishop's Palace' is thus described in Hasted's *History of the City of Canterbury*, vol. i., page 299—

"After the death of Charles I. when the whole of it (*i.e.* the Palace) being sold to supply the necessities of the state, the purchasers . . . pulled down the great hall, and the other best apartments and converted the remainder into private houses, in which state it has continued ever since".

In two different church registers, those of St. Alphege and St. Mary Magdalene respectively, are shown—

1. a record of burial
Thomas Carter Finch—infant—16th January, 1795.
2. a record of baptism
Thomas of William and Ann Finch—15th April, 1798.

These two were probably children of William Finch, junior.

In the register of St. Peter's Church is a record, dated 4th October, 1791, of the burial of

"Elizabeth, wife of William Finch, aged 50".

Presumably she was mother of Finch, junior.

William Finch, senior, did not become a Mason till late in life, his making being recorded in the Treasurer's Book of Lodge No. 326 as occurring on 21st February, 1793. It may be that the change in his surroundings, resulting from the loss of his wife, influenced him in this respect.

William Finch, junior, followed his father's example at the end of the following year.

Lodge No. 326 was in 1789 for the first time mentioned by name, being called by the Treasurer the "Lodge of Industry". This Lodge united with Lodge No. 37 in 1819, at which time the combined Lodge took the name of "United Industrious Lodge". The membership of this Lodge was not large at the end of the eighteenth century. In February, 1793, on a list in the Treasurer's Book only twenty names appeared above that of W. Finch, senior; while in November, 1794, only fifteen names are mentioned, including W. Finch, junior. During 1795 and 1796 there were entries in the Lodge Book of quarterage paid by both Finch, senior, and Finch, junior. It is, however, a curious commentary on the Lodge management that, whereas the registration fee for Finch, junior, was sent to Grand Lodge on 21st December, 1795—even then a year late—that for Finch, senior, was remitted only in October, 1800, *i.e.*, 6½ years after his making, though the payment appears to have been allowed for in the Treasurer's Book at the earlier date.

Amongst others Finch, senior, provided aprons for Brethren, presumably being a suitable person, as a breeches-maker, to obtain the soft leather required. The price paid per apron was one shilling. Finch, senior, acted on at least one occasion—29th October, 1794—as auditor of the Lodge accounts. He appears to have been in good standing in the Lodge all the time of his membership till his death, which occurred some time in 1802, as in the Lodge Treasurer's Book is an entry—

1802 Sept 2. Pd Mr. Fitch surgeon as per Bill for attending our
late Br. Finch as per Order of the Lodge 2-13-0

as shown by the frequent mention of authors, classical as well as modern, and the many quotations cited in various places in his works, he must have read fairly widely, and, though it can be recognised that in many places he merely copied the quotations given by other writers, he must have studied books. That he had power of application is also shown by the amount of labour he must have put into the *Masonic Treatise* with the complicated plates for which an elaborate *Elucidation* was necessary. The Code and Key, invented to prevent the *Treatise* from being an open book, showed ingenuity. Pertinacity is indicated by his perseverance in the pursuit he had marked out for himself, despite opposition and discouragement. In addition, Finch was undoubtedly versatile, as may be seen by the various subjects taken up in his publications which were not Masonic.

It would seem that while in London he became interested in Masonic work; and that, being of a studious bent, he became imbued with a desire for enquiry into Masonic matters. The idea that he designed and invented all that appeared in his publications is very difficult to accept; and it seems quite probable that in London he found opportunities for acquiring information and sources for further search.

Even when Finch returned to Canterbury in 1800 his connection with the Lodge of Industry appeared to have lapsed; and it does not seem that he found favour with the members of his former Lodge, for, though Inwood's *Sermons* and Garland's *Effusions* were purchased by the Lodge, none of Finch's publications was so recognised.

Nevertheless, the attraction of Masonic knowledge and interest in Masonic working must have remained strong with Finch, for in 1801 his first publication appeared. In quite a regular manner Finch obtained from Dr. Perfect, then Provincial Grand Master for Kent, permission to dedicate this book to Dr. Perfect. He does not appear to have made the personal acquaintance of Dr. Perfect, but the two following letters show how he asked for and obtained the permission. These letters were printed and published by Finch several years later as evidence to clear himself from an unfair accusation.

First letter from Dr. Perfect, P.G.M., to W. Finch, High Street, Canterbury.

Dear Sir & Brother

I am this morning favoured with your application, and if you will have the goodness to transmit to me the Manuscript you mention, you may depend on my unreserved opinion relative to its merit, and my patronage to the utmost extent of your wishes. In the hope of hearing from you very soon, and wishing you every success your intended publication can produce, I remain, with fraternal regard

Your's obediently

Malling, 3rd April 1801.

W. Perfect

Second letter from Dr. Perfect, P.G.M., to W. Finch, High Street, Canterbury.

Dear Sir and Brother

Having seized but on three leisure hours from professional avocations I carefully perused the manuscript you had the goodness to submit to my inspection. I think it at once mystical and masonically useful, and think it may prove a valuable acquisition to masonic lore, and of general advantage to the junior parts of the Royal Craft; indeed the whole of the work seems so well devoted to the interest of our excellent institution as to reflect praise on the talent of the author, and if Masonry can receive accession through the 'spectacles of books', this *Treatise* is well calculated to afford it; even the most fastidious criticism cannot condemn the zeal and laudable design of

the author. As an author myself, I would not advise you to do to press too hastily—get at least 300 subscribers first, amongst that number you are at liberty to fix ten copies against my name, and I shall think it no dishonour to appear at the head of your publication.

I am, dear Sir and Brother

Your's faithfully

Malling, 9th April, 1801

W. Perfect

It will be noticed that less than a week intervened between the dates of these two letters; and it is obvious that after careful study Dr. Perfect not only approved of the work but also gave encouragement to the author. It cannot be doubted that Finch's enthusiasm was stimulated, and that his admiration for Dr. Perfect, a man so highly respected in the Province of Kent, would instigate him to further efforts.

The dedication is somewhat fulsome; but at the same time it may be said that it indicated a desire on Finch's part to draw attention to higher aspects in the aims of Masonry. This is further advocated in the Preface where Finch particularly said that his intention was to keep concealed what should never be improperly and illegally known.

Two advertisements regarding this publication were inserted in the Kentish Gazette in May, 1801—

Freemasonry.

A Masonic Treatise, patronised by W. Perfect esq., Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, containing upwards of 550 different allusions and explanations, &c. relating to our Order, of the greatest utility to the Fraternity in general, particularly to the junior part of the Royal Craft.—is in the press, and shortly will be published.

The Brethren of our Ancient and Honorable Fraternity are respectively (*sic*) informed that circular letters to this effect have been transmitted to every Lodge in this Country, whereby Brothers in general may have a convenient opportunity of purchasing what number they please, by applying to what Lodge they may think proper, or by letter to the author.—For further particulars see these circular letters sent to the different Lodges in the country.

High Street

I remain with fraternal esteem,

Canterbury,

their much obliged servant,

May 7th, 1801.

W. Finch.

Freemasonry contd.

W. Finch begs leave to return his grateful thanks to those Brethren who have done him the honour of their support amounting to nearly 500 subscribers; and begs leave to assure them, nothing has been wanting on his part to render it worthy their patronage.

The author of this treatise having nothing in view but a desire to see our excellent moral and religious lectures universally diffused for the general good of the fraternity, and to prevent as much as in his power their being confined to the hands of a few only, begs leave most respectively (*sic*) to acquaint the fraternity in general, that the whole of the profits, arising therefrom, will be appropriated to the use of the General Fund of Masonic Charity, or any other charitable purpose that may be deemed proper by the Provincial Master and Officers of this County.

It seems that these were not the earliest announcements regarding the forthcoming publication of the Key or Treatise, because among the records of Lodge Love and Harmony, Falmouth, is a note, dated 3rd March, 1801, that Finch's *Key to Masonry* had been ordered. Moreover, that Finch had done

some extensive canvassing in connection with his book and had received opinions, both favourable and unfavourable, is shown by a leaflet dated 19th May, 1801.

This leaflet was as follows:—

TO
FREE-MASONS

The author of the MASONIC KEY having nothing in view but a desire to see our excellent *moral and religious lectures* universally diffused for the general good of the Fraternity, and to prevent as much as is in his power their being confined to the hands of a *few only*, begs leave most respectfully (*sic*) to acquaint the Fraternity in general, that the whole of the PROFITS arising therefrom will be appropriated to the use of the GENERAL FUND of MASONIC CHARITY, or any other CHARITABLE PURPOSE that may be deemed proper by the *Provincial Master and Officers of this County*.

The *Author*, being fully conscious that *many*, through base artful motives, stand ready to catch at, and condemn anything in it that bears the *least hint* of inadvertency, not on account of the *work itself*, but merely because it comes from the *Author*! This little *Masonic* work which is calculated for the good of the whole Order, must be by *some* condemned (although they have neither seen nor heard any of its contents) merely because there exists a private pique against the *Author*!!!—To the candour of every Brother I now appeal, and beg they will give it a fair perusal, then let them judge for themselves how far those *base and unmasonic* principles, *Envy, Malice*, and *private pique*, are arriving to supersede the laudable designs of the *Author*.—Feeling myself much hurt in having my character *unjustly and unmasonically* calumniated, I here publicly declare that if anything of the kind occurs again, I shall not only feel myself called on to justify my conduct by a *public and general* appeal to the Fraternity, when much matter must unavoidably be developed that will not redound to the honour of the promoters of such *base and malicious* motives; but shall feel myself under the disagreeable necessity of taking such farther steps as the nature of the case may require, and myself fully justified in doing, consonant to the Laws of our venerable Order.

W. FINCH begs leave to return his grateful thanks to those *Brothers* who have done him the honour of their support in so liberal manner, amounting to nearly 300 *subscribers*, whose flattering assurances of success have highly animated his *hope* of meriting the thanks of the Fraternity, which is all he wishes to gain, in return for the trouble has taken to oblige them, and for having endeavoured to discharge his duty to the whole Order in general without being dismayed in its prosecution, or dreading the censure of a *few only*, who *wish* to engross everything of the kind to themselves, and thereby cut asunder that *perpetual and diffusive line* of *moral* and MASONIC INSTRUCTION, which ought to be equally and unreservedly diffused for the general good of the Craft, to those who are *legally* entitled to them.—Such are my motives in the present publication and *none other*, whatever the breath of *Slander* may please to say to the contrary—and if such motives can *justly* merit *censure*, I beg leave to say I will welcome it with a greater degree of eclat than *those* (who are maliciously endeavouring to pitch it home,) with their *ill-gotten and hard sought for* triumph.—It is presumed no Brother *will or can* venture to anticipate its fate before they have *seen or heard* any thing of its contents; such proceedings would be cruel.

Whatever impressions any *artful* and *prejudicial* insinuations with a view to injure the reputation of the *Author*, may have made on the minds of many Brothers, is earnestly intreated may for a few days be suspended, till they are in possession of better means to form an impartial judgment: To their candid decision the *Author* respectfully submits it—and by their voice it must inevitably stand or fall!

I remain, with fraternal esteem,

their much obliged,

humble Servant,

W. FINCH

May the 19th, 1801, High Street, Canterbury.

Bristow, Printer—1801

It seems clear that, at this early stage in his career, Finch had begun to make enemies in the Masonic world, even though no publication had yet seen the light; and, in view of events of later years, it is probable that this animosity was mostly in London, where perhaps the publication had been prepared.

Finch appears to have at first looked upon his Masonic writing as secondary to his proper trade of tailoring, as is witnessed by the remark in the above leaflet regarding the disposal of the profits arising out of the sale of the *Treatise*. It seems that only later did he become entirely absorbed in Masonic literature.

The above leaflet was printed by Bristow of Canterbury, by whom the first edition of the *Treatise* was printed. So far as can be ascertained, though the name Bristow appears in several places in Freemasonry in Kent, the printer of this publication was not a Freemason; and there is nothing to show whether any special acquaintance existed between Finch and Bristow in Canterbury. The address mentioned in the advertisement of the publication is the same as the address given in the last three advertisements (in 1801) of the tailoring business, and probably was the address of Finch, senior. That the second edition of the *Treatise* was printed elsewhere than in Canterbury may mean that Finch was experiencing difficulties in Canterbury.

The authorities at Masonic Headquarters evidently did not look upon the matter in the same light as Dr. Perfect. The opinion expressed from Headquarters has not transpired; but, in reply to the Grand Secretary, William White, Dr. Perfect wrote in August, 1801:—

Dear Sir

Thank you for your kind assurance of transmitting the letter I enclosed to you as it was directed. As to the publication you mention, I had a sight of it in Manuscript and thinking it a perfectly harmless work did not prohibit the author from printing it but at the same time desired him to use my name in his dedication only as having permitted him to use it. I since find he has been lavish in his panegyric boasting of my patronage and saying more in his preface than he was warranted to do. I have seen a copy of the book and will endeavour to procure one for your inspection—when I think you will be of my mind in regard to its inutility and harmlessness. I am sure you must know me too well for a moment to suppose I would encourage anything that might prove detrimental to the Craft, and I must ever regret that anything concerning our Order was ever

printed to its detrimental exposure and whatever of the kind is laid before me in future I shall discountenance to the utmost of my power.

Malting
4th August
1801

I am with great respect
yours sincerely
W. Perfect

In comparing the letters to his two correspondents it will at once be seen that Dr. Perfect shows a distinct divergence of opinion, and expresses himself quite differently after only four months of interval. This change Finch could not be expected to be aware of, and his actions would therefore not be affected by it. It would appear that Dr. Perfect did not inform Finch differently from his first letters to him, as the second edition of the publication appeared the next year with an exactly similar dedication. This action on the part of Dr. Perfect does not seem quite sincere, or fair dealing with a young author, who had gone to him for advice. So far as this book was concerned there the matter of approval rested for some five years.

In 1802 a second edition of his first publication came out, but this was printed by J. Atkinson of Deal. Why the change occurred is not clear. The Dedication and the Preface to this second edition remained the same as in the first edition, but the dedication, with the same address of High Street, Canterbury, is dated 29th February, 1802. It does not seem as if any remonstrance had reached Finch from Dr. Perfect.

In the *Elucidation* Finch gave a list of Lodges which, in addition to individual Brethren, subscribed to the publication. These Lodges must have been subscribers when the first edition came out, for, after the title-page of the second edition, are inserted four pages of complimentary letters from various parts of the kingdom—e.g., Liverpool; Lynn, Norfolk; Richmond; Falmouth; Tiverton; Bideford; Frome; Southampton; Ringwood; Coltishall; Trowbridge; all commenting favourably on the book. Some of the remarks are worth quoting—

Liverpool—asked for copies of all future books.

Lynn—wanted 18 copies with Key.

Richmond—wanted further supply.

Falmouth—wished every success.

Tiverton—desired to promote any other publication.

Frome—wanted to know about any further publication.

Southampton—admired the work.

Ringwood—wanted 12 copies of plates of next publication.

Coltishall—found that the method of working, except in trivial respects, did not differ from that in use in the Lodge; but the superiority was with Finch.

Trowbridge—called it an excellent masonic treatise.

The Lodges mentioned in the list were—

No. 28—Well Disposed Lodge, Waltham Abbey,	now R. Alpha 16
No. 51—Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love, Arundel,	now 56
No. 61—Probity, Halifax,	now 61
No. 63—Fortitude, Manchester,	now 64
No. 87—Love and Honour, Falmouth,	now 75
No. 88—Friendly, Lodge, Great Yarmouth	erased 1831
No. 103—Druids Lodge, Redruth,	erased 1838
No. 129—Sea Captains Lodge, Sunderland,	now 97
No. 133—Friendship, Norwich,	now 100
No. 157—Royal Navy Lodge, Deal,	erased 1822

No. 158—Friendship, Lynn Regis,	erased 1838
No. 162—Union, Nottingham,	erased 1828
No. 175—Unity, Ringwood,	now 132
No. 187—Amity, Poole	now 137
No. 198—Lodge of Lights, Warrington,	now 148
No. 226B—All Souls, Weymouth,	now 170
No. 241—Lodge of Hope, Stourbridge,	erased 1828
No. 255—St. John, Manchester,	now 191
No. 284—Royal Edmund, Bury St. Edmunds,	died out 1853
No. 308—St. Bedes, Morpeth,	erased 1815
No. 324—Royal Oak, Ripon,	erased 1828
No. 348—St. Georges, Doncaster,	now 242
No. 353—Reformation, London,	erased 1830
No. 360—True Love and Unity, Brixham,	now 248
No. 362—Mariners, Liverpool,	now 249
No. 363—Minerva, Hull,	now 250
No. 371—Truth, Richmond, Middlesex,	erased 1828
No. 373—Royal Gloucester, Gloucester,	erased 1851
No. 394—Friendship and Sincerity, Shaftesbury,	erased 1828
No. 401—Goodwill, Braintree,	erased 1823
No. 469—Royal Clarence, Frome,	erased 1838
No. 499—Faithful, Bideford,	erased 1823
No. 502—Love and Honour, Shepton Mallet,	now 285
No. 503—Royal Gloucester, Southampton,	erased 1822
No. 537—Apollo, Alcester,	now 301
No. 540—Benevolent, Teignmouth,	now 303
No. 549B—Prince Frederick, Heptonstall,	now 307
No. 553B—Strict Benevolence, Wisbech,	erased 1825
No. 555—Union, Carlisle,	now 310
No. 566—Royal Cinque Port, Seaford,	now 315
No. 572—Attention, Lynn,	erased 1823
No. 573—Innocence, and Morality, Hindon, Wilts,	erased 1832
No. 581—Reason, Ashford, Kent,	erased 1811

Such a favourable reception was without doubt an incentive to carry on with work which apparently appealed to Finch; and this may have been the turning-point in his career, influencing him in relinquishing the trade of tailoring.

The *Elucidation on the Masonic Plates* was published in 1802, printed by Clement, 201 Strand, London. The title-page of this shows the author as "W. Finch, Canterbury", indicating that he had compiled the *Elucidation* while still connected with Canterbury. Evidence is not forthcoming to show when and how these plates were designed; but from their involved and complicated nature it may be surmised that their inception was quite as old as that of the first edition of the *Treatise*, and that therefore they were designed or compiled probably during Finch's sojourn in London.

The next publication was not of a Masonic character, being an *Historical Sketch of the County of Kent*. This was published in 1803, and the dedication to the Right Hon. Lord Sondes was dated in London, 10th December, 1802. This book was entirely non-Masonic, and stated by Finch to have been "collected from the celebrated works of Camden, Harris, Seymour, Philipot, Hasted, etc." There is shown in this book not only a wide range of reading, but also some versatility, for he illustrated the book with one of the plates used for the *Masonic Treatise*, and gave to the several sections of the plate quite different renderings, each relating to some historical incident.

The preparation of these books must have involved much study and expenditure of time which would entail neglect of his trade to the detriment of that business.

It will be recollected that the doctor's bill for the last illness of Finch, senior, was paid by the Industrious Lodge in September, 1802—so it may be assumed that Finch's father died in the summer of that year. It is evident that his final move to London must have been made by Finch almost immediately after his father's death, at which time he was perhaps about 30 years of age. The influence which persuaded him to leave Canterbury must have been impelling, for obviously it was extravagant to purchase his Freedom for £20, enjoy it for only a year or so, and then forsake the tailoring business. It may have been that he was never enamoured of the trade, that he had tasted a different life in London, and that only consideration for his father prevented an earlier severance. It remains doubtful whether Finch, junior, ever did settle down to the trade to which he had been apprenticed.

According to the records mentioned earlier, William Finch had a younger brother, James. In *The Poll of the Electors for Members of Parliament to represent the City of Canterbury*, Taken by Henry Simmons, Sheriff, in May, 1796, is included as one of a list of Unpolled Freemen—

* J. Finch, Breechesmaker, Sun Street

and a note—

“Those marked with a * signify persons having purchased their Freedom within the last Twelve Months, by which they were not entitled to vote”.

Sun Street was the address of William Finch, senior, in 1795. It seems probable that the younger brother, James, having been brought up to the trade, might have given an opportunity for the elder to relinquish it and follow his own bent.

What happened to the tailoring business has not transpired. It may have been sold, and the proceeds shared; the younger brother may have bought out the elder. It seems unlikely that William Finch, migrating to London, would start in a new line without some capital. And yet, as the Lodge of Industry defrayed the expenses of the last illness of Finch, senior, one would think that the business must have decayed considerably. It may have been that neglect by Finch, junior, contributed to this collapse; and this behaviour may have been the cause of the disfavour towards him shown by the members of the Lodge.

We are left in doubt about exact dates in consequence of some of Finch's own statements, which show that he was not accurate. In his long letter to Earl Moira, dated February, 1812, Finch stated that he had been a Craft Mason for 16 years and a Royal Arch Mason for 14 years. We have the authentic record of his initiation in November, 1794, and this, in 1812, would allow him 18 years as a Craft Mason. Again, in an advertisement of *Freemasons' Lectures*, dedicated to H.R.H. The Prince Regent, dated July, 1813, Finch stated that he

“began his herculean task in March, 1794, and finished in August, 1812”.

March, 1794, would have been eight months before he was initiated. In this same circular he also mentioned his

“Masonic Publications brought out at various times for these sixteen years past”.

The first publication, we know of, came out in 1801, only twelve years previously. Further, in his manuscript Appeal to the Grand Lodge against the decision of the Committee of Charity, undated, but about 1807, Finch said he was—

“legally made in 1792 in the Industrious Lodge No. 326”.

This would have been two years before the Lodge record.

It cannot be denied that these inconsistencies show Finch to have been inaccurate and careless in his references and this trait in his character has to be borne in mind when reading his publications.

After 1802 nothing more is known of Finch in Canterbury, except two isolated instances several years later, both of them mentioned in the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book, on dates 24th March, 1812, and 15th June, 1814, both referring to relief of Br. Finch to the extent of 2/6. In the latter instance Finch is mentioned as "Br. Finch junior"; so it would seem that there were still some, or at least one, who remembered the time when the Finch's, father and son, were members of the Lodge. However, the amount in each case is so small that one wonders whether it was not for some temporary expenditure such as travelling.

After leaving Canterbury Finch's first address in London was "No. 50 Lambeth Marsh", as given on the title-page of his *Historical Sketch of the County of Kent*.

It has not been easy to obtain definite information regarding Finch's activities during the three or four years before 1806; but, from internal evidence of documents which he published later, it may with fair certainty be inferred that he was busily engaged not only in assiduously canvassing the sale of his publications, but also in research connected with Masonic degrees of other Orders besides the Craft. He claimed to have communicated with thousands of Masons; and this claim will appear very probable when considering the contacts he must have established in the course of his researches, for not only did he collect material in England, but also he obtained information from France, and his works went to America. He appears to have been known all over England, and to have been remembered in Bristol sufficiently to be mentioned in a letter, dated 6th August, 1825, signed "Hiram the Second", written to Richard Carlile, who printed it (see *Republican XII.*, page 284). The matter of postage was frequently mentioned by him in his circulars, and his request that letters should be prepaid was, on the score of expense, quite a reasonable precaution, though detractors have called it a bad trait. In one place Finch stated that 256 Lodges had supported him. This number would naturally be only a portion of those with whom he had communicated; but what percentage it might be is difficult to estimate, as there is no information available regarding the jurisdiction of the Lodges. In another place he said—

"full four fifths of the Lodges in the kingdom having honoured me with the highest approbation".

According to his own statement he did an extensive trade with the *Treatise*. We have only his word for this, as not more than occasional records are to be found referring to transactions with Lodges.

In 1803—Concord Lodge No. 262, Barnard Castle, in January transmitted to the Grand Secretary fees, etc., and included—

"To Mr. Pennington for Mr. Finch 18s. 0d.
Please pay Mr. Pennington 18/ which I find the Lodge is Dr. to Mr. Finch for 4 Publications".

—Probity Lodge No. 61, Halifax, in their books show on 17th August—

"By postage 2/1 and cash pd. for Finch's Pampt. 5. 7."

In 1805—as mentioned in the *Transactions of the Somerset Masters' Lodge*, 1937—

"Minute Book of Rural Philotropic Lodge No. 291, Highbridge,
To postage of two letters from Finch of London 1 - 9 "

In June, 1803, one Thomas West wrote from Bath to the Grand Secretary enquiring about Finch's *Masonic Treatise*—

Dear Sir

I have to offer you my best thanks for your kind advice respecting our strange and troublesome Treasurer; and to acquaint you that by the next St. John's Day, I am in hopes we shall muster six or seven in the Pr. G.L. with the expectation of more next winter; but the chief reason for my writing now is to request your opinion, whether we ought or ought not to work according to Finches Masonic Treatise, three of our new Members being very desirous of so doing; solemnly asserting, that in three very respectable Lodges, in London, which they visited the last winter, they all work'd in that manner; and that it is become very general, both in the Town & Country Lodges. Your answer will greatly oblige

Dr. Sir

Bath 20th June

1803

Gay Strt.

Yr. Affect^d Br. & Obedt Serv^t

Thos. West

P.S. We now work after Br. Dunckerley's method.

It is not known what was the reply of the Grand Secretary, but the tenor of the letter from Bath, as well as of the others already quoted, tend to show that Finch's efforts were in some quarters not looked upon with disfavour.

This is further exemplified by the fact that both the *Elucidation on the Masonic Plates* and the *Banners of the Twelve Tribes explained* were copied verbatim in an Appendix to the *General Ahiman Rezon* by Samuel Cole, Baltimore, 1817. This copying was acknowledged, but the source was not mentioned, though it was stated that—

“three copper plate Engravings were published in London about the year 1796”.

This date is not in agreement, unless Finch copied from other and earlier plates or prepared his plates some years before he used them. The compiler of the *General Ahiman Rezon*, in a note at the beginning of the Appendix, said

“The following traditional account of masonry, which accidentally fell into my hands, I have read with no inconsiderable interest; and, not doubting but it will afford satisfaction to many enquiring brethren, I here insert it with few alterations, excepting the literal errors it contains”.

also—

“These plates are in possession of one of the lodges in Baltimore, and have a long time given rise to much curious speculation. It will be found on perusal, that what has heretofore appeared merely hieroglyphical, is now rendered plain and easy to be understood”.

This is a compliment to Finch.

At this time Finch was residing at 3 Middle Row—opposite High Row, Knightsbridge, and he described himself as a Bookseller. He did not print his own publications at this period, but employed others for that purpose—e.g., Furniss, Charles Street; and Jacques, Lower Sloane Street, Chelsea.

The years 1806 and 1807 were a critical period in Finch's career.

In the Minutes of the Committee of Charity for 4th April, 1806, is the following—

“It having been represented to the Committee by several Masters of Lodges that much Injury had arisen to the Craft from a Book published by William Finch entitled

‘A Masonic Treatise with an Elucidation on the Religious and Moral Duties of Freemasonry’

and the said Book having been produced to the Committee and inspected it was thereupon

Resolved unanimously

That by such Publication Bro. William Finch has been guilty of a Breach of his Obligation as a Mason and has violated the Laws of the Grand Lodge''.

The Book referred to was obviously the second edition of Finch's first publication, and had been published in 1802, with, by permission, a dedication to the Provincial Grand Master of Kent. It is not easy to understand why four years were allowed to lapse before bringing up the matter before the Committee; nor why action was then taken in face of the permitted dedication, especially after the correspondence that had passed between Dr. Perfect and the Grand Secretary. The Grand Secretary was present at the meeting of the Committee of Charity, but there is no record as to whether these points were brought to the notice of the Committee; and, since the record does show that the resolution was unanimous, it must be assumed that no weight was given to the opinion first expressed by the Provincial Grand Master of Kent, by which his action was guided regarding this publication. Such an action seems to suggest a snub to Dr. Perfect, as well as being unfair to the subject of the censure. And, in view of the length of time that had elapsed since the commission of the alleged offence, the suspicion arises that the Committee of Charity on this occasion was actuated by active enemies of Finch, and that therefore there were good grounds for some of Finch's complaints. Moreover, the action taken by the Committee of Charity on cases that were very similar appears to have varied considerably. For example—

Browne, the author of the *Master Key*, was summoned to appear before the Committee in January, 1801, to answer regarding his publication. He did not attend, writing a letter to excuse himself—and the Committee suspended the enquiry.

On 4th February, 1803, a special committee was appointed by the Committee of Charity to 'examine into and report on a certain publication entitled *Illustrations of Masonry* which John Cole had produced. Nothing more regarding this appears in the Minutes.

A few days later the matter regarding Finch's publication was carried further, as shown by the Grand Lodge Minutes:—

9 Apr. 1806 . . . The Minutes of the last Committee of Charity were read when Brother Finch addressed the Grand Lodge at considerable length, on the Resolution of the Committee respecting his Publication entitled 'A Masonic Treatise &c', but on the question being put the Minutes were confirmed; however in consequence of Brother Finch having expressed his great concern that he should have given offence to the Grand Lodge, by the said Publication, and having also promised to use every exertion in his Power to suppress the Sale of it, the Grand Lodge declined to proceed further on the Business.

Soon after April, 1806, a circular, headed *The Freemason's Arcanum*, printed by Furniss, was issued by Finch. In this circular Finch said that, in view of the very favourable reception given to his Lectures by Lodges in all parts of the country, he was hoping for open patronage by Grand Lodge, but that he was taken by surprise at the opposition he met. Apparently the resolution of the Committee of Charity was not communicated to Finch in any way other than in the agenda before Grand Lodge.

He challenged all members of Grand Lodge to point out any objectionable part of his book, but received no reply. He stated that, notwithstanding the resolution of Grand Lodge, from that moment the number of his friends increased.

Finch gave a promise to Grand Lodge to cease printing this book, a promise which he said he intended to keep; but he added that

“any Lodge, or individual Brother may have the Lectures etc. in MSS”.

He was perfectly open in giving notice of what he intended to do, holding that his obligation required him to give

“any masonic information to such Brothers as are legally authorised to receive it”.

He informed Brethren that the Lectures formed but a small part of his Masonic publications.

In this same circular—besides information regarding various publications, furniture, and other items for sale—particular mention was made of a book, entitled the *Masonic Repository*. Finch said, too, that he had just purchased the property of the proprietor of the *Freemasons' Magazine*, and thereby had for sale a large number of Masonic prints, and also portraits executed by celebrated artists.

There is here perhaps an instance of the inaccuracy that has already been mentioned. Finch said of the *Freemasons' Magazine*—

“the work having been discontinued above eight years”.

Bro. G. Elkington gave in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., a full account of the *Freemasons' Magazine*, which was issued in eleven volumes from 1793 to 1803 inclusive. From the details of the description of his purchase given by Finch and his reference to eleven volumes, there seems no doubt about the identity of the magazine; and it is by no means clear how he came to make such a mistake of apparently five years. However, Finch's statement about the good sale of his publications seems to be corroborated by the fact of this purchase, for he had acquired the means to do so.

Also in this circular Finch gave a list of twenty-five Masonic degrees. In several places has been made a suggestion, amounting to an accusation against Finch, that he invented Masonic degrees. In Q.C. Lodge Library is a book, containing several old Cornish rituals, in which is given a list of twenty-six degrees (with “12 other Orders”) which agrees with Finch's list of 25, with the exception that the Cornish ritual gives six parts for the Royal Arch, whereas Finch gave five. Immediately after this list of degrees is a list of

“members who have been passed and admitted into those 26 Degrees of Freemasonry”.

This latter list is headed by “John Knight” who was admitted in 1777, followed by several admitted in 1806. *The History of Freemasonry in West Cornwall*, by J. G. Osborn, 1901, shows that most of the Brethren mentioned in this list were members of the Druids Lodge of Love and Liberality. The oldest member mentioned is John Knight, who was initiated in 1766, and was Master of the Druids Lodge in 1777. On page 91 of this book is given a copy of a letter signed by John Knight, dated 27th December, 1808, at the end of which he said—

“We stand pretty high in Masonry at Redruth having a Constitution for Craft Masonry, Chapter of the Royal Arch, Conclave of Knights Templar etc. etc. and every other Degree in Masonry”.

This tends to show that the rituals of the 25 degrees mentioned by Finch were in existence before Finch's time, and that he could not have had a hand in concocting any of them.

This circular, headed *Freemasons' Arcanum*, provides evidence not only to show that his interest in Masonic matters was so keen that he had become a collector, but also to indicate wide research amongst Masonic degrees together with pertinacious application in having collected information about so many in so short a time.

Included also in this circular was a defence against an accusation of making "a trade of Masonry". Finch said—

"This I deny, for I have ever made it an invariable rule to confine it within the bounds of Prudence, where none but Masons have access. If this is the trade they mean, I heartily join with them, AMEN, and consider it no dishonour to the fraternity or myself, and will add, that I know no profession that requires a greater traffic (if they will have it so), within its proper sphere, than the Science of Masonry. Nor do I know any reason why I should devote my time, trouble and money, for many years in the pursuits of Masonry, without some remuneration. Were I in affluent circumstances, perhaps it might be expected that I should gratuitously 'distribute this bounty with cheerfulness'; but this, unfortunately for me, is not the case; therefore, I presume, no Brother will expect that from me, which he could (or would) not part with himself. . . . I cannot conclude with more pleasure to myself, and, I hope, satisfaction to the Brethren in general, than with the reply made by a very worthy Brother in my defence, upon a similar occasion. 'If', says he, 'Brother F— does make a trade of Masonry, it is a trade wherein the purchaser gains infinitely more than cent. per cent. It is a Trade that snatches from the hands of monopolizers, a commodity that yields pleasure and profit to us all. A trade that hurls Ignorance, Envy, and Pride from their tottering throne, and places Prudence, Honour, and Virtue in their stead'."

That Finch had been "let in" by some doubtful dealings is certain, for he found it necessary to add—

"It is with extreme reluctance the nature of the case compels me to inform the Brothers, that nothing can be sent, unless the amount of the order is inclosed, or a reference in London for payment. I am sure no liberal-minded Brother will feel offended with this request, when I inform them that when I first brought out my former publication, in 1801, I gave every lodge in the Kingdom, that I had an opportunity of sending to, the privilege to read, and examine them, before they paid me; if not approved, to return them, and if approved to send the money. Thus, you perceive, they had the peculiar privilege of reading them for nothing, for some months; yet, strange to tell! many lodges, to this day, have neither paid me nor returned them."

A casual reference was made to

"Our warranted Royal York Lodge of Perseverance No. 322 under the Constitution of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales".

In the Grand Lodge Register, Finch is shown as having been admitted a member of this Lodge on 3rd January, 1806, his calling is given as "Bookseller", no age is mentioned, and he is not shown as of any other Lodge.

Also in this circular mention was made of a Chapter and an Encampment over which Finch presided, and which Brethren were invited to join. This is the first mention of a Chapter not under the jurisdiction of Grand Chapter. Nowhere did Finch mention the date of his withdrawal from Grand Chapter, but he remarked in his letter to Earl Moira regarding the claims of Grand Chapter—

“ . . . the same motives that influenced many others, influenced me to obtain all that belonged to the Order; but finding none of the Chapters that acted under Grand Chapter could give me what they professed, I sought it with many others elsewhere; and finding the power of the Chapter to be illegal, and their means of information very scanty, I conceived it a duty to myself and the fraternity of Royal Arch Masons, to join with several others in withdrawing our allegiance from Grand Chapter, as they could give us neither instruction or protection; and by their disinclination to propagate what little they did know, we proclaimed our own INDEPENDENCE.—”.

This seems to indicate that he did not remain long under the jurisdiction of Grand Chapter, though it may with some reason be suspected that the Chapter of Universality did not come into being till after he had settled in London. Also another thought arises—the Chapter of Universality would not have come into being, and have continued to exist, if there had not been a number of others of the same way of thinking as Finch. From this perhaps also arose the animosity shown to Finch by many who considered that he was putting a stumbling-block in their way.

Though “Modern” Lodges used to confer the degree of Royal Arch, the Grand Lodge in November, 1792, stated that it had nothing to do with the Society of Royal Arch Masons, which statement resulted from a complaint made by a Brother against “Grand Chapter”. In his *Origin of the English Rite* Hughan gives other instances of a similar kind—e.g., the Grand Secretary, writing in July, 1767, to Bro. Gogal, said “The Royal Arch is a Society we do not acknowledge, and which we hold to be an invention to introduce innovations and to seduce the brethren”. And Hughan mentions at length the troubles about the finance in Grand Chapter. Further, it is to be noted that in a letter, dated 9th September, 1795, Dunckerley “solemnly declared his surrender of the office of Superintendent of the several counties and of every other office in the Grand Chapter”. There is plenty of evidence of the manner in which Grand Lodge looked upon the Royal Arch, and also of the dissatisfaction in respect to Grand Chapter. There apparently was sufficient cause for others besides Finch to be dissatisfied with Grand Chapter. With these considerations before us can we blame Finch for speaking as he did about Grand Chapter? Ought he to be condemned without some good evidence that he was wrong in his attempts to investigate Royal Arch Masonry?

Finch inveighed against Grand Chapter, its claims and its actions. In his long letter to Earl Moira on the “Claims of Grand Chapter” he gave eight reasons why many private Chapters seceded and declared independence. Apparently he was not alone in his animadversions; and private Chapters declaring independence would indicate that he was not alone also in holding that Regulation No. 2 of Grand Lodge in 1723—viz., “The Master of a particular Lodge has the right to congregate the Members of his Lodge into a Chapter upon any emergency or occurrence”—gave him a right which Grand Chapter had no power to abrogate until he surrendered his prerogative, and thus he was entitled to do as he said he intended, that is, work separately from a body illegally self-created. Whatever may have been the meaning of this regulation, this was the manner in which Finch stated that he read it. Hence the Chapter of Universality and the Encampment allied to it, in which he was supported by other dissentients.

From Finch's writings it is not possible to form a clear opinion regarding the differences between the "working" obtaining under the Grand Chapter and that put forward by him; but his animadversions against the claims of Grand Chapter and its ignorance of the full ceremonies, indicate that earlier rituals of the Royal Arch contained a great deal more than the Grand Chapter admitted.

In Q.C. Lodge Library there is a manuscript ritual of the Royal Arch, on the covering sheet of which is a note by Bro. W. J. Songhurst to the effect—

"This is undoubtedly in the handwriting of Finch".

This opinion can be confirmed by comparison with other manuscripts signed by Finch. The ritual formerly belonged to Dr. Wynn Westcott, in whose handwriting is placed at the top of the first page the remark "A.D. 1804". There are also in Q.C. Lodge Library two other old R.Arch rituals—one in manuscript on paper with watermark "M.B. 1795", the other a copy of a ritual, headed "Royal Arch Ritual with Lectures and Sections 1796". The former of these two came, I fancy, from Norfolk; the latter was copied from an "original" found in an old box in the vault of the Parish Church of St. Paul, Deptford, and which was contained in a small red note-book, very closely written in small characters in semi-cipher. Though differing in some points such as expansion in a few parts and occasionally slightly different phraseology, these two latter rituals are in the main the same; and the "Finch" ritual is practically the same as these two. It seems fairly reasonable to assume that all three rituals are copied from some earlier ritual. Moreover, in the "Finch" ritual is given a prayer which is word for word the same as one in Dunckerley's Royal Arch Lectures. Further, though the several steps of the Royal Arch, as propounded by Finch, have been stigmatised as imagination on his part, or declared to be obsolete, it cannot be denied that large portions of the rituals, as given by him, are to be found in at least three other degrees worked to-day.

This evidence does not suggest that Finch was putting forward a system fabricated by himself, though it must be granted that he was advocating a system different from that adopted by Grand Chapter, a system which he held to be truer and more complete. We do not know whether he in any way revised or altered the earlier ritual, and, if so, in what way or how much; but, even if he did, would that be discreditable? Is not such "touching-up" happening even nowadays?

Persistence in reiterating the faults and failures of others and continual harping upon grievances are fairly certain to alienate sympathy. This apparently happened in the case of Finch. Instead of avoiding his opponents and carrying on his work in a quiet manner, not only did he obtrude himself at meetings where he was met with open hostility which he retaliated, but also he persisted in publishing diatribes against his adversaries. Probably the treatment he received was exasperating, and perhaps he was infatuated with desire to correct what he thought was wrong; but the upshot was that, while the animosity of his detractors was embittered, he was ignored by those whose sympathy he tried to enlist.

In the following year, 1807, according to Grand Lodge Minutes, Finch was again attacked.

8 April, 1807. The following Charge against Brother William Finch was duly made by Brother T. H. Shaw, S.W. of the Globe Lodge No. 14 and seconded by Brother Thomas Farrell, R.W. Master of the Lodge No. 203, vizt. "That Brother Finch has in repeated instances grossly violated his Obligation". Whereupon on a Motion duly made and seconded it was

Resolved That a Committee be appointed to take into consideration and examine the said Charge, That such Committee do

consist of nine members (any five of whom shall form a Quorum to proceed to Business) vizt.

Earl of Mount Norris, Prov.G.M. for Huntingdonshire

John Elliott Esqr. S.G.W.

John Bayford Esqr. G.T.

James Deans Esqr. R.W.M. of Grand Stewards Lodge

Bror. W. H. White S.W. of do.

Bror. James Earnshaw J.W. of do.

Bror. Fras. Virgo R.W.M. of British Lodge No. 4

Bror. Isaac Clementson R.W.M. of Caledonian Lodge No. 180

Sir Willm. Rawlings R.W.M. of L. of the Nine Muses No. 330

and that all Masters of Lodges be allowed to attend the said Committee.

This Committee carried out the investigation and reported to Grand Lodge, as shown in Grand Lodge Minutes—

6th May, 1807,

The Committee appointed at the last Grand Lodge to enquire into the Charge preferred against Brother William Finch reported as Follows vizt.

To the Most Worshipful Grand Master, the Grand Officers and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of England.

We your Committee appointed on the 9th of this present month of April to take into consideration and examine the Charge preferred against Brother William Finch, Do most humbly Report that as the Charge is contained in the following general terms vizt. "That Brother Finch has in repeated instances violated his Obligation" your Committee judged it expedient in the first instance to require of the Brethren who preferred the Charge a Statement of the different instances or facts therein alluded to and the same were then stated to your Committee as follows.

1st That Brother Finch in defiance of the Resolution of the Grand Lodge in April 1806 and contrary to the solemn promise he then made to the Grand Lodge had continued to publish and circulate certain Books which the Grand Lodge had censured as improper and unmasonic.

2nd That Brother Finch had written the Secrets of the Craft on Paper and circulated or published such written Papers in violation of his Duty as a Mason.

The Charge being thus defined your Committee proceeded to the separate investigation of each of the Articles of Accusation and in respect to the first they do most humbly report that the Fact therein alledged against Brother Finch was not proved before your Committee and as far as they can judge from the Evidence laid before them Brother Finch appears faithfully to have observed the promise he made to the Grand Lodge in April 1806.

Your Committee next proceeded to the examination of the 2nd Article of Accusation and Brother Finch having in his Defence admitted that the Papers No. 1, 2 & 3 produced to the Grand Lodge and laid before your Committee were of his Hand writing and that they had been delivered by him to a Brother Mason contending at the same time with much ingenuity that to write and deliver such Papers to a Brother is not a violation of the Masonic Obligation it only remained for your Committee to

examine and decide upon the contents and tendency of the Papers themselves. And your Committee are decidedly of Opinion that the writing and circulation of such Papers is not to be justified. But your Committee have the satisfaction further to report that upon such the opinion of your Committee being distinctly stated to Brother Finch and on his being reminded that the Opinion expressed from the Chair of the Grand Lodge by the Most Worshipful Acting Grand Master at the last Grand Lodge perfectly coincided with that of your Committee, Brother Finch expressed his concern at having unintentionally given offence to the Grand Lodge stated his readiness to pay due deference and submission to such opinions and gave to your Committee his solemn promise that he would not again write the same or similar papers in consideration of which your Committee feel it their Duty humbly to recommend to the Grand Lodge that no further Censure be passed on Brother Finch at present nor unless he shall hereafter violate the promise now given to your Committee.

(signed) Mt. Norris

John Elliott S.G.W.

John Bayford

J. Deans R.W.M. of Grand Stewards Lodge

William H. White S.W. of do.

J. Earnshaw, J.W. of do.

Fras. Virgo R.W.M. of No. 4

And on a Motion duly made and seconded, it was Resolved That this Grand Lodge do agree with the said Report.

According to his own account, one piece of evidence brought by Finch in his defence before this special Committee was a bundle of some "300 letters from most of the Lodges in the kingdom". After reading some of them the Chairman of the Committee asked why they had not been produced at the commencement of the business "for they certainly were much in Finch's favour".

Not inclined to rest content with this acquittal, which practically acquiesced in the continuance of his work, Finch continued to force his presence upon his opponents, with the result that acute quarrels occurred in Lodge, when, according to his own account, in the heat of the moment, injudicious words were used on both sides.

A week or so after Grand Lodge had accepted the Report of the Special Committee, Finch printed an *Appeal to the Officers and Members of Grand Lodge*. In this he surveyed the proceedings in Grand Lodge and at the investigation by the Special Committee, exonerated himself from the charges, and asked for sympathy and assistance to put an end to this malicious persecution.

As stated by Finch—in his letter to Earl Moira in 1808—he issued immediately after the *Printed Appeal*, and therefore during 1807, first his *Illustrations*, then the *Freemasons' Guide*, and quite soon after that the *Freemason's Looking Glass*; and also two other publications which he did not specify.

The *Illustrations* were first issued separately, and later embodied in the Lectures.

The Preface to the *Guide* is worth studying. Finch declaims against the failure to give proper instruction in Lodges and the incapability of those who pretended to instruct. If only a little of what he said was true, it would show an unsatisfactory state in the face of the injunction to make a daily advancement in Masonic knowledge. Such a state is even to-day a subject for comment. Finch disclaimed all idea of popularity, affirming that his contracted sphere of life would not make room for any variety, and he asserted that all he could claim was

“nothing else but indefatigable industry to explore the beautiful and hidden truths of our almost neglected science”.

One sentence of the preface arrests attention—

“Menander of Ephesus who translated the Tyrian annals out of the Philistine tongue into the Greek, also relates that when any of these propositions proved too hard for those wise and learned princes” (Solomon and Hiram K.T.) “Abdymonus or Abdomanus the Tyrian called in the old constitutions, Amon or Hiram Abif, he answered every device that was put to him”.

By “old constitutions” did Finch mean “Old Charges”, and was he referring to the *York MS.*?

In the *Guide* Finch again defends himself against the accusation of “trading in masonry”, and he instances how

“Bros. Preston, Hutchison, Smith and others—not one of these useful members of our order have escaped the lash of persecution, envy and ignorance; yet to their honour and the good of masonry, they have had the courage to persevere in their duty”.

He asked

“What is all this but a ‘trade in Masonry’? and what would our Lodges have been good for, had it not been for ‘this trade’?”

In the various sections of the *Guide* there are related so many curious legends that it would be most extraordinary if any one man could have invented them; and it would indeed be interesting to search whether any of them are to be found in ancient Hebrew or other writings. I think it safe to say that Finch copied them all from somewhere.

The two publications, not specified in his letter to Earl Moira, may have been—

Lectures on Masonry, The Past Master, Excellent and Superexcellent Masons

and a Satirical Poem entitled—

The Resurrection of Solomon's Temple

as these appear to have come out about that time. The advertisement of these two was contained in a leaflet which advertised also the 25 degrees of Masonry which he had already mentioned in an earlier circular.

Finch's *Appeal* to Grand Lodge received no response; and this state of affairs had continued for about six months when Finch carried it further and tried to ventilate his grievances by bringing before the Committee of Charity a long list of charges against five Brethren. He said in November, 1807 (*Manuscript Appeal*) that these charges were put forward ten days before the meeting of the Committee that month; but in 1808, when he wrote to Earl Moira, he stated that the charges had been made in April, 1807. It can only be assumed that Finch was confusing two events.

The proceedings of the Committee of Charity, in connection with these charges, are given in full in the Minutes of the Committee.

20th November, 1807—

Brother William Finch having preferred charges against the following Brothers the parties were severally summoned to attend this Committee to answer the same—vizt—

Brother Denham

1st For rebelling and endeavouring to excite others to rebel and subvert the late Proceedings of the Grand Lodge and their Committee relative to the Charges brought against me.

- 2nd For impeaching the Grand Lodge Committee and holding in derision their Power and Proceedings.
- 3rd For a breach of that Law of the Grand Lodge which prohibits the Mysteries of Masonry being made known to our Families.
- 4th For accusing me in the presence of 40 Brothers being an Imposter and gaining admission without being made in any Lodge.
- 5th Charging me with Perjury of the blackest kind.
- 6th For calling me, in the presence of 19 Brothers, a blackguard.
- 7th For illegally assembling with others to procure my expulsion upon false and groundless charges.
- 8th Endeavouring to injure my Character by falsehood and slander.
- 9th Persecuting me with malignity.

Brother Farrell

- 1st For rebelling and endeavouring to excite others to rebel and subvert the late Proceedings of the Grand Lodge and their Committee relative to the Charges brought against me.
- 2nd For falsely impeaching the Grand Lodge Committee and holding in derision their Power and Proceedings.
- 3rd For illegally assembling with others to procure my expulsion.
- 4th Endeavouring to injure my Character by falsehood and slander.
- 5th For persecuting me with malignity.
- 6th For artfully tampering with the authority and injunctions of the Grand Lodge by endeavouring to prevail on me to break my promise made them relative to my Book of Lectures.

Brother Cawdell

For illegally procuring my expulsion—unlawfully admitting Brothers to assist him therein—repeating the same illegal measures in a groundless, frivolous and vexatious manner—and for otherwise violating the general Laws of Masonry.

Brother Sturgel

- 1st For violating his Trust and Honor as Master of the York Lodge of Perseverance in conniving at and receiving a false, groundless and vexatious charge for my expulsion.
- 2nd For a Breach of one of their own By-laws enacted for the security of its Members against oppressive and vexatious charges.

Brother Warrard

- 1st For making a groundless and vexatious charge for my expulsion from the York Lodge of Perseverance.
- 2nd For violating one of their By-laws enacted for the Security of its Members against oppressive and vexatious charges.

Brother Finch was heard with such witnesses as he thought proper to produce in support of the three first charges against Brother Denham, and Brother Denham was also heard in his Defence, after which the parties were desired to withdraw when the Committee on due deliberation

Resolved

That the first charge against Brother Denham is not proved

That the 2nd and 3rd Charges are frivolous and vexatious

The 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th & 9th Charges having been severally opened by Brother Finch the Committee was of opinion that they are not of a Nature to be proceeded on by the Committee.

In consequence of the decision of the Committee on the Charges against Brother Denham, Brother Finch declined to proceed on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th & 5th Charges against Brother Farrell and he having

been heard in support of the 6th Charge the parties were ordered to withdraw when the Committee

Resolved that the 6th Charge against Brother Farrell is not of a Nature to be proceeded on by the Committee.

Brother Finch was then heard in support of his Charge against Brother Cawdell, but the Committee were of Opinion that they were not of a Nature to be proceeded on.

Brother Finch was also heard in support of the Charges against Brother Sturges when the Committee were of opinion that they ought to have been made against the Lodge and not against an Individual Brother and therefore declined to proceed thereon.

Brother Finch declined to proceed on the Charges against Brother Warrard in consequence of the Committee's decision on the Charges preferred against the other Brothers.

In his Printed Appeal Finch published a description of the event which caused his 6th charge against Brother Farrell, thus—

“The SNAKE in the GRASS.

Brother F—I, on the 16th July, followed me out from a Lodge of Instruction, held in Mary-le-bone Street, and requested me to sell him (for a friend of his) one of my *Masonic Books of Lectures*. I told him I was astonished he should make such a request, as *he well knew* I had promised the Grand Lodge to sell no more. How dared this man (who was my principal accuser against this very book he solicited to have) to ask me to break this promise? He must be *doubly* culpable, as my original accuser, to trifle with the authority and injunction, of the Grand Lodge; Nay it was an open insult to that noble and respectable body to ask me to break my faith with them; and it was an insult to my feelings, and unworthy a man and Mason. This is ‘the assassin, who lurking in darkness stabs his adversary when unarmed, and the least suspicion of an enemy’!—Oh! JANUS ‘thou art weighed in the balance, and found *wanting*!’ ”

When reading of such episodes one cannot help feeling that, however foolish Finch may have been in some of his actions, his general intentions were genuine, and that some of his adversaries were not above committing acts that were despicable.

Finch was far from satisfied about the decisions of the Committee of Charity regarding the charges he had made, for, five days later—on 25th November, 1807—he sent to the Grand Master a long letter which he called his *Manuscript Appeal*. In this letter he recapitulated what had happened at the meeting of the Committee on 20th November, and added some serious allegations against some of the members of the Committee; and he appealed to the Grand Master for a Select Committee to investigate the charges he had brought before the Committee of Charity for he accused that Committee of having been “packed”, and asserted that therefore it was impossible to obtain justice from them.

With this *Manuscript Appeal* Finch enclosed a copy of his *Printed Appeal* in order to emphasize his position.

His chief complaint was that, though the Grand Lodge had on two occasions disposed of charges against him, certain Brethren, who had brought those charges, would not accept the Grand Lodge decision, but persisted in maliciously persecuting him and trying to punish him further on the same charges by turning him out of Lodges, as had been done in the case of two regular Lodges and several Lodges of Instruction. He asked that Grand Lodge should keep their promise to him that nothing more would be heard of those charges against him after he had promised to refrain from publishing his *Lectures*. He added that if Grand

Lodge did not insist on its promises, his own promises to Grand Lodge would no longer be binding on him.

Following this *Manuscript Appeal* to the Grand Master, he sent a Note, also addressed to the Grand Master, in which he repeated some of his arguments, but principally asked that his Appeal should be read. Apparently the authorities had some desire to act as Finch was asking with regard to a further investigation, but Grand Lodge would not listen. The Minutes of Grand Lodge have the following record:—

25. xi. 1807.

A Petition and Appeal of considerable length was received from Brother William Finch against the Proceedings and Decision of the Committee of Charity relative to the Charges preferred by him against several Brethren.

Whereupon it was moved by the Grand Treasurer and duly seconded

That the Appeal and Petition of Brother Finch and the matters relating thereto be referred to the Hall Committee for their Opinion and report to the Grand Lodge thereon.

It was then moved and seconded that all the Words after the word "That" be omitted and the following inserted in their stead vizt—"the appeal be read".

The Question being put on the said Amendment It passed in the Negative.

The Original Motion was then put and it also passed in the Negative.

After which on a motion duly made and seconded the Minutes of the Committee of Charity were confirmed.

Finch was much distressed by the refusal to deal with his Appeal against the Committee of Charity. This refusal rankled in his mind so much that he wrote at length in a bitter strain with perhaps some exaggeration; but the feeling of injustice was so acute that, owing to the continued refusal, he decided to make the matter public by printing it in order to justify his own conduct. He declared—

"I ask not for partial investigation; I scorn partiality, and flattery; I hate them as I do the devil; I like to be commended, when I am right, and I admire them that will blame me, when I am wrong. Give me but the same prerogative, that men have in the common courts of Justice, I ask no more; and if I do not throw my opponents in the *rear*, let me be thrown out of the field".

This sounds a fair challenge—but it was not accepted.

At about the time of the second Grand Lodge Quarterly Communication in 1808 Finch sent a long letter to Earl Moira, in which he gave the general purport of his *Manuscript Appeal* of November, 1807, and he included a copy of the Note to the Grand Master which had been sent at the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge next after November, 1807,—“in consequence of Grand Lodge being inattentive to their duty”—in refusing to consider his appeal; and in which he had again pressed for a special investigation. In this letter to Earl Moira he incidentally mentioned the issue of certain publications, which can thus be dated approximately.

This letter was in the nature of a further appeal, and seems to be contemporaneous with the second Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge in 1808. In the letter he mentioned “the next Quarterly Communication” as a time limit for the exercise of his patience, after which he would “make a revolution in Masonry which will do it infinite good after some little temporary evil”.

The time limit mentioned seems to have been the third Quarterly Communication of 1808, after which probably the letter to Earl Moira was printed for circulation. At the end of this printed issue was given a mention of an anonymous letter received by Finch; and also an announcement—

“The Fourth Edition of Lectures on Masonry is just published with the 14 plates, and the ‘Guide’ included, price 10s. 6d.”

This indicates that the “time limit” had expired, and also that Finch, in accordance with his declared intention, had retracted his promise to Grand Lodge with reference to publication of his *Lectures*.

He appears now to have seriously employed himself without any compunction in bringing out several editions of *Lectures*, “Ancient” as well as “Modern”.

One of the principal charges made by the “Ancients” against the “Moderns” was the abolition of “the old custom of studying Geometry in the Lodge”. In Finch’s writings this point is frequently reiterated. He was very persistent in his advocacy of instruction in Lodge, and urged that for this purpose the lectures should be clarified and be made properly available to all who desired to have them. On this count he has been particularly assailed and accused of concoction, but over and over again he represented that he was putting forward what was to be found in other places.

In Quatuor Coronati Lodge Library is a typed copy of a copy of a MS., which was on paper with watermark “1799”. This MS. is a set of Lectures, and may be taken as certainly a Finch publication. It is an enlargement of the edition published in 1802, many long passages being identical and many phrases being those he frequently used. By this it is not meant that he invented those phrases, but only that they are means for identification. Bro. L. Vibert remarked on this—

“It would be very interesting if we could settle how much of this material was actually of Finch’s own composition. A good deal he admittedly worked up from Preston. But when we find long passages that are common both to Finch and to the Lectures to-day, but are not in Preston, one wonders whether the people who put the Lectures together, somewhere in the twenties or so of last century, cribbed Finch, or whether both have a hitherto undiscovered common origin”.

In Grand Lodge Library is a MS. copy of a set of Lectures identically the same as the above. This last was copied by John Yarker from an old MS. book with clasps, the watermark on the paper being “Durham & Co. 1799”. This MS. book belonged to the Lodge of St. John, then meeting in Manchester and afterwards removed to Warrington. The original is said to be beautifully written, and therefore is not at all likely to be Finch’s writing, which was very untidy. It may be that it was a copy of a production by Finch, which found its way to the North; or it may be that the old MS. in Manchester was the original source from which Finch obtained his information; or it may be that both are copies of a third and yet older copy.

A long letter “To the Liberal and Independent Members of the Grand Lodge” appeared towards the end of 1808, as shown at the beginning of the letter. In this Finch stated that he had once more sent a Note to the Grand Master with regard to his *Appeal*; and he again represented his case in a long diatribe, still self-assertive and still abusive of his opponents. His persistence was obstinate, but his importunacy was of no avail.

The leaflet publishing this letter contained a strange mixture, as in it were added descriptions of two inventions of Finch—

1. A Machine for preventing Houses and other Buildings from being robbed
2. A Printing Letter Press.

In a note at the end of this leaflet was given a list of his publications. There are seventeen items on the list, and of these four are Masonic, one is indeterminate, and the remaining twelve are non-Masonic and of very varying character—three are historical, two topographical, three financial, three astronomical, and one political. His mind must have been of a curious complexure, and it is astonishing to find such unexpected twists in his character. The four Masonic, and one non-Masonic, publications have been dealt with and can be dated. Of the remainder the dates of appearance cannot be estimated any nearer than between 1803 and 1808, the six years Finch had been in London. This list shows him to have been not only a prolific writer, but also very versatile. And in view of all the trouble and disparagement he had been suffering under for some long time, one cannot but feel some admiration for him in being able to apply himself to work with so much energy and detachment.

A circular letter, dated 28th March, 1809, was issued by Finch to Brethren in the Provinces asking for assistance in the matter of inserting advertisements in provincial newspapers.

Dear Sir & Brother

I HAVE taken the liberty of troubling you with this, to solicit a particular Favour; which I trust your Goodness will pardon, when I explain my Motives. A few Days back, I called on the Agents for Country Newspapers, and paid into their Hands several Pounds for Advertisements in various Provincial Papers; and intended to follow up the same by inserting them in most of the Newspapers in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, but a Plan has just occurred to me, that I think will be productive of reciprocal Advantage to my Friends in Masonry, (whose Favor I am now about to solicit,) and myself. In looking over my former Letters to ascertain how far I might flatter myself with Success, I have the heart-felt Pleasure in saying, there is scarce a Place where a Lodge is held, but I can select a Brother whose kind assistance I might venture to rely upon; but more especially from the Persuasion, that what I have just published, and those about to be published on the 14th April, are of that interesting Nature that most Brothers would like to have; as in all Probability they will be the last Things I shall publish on Masonry. The Favor I beg to solicit, is, that you will be so kind to cause the Advertisement at the Foot of this letter to be sent for Insertion once in one or two of the Newspapers, at, or nearest to your Town; and the Expence of the same, with this letter, and also the carriage of the Parcel, coming to you, (should you be disposed for any of them) I beg you will place to my Account, with every other incidental Charge, that I may have the fullest Opportunity of discharging this Favor, upon the PLUMB RULE of present Gratitude, and the broad Basis of the LEVEL of Fraternal remembrance.

I remain Dr SIR and BROTHER

Yours sincerely

W. FINCH

March 28, 1809

9 Buckingham Row

between York Street and Tothill Fields Bridewell

N.B. Please let me know what Paper or Papers you put it in, and on your Letter be so kind to put your Name or Initials, as I seldom take in letters, unless I know the Handwriting.

The following is a Copy of the Circular Letter that I sent to your Lodge a few Days back which no doubt you have seen.

[The rest is cut off and lost from the copy seen.]

This shows confidence in his correspondents, and apparently his circle of acquaintances was sufficiently large to persuade him to expect success from this method of advertising, and also to justify the expense of postage. The despondent note regarding no more Masonic publications may have been caused by illness, which in another place he spoke of as serious. Evidently, however, this was a passing phase. The publication referred to in the circular letter may have been the same as advertised in May, 1809, in the *Kentish Gazette*.

Friday May 12, 1809.

Freemason's Lectures.

Just published price 10/6.

Containing every Question and Answer as worked in our Lodges: one set dedicated to the Rt Hon. Earl of Moira, and the other to His Grace the Duke of Athol. Sold by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster row, and Bro. W. Finch, 9, Buckingham-row, between York Street and Tothil Fields, Bridewell, London. W.F. will send the keys gratis, to all orders, and to prevent disappointment, no letter can be taken in unless paid. The Royal Arch section, 10/6. Past Master, Excellent and Super Excellent together, 6s. Knights Templars, and Knights of Malta etc., 8s. Every kind of information on the 25 degrees that cannot be committed to writing, will be given in private to the Brotherhood, by W.F. Each of the five sets of Lectures are embellished with peculiar sets of Plates.

In the Broadley Collection is a newspaper cutting from *Palser's Masonic Prints*, showing a similar advertisement, but without date—

Freemasons' Lectures—containing every Question and Answer, as worked in our Lodges; one set dedicated to the Earl Moira, and the other to the Duke of Athol; price 10s. 6d.

Sold by Sherwood, Neiley, & Jones, Paternoster Row, & Bro. W. Finch, 9 Buckingham Row, between York Street and Tothill Fields, Bridewell.

W.F. will send the keys gratis to all orders post paid.

On the 14th April will be published Lectures on the Royal Arch, price 10s. 6d., Past Master, Excellent and Super Excellent together 6s.; Knights Templars, Knights of Malta & 8s. Every kind of information on the 25 Degrees that cannot be committed to writing will be given in private to the Brotherhood by W.F.

That two sets of Lectures were to be published, dedicated to the heads of the "Moderns" and "Ancients" respectively, seems to indicate a comparison between the "Modern" and "Ancient" workings.

In his writings Finch gave the "Ancients" credit for being nearer than the "Moderns" to the genuine system; but he asserted that both had lost the true system, and he held the old York working as superior to both. In the *Freemason's Looking Glass* he spoke of his desire to

remove absurdities in our System, and restore Truth.

He said—

. . . I mean to make apparent that the major part, if not 90 Lodges out of 100, have in many material points departed from the original and genuine system and in its stead have introduced a medley of stuff, inconsistent with reason, truth, and history.

On 12th April, 1809, Grand Lodge passed the resolution "to revert to ancient landmarks of the Society". Gould in his *History of Freemasonry* says:—"In substance the method of working under the 'Ancients' was adopted

by the 'Moderns'". Hextall in his paper on *The Lodge of Promulgation* (A.Q.C., xxiii.) tells us that "the outcome of their deliberations was largely in favour of the so-called 'Ancient' Masons"; and he quotes Leon Hyman, who, in *History of Freemasonry in England from 1567 to 1813* (New York, 1875), wrote—

It is conclusive from the action of the Committee of Charity and the concurrence of Grand Lodge, that it was necessary, preparatory to a union, for them to return again to the ancient usages. . . . The course adopted was a clear admission on the part of the London Grand Lodge that it had departed from the ancient landmarks, and, as a consequence, that (such departure) was the cause of continual secession from its ranks.

Was Finch so very wrong in many of the things he said about Grand Lodge?

About this time, spring or early summer 1809, Finch moved his residence to No. 5 Charlotte Place, New Cut, Lambeth Marsh. It was from this address, to which, as he stated, he had "but lately moved", that he issued, probably soon after the date of the Grand Lodge resolution, a long circular letter to Lodges, commencing—

In consequence of the late Order of the GRAND LODGE, for us to return in part to the true Ancient System——

In this circular he announced a new edition of his Lectures on a plan which would anticipate the wishes of the Grand Lodge, and which would be dedicated to the Officers and Members of Grand Lodge, and contain nearly 800 questions and answers. A passage in this circular alluded to two points of interest—

. . . a resolution of special, numerous, and respectable assembly of Masons in June last (presumably 1809) . . . distinguishing mark of approbation which they were pleased to confer upon me . . . nor did I even know of the circumstances till two days prior to the MEDAL being presented to me; having been from home near two months, attending Lodges in the country.

Evidently Finch was acceptable in several places; and he carried on his work in person as well as in print. Finch gave publicity to extracts from a series of letters he had received from a Reverend Brother, I. J. Tufnell, introducing them by saying—

The better to elucidate those passages alluded to in my last Lectures, and from the public manner in which I have been called upon; I am under the necessity of giving the following extracts from various letters of our Worthy & Reverend Brother Tufnell.

The whole series is here placed together though the letters extended over nearly a year.

North Mundham Aug. 13, 1809

SIR AND BROTHER COMPANION

When it is agreed, on what day you are to come to assist our Lodge in opening the Chapter, you will come by the coach; and I will meet you at the inn, and bring you to my house, where you will stay the night, and I will drive you the next morning in my carriage to open the Chapter. By this means you will have more comfortable quarters than at an inn; and I shall have the pleasure and gratification of entertaining confessedly the FIRST Mason in England.

I send you the Knights Templars, and Past Masters, Excellent and Super Excellent Lectures, to be interleaved and enlightened by your pen, as you did those of the Royal Arch for me.

Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

Our Craft Masonry, and also the Superior Degrees, shall, in our Lodge and Chapter, all be worked on the FINCH plan, entirely; without any variation from Brother Rodwell Wright, or any one else.

with fraternal esteem, I remain

SIR AND BROTHER

Your's very respectfully

I. J. TUFNELL

To Mr. W. Finch, Bookseller

No. 5 Charlotte Place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth

Mundham. Jan 23, 1810

SIR AND BROTHER AND M.E. COMPANION

I have waited hitherto before I answered your last excellent letter, with the very luminous explanation of the RED CROSS, etc. in the hope of hearing from our Lodge.

I beseech you to let me know, without delay, the remainder of the Red Cross in FULL; in order that I may perfect myself in that Degree before your arrival. I have devoted a great deal of time to making myself perfect master of your R— A— Lecture, as I found the whole *brunt of the action* (to borrow a military phrase) must be borne by you and me, in the intended EXALTATIONS; there are so few Royal Arch Masons who can at all WORK, as you must often yourself have found.

We can get enough of those who belong to R— A— Masonry to be present at the Exaltation with us, but I very much doubt whether any of them, will be able to *work*, but you, (as I may justly term you) *the Oracle of the Arts*, and myself your humble follower.

It will remain for you to determine when you honour me with your company, what part I shall take; but I have endeavoured to perfect myself for the PRINCIPAL SOJOURNER. If this is wrong, and you have anything to recommend instead, let me know. I wish to know how long you will be able to spare time to sojourn amongst us, for according to your time, so shall we appoint the *day in the week* of your coming.

I should wish you to spend a day or two with me, before we go to open the Chapter, if I can prevail on you, and if you can afford the time.

Believe me, M.E. COMPANION

To be your most devoted Brother etc.

I. J. TUFNELL

To Mr. W. Finch, Bookseller

5 Charlotte Place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth.

Mundham, Feb. 1, 1810

SIR AND BROTHER AND M.E. COMPANION

I have expected for the last two or three days the pleasure of another letter, containing the remainder of the Red Cross Degree. If one letter will not hold it, send an extra sheet or two in it. I shall with pleasure take the part of *Cyrus* in the R.C. and Principal Sojourner in the R.A. I shall perfect myself in the *Sojourner's* part, according to your Lectures, and therefore do you refresh your memory in the *Questions* put to me by Z—

with sentiments of great esteem

I remain SIR AND BROTHER

Your very obedient servant

I. J. TUFNELL

To Mr. W. FINCH, Bookseller
5 Charlotte Place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth

Mundham, Feb. 12, 1810

M.E. COMPANION

If you have not sent me the whole of the Red Cross Degree, which I much admire, send the remainder of it as soon as possible. Also you have, belonging to me, the Lectures P.M. Ex. Sup. Ex. and Knight of Malta, which I sent up to you, that you might interleave them, and fill them up for me fully and explicitly. I wish particularly to have the former sent to me directly, as, if there is any thing to learn in it, I must perfect myself before you come to me; for when you do me that honour we shall be busy indeed. The latter you may bring with you, only, forget it not.

I have just been convulsed with laughter at reading your 'LOOKING GLASS'. Every word you say is true, and indeed, Brother, you write with a very *sharp quill*. I was very much pleased with your last favour, in which you describe the hieroglyphic pedestal; and I perfectly agree with your ideas on that head, that ours is truly a *Masonic* pedestal, though not so intelligible as most others.

I mean to dedicate a great deal of time to the *study* of *Masonry*, search every record I can find that touches on it, for you may be well assured (and indeed it may be seen from your writings that you are so) that much more is meant than meets the ear; and by so doing if I should render the Lectures of our Lodges more SCIENTIFIC, as once they were, I should reckon my labour well repaid. At all events I will go hand in hand with you, and doubt not but we may effect much. I am very anxious that you should write a short *exhortation*, or *speech*, to be delivered by Z— to the *New Companions* as soon as exalted; and which will serve, or may be made to do so, for the *Craft Lodges*, descriptive of the very *respectable* body into which they are now admitted, giving some account of its first *rise* and *progress*, and the *general tenets*, and, above all, not to suffer ourselves to be *scoffed* out of our order, either by those who do not belong to us, and yet know *full as little*. The more I search out and dive into the mysteries of our order, the more I am convinced it is worthy and honourable to be sought after. You have struck me all on a heap in saying we shall have to work the whole of the *Craft Lectures*: It is more than I can do: nor do I believe any of the Members in our Lodge can work them.

Believe me your's very truly

I. J. TUFNELL

To Mr. W. Finch
5 Charlotte Place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth

Mundham, April 9, 1810

M.E. COMPANION

I received the favour of yours. I am astonished and ashamed of the Brethren of our Lodge. They cannot possibly remunerate you equal to your exertions and their benefit received from you. I hope they will be JUST to you, and remit you your money in good time. If not I go no more amongst them.

I shall be in town in May, and I should wish to be then admitted into the Rosycrucian Order; cannot you contrive to have a Chapter of Rosycrucians held about the middle of May. The Exaltations in other Chapters are not equal to yours. I received

safe the parcel containing the Knights Templars Lectures, and the O.B.—'s, for which I am much obliged.

I remain, SIR AND M.E. COMPANION

Very Truly Your's

I. J. TUFNELL

To Mr. Finch

5 Charlotte Place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth

These letters indicate that Finch had acquired an enthusiastic admirer who intended to follow in his footsteps and "dedicate a great deal of time to the study of Masonry, search every record . . . that touches on it"—in fact, to indulge in research work. This also gives to Finch's work a complexion different from that which has been ascribed to him.

It is to be noticed that the Degrees mentioned in the fourth letter are recorded in the books of Stirling Rock R.A. Chapter No. 2 in Scotland, in which points of the ceremony were, in 1745, described as Excellent Master and Super Excellent Master, and a further degree of Knight of Malta was stated to have been conferred in the Chapter. It is quite possible that Finch obtained his information from Scotland.

On 17th August, 1809, appeared a small leaflet in the shape of a cross, giving "*Explanation for the Turkish Masonic Plate*, reprinted from the American Edition by Brother W. Finch, Printer and Bookseller, No. 5 Charlotte Place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth". This is the first date on which Finch described himself as "Printer and Bookseller". It is not possible to comment on this leaflet without more information regarding the plate referred to; but it seems that this plate must have been one connected with the Turkish Masonry spoken of by Finch as part of the *Oriental Antiquities*, a book for the sale of which he a few years later advertised himself as agent. In a note to this leaflet—

W. Finch begs leave most respectfully to inform his Brother Masons, that Lectures on Masonry bought of him may be exchanged for any other of his Masonic Publications by allowing twenty per cent for their own exclusive reading; provided they are returned into his own hands without injury, within one month after the Purchase.

This perhaps was only a trade speculation; but it does indicate a desire to spread information without undue money making.

In addition to being a publisher of Masonic literature he must by now have come to be known as a provider of Masonic furniture. There is an instance mentioned in *Records of the Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love, Arundel*, by W. J. Hugan, 1895—

It was agreed September 1st, 1809, that a Royal Arch Chapter be purchased, and Br. Finch come with the furniture for the sum of 42. 10. 6.

Whether there were in those days people who dealt in the provision of Masonic furniture and necessities, I do not know; perhaps Finch was the first, or one of the first, to take up that enterprise. His advertisements apparently had not fallen on deaf ears.

To this mention Hugan added—

Finch was a noted Masonic chalatan, expelled by the Grand Lodge of England, and traded on the Fraternity. Evidently he was found out later on . . . for on 13th August, 1811, the Lodge resolved, in answer to a letter received from him, that "he be offered a five pound note in full discharge of his Bill".

It seems, however, that the members did not succeed as they anticipated, for, on 14th February, 1815, it was decided to "defray certain expenses incurred in a late litigation with William Finch amounting to £50. 19. 10." The suggestion which seems implied in this incident is that the furniture was not worth the price charged; but is that 'an uncommon occurrence to-day?

Later in the year—November, 1809,—there is evidence of communication with Probity Lodge, Halifax, as in the Treasurer's Book is an entry—

By postage from Finch a scamp — 10d.

We have thus from different parts of the country very different opinions regarding Finch.

In *Miscellanea Latomorum*, volume xii., page 42, is given an extract from one of Finch's printed letters, dated 5th April, 1810—

I have compiled a fresh set of Lectures (Craft) . . . the price for the complete set with the 15 plates is . . . reduced to 10/6, and the keys are also included . . . The H.R.Arch, with 12 plates 10/6 . . . The Knights Templars and H.R.D.M. . . . K.D.S.H. and the Knights of Malta, with 12 plates 8/-. The Past Master, Excellent, and Super-Excellent, etc. with 12 plates 6/-. Each respective set have their proper keys. . . . One third of the profits are to be appropriated to the Masonic Fund of Charity, one third to the General Fund, and the other third as a remuneration for my time and labour in this new plan for diffusing Masonic knowledge.

This letter seems to be evidence on two points:—one—that, as the two Masonic Funds were to receive contributions from the sale of his work, Finch was still a reputable member and had not been expelled from the Fraternity;—the other—that the Lectures were coming out under some sort of agreement with the authorities, and thus there seems to be something in Finch's claim that he had received sanction from Grand Lodge. Had the publications of others—e.g. Preston, Browne—caused the Masonic authorities to change or modify their views?

Under date 10th October, 1810, was issued a circular which had a peculiarity in that it was the only one signed by Finch as "W. Mullings Finch". This circular announced the completion of a "new set of Lectures ENTIRELY Ancient", and also the printing of "all the TWELVE KEYS for the Large Sheet Synopsis, called the GUIDE AND EUREKA", which latter till then had been in manuscript. In this circular Finch mentioned that business called him into the City every other day from 10 to 2, but the nature of the business was not stated. To the circular was added information regarding some of his publications, and also regalia and furniture. A list was given of Masonic Degrees, the number of which had risen to 36, which were conferred in his Chapter at the St. James's Tavern, Mary-le-bone Street, corner of Air Street, Piccadilly. He notified that he had compiled a Synopsis of a Tabular kind to serve as a Remembrancer for these Degrees. He spoke of "the late public vote of thanks, accompanied by the Jewel of thirty Guineas value, for my various Lectures, and other Masonic plans of promulgation".

At this period there seems to have been some attempt to buy up Finch, for on 4th December, 1810, he issued a circular which must have been widely distributed, as it was printed more than once with different Masonic emblems at the head. In this circular he refuted the

false and artful report, that my LECTURES and PRINTS on the different Degrees of Masonry, were entirely withdrawn from Sale and that I had disposed of the Copyright, and all concern

therein, to the GRAND LODGE, for the purpose of their being entirely suppressed.

He continued—

It is true that a Committee of Masons, from various Lodges, did meet for that purpose; but their offer to me was by no means equal to my expence and loss of time in the pursuit of our *ancient and mystical Science*, Their first offer was £200; their last £300; but my demand was £600.

His pertinacity was obvious. He continued in this circular—

Since this proposition was made, I have brought out an additional lecture to accompany the former set; comprising the three degrees of Masonry; the tendency of which is, to consolidate the *Ancient and Modern*.

And when he added—

The above sets of Lectures unfold the Ancient Mystic, Hieroglyphical, Pythagorean, and Philosophic Systems—

are we to label him a garrulous charlatan who concocted all his rigmarole, or to look further and see one who was searching for knowledge and propagating it, albeit in unwelcome directions, blindly and in an ill-conceived manner?

A thought arises—if Finch's publications were worthless and (*pace* Dr. Oliver) only trash, why was an attempt made to buy him out? To form any useful opinion his writings should be read and analysed.

In 1811 occurred an episode which did not do Finch credit; it condemns him as pugnacious and pigheaded; and shows him as capable of acting impulsively, influenced by a quick, hot temper without reasonable judgment.

St. Peter's Lodge, so named in 1791,—formerly known as St. John's Lodge, Southwark—according to Lane was No. 449 in 1755, becoming in 1792 No. 249. Finch was a member of this Lodge, though his name does not appear in the Grand Lodge Register. Grand Lodge is in possession of the Minute Book which commences in 1811, and the following are the first minutes in that book—

St. Peter's Lodge No. 249 January 16th 1811

This being A Committee of Enquiry convened by Br. Edward Russell R.W.M. of the above Lodge at the Rockingham Arms Newington to take into consideration the conduct of Br. William Finch for unwarrantably taking and carrying away from the Lodge The Bible, Constitution Book and an Old Minute Book &c at which meeting the following Brethren being present,—viz:—

Br. Russell	R W M
Smith	P S W
Steel	P M & Treasurer
Cole	P.M.
Haswell	P M of Castle Lodge of Harmony
Ward	

(It seems strange that a visitor should be present at a meeting of a Lodge Committee.)

Resolved

That it is the unanimously (*sic*) opinion of this Committee, That a Lodge of Emergency should be summoned to meet on Friday evening next the 18th inst. to take into consideration the above conduct of Br. Wm. Finch.

St. Peter's Lodge No. 249 held on Emergency at the Rockingham Arms Newington Butts Surry (*sic*) on Friday the 18th Jan'y 1811

In consequence of the unpleasant circumstances stated in the meeting of the Committee of Enquiry held 16th instant, having prevented the election taking place on the last Regular Lodge Night it was

Resolved that the Brethren do now proceed to the election of R.W.M. and Officers for the ensuing six months.

also

Resolved unanimously that Br. Wm. Finch be expelled this Lodge for his un-mason like conduct.

Details of the occurrence have not been forthcoming from either side; and it is not clear whether the squabble was in connection with the elections, or whether the elections were prevented and the Lodge broken up on account of a quarrel on some other matter. Judging by some of the questions Finch desired to put in the legal trial, *Smith v. Finch*, the quarrel arose from an altercation with some of the members as to the propriety of Finch being an Officer of the Lodge in consequence of the trouble which had occurred in connection with his publication of Lectures in Masonry. This is suggested also by the statement of Finch that the

Pass Master reported to St. Peter's Lodge that in consequence of the dissatisfaction of some of the members, he had attended Grand Lodge to enquire of Earl Moira if he had done right in admitting Finch as a member of St. Peter's Lodge; and that Earl Moira's answer was that 'Finch was eligible to enter any Lodge, for the Grand Lodge had not found anything in his Lectures that merited expulsion'.

It is not known whether Finch, at the time of the episode in St. Peter's Lodge, stood alone against the rest of the members; if so, it seems strange that he was allowed to go off with the books. It is probable that the affair was more serious than the withdrawal of one member, for after such a withdrawal the business of the Lodge could have been carried on. St. Peter's Lodge was only a small Lodge and collapsed a few years later.

It may be mentioned incidentally that the earlier minute book has not yet turned up again.

Though we have no details of the pros and cons of this quarrel, Finch apparently did take some action with regard to it, for in his *Letter to Lord Ellenborough*, after the trial *Smith v. Finch*, he gave as one of his reasons for declaring independence of Grand Lodge—

The refusal of the Grand Lodge to investigate the claims of himself and Brethren to the Office of Master and Wardens of St. Peter's Lodge.

This letter to Lord Ellenborough was of a date four years later than the episode in St. Peter's Lodge; and if Grand Lodge had been appealed to, obviously the declaration of independence did not immediately follow the split.

Out of this episode came developments. It seems that Finch must have been supported by others, and that, having split the Lodge, he, in imitation of Preston, tried to carry on the Lodge elsewhere, for on 31st May, 1811, he was able to advertise in the *Kentish Chronicle*—

St. Peter's Lodge of Promulgation, FIRST TUESDAY in every month, at the Rose, Marsh Gate, Lambeth, where the true and genuine Ancient Masonry is practised in every degree, and the TEN LONG LOST SECRETS that have lain in the *obscure chambers* of the ISH SABBAL, for 92 years, restored to their original purity.

Notwithstanding this state of affairs, after the re-numbering of Lodges in 1814, Finch records in his printed

LIST OF LODGES

with their numbers on the Register of the United Grand Lodge

No. 316 St. Peter's Lodge, private—rooms Br. Wm. Finch's
No. 5 Charlotte Place, New-Cut,
Lower-Marsh, Lambeth

Thus, though for three years he had been running a Lodge in competition with the authorised St. Peter's Lodge, Finch must have continued to consider, or, it may be said, pretended, that his Lodge was the true St. Peter's Lodge, and, even in the changed conditions, was under Grand Lodge.

It is difficult to estimate when Finch did actually declare his independence of Grand Lodge; but the date could not be before that of the compilation of his printed list mentioned above.

It is not definite what were the nature and extent of the variations in the working introduced in the St. Peter's Lodge of Promulgation; but, from the Lectures published by Finch, it can be seen that the system followed was very similar to, if not identical with that generally in vogue. One point Finch did clearly state—that he generally gave the secrets of both "Ancients" and "Moderns", so that Brethren should be fully equipped. He therefore must have at some time belonged to both "Ancients" and "Moderns", or have been in a favourable position in order to acquire knowledge of the ceremonies of both Bodies.

Variations in method and ritual are known even to-day, but it can be suspected that the variations were more extensive at a period when the differences between "Ancient" and "Modern" working were strongly pronounced.

There is no doubt that Finch had become notorious, and that not only had his acrimonious writings given offence, but also his persistent self-advertisement was somewhat of a nuisance. In the Minute Book of Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent is an entry—

At a Prov. Grand Lodge held in June 1811 at the Royal Hotel Margate.

Sir Walter J. James Bart. G.M. in the Chair. On the examination of Brethren present, Mr. Finch of Notoriety being reported to the G.M. being in the Lodge Room, a Consultation took place as to the propriety of his continuing present, when he was requested to withdraw, and in his absence, it was resolved he should not be admitted again; Lodge was then opened in Due Form.

Though objection was taken to the presence of Finch, there is here no suggestion that he had been excluded from the Fraternity.

No date is affixed to the following circular—

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT GRAND MASTER

LECTURES, etc. on all the Thirtynine DEGREES of FREEMASONRY, printed by Order of the Grand Lodge; enabling young and inexperienced Masons to obtain a perfect knowledge of our Science in a few days, and qualify them for the Office of Master of a Lodge, with ease and expedition.

The following is the result of the late general investigation of Finch's improved Lectures on Masonry, relative to their merits and utility—

122 Lodges from whom no answer has yet been received
 351 Lodges for their appearance in print, etc.
 27 Lodges against them

324 majority, or 11 to 1 in their favour,
 exclusive of the public Vote of Thanks from 17 Lodges and 13 medals,
 with other testimonials of approbation.

Sold by Sherwood, Neely, and Jones; and by
 Brother W. Finch, No. 5 Charlotte-Place, New-Cut,
 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.

W. Finch continues his Private Instruction in all the
 Thirtynine Degrees of Masonry.

The last sentence, mentioning the continuance of private instruction, seems to suggest that the date of this circular might be placed as in the latter half of 1811, after the expulsion from St. Peter's Lodge, and after the advertisement of St. Peter's Lodge of Promulgation in May, 1811.

It was obviously a silly exaggeration to say that Grand Lodge had ordered the printing of lectures for thirty-nine degrees of Masonry.

The number of Masonic degrees now mentioned had risen by three since October, 1810, when the number was thirty-six; while in 1806 the number was twenty-five. Finch began his publications in 1801, when he dealt with only the three Craft Degrees. So, if any credence is to be placed in the accusation that he invented all the systems he professed to teach, the invention must have covered twenty-two degrees in five years, eleven more in the next four years, and three more in another year; and consequently Finch must have been an extraordinarily clever man. Further, credit rather than opprobrium should be accorded to him since several of these degrees are in vogue to-day. On the other hand, if it be allowed that some of the degrees were ascertained by research, is it equitable to maintain that some were and some were not, without any evidence and merely upon repeated dogmatic assertion originating from an unknown source, but obviously from some unfavourable critic? It may be conceded readily that Finch touched-up and perhaps embellished what passed through his hands; but was that discreditable? Is not that sort of thing common even to-day? It must be admitted that, when speaking of "my lectures", he was using a wrong expression if he referred to matter which he had only shaped for publication. In some places in his writings he did mention the source of his information, and it is reprehensible that he did not do so in all cases, and explain his work better. But it must be remembered that he was not an highly educated man. In the *Freemasons' Looking Glass* he said of himself—

It greets one's soul to find the task of public admonition, fall to the lot of one of the lowest of our noble order; one who has not the advantage of an education suitable to the task; a common mechanic with a load of imperfection on his head. These reflections have crossed my mind many times, and often made me pause; and nothing but conscious duty has made me persevere.

There is a lot more in the same strain, which does not seem to be the language of an imposter. It would be only rendering him his due to grant that his intentions were genuine, however much he was carried away by enthusiasm.

At the beginning of 1812 Finch issued a circular, dated 20th January, in which he stated that it had been

suggested to me by several worthy and zealous masons that it would be very acceptable to the fraternity my giving a short description of the nature and sequel of the superior degrees.

In this circular several Degrees were mentioned with a few remarks upon each. Of these Degrees more than half are known and worked to-day. How Finch came to acquire knowledge of all these various degrees, he did not say, and, since so many of them did not come under organised control till after Finch's time, it is understandable that they were quite unknown to the majority of Masons of that day, who would put them down to Finch's imagination. One is inclined to wonder whether Dr. Oliver did not regret his use of the expression "continental fables", when he became one of the principal personages in the Ancient and Accepted Rite which had originated in France.

In connection with these Degrees Finch had issued an advertisement that

About the month of February, 1812, he will have ready for delivery the Lectures printed on the following Degrees.

This advertisement appeared on a spare portion of a page in the middle of a set of Craft Lectures, and there is nothing to identify the date.

The 29th February, 1812, is the date of a very long letter addressed to Earl Moira. The subject of the letter was—

The Claims
of

The Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons
to that title of pre-eminence investigated

This publication has been referred to earlier in order to mention Finch's early connection with the Royal Arch, and his withdrawal of allegiance from the Grand Chapter. He prefaced his remarks in this publication thus—

W. Finch, printer and Bookseller, No. 5 Charlotte place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth, begs leave most respectfully to acquaint his Brethren, that he has within these three years established 36 free and Independent Chapters of Royal Arch Masons; whilst upwards of 100, out of the 150 formerly under the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch, have shook off their yoke, on account of their illegal establishment, and inability to instruct them in the true and genuine secrets of the Order, which will clearly appear, by the following letter addressed to the RIGHT HON. EARL MOIRA.

We know that in its early days the Grand Chapter had vicissitudes, and we know that there was much dissatisfaction at the time; but it is difficult to give credence to the whole of Finch's claim regarding his own performance in the creation of Chapters. In the course of his letter to Earl Moira, Finch related a version of

The History of this Order, from its Introduction into this Country by Charles II, and its revival by our zealous and indefatigable Brethren from France, COUSTOS, LINTOT, MOUNTON and FARQUHART.

It would be very interesting to ascertain the source from which he derived this information, so as to be able to analyse it with the purpose of determining how much is legendary, how much is due to misconstruction, and whether there are any germs of truth in the story.

Noorthouck in the *Constitutions*, 1784, states that Charles II. "in his travels had been made a Mason". Both Preston and Oliver assert that Charles II. was of the Craft. Preston (*Illustrations*, 1801, page 185) said—

After the Restoration, however, it (Masonry) began to revive under the patronage of Charles II., who had been received into the Order during his exile.

Hughan, in *Origin of the English Rite*, gives some points which bear on the subject—

If the English Royal Arch was originally of foreign manufacture its semi-connection with the degrees known as the 'Ineffable' is not to be wondered at. I confess to my inability to decide which was the senior, the *Continental* or the *English* Royal Arch; they had, however, so much in common, that the facts which are authenticated are not antagonistic to their having a somewhat similar beginning.

Oliver, in *Origin of the Royal Arch*, end of chapter v., wrote—

. . . there exist among Freemasons, even in England, conflicting opinions on many subjects connected with Freemasonry and its radiating branches.

and his opinion seems to have been that the original ceremonies of the Royal Arch were quite different from those practised in his time. In *Freemasons' Treasury*, page 302, he said that the Degree

requires a portion of the ineffable degrees to render the fable interesting.

The ineffable degrees had their origin in France.

Hughan also tells us that Bro. A. F. Woodford held that

The Royal Arch existed long before Ramsay's time. . . . We have numismatic evidence of the antiquity of the second part of the Third Degree, co-eval with the Operative Lodge of York Masons, *certainly in the fifteenth century*.

and again, that Woodford said to him—

I venture to express my firm belief on very many grounds of evidence that the Royal Arch Degree is far more ancient than 1740.

C. A. Thory in *Acta Latomorum*, Paris, 1815, alluded to Irish Chapters in France as early as 1730; but Hughan denies Thory any authority for this. Not long before Finch's time Lambert de Lintot had brought his Rite of Seven Degrees from France, and was working it in England; and one of these degrees was the Royal Arch with seven steps. (See Wonnacott's paper, in *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., page 63).

In *Masonic Light*, Kansas City, December, 1928, C. F. Willard upheld Oliver's assertion that Chevalier Ramsay introduced the Royal Arch into England in 1730; and he said—

It seems to be becoming more and more accepted among American writers that the Royal Arch, as we now have it, was taken from the thirteenth degree of the Scottish Rite.

In view of all these varying opinions, is Finch to be condemned unheard?

In one place in this letter to Earl Moira Finch declared—

Our worthy and zealous Brother WELLINS CALCOTT, author of that well-known useful book, intituled 'CANDID DISQUISITIONS ON FREEMASONRY', in his third edition, printed in the year 1772, made such an able defence in favour of the *Coustonian Plan of Royal Arch*, and so completely exposed the illiberal attempts of the Grand Chapter . . . that this FAMOUS Grand Chapter were fairly shamed out of their projected scheme, and were obliged to give it up.

I have failed to find this reference; but it is difficult to imagine that this was a deliberate misstatement. What advantage would there have been in misquoting

a book which at that time must have been well known? By such a statement Finch would have laid himself open to a serious attack and so vitiate his argument.

Another instance of disapproval of Finch's activities is given in the minutes of the Lodge of Harmony No. 255. In the *History of the Lodge of Harmony*, by Dr. James Johnstone, 1938, is mentioned—

The extract from the minutes of the Lodge meeting of 25th February, 1812, when Hemming was in the Master's chair, runs as follows—

The R.W.M. proposed that the Secretary write to Brother Finch stating that the R.W.M., Wardens, and Brethren of the Lodge of Harmony do not wish to have any further communication with him by receiving any more letters or in any other way; seconded by Brother Moss (P.M.) and carried unanimously.

The author says—

No other mention of Brother Finch is to be found in the Minutes of the Lodge meetings either before or after.
also—

It has been alleged that Hemming had dealings with Finch and bought some of his degrees. Probably the allegation, like many others against Hemming, is utterly devoid of truth.

With all due deference, this is only opinion and hardly evidence; and more is required to elucidate any alleged affair between Hemming and Finch.

The only relation I have been able to find regarding any such transaction is that given by Finch himself; and, though prejudice may cause difficulty in giving credence to anything coming from a tainted source, yet Finch's statement, which he printed and circulated, has not been traversed or contradicted. The statement was not printed till 1815, and is as follows—

About four years ago, our worthy and respectable Brother Rabee, master of the Lodge at Hampton Court, was deputed by his brethren at that place, and parts adjacent, to wait on me, and solicit my attendance at Hampton, to instruct the Brethren in various parts of Masonry. The evening was fixed for holding a CONCLAVE AND ENCAMPMENT in the degree of Knights Templars, etc. in which my assistance was three times most earnestly solicited, to conduct the business of the evening; and to make several Brothers. Agreeable to their request, I attended; *and the same identical Dr. Hemming, Past Senior Grand Warden, was one of our party!! He furthermore assisted me, as one of my officers; performed the duties of that office, agreeable to my instructions and directions, conformed to my plans, agreed with my systems, etc. etc.!!* and for which I was very liberally paid five guineas, for about four hours instruction. . . . Now I call upon Dr. Hemming to deny any part of the statement if he can.

In the absence of any refutation, it is only equitable to give the statement due consideration, and not merely reject it under a prejudice, condemning the man because he was in bad odour. Even a criminal is allowed to give evidence on his own behalf. The possible reasons for such an incident can be only conjectured,—perhaps inquisitiveness as to the degrees propounded by Finch; perhaps the man's manner and methods; or what not. As there is no reference to the occasion in the minutes of the Lodge, the occurrence might not have been one for the Lodge proper, but for a special meeting of some of the Brethren apart from any Lodge work. The date of the incident, as given by

Finch, would have been some time in 1811; and such an occurrence would have stimulated the issue of Finch's communications to Brethren of the Lodge, who, finding that the matter did not appeal to them, would be prepared to follow the lead of their Worshipful Master and agree to the resolution proposed by him—as given above.

In March of this year Finch issued a circular similar to that issued in January, headed—

Reprinted 26th March, 1812, to correct some parts of the
former one printed 20th January.

In both these circulars Finch spoke fully regarding the Royal Arch, and claimed that the ceremony, as at that time worked, "is most shockingly defective", that many material points were omitted. It may be noticed here that some of the parts stated by Finch as omitted are included in other ceremonies known and worked to-day. He mentioned that he had "printed the whole system complete". It is not quite easy to identify the actual publication, but the—

*Lectures, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Holy Royal Arch Degree
of Freemasonry*

appeared to contain all that he referred to. There is no date mentioned for this last-mentioned publication, but perhaps it may be taken that it came out about the beginning of 1812, or may be a little earlier. This is an amplification of the Royal Arch ritual mentioned earlier.

Another circular headed—

FREEMASONS' LECTURES

DEDICATED TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT was issued by Finch, in which he mentioned the "general outlines of the *Ineffable* or *Superior* Degrees", and he referred Brethren to his "last two Circulars in January and May last". This, I think, was probably an error for "January and March last", as it was then that he issued circulars giving "a short description of the nature and sequel of the Superior Degrees". This indicates that 1812 was the year of issue; and, as Finch in the circular said—

He began his Herculean task in March, 1794, and finished in
August, 1812,

it may be assumed that the date of the circular was between August and the end of the year. This circular was signed as R.W. Master of St. PETER'S Lodge and Z. of the Chapter UNIVERSALITY. At the commencement was a reference to an

arduous, indefatigable, and incessant labour of eighteen years, attended with an expence and loss of time to the amount of Nine Thousand Pounds.

He claimed that he was

the only Mason that has ever been in possession of *the whole, and complete systems* . . . which heretofore could not be procured from any source, at any price.

He spoke now of "39 Orders, containing 69 Degrees", and suggested that these were all studied in Craft Lodges. Though he exulted in his acquisition of what others, through want of patience and perseverance, had failed to obtain, his boasting advertisement of "my system" and "Finch's Lectures" laid him open to being accused of concocting rituals. This circular letter gives the impression that it is a jumble of confused vapouring, and one wonders whether Finch was not beginning to labour under an obsession. In a note at the end of the

circular he informed Brethren that he had lately purchased a few copies of an old celebrated work by the Chevalier Houssoun (? D'Ohsson), dedicated to the King of Sweden, containing a number of curious pieces of antiquity and many Masonic ceremonies of the Turks, by which might be traced the

beautiful connections of Mahomedon Masonry with the Christian and Hebrew branches of our Grand and Royal Craft.

This book is referred to again later on. In this same note there was a remark which arrests attention—

The last, though not the least matter of concern to the Brotherhood is the rectifying the preposterous and gross errors concerning the *Real Secrets* of a Master Mason: . . . and furthermore that the said Secrets of a Master Mason *were never lost*.

A similar statement is to be heard in some places to-day.

Another edition of this circular appeared with date, July, 1813, containing exactly similar information and also a note—

W.F. has the good fortune, after a most arduous and indefatigable labour, to ascertain the *True Origin* etc. etc. of the CRAFT, ROYAL ARCH, KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, and other Degrees—to the *British Museum*, the *Bodleian Library*, and other scarce and valuable sources of information he is indebted for this excellent and useful discovery; and thereby unriddled those Queries that have puzzled and perplexed, from time immemorial, the whole host of our Fraternity.

Is Finch to be given credit for research work, or is he to be labelled as a peddling quack?

On the back of one copy is a note in Finch's handwriting—thus—

Dr. Sir & Brother

Pray excuse my troubling you for the small ballance of 17/6. I am now att sending round to collect some money being extremely pressed & I hope that same will apologise for this.

I presume you have heard of the Union having taken place.

Yrs Sincerely

W. Finch

This note must have been after the beginning of December, 1813; and it indicates financial difficulties.

During 1813 apparently no particular incidents occurred; but Finch opened the year 1814 by publishing on 1st January a *New Set of Craft Lectures*. The advertisement for this was as follows:—

The following Lectures, Laws, and Ceremonies have been carefully selected from the Genuine Manuscripts and ancient branches of the Royal Craft, for the purpose of being incorporated with those commonly called Ancient and Modern, and thereby render the system complete, and realise the grand object and expectations of those Brethren who first promoted the UNION.

Here there is a picture different from the last, and probably one more true to his methods. While reading through this Set of Lectures, a suggestion continually obtrudes that the various points have been met with in other connections; and it is forced upon one that this is a compilation, and an attempt to prevent the exclusion of any item even at the risk of overloading the result.

At the end of this pamphlet Finch printed a discourse which covered three pages of print and was headed—

The following Charge for the R.A. Degree was composed about four years ago by W.F., and delivered by him at the Institution of a Chapter in Sussex.

The date referred to would be about 1810; and that the place was out of London would indicate that notwithstanding his troubled career he was looked upon with favour in some places.

This is the only instance I have come across where Finch distinctly claims authorship, other than the Satirical Poem.

The United Grand Lodge was certainly in a position much stronger than that in which the "Modern" Grand Lodge had found itself as regards animadversions or captious criticisms, and was able more determinedly to issue an authoritative decision. The statements that Finch had been making, regarding "permission of" or "order by" Grand Lodge for the printing of his publications, may have been the cause for a circular letter from the United Grand Lodge, dated 10th January, 1814. The following is an extract from the circular letter:—

P.S. Information having been received that circular letters have been written by individuals addressed to different Lodges, attempting to impose upon the Brotherhood, by stating that they have permission from the Grand Lodge to make communications on Masonic points—The Craft, in general, are particularly cautioned against such impositions, or purchasing or countenancing any pretended Masonic publications; as no communication whatever has or ever will be made to the Fraternity, through any other channel than the Grand Secretaries, who alone are authorised and empowered to transmit all such information as the Grand Lodge may from time to time deem expedient.

It is to be noticed that this extract refers to "individuals" in the plural; and one wonders whether this censure was aimed at Finch alone, and who may have been the others, and what were their malpractices. Perhaps they were certain members who were censured by the Lodge of Reconciliation.

The Masonic atmosphere surrounding the Grand Lodges before the Union could not be called serene. In *Revelations of a Square*, after having related some acute differences of opinion, Oliver in a note on page 460 said—

These conversations may be considered an exaggerated picture of the feelings and sentiments of the fraternity. But in reality they are a subdued representation of the very high state of excitement which prevailed amongst both sections for several years before the Union was effected.

Hughan tells us in his *Origin of the English Rite*—

At one time during the eighteenth century, there were actually five Grand Lodges in existence in England, which fact was certainly far from suggesting the harmonious character of the Fraternity.

The accomplishment of the Union did not for some years clear the atmosphere; the state of affairs was still unhappy, and opposition to the Lodge of Reconciliation continued to be vigorous. In his paper *The Lodge of Reconciliation* (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii., page 215) the late Bro. Wonnacott wrote—

It appears to be generally unknown that the work of the Union was not accomplished quite smoothly and harmoniously, for a determined stand was made by certain lodges and brethren against what they termed "innovations".

This feeling against "innovation" had extended back for more than a few years; and even Preston's work had not been exempt from censure. In *Miscellanea Latomorum*, volume xix., page 110, is a note—

The minutes of a Lodge, meeting at Hampstead in 1777, have an entry, which, although by no means clearly worded, is to the effect that the Master recommended the Lodge to approve of Preston's *Illustrations* and his Lectures, no doubt with the idea of incorporating them in the Lodge working. But the Lodge unanimously declined to do so, thinking them contrary to the laws of Masonry.

Bro. Wonnacott, referring to Hemming, tells us further that—

His system of lectures replaced the Prestonian working, and the overthrow of certain symbols previously in use was at the time bitterly resented by some of the eminent masons of the day. The Rev. G. Oliver took the same stand and his works contain many strong passages against Hemming and his system.

The group of London Lodges which so vigorously opposed the work of the Lodge of Reconciliation was headed by the Phoenix Lodge (then No. 289). This Lodge sent a letter to the Grand Secretary, dated 7th May, 1815, asking for a new Lodge of Reconciliation "to consider and compare the two systems of Masonry as practised before the Union in order that one mode of M. P. R. and lecturing may be established out of the two without the introduction of any New Matter or Language and which may they hope completely baffle and destroy not only the Finchian but all other false and delusive systems and preserve entire and unimpaired the Noble and renowned fabric of Masonry". These Lodges had been under allegiance to the Atholl Grand Lodge and apparently were very jealous regarding their "Ancient" working, and obviously not tolerant of any system other than the one they had known. That the so-called Finchian system was by them deprecated may have been caused by the animadversion of Finch against "Ancient" working as well as against "Modern" working. The letter, however, indicated that others besides Finch had "systems" to put forward, while Finch's was so well known as to be specially mentioned. The use of the word "system" seems unsuitable; it is submitted that "variations"—though perhaps extensive—would more properly describe the differences between workings.

All this would have been well within Finch's cognisance, and possibly influenced him to carry on in the line he had laid down for himself, especially as there were many points of resemblance to his own remonstrances. And probably to him what he considered to be encouraging successes outweighed any failures.

Brethren had been invited to attend the meetings of the Lodge of Reconciliation in order to learn the newly-arranged modes of working; but I have not succeeded in finding any evidence that Finch attended any of the meetings. It seems likely that he may have done so, in view of his publication of the *New Union System* and other items, information on which he could hardly have obtained otherwise.

Amidst all this turmoil of discussion, it seems as if a scapegoat was deemed desirable; and that someone without any strong backing, like Finch, should be the scapegoat. The records that have been preserved are principally to Finch's detriment, while any favourable evidence is to be found only in his own writings, which his detractors have considered to be tainted. In any case it must be expected that opinion from Headquarters would carry weight. The following are examples of such opinions on Finch's work:—

Extract from a letter from W. R. Seymour, Hull, to Edward Harper.

27th December, 1814.

I were always of your Opinion with respect to Finch's publications & of course never gave the least attention to them. I rec^d a printed Insulting & Degrading Letter from him last week recommending his Union Lectures &c. which I treated the Flames with so soon as I had looked it over, he is insulting the G. L. in a very *gross* manner.

The History of the Lodge of Harmony No. 309 shows a minute dated 4th January, 1815—

A letter was rec^d and read from G. L. respecting a publication of Mr. Finch on Masonry when it was agreed that all the members of the Lodge do coincide with the sentiments therein contained and that the said Finch be reprobated and held in the highest detestation.

This letter must have been written by the Grand Secretaries towards the end of 1814—but I have failed to trace it. It specifically mentions "a publication", the identity of which it is not possible to determine. It seems that only now were Grand Lodge letters issued containing a denunciation against Finch in particular.

Early in 1815 the following letter was received by the Grand Secretary:—

Lodge 399 Sadlers Arms
Swallow Street 7th Jan^y 1815

Dear Brothers

Having been applied to by Mr. Hamilton a very respectable person to be admitted into our Lodge, and upon enquiry found that he was made a Mason by one Mr. Finch, who some time ago was Master of a Modern Lodge, the Brothers composing it under some dis-agreeableness divided themselves and became separate Lodges, Mr. Finch at that time being in possession of the Warrant establishes a new Lodge, and has made several Mason without ever returning their Names for Registry, or making any Quarterly returns to the Grand Lodge, not being (as I believe) in union with them, but at the same time has taken the regulated price for Making Masons.

This Gentleman upon making application to me for admission found the deception which had been imposed upon him by Mr. Finch in not making him acquainted with that essential part of Masonry explained to a new admitted Mason. I firmly believe Mr. Hamilton to have been made a Master Mason, and have to beg the favour of your opinion whether Mr. Hamilton might not be admitted a Brother amongst us on paying the Regular Sum for Registering him on the Books of the Grand Lodge, and if I should be acting inconsistent with Masonry in so doing, under these Circumstances I trust you will consider the case of Mr. Hamilton.

The favour of an early reply will much Oblidge

Dear Brother

Yours very Affectionately

William Plenty

W.M. Lodge 399

To

The Brothers

That Compose the

Lodge for General Purposes

In this letter is to be noted the remark by the writer—"I firmly believe Mr. Hamilton to have been made a Master Mason". Presumably such belief would ensue only from ascertaining that Mr. Hamilton was able satisfactorily to prove

himself a Master Mason. Thus, whatever could be pleaded in the way of irregularity in Finch's actions, his "system" was not at fault.

The reply from the Grand Secretary to this letter was as follows:—

W. Sir & Bro.

In reply to y^r ltr. respecting Mr. Hamilton I beg leave to say for the information of y^r [] , that no Bro. can be rec^d into any regular [] nor recognised as a Mason unless he has been admitted in a [] which may be duly authorised by the G. Lodge. As no [] under the United Constitution will admit Mr. Finch, neither has he any dispensation from the G. M. for any act he may do, The person alluded to cannot upon any pretence be received among you, until the necessary forms are gone through & the full fees paid.

I am etc.

y^r faithful serv^t & Bro.

The Master of Lo. No. 399

E. H.

Notwithstanding the opinion regarding Finch expressed in this letter from the Grand Secretary, there was no assertion that Finch had been expelled; and the statement that no Lodge under the United Constitution would admit him implies no more than that he was not a member of an authorised Lodge. This disability was no more than had existed between the "Ancients" and the "Moderns"; and no more than Finch himself allowed was the case between Grand Lodge and his Independent Lodge.

When Finch proclaimed his private Lodge to be Independent is not definite. In his printed *Supplement to the Union Lectures*, early in 1815, he gave a list of Lodges on the Register of the United Grand Lodge, in which list he included his Lodge as St. Peter's with its new number, 316; in a list of Independent Lodges mentioned in his letter to H.R.H. The Prince Regent in the same year, he gave his Lodge as St. Peter's with its old number, 249, before the Union. In his letter to Lord Ellenborough, written evidently quite soon after the trial of the case, *Smith v. Finch*, he spoke of his Lodge being independent at the time of the trial. It may be surmised, therefore, that he declared independence about the end of 1814. His reasons for the severance from Grand Lodge were given in his letter to Lord Ellenborough—

1. The refusal of the Grand Lodge to investigate the claims of himself and Brethren to the Office of Master and Wardens of the St. Peter's Lodge.
2. For refusing to investigate their charges (seventeen in number) against the late Officers of the said Lodge, for various offences; and also against some of the Grand Officers.
3. For violating their own solemn engagement, by patronizing and publicly sanctioning two books, which contain an open exposition of the secrets; and refusing to renew their sanction to the Defendant's, which is totally void of such a breach of fidelity.
4. And principally because they have departed most essentially from the Ancient Landmarks of the Order; and do not deliver down to the fraternity the genuine mysteries of our Society.

The ground on which Finch took his stand with regard to his right and authority to make masons was, he held, exactly similar to that taken up by the "Ancients" when they set up in competition with the "Moderns". And he claimed that if the "Ancients", if Preston, could be justified in withdrawing from the "Moderns", in asserting their independence, and in making masons

as others had done before—on what grounds could the same privilege be denied to any other body of Masons?

In any case it seems clear that Finch separated himself from Grand Lodge, and not that Grand Lodge expelled him.

Rightly or wrongly he reverted to the old usages and customs which prevailed among Masons a century earlier; and he quoted Preston, *Illustrations*, 1801, page 210, note—

A sufficient number of Masons met together within a certain district had, at this time, ample power to make Masons, and discharge all the duties of Masonry, without any Warrant of Constitution. The privilege was inherent in themselves as individuals.

Finch further asserted that the Grand Lodge, not being an incorporated body, had not exclusive power, and had no authority to abrogate that privilege, and could not prevent any body of Masons from establishing an Independent Lodge.

We now come to the episode of which so much has been made to the detriment of Finch—the legal case of *Smith v. Finch*, which was heard on 27th January, 1815. In every instance of a mention of Finch this case has formed a prominent part, but writers have taken only the account in “Preston” as their authority. This account, as given in Preston’s *Illustrations*, 13th edition, 1821, page 390, is as follows:—

The plaintiff was a copperplate printer; and the action was brought to recover 4£. 2s. being the amount of work done for the defendant. A plea was set up by Finch, stating that the plaintiff was indebted to him 16£. 19s. 6d. for making him a Mason, and giving him instructions in the various degrees in his Independent Lodge, at his own house near Westminster-bridge. It was proved by the evidence of the Rev. Dr. Hemming, Past Senior Grand Warden, as well as of Mr. White, and Mr. Harper, Joint Secretaries to the Grand Lodge, that the defendant was not authorised to make Masons; on the contrary, that his whole system was an imposition on the parties who were so deceived by him; and that no man had a right to make Masons for private emolument. The trial occupied a considerable portion of time; and after an excellent charge from the judge, stating, that from the whole evidence it appeared that Finch’s conduct was altogether unjustifiable; that he could neither make Masons nor procure them admission to any Lodge; and that he was totally disavowed by the Fraternity; the jury, without hesitation, gave a verdict against Finch, to the full amount of the printer’s demand.

Dr. Chetwode Crawley, in his *Legal Episodes in the History of Freemasonry*, which was printed in the *Freemason*, 18th December, 1899, gave the story in his own words, and with very severe stricture upon Finch. Other writers have merely taken the version from “Preston”, and without comment on the case, have condemned Finch.

But there is another aspect of the case. Not only has Finch left a statement on his side, but there is also a vindication issued by a number of his friends. It is true that both these were printed and published by Finch; but there are at least two sides to every question..

Finch’s version of the affair is contained in a long letter to Lord Ellenborough, which runs to thirteen closely printed pages, and is much too long for more than a few references. It contains at length the procedure Finch had intended with regard to his witnesses and their examination. His principal points of complaint were—postponement of the date for the trial without any notice to him; being, without warning, left in the lurch by his attorney; and, when he had arranged to conduct the case himself, being debarred from doing

so because some one, ignorant of the brief, had at the last minute been appointed to act for him; only four out of his twelve witnesses were called though all were present in court; and—in his own words—“remarkable circumstance . . . the handwriting of the Plaintiff, where he gave the Defendant an acknowledgment, signed by himself, for the payment of £8. 2s. 6d. and other monies. His handwriting was sworn to by his own workman, and yet . . . it seems to have rested on my right to make Masons”. This last sentence seems to indicate that Finch was representing that the true legal aspect should have been with regard to the validity of the contract.

Finch was proud of his Independent Lodge and did not hide information about it, acknowledging that, it being in opposition to the Grand Lodge, its members would not be admitted by any Lodge under Grand Lodge, just as had occurred between the “Ancients” and “Moderns”. He asserted that, far from holding out any expectation of such an admission, his “public advertisements, circulars, &c., for all the world to see, clearly set forth the contrary; and that therefore there was not the least shadow of imposition”. The plaintiff, Smith, had some fifteen months before applied to Finch to make him a Mason at his Independent Lodge, provided Finch would consent to let him work out part of the expenses. Such a bargain would not have been possible in a Regular Lodge, and perhaps Smith knew that. But a contract was made, and, as Finch must have been at that time well known by repute, Smith could hardly have entered into the contract with his eyes shut.

This case would have been a clear opportunity for the Grand Secretary to state that Finch had been expelled from Grand Lodge, if that had been a fact; but nothing approaching such a statement was included in any report of the proceedings.

The dispute between Finch and Smith had lasted apparently for some months. Did Finch treat the matter as a test case?

There is a sequel to this episode, which is shown in the following letter from Thomas Smith to “Mr. Harper, Junr”:

Poultry Compter 12th April, 1815.

Sir

I have been solicited by a person who promises to make me a handsome remuneration, to give him in writing the whole or as far as I am able of the trial between Finch and myself, as well as all that has occurred in my being made by him, with the Oath and working of the several Degrees, as instructed by F. which he states cannot be considered binding me in any respect whatsoever, having been declared by a Court of Justice, as illegal; Therefore I cannot enter any Lodge or be considered a Mason, & as such I am at full liberty to make known to the world his (Finch) method of making and everything that has passed. But I wish for your opinion how far you may judge it expedient, and wether it will not be too much an exposition in opening the *Eyes of the World at large*. As I am very much *distressed*, & *confined* here, without any means of assisting my Family. I have taken the liberty of giving you this information, before I enter into any engagement with the proposal made to me.

The favour of an immediate answer will be gratefully received,
by

Sir your Obed^t humble Servant etc.

Thos. Smith

N.B. Nothing but the distress I am in should have induced me to give Ear to the proposition made; except as far as regards F.'s trial, which I consider ought to be generally Published.

I should be very happy if you think worth while to look in, you can have me call'd between Gates, (instead of troubling yourself to come inside) if request the Turnkeys so to do.

I have not discovered the answer to this letter. Although Smith signed himself as "Thos. Smith", and Finch referred to him as "S. Smith", obviously this is the same man.

This seems to be another instance showing that Finch's detractors were not above mean intrigue.

On examination of the whole matter, points emerge which seem to show that the story is not wholly clear. Why were several highly-placed Masonic authorities so easily sub-pœna'd; why was their evidence on one point taken to the exclusion of any rebutting evidence; why was the question of contract not investigated; how did it happen that the plaintiff was quite soon after in such distressful circumstances? Trying to read between the lines of the account of the episode, with the above-mentioned letter as a climax, there seems to have been something in the matter which was not entirely above-board. This sentiment appears to have actuated others at the time of the occurrence, for a vindication covering fifteen points was issued on 17th February, 1815, to which the following is the introduction:—

At a numerous and respectable Lodge of Emergency, held on Feb. 17, 1815, at Br. BROWN'S, Mile End Road,—Br. THOMPSON, R.W.M., in the chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed, and ordered to be published, in defence of the Officers and Members of the INDEPENDENT LODGE OF UNIVERSALITY.

The first resolution reads—

THAT the statement in some of the public papers relative to the late trial between J. Smith and W. Finch, is not only in the main parts extremely incorrect, but of a most mischievous and libellous nature; calculated to answer the sinister views of a conspiracy of Masons to injure the said W. Finch, in his public and private concerns; a full refutation of which is given in his letter to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

These groundless assertions and imputations, with other illiberal conduct towards the Defendant, added to the violation of the ancient landmarks of the order by the Grand Lodge, has caused these resolutions to be entered into.

Then follow thirteen resolutions which upheld the various themes that Finch had been persistently advocating.

These resolutions were a vindication of Finch not only in the recent lawsuit but also in all his actions and behaviour throughout his career. Grand Lodge was impugned as illegal and self-created, without authority or power to deprive Masons of their ancient rights to meet as Masons. Two Grand Masters—Lord Weymouth and Lord Raymond—were quoted as having supported "the independent principle of the fraternity".

One remark is worthy of note, referring to the Grand Lodge—

Whilst they continued to . . . pursue their persecutions of the Independent Lodge of Universality, it only tends to widen the breach, which friendly means might contribute to heal.

The thought arises—while the "Modern" and "Ancient" Grand Lodges were reviling each other, each representing that the other was illegal and self-created, did it enhance their dignity to make enemies of the Independent Masons?

The fifteenth resolution stated—

Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this Lodge be given to Brother W. Finch, for his firm and upright conduct, and zealous perseverance, in the cause of Masonry, for upwards of twenty years; but more especially for the free and open access, which he hath afforded us, to his valuable and private Masonic Library; enabling us with greater correctness and facility to ascertain from the publication of nearly forty writers on Masonry, the genuine and ancient rights of the fraternity; and on which we have chiefly grounded most of the above Resolutions.

At the end are mentioned the names of twenty-six writers other than Finch,—those of Preston and Hutchinson heading the list,—whose writings had been taken as support for the resolutions.

The dictum of several writers that this legal case brought about the eclipse of Finch cannot be substantiated. During the short remainder of his life his activities remained as assiduous as ever.

The pamphlet—*Supplement to the Union Lectures*—issued fairly early in 1815, contained evidence that Finch must have procured and studied Masonic publications not only from official sources but also by writers on Masonic matters. The portion giving the Directory must have entailed a considerable amount of labour in compiling and dissecting the various lists; and this, at a time when he was in difficulties, shows power of application. That he published extracts from Preston, Harper, and Dermott shows that he studied the views of these writers, and also that he was evidently strongly influenced by their opinions.

Some time during 1815, as shown by the postmark on one copy, Finch distributed widely a printed circular signed “J. Ballard Mackenzie and W. Finch”. This was an advertisement of a book—

“Oriental Antiquities and general view of the Othoman Customs, Laws and Ceremonies; exhibiting many curious pieces of the Eastern Hemisphere, relative to the Christian and Jewish Dispensations; with various rites and mysteries of the Oriental Freemasons; translated from the French of Monsieur D. E. M. D.

Philadelphia

Printed for the Select Committee and Grand Lodge of Enquiry.”

The circular described some points of “Turkish Masonry”, and mentioned that the book contained 608 pages embellished with coloured charts and plates. Mackenzie had been deputed by an eminent bookseller in New York to dispose of a quantity.

There is in Grand Lodge Library a book with title exactly as given by Finch. This was published in 1788. In the “Preliminary Discourse” mention is made of “engravings taken from a collection of pictures painted in the country itself”. A copy of this book had undoubtedly been in Finch’s hands, for in one of his publications he gave a long extract from the book. Unfortunately the copy in Grand Lodge Library contains only 593 pages, has no illustrations, and does not include much of the information mentioned in the preliminary discourse as forming part of the contents. It seems that it is an incomplete copy, or perhaps only one volume of a set, as there is nothing of masonic import in it notwithstanding the title.

A book entitled *The Origin of Freemasons, their Doctrines etc.*, was published in the same year, 1815, as is learned by a reference in parenthesis in the middle of the book, and before June of that year, as is shown by a remark at the end of the preface. The heading to the pages is—

“Count D’L*****’s History and Origin of Freemasonry invented by Oliver Cromwell”; and a Note, as a preface, begins thus—

I beg leave most respectfully to inform my brother Masons, that the following work is not a production of my own; it is a translation from the French, published many years ago; I have been in possession of it a long time, and to those who purchase this complete set, I have no objection to show the original. I beg leave also to disclaim every kind of participation in the sentiments of the author, so far as his censure and abuse of the fraternity extend; though I perfectly agree with him in many of the historical facts. His abuse of the Free-Masons of this country, where he charges them with jacobinical principles, is cloathed in a garb of the most infamous falsehood; for the loyalty and attachment of the whole order of Masonry, is too well known to need any panegyric from my feeble pen.

I understand that, at any rate at one time, there was said to be current in Ireland a supposed Cromwellian origin of Speculative Masonry, which thence was carried to France, where it appeared in *Le Francmaçon Ecrasé* and other such works.

The prefatory note continued with a diatribe against Hemming, White, and Harper; and at the end of the note Finch said he intended to publish against these individuals further “courses of a banquet”, “which will make their appearance in the NEW MASONIC MAGAZINE, the first number of which I intend to publish on the first of June”.

There is here a difficulty in connection with dates. The only other mention Finch made of his intentions regarding the *Masonic Magazine* was a notice to the effect—

W.F. begs leave most respectfully to acquaint the Fraternity, that it is his intention to publish the

FREEMASON’S MAGAZINE

provided he obtains 200 subscribers, but not otherwise. It will continue Monthly, at 4s. each number, consisting of three sheets of letter-press; embellished with appropriate plates, engraved expressly for the occasion.

To prevent unnecessary trouble or expense of postage, W.F. begs leave to suggest that those who intend to subscribe, will signify their intention by some convenient mode, free of expense; and to give proper directions where they are to be sent to in town, as payment will be expected at the time of delivery. Should the aforesaid work be published, due notice will be given in the TIMES and TRAVELLER.

W. Finch, Printer, Lower Marsh, Lambeth.

The difficulty in connection with this lies in the fact that this last-mentioned notice was printed at the end of a pamphlet which was headed with a date “August 14th 1815”. It may have been that Finch had earlier intentions regarding this magazine, which did not materialise and necessitated a later and more definite announcement. However, no more is to be ascertained regarding this venture.

Presumably about the same time as the *Origin of Freemasons* was published another publication appeared, viz.—

The Ceremony of Making Freemasons in the French Army.

No clue is given as to where or how was derived information regarding this last publication: but the impression given is that it was a compilation of material

obtained from different sources, as in the middle of the book Finch digresses into a *Masonic Parallel Note* in which is discussed the political uses to which Masonry had been put by various monarchs.

These two books, *The Origin of Freemasons* and *The Making of Freemasons in the French Army*, were printed in parts, but it is not clear whether the parts were issued all at the same time, or at different periods.

As an advertisement relating to both books, a circular appeared before July, 1815, referred to in a letter of that date. In this circular Finch in big head-lines referred to several rulers, as—

Buonparte owes all his success to the Freemasons.

Oliver Cromwell Founded the Order of Masonry.

Louis 16th Persecuted the Order of Masonry & lost his liberty Crown and Life.

Louis 18th lost his ascendancy . . . through the Secret & Herculean power of French Masons in the Army.

etc., etc.

This circular produced a communication from Stockport, signed by the Masters of five Lodges, addressed to the Grand Secretaries.

Stockport July 14th 1815

Right Worshipful Sirs and Brothers

The Masters, Wardens and Officers of the different Lodges in Stockport have thought proper to inform you of a circumstance which has just taken place amongst us (viz) some time back we rec^d Orders not to countenance Mr. Finch nor regard him as a Bro^r which Order was and is faithfully Obey^d. Yet he still keeps sending Letters concerning some Books which he says he intends to Publish, amongst these he sent one to every Lodge in these Parts. I believe it was the Last he sent, therein he says that Buonparte owes all his success to the Freemasons, And also that O. Cromwell ow'd his success to them likewise, How such and such Kings had been Dethron'd by them and the Like. Now Sirs in Mottram there is a Lodge No. — of freemasons, And in the same place a Lodge of Orange men & the Landlord where the Orange Lodge is held is himself an Orange man, And it is proved the letter carryer not knowing the Difference of the Lodges, Always took the letters which was for the Masons, to his house which the Landlord took in and open'd, at length this letter of Finches fell into his hands, and on opening it, found as he and the rest of his party suppos'd Treason and Treachery to be amongst us, whereupon they spread the suppos'd secret of our craft about, And the public mind begins to be Alarmed in these parts in consequence of this letter, The Officers and members of the Masons Lodge are we believe, Going to prosecute the Landlord for Opening the Letters knowingly, they have been at one of the Justices of Stockport, Namly the Rev^d Mr. Prescott Rector of Stockport, But he says it is a point of Law, he cannot determine, And we heartily wish you to send us Your Joint Opinions respecting it And also wether nothing Can be done in regard of Finches perpetually writing and tormenting us with his infamous Letters, we have return'd them to him some without Opening, and some we have Open'd, But Yet he persists in sending them And we all Humbly beg and desire you will write an answer to this as soon as you conveniently Can, Inclos'd you will find one of the Letters which he sent, Till your Answer we remain Your Humble Friends and Brothers.

James Eustace	Master of Lodge 168
Thomas Brook	Master of Lodge 543
John Grundy	Master of Lodge 606
Joseph Ormston	Master of Lodge 607
Ellis Haworth	Master of Lodge 608

It cannot be denied that this episode exposed a bad flaw in Finch's line of action; the publication of a politico-masonic book, in order to put it on record, might be excused, but to issue a masonic circular having a strong political flavour showed more than want of discretion, it constituted a bad mistake.

The pamphlet, at the end of which appeared the notice about the Freemason's Magazine, was dated 14th August, 1815, and was headed—

*LADIES MADE FREEMASONS IN LODGES ACTING UNDER
THE GRAND LODGE etc.*

This was in the form of a long letter, but the subject alluded to in the heading formed only a small part of the circular, which commenced by disputing the validity of Grand Lodge circulars in respect of his publications. He complained against and accused some "individuals acting behind the scenes of Grand Lodge", who managed to make an addition to the official account of the business transacted in Grand Lodge "without any authority whatever from the Grand Lodge as a collective body". This probably was in reference to the letter issued by the Grand Secretaries appended to the report of Grand Lodge proceedings at the quarterly communication in December, 1814. Though printed on the same sheets as the report, the letter was dated 14th June, 1815, and ended—

we are directed again to caution you against the pretended publications on Masonry, by a man of the name of Finch.

By command of M.W. Grand Master

Will^m H. White } G. S.
Edw. Harper }

Freemasons' Hall
14th June, 1815

The word "again" in this sentence indicates that there had been a previous warning, but I have failed to find any earlier letter.

In this pamphlet (*Ladies made Freemasons*) Finch goes on to accuse the authorities of Grand Lodge of plagiarism in connection with the revised ceremonies—

shameful act of cutting and carving from an old and scarce French book of Lectures, etc., which I lent to one of their party a long time back; who was mean enough to pretend it was lost. To enable me to recover it, I have been obliged to enter an action against the said party; and about three weeks ago it was returned.

Finch stigmatised the warning against his Lectures as an artifice, industriously propagated with the view of keeping you, and nearly all the Lodges and Country Masons in dark and shameful suspense, concerning their new Lectures etc.

He asserted that he was able to issue exactly what they were preparing to issue and long before theirs could be ready; and he blamed Grand Lodge for their dilatoriness. This may be a cut at the Lodge of Reconciliation.

After more than half-way through this pamphlet Finch mentioned the irregularities which form the heading—the accusations referring not only to women but also to men who were not Masons, and yet obtained access to Lodges. This reminds one of the instances given by Oliver in his *Revelations of a Square*. Finch stated that he was issuing publicly a series of questions to Dr. Hemming, Brother Playfair and Messrs. White and Harper in connection with these

irregularities, and some samples were given. At the end of the pamphlet Finch published

The New Union Synopsis and Explanatory Tables for all the 81 Degrees, and he gave a list of the eighty-one. Of these Degrees, half are known to us to-day as in existence, and the rituals of some of the others, though obsolete, have survived. If that fact be any criterion, it can be assumed that Finch was not the inventor of any of them; otherwise many Masons of to-day must be described as his disciples. However, Finch was in error in labelling the Degrees as under the "New Union", though he may have done so in view of No. II of the Articles of Union.

As the previous list, published in 1812, enumerated 39 degrees, Finch must have been very busy during the past three years in research work.

Information regarding Finch for 1815 terminates towards the end of that year, at which time Dr. George Oliver appears on the scene. The following letter was written to the Provincial Grand Master for Lincolnshire by Dr. Oliver as R.W.M. of Apollo Lodge:—

Grimsby September 24th 1815

Dear Sir

Agreeably to an intimation which you expressed when I had the honour of being with you in London, that you should be happy to receive communications of all the *extraordinary* occurrences of our Lodge, I deem it necessary to inform you, that we have of late been very much annoyed by the receipt of printed Circular Letters from a Man who calls himself Finch; which have an evident tendency to disunite the Craft, and to rend asunder the sacred tie by which the Brethren have been recently linked together; and are altogether utterly subversive of those social tendencies to which the Masonic System ought to be made subservient. As a Mason therefore and particularly as Master of this Lodge, I have considered myself bound to write to him on the Subject, and on the other side you will receive a Copy of a Letter which I have sent to him by this day's Post; and which if not inconsistent, I beg you will lay before the Grand Lodge, at the next Quarterly Meeting, as it may be a means of directing its attention to a Schism, which if not speedily checked, may ultimately involve (*sic*) us in disorder and confusion.

I am Dear Sir

Your humble Servant and Brother
George Oliver

W. H. White Esq. P.G.M.

The copy of the letter referred to by Oliver was as follows:—

To Mr. Finch

Grimsby Sep. 23rd 1815

Sir

The repeated communications which the Brethren of the Apollo Lodge have lately received from you, but ill accord with their sentiments of Masonic purity, and those Letters remaining unanswered might have convinced you that the Lodge was too truly Masonic, and too sincerely attached to the Grand Lodge from which it receives protection to be tainted with the erroneous & pernicious opinions & sentiments, which you, to your eternal shame have foisted upon the world. But the traitorous tendency of your last, in which you characterise Masonry as productive of Rebellion, the Fall of Nations. and a train of other consequences too numerous to be even noticed by me on this occasion, must inevitably bring upon you the contempt, if not the vengeance of the whole insulted Body of the Craft, who are not lost to all sense of Propriety and Virtue. If the Ambitious Wretch

who openly defies existing Powers, and rears to himself a Monument of execration—if the Traitor who lifts his hand against his Sovereign or his Country's Laws—merits contempt and detestation—much more so the wretch who daringly violates a sacred Pledge, and in open & rash defiance of all Laws divine and human—places the bait of temptation before the unwary—& like the Father of Evil, induces them to become the passive Authors of their own destruction! Whoever lends the least assistance in the propagation of your diabolical Schism, whoever encourages you to persevere in the prosecution of your Evil Work, I most certainly pronounce to be an abettor of Rebellion—but recollect—his individual guilt affixes no stigma on Masonry;—for previously to his engaging in an affair of such dark and detestable tendency, as to involve (*sic*) the fate of Kings (Vide your last Letter) he must have divested himself of all sentiments of Virtue and Morality, and of consequence had ceased to be a Mason in his heart, tho' he might perhaps have escaped, or rather eluded the merited disgrace of expulsion. The Man who publicly exposes his integrity to sale—who glories in his delinquency—& propagates his shame—is unworthy the name of Mason, he is worse than an Infidel!—Not every one who has become acquainted with a few of the external forms of Masonry, do I esteem as a Mason. The Man who has once forfeited his honour and integrity, no longer ranks with me as a Brother nor do I consider myself bound by my OB. to render him those services which he might otherwise demand. No, Sir, the bad Man can never be a Mason. And however he may bear about with him a few of the distinguishing insignia (*sic*), these can no more prove him a Mason, than hypocrisy is a proof of Religion. The hand and the head are not the criteria of Masonry, but the heart; The heart alone is its genuine seat; and when it sits there enthroned, and holds the passions and lusts in subjection, then the true Mason shines with genuine effulgence, and is as much distinguished above the rest of Mankind, as the Sun is more glorious than the Stars in the canopy of Heaven!—And *you*,—who pretend to be so well informed in the Mysteries of the Craft—have yet to learn—that the principal Secret in the practice of Speculative Masonry is—Virtue! Yes! I hesitate not to declare in the face of the whole world, that Virtue is our most important Secret, & the brightest Jewel in the Masonic Crown! Without Religion, which of course includes all Christian Virtues, in vain is all the knowledge attainable by the Study of Hieroglyphics—in vain are all the ceremonies of Masonry—types and shadows only of the true intention and intrinsic excellence of this most sublime Institution. If we confine ourselves solely to the study of the mechanical part of the Craft, we are wasting our time in useless trifles, which afford no satisfaction to the understanding, no benefit to the heart.—

Reflect on this.—And the best advice I can offer you for your acceptance is to suppress your Publications, to make your peace with the Grand Lodge, and to undeceive those miserable Men who have been credulous enough to become the dupes of your Artifices. This and this only can raise you to that rank in my esteem, which otherwise you will eternally lose.

Until this happy reform takes place let me not hear from you again.

I am Sir etc.

Geo. Oliver R.W.M.

of the Apollo Lodge.

The immediate cause of this outburst was evidently that ill-judged politico-masonic circular. But it gave a great opportunity to Oliver for an unctuous sermon. The closing sentences reek with self-importance. It might have been expected that a minister of religion would have been more charitable than to read, without any benefit of doubt, more than was perhaps intended in this circular, unwholesome as it is.

Dr. Chetwode Crawley in his *Legal Episodes* said that an advertisement appeared in the London newspapers of July, 1816, thus—

TO FREEMASONS, BOOKSELLERS etc.

The Brotherhood are respectfully informed that the printed Lectures in the various degrees in Masonry, as well as those that have been printed under the SANCTION of the GRAND LODGE, as the others that have been printed without such sanction, are now to be sold off and discontinued:—

They contain the MAKINGS, PASSINGS, RAISINGS, EXALTATIONS, LECTURES, and all other CEREMONIES, etc. etc., which

are now to be had with the greatest variety of Masonic Plates from 10s. 6d. to 1£. 10s. The above cheap sets of *Lectures* will enable *Masons* to obtain more information *in one day* than they could otherwise procure *in many years*.

ALSO, 7000 Volumes, and other Articles comprising his Stock in Trade, as a Bookseller. See the particulars in the Catalogue. price 1s. 6d.

W. FINCH, Bookseller, sign of the FREEMASONS' ARMS
No. 5 Charlotte-Place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth.

The Business to be disposed of on moderate terms.

Dr. Crawley did not specify the newspapers in which this advertisement appeared, and I have not succeeded in finding any copies of the advertisement or quotation by any other writer.

The accumulation of such an extensive library of 7,000 volumes besides his own printed Masonic works indicates assiduity in collecting, even though extending over several years. This indicates further that Finch must have been possessed of cash for the purpose of purchasing, and this would not have been possible except as the result of his sales, which would point to a good turn-over in trade over a considerable period. His claim to having received good support with his Masonic publications seems to be substantiated.

Dr. Crawley termed this advertisement a collapse, and said it was due to the result of the legal action of January, 1815. With this conclusion I do not agree, for Finch continued working unabated all that year; I think we must look for some other cause.

Dr. Crawley continued that "within the year" (*i.e.*, 1816) "the wretched man died, as Dr. Mackey tells us". Without any enquiry this statement of Mackey's has been copied by later writers. And yet in the *Transactions of the Dorset Masters Lodge* for 1923/24, page 76, we find quoted a minute of Lodge of Honour and Friendship No. 665, Blandford—

A minute of 29th December, 1817, records—

A letter was also read from a Brother W. Finch, offering for sale, Books purporting to give an insight into Masonry, on which it was unanimously agreed that if any such letters be in future received from him they are to be returned to him again, under cover p'post.

This would indicate that either the date given by Dr. Crawley is a year wrong, or that the attempt by Finch to sell his library lasted more than a year and

that he sent out further letters a year later. In either case the date of death accepted by Mackey and other writers is erroneous. The evidence indicates that the death of Finch did not occur before the end of 1817. Also, in view of the large amount of property he had for sale, the statement made in more than one place that "the wretched man died in want of the common necessities of life" seems a spiteful exaggeration, to corroborate which there is no evidence.

Bro. H. Sadler, in *Notes on the Ceremony of Installation*, page 49, wrote—

. . . if I am not mistaken, his widow endeavoured to 'carry on the business', but probably finding the most profitable portion of it scarcely suitable for a lady of her refined tastes, she soon had to put up the shutters and retire.

I do not know upon what evidence Bro. Sadler founded this statement, but if of the same nature as that in connection with the statement relating to the Ceremony of Installation, it is not conclusive.

Mrs. Finch issued two circulars regarding the sale of her late husband's Masonic publications, neither of which was dated, but a postmark on one shows "1819". By the wording of the circulars I am led to think that Mrs. Finch did not try to "carry on" the business; but, in accordance with her husband's injunctions, attempted to sell as soon as possible. As she spoke of embarrassment and urgent need to sell, it may be taken that there was not a long interval between the issue of the two circulars. In one she mentioned "being left with six children, the youngest not more than two months old". Placing the date of issue in the earliest month of 1819, this would show that Finch must have been alive in February or March, 1818. And if Mrs. Finch arranged for the sale as soon as possible after her husband's death, Finch must have lived on towards the end of 1818.

Finch died at the early age of about 46, according to my calculation. We have no information regarding his usual state of health, but such an early age would indicate something radically wrong; and it may be there is a suggestion in his remark in the letter to H.R.H. The Prince Regent, printed in 1815, where he talked of having "contracted a dangerous complaint brought on by excessive study".

The two circulars issued by Mrs. Finch were as follows:—

I. Sir

In consequence of the Death of my Husband, and agreeable to his particular request frequently made I trouble you with this letter, to inform the Gentlemen of the MASONIC SOCIETY, that I have the remainder of his Masonic Property to dispose of for myself and family of six young children; and in consequence of twenty years, the prime of his life, having been devoted in a very laborious, incessant, and expensive manner, for the general good and information of his Brother Masons, he has laid me under the strongest injunctions to follow his advice and directions, in the disposal of his Masonic Property to the best advantage for his family, and a due regard on his part, for the honor, safety, and prosperity of every branch of the Ancient and honorable Society of Freemasons; and for that purpose he has left the whole of his Masonic Lectures, etc. in such a state that Masons may be supplied with copies of what they may want, prepared equally the same as if he was alive.

Owing to the situation in which I am placed, with six fatherless children, and being attended with sickness and great losses since his decease, it has thrown me into great embarrassments, and am compelled to sell his Works at a very low price, much lower than they were ever sold before; at the rate of thirty shillings worth for

twenty; therefore if you Sir, or any Gentleman, belonging to your Lodge approve of purchasing any, you may have them whenever you think proper, by remitting the amount, for I am now sending these letters to all the Lodges throughout the Kingdom.

II. Sir

In consequence of the death of my Husband, I take the liberty of informing you that I wish to dispose of all his works on Freemasonry, and it was one of his last desires that I would do so, and if possible to sell them to none but Lodges, or such Masons as had before corresponded with him, at different parts of the Kingdom. I have therefore, Sir, had this letter printed, to send to several Lodges, with proposals for their consideration, offering the under-mentioned Books and Prints at as low a price as I can afford, as I wish to convert the same into money as speedily as possible, being left with six children, the youngest not more than two months old; Therefore if you, Sir, and the rest of the Gentlemen belonging to your Lodge, approve of purchasing any, you may have them whenever you think proper, for I am now sending these letters to all the Lodges he desired me. The following is a list of them—and for every twenty shillingsworth you are pleased to order there shall be to the amount of thirty shillings worth sent, and of what sort you please; they are all put up separate so that you may depend on every set being perfect. As I well remember the great expence he has been put to frequently for postage of Letters from different parts of the Kingdom, I hope, Sir, you will excuse me when I inform you, that it will not be consistent with the duty I owe to my children to run any risk of taking in any Letters unless they are POST-PAID, even for letters containing a remittance. I must beg of you to have the goodness to pay in the first instance the full postage, and deduct it from the amount of your order before you send off the remainder to me, as I do not wish you ultimately to take the expence of postage on yourself, only in the first instance to do it and charge for it, so that all Letters sent to me may come quite free. You can remit me either in Bank Paper or Post-Office Order, payable to me by the Post-Master of your Town. If you send Bank Paper and any change is due, it shall be punctually inclosed in your order. There are several new Plates done off lately that are put up with their respective Lectures different to his former ones.

Each of these circulars ended with a long list of publications and their prices; and the lists were the same except for one item. Nothing was mentioned regarding publications other than Masonic.

It has not been possible to ascertain what resulted from these circulars, or what was effected by the sale; and it is greatly to be regretted that we are not now in possession of a great deal more of Finch's library.

Beyond a statement by Finch that he had five children remaining out of thirteen in 1815, it has not been possible to obtain even a glimpse of his family life at any time throughout his career; and after his death no further particulars have been forthcoming in connection with him or his family.

In no one place is to be found a full list of Finch's publications. Kloss mentions only two—*Masonic Treatise* of 1802, and *Elucidation on Masonic Plates*, 1802. Wolfstieg mentions five—*Elucidation on beauties of Freemasonry*, *Elucid-*

ation of *Masonic Plates*, *Freemasonry in Europe*, *Lectures on Masonry*, *Freemasons' Looking Glass*; the first is presumably the *Treatise or Key*.

Oliver in a note to *Revelations of a Square* (page 295) mentions half a dozen—

1. *A Masonic Treatise*, Deal, 1800; this perhaps should be the second edition, Deal, 1802.
2. *Elucidation of Masonic Plates*, London, 1802.
3. *Masonic Key*, Deal, 1803.
4. *Lectures, Laws and Ceremonies of Royal Arch*, 1812.
5. *New Set of Craft Lectures*, 1814.
6. *Origin of Freemasons, their Doctrines, etc.*, 1816.

and he adds—

many other pamphlets respecting the higher degrees, which it would be tedious to enumerate.

Oliver is inaccurate as regards either place or date of No. 1, place and date of No. 3, and the date of No. 6.

In Vibert's *Rare Books of Freemasonry* only two are given—*Lectures on Masonry* and *Lectures and Ceremonies of Freemasonry*—both of which are marked as of 1816, the date being placed in brackets as considered doubtful. I have tried to show that all Finch's publications of Lectures were of a date earlier than 1816.

In his review of Bro. Vibert's *Rare Books* (see *A.Q.C.*, xxxv., page 75) Bro. Songhurst mentions—

A Masonic Key—1st and 2nd editions
Elucidation of Masonic Plates
Lectures on Masonry
New Set of Craft Lectures
Supplement to Union Lectures

It is to be noted that in this review Bro. Songhurst said that both the first and second editions of Finch's *Masonic Key*, of 1801 and 1802 respectively, were published in Canterbury. This was an error, as the 2nd edition was printed by Atkinson of Deal.

Other writers have mentioned a few of the publications, but not more than what is given above.

The only complete source of information is in Finch's own writings—and the references in these are scattered.

Finch was a prolific writer; and in connection with his publications he issued many advertisements and circular letters, which were widely distributed. It is not easy always to identify the publications with exactness, because quite often they were not dated, and in several instances the same item seems to have been mentioned in different ways.

The publications may perhaps be best divided into three classes—Masonic, Personal, and Non-Masonic. Omitting the circular letters, the following list is as full as can at present be ascertained; of many of the items no more being known than the titles as quoted by Finch.

MASONIC!

CRAFT LECTURES.

Finch's first production was in 1801. The title page was as follows:—

A
 MASONIC KEY
 with an
 ELUCIDATION
 on the
 RELIGIOUS AND MORAL BEAUTIES
 of
 FREEMASONRY
 Ziydvjxyjpix, Zqjisgstn, Wxstxjin, &c
 for the use of
 LODGES AND BROTHERS IN GENERAL

DEDICATED BY PERMISSION
 TO
 WILLIAM PERFECT, Esq
 PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER
 for the
 COUNTY OF KENT

By W. FINCH, CANTERBURY

Please to observe that every Book has here on the Title Page
 ty Qxzf, and Oivjjxg Qvwgzjpix
 Printed by W. Bristow, Canterbury
 M.DCCC.I.

This 1st edition is in code; the sections of the lectures are not placed in regular order of sequence; the questions and answers are given separately. Long extracts are included, taken from Preston and are marked so; but there are portions also taken from Preston from various places and re-arranged. There are long portions which, from the difference in language and expression, seem to have been copied from other authors. After the lectures, included in the contents of the book, but not in code, are sections describing—

The Three Grand Offerings
 The River Jordan
 The Rock of Horeb
 The Brazen Serpent—In Hoc Signo Vincas

The Rock of Horeb is taken from the writings of Dr. Shaw, an English divine and traveller (1692-1751) whose principal work was *Travels, or Observations on several Parts of Barbary and the Levant*. The extract was perhaps copied from Wellins Calcott. The subject matter of the other three articles is not original; and since sentences are to be recognised as occurring elsewhere, it may be said that they are compilations if not copies.

The 2nd edition appeared in 1802, printed by J. Atkinson in Deal. In some copies this book is called a *Masonic Treatise*, in some a *Masonic Key*. Otherwise the title page is the same as with the 1st edition, but with the additional note—

Second Edition with many valuable additions.

A list of subscribers with an Explanation to this and two other
 Plates is given in the Book of Elucidations on the Plates.

It would seem therefore that, as three plates are referred to in the *Elucidation*, there should be one plate in the 1st edition of the Lectures and three in the 2nd edition, though some copies are now found with two plates, some with none.

The lay-out of the Lectures in the 2nd edition is very similar to that in the 1st edition, and they are also in code. After the Lectures are given, not in code, short catechisms on—

Royal Arch
A — M — Degree
K — T — Degree

all of which seem to have been compiled from other sources.

It is not easy to sort out all the other issues of Craft lectures made by Finch; and without samples of the various publications for actual comparison, it is difficult to place them in chronological order. However, taking into account the several advertisements in which the descriptions differed materially, the following may represent the sequence of editions, perhaps more properly to be styled issues.

3rd edition—The circular entitled “The Freemason’s Arcanum”, issued soon after April, 1806, mentions—

The Lectures upon the three degrees of Craft Masonry in MSS. fully complete with many additions, and improvements.

4th edition—At the end of the long letter to Lord Moira, printed in March or April, 1808—as near as can be calculated from internal evidence—was added—

The Fourth Edition of Lectures on Masonry is just published with 14 plates.

It is not clear what were the 14 plates. Reference has been made to a typed copy of Lectures belonging to St. John’s Lodge in Warrington. This copy has been tentatively marked “1803—1810”. It is possible that it was copied from the 4th edition.

5th and 6th editions—The advertisement in the Kentish Gazette dated 12th May, 1809, says—

Freemason’s Lectures. Just published. Containing every Question and Answer as worked in our Lodges; one set dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Earl Moira, and the other to His Grace the Duke of Athol.

It would seem that one set was “Modern” and the other “Ancient”.

7th edition—Soon after Grand Lodge, in April, 1809, passed the resolution to return to the “ancient landmarks”, Finch’s circular, probably of the middle of that year, announced a new edition—

on a plan which would anticipate the wishes of the Grand Lodge.

8th edition—In the circular letter, dated 5th April, 1810, is stated—

I have compiled a fresh set of Lectures (Craft) the
price for the complete Set with 15 plates . . .

Here there is an additional plate to the number mentioned with the 4th edition, but there is no information regarding the plate.

9th edition—In the circular letter of 10th October, 1810—signed W. Mullings Finch—he said—

I have just completed a new set of Lectures ENTIRELY ANCIENT, as a companion for the other former lectures of 32 Pages; and with them five new Hieroglyphical Plates, emblematical of all the 36 Degrees in Masonry.

10th edition—In circular dated 4th December, 1810, appears—

Lectures etc. on the Three Degrees of Craft Masonry with upwards of 800 queries solved, embellished with nine new Plates.

11th edition—A printed set of Lectures was issued, undated, with, inserted between the first and second degrees, an advertisement regarding lectures of other degrees to be ready about February, 1812. From this it would seem that this set of Lectures was issued about the end of 1811. Included in this publication were—

A dissertation on the origin of certain casual signs, mentioning a penal code and certain ancient laws of Tyre and their bearing on signs etc. adopted by K. S.

An advertisement to Brothers, referring to the Grand Lodge instruction "to return immediately to the Ancient York System!"

This reference is later than that which introduced the 7th edition. Finch stated that both "Ancient" and "Moderns" had lost much of the old workings.

12th edition—In July, 1813, Finch issued a circular, headed—

Freemasons Lectures—Dedicated to His Royal Highness
the Prince Regent.

This set may have been a reprint with a new dedication, or the issue may have been a new lot.

13th edition—"A New Set of Craft Lectures dated January 1, 1814". This pamphlet is divided into two parts. The first part has a short preface to the effect—

The following Lectures, Laws, and Ceremonies have been carefully selected from the Genuine Manuscripts and ancient branches of the Royal Craft, for the purpose of being incorporated with those commonly called Ancient and Modern, and thereby render the system complete, and realize the grand object and expectations of those Brethren who first promoted the

UNION.

In this edition is mentioned the "striking lesson"—well known in the North of England and in Scotland. This edition was introduced by an advertisement published on St. John's Day, 1813—i.e. in December. These "Lectures" appear to be only certain variations subsequent upon the Union. The second part of the pamphlet gives—

An Exhibition of several of the chief Masonic Characteristics, pourtrayed in a manner serviceable to the Fraternity, and yet safe and secure from the UNINITIATED EYE.

Then follows a long description of legends concerning pillars, and how Noah, Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon were connected with the Pillars. Reference was made to a book in the Bodleian Library, in which is a legend regarding Adam's body being carried about until a Priest of the M. H. G. should be found, and thus came to be in Noah's Ark, and was looked upon as a Pillar or Altar. Several other curious legends are mentioned. A list of Solomon's chief officers is given. Finally—

The following Charge for the R. A. Degree was composed about four years ago by W. F. and delivered by him at the Institution of a Chapter in Sussex.

14th and 15th editions—Two issues were entitled—

- a. The New Union System and Ancient York Lectures, 1815
- b. Prestonian and Ancient York Lectures

These were so alike that probably they came out at about the same date. Of the second Finch said—

The Prestonian Lectures etc. of Ancient Masonry, which are just revived for the mutual accommodation of both Ancient and Modern Masons agreeable to the Grand Lodge Plan and Lodge of Antiquity No. 1.

With entire new Masonic Plates containing the Plan of the Lodge in the 3 Degrees and other Hieroglyphical Engravings in the form of a Lodge Tracing Board.

And the preface was as follows:—

The first 16 pages A. B. C. D. E. etc. are intended as a Supplement, to strengthen and elucidate the other parts of the Lectures; having been selected for composition, from the most ANCIENT RECORDS of MASONRY; and in Consequence of the UNION between the Ancients and Moderns (as generally so-called) every thing that is valuable in the Whole System, is now most respectfully presented, for the general good of the Brethren; All the most essential points in the ANCIENT ATHOLL System—the Modern—the ANCIENT YORK—and PRESTONIAN Modes of working are here retained, and the superfluous parts only, rejected.

In these lectures there are several points which can be recognised as belonging now-a-days to other degrees still worked. That there are long passages common to Finch and to the lectures of to-day rouses wonder whether such passages were copied from Finch, or whether both have a common origin.

In addition to sets of lectures Finch published a pamphlet headed *New Union System*. This seems to be the substance of the proposals of the Lodge of Reconciliation. Finch gave—

1. the three obligations; but the words in each were purposely so jumbled together that no one but a Mason could understand them.
2. the Questions put to a candidate.
3. the openings.
4. alterations in procedure in the ceremonies.
5. alterations in the signs, etc.
6. situations and duties of officers.

It is not possible to date this publication more closely than some time in 1814.

Finch issued also a *Master Mason's Synopsis or Ancient and Genuine method to explain the 3 degrees of Craft Masonry*, which was advertised on 10th October, 1810.

Supplement to the Union Lectures was printed early in 1815. The title is not explanatory of the contents, as the pamphlet contains a miscellaneous assortment, most of which might have been issued separately, as the parts have nothing to do with any lectures. The sections of the pamphlet are—

1. "A list of the United Lodges, Ancient and Modern, also, A list of Scotch Lodges etc".

The lists include "Grand Officers for the year 1815, Provincial Grand Masters, Lodges on the Register of the United Grand Lodge with places of meeting, Distribution of Lodges in places at home and abroad, and Lodges in Scotland".

Finch included his own Lodge—

316 St. Peters, private rooms. Bro. W. Finch's.

2. Astronomical information, because—

The grand key to nearly all our Mysteries, Ceremonies, Secrets, etc. etc. is to be found in the canopy of the heavens.

This includes a list of stars of first magnitude, and descriptions of the signs of the Zodiac and many of the constellations, each being given some Masonic connection.

Finch confessed that his information was taken from books which he mentioned. But it must be allowed that most of his preface sounds absurd.

3. Origin of the Royal Arch. Of this Finch wrote—

To introduce this Branch of Masonry I must begin at the conclusion of another remarkable passage in Masonic history, and I wish to give it from the original copy before me without any comment.

Then followed the extract, referring to the Emperor Julian, most of which is in use to-day in another Masonic Order.

4. Turkish Royal Arch. This is an extract taken from D'Ohsson's *Oriental Antiquities*, the book mentioned earlier. It is to be acknowledged that there appears to be no reason for connecting this extract with anything Masonic; and why Finch labelled it "Turkish Royal Arch" is not clear. The extract is part of a funeral service, being a prayer recited by the Imam addressed to the deceased; it is called "Telkinn", and is recited immediately after the interment. However, as mentioned before, the copy of the book to be found in Grand Lodge Library appears to be incomplete, and so all the evidence is not available.
5. An Ob. of a M.M. It is not clear from what working this was taken.
6. A letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord Ellenborough. This is dealt with later under the Personal section.
7. A letter to His Royal Highness The Prince Regent. This also is dealt with later under the Personal section.
8. Extracts from Preston, Harper, etc. to prove—

Illegal authority of the Grand Lodge, and the privileges of Independent Lodges and individual Masons.

In a later pamphlet were included further extracts from Preston and Harper; and amongst these was printed in full Dermott's *Address to the gentlemen of the Fraternity*.

At the end of the pamphlet and as a finale to the letter to the Prince Regent is an item entitled—

"Breach of fidelity at the initiation",

in which Finch argued that the procedure by which a candidate was dealt with at the beginning of the ceremony had been so irregularly shortened that it had become dangerous; and that it would be wise to return to the "ancient York System".

ELUCIDATION ON THE MASONIC PLATES.

This is concerned with three plates which probably should be included in the book, but the number varies in different copies. The plates are described as

consisting of 64 Different compartments, viz: 46 in the First Plate—9 in the Second—and 9 in the Third—Comprising the following Degrees in Masonry, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in Cft., R.A., A.M., K.T., etc.

The first edition was printed and published for the author by Clement, 201 Strand, in 1802. The author is given as "W. Finch, Canterbury"; and the suggestion is that this edition was prepared by Finch before he left Canter-

bury for London. After the elucidation of the plates is a section entitled "The Banners of the Twelve Tribes explained". Then a copy of a letter, dated "July 12th, 1800", from Lieut. James Boxer, describing a short pilgrimage from Jaffa to Jerusalem, to his friends in England. The remainder of the book is concerned with the Royal Arch.

Another edition of the *Elucidation* was printed by Theodore Page of Blackfriars Road. No date is given for this edition, and Finch's address is not stated; but it is probable that it was a second edition to the one printed by Clement. It may be that it was merely a reprint, as it is identical with the earlier one, and very probably was published quite soon after, as it referred to the *Masonic Treatise* which is mentioned on the title page.

There was yet another edition, also not dated, printed by F. D. Symonds of Paternoster Row.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF MASONRY.

In his *Appeal* to members of Grand Lodge, written April, 1807, Finch mentioned an attempt to prevent his *Illustrations* from appearing. In his letter to Lord Moira, written about Easter, 1808, he said that his *Illustrations* came out soon after the *Appeal*. This would date the *Illustrations* as early as 1807. The publication appeared at first separately in a pamphlet, and later was embodied in an edition of *Lectures*, in 1808, 4th edition, or 1809, 7th edition—perhaps in both.

The *Illustrations* comprised a fairly long list showing Masonic characteristics, ornaments, liberal arts and sciences, orders of architecture, creation periods, etc.

In 1849 Claret published *Illustrations* "as taught by P. Gilkes and many others"; and what he then published was, except for some variations in the headings, nearly word for word the same as Finch's *Illustrations*. Probably it can be taken for granted that Gilkes did not copy Finch, the man with a bad reputation; and so it may be assumed that, on both sides, all the *Illustrations* came from an earlier and common source. To give one instance—

Finch's *Illustration Advantages of Geometry* is very similar to a passage taken from a *Vindication of Freemasonry* founded on a *Discourse* composed by Bro. Charles Leslie, member of Vernon Kilwinning Lodge, Edinburgh, delivered at the consecration of that Lodge on 15th May, 1741, published in the *Edinburgh Freemason's Pocket Companion* of the year 1765, and published also in Hutchinson's *Spirit of Freemasonry*, 3rd edition, 1802. Further, as an example to show that Finch went to an earlier source for information:—He spoke of Ebrank, Bladud and Croesus; these same persons are mentioned in *Multa Paucis* (pages 45 & 47), and the information was in the *Constitutions* of 1756.

Finch gave a few more *Illustrations* than were given later by Gilkes; but, in view of the above, it is very probable that these also were obtained in a similar manner from an earlier source.

FREEMASONS' GUIDE.

FREEMASONS' EUREKA AND GUIDE.

Neither of these is dated, but it is possible to place them both. In Finch's letter to Lord Moira in 1808 he said that the *Guide* came out soon after the *Illustrations*. This would date the *Guide* to fairly early in 1807. The *Eureka and Guide* was issued from Charlotte Place, Lambeth Marsh, and therefore after the middle of 1809, but it was printed by Jacques of Chelsea, and therefore perhaps before Finch started printing, and quite soon after Finch went to reside in Lambeth.

These two publications are in the main practically the same; but the *Guide* has at the end a vindication against the accusation of trading in Masonry. There are twelve sections in each of these publications—

1. The Tracing Board of the R.W.M.
2. Choice Selections (a)—this gave the dimensions of the Temple.
3. The Two famous Pillars.
4. Distribution of the 113681 workmen.
5. The famous Proclamation by King Solomon—this relates how Masons were promoted in the degrees; how Masonry spread into the various countries and at last was brought to England by Ebrank.
6. Choice Selections (b)—this refers to a request made by H.Ab. to Solomon to intercede with H.K.T. regarding the Carthaginians
7. Origin of the Masonic Lewis—giving the story of the Hiram, father and son.
8. The ancient method of casting stones.
9. The origin of the beautiful ancient purple, *i.e.*, the Tyrian dye.
10. Choice Selections (c)—connected with wages and coins.
11. The famous 47th proposition of Euclid—relating how Solomon set the riddle of the squares, and how H.Ab. solved it and so became Acting and Deputy G.M; and, though Pythagoras was said to have been the discoverer, yet H.Ab. was before him.
12. Point within a circle—relating how the Temple was anchored through its foundation stone to the solid rock of Mount Moriah.

In the circular, dated 4th December, 1810, was advertised *The Eureka and Guide, with Plates*. The *Eureka* appears to have been printed as a pamphlet as well as a broadsheet. (See *A.Q.C.*, vii., 190).

EXPLANATION OF THE FIVE LARGE PLATES.

This was a broadsheet mentioned in the circular, dated 10th December, 1810—

five entirely new Hieroglyphical Plates emblematical of all the 36 Degrees in Masonry, with printed Explanations to the said Plates.

As a couple of these plates, with fewer emblems, had appeared at the time of the earliest editions of the Craft Lectures, the plates now mentioned would seem to be the final development of the series. The explanation occupied one half of the broadsheet, which included also the keys for the *Guide and Eureka*, of which, in the same circular, Finch said—

I have also had printed all the Twelve Keys for the large Sheet Synopsis, called the *Guide and Eureka*; which were till now in manuscript only.

At the bottom of the broadsheet were given tables showing—distribution of the workmen for the Temple; figure, weight and value of Jewish coins; wages for the nine degrees of Masons said to have then existed.

THE FREEMASONS' LOOKING GLASS.

This was printed by Jacques, Lower Sloane Street. It was not dated, but appeared some little while before Finch's letter to Lord Moira in 1808, as mentioned in that letter, and therefore perhaps may be dated as towards the end of 1807. A few extracts from this book will perhaps best indicate the intention—

Whoever reads this must bear well in mind that the subject of these animadversions have very little connection with Freemasonry; though of late years crept into many of our Lodges and pass under its name; and with strange infatuation in some of our members, retained with an apathy, that behoves the Grand Lodge to rouse up that it may be totally eradicated.

Fully a fifth part of our mystical science, as now taught in many Lodges, is such a system of jargon and falsehood, that it ought to be swept entirely from the stage of Masonry.

When men enter into our Society they generally place implicit confidence in our account of its history, and traditions, with other leading points; how great then is our culpability, if we knowingly persist, in what is notoriously wrong; and press that on the belief of others, which as reasonable creatures we cannot possibly believe ourselves; merely for the sake of a false and pretended antiquity.

Some say I am to pluck up the root of Masonry. No! I would almost pluck my own existence 'ere I would knowingly injure a Society which is the glory of the human race.

The book is a long dissection of the practice and teachings of Masonry of that day, interspersed with many acrid and sarcastic comments. There are many points traversed by Finch which in our system to-day have been the subjects of criticism and scepticism—e.g., The legend of St. John becoming Grand Master; The numbers 3, 5, 7, or more; The Middle Chamber as a pay room.

Finch expatiated upon several of the moral precepts of Masonry, declaiming against the failure of so many Masons to pay any regard to precepts. He advocated the revival in Lodges of the old lectures on Geometry, etc. He brought in a long and serious complaint against Grand Lodge for the ill-treatment he had received from the refusal to consider his Appeal. Several notes are in an appendix—and Finch stopped in the middle of a sentence, saying—

The remainder of this, and also the Remarks on the Third Degree are sealed up within; and not to be seen by any except they purchase.

It must be allowed that this was rather a tricky action.

In this latter part it is possible to detect some phrases which have come straight out of Noorthouck's *Constitutions* of 1784; also, the language and expression differ in such a manner as to give the impression that the substance of this part was taken from better educated writers.

On the whole, apart from the expostulation on personal grievances, the *Looking Glass* with its comments on the ritual might appropriately afford material for a lecture in any Lodge to-day.

MASONIC REPOSITORY.

This was advertised in the circular headed "Freemason's Arcanum", and described as—

an octave book, containing a full explanation of our mystical science, embellished with six dozen Hieroglyphical Engravings: Price 12s.; the whole forming a complete set.

The following is a copy of the Dedication of this book:—

Dedicated to GOD, The Grand Architect of the Universe—
Eternal, Incomprehensible, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and Almighty
Creator of all existing matter, Known and Unknown. Celestial and

Terrestrial. From the beginning of Geometrical Matter to the Line Extended. Through every Superfice and every Solid. Through Cycles and Epicycles, Orbs in Orbs. The first and last Supreme Grand Master of Freemasons, of every degree. Virtues Angels and Arch-angels, Dominions, Powers and Principalities. Cherubim, Seraphim and Thrones, To whom is all Power, Might, Majesty, and Dominion.—the Fragment of Fragments—This Atom of Matter—This CHAOS of Darkness—This Light of Light—PREPARED in Obscurity—REARED by the Fraternity—CONDUCTED by Time—BROUGHT FORTH in Space—TYLED by Prudence—OPENED with Temperance—ENTERED with Fortitude—OBLIGATED on Virtue—INVESTED with Honour—INTRUSTED to Mercy—PLACED with Justice—ADVANCED upon Truth—WORKED for Relief—and CLOSED with Love—For MOST that are Judges—SOME who would be Judges—and ALL who are not Judges—is with Gratitude, Humiliation and Devotion to HIM, who is the Searcher of all hearts, and knows all our Secrets as Masons and Mortals, and to whom it is no Secret, in declaring with the utmost Freedom, Fervency, and Zeal, the lowest and humblest of His creatures on this Orb of Earth, W.F.

It may be that the *Masonic Repository* was a re-hash of articles from the *Freemasons' Magazine*, with the plates.

THE FREEMASONS' MIRROR.

This was advertised in the circular issued in July, 1813, and the date of publication was given as December, 1812; it was described as with an Appendix and containing an explanation of various errors as generally practised in the Three Degrees of Craft Masonry. Elsewhere Finch spoke of the *Mirror of Masonry*; perhaps it may be taken that this was the same book.

Evidently the *Mirror* was not the same as the *Looking Glass*, as the latter was published in 1808 at a price of 5/6, while the former was priced at 10/. However, it may be that the *Mirror* was an enlarged edition of the *Looking Glass*.

THE FREEMASON'S ARCANUM.

An advertisement for this appeared at the end of the *Guide*; probably this book was published shortly before the *Guide* in 1808. It was advertised also at the end of Finch's letter to the Independent Members of Grand Lodge towards the end of 1808, in which it was described as—

an 8vo pamphlet with 80 pages with plates, 5/6
or 1 large elephant size plate, 12/-

In October, 1810, an advertisement included in the pamphlet—"3 large plates the largest 2 feet by 20 inches 12/-". No information was given as to the contents.

SANCTUM SANCTORUM AND BINARY ARCANA.

HIEROGLYPHICAL TABLES.

MANUSCRIPT MISCELLANIES.

These were mentioned incidentally in a pamphlet which was dated 14th August, 1815, but no other information is available regarding them.

MASONIC TELESCOPE.

HOLY AND ROYAL PORCH.

These were mentioned in the letter to H.R.H. the Prince Regent; but no more than the titles.

ROYAL ARCH

A. The earliest publication of any information on this degree was issued at the end of the 2nd edition of the *Craft Lectures* in 1802, and in the form of a catechism, not extensive.

B. Later, at the end of the *Elucidation on Masonic Plates*, printed by Theodore Page, but undated, was published

A Supplement to the Royal Arch Lectures.

This may refer to what had appeared with the *Craft Lectures*. It included a long dissertation, extensively copied from Wellins Calcott and from the *Freemasons' Magazine*, at the end of which, in a note, Finch referred to

that worthy Brother to whom I am indebted for the greatest part of this supplement,

but he did not name him. After this came a description of the Officers, the furniture and the clothing of the R. Arch.

C. A manuscript production comprising 26 foolscap sheets, of which the last sheet is three parts missing. This is marked "A.D. 1804", but it is a question whether this date refers only to the watermark of the paper which is "Fine Pott 1804".

This contains several sections—

1. The ceremony in the form of a catechism.
2. The special information restricted to the three chairs, which is introduced with the words—
I have reason to believe the following is in possession of few Masons and therefore beg you will do me the favour to communicate it but sparingly as I have found it hard to procure and dont wish to make it common, but I freely send it you as I wish to oblige you all that is in my power.
3. Royal Arch Song by Brother Dunckerley.
4. The Obligation in full.
5. Another R. Arch Ode.
6. A Prayer.
7. List of 63 Grand Masters from Adam to Prince Edwin.
8. The gold vessels returned to the Jews at the building of the 2nd Temple.
9. R.W.M. Tracing Board.
10. Legend of the Porphyry Stone and the insect Schamir (or Shermah).

With reference to the Schamir, Bro. Songhurst told us in *Miscellanea Latomorum* (vol. xii., page 141)

that it must not be taken that Finch was the inventor of the Legend, but only that it was included by him in a version of the R. Arch Ritual. It is not at present known in any Ritual of a date earlier than Finch.

D. In the advertisement, which quoted the 4th edition of the *Craft Lectures*, was mentioned—

Royal Arch Lectures with 12 plates.

The date of this would be towards the end of 1808.

E. A pamphlet, undated but printed by Finch himself, issued from 5 Charlotte Place, Lambeth, and therefore after the middle of 1809. This was divided into two parts—

1. History of the Order, giving at length the story of Enoch's dream and the legend of the Pillars, and mentioning Herod's Temple, the failure of Julian, and Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem.
2. *Lectures, Laws and Ceremonies of R. Arch Masonry*, which, in layout, is very similar to the MS. mentioned above, but much fuller. This part ends with the story of the travels of the foundation stone of the Temple, commencing from the time of Noah. It is curious to note that this tradition persisted in the Mark Degree of the Early Grand Scottish Rite in an extended form.

This history was also issued separately.

Bound in with this pamphlet were seven plates—

2 copied from de Lintot

1 of doubtful origin, perhaps French

4 copies taken from the series of five large plates of Finch.

- F. In the advertisement issued on 10th October, 1810, was mentioned—
 “The Holy and Sublime R. Arch Lectures with new plates”.

This may refer to the above (E.).

- G. In his circular of March, 1812, Finch stated—

I have just printed that branch of Royal Arch Masonry, called Enoch's and Solomon's Arch. . . . It is now printed with the other part of the R. Arch Lectures and sells with the plates, and large demy sheet of explanation to the plates.

- H. In his circular dated July, 1813, was an advertisement—

Holy Royal Arch with plates included with the Arch of En — h.
 Sol — n, Z, H, Z (*sic*), with Two Large Demy Synopses.

It is not clear whether these last two are separate editions.

There are other notices of Royal Arch Lectures, but they do not indicate anything fresh.

Claims of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons to that Title of Pre-eminence investigated; with the History of this Order from its Introduction into this Country by King Charles the Second, and its Revival by our zealous and indefatigable Brethren from France, COUSTOS, LINTOT, MOUNTON and FARQUHART.

Published 29th February, 1812.

This was contained in a letter addressed to Earl Moira, which began with a complaint against some members of the Grand Chapter, and an appeal to Lord Moira to stop the irregularities that were occurring. Finch mentioned the accusation that he had been expelled by Grand Lodge, and he denied it. He spoke of his undertaking to give personal instruction, which produced disapprobation from some but approval from many, and said he had received public votes of thanks from 47 Lodges, and thirteen jewels, with other testimonials. He gave a sketch of the History of Royal Arch Masons said to have been compiled from ancient documents—that King Charles II. during his exile had been made a Freemason in Paris—in both Craft and R. Arch—and was the first to introduce the latter into this country, but kept it very select and limited, so that it would take 12 years to be fully complete in the R.A. Degrees. The R. Arch was thus very little known till Coustos, Lintot, Mouton and Farquhart brought it from France in 1746. Owing to disagreements the full ceremonies were not made known to English Masons, and therefore Grand Chapter was not only irregular and self-created but also ignorant of the rite. Finch pointed out the inconsistency regarding the date of finding the scroll; and he mentioned

some incidents connected with the Grand Chapter which were not to their credit. He upheld the pretensions of the York Grand Lodge, who, he said, practised not only the three Craft Degrees, but also the six degrees of the Royal Arch. He asserted that one of the points of disagreement between Coustos and Grand Chapter was the usurpation of a prerogative which lay with every Master of a Lodge to "congregate the members of his Lodge into a Chapter upon any emergency or occurrence as well as to appoint the time and place of their forming". It was upon this pretext that he justified himself in his Independent Chapter of Universality. He affirmed that he had obtained possession of many of the papers of Coustos which would prove his contentions, and he proclaimed an offer to show these to any genuine enquirer, adding a challenge against Grand Chapter, which apparently was not taken up.

On first reading, this pamphlet perhaps appears longwinded and extravagant, but there are points that bear investigation.

Besides the Craft and R. Arch, 28 degrees were mentioned in Finch's circulars at the beginning of 1812, the one issued in March correcting that issued in January. The preamble to these circulars was concerned principally with the Royal Arch, asserting that—

The Royal Arch, as generally given, is most shockingly defective, for they not only introduce things that did not, nor could not, according to the natural course of things, have any existence for five hundred years afterwards! and on the other hand they omit many of the most material points. . . . In short, out of the eleven grand discoveries to be made, we have but two, and even those of the least moment and in themselves often very defective.

Of the 28 degrees a few words are said about each. It is not easy to comment on any, but it may be noted that only five or six of the 28 are now obsolete. For all of these Finch advertised publication of lectures; and in an addendum he gave a list showing in each case the parts of each ceremony published separately.

The Ancient and Genuine Method (in manuscript) to explain the 3 degrees of Craft Masonry, or the Master Mason's Synopsis.

This was advertised in October, 1810. The price was two guineas, which suggests that it was something extensive.

Manuscript Historical Elucidation of the real Secrets for Master Masons.

Advertised in January and March, 1812, and may have referred to the same item as the last.

The Ancient foreign Lectures.

This was advertised in the circular of July, 1813; but there is nothing to indicate the subject.

Masonic Index in thirteen triangular designs containing the 130 Grand Points in Masonry.

This was advertised in the circular headed *Freemason's Arcanum*. No information is available of the contents; but the price, being £1. 10. 0., seems to indicate that it must have been something elaborate.

All the passages in Scripture, eighty-one in number relative to the different Degrees.

Advertised in the same circular as the last, and priced at two guineas. In another advertisement it was said to be "explanatory of the 39 Degrees".

The Ancient and True Masonic Handwriting.

Advertised in the circular *Freemason's Arcanum*.

The Secret Masonic Manuscript Table and Alphabet for teaching Masons how to write, converse, and perform Arithmetic, etc. without the use of Letters or Figures.

This was advertised in October, 1810, and priced at 10s. 6d., which would indicate that it was more than a mere diagram.

Masonic Alphabetical Table.

Advertised in January and March, 1812.

Masonic Alphabet Square and Rosicrucian Table.

Advertised in July, 1813.

These last four items may have referred to the same thing, perhaps that which is known as the Masonic Cipher Alphabet.

History of the Centre Foundation Stone of Solomon's Temple.

This was in the advertisement of October, 1810, which adds—

tracing it from a remarkable period in the life of the great Patriarch N — down to the erection of the first Temple of Jerusalem. Its miraculous preservation, during the 70 years captivity of the Jews in Babylon.—Its being placed as the Centre Foundation Stone of the Second Temple, under the superintendence of the prince Z —, H — the prophet, and J — the high priest. Its further history, when Herod King of Judea erected the third Temple; and its wonderful and masonic consummation at that memorable period of time when Julian the apostate Emperor, impiously attempted the erection of a fourth Temple, etc. etc.

(This manuscript lets us into the Marrow of Masonry, especially the Master Masons Degree).

Ladies made Freemasons in Lodges acting under the Grand Lodge.

This is the title of a pamphlet printed on 14th August, 1815. The heading was perhaps intended as an introduction to certain questions proposed to be publicly put to high-placed officials regarding such alleged offences. These questions occupy only the second half of the pamphlet. The first half of the pamphlet is devoted to a diatribe against Grand Lodge in connection with Finch's publications.

Masonic Important Questions.

Published some time in 1815. In the Preface is stated—

The following queries are not in regular succession; five are submitted to Dr. Hemming, P.S. Grand Warden; four to Mr. White, Senr. Sec. to the Grand Lodge; three to Mr. Harper, Junr. Sec. to the Grand Lodge; and the other five to Bro. Playfair.

These were referred to in the publication headed *Ladies in Masonry*. All these questions bear upon malpractices and irregularities, principally connected with unlawful admission to Lodges. If any of the points mentioned had the least semblance of truth, the state of affairs in many Lodges must have been very bad, and the Grand Lodge authorities very remiss in control. For these irregularities Finch laid the blame upon innovations brought in by the New Union System.

The Origin of Freemasons, their Doctrine etc.

This was a translation from the French of Count D'L*****'s *History and Origin of Freemasonry, invented by Oliver Cromwell*.

The ceremony of Making Freemasons in the French Army.

This appeared in three parts—not dated, but I think it may be put down as in 1816. Finch did not say where he obtained the information given in this

book. He spoke of a Rite of six degrees, and described each degree fully. The first three degrees were nearly the same as in England, but "with more of Cromwell's system than other masons of modern times". He stated—

The fourth degree was instituted by Buonaparte when he first came into power. The fifth was coeval with the Legion of Honour. The sixth obtained birth in his prolific brain immediately after his abdication and retirement to Elba; and secretly propagated by his confidential Generals and other officers during the period of his abdication; the more readily to pave the way to the Grand Lodge of his ambition, his return to power, and diffusion of his tyrannical projects.

This sixth degree therefore could have been only very recent at that time. In a long comment at the end of the first part Finch related what he considered the failure of Louis XVI. in connection with Freemasonry. This is the only portion of all Finch's writings that Dr. Oliver applauds. With Louis XVI.'s action Finch compared that of the King of Prussia, who, he stated, introduced

a step into the Order, which before his time we had no account of, called the Phillipian Order of Masonry.

For a full description of this Order Finch refers to "S — Magazine of 1773". I have not been able to trace this reference.

A Satirical Poem, entitled The Resurrection of Solomon's Temple.

This was printed by Jacques; it was not dated, but was published when Finch was residing in Buckingham Row, and so the date would be about 1807 or 1808. Of the poem Finch said—

The following short Satirical poem is at the particular request of several Brothers here inserted. (*i.e.*, added to some lectures). It is much against my wish for it to appear in print; because I am conscious that I have no poetical blood flowing in my veins; I never yet could please myself in any poetical flight; therefore cannot expect to please others. . . . The Brethren will perceive that these verses do not allude to any part of our true system, but to that jargon and corruption in our Order, that every well-wisher to this excellent Institution ought to endeavour to expunge.

PERSONAL

THE APPEAL

The title of this was—

FACTS ARE STUBBORN THINGS
AN
APPEAL
TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE
GRAND LODGE
OF
The Ancient and Honourable Society
OF
FREEMASONS
Likewise to those
Who *are not* Masons

"Ah! ne'er so dire a thirst of Glory boast
Nor in the *Critic* let the Man be lost"
Pope

stronger justification still, by proving to you what I promised the R.W.G.M. I would do . . . how far many worthy Brs. have gone with their Books on Masonry which have been publicly sanctioned by the Grand Lodge.

He then gave instances from the *Constitutions*, Smith's *Use and Abuse of Masonry*, and mentioned Chamberlayne, Browne and others.

After the *Defence*, included in the same pamphlet, are several other items, though not strictly part of the Appeal.

1. Headed *Snake in the Grass*—the story, which has been referred to before, of one of his detractors attempting to make Finch break his word.
2. *Breach of Masonic Privilege*—an episode in October, 1806, at a Lodge of Instruction, when a quarrel arose regarding Finch's *Lectures* and his opponents tried to turn Finch out of the room, which action he resisted until told that police had been sent for. Another quarrel is described; and an attempt to make him withdraw his *Illustrations*. But this he refused—as, though his word regarding his *Lectures* had been passed and could not be recalled—he said—

I beg that no man will mistake my intentions relative to the Moral Illustrations on the 1st and 2nd degrees, they are already in print and have been for years, in the works of Preston, Hutchinson, Calcott, Smith and Scott, well-known and respectable Brs. and some of them officers of Grand Lodge.

Shall all these appear publicly in print, and I be intimidated by these secret assassins from writing moral Illustrations of a similar nature?

3. *Digression*—This seems a medley of extravaganza, of which the intention or connection is not clear. It runs to several pages, and one would think could hardly have been written without some definite purpose.
4. *Addenda*—This referred to the commencement of Finch's Masonic publications, when he had the authority of Dr. Perfect for his initial effort. It continued with another declamation against his aggressors and a further appeal for justice from Grand Lodge. He challenged all to say they ever heard him ask for favour; and said that, though he had withstood the brunt of a host of foes for six years, he had never during all that time retreated an inch or given up a single point that honour, truth or justice bid him defend.

LETTER TO EARL MOIRA.

This was written before the middle of 1808, and was printed and published for sale, probably quite soon after it had been written.

This letter was very verbose; and was intended to amplify the *M.S. Appeal*—the letter emphasizing the complaints therein put forward against the Committee of Charity. Finch expatiated at length on the charges against certain Brethren, which had been brought before the Committee, but most of which the Committee had declined to consider. He made a charge that the Committee was "packed" to his detriment; and he drew attention to the fact that a Committee constituted like the Committee of Charity could not be impartial, and was not competent to act as jury and judge. Finch asked Earl Moira for a Select Committee judiciously chosen; and he promised he could bring out very damaging evidence in support of his case. He said that he printed the circumstances of the matter only after having waited without result two years for the justice asked for.

Sold by H. D. Symonds, Paternoster Row, and at No. 3 Middle Row, opposite High Row Knightsbridge; and most of the principal Booksellers in Town.

one shilling and six pence

Printed by J. HAYES, Dartmouth Street Westminster

Finch issued two Appeals, one printed and one in manuscript, and he referred to them in that manner. They were different, and in his writings he expressly gave warning that these two Appeals should not be confused with each other. The manuscript Appeal can hardly be called a publication, though written for the purpose of being read in Grand Lodge. This *MS. Appeal* was in the form of a letter to the Grand Master in November, 1807, appealing against the action of the Committee of Charity in connection with charges Finch had made against five Brethren. It does not appear to have been reproduced.

The *Printed Appeal* was addressed to the Officers and Members of the Grand Lodge, and was printed a week after the Quarterly Communication in April, 1807.

The *Appeal* commenced—

I have five cogent reasons for making this general appeal - - -

For these reasons I think it behoves me for my own credit, to make as public as the Laws of Masonry will permit, the whole of the late charges, with my defence and decision therein.

Finch expatiated at length on the occurrences in Grand Lodge connected with the charges against himself, and on what happened before the Special Committee. He described how his opponents tried to "pack" Grand Lodge, and hoped that

all Masters and Wardens of regular Lodges are cautious how they dispose of their jewels for the purpose of enabling unqualified persons to gain admission at the next quarterly communication

as he accused his adversaries of borrowing jewels for improper use. He related episodes of disputes between himself and others at Lodge meetings; and dilated upon the value of his *Lectures* as education for young Masons, mentioning his production before the Special Committee of nearly 300 letters from most of the Lodges in the Kingdom to justify the general utility of his publications. He referred to the difficulties that Preston had had to contend with; and compared the treatment received by his own publication and by Smith's *Use and Abuse of Masonry*.

In vindicating his own work Finch said that he carefully differentiated between the true and genuine secrets of Masonry, and the material in the *Lectures*, the publication of which could not be considered reprehensible. He quoted the case of Preston's *Lectures* and said—

I consider Br. Preston's book as much above mine as mine is above the united malice of all my adversaries.

Yet nevertheless it has met with that kind of reception from the Brotherhood that I never expected, and they have erected a Pyramid for it. And the gratitude I owe my Br. Masons for this signal mark of their approbation shall never cool on this side of the grave.

The major part of the fraternity have . . . declared my books and writings to be good and fit to be published.

Finch analysed some of the questions and answers in the *Lectures* to show that they had no connection with Masonic secrets; and showed that he had not in any one instance divulged anything improperly. In contradistinction he added a

A LETTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

This was written early in 1815; and in it Finch recapitulated his complaint regarding the personal treatment he had received throughout his career, not only from Masons who had attacked him, but also from Grand Lodge. He related some of the irregularities he had personally witnessed, which he had endeavoured to correct. He strongly upheld the prior claims of the York Grand Lodge, asserting that it was still in existence, that the "Moderns" had seceded from York and that the "Ancients" had seceded from the "Moderns". And, maintaining that the Grand Lodge stood condemned by their own actions, after criticising the innovations recently introduced, he gave a long extract to show---

Part of the Secrets of our Order betrayed, by the Grand Lodge in one of their official publications.

I confess that this passage is obscure to me.

One passage in this letter is interesting as explaining Finch's point of view with regard to his publications—

Can it be supposed by any rational being that after having devoted twenty years in the pursuit of our arduous and intricate science, and twice received the public sanction of the Grand Lodge, in manner above stated, and the general approbation of the fraternity from all parts of the Kingdom; and after having sacrificed all other prospects in life, to promote the good of our Order, and also to promote my own interest, that I could afford, or would be willing, to relinquish the publishing thereof; to the profits of which, I now look forward for the support of myself and family; and if any man ever had a right to enjoy the fruits of his own labour, who has a greater claim to it than myself? after having spent twenty years of the prime of life, for the good of the fraternity, and brought on a dangerous complaint through excessive study and perseverance.

He spoke of his wife and five young children, out of thirteen, between the ages of two and fourteen, and suggested that they should be provided for if he were to relinquish his Masonic publications.

At the end of the letter was given a list of Independent Lodges which included Preston's "Lodge of Antiquity";—in this he was very much out of date. Finch stated that of the Lodges erased by Grand Lodge for not conforming to the Laws, 22 of the 26 Town Lodges, and 27 of the 31 Country Lodges had withdrawn from Grand Lodge and carried on independently; and he added—

For many years after this the standing toast in all these Independent Lodges was 'Prosperity to the 49 Independent Lodges'.

A LETTER ON MASONRY TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD ELLENBOROUGH, *touching the proceedings in a cause lately tried between F. Smith, Plaintiff and W. Finch Defendant. Wherein several of the excessive Hardships are exhibited; and humbly craving his Lordship's legal Interference for redress of grievances therein stated.*

This was published early in 1815, some two months after the trial. Finch related in detail the unfortunate *contretemps* with his attorney and the upset thus caused to the conduct of his case. He said—

Every one of the points on which it seems I lost the cause, my neglected evidence was prepared to have completely refuted and overturned.

He gave at length all the questions he would have asked in examination if he had been allowed opportunity,—and it is to be noted that W. Preston was to

have been one of his witnesses but was not called. Amongst the questions were some to refute the accusation that he had been expelled by Grand Lodge. To his disadvantage, perhaps, he laid more stress on his "right to make masons" than on the breach of contract. He ended with—

The reason I address your Lordship in this business, is to endeavour to procure, from your Lordship's humane interference, some redress; for it seems that I applied too late for a new trial.

INDEPENDENT VINDICATION.

This was printed in a pamphlet dated 17th February, 1815, and gave a full account of the proceedings of a Lodge of Emergency of Finch's Independent Lodge of Universality. In the same pamphlet were included the series of letters from Bro. Rev. I. J. Tufnell, to show that Finch received support in the Provinces; and here, too, were published Dr. Perfect's letters relating to Finch's first publications; also the episode connected with Dr. Hemming at Hampton Court.

NAKED TRUTH.

Beyond the mere title in one advertisement, no information about this has been obtainable.

NON-MASONIC.

About the majority of Finch's non-Masonic writings nothing is known beyond the titles, which he himself mentioned in his advertisements. They are many and are listed below.

His earliest was a *Directory of Kent*, a copy of which I was by good luck able to see in the Beane Institute in Canterbury. The title page is as follows:—

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE COUNTY OF KENT

collected from the celebrated works of
Camden, Harris, Seymour, Philipot, Hasted, &c.
with a

D I R E C T O R Y (contents) (Royal Arms)

—
IN TWO PARTS
—

Dedicated to the Right Hon. Lord SONDES

—
EMBELLISHED WITH SEVERAL CURIOUS ENGRAVINGS
—

by W. FINCH
—

PART FIRST

London; Printed by Wake, Cow Lane, Snow Hill, for the Editor
No 50 Lambeth Marsh; and sold by Symonds Paternoster-Row,
Lockington and Co. Finsbury Square, and by most of the
Booksellers in the County of Kent.

Price only One Shilling and Six pence.

1803

The dedication is dated—London 10th Dec., 1802—

Part I. describes places with initial letters “A” to “R”. At the end of the first part is a list of places mentioned, and the contents are described as “a brief account of the Remarkable occurrences which have happened at the following places since the invasion of Julius Cæsar”. Immediately after the list of contents is bound in the book a plate—which was an early edition of No. 3 of the series of five large plates mentioned in the Masonic writings. To each of seven of the triangles with designs is given a note connecting the picture with some event mentioned in the text—e.g., The Ascension, The Apostles going to the four quarters of the Globe to preach.

Part II. gives places with initial letter “S”; and lists of stage coaches etc., Bankers in London, Directory of inhabitants in various places in Kent. It is curious to note that the only reference to a Finch in Canterbury is “Finch J. cornfactor’.

The information is carried on in Part III. which ends with a chronology.

A MACHINE FOR EFFECTUALLY PREVENTING HOUSES AND EVERY OTHER BUILDING, WHETHER INHABITED, OR UNINHABITED, FROM BEING ROBBED, ALTHOUGH BROKEN INTO FOR THAT PURPOSE.

A PRINTING LETTER PRESS.

These two inventions were described in Finch’s Letter to the Liberal and Independent Members of the Grand Lodge, issued perhaps in 1808.

The following were mentioned in advertisements, but of them nothing is ascertainable beyond the titles.

PYTHAGOREAN ARITHMETIC.

CONQUEST OF FRANCE.

ENGLAND AND WALES DELINEATED.

PLAN FOR RAISING 28,000,000 YEARLY WITHOUT OPPRESSING ANY CLASS.

PLAN FOR REDUCING THE POOR’S RATE FROM 7 SHILLINGS IN THE POUND TO 7 FARTHING.

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

PLAN FOR PAYING OFF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

AN ORRERY, WITH 10 CIRCULARS.

AN ASTRONOMICAL DIAL.

CIRCULAR TABLE OF DISTANCES AND BEARINGS 504 MILES IN CIRCUMFERENCE, THE METROPOLIS BEING THE CENTRE.

ECLIPSES OF THE SUN AND MOON.

THE BLAZING COMET OR POLITICAL INDEX.

FINCH’S CODES.

In the preface to his first production Finch particularly mentioned that

the various vacuums that frequently occur throughout the book, render the far greater part unintelligible to all but Masons;

and that the prying eye will not be

able to discover the least *iota* of what is intended should never be improperly and illegally known.

It is obvious that, to accomplish this purpose, a code was necessary; and with the code, a key. The use of a code was certainly no novelty in documents not intended for the general public. But, instead of credit being given for a laudable intention, Finch’s detractors appear to have considered the use of a code to be a matter for blame. Oliver’s censure on this point is scathing; but he seems to have laid it upon only those of whom he did not approve; for, while no mention is made of Preston using a code in his *Syllabus*, to Oliver—

Browne is a "noisy and troublesome fellow", who "executed and published his trumpery" in "unintelligible gibberish"; and Finch's production is an "uncouth and barbarous pamphlet".

Finch used at least six different methods of coding—

1. Reversion of the alphabet, z being used instead of a. This was sometimes varied by the introduction or suppression of j & v.
2. Substitution of letters by starting in the middle of the alphabet.
3. Writing words backwards.
4. Placing the 2nd letter of a word last and then taking the letters alternately backwards and forwards.
5. Variations in the Masonic alphabet, using one, two, or three dots in the squares.
6. Use of figures to represent words, a repeated figure signifying the plural.

Bro. H. C. Levander gave an explanation (see *Freemasons' Magazine and Masonic Mirror* for 1859, page 490) for 1, 4, and 6, which has been quoted in Kenning's *Encyclopedia*. Also, in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, volume xii., pages 43 and 44, are given examples of some deciphering. In many places Finch used two or more keys the more securely to obscure the text. It is not clear whether the extra difficulty, thereby involved, was so exasperating as to cause some persons to cast aspersions on him; but this key within a key, or variations in keys, was used as a stick to beat him.

It may be considered that Finch's methods were unnecessarily and provokingly elaborate, but that is not to his discredit.

PLATES.

Finch spoke of Plates in several places, but it is not easy to identify them all.

On the title page of the first edition of his first publication nothing is mentioned regarding plates; but on the title page of the second edition is mentioned "this and two other plates". In copies now available sometimes one plate, sometimes two, sometimes no plates are to be found. Two of these plates, however, form part of the series spoken of by Finch as "the five large square plates", and are two of the three plates referred to in the *Elucidation*.

The explanation of these "five large square plates" is given in a broadsheet. At the bottom of three of these five are notes mentioning dates in 1810. The broadsheet may therefore be of about that date. In October, 1810, Finch advertised "Five new Hieroglyphical Plates", and it seems probable that these were what he elsewhere called the "Five large square Plates".

In some of the copies of the several plates, respectively, there are fewer emblems; these copies may be of an earlier date. These plates were issued in different sizes.

Plate I was designed by Finch, but the engraver is not mentioned. It was used for a certificate for the Royal Arch.

Plate II was used for a Craft certificate; and therefore it may be assumed was designed by Finch.

Plate III was designed by Finch, engraved by K. Skinner, and photo-litho'd by Bro. B. L. Spackman. It was explained in lectures and keys published in May, 1810.

Plate IV was designed by Finch, engraved by H. Wilson, and photo-litho'd by Bro. B. L. Spackman. It was explained in lectures and extra keys published in May, 1810.

Plate V has no note regarding designing or engraving, but was explained in lectures and extra keys published in July, 1810.

I think that these plates must have gone through a process of elaboration, and perhaps some were first brought out at a date earlier than 1810. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the plates were sometimes numbered differently.

In a copy of *Lectures, Laws and Ceremonies of the Royal Arch* are bound seven plates—four are copies from the series of “five large plates”, two are copied from de Lintot, and of one the origin is not clear.

Of the plates explained in the *Elucidation* the 2nd and 3rd have been mentioned as forming part of the series of “five large plates”. The 1st I have not seen as a plate, but by means of the explanation it can be identified as the design used for the large apron, a photograph of which is exhibited. It is quite different from any of the “five large plates”.

Reference to plates are made in the advertisements of several publications, viz. :—

Fourth edition of Lectures — 14 plates — about June, 1808
and also—

Craft Lectures	-	15 plates
R. Arch Lectures	-	12 plates
K.T. Lectures	-	12 plates
P.M., Ex., & S.Ex. Lectures	- -	12 plates
—about middle of 1809		

What all these plates were it is difficult to say; but it is open to conjecture whether they were not reproductions of the plates, many of them symbolic, which had been published in the *Freemason's Magazine*, and which Finch had purchased. They may have been portions of the five large plates relating to particular points in the lectures.

In addition to his own publications and those of other Masonic writers, Finch advertised the sale of “Certificates and Summons”, and also all kinds of Masonic regalia and furniture for Lodges, Chapters and Encampments.

As regards certificates, mention has been made that Plate No. I of the series of five was used for the Royal Arch and Plate No. II for the Craft.

The three Craft certificates on view all refer to the Godolphin Lodge, No. 295, St. Mary's, Scilly Isles. One is shown in the large photograph, and dated 1813, one in the small photograph, and dated 1816, while the third is original and dated 1819. To this last is attached a seal of red wax on white ribbon, and it is curious to note that the impression is that which was used by the Grand Lodge “Moderns” before 1813. The use of this seal seems irregular, but nowhere is there a record of remonstrance or complaint by Grand Lodge or any one else.

The late Bro. Wonnacott noted also a certificate of Lodge of True Friendship No. 210, Rochford, Essex, dated 1812.

It may be that these Lodges merely used Finch's design for their private Lodge certificates; but this does indicate that Finch's circle for “Masonic trade” was extensive.

The Royal Arch certificate was illustrated in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiii., page 213. It was designed by Finch as “Z”, dated 17th April, 1813, and issued from his Chapter of Universality.

APRONS.

Of Aprons, five varieties can be noted—

1. The large No. I plate mentioned in the *Elucidation*.

The apron is of white kid—24 inches by 18½ inches—bound with crimson silk, ¾ inch wide on the front of the apron; with strings

of kid; ornamented with copper-line engravings printed in black on the kid.

2. White kid— $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches—with light blue edging 2 inches wide, and light blue silk ties; no flap; the apron is ornamented with an early pattern of Plate No. III (only 9 diagrams) of the series of five, and the diagrams are coloured.
3. Described in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., page 1—

“A white leather apron with flap, and edged with white silk, having an impression of an engraving of the so-called Seal of Solomon or Shield of David, the triangles of the dividing lines being filled with small pictures.”

The design is an early pattern of Plate No. III; the date suggested was 1812, but I am inclined to put it a few years earlier.

4. Royal Arch Apron—leather—28 inches by 18 inches—bound with 2 inch straw-coloured satin ribbon; plain triangular flap; leather strings; body of apron printed with early pattern of Plate No. III, not coloured.

Designed by W. Finch, engraved by H. Wilson.

5. Royal Arch Apron—white leather— $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 16 inches—bound with four rows of silk, purple, white, red, black; lined with purple silk; leather strings; plain triangular flap; printed with early pattern of Plate No. III.

Designed by W. Finch, engraved by H. Wilson.

This apron was exhibited at Q.C. Lodge meeting in June, 1893.

Bro. W. Hammond, in *Masonic Emblems and Jewels*, pages 71, 72, described an apron which he said

is probably a “Finch” apron,

but he did not give any reason for this opinion. However, the description is so very different from anything in any of Finch's designs that I have a strong doubt about the correctness of such an allocation.

JEWELS.

Four of these have been illustrated in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiii., page 213; and two in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxvi., page 4.

There is another item which deserves mention—A Masonic Jug, which was illustrated in *A.Q.C.*, vol. vii., page 50, where it was stated that—

The jug is most interesting, as the diagrams on each side prove it to be a “Finch” jug, *i.e.* designed in accordance with the spurious freemasonry of the notorious Finch. We are not aware of the existence of an other specimen.

The jug is described as the property of Lodge St. George, No. 200 (S.C.), Bermuda, labelled—“Masonic Pitcher obtained in Sicily during the Peninsular War”.

I am not convinced that Finch had anything to do with this bric-à-brac. The diagrams are similar to some of those on Finch's plates, but this does not prove that Finch had the jug made. The diagrams may be copies taken from Finch plates, or from the original source of those plates. Moreover, there is the design of a jug, exactly similar in shape and diagrams, marked

J. Jerman del^t

Exeter 1883

Jug belonging to

No. 39

H. W. Madeley

The reputation that has been generally attributed to William Finch has been derived from the conclusions of various writers, all of whom without exception have taken the same view, which has been detrimental to Finch. This was inevitable because the statements of all of them have been merely copied from earlier writers without any further investigation. It seems that the great majority of Finch's works and many incidents in his life have not been analysed or even taken into consideration.

The first publication to mention Finch was Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, but this mention was contained in less than a page, first appearing in the 13th edition, 1821, and giving only a bare statement of facts in connection with the trial, *Smith v. Finch*. It is to be noted that in this statement there is a discrepancy in respect of the sum of money claimed by Finch. In Preston's *Illustrations* the sum was stated to be £16. 9. 6.—Finch said the sum was £19. 18. 0. I cannot tell where the former figures were obtained, but they have been copied without any question, just as has been the mention of the case. This is an indication that no notice has been taken of any other account, and that Finch's own story has not been given any credence or even consideration.

Richard Carlile was the next to mention Finch; and his remarks are to be found in many places in the course of his diatribes against Masonry. Carlile was very self-opinionated, his self-assertion was over-weening; and of course in no way can his opinion on Masonic matters be taken as worth anything; but it is interesting to note what he had to say about Finch's Masonic activities.

In the *Republican*, volume xi., No. 24, while he was collecting material for his intended "exposure", Carlile spoke of "Brother Finch's 'pick pocket' rubbish".

In the *Republican*, volume xii., page 204, Carlile described how he became, through Finch, interested in Masonic matters. He said—

I recollect that, in the year 1814 or 1815, a shower of rain once drove me for shelter on a Sunday, under the portal or steps of Finch's house, the sides of which were pasted all over with Masonic advertisements.

and—

It was Finch who laid the foundation of this, my Exposure of Masonry, and I may add my instruction of Masons. He was the first individual to collect all the documents which he could collect concerning Masonry for the press. But he has done it in the most obscure manner, making keys necessary to every document that he printed as really descriptive of Masonry.

To Carlile this method would, of course, not appeal; but unwittingly he gave credit to Finch. He added—

This printing, on the part of Finch, gave great offence to the leading men of the Grand Lodge in London, for he began to spoil their trade, instruct Masons at home, and to form Lodges by his own knowledge and authority. They denounced him though they were afraid of him.

It is not possible to say how far off the mark were these words of Carlile. Again—

To Finch I trace my means of exposure; for had he never published and set up a sort of Masonic manufacture the improvements of Mr. Wright and Dr. Hemming had probably not been made, and Masonry had remained unknown but to Masons.

At page 124 of the *Republican*, volume xii., Carlile ridiculed Finch's work—

Bro. Finch the tailor's rubbish is scarcely worth notice. He was evidently a trickster to make all the new orders he could, to find out what never before existed, and to make as much money of Masonry as possible.

As one reads Carlile's comments on Finch, it becomes evident that he contradicted himself frequently. The above is an instance—for at page 198 Carlile gave the names of a number of degrees, the particulars of each of which he claimed to know, and talked of "the multitudinous degrees of Masonry". Moreover, at page 215 he printed "Finch's Catechism for the Degree of Architect"; at page 228, "Finch's Catechism for the degree of Grand Architect"; and in several other places not only commented on Finch's work, but also quoted Finch's views. It does not seem that "Bro. Finch the tailor's rubbish" was scarcely worth notice.

At page 166 of vol. xii. of the *Republican*—

Finch the Masonic Tailor, published a book attributed to a French Count to show that Cromwell was the institutor of Freemasonry, as it has since existed in England; and, by the publication of something called French Masonry, as practised in the French Army under Napoleon Buonaparte, he infers that Cromwell and Buonaparte owed all their military and political success to this adoption of Masonry. I have never seen any historical evidence elsewhere to corroborate the one or the other case and I hold Brother Finch to be a very bad authority.

Here is another instance of contradiction, for on page 485 Carlile said—

A French writer has asserted that Cromwell instituted an association of Masons for his aggrandisement.

On page 399—

I have all that Finch ever published upon this degree (Royal Arch) and more, much more. He says that it was introduced into this country by Charles the Second, and that, for near a century, it was confined to the aristocracy, and refused to tradesmen; until three Frenchmen came over to this country to sell it to whosoever would buy it.

Here Carlile twisted Finch's words.

This set up a new class of Royal Arch Masons, and there has been a sectarianism in this degree from that day to this. Finch was long the leader of the rebels; but, if I may judge from his printed letters and from one which I have in MS. I should think he died of vexation, in finding the Grand Lodge too powerful for him.

In contradiction, on page 485—

Finch roundly asserts, and there is a probability, that Charles the Second added, or introduced into the country, the Royal Arch Degree as a degree for the Aristocracy.

Not only did Carlile here again contradict himself, but also, whether Finch's arguments were right or wrong, Carlile gave the statements a "probability" of corroboration. On page 274, in the middle of a "Brief description of the Degree of Superexcellent Mason", Carlile put in parenthesis—

Finch says—here an explanation of the signs in this degree are next given, but I cannot even glance at them without danger of exposing what I dare not commit to paper, but Brothers that belong to this degree cannot be at a loss to know what part of scripture to refer to for a full and beautiful explanation.

At page 275 Carlile described a degree under the heading—

A description of the degree of nine elected knights, called by Finch
Sublime Knights Elected.

And at page 309 he stated—

The two degrees last described are parts or beginnings of the
Royal Arch Degree.

In these last three quotations we have instances showing that unwittingly Carlile gave Finch credit for knowledge of degrees not of his own invention, and also credit for discretion in not communicating secrets improperly. In the last quotation Carlile's words support Finch's contention regarding the several steps originally in the Royal Arch series.

At page 201 Carlile assumed the right to sneer at Finch's interpretation of "T.H." in the Royal Arch—an interpretation which, by the way, is nowadays approved; but Carlile's argument is quite inconsequential. Incidentally, Bro. H. Sadler in *Thomas Dunckerley* (1891), page 270, mentioned a corroboration of Finch's interpretation, taken from a letter written by Dunckerley in 1792. As 1792 was before the time of Finch's active work in Masonry, it may be that he was influenced by Dunckerley.

At page 311 Carlile considered Finch's prices to be preposterous—

The Degrees which I have printed . . . and much less incorrect (*sic*) than mine, were sold by Finch at the average price of a guinea! . . . To have bought a copy of each degree and its accompaniments that Finch had to sell, or to be initiated by him through all the degrees would have cost near a hundred pounds!

In this Carlile seems to bring himself under the condemnation he placed on Finch with regard to manufacturing degrees.

But it is not easy to understand Carlile's attitude, for on page 204 he gave Finch a testimonial—

Finch knew as much of modern Masonry as any man that has lived; he studied it deeply for many years, collected all the writings and printings which he could collect upon the subject.

With reference to the legal case—*Smith v. Finch*—Carlile said very little, summing up with—

He had the same legal authority as Grand Lodge, or any other Lodge, and that is none.

Carlile's antipathy to Masons and anything Masonic, his self-complacency, and continual self-contradiction do not suggest that his evidence is worth much consideration.

Dr. G. Oliver mentioned Finch many times, more than anyone else; he spoke of him frequently in his various books, and some times at length. And judging by their quotations, most of the expressions of later writers were merely echoes of Dr. Oliver's views. It is not easy to understand the predilections and dislikes of Dr. Oliver, but it is clear that he had an aversion for Finch, though his views on similar sorts of action on the part of some others appear

to be prejudiced in their favour. In his *Symbol of Glory* (page 19) he said that Dunckerley revised and remodelled the Lectures and introduced into them many references to the Christian religion. And later (page 20)—

Hutchinson in the North and Preston in the South of England burst on the Masonic world like two brilliant suns . . . and each engaged in the meritorious design of improving the existing Lectures.

This course of Lectures (*i.e.* Prestonian) was in practice till the re-union in 1813, and I believe there are still many Lodges who prefer them to the Hemming or Union Lectures, and still continue their use.

In *Revelations of a Square*, Oliver gave a long and enthusiastic account of how Preston remodelled the Lectures and introduced the Test Questions. In this same book Dunckerley comes in for praise (*vide* page 129)—

Bro. Dunckerley did not content himself with the usual commonplace demonstrations contained in the Lodge Lectures but . . . boldly launched forth . . . in the hope of discovering regions hitherto unexplored where he might . . . detect the germ of new and interesting sources of knowledge.

(page 133)—

He frequently visited the "Ancient" Mason's Lodges for the purpose of ascertaining what was the actual difference between the two systems . . . and he culled its flowers, and transplanted them into constitutional Masonry.

It is to be noticed in passing that Oliver insinuates disobedience on the part of Dunckerley, but does not lay any blame for it. He accuses Hemming of having removed any references to religion; hence his disapproval of him. Improvement by way of introducing exalted sentiments into the Lectures evidently found favour with Oliver, but when Finch endeavoured to improve by resuscitating what he thought, erroneously or not, was once in the Lectures, and by combatting some far-fetched ideas, these efforts were anathema to Oliver. According to Oliver—*Revelations of a Square*, page 190—

Preston . . . to increase the knowledge he had gained, solicited the company and conversation of the most experienced Masons from foreign countries; and in the course of a literary correspondence with the fraternity at home and abroad, made such progress in the mysteries of the Art, as to become very useful in the connections he had formed.

But of Finch he wrote—*Revelations of a Square*, page 294—

By some means or other, known only to himself, he had become pretty well versed in the continental fables, and by amalgamating them with English Masonry, he succeeded in exciting a prurient curiosity amongst the more inexperienced Brethren.

In the middle of a long animadversion upon Finch's career, Oliver censured him for "giving private instruction in Maonry for a consideration"; but he omitted to make mention anywhere of the pamphlet issued by Preston in 1774, entitled *Private lectures on Masonry*, offering to instruct Brethren on the payment of one guinea for each Degree.

Instances were given by Oliver of irregularities in the matter of admission of strangers into the Lodge, even when Dunckerley was present. This same sort of thing was the subject of strong complaint by Finch in more than one place in his writings, particularly in his letter, of 1815, to the Prince Regent; but for Finch there was no commendation from Oliver.

In *Revelations of a Square*, page 134, Oliver said—

Bro. Dunckerley found amongst the “Ancient” Masons a French work;

and Oliver quoted from it sentences which are word for word the same as to be found in Finch’s *Origin of Freemasonry*, the source of which Finch declared to be a French book, the contents of which he disclaimed. But Oliver gave no credit to Finch, stigmatising all his works as catch-penny productions. Oliver spoke sneeringly of Finch’s use of a code. In *Remains of the Early Masonic Writers—Discourses*, page 19, he alluded to Finch’s first publication as an “uncouth and barbarous looking pamphlet”. In *Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry*, page 11, footnote, his words, however, show the value of using a code, though no praise was allowed to Finch for the reason for its use; and he omitted to mention anywhere that Preston’s *Syllabus—Lectures on the three Degrees* was in code.

In *Revelations of a Square*, pages 293, 301, Oliver wrote disparagingly of Finch’s career, and said particularly that Finch was “expelled from the Order by the Grand Lodge”. For this statement I have failed to find any corroboration; and, as I have tried to show earlier, there is doubt whether it was true. Oliver said also—

the fellow opened a surreptitious Lodge in accordance with a false principle which he publicly avowed in his circulars.

These words seem contradictory. In another place—*Origin of the English Royal Arch*—Oliver gave in some detail the story of what he called the secession of the “Ancients”; but apparently he failed to notice that he was describing exactly what was said and done by Finch who modelled his action upon this precedent.

As regards publications, to Oliver all Finch’s publications were labelled “catch-penny productions” without any attempt at suggesting possible intrinsic value. Oliver classed as an imposition Browne’s *Master Key*; and included in one category Pritchard (*sic*), Lambert (presumably de Lintot), Professor Robison, Finch, Carlile, Claret. It is interesting here to quote Claret’s words in reply to Oliver, as they would have been appropriate for use by Finch—Claret, referring to Oliver, said—

. . . again he says . . . ‘The detached pieces published by Claret are I believe merely a trade speculation, they are very expensive, and of very little value’ . . .

But the assertion ‘Trade Speculation’ comes with rather a bad grace from Dr. Oliver. What are the whole of his Masonic works but Trade Speculations?

and Claret impugned the accuracy of Oliver’s *Historical Landmarks*.

After all the invective poured out by Oliver upon Finch, it is perhaps pleasant to turn to some passages where Oliver’s words, presumably unwittingly, show Finch in a better light. In *Historical Landmarks*, page 21, footnote—

The notorious Finch, in one of his catchpennies, has a very judicious observation—‘Had the unfortunate Louis XVI, instead of suppressing Lodges, denouncing societies of Freemasons, and bastiling such as persevered in their religious and moral ceremonies—given them every encouragement and protection, by not only countenancing them, but by becoming himself a member of that august and respectable body, and nobly patronizing the Royal Craft, as our own most gracious sovereign and his progeny have done, he and his wretched family would undoubtedly have escaped all the horrors into which they were

inhumanly and barbarously plunged, and atheism, rapine, and murder would not have been the most prominent features in his once civilized, polite, and religious kingdom. With us, thank Providence! the case is quite different; the heir-apparent, our late, and H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, our present Grand Master, presides in England over that illustrious Order—an Order which comprehends the most dutiful and loyal subjects his father, or any other monarch, ever had the honour of reigning over’.

Is this praise to Finch for political sagacity?

Historical Landmarks, page 140, footnote—

Finch tells us that our appropriation of the three lights is incorrect, and that they ought to be placed in the E, N, and W. He says that the reason for placing them in the E, S. and W is not universal, which the other situation is, and that it dates its origin, in a Masonic sense, from the building of the Temple, and in a natural sense, it is co-eval with the creation. The E, N, and S were the only places of entrance to the Temple, and the W, having no door or entrance, the sun could never dart its rays into that quarter; therefore the Jews could never make the sun an object of worship when they were in the Temple, because they always prayed with their faces towards the West, which was the dark part of the Temple.

This displays some power of analysis on the part of Finch.

In *Origin of the English Royal Arch*, page 24—

It was asserted by Finch, and some other Masonic charlatans, that the Master Mason’s Word was never lost! And, although, when this public announcement was made, it was considered merely as an ingenious fiction to attract attention to their productions; yet there is circumstantial evidence which may induce us to suspend our opinions on the truth or falsehood of the assertion.

Is not Oliver begging the question? Do not some, even to-day, still assert that the word has never been lost?

There are some other extracts from *Revelations of a Square* which are worthy of notice. At page 380 Oliver gave a description, supposed to be narrated by his own father, of a legend regarding the “Pillars of the Porch”, which was included in the teaching of an “Ancient” Lodge in Leicester. This legend was given fully by Finch as an addendum to his *New Set of Lectures* in January, 1814. At page 327 Oliver said—

In the Lectures used by the Athol Masons in the last Century I find this illustration of Virtue.

The description that follows was, with only a few slight differences, given by Finch in his *Illustrations*.

In Oliver’s *Lecture on Rituals* (1863) he spoke of—

A beautiful illustration which was used half a century ago and ought not to have been omitted in the modern ritual, because it does actually include the whole ceremony of initiation. It runs thus—

and he referred to the twelve original and perfect points in Masonry in use in the “Ancient” Lectures, and gave several questions and answers. The whole of this was given by Finch in his pamphlet entitled *Prestonian and Ancient York Lectures*. Oliver added—

The explanation of these twelve points of entrance, which formed the creed of our ancient Brethren many years ago, is much

more extensive . . . If I were duly authorised to revise the Ritual, I should certainly restore much of the passage,

This is an example indicating that Finch compiled his Lectures from material he had obtained by research. Was not Oliver's unreserved condemnation of Finch undeserved? One wonders whether Oliver had read or given consideration to all of Finch's publications before incontinently condemning him; or whether his antagonism was caused by Finch's refusal meekly to acquiesce in what appeared to him to be irregularities. It is certainly not easy to understand why Oliver was so virulent against Finch.

In Mackey's *Encyclopedia* the article on Finch gives information evidently copied from Oliver; but there are also errors which need not have been perpetuated—one as regards the date of Finch's first publication, another in respect of the date of his death. Mackey says that Finch was expelled by Grand Lodge "for some misconduct". If this was such a well-known incident, why did Mackey fail to give more definite information?

Kenning's *Encyclopedia* follows suit, adding that "Finch's system was founded on a wonderful cipher"—which sounds meaningless—and a description of the cipher is given. In this *Encyclopedia* under "Philippian Order" is stated—

An imaginary creation of the Charlatan Finch

Mention has been made earlier of a book which Finch endeavoured to sell on behalf of J. Ballard Mackenzie, entitled *Oriental Antiquities*, translated from the French of Monsieur D.E.M.D. The book was printed in Philadelphia in 1788. The name of the author was Monsieur de M. D'Ohsson, who was Secretary to the King of Sweden, and formerly his Interpreter and Chargé D'Affaires at the Court of Constantinople; and amongst the Orders, of which the author claimed to be a member, is the Phillipine Order. In the *Freemason* of 10th May, 1888, appeared a description of an Irish certificate which belonged to a Bro. John Toulson. It is headed—

We the Archbishop etc. etc. of the Royal Congregation of
Phillipi Knights of Death and the grave, under the Sanction of
Lodge No. 176;

and it describes the recipient as having been

Installed Emperor of the Royal Order of Phillipi, Death and the
Grave and 24th August, 1832.

There are eight other signatures appended, and the Degree was stated to have been conferred "at Corfu in the Royal Cathedral". It was in Corfu that Bro. John Toulson took several other degrees.

In *Miscellanea Latomorum*, volume iv., page 55, Bro. W. B. Hextall told us that Oliver mentioned this Order in *Historical Landmarks* (1846) as of Prussian origin; and, in the *Freemason's Magazine* of 12th May, 1860, the Editor wrote that the rite was practised under Frederick the Great. Mackenzie in his *Encyclopedia* calls the Degree—Order of Phillipi or Knight of Patmos.

It is not quite certain whether the "Phillipian Order" is the same as the "Order of Phillipi", but these references seem to indicate that it is. That being so, this degree formed part of the Early Grand Scottish Rite; and is to-day (though not worked) one of the Appendant Degrees of the Order of R.A.K.T.P.

It will be seen that Oliver corroborates Finch's statement regarding the Order; and in any case it seems clear that this Order existed before Finch became a Mason. So the accusation in Kenning's *Encyclopedia* falls to the ground.

The information given in Mackenzie's *Royal Encyclopedia* is of the same character, but goes a step further in saying definitely that 1816 was the year of Finch's death.

H. Sadler, in *Notes on the Ceremony of Installation*, page 48, wrote of the ceremony—

It is either a foreign importation or a concoction of the Masonic charlatan Finch.

Is it not now recognised that the ceremony was practised in "Ancient" Lodges during at least the latter half of the eighteenth century? The opinion of the late Bro. Hextall (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii., page 70) was that the full opening and closing of the Board of Installed Masters were used in the demonstration before the Lodge of Promulgation; he said—

it is beyond controversy that the forms referred to have been immemorially practised in English provinces far distant from each other.

So much for Sadler's accusation!

W. J. Hughan mentioned Finch in a few instances, principally in his pamphlet *Records of the Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love*, 1895. In this he spoke of Finch as having been expelled by Grand Lodge, but this was not justified, for at the time of the occasion Hughan was referring to, Finch was a recognised member of at least one Lodge—St. Peter's, No. 249. In the same pamphlet Hughan made a short remark, without any explanation of the degree mentioned, thus—

The reference to the 'Red Cross' in the minutes of the Lodge held 29th January, 1810, possibly refers to one of Finch's concoctions, as he dabbled in all manner of Degrees and ceremonies.

Hughan apparently failed to see the implication in his words—for, if this had been one of Finch's concoctions, to practise it would show that Finch was held in esteem. However, the "Red Cross" was one of the 25 Degrees, mentioned by Finch, which agree with the list in the old Cornish ritual, mentioned earlier, and which was conferred on John Knight in 1777, before Finch's time. It is rather surprising that this evidence was not known to Hughan, a Cornish Mason.

In Dr. Chetwode Crawley's *Legal Episodes in the History of Freemasonry*, 1899, is a long tirade which might almost be termed vitriolic, against Finch's character, containing sarcasm and invective hardly to be expected in a history. Dr. Crawley was very severe in his condemnation and distinctly unfair in some of his denunciations. He said that Finch carried on his traffic from 1795 to 1815—but we know that Finch's first publication was in 1801; and, in saying that Finch "would not stoop to pay his debts", he was generalising from a special case. Incidentally Dr. Crawley gave Finch's writings a ready reception in America; and stated that Richard Carlile "fell back on Finch's stuff which he swallowed as of unimpeachable validity". It will be remembered what was Carlile's opinion as given by himself in the *Republican*; and Dr. Crawley's diatribe seems to fall rather flat.

The notice on Finch in Hawkins' *Encyclopedia* is a copy from Mackey; and Hawkins repeats also the insinuation regarding the Phillipine Order.

There are some others who have written more recently, but their efforts contain nothing original and have been no more than a *réchauffé* of some extracts from Oliver and Mackey.

To come to a due appreciation of the subject it is necessary to keep in mind the mental atmosphere of the time, to take into consideration the prevailing influences, and also the bitter controversies that were raging at that period. With the "Moderns", whether on account of the dilatoriness of the officials, so often mentioned by individual Lodges, whether resulting from ritual disagreements, whether in consequence of the satire of the "Ancients", the state of affairs towards the end of the eighteenth century was not such as to command general accord. The episode in the Ben Jonson's Head Lodge was not yet old, the quarrel in Antiquity Lodge and Preston's Grand Lodge were of recent date; and the need, as some thought, for a clarification and fixation of the ritual is shown by the preface to Preston's *Illustrations*. Such incidents must have caused a dissatisfied feeling in anyone desirous of a stabilised exposition. His reason for publishing the Lectures was expressed by Finch thus—

I take this public method, that every Brother may read and judge for himself, and put an end to that selfish and narrow minded system of some Masters of Lodges who try every unfair method to keep the young and inexperienced Masons in the dark, that they may perpetually figure away in their office, as R.W.M. etc. etc.

Noting Preston's explanation of his own venture, the underlying intention seems the same with both Preston and Finch. A desire of this nature would certainly instigate enquiry into antecedents; while, on the other hand, such an enquiry would be sure to rouse prejudiced antagonism with a charge of "innovation", as did occur both with Preston and with Finch. Even Oliver (*A Mirror for the Johannite Masons*, 1848, page 7) allowed that

The prejudices against making the philosophy of Masonry a subject of open discussion, ran at one time very high, and operated with effect upon a large proportion of the fraternity.

To attempt to subdue a dogmatical position by storm is to attempt the impossible; and this, generally speaking, is where Finch failed. As models for his line of action Finch seemed to look upon the "Ancients", Preston, Dermott, etc., as patterns; and, while he adopted opinions derived from them, it is apparent that he went further than any of them in investigating other branches of Masonic activity. Mingled with the obsession that he had a mission to "clean up" Masonry was what seems a strain of modesty. In the *Freemasons' Looking Glass* he said—

The door of Masonry being opened so wide, soon let in men of inferior ability, and situation in life; else I should not have been one.

He obviously was not equipped either educationally or financially for the task he set himself. He failed to see that fighting against and threatening the authorities was only "kicking against the pricks"; and want of moderation in his retorts upon his adversaries only increased bitter feelings, preventing any chance of clearing the air. It must be admitted that he was lacking in full appreciation of relative values, for his insistence upon what he considered his rights produced quarrels which placed him in a very undignified position. He did not know when to stop in his diatribes against opponents; and yet he appears not to have been alone in his fight against his detractors. He was advised by some of his friends that a prosecution for slander and a conspiracy to injure his character and deprive him of his livelihood seemed to be the only effectual remedy. But he hesitated to resort to law, even though some thought that this disinclination made it seem that he was deserving of what was said and done against him. It is a question whether tactful discretion would not have prevented the printing for sale the *Appeal* and other papers such as the

letters to Lord Moira, even though Finch felt that he wanted to make his case known to the public as widely as possible.

In his work Finch was careless and untidy—in some cases he used the backs of old printed forms for his circulars; some of his publications were bound with circular letters cut about to form covers; advertisements were inserted indiscriminately in the middle of the text of a publication. Clerical errors were frequent, and the compositor-work was often slipshod.

In his zealous enthusiasm, when launched on a theme, he would let himself go without restraint, and many of his arguments were small points to which he held pertinaciously, the *pros* and *cons* of which were perhaps not always properly weighed. Devotion to his work appeared to have obscured all other considerations, but nevertheless it must be conceded that his intentions seemed genuine. Judging by the quotations given in many places he evidently was an admirer of Pope; and the works of Preston, Calcott, Hutchinson, Smith were not only often extolled by him, but also frequently laid under contribution, particularly those of Preston and Calcott. Preston he described as "one of the most active, zealous, independent, and honourable Masons belonging to the fraternity". It may be added that if Preston spoke of Finch as Oliver asserted, it is not likely that Finch would have looked upon him so admiringly.

Not only was Finch a voluminous writer, but his diverse publications show that he was also an omnivorous reader. The extent of his library indicates that he bought many books, and the labels inserted in such books declared that they were bought "for the purpose of obtaining information, and making discoveries on some particular degree or degrees; and on Masonry in general". The labels further stated that he annotated these books in order to enhance their value. In a preface to one issue of his *New Union Lectures* Finch said—

Every Brother must be well convinced of the great difficulty, prodigious expense and excessive loss of time in procuring any essential information upon Masonry, and the more especially the traditional, the hieroglyphical and historical parts. It may appear strange to those who are not Masons, but to the Fraternity it will not, in being told that many months may pass away in arduous pursuit of Masonic knowledge without procuring enough of sterling matter to fill up a dozen lines of a common page.

Those who have indulged in any research work will fully appreciate that last sentence. Do not those words ring true? Is it not only fair to give Finch credit for genuine research work rather than label him offhand as an inventor?

It is apparent that he sought for information on all the systems that had been, and then were, worked; and, though re-wording and re-arrangement were very probably involved in linking together diverse points, obloquy can hardly be attached for an attempt to embody in one the best from each. The result of such study and research was compilation, not invention.

Moreover, as he openly proclaimed all his intentions and actions, the epithet "imposter" can hardly be justified.

The appellation used mostly in description of Finch is "charlatan". He certainly did advertise his publications freely and frequently; but in none of those advertisements did he display any prating boasting of his wares. If constant advertising merits such a term, any and every advertiser would fall into the same category. As regards his pretensions to possession of knowledge, it yet remains to be proved that they were unwarranted.

While assenting to stigmatizing Finch as a man of difficult temperament, pig-headed and short-sighted, committing foolish actions under harsh treatment, and misguided in his enthusiasm, I do not go so far as his detractors.

I do not hold a brief for Finch, and I do not pretend to set up a defence for him or endeavour to exonerate him. But I have attempted to show that

those who have condemned him did so without knowledge of all the evidence; and perhaps I have been able to collate more than has hitherto been brought together in connection with his story.

It is very greatly to be regretted that, of the extensive library Finch must have accumulated, not more than a very small portion has come down to us, and still more to be regretted that we are not acquainted with evidence regarding the sources from which he obtained his information.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Rickard on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W., comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, J. H. Lepper, W. W. Covey-Crump, D. Knoop, S. J. Fenton, W. I. Grantham, B. Ivanoff, Lewis Edwards, G. Y. Johnson, F. R. Radice, H. H. Hallett, G. W. Bullamore, S. Pope, S. N. Smith, and R. J. Meekren.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

It is with great pleasure that I propose a vote of thanks for a paper of more than usual interest as regards both subject and treatment.

We have indeed been brought up to regard William Finch as one of the arch-impostors of Freemasonry; and to make us see one whom we had regarded as an unwhitewashed Cagliostro as a kind of Martin Luther braving the thunders of authority in defence of the right of private judgment and of full and free investigation is to challenge us to a revision of our pre-conceived views. To admit that Finch made money out of his Masonic writings and lectures is not fatally to disparage his case, both because that had been done before and still more because, it is respectfully submitted, the essential fact of charlatanism (and still more certainly of imposture) is not the taking of money, but the conscious and deliberate dissemination of falsehood; and from that I think it obvious that Bro. Rickard's paper, the more so from its frankness and moderation, shows Finch's life and teachings to have been free. Moreover, the character of its hero has given to the paper a psychological and literary unity such as we are far too rarely able to find.

I think it must be considered significant that throughout the series of quarrels with Grand Lodge that body refrained from decreeing the supreme Masonic penalty, nor is there any evidence to show that the failure to expel Finch was due either to inadvertence or to his having powerful protectors—indeed, in his way he was *Athanasius contra mundum*. His attitude raises many interesting questions of Masonic jurisdiction which might form the subject of an academic disquisition. One would like to know whether further research could discover any other report of the case of *Smith v. Finch* than the obviously *ex parte* version given in the posthumously published 13th edition of Preston's *Illustrations*, edited by Jones. It was unfortunate for Finch that apparently the only evidence by a third party given regarding Masonic ritual and customs was that of the Officers of the body with which he was in conflict.

Questions concerning the development of our ritual constantly obtrude themselves on my mind whenever I hear papers read which in any way lend themselves to these suggestions, and I do not think mine is an uncommon experience, because the subject is so interesting a one and because so little is known—and perhaps can be known—regarding it. Nevertheless, one would be grateful for any facts or suggestions which would enable us to compare and contrast the rituals in vogue at the beginning of the nineteenth century with those of Finch and Claret.

In spite of the defects of his general education, it must be recognised that Finch had some claims to Masonic scholarship. I cannot think that his Masonic books were either unread or unused, or that his parade of so many degrees—even if their number frequently varied—was just an empty show.

A special word of thanks is due to Bro. Rickard for the collection of exhibits he has assembled, of which I have found the album of advertisements, photographs of jewels and other miscellanea, the most interesting. One rather wonders with regard to the jewels whether production did not largely exceed demand, or if this was not so, whether production and demand were not symptomatic of a greater popularity than we might be led to expect. As regards the variability of the number of plates accompanying the *Elucidation*, I am inclined to think that that may be due, at any rate in fact, to the large and unwieldy character of one of them.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

It is comparatively seldom that the members of this Lodge have listened to a paper from the pen of our worthy Secretary, but on each occasion that we have been accorded that pleasure Bro. Rickard has placed the Lodge under a deep debt of gratitude. The very rarity of those occasions increases the pleasure with which I now second this vote of thanks.

Bro. Rickard's paper is noteworthy in more than one respect. This paper must be one of the longest contributions ever communicated to the Lodge at a single session. Its very length has rendered it difficult to digest in the limited time at our disposal before to-day's meeting. But the paper is also noteworthy for another feature—the entire absence of footnotes—a feature which, if I may say so, renders the paper all the more readable. It was obviously impracticable for Bro. Rickard to quote in full every source from which he has drawn his information; but in the absence of footnotes I would implore Bro. Rickard to consider adding to this paper for publication in our *Transactions* a bibliographical note indicating where the sources of his information may be found, for the benefit of those who may later desire to read the whole of the printed or written matter of which Bro. Rickard has quoted only a part. For example, it would be an advantage to students to know whether Finch's *Manuscript Appeal* and his thirteen page letter to Lord Ellenborough are to be found in the Grand Lodge Library, in our own Lodge Library, or elsewhere in public or in private ownership.

Bro. Rickard has selected as the subject of his study a masonic character of considerable interest, to whom insufficient attention has been devoted in the past. Our Secretary enquires at the outset whether the terms "charlatan" and "impostor" may with fairness be applied to William Finch. Setting aside any preconceived views which he may have formed from the writings of others, Bro. Rickard, with painstaking thoroughness, has proceeded to examine all available evidence and has laid before us an unbiassed summary of the material which he has found. Our Secretary has specifically disclaimed holding any brief for William Finch, but like an experienced advocate, pleading for a client whose character is not above reproach, has dwelt upon the many mitigating features to be found in Finch's career.

William Finch was certainly a man of difficult temperament; but I, for one, after listening to Bro. Rickard's masterly review of the evidence, am not prepared to subscribe to the two libellous epithets, "charlatan" and "impostor", which have been applied to William Finch by certain earlier writers. Not having had an opportunity of studying any of Finch's publications, I am, however, left speculating whether Finch did not in fact persistently violate his masonic obligations by disclosing masonic secrets. Perhaps Bro. Rickard, who has had access to most, if not all, of Finch's publications, will be able to enlighten us

upon this point. The impression I have gained from certain passages in this paper is that William Finch sold printed matter containing masonic ceremonies with the secret modes of recognition set out in full in code or otherwise. It is to be observed that the advertisement which appeared in *The Kentish Gazette* in May, 1809, mentioned Finch's *Freemasons' Lectures* as containing "every kind of information on the 25 degrees that *cannot* be committed to writing", whereas the undated, but presumably later, newspaper cutting in the Broadley Collection alluded to those same Lectures as containing "every kind of information on the 25 degrees that *can* be committed to writing". Is there here a misprint, or is a change of heart to be detected on the part of William Finch due to a realisation that he had in fact published matter in breach of his masonic obligations? If the publication in our *Transactions* of Bro. Rickard's reply to this question will involve Bro. Rickard himself in a possible violation of his own masonic obligations, I would invite him in his capacity as Editor of those *Transactions* to make free use of the editorial blue pencil when dealing with this part of the Senior Warden's observations upon this paper.

As a South Saxon I am naturally much interested to learn that Finch composed a charge which he himself delivered at the constitution of a Royal Arch Chapter in Sussex in about the year 1810. This presumably was the Lennox Chapter, which was formed at Brighton in July, 1811, for the benefit of members of the Royal Clarence Lodge. One of the three Principals who officiated at the constitution of this Chapter was the Reverend Joliffe Tufnell, who may well be identical with the Bro. I. J. Tufnell mentioned in this paper as having received much coaching in ritual at the hands of William Finch in the previous year.

Those Brethren who are aware that the Senior Warden's uniform conceals a barrister's wig and gown may perhaps expect me to comment upon the litigation between William Finch and the Bro. Thomas (or S.) Smith referred to in this paper. The details of this case furnished by Bro. Rickard are too meagre to enable any judgment to be pronounced; but we have been told enough to realise that in the action of *Smith v. Finch* the Defendant may well have suffered an injustice. In the light of the further information now made available to students by our Secretary it may perhaps be said that the time has arrived when the case of *Smith v. Finch* might with advantage be reviewed afresh by a brother possessed of legal qualifications.

With these somewhat inconclusive observations, and with a word of praise for the skilful manner in which Bro. Rickard has abridged his paper for communication to the Lodge to-day, I cordially second the vote of thanks which has been proposed from the chair.

BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

Our Secretary has favoured us with an interesting paper on William Finch, the proofs of which I have read with great pleasure. I am not quite sure that the attempt to whitewash the man, hitherto regarded as a charlatan and an imposter, has altogether succeeded. An acid test would be whether or not Finch did actually ever hand over any of the profits of his various ventures to benevolent purposes, Masonic or otherwise. Perhaps Bro. Rickard would like to clear up this point.

I am all the more interested in the subject as some years ago I had transferred to my keeping a few plates, broadsheets, a MS., and prints issued by Finch. My perusal of these hardly inspired me with any high regard for the man.

Still it is well not to be too harsh in our judgments, and Bro. Rickard has taught us a lesson on that point.

One feature of the paper now before us is that the author has not undergirded his essay with a single note. In that respect it is unusual for a *Q.C.* production and is somewhat refreshing.

I am sorry not to be able to attend to hear the paper read, but I should like my name to be associated with the vote of thanks which I know will be accorded to the author.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER *writes*:—

This magnificent piece of research work, for which all of us have to thank Bro. Rickard, has not only increased our Masonic knowledge, but also, as is usual with the best work of this kind, gives us indications of various by-paths still awaiting exploration.

The essay has dealt faithfully and impartially with a person of some note in his own day and, as Bro. Rickard has demonstrated, still worth our attention, whatever verdict we may pass upon those activities of his that have been the subject of so much animadversion for well over a century.

In my remarks I shall have nothing to add to the argument about Finch's motives in publishing his books on Freemasonry; but all the same it is essential that we should get a fairly clear idea of the Masonic background of the period, a period from which emerged the demand for such information as Finch was prepared to supply, a demand that made his undertaking profitable.

Between 1809, with the establishment of the Lodge of Promulgation, which was intended to guide the Modern Lodges in their return to the traditional working of 1730, and 1816, when the Lodge of Reconciliation ended its meetings, which were intended to fix for good and all the forms of Freemasonry in England, members of the Craft, even the most indifferent by nature to the minutæ of words and ceremonies, were having the subject of ritual thrust upon their attention.

There is plenty of evidence that Lodges all over the country, having learnt that change was afoot, were writing to London inquiring about alterations in the ritual. (Cf., *History of Lodge of Probity, Halifax*, by Bro. T. Hanson, for important letters on the subject from P. Broadfoot.) Any Brother who asserted he knew what was what did not lack the possibility of an audience, nor was William Finch an exception. As we have heard, he did not confine his instruction to Craft matters alone, and enlarged his emporium to cater for those Brethren who were desirous of obtaining additional Degrees.

Without entering into any argument about whether he was qualified or not to give instruction in such Degrees, I shall content myself with pointing out a source from which he might have drawn and probably did draw information about them. That source was to be found in the Military Lodges. We know for a fact that in his tailoring days Finch was in close touch with the army, and the itinerant Warrants for long before and long after his time were accustomed to confer additional Degrees not only on their own members but on visiting Masons as well. Indeed, I venture to say that no Mason living in any garrison district could have failed to hear of many Degrees outside those of the Craft, even if their names, and nothing but their names, were the beginning and end of the knowledge so acquired, though a more intimate knowledge would certainly not have been withheld from any respectable Brother who had the curiosity to seek it.

A few extracts from the Minutes of a famous Dublin Lodge (First Volunteer Lodge No. 620, warranted 1783 and still flourishing) will exactly illustrate the practices in vogue in those days.

23rd February, 1786—"Resolved that an Inv(it)ation be sent to Maj^r Kingsmill and the Rest of the Brethren of his Lodge 13th Regiment with an offer of Raising them to the Higher Degrees".

(Lodge No. 637 I.C. was held in the 13th Regt. 1784-1818.)

On the 1st June, 1786, the minutes give some information about furniture required for one of these Higher Degrees, when the thanks of the Lodge were given to a Brother for a gift of "A Silver Square and Compass for the Bible and A Triangle for thirteen lights."

Other entries give us the names of the Degrees and the strict sequence in which they were conferred.

1st November, 1790—"Lodge opened in due form a Master Masons Lodge When Br Heatly having attended passed the Chair the Lodge Called up to an Excellent Lodge when Br Heatly passed that Degree after which Lodge Called up to Super excell^t Lodge when Br Heatly was raised to that Degree after wch a Royal Chapter was opened and Br Heatly Royally Descended and Ascended the Arch after which a Sublime Council was Summoned and Brother Heatly was admitted to the Sublime Degree of High Kt Templar Along with Br Martini of Lodge No. 15, having attended was also initiated into that Degree."

While the Royal Arch and Knight Templar Degrees were the most popular, many others were also practised.

On the 24th January, 1793, while the Lodge was working in the Second Degree, a letter of resignation was read from a member, whereupon: "Res'd that sd Resignation be Recd. on the Condition (that When the order of prince Masons Belonging to this Lodge do call on him for any unsettled Matters of that Degree he shall be Amenable to their Call.)"

(Prince Mason is the name given to the Rose Croix Degree of Ireland.)

I submit that the foregoing extracts show a state of custom which would enable an inquiring Brother to obtain any of the additional Degrees then known in any Lodge which practised them.

Far from being confined to the metropolitan area, these additional Degrees were known to Lodges in the most remote districts in Ireland. This fact in itself suggests that the Degrees in question had been known in the body of Freemasonry for a longer period than we have written evidence to support; but my only purpose at this time is to put some facts on record without basing any argument on them.

My next extracts are taken from the Minutes of Royal Larne Lodge, No. 615 I.C., warranted in 1783 for Larne, Co. Antrim, and still current.

25th July, 1803, the Minute Book gives the names of 41 members who at various times had become Excellent and Super-Excellent Masons.

On the 20th December, 1810, an "Encampment was opened on emergency", when three Brethren received the Degrees of Knight of Malta, Ark, Mark, Link and Chain, Knight of Patmos, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, Red Cross, Prussian Order, Mediterranean Pass, and Mother Word of Masonry. Be it noted in passing that this same strange sequence of Degrees was conferred several times in Lodge No. 615 at widely separated intervals.

27th November, 1815, four Brethren "Received the Degree, the Sublime Degree of Master Architects, from Brother Bleackly of No. 508."

Lodge No. 508 I.C. (1773-1847) met at Dromore, Co. Down, a considerable distance from Larne. This is an excellent example of a visiting Brother prepared to confer a new Degree in a strange Lodge.

Though these instances are taken from Irish records, the same thing took place, of course, in the English Lodges. Take this minute of Lodge of Antiquity No. 2, dated 17th June, 1740:—

"The following members of this Lodge were this evening made Scotch Master Masons by Bro^r Humphry's of the Mourning Bush Aldersgte"

(Nine names follow, including those of the W.M. and S.W.)

This somewhat lengthy perambulation will be forgiven me if it has helped to establish the certainty that Finch might have heard of and obtained many additional Degrees and was under no necessity to invent them before putting them up for sale.

Even if we can find nothing better to say about Finch, it cannot be denied that he was a seeker after more light in Freemasonry, and that he was prepared to share any light that he might have obtained with those who sat in darkness. Undoubtedly he held the opinion that the labourer was worthy of his hire; but that was no unusual opinion to hold in those days. It seemed all right to Hemming and the Lodge of Harmony who were quite prepared to pay a generous fee for his attendance on one occasion, and no doubt he obliged other Lodges as well, varying the fee according to circumstances.

Some other Masonic instructors of the period were not so modest in their demands. Writing to the Grand Master of Ireland in 1819, John Fowler, then D.G.M., mentions the matter of a certain Bro. d'Orbernay, who had come with high Masonic recommendations from France, and had Degrees to dispose of, at a price. The letter runs: "We would certainly have taken advantage of his full powers to have received through him such orders as we are not yet practised in Ireland (*sic*) . . . but the terms he required, namely a hundred guineas for the charitable fund in France and a hundred more for the Charity in Ireland, were such as to the majority of the Brethren already possessed of the highest orders here appeared to be far beyond what they were inclined to accede to; the negotiations therefore fell to the ground."

Note here that it is not the fee's being demanded but its steepness which causes consternation in Bro. Fowler.

We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that if he had confined his Masonic activities to personal instruction, Finch need have feared no attacks on his reputation by posterity, always supposing that posterity had heard of his name, a matter of some doubt; his real offence, of course, was that he tried to introduce what might be described as "correspondence courses", and this innovation caused the worthiness of the labourer and his right to any hire to be brought to the bar of contemporary Masonic opinion, and the verdict given then has smirched his name from that day to this.

Finch's real importance, it seems to me, consisted in his helping to disseminate Masonic Degrees, many of which we still practise, not without pleasure and edification.

As a historian of the Order he does not call for serious consideration. However, the same thing can with justice be said of one, and not the least, among his critics, the great Doctor Oliver himself. I, for one, cast no stone at him for not being able to weigh evidence and sift myth from fact.

"On peut être honnête homme et faire mal des vers."

Coming to other details of the essay, I should like to indicate another point of view for Dunckerley's resignation of his offices in Grand Chapter in 1795. His letter containing this decision was written in September, within a few weeks of his death, which took place on the 19th November. My suggestion is that when this truly great Mason found his end approaching he felt it a duty to vacate his Masonic offices so that active successors might be chosen with as little delay as possible. His care for and love to the Order were manifested to the very end, and when in early November he was too weak to write personally, he was careful to have forwarded to Grand Lodge a statement of accounts and the balance of all Masonic funds in his hands. Everything indicates that his resignation from Grand Chapter was solely on account of illness, and we do not need to assume any disagreement with a body he had helped to found and make flourishing.

I am strongly tempted to expatiate here on "Brother Dunckerley's system" as it was practised at Bath and elsewhere, but that subject will be better reserved for another day.

In regard to the Order of Phillipi, I refer the curious to a certificate issued in February, 1810, to William Bishop by Lodge No. 413, Bandon (*vide A.Q.C.*, ix, 11-13), stating that he has received the following Degrees:—Knight of Malta and of the Priesthood Order, Ark, Mark, Link, Mediterranean Pass, Prussian Blue, Jordan Pass, Red Cross, Knight of St. Paul, Order of Death, Knight of the Sepulchre, Knight of Jerusalem, Knight of Patmos, and Emperor of the Phillipian Order.

The date here would seem to absolve Finch from any claim to have invented the Degree.

Finch's "Independent Lodge" seems to have had an ephemeral existence, and that is the best thing that can be said about it. The indications are that personal pique against Grand Lodge led to its establishment, and the whole incident does not enhance my opinion of Finch's character. No doubt he thought that he had been badly treated, and perhaps he was; but to bear an injustice without undue complaint may sometimes bring a man more honour than pertinacity in counter-attack.

As to the date of Finch's death, Bro. Rickard has quoted a Minute of Blandford Lodge, dated 29th December, 1817, to show that a letter from him had been recently received. Was this communication an autograph or only a circular? His widow might well have continued to send out the latter type of missive to Lodges after her husband's death. Of course, the entry is *prima facie* evidence that he was still alive at this date; but the alternative explanation is possible and should be taken into consideration.

Finally, Bro. Rickard deserves our hearty thanks for the compilation of the Finch Bibliography. This in itself is a mighty piece of research work.

I should like to add my mite of congratulation and gratitude to our Brother for the work he has done so well.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

Whatever be our personal opinions concerning William Finch, we shall all unite in a cordial vote of thanks to W. Bro. Rickard for compiling an exhaustive record of his activities. So long as names such as Prichard, Cagliostro, Carlile and Finch are regarded with animadversion by most Freemasons, *Audi alteram partem* is a wise maxim for members of the Quatuor Coronati; and it is well that each case should be dispassionately reviewed. Bros. Ivanoff and Lafontaine (in *A.Q.C.*, xl) and Bro. Fenton (in *A.Q.C.*, xlix) have put forward extenuations respectively of Cagliostro and Carlile; and now to complete the trilogy Finch's defence has found a gallant champion in Bro. Rickard—thus fulfilling a suggestion put forth by Bro. Hextall in 1917.

But, though we admire the masterly skill displayed in the execution of his work, I am dubious whether it will prove convincing. Bro. Rickard has introduced many controversial points—calling in question not only the impartiality of the Grand Lodge authorities in Finch's time, but also the verdict of Bros. Hugan, Chetwode Crawley, Sadler (and may I add Oliver?) and other experts—a procedure bound to evoke criticism; and I know by experience that such criticism will be rapier-like in keenness, though not from me.

After all, the gist of the indictment is that Finch misused Freemasonry for mercenary purposes—which was then regarded as a Masonic offence, even as it still is to-day. And that it was justifiable cannot be denied. Those of us who (like Bro. Rickard) have legitimately acquired a genuine knowledge of many extraneous Degrees well know that any claim that Finch ever did acquire (or could have acquired) such knowledge is preposterous. He evinced no

intellectual precocity, or even that "infinite capacity for taking pains" which forms a good substitute; his eighteen months' acquaintance with the Craft in Canterbury, and an almost equally brief period at Woolwich before being ostracised, furnished no opportunity for such knowledge; whilst Masonic *scripta* (even of an "exposure" kind) was far scarcer then than it is to-day. His own assertions, where they can be checked, are again and again so careless or inaccurate as to preclude reliability. His codes, likewise, are pretentious. Take for example the title-page of his *Masonic Key* (pub. by Bristow, 1801), where his substitution of "Zqjisgstn" and "Wxstxjin" for Astronomy and Geometry was absolutely purposeless unless to induce enquirers to purchase a key to a supposed Masonic mystery. The catch-penny addendum—"Please to observe that every book has here . . . ty Qxzf and Oiwjxg Qvwgzjpix" (*alias* my Seal and Written Signature) is a similar meaningless mystification except for a mercenary purpose.

As for Finch's alleged "right" (which Bro. Rickard seems to maintain) of Masons to hold Lodge Meetings in their own houses independently of any Grand Lodge authority, surely when a Lodge applies for a charter from a body claiming exclusive jurisdiction any right to independence (if it ever existed) is surrendered. Preston's claim was on a different basis, for his Lodge worked under a T.I. constitution.

The vociferation of opprobrious epithets such as "impostor", "charlatan" and "peddling quack" can be left to street-urchins; and the diatribes of Carlile against Finch leave an impression that both were unscrupulous—if one was more venomous the other was more venal. Therefore, though I express a doubt whether Finch deserves half the labour bestowed on his defence by our esteemed Brother, that must not detract from my appreciation and approbation of the latter's effort, and I gladly join in our thanks to him.

Bro. D. KNOOP writes:—

I should like cordially to support the hearty vote of thanks which I feel sure will be accorded to Bro. Rickard for his first-hand examination of the facts concerning William Finch. His investigations clearly point to Finch being a much more deserving person than stated or implied by most masonic writers. The commonly accepted view of Finch appears to rest at second-, or third-, or fourth-hand upon the Rev. Dr. Geo. Oliver, who was unquestionably very unreliable and fanciful as a masonic historian and, to judge by Bro. Rickard's paper, not to be depended upon as a recorder of contemporary events. As Finch and his writings fall outside the period in which I am especially interested, I am not able to offer much detailed comment, but there are two points to which I should like to draw attention. Bro. Rickard has apparently overlooked the fact that Preston died in 1818, whereas the 13th edition of his *Illustrations of Masoury* [not *Freemasonry* as stated in the rough proof], the first to refer to Finch, was not published until 1821, edited (according to Mackey) with additions by Stephen Janes, who was presumably responsible for the reference to the trial, *Smith v. Finch*. Thus Preston may personally have been well disposed towards Finch and prepared to give evidence in his favour at the trial, as Finch stated was the case. Later editions of Preston's *Illustrations* were edited with additions by Oliver, so that there was no likelihood of Finch's actions being placed in a more favourable light. Regarding the sources which Finch used, the reference in the 13th edition of his *Craft Lectures* to a book in the Bodleian Library, in which there is a legend concerning Adam's body being placed on Noah's Ark, was almost certainly taken from page 30 of the *Briscoe* pamphlet of 1724. The Arabic Catena quoted in that pamphlet has not been traced in the Bodleian, so far as I am aware.

Bro. S. J. FENTON said:—

We are greatly indebted to Bro. Rickard for his enlightening paper on this Masonic character, who, I am sure, to the majority of Masonic students, has been considered as a charlatan, but Bro. Rickard has endeavoured to whitewash Finch, and has done his utmost to make him not quite so black as he has previously been painted by Masonic historians. Nevertheless, in my opinion, Finch was a charlatan, in the fact that he did make money out of the public by charging fees for making so-called Masons, in many so-called degrees.

The paper has been of great personal interest to me, because in my paper on "Richard Carlile and his Masonic Writings," *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlix, I recorded that Carlile definitely states that "It was Finch who laid the foundations of my exposure of Freemasonry". The difference between these two men is the fact that Finch had been initiated into Freemasonry and undoubtedly did not keep his obligations, whereas Carlile never was a Freemason. On the other hand, Finch pretended by his cryptic writings and private lodge, not to divulge the secrets in a public manner, and it remains a great mystery why he was not expelled by Grand Lodge, yet we find the Earl Moira stated that "Finch was eligible to enter any Lodge, for the Grand Lodge had not found anything in his Lectures that merited expulsion".

That he made a "trade" of Freemasonry he boasts, but we must also acknowledge that he made a study of it and undoubtedly collected a considerable quantity of books and manuscripts on the subject. We must not forget that in his day there were no printed rituals as we know them to-day, and he points out the lack of "proper instruction in Lodges and the incapacity of those who pretend to instruct". Bro. Rickard comments that such a state is even to-day a subject for consideration. So we have evidently not made a great advancement in the distribution of Masonic knowledge in 140 years, yet the outstanding feature of *A Masonic Treatise*, published in 1802, is that the wording of the Lectures is practically the same as in use to-day.

Perhaps Carlile, despite the fact that he acknowledges he was following the footsteps of Finch, was jealous of the lasting impression he had made among Masons, and particularly the easy way by which he made money out of them. Carlile says Finch charged ten guineas a day for instructing a Lodge and single Masons he would pass through the degrees at the rate of a guinea, sometimes a guinea and a half or two guineas a degree, and that Finch's boast was that he administered Freemasonry at a much cheaper rate than could be bought in a regular Lodge. But Finch was at the height of his career about 1800-1814, whereas Carlile did nothing in the Masonic world before 1825, and I am inclined to agree with Bro. Rickard that Carlile was very self-opinionated and his statements regarding Finch were for the most part only heresay, the boast of a man who was supplying the information in *The Republican* at 6d. per week, and his customers would tell him the awful prices Finch charged for instruction of the same kind. But what happened ten to fifteen years previous is liable to exaggeration.

As the result of a careful study of Bro. Rickard's invaluable contribution to our *Transactions*, I must acknowledge that I have had to take a fresh look at Finch. I have re-read his *Treatise*, and, in studying the extracts of the many other works which Bro. Rickard has put before us, appreciate the fact that Finch was at heart a sound Freemason. He saw the faults of the Ritual and I think sums the matter up in the following:—

When men enter into our Society they generally place implicit confidence in our account of its History and traditions and other leading points; how great then is our culpability, if we knowingly persist, in what is notoriously wrong; and press that on the belief of others, which as reasonable creatures we cannot possibly believe ourselves, merely for the sake of a false and pretended antiquity

Some say I am to pluck up the roots of Masonry. No! I would almost pluck my own existence ere I would knowingly injure a Society which is the glory of the human race.

A man who could make such a statement was at least honest in his belief, but his fault lies in the fact that he definitely made a **TRADE** of Freemasonry.

In closing these remarks, may I add one more? I believe that Bro. Rickard's paper is the first for many years which has been presented to this Lodge without a single footnote, which is an example I will endeavour to follow, should I ever give another paper

BRO. B. IVANOFF said:—

I looked forward to reading Bro. Rickard's paper anxiously. As he says in the very first sentence of it, William Finch is generally described as a Masonic charlatan, sometimes as an impostor. A few years ago I wrote for this Lodge a paper about another Masonic charlatan and impostor, the famous Cagliostro, who tried to introduce into Europe the High Egyptian Masonry, persuaded his followers that he was the earthly representative and servant of Elias the Prophet and of a mysterious powerful Spirit, the Great Kophta, and professed to be an alchemist, astrologist, healer and magician. I am interested in the teachings and activities of persons of that kind, not only because famous charlatans and impostors are usually gifted students of mysticism and outstanding phenomenons in the history of Civilisation, but particularly because the very fact that they succeeded in acquiring a large number of admirers and followers on one hand and of adversaries on the other shows that not everything was satisfactory in the regular Masonry of their time, that it did not give all that was rightly or wrongly expected from Masonry, and that, therefore, there was a strong seething spirit among its more intellectual and mystically inclined members. The study of reactions to the ideas and demonstrations of such persons as Cagliostro, Finch, etc., gives a clear picture as to what was wrong with Masonry of their days, what were the aspirations and longings of its more progressive members and what was the mentality of its rank and file. That aspect has not been neglected by Bro. Rickard by any means, and, I think, this adds to the value of his excellent paper.

Knowing Bro. Rickard as a Masonic student well, I knew beforehand that his research work would be extremely good and thorough, but it was not before I read his paper that I discovered in him qualities and skill of a first-class Counsel for Defence. Once I asked a very successful K.C. what he thought was the main secret of his unfailing success, and he said that probably it was his method of defence: not to whitewash his clients, the defendants, but to analyse their actions and motives calmly, impartially, without exaggeration, and then to attack and discredit the accusers so strongly that the Judges or the Jury, as the case may be, began to wonder why the accusers were not brought before them for judgment, instead of the defendants.

This is exactly what Bro. Rickard did as regards William Finch.

He did not whitewash him. He acknowledged that Finch was a man of difficult temperament, pig-headed and short-sighted, that he committed foolish actions under harsh treatment and was misguided in his enthusiasm. He assented to many other Finch's faults. But, on the other hand, he has shown us clearly that Finch's intentions were genuine, that he was a zealous mason who tried to subdue the narrow-minded dogmatic position of Masonry of his days and "to clean it up", that his writings were useful in many instances and sold well, that he was an omniverous reader and collector of valuable Masonic books, and that his work was a serious and honest research work.

Further, Bro. Rickard has shown us that most of the accusations brought forward against Finch were wrong.

We see from Bro. Rickard's paper that Finch was not guilty of concocting Masonic rituals, that he formed his own Lodge and arranged lectures not with the view of deceiving people and acquiring power and wealth (as, for instance, Cagliostro did), but in order to impart a genuine higher Masonic knowledge and understanding to those who wanted to have it, that he did not do anything to justify his expulsion from Masonry by the Grand Lodge and, in fact, was never expelled from it. On the contrary, on more than one occasion the Grand Lodge took his side.

It is true he took money for conferring and working various Degrees and for his Masonic tuition. But it was always done by him without any deception and always by a free agreement with those who thought it right to pay for what they considered to be a progress in their Masonic knowledge. Besides, there have been many other Masons who have done the same without being blamed for it. Bro. Rickard points out that even such a distinguished and highly honoured Mason as William Preston, in his pamphlet, *Private Lectures on Masonry*, issued in 1774, offered to instruct Brethren on the payment of one guinea for each Degree, and that has never raised any criticism.

It is also true that Finch did not distribute his writings free of charge, but sold them and advertised them, for which he was accused of having written his Masonic works as "nothing but Trade Speculation". But, except the contributors to the *Transactions* of Research Lodges and Associations, are there many Masonic writers who did not advertise their works and sell them at rather high prices, with profit to themselves?

While giving the true facts about William Finch and explaining them, Bro. Rickard did not spare his adversaries and accusers generally, and the principal one of them, Dr. G. Oliver, in particular. He threw a bright light on their Masonic ignorance, narrow-mindedness, obscure doctrinism and pedantism, envy, unscrupulousness, mean intrigues and quite unmasonic malicious ways and means of persecuting William Finch. Altogether, with a possible exception of the Grand Lodge, so unfavourable and depressing is the general picture of the so-called orthodox Masons of the beginning of the nineteenth century which we get if we sum up what Bro. Rickard wrote about them that now, I think, it is their turn to be defended. Surely they had some redeeming features, and, perhaps, in all fairness to our predecessors, Bro. Rickard or another Brother will show us those features one day in a separate paper.

In conclusion I would like to congratulate Bro. Rickard on the excellent manner in which he gave all the references in the text of his paper, instead of following the usual practice of giving them as footnotes, which are always so distracting and even irritating to the reader.

After the above remarks it is hardly necessary for me to add that I am extremely grateful to Bro. Rickard for his paper, and support the vote of thanks to him of the Lodge most heartily.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON writes:—

Bro. Rickard's paper must have taken much time in research, but as a reader I can say that it has been well worth while, and I hope he has had half as much pleasure in writing the article as I have had in reading it. Up to now little has been known of William Finch, and, as stated, he has generally been described as the Masonic Charlatan; from the facts produced this opinion must be considerably altered.

Finch seems to have been a prolific writer, and it is strange that so little of his work remains to-day. Most of his Circulars to the Lodges were destroyed,

but his books are so scarce that they must have been published in small editions.

During Finch's period there was only one Lodge in York, but as far as I know there is no mention in any of the Minutes of any Circulars received from Finch, and as the Lodge in those days was held in various Taverns all correspondence appears to have been destroyed.

Bro. F. R. RADICE said:—

I wish to associate myself with the other Brethren who have preceded me in expressing my appreciation of Bro. Rickard's paper. The subject is new to me, and I am very grateful to be introduced to it after painstaking research and careful thought has placed the whole matter in its true light. Some may be inclined to consider Bro. Rickard's paper yet another attempt at "whitewashing" someone who has borne a character none too reputable. It is true that while Bro. Rickard justifiably professes impartiality, he has written what amounts to a vindication of Finch. Yet this result impugns neither his impartiality nor his conclusions. After all, what is often called derogatively "whitewashing" is often nothing more than laying bare the truth which has been covered over with the incrustations of ignorance and prejudice, a process in fact which is essential if we are to discover what really happened in the past. If the result has been something like the presentation of the case for Finch, I consider that more due to the fact that so far one has heard only the case against him and the truth is found to be different from what has been represented hitherto. Bro. Rickard's very brief reference to the circumstances of the time shows us that the period was one in which a lowly man with ideas would be encouraged to assert himself and, when he thought he was unfairly oppressed, to turn on his oppressors and vindicate his right to choose his own course. For my part I should be very glad if Bro. Rickard would extend the picture of the background of Finch's life by giving us a little more of the circumstances of the time and cover the following points. How was Finch right in considering the state of Masonic knowledge in his time—see page 183—as deplorable, and how far was this lack of knowledge due to deliberate policy on the part of Grand Lodge and the older masons. I well remember talking to a very old Brother and suggesting to him that as soon as a junior Mason took office he should set to work at once to learn the whole ceremony so as not to be dependent on cues in his work. He was horrified at the mere idea of a junior making any attempt at learning the work of a superior office. If this was the attitude in Finch's time, when rituals were practically unobtainable, it would explain a great deal and make us feel much sympathy with Finch's point of view. How much in fact did Grand Lodge publish to improve the working of the ceremonies? The mere fact that so many accused Finch of inventing ceremonies, which, Bro. Rickard has proved, he merely copied, testifies to their ignorance. The other point on which I should be glad of a little more enlightenment is Finch's place among those who undertook Masonic research, that is how much research was carried out before his time; was he a pioneer of one of a small number of pioneers? If he was we may well understand the resentment of Grand Lodge at intrusion into its own preserves by outsiders, especially when they had before them the result of research into the past and powers of Grand Chapter, however much we may deplore such obscurantism.

After hearing this paper it seems clear to me that despite Bro. Rickard's studied moderation and impartiality this case for Finch against his detractors is so strong that the charge of being a charlatan and impostor must fall to the ground. His defects, viz., pigheadedness, inaccuracy, lack of tact, are largely attributable to his origin and education, and not calculated policy on his part.

BRO. H. HIRAM HALLETT supplemented his remarks at the meeting by writing as follows:—

It is now over twenty years ago that I first became very interested in Bro. William Finch, because in the Library of my Lodge, which contains many very valuable old works, were some twenty or more of his books and pamphlets, as well as a few of his Plates, which had been purchased at the time of their publication by several of my old Past Masters. The more I studied his works, which displayed his profound knowledge on everything appertaining to Masonry, the more amazing did it seem to me that he should have been deemed to be an impostor and a charlatan; then, when I read his various Appeals for justice, written so sincerely and frankly, I came to the conclusion that the real reason that had prompted the malignant aspersions associated with his name was simply jealousy, for he was, without doubt, the finest and most versatile Masonic scholar of his time.

In one of my papers, published in 1935, I devoted a small section to his defence, thus being, I believe, the first writer to have done so. Upon seeing a proof, my old friend, the late Bro. Lionel Vibert, at once wrote advising me to delete certain portions, and asked me to undertake the work of writing the life of Bro. Finch, in which they could be embodied. Although I consented, it was with feelings of great diffidence, as I felt that to do him justice it would be necessary to spend many weeks in London and Canterbury, which, unfortunately, business duties forbade, and so before the close of the following year I wrote to say that I must abandon the task.

A few years afterwards I heard that Bro. Rickard had undertaken this herculean work, and so it was with the greatest pleasure that I read the advanced proof of his paper, and now I tender to him my most hearty congratulations. By his painstaking labours he has set before us a vast amount of new material gathered together from his researches among the old records at Canterbury, old Minutes of Grand Lodge and its Committees, and from old works in various Libraries, which evidence has, in my humble opinion, cleared Bro. Finch's character of those vindictive calumnies which have been handed down to us by one writer after another. Moreover, I must also sincerely compliment him on the successful way in which he has been able to date the voluminous works and pamphlets of Bro. Finch, a very difficult task indeed, as a large number were published without such data, much to the bewilderment of students, and the chronological section of his paper will prove to be of the utmost value to them.

I am also very glad that Bro. Rickard should have undertaken his investigations with an entirely unbiassed mind, and consequently he has stated the facts discovered judiciously and without prejudice, not only those favourable to Bro. Finch but also those which are to his discredit, and that, moreover, in the latter case, he has kept in mind the wise old Masonic injunction by mentioning, whenever he could possibly do so, certain circumstances in palliation of his conduct.

In order to understand Bro. Finch's attitude of mind one must be fairly well acquainted not only with the period in which he lived—a period of intolerance—but with the acrimonious dissensions which had permeated Masonry ever since our Grand Lodge was founded in 1717. Bro. Finch has given us a vivid description of his times in one of his Appeals, so I will quote from it:—

“My opponents have for a long time been very industrious in poisoning the minds of the neutral parts of the fraternity, and what they cannot accomplish by argument they endeavour to complete by falsehood, and in order to obtain a colourable majority they go about from Lodge to Lodge to procure jewels of the Master and Wardens to accommodate such brothers as will join their standard against me. By such means the Grand Lodge is imposed on, and

many of them out of office, for that purpose attending. To such an extent was this recruiting system carried on when they first brought forward my business that one brother had no less than six sets of jewels in his pockets when he entered the Grand Hall! And how many more he had disposed of for this vile purpose is best known himself: So that I may fairly say I stood in a place more like the Grand Inquisition of Rome than in the Grand Lodge of English Masons! Hitherto, Sir, I have only been touching the superficial part of their wound, but now I will probe it to the bottom.

. . . It is that ferocious appetite, that ungovernable passion, that ostentatious pride, and self-created greatness that makes them look on all men's abilities beneath the level of their own, and like the dunce that has been a whole week learning his talk finds himself on a sudden eclipsed by a younger boy in one day. I now allude to such Brothers, both young and old, who, before they were in possession of my Lectures, felt unpleasant in a Lodge by sitting at the elbows of their officious Brothers and obliged to submit to their dictation with all their imperfections, and repeat, Pol-parrot like, word for word as they please, and if they substituted, at any time, language of their own to make commonsense of it, they are frequently told to repeat what is given to them, for it is according to their mode of working, and it must be so, and any alteration is wrong. This cruel bitter pill is forced down their throats; and this poor unfortunate insulted brother sits upon thorns all the rest of the evening. What man of sense would a second time consent to such discipline? What is the natural consequence? They either withdraw in toto from Masonry, for fear of passing again and again through this fiery Ordeal, or else apply for private instruction (if their zeal for Masonry is predominant) but it's not every brother that is inclined or could afford to bestow their time, either to give or receive this tedious kind of instruction. Thus, in many cases Masonry is neglected to the great injury of the craft in general. To obviate this, as soon as they heard of my Lectures, they set about learning them at their leisure hours in their own private studies. Nor can this operate, as some have asserted, to do away the Masonic councils of instruction, for as soon as a Brother becomes a proficient, he goes to our Lodges with pleasure and confidence, knowing that he can do his work in common with his other Brothers, and his evenings pass away with pleasure to himself and all around him. So much I beg to say in this place of the utility of my books. But how was this book relished by those who had hitherto enjoyed their own sweets of officious overbearing dictation? Why they found themselves falling from their former pre-eminence, and in their turn became subject to dictation themselves. Then it was that this abominable book of Finch's must be crushed. What (say they) are we no longer to be body, head, and soul in our Lodges? Yes! For we will muster all our strength! We will have private committees! We'll beat up for recruits! We'll form a combination and go to the Grand Lodge and sweep all before us!!"

At the risk of being somewhat verbose I will develop a theory that I have held for a long time concerning the root-cause of the bitter persecution of Bro. Finch.

Such Masonic autocrats, as Bro. Finch has so well portrayed, existed long before his time—and they still exist. They consisted of those Brothers who were perfectly satisfied to repeat word for word what they may have been taught, with no desire to learn anything about the meaning of Masonry—its

history or its symbolism; moreover, in those days, and before and long afterwards, they deemed it to be an infringement of the obligation of a Mason to write, let alone to have printed, anything relating to Masonry. Anderson, in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, 1738, has recorded that in 1718 it was decided to ask "any Brethren to bring to the Grand Lodge any old Writings and Records concerning Masons and Masonry in order to show the Usages of antient Times: And this Year several old Copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced and collated"; notwithstanding this injunction, in 1720 he has recorded that "This Year, at some private Lodges, several very valuable Manuscripts (they had nothing in Print) concerning the Fraternity, their Lodges, Regulations, Charges, Secrets, and Usages (particularly one writ by Mr. Nicholas Stone, the Warden of Inigo Jones) were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers, that those Papers might not fall into strange Hands." Although Masonic MSS. were considered to be improper, yet they were very numerous, as Preston has recorded in his Introduction to his *Illustrations* that he was entirely indebted to them when preparing his Masonic Lectures.

On the other hand, there was another section, far more numerous, who had a desire to learn and to understand more and more of the underlying truths of Masonry, and its symbolism regarding life and its lessons. That was the reason why, when edition after edition of "spurious" Rituals were published during the eighteenth century, they eagerly purchased and valued them. As the late Bro. John T. Thorp has mentioned: "These printed catechisms would thus serve as aids to memory. . . . This may account for the rarity of these old pamphlets, many being worn out by constant use, and for the dilapidated condition of many that have survived to the present day." In the forefront of the battle for the dispersion of knowledge were Bros. Hutchinson, Calcott, Preston, G. Smith, J. Browne, John Cole, William Finch, to mention those best known, and these were followed by Bros. George Claret, Oliver and others, until from 1870 onwards more and more works and rituals were published, until to-day all our brethren recognise their usefulness and value.

Thus, when Bro. William Finch, jun., decided to publish his first work in 1801, the fury of these Masonic autocrats was raised to a very high pitch, for he was only a young man of about 28 years of age, and what added to his iniquity was that he had been a member of the Fraternity for only five years! Such audacity had to be immediately quashed! They were not then aware that within this young Finch pulsed the strong and brave heart of an eagle! They, however, banded themselves together in enmity, and continued their persecution to his dying day. Personally I do not think that Bro. Finch created enemies in his early career by any defects in his personality; they already existed and were beyond placating by any means that he might have thought fitting to employ.

Bro. Finch possessed great business acumen; previous Masonic writers had called their works by various names—*The Spirit*, *Illustrations*, *A Candid Disquisition*, etc., but he decided to adopt the word "Elucidation", which at once attracted the attention of all those who received an announcement of his forthcoming work, as, following the example of other writers, he had opened a subscription list long before publication. That nearly 300 Brothers, from all parts of the country, should have subscribed for the work of an unknown author is striking evidence that the need for such a book had, for a long time, been keenly felt. Before its publication, however, Bro. Finch again showed his great foresight by writing to the P.G.M. of Kent, Dr. William Perfect, enclosing his MS., from whom he received a most laudatory letter approving of its publication.

These Masonic autocrats then got into communication with Bro. William White, the Grand Secretary, who wrote Dr. Perfect, and the latter in his reply, to his great shame, expressed views entirely divergent from those contained in

his former letter, but no communication apparently from either of these Brethren was sent to Bro. Finch.

Bro. J. Browne, in 1789, published a small work entitled *The Master Key through all the Degrees of a Freemasons' Lodge*, in which the author stated that this is the first book of its kind ever presented to the public (*vide Manchester Transactions*, vol. x, 1919-20); and further issues were published during the next seven years. Yet, as Bro. Rickard has mentioned, it was not until January, 1801, that this work was brought before the notice of the Committee of Charity, but no definite decision was given; Bro. Browne, however, was not to be thus intimidated, for he published a more voluminous work, consisting of over a hundred pages, in 1802.

Moreover, in 1801, Bro. John Cole published his *Illustrations of Masonry*, which, by the way, contains an illustration showing an apron with tassels, so these Masonic autocrats also brought this work before the Committee of Charity in February, 1802, but "nothing more regarding this appears in the Minutes."

The reason why Bro. Finch's work was not brought before the same Committee until April, 1806, is a mystery; their decision in this case, however, was averse to the author. Although Bro. Finch submitted, he challenged the members of Grand Lodge to point out anything objectionable, but received no reply.

The following extract from his Appeal well exemplifies his personal feelings:—

"I have patiently borne for two years (sacrificing every consideration to my promise) loss upon loss without a single complaint; every other publication of mine has rapidly decreased, because I could not supply the fraternity as usual with the Lectures, and the very time I was preparing to reimburse myself my prospects were cut off, and what other recompense have I received but falsehood and malignity propagated by envious and narrow-minded men to injure me in every concern public and private? And this is daily gaining ground, for I have felt its effects in many instances, and all this they seem to do (and I believe they pride themselves in thinking they can do it) with impunity. No man can be at a loss to know what would be their punishment by the common law of the land for such conduct. Am I then to find less protection from Masonic law? I have made every sacrifice in my power to the Grand Lodge for peace and quietness, and a sacrifice more than my situation in life can bear, and more than I ought to have made had I consulted, as I ought to have done, my own interest, with a majority of so many Lodges in support of the book and MSS. They little thought I could lend a hand to put out my own light, but my word is past and cannot be recalled. It remains now for the Grand Lodge to say whether my injuries are to be increased by these ferocious animals under the mask of Masonry. I beg that no man will mistake my intentions relative to the moral illustrations on the 1st and 2nd Degrees, they are already in print, and have been for years, in the works of Preston, Hutchinson, Calcott, Smith and Scott, well known as respectable brothers, and some of them officers of the Grand Lodge. Br. Scott was formerly the Grand Secretary. Shall all these appear publicly in print and I be intimidated by these secret assassins from writing moral illustrations of a similar nature? Let no man run away with such a false impression. I have given up my book, I have relinquished the Lectures in MS., but I will never give up these, I can hold myself responsible to no man or body of men for doing this. As a Mason I hope ever to pay every obedience to the command

of the Grand Lodge, being well persuaded they can never infringe on the natural liberties of an Englishman."

That the works of Bro. Browne and Bro. Finch were felt to be of great service to brethren generally is evident by their influence on Bro. Charles Bonnor (a member of the Lodge of Antiquity to which H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex likewise belonged), who was appointed the Secretary of the Lodge of Promulgation, which was Warranted in 1809, and carried on its duties until March, 1811; for, when he prepared his "Plan," setting forth the work accomplished by the Lodge, he strongly recommended that a Pandect should be written in Masonic cypher: "As a remembrance and an Aid essential to all Lodge Officers of every class and as a book of reference", but this matter was shelved. He received, however, a vote of thanks for his work, and later Grand Lodge presented him with a Blue Apron to be worn at all future meetings of the Society. Apparently for his audacity in proposing the printing of a Pandect he was never really forgiven by the Masonic autocrats, for they reported him to the Board of General Purposes in March, 1814, for having published certain proceedings of the Lodge of Antiquity; he was expelled by Grand Lodge, but the following year he was reinstated; and then, in 1816, for a somewhat similar offence, he was again deprived of his Grand Lodge Rank but permitted to remain as a member of the Fraternity (*vide A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiii, 1910, p. 67).

It should be remembered that Bro. William Preston also suffered from these Masonic Autocrats in the preceding century. Because of his popularity as the author of Lectures and as a teacher, they seized upon a trivial infringement that he had crossed the street from a Church to his Lodge premises in Masonic clothing; this occurred in December, 1777, and on this hypocritical charge he was expelled thirteen months later, on January 29th, 1779! Ten years afterwards, however, he was reinstated (*vide A.Q.C.*, vol. xli, 1928, p. 166). It is evident, from the various incidents I have recorded, that the Grand Lodge of those times was very inconsistent in its decisions.

In my investigations regarding Bro. Finch there is one very important matter on which I have failed to glean any information, and that is: How was he regarded by the members of the Grand Lodge of the 'Antients'? He was very interested in the discussions regarding the proposed Union, but he criticised the workings of both the "Moderns" and the "Antients". The following advertisement is of great interest, but, unfortunately, undated, but the resolution mentioned was passed by the former body on April 12th, 1809, and his phrasing, "one of *our* Grand Lodges," is noteworthy:—

ADVERTISEMENT to BROTHERS:

"Every Mason who purchases one complete set of these Lectures on Freemasonry (four sealed packets) will receive, gratis, of Brother W. Finch, a Written Synopsis; and likewise some Oral information on that which is of the utmost consequence, for enabling him to understand, and conduct the whole proceedings of Masonry, agreeable to the True Ancient System; and in conformity to the late injunctions of one of our Grand Lodges 'that all Lodges and Brothers are to return immediately to the Ancient System' which unfortunately for the long period of 92 years has been neglected. I cannot here be so explicit as I could wish, let it therefore suffice, that there are 22 S.'s, T.'s, and W.'s, in the three Degrees of Craft Masonry, as practised by most foreign Lodges; whereas, those Masons at present designated by the term Modern, have but 12; and the Antient, in England, but 16.

"The absurdity of this great deviation for such a length of time has at last roused the zealous and leading Members; and the

Grand Lodge, much to their honour, have commanded all Lodges in future, to conduct the business of Masonry in the True Ancient manner, but as that is so little known, I have found it expedient, with the concurrence of the Fraternity, for the general good of our Society, to publish our Lectures; carefully avoiding every thing that is improper for Masons to commit to paper. . . . The better to effect that Union so long wished for, the Moderns (as they are commonly called) must recover these ten chief things that they have omitted, and the Antients recover six; and the term Modern will no longer be known amongst us; but these two great bodies of Masons, act in future, agreeable to the true Ancient laws of our Order; to the satisfaction of all parties, and the admiration of the world.

“Some Masons may be inclined to censure this public notice, and think it ought to be communicated to Lodges only; but that method, in my humble opinion, is too circumscribed for the general good of our Society; for through the jealousy of some, and envy of others, any notice sent in that official manner to Lodges, would often be stifled and smuggled up, and withheld from the Brothers in general: therefore I take this public method, that every Brother may read and judge for himself—and put an end to that selfish and narrow-minded system of some Masters of Lodges who try every unfair method to keep the young and inexperienced Masons in the dark, that they may perpetually figure away in their office, as R.W.M., &c., &c.!! By such selfish motives, and mis-guided ambition, the Science of Masonry receives a wound that can never be healed, but by some such method as this of mine; to seek after our Ancient Landmarks—and take into our own hands, that share of government of ourselves and the Craft at large, that we ought to have done many years back; then will our System shine in its natural lustre—a Science, worthy the study of the man of genius; and rear its venerable and majestic head as in ancient times: ‘A Science of Sciences, and the noblest work of Man.’ Then shall we realise what our two immortal Brothers, Locke and Newton, have said of us—and shew to the world, that the Lectures on Freemasonry comprehend such an admirable System of Sciences, that are not to be equalled in the joint labours of ancient or modern times.”

His love for Masonry was indeed a passion; to him it was “A Science of Sciences, and the noblest work of Man,” and yet, even after he had thus publicly placed it on such a high pedestal, the Masonic autocrats of his time gnashed their teeth together in their impotent rage and fury, devoid of any understanding of its sublime tenet—Brotherly Love.

Bro. Rickard, in my opinion, has clearly proved that the four aspersions constantly brought forward against Bro. Finch by past writers were false; that is, he was neither an Impostor, nor a Charlatan, nor a Fabricator of Masonic Degrees, nor that he had been ever expelled from Grand Lodge. In the words of a contemporary, Richard Carlile, “Grand Lodge denounced him, though they were afraid of him.”

That Bro. Finch had won the esteem and goodwill of a very large number of Brothers throughout the country is self-evident, for, despite the publicity given to the repeated charges brought against him in Grand Lodge, they continued to buy his books, and he even prepared and published new ones up to the year 1816, which he could not have done, from a financial point of view, had there not been a regular demand for his publications. The great majority, however, were apparently silent friends, not like the Rev. Bro. I. J. Tufnell, a cultured gentleman, who deemed him to be “The First Mason in England.” In London, however, he had many friends who openly supported him, and more particularly

those who belonged to his Independent Lodge of Universality. The proceedings of this Lodge, held on Feb. 17th, 1815, were circulated in a broadsheet, in which one clause, as Bro. Rickard has recorded, is a eulogistic reference to Bro. Finch on his "Firm and upright conduct" for upwards of twenty years, which is a remarkable refutation of the base charges that had so repeatedly been brought against him.

I firmly believe that had Bro. Finch lived for a few more years his enemies in Grand Lodge would have made their peace with him. Even in 1810 there was some rapprochement, apparently by mutual agreement, for he announced that one-third of the profit derived from the sale of his books would be "appropriated to the Masonic Fund of Charity, and one-third to the General Fund." One of the reasons why I hold such a belief is by comparing Bro. Preston's misdemeanours—far greater—with his. Bro. William Preston published his lectures, and made a charge for his instructions; being expelled from Grand Lodge he actually formed a rival Grand Lodge which gave warrants to two Craft Lodges; yet he was eventually reinstated, and, not dying until 1818 when he had reached the ripe age of 75, his name is now honoured by all; Bro. William Finch also published his Lectures, also made a charge for his books of instructions, and also formed an Independent Lodge, yet, by his untimely death, likewise in 1818, being only then 46 years of age, amid the bitter dissensions which still persisted in spite of the Union, his name has been scorned by all past writers. The reason was, as Bro. Rickard has truly written: "It seems as if a scapegoat was deemed desirable; and that someone without any strong backing, like Finch, should be the scapegoat."

In thus referring to Bro. Preston, I have often wondered about his own personal views concerning Bro. Finch, as they had both suffered so very much because of their work for Masonry. I can find but one reference—the one quoted by Bro. Rickard—which is in the 13th edition of his *Illustrations*, published in 1821, but Bro. Preston had by that time passed on, and this edition had been prepared by Bro. Stephen Jones, a well-known brother who had been a member of the Lodge of Reconciliation. The 11th edition was published in 1804, but, unfortunately, I do not possess a copy of the 12th, nor do I know its date, so I am unable to say whether the passage quoted is to be found in it.

Critics of Bro. Finch should read his works which are to be found in many Masonic Libraries throughout the country, and particularly those *Lectures* of his to which Bro. Rickard has referred; he mentioned that there was a typed copy in the Library of Grand Lodge, as well as in that of our Quatuor Coronati Lodge. It may prove of interest to Brethren to hear that when Bro. J. Armstrong wrote to me a few years ago he mentioned these *Lectures*, which were in the possession of his Lodge, and I offered, if he would obtain the sanction of his Committee to let me have them, to get one of my assistants to type six copies, which offer was gladly accepted, and I am very pleased that two copies should now have a home in such noted Libraries, and that I have thus rendered a great service to Masonic students. Browne's *Master-Key*, which I obtained from Bro. E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., was also typed by the same assistant.

Bro. Finch was a keen Masonic student, and his researches into every branch of Masonry made him the great outstanding personality of his time. Had he lived in these days our Quatuor Coronati Lodge would have been enriched by such a member. That he became somewhat irascible is also evident, but never a Brother had to face such bitter opposition, such mendacious calumnies, such dastardly intrigues as he.

Consider the last twenty years of his life! Before the commencement of this period he had become enamoured with the "Magic of Masonry"; there was something in it that strongly appealed to his highest aspirations; he sacrificed his time and money in the procuring of works to feed the ever-gnawing hunger

of his heart in order thoroughly to understand its mysteries—mysteries that tended to throw a light on the pathway that Man must tread during his strange pilgrimage here upon this earth; he became an enthusiast—almost a fanatic in his zeal; and then came the vision of the superstructure that he might possibly raise on the old foundations of this great Fraternity. He set about the task to instruct his younger Brothers—those Brothers possessing less light and knowledge than himself, and he believed that such a work would be cordially received. Imagine then his grief and astonishment when he found it to be far otherwise! In his work, *The Freemason's Looking-Glass*, he thus admonished them in truly Masonic terms: "Envy not a Brother nor supplant him; take not away his Work if he can finish it; for no one can finish another's Work to the Lord's profit as well as him that began it, unless he is thoroughly acquainted with all his drafts and designs"; and yet again: "Cultivate Brotherly Love, slander not nor backbite; but defend an absent Brother, when honour, truth or justice demand it."

Then consider his private life! The change of his trade as a Tailor to that of a Bookseller must have been bewrought with difficulties, yet doubtless he was strengthened with his dreams, with all a father's love, of the potential attributes of his children, but to see their baseless fabric dissolving as he sorrowfully witnessed, one after another, the death of eight! Moreover, to discover that his own health was in a very precarious state! He recorded, in 1808, that his enemies then deemed with great joy that "he was in the last stage of a deep consumption," and in 1815, that he had "contracted a dangerous complaint brought on by excessive study." Imagine therefore his anguish of mind on realising that his earthly pilgrimage would soon be cut short, that he would be leaving his wife and five young children to the "tender" mercies of this world, and, moreover, during his dying days, that he would be leaving another child, but two months old, to share a like dark future!

Bro. William Finch, I admire your great tenacity of purpose not to have been deterred from your life's work by the despicable envy and malice of your foes; I admire, also, your pugnacity by which, when at length aroused, you wrought so much confusion in their ranks by your facile pen—two characteristics typical of the breed of the British Bull Dog, for you did not relinquish the fight until your last gasp. Your pilgrimage here was one long struggle, and after devoting the best of your splendid abilities to Masonry it is a great shame that, for over a century, your name should have remained besmirched, because no one had taken the trouble to investigate the causes that had given rise to such malignity in an age of such great turmoil and dissensions, when unprincipled denunciations were the chief weapons employed, devoid of all sense of fair play, and thus, in sympathy, I have endeavoured to add to the splendid researches made by Bro. Rickard, whose paper will always be considered as one of the finest and most discriminating that has ever been brought before the notice of the members of this most noted of all Lodges of research.

BRO. S. N. SMITH writes:—

I have read Bro. Rickard's valuable paper with very great interest. I have always felt that the dedication to Dr. Perfect showed that the term "Masonic Charlatan" could not with justice be applied to Finch at any rate at the beginning of his career as a masonic publisher, and I hope that this paper will finally dispel this opprobrious description of him.

As Finch was married by Licence it is very probable that his marriage—licence "Allegation" is still in existence. This should give his age and occupation and perhaps other particulars of him, and might be worth examination.

With reference to the condemnation of Finch's "Masonic Treatise" by the Committee of Charity in April, 1806, and their resolution that, by its publication, Finch was guilty of a breach of his obligation as a mason, I wonder what the Committee would think of those vest-pocket and other "Rituals" that most Brethren possess to-day! All the material parts of Finch's book were in cypher,—but to-day?

The letter from Bath in June, 1803, asking for guidance as to whether the lodge should "work according to Finches Masonic Treatise" and saying that they "now work after Br. Dunkerley's method" is interesting. In this connection it may be pointed out that the first edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* shows that, at the Gala in 1772, there were *six* sections in the First Degree Lecture in Preston's working which Finch evidently took for his model (Finch also has six). Brownes' *Master-Key*, on the other hand, has *seven* sections in this Lecture, and this is the number in the present-day "Emulation" Lectures, which are derived from those worked in the "Grand Stewards' Lodge". Was the latter working that of Bro. Dunkerley?

Incidentally it should interest those Lodges of to-day who say that there is no "work" to be done when no candidate is forthcoming for one of the three Degrees, to realise that at the beginning of last century it was the "Lectures" that were referred to as "working". In most Lodges to-day the "Lectures" are unknown, which is a pity, as they contain ancient material which is not now to be found in our ceremonies.

Bro. S. POPE writes:—

Being a Canterbury Mason, I have been very much interested by the vast amount of information which Bro. Rickard has given us about William Finch.

Bro. Rickard has laid before us most if not all that we are likely to learn about Finch's life and Masonic activities in Canterbury. There is just one small point I should like to mention, and that is the name of the Canterbury Lodge by which Finch was initiated. Bro. Rickard says (on page 166) that Lodge No. 326 was in 1789 for the first time mentioned by name, being called by the Treasurer the "Lodge of Industry". This I presume refers to the Industrious Lodge Treasurer's Book, which is not available just now for confirmation. Lodge No. 326 received that number in 1792; it was named "The Industrious Lodge" when Warranted at the Fleece on November 28th, 1776 (*Kentish Gazette*, Dec. 18-21, 1776). At the "Union" the Industrious Lodge became No. 416 and the "Antient" Lodge No. 24 became No. 37. These two Lodges united in 1819 under the name "The United Industrious Lodge No. 37" which name it still bears, its number being 31.

With regard to the dedication of Finch's book to Dr. Perfect, in his second letter (page 168) Dr. Perfect appears to have expressed his real opinion of Finch's book. There is a similarity of thought where Dr. Perfect considers that this book would "be of general advantage to the junior parts of the Royal Craft"—and his opinion expressed, when advertising a course of Medical lectures in 1769, that "He humbly presumes his design will be found of particular utility to the younger Practitioners" (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lii, p. 37). That opposition to Masonic literature was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, not confined to the publications of Finch, we are reminded by the Minutes of the meeting of the Prov. G. Lodge of Kent held at Woolwich in 1805. This was one of the few Prov. G. Lodge meetings which Dr. Perfect did not attend; it was then "Resolved Unanimously" that a Circular letter be sent to dissuade members from purchasing or encouraging the sale of one Mr. Chamberlain's Lectures on Masonry. Dr. Perfect no doubt remembered a former occasion when

he caused a circular letter to be sent and the trouble to himself caused thereby (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lii, p. 34); on the other hand he may not have been in sympathy with the resolution and did not wish to enter into any controversy. There is no further mention of this matter in the Minute Book, probably in deference to Dr. Perfect, until after his death, when it was raised again.

The R.A. Ritual which was "copied from an 'original' found in an old box in the vault of the Parish Church of St. Paul, Deptford" (page 181) may have belonged to the Rev. Jethro Inwood, Prov. G. Chaplain of Kent, 1795-1808, who was curate at that Church from 1790-1808 (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lii, p. 30). "In 1800, the Rev. J. Inwood was proposed for membership of St. George's Chapter No. 140" (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv, p. 455).

In connection with the version, related by Finch, of the History of the R.A., from its introduction into this country by Charles II, it is interesting to note, in the diary of John Evelyn, the intimate terms upon which Sir Robert Moray was with Charles II. "When the Royal Society was formed in the middle of the seventeenth century an undertaking was signed by each of the 115 original members. . . ." This agreement was signed by Sir Robert Moray with his Mason Mark—the interlaced triangles—as he did the Obligation which was renewed after the Charter had been granted and received.

After reading and thinking over this paper of Bro. Rickard's it seems to me that we shall have to find a designation for William Finch, other than "that notorious charlatan".

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

It is greatly to the credit of Bro. Finch that he remained loyal to the cause for such a long period. He seems to have been a genuine seeker after truth who came up against the bigotry that is not entirely dead at the present day. The failure to silence him was followed by a campaign of slander.

I notice that the Cromwellian origin of Freemasonry is referred to several times in this paper. My own view is that it is probably true for the accepted masons. When the Company of Freemasons of London subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant they changed their name to the Company of Masons and presumably abandoned their papist and pagan ceremonies. Cromwell was in London at the time, so that it is feasible that he was consulted concerning a new version of the acception which would enable the company to collect quarterage from "foreign" masons. This might account for the phrase "Civil, moral and religious duties" as a substitute for "God, King and country" and the omission of prayers.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes:—

Bro. Rickard has discovered a quite unexpected deposit of very interesting material, and has gone far to remedy an injustice of altogether too long standing. I have myself long had an uneasy feeling that the parrot chorus of vituperation loaded on William Finch was far too unanimous and far too vehement to be justified by any definite charge brought against him. Unfortunately Masons are men, and imperfect, both as men and Masons. Lip service is rendered to truth and justice, and we exhort others to divest themselves of passions and prejudices, but under sonorous phrases obscurantism and prepossessions are only too often to be found.

But the same kind of thing is also to be found in the history of Christianity, and we, I suppose, must be tolerant towards the weaknesses of others lest we, too, be found to offend, for it is human to err. However, after

a second reading of the paper I did wonder a little what our Brother would have accomplished if he *had* had a brief for the defendant.

I confess that I have more or less accepted the main counts in the indictment against Finch as set forth by the authorities. Not having any particular reason to investigate them, and not having any means to do so in any case, one naturally assumed that respectable authors had some real grounds for their statements. I have not taken the alleged expulsion very seriously; for men were expelled and excluded and later re-instated in those days with a facility that now seems very strange, and which reduced the action to little more than a mark of disapproval on the part of a majority. But the impression has been given, and indeed his own mode of expression lent colour to it, that Finch made Masons and conferred all sorts of additional degrees by himself alone, by "communication", and that the chief formality was the purchase, at inflated prices, of his books and keys. This, with hints at general rascality and dishonesty, naturally led to the conclusion that the (later) universal condemnation was justified. Bro. Rickard has definitely corrected this by showing that Finch's disciples were initiated in independent lodges and chapters; which nullifies part of the allegations and leaves only the charges of heresy and schism against him. The heresy seems to be factitious, while it is not fair to condemn one schismatic when contemporary offenders are condoned. Bro. Rickard has, in my opinion, shown conclusively that the vague innuendos against Finch's character are at bottom based on an inference from an unexpressed premise, to wit, that he could not have been the moving spirit of an independent lodge unless he were an impostor and a scoundrel.

Twenty years ago Bro. A. L. Kress and I were investigating the various problems connected with the evolution of the Masonic ritual, and in the course of this work we examined Finch's *Treatise*, his first publication. Bro. Kress said in a letter dated August 15th, 1923, "Mackey, as often was the case, cannot be fair to Finch. You will see that Finch dedicates "by permission" this work to William Perfect, P.G.M. for the County of Kent. And then in reference to the letters reproduced in the second edition he said, "I think the tenor of these letters amply refutes Mackey's characterization of Finch, at least in 1802." With this judgment I fully concurred. But of course there remained the doubt whether the man might not have degenerated later, and become actually what he is so often said to have been. We did not pursue the matter, for we were then concerned only to evaluate the evidence afforded by Finch's work; but certainly since then I have felt, every time I met with repetitions of the old denunciations (and that was practically every time his name was mentioned), that there was a doubt if they were really deserved. But, as Bro. Rickard says, he was made a scapegoat, and the sins of Preston, Browne and Claret in publishing books were all laid on him. And, as part of the ritual of the scapegoat is lading the victim with maledictions and curses, it was proper enough, I suppose. But it is as well that we should know what we are doing, and should realize that all these vituperations are formal merely. After what Bro. Rickard has brought to light it does seem as if it would be rather stupid to keep them up.

The tradition that nothing at all should be written, even illegibly or unintelligibly, is very far from dead even now. Most Grand Lodges in English-speaking countries still piously assume that everything concerning the ritual is learned only from the instructive tongue by the attentive ear; those that have sanctioned the use of the (now rather antiquated) innovation of printed formularies can almost be counted on the fingers, while there are many jurisdictions in which it is an offence even to possess anything of the sort. A Past Grand Master of one of the Middle Western States in the U.S.A. once remarked to me that he wondered what would happen if some of the members of his

Grand Lodge knew what he had in his library. And, the feeling being still so very much alive, we can only suppose it was even stronger and more general a hundred years ago. It cropped up in the Proceedings of the Lodge of Reconciliation when a Bro. Thompson was reprimanded for having made certain notes (Wonnacott, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiii, p. 243), and again, in the Lodge of Promulgation, the plan of Bro. Bonner, the Secretary, to preserve the forms agreed upon, was politely turned down, as it would seem partly because it involved the writing in cipher of "a Pandect of the Science of Speculative Freemasonry" to be preserved in "an ark to be kept sacred for that purpose." (Hextall, *ibid*, p. 56. Incidentally in the same volume some Finch exhibits are figured and described with the customary epithets.)

Bro. Rickard mentions that Finch's work was known in America. An additional proof of this is to be found in an exceedingly rare book published by John A. Rohr in Philadelphia in 1812. This so roused the fears and indignation of the good Pennsylvanian brethren that the Grand Lodge took emergent action, as a result of which it was suppressed, and suppressed so thoroughly that only one copy is known to be in existence. This is now in the Scottish Rite Library in Washington. Rohr's lectures have a great deal in common with those of Finch's *Treatise*, but contain nothing that is not to be found elsewhere, and their arrangement differs from that of Finch; in fact, it more resembles Browne. For this reason we never thought of there being any direct connection between Finch and Rohr. But Bro. Rickard has revealed the secret by quoting (column 45 of proof) one of the former's circulars (I should like to have the exact reference) in which he gives his reasons for publishing the lectures. This whole passage, from the words "I take this public method . . ." to, and including, the *et ceteras* at the end, is incorporated bodily and *verbatim* in the "Advertisement to the Brethren" at the end of Rohr's work. Perhaps he included more; without having the whole passage from Finch I cannot, of course, say.

The allegations that the "high grades" of which Finch claimed to be the possessor were invented by him is rather ridiculous on the face of it. Such of them as I have seen follow the French originals very closely, and of these originals there were a multitude of variants. One might almost suppose that every lodge that worked these degrees had its own pet form. Of some dozen MS. rituals of the Rose Croix that I once had the opportunity to examine and collate the variations from the form now embodied in a well known rite are really extraordinary. In some of them one had to look with care for the traces of the original idea of the degree. Some of them were mystical, and might well have emanated from groups pursuing a parallel line to that of Martinez de Pasqualis and his chief disciple Willermoz. Others were Cabalistic, and a few were purely magical, complete with an apparatus of pentacles, protective circles and such devices. Yet differing *toto coelo* as they did in content yet in each was some remaining vestige of the original form. They were all, by the way, of the last decade of the eighteenth century. If Finch did invent new features, or compose a ritual out of the material of several variants—it is not proved that he did—why should he be blamed when the same kind of thing was apparently being done everywhere in the country of their origin?

These *hauts grades* always make me think of soap bubbles, springing out of each other, all very much alike, and coalescing and bursting. The same names are used for quite different degrees in their content, and the same degree will have a multitude of different names. Dr. Oliver says somewhere (in a note to his *Historical Landmarks*, if I remember rightly) that he had a list of nearly one thousand, and it is quite possible that he had. And with this multiplicity—or chaos—before us it would seem somewhat rash to assert that Finch invented, at least it would be practically impossible to prove that any of his degrees did not have a prior original.

Finch first published Craft lectures, and those of Browne and Rohr, and indeed some later publications, are all constructed of very much the same material, and expressed in phraseology sometimes exactly the same, sometimes with small variants, and when differently worded it is nearly always equivalent. This material falls naturally into groups connected by some main idea, or dealing with some specific subject. It is in the arrangement and fitting together of these groups that one differs from the other as a system. Bro. Kress and I came to the deliberate conclusion that each of these authors or compilers followed a local variant oral tradition, which he embellished and augmented largely from a common stock of "eulogiums", exhortations, explanations and illustrations. From what Bro. Rickard says I gather that the later lectures compiled by Finch differed from those in the *Treatise*. I am not clear, however, whether we are to understand definitely that the MS. copied by Yarker (which the latter says was loaned to him by Bro. H. B. White, P.M., of the Lodge of Lights) or whether it is an inference based on general resemblance, when Bro. Rickard says that it "may be taken as certainly a Finch production." Yarker thought it was "Ancient", but gave no reason for this opinion. On internal evidence it is obviously not "Ancient" but of the "Modern" type, both in language and in arrangement. As it came originally from the Lodge of St. John (later merged with the Lodge of Lights), and as both these lodges figure in the list of Subscribers to Finch's *Elucidation* that is given at length in the paper, there is perhaps a *prima facie* case on this ground alone. But it is a matter of fact that could be easily and definitely settled by comparing the two in detail.

Incidentally there would seem to be something of a mystery in what is said of these Lodge of Lights lectures. A good many years ago I copied them in the Q.C. Library, with the consent of the late Bro. Songhurst; and he told me of the copy that Yarker made for the Grand Lodge Library. Later I compared my copy with that in the latter library, finding a few unimportant and in all cases easily understood variations. The prefatory note was different, though giving much the same information. That in the Q.C. copy did not mention the name of the owner of the original, but did mention that the book had clasps, and was in "superior calligraphy", and noted also that the reference to Sir Peter Parker was no indication of the date. Where has the Q.C. copy gone to? And what was the original of the typewritten copy which Bro. Rickard mentions? The date given in the proof of the paper, 1779, must surely be a printer's or a copyist's error, for Yarker gave the watermark in each case as "Durham & Co. 1799".

Preston's lectures for the first and second degrees, adumbrated in the *Syllabus* by means of mnemonic catch words and cues, are in a class by themselves. The material is of course very much the same, but the general plan and arrangement differ from anything else known to me. His third degree lecture, issued separately in cipher, is much closer to the normal "Modern" type. What vogue Preston's system may have really had is very hard to say. My own opinion is that many more lodges followed Finch or Browne than ever worked by Preston, and that his compilation affected the development of Masonic ritual very little indeed, with the exception of the ponderous and obvious instructions for the second degree, which however are taken more from the *Illustrations* than from the *Syllabus*. The confident assertions made by so many writers, and it has been almost an article of faith in America, that Preston's lectures displaced every other system in England, were officially adopted by the Grand Lodge ("Modern" of course) and taken to America and there compressed and abbreviated by Webb to form the basis of the typical American mode of working, are all manifestly impossible and almost ludicrous. This opinion is based (so far as it has any basis) on the real influence and widespread distribution of the *Illustrations*, and it seems to have been naively assumed

that where the openly published book was known the carefully guarded lectures went also. With the exception of the State of Pennsylvania, the type of work followed in the U.S.A. is obviously a development from the lectures of the "Ancients", which were in part published in 1760, and under another title again in 1762.

But all these publicists, Preston, Browne and Finch, and doubtless other brethren who did not publish, were only more or less systematically continuing a process that had been going on everywhere, from before the beginning of the eighteenth century, and which was not entirely ended even by the general crystallization of the ritual into relatively stable variants about the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Ritual evolves in several ways. One is the adding of formal explanations and interpretations. This sort of thing is the most subject of all to modification and change. It sometimes happens that what was once an explanation needs later to be itself interpreted. Another line of development is by elaboration. Very early instances of this are to be found if looked for. A bare statement is rounded out, the matter is divided, different aspects are dwelt upon, and so forth. But what is possibly the most significant mode of development is the incorporation in one form of variants taken from another. This may be done crudely, by simple juxtaposition, as in the *Mystery* group of old catechisms to the questions about the key is added one about the key of the working lodge. There are other instances of this organic kind of compilation to be found in the oldest known documents, which is a different thing entirely to the mere appending to one form another coming from elsewhere, either in whole or in in part, such as the addition of variant catechisms in the *Sloane* MS., 3329, *Essex*, and the *Dumfries-Kilwinning* No. 4. Prichard for example shows two distinct strata. His work (I doubt much if he himself did more than copy) combines two forms or more accurately, one form and parts of another, which are very distinct in style, and not only that, but are as it were labelled by the use of "Ex." and "R" instead of "Q" and "A". But there are indications of earlier amalgamation in what might be called the more "prosaic" form that appears to constitute the body of the work.

In addition to these three factors in the development, another must be mentioned, the ever present one of corruptions of misunderstandings, the changes from archaic language to phraseology more familiar, and not at all to be ignored in producing variations, the recasting of simple and perhaps homely phrases into language considered to be more suited to the dignity of the subject.

Finch, as I have learned through Bro. Rickard's paper, went on apparently improving his lectures making them more and more comprehensive. Browne, too, added a good deal of new material in the second edition of the *Master Key*. So also there were additions to the second edition of Prichard, though in this case I should be inclined to suppose it was not due to the author, but rather a more careful reproduction by the printer of the original manuscript furnished to him. For the first edition bears many indications of haste and carelessness, while the second seems to have received normally good proof-reading at least. After the second edition, which followed the first (as is well known) in three days, there has been no further change in the text so far as I have been able to find out. I have compared the first, second, third, eighth and a number of later editions and a number of the early translations. One change there was, but just when it occurred the intermediate editions would have to be examined to determine; this is the transformation of "trasel board" into "tarsel board", obviously in the first place a misprint, copied carelessly in later reproductions. It is of no consequence except that it has given rise to a lot of speculation as to what a tarsel board might be.

It has little to do with the discussion of the paper, but perhaps I may be pardoned the digression. The late Bro. Thorpe, in his *Masonic Reprints*,

vol. xii, p. 12, says, in partial explanation of the reason for his choice of the second edition:

A reprint of the First Edition was published in 1867 by Bro. E. T. Carson of Cincinnati (U.S.A.), but the whereabouts of the original is now unknown.¹ From an examination of Bro. Carson's reprint it is evident that there were only very trifling differences between the First and Second Editions; indeed, inasmuch as the reprint is full of mistakes and printer's errors, it would be unwise to reproduce it without careful collation with the missing original.

Fortunately I had the opportunity some ten years ago to compare the Carson Reprint with its original. It is a very accurate reproduction of the first edition with all its typographical peculiarities, misprints and all. Whether the additions in the second edition of Prichard are trifling or not depends chiefly on the point of view. They are not many, some eleven questions and their answers, but the absence of this material from the first edition, generally made known by the Carson Reprint, and the rarity of all the early editions was the means of leading such careful students as Speth and Dring, not to speak of others, into supposing that in the editions later than 1770 it had been borrowed from certain French works that appeared in English translation subsequent to 1760.

But returning to the subject under discussion, it was intimated above that the "character" of the systems of lectures, of which Finch's was one, did not depend on the material embodied, which by and large was common to all, but that it was in the arrangement in which one set of lectures differed from another. Each systematizer tried to arrange this material in a coherent and logical order, but as the systems grew in extent the more difficult was the problem of later editors to include everything they could discover in the labours of their unknown and anonymous predecessors.

Originally there were two divisions of the material between which there was no real bond of cohesion. These may be designated the Greetings and the Examinations. In addition, however, there was a lot of entirely incoherent matter, the floating "catch" questions. Echoes of these still exist in many places, transmitted by oral tradition from one brother to another.

The Greetings were of course interlocutory, but not properly catechetical, and they did not lend themselves to much expansion or development. The Examinations were catechetical *but not instructive*, for the replies were dark sayings, cryptic and allusive. For this there was a very practical reason in the days before Grand Lodges. Though formally one was examiner and the other respondent, yet the respondent was testing the qualifications of his interlocutor equally with the examiner. Explanations of the answers were doubtless given, but they were taught informally to the neophyte by his instructors. Under later conditions the explanations were themselves gradually formalized and inserted in the catechism. Again, some of the original questions referred obscurely to points in the initiatory ritual, and this gave another opening for elaboration, so that in some later forms the answers to the questions taken by themselves give a complete formulary of the ceremonies.

The process, I should imagine, was for long not conscious or deliberate, and certainly not systematic; but was a real process of growth, here a little and there a little, and under the control of the tendencies, ideas and circumstances of the time. Each line of tradition constantly affected others by the medium of the free intercourse between Masons. When deliberate systematization began, and Preston's is the first we really know about, though earlier efforts are in the nature of things to be suspected, there was a very wide field of

¹ Since this was written I find that this is now in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

possibilities of arrangement. My own opinion is that Preston's arrangement was too individual to have had much chance of widespread adoption. Success would depend on taking as a ground work some arrangement that already had a considerable vogue, and embroidering and adorning it with the spoils taken from other traditions. This I think is what was done by Browne, and also by Finch, at least in his earlier work.

One consequence of attempts to be fully inclusive is that forms grow longer and longer till they become so unwieldy that memory fails, so that eventually they may come to be unsystematically, and by hap-hazard, condensed and shortened again; and so Finch's later production, in which "Ancient" and "Modern" material was embodied, became quite impossible, at least for accidental memories. The "upwards of eight hundred queries" would be but child's play to a Chinese initiate of the Thian ti Hwui, the so-called Hung League.

In reference to Finch's enthusiastic disciple, the Rev. I. J. Tufnell, it might be of interest to note that in a paper by Bro. E. A. Breed which appears in the proceedings of the lodge (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xvii, p. 42), it is mentioned that at the consecration of the Royal Sussex Lodge in 1824 the Rev. S. J. Tufnell was present in the capacity of Deputy Provincial Grand Master. The Rev. I. J. Tufnell dated his letters to Finch from Mundham, which I believe is about twenty miles from Worthing, where the Royal Sussex Lodge was erected.

The late Bro. Songhurst wrote in the discussion on this paper: ". . . the 'Howard' Lodge of Arundel had been in serious trouble in connection with the notorious Finch, and as there was a frequent exchange of visitors between the two lodges it may be that some of the 'Royal Sussex' had taken the Finch degrees and were desirous of regularizing themselves."

Was this "serious trouble" the litigation over the refusal of the Howard Chapter to pay the bargained price for the furniture and paraphernalia supplied by Finch? Or did Bro. Songhurst refer to something more, or to something entirely different?

Incidentally, Masonic furnishings are always high priced in relation to the cost of manufacture (and altogether too often of horrible design, for which is no excuse), but it must be remembered that sales are relatively few, and where the turnover is small the profit must of necessity be high.

Finch of course did not invent the legends of the Schamir. These are referred to by Rylands twice at least in the proceedings of the lodge (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xii, p. 145, and vol. xiv, p. 178.) They were also discussed at length by Baring-Gould in *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*. In certain branches of literature these and like legends are well known. Dr. Oliver also mentions it once or twice. There are at least three versions of the Schamir legend in the Talmud, according to the authorities. The legend of the Porphyry Stone is also from the Talmud, I believe, though I am unable to verify it at the moment.

I confess I do not know what "Finch and some other Masonic charlatans" meant by saying that the Master's Word was never lost, nor what Dr. Oliver had in mind when he spoke of "circumstantial evidence" which apparently induced him to suspend judgment on the matter. I do know what I mean when I say that *actually*, although ritually lost every time a Master is raised, it has always been preserved. True, it has been changed, not by fiat as a substitute, but by the secular process of oral tradition. By looking for the basic group of consonants the original form might be discovered without too great difficulty; and the stages by which later modes of pronunciation were derived can easily be reconstructed. It is not Hebrew or Chaldee, but of indigenous and I should say prehistoric origin. With this waving of a scarlet cloak before angry bulls I will conclude by expressing my gratitude to Bro. Rickard for having opened my eyes to the real character of Finch's work, and the injustice that has for so long been done him. I dare say he was difficult to deal with, that he offended both in manner of speech and ignorance of the rules of polite

intercourse. Such social defects often rouse greater antipathy than serious moral defects or actual vices. And as we do not have to associate with him we should find it the more easy to think of him as really more sinned against than sinning.

Bro. F. M. RICKARD *writes* in reply:—

I am very grateful for the kind reception that has been given to my paper; and, I must add, also to the many Brethren who supplemented it with their comments, which contained so much commendation.

I count myself fortunate in having been able to put forward more than has been previously published, though it is to be hoped that more on this subject may yet come to light.

When I started upon this essay my knowledge of Finch was small, and I had no views concerning him other than those usually expressed. But after dipping more and more into his many works and sifting the various episodes, I came to feel that there was a side to the question quite different from that generally accepted. On the whole, judging from several of the comments, the material I have been able to put forward has caused a change of views on the part of some, though others still think that the verdict remains as before against Finch.

Bros. Baxter and Fenton suggest that the paper is an attempt to "whitewash" Finch, while one or two others consider that is just what I refrained from doing. To "whitewash" would mean to "make someone at fault appear innocent". That was not my intention. I tried to show that Finch was to be blamed in many points, though a deal could be offered in extenuation. I did try to show him less black than he is usually painted, but that is not "whitewashing".

I cannot answer Bro. Baxter's query as to whether any of Finch's profits definitely went to benevolent purposes. To ascertain this would involve a search more prolonged than I have yet been able to make.

Bro. Lepper's remarks are very valuable; and his quotations lend support to my view that Finch indulged in research work. Bro. Lepper also suggests other alternative solutions to some obscure points.

Bro. Covey-Crump appears to think that I give support to Finch's views, and that I maintain he was justified in his alleged "right". But Bro. Covey-Crump is mistaken. I did not attempt a determination of any of the Masonic controversial points; I tried only to show that, with the knowledge and ideas of the time, some excuse could be found for Finch thinking and acting as he did; and that, far from being an inventor of Masonic rituals, Finch was a discoverer. I am not able to agree with Bro. Covey-Crump that any claim by Finch to knowledge of extraneous degrees was preposterous. That such degrees were known to others besides Finch is corroborated by Bro. Lepper's quotations.

I thank Bro. Knoop for pointing out the correct date of Preston's death, and the reference in the text of the paper has been amended. But, whoever was the editor of the 1821 edition of Preston's *Illustrations*, the position is not altered as to later writers merely copying those paragraphs. This strengthens my suggestion that Preston was not unfavourable to Finch.

What was the immediate source of Finch's information regarding the legend of Adam's body being in Noah's Ark it is not possible to say; but there were references to the legend earlier than the Briscoe pamphlet of 1724. The legend was given in *Benedictus Arius Montanus* of 1593, and is to be found in the works of Rev. and learned Mr. John Gregory, London, 1670.

I am not quite clear on some of Bro. Fenton's remarks. He said he considered Finch to be a charlatan, and that he undoubtedly did not keep his

obligations; and yet in another place he said that he appreciated the fact that Finch was at heart a sound Freemason. In no place in any of Finch's writings have I found any evidence pointing to a violation of his obligation by disclosing Masonic secrets. This answers a similar query by Bro. Ivor Grantham. I do not pretend that I have had access to anywhere nearly all of Finch's publications; I feel sure there must have been many more than I have been able to study; but all that I have quoted from are to be found in either Grand Lodge Library or Quatuor Coronati Lodge Library.

Bro. Grantham points out an apparent inconsistency in the newspaper cutting in the Broadley collection. This, however, was a misprint—the word should be “cannot”, not “can”. The text has been corrected.

Bro. Hallett writes at length, adding considerably to the general theme, and I am very grateful to him for his support.

Bro. Meekren's long comment from Canada gave me great pleasure in reading. It is very gratifying to learn that my effort has produced a reconsideration of former views. I am glad to hear of further evidence that Finch's work was appreciated in America. Bro. Meekren's remarks on the development of ritual seem to me to strike the right note and go a long way to show that the various protestations made by Finch can be said to be justified. The error in the data connected with the Lodge of Lights Lectures, to which Bro. Meekren draws attention, was a misprint, and has been corrected.

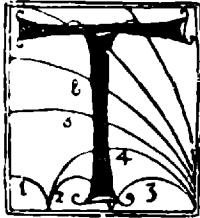
The question of research work at or before Finch's time is not easy to answer. In view of the unquestioning acceptance insisted upon and given to legendary accounts of Freemasonry, if in those days there had been any unprejudiced research, would not the authors have been treated in the same manner as was Finch? On the other hand, acknowledging Finch's work to have been compilation, were not his ideas inspired by the work of others? At first glance there does not seem to have been at that time any investigation worth the name of research; but this is a subject which needs special treatment, and we have here a difficult question which requires much more research.

Since this paper was finished I have come across other evidence that tends to show that Finch was undoubtedly a student, and that the information he produced was to be found in earlier sources. For example—the equating of “Aymon” to “Hiram Abif” is given by Auld in his *History of Masonry, Edinburgh*, 1761;—the symbolic chart, dated 1789, gives a large number of degrees and uses four codes;—in *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons Trahis*, printed in Amsterdam in 1754, it is stated that Cromwell was the first who gave the name of the Order of Freemasons;—*A Word to the Wise, being a Vindication of the science as patronised by the Grand Lodge of England*, was printed in England and in Ireland in 1796, and it contained information on 13 degrees, some of which were mentioned by Finch;—in a paper on General Rainsford (*A.Q.C.*, xxvi) Bro. G. P. G. Hills mentioned an inventory of masonic properties belonging to Lambert de Lintot of date before Finch's activities, and in this inventory reference is made to 25 degrees.

Recently I have been privileged to see some notes upon an old *Swalwell Manual* which was copied in 1813, showing that it was of earlier date. These notes give extracts from the Manual, many of which extracts are the same as quotations by Finch in various places. Moreover, the Lectures I have mentioned as connected with Warrington, written on paper with watermark “Durham 1799”, are stated to contain much of what was in the Swalwell copy,—many sentences, even those peculiar to the two, being practically identical.

Those who have come into contact with the degrees of the Temple of Wisdom in the North, and the Royal Grand Council of Ancient Rites of Bath and Bristol (the latter of which disappeared less than 70 years ago), would, I think, agree that Finch was much maligned, and should be looked upon more as a pioneer of Masonic research.

FRIDAY, 2nd OCTOBER, 1942



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 3 p.m. Present:—Bros. Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., W.M.; *Wing-Commandr.* W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, S.W.; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., 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, I.G.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. Beveridge; J. H. Smith; *Capt.* F. H. H. Thomas, O.B.E., P.A.G.S.B.; G. M. Blewett; A. W. Lane, P.G.St.B.; S. H. Love; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; E. A. Hyett; *Major* J. W. M. Hawes; A. Ed. Evans; L. G. Wearing; Jas. J. Cooper; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; H. W. Martin; J. C. Vidler; E. Eyles; H. Bladon, P.G.D.; A. F. Cross; A. F. Hatten; J. W. Hamilton-Jones; F. W. Harris; and A. Saywell, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Ian Macaulay, Coronation Lodge No. 2923; G. Jack, Macdonald Lodge No. 1216; A. C. Lee, P.M., Manchester Lodge of Research No. 5502; and M. Goldberg, Mildmay Coronation Lodge No. 3536.

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.; W. J. Williams, 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.; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derbys.; H. C. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; R. E. Parkinson; Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.; and H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B.

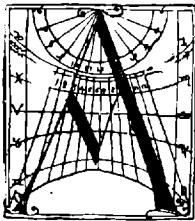
Bro. *Wing-Commander* William Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, S.W., was unanimously elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., was re-elected Treasurer; and Bro. G. H. Ruddle was re-elected Tyler.

Fourteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The following paper was read:—

MASONIC HISTORY OLD AND NEW

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP and G. P. JONES



ABOUT seventy years ago certain expressions were given currency as descriptions of two broadly distinct groups of masonic historians, of which the one was labelled the "mythical" or "imaginative", and the other the "authentic" or "verified" school. At the time when these descriptions were invented or used by Mackey and Chetwode Crawley, it was certainly desirable that the distinction between the two groups should be appreciated, and that the more critical attitude of the "authentic" writers should be encouraged; but, as the terms came into more frequent use, there was some danger of their being misunderstood and misapplied by students, who conceived of them as more completely antithetical than in fact they are. Actually, the "imaginative" school did not consist of writers utterly careless as to their facts; nor ought the verification of facts, which is the characteristic of the "authentic" writers, to be considered as sufficient in itself, and as excluding all need of imagination. The version of masonic history resulting from the labour of these writers is not final; they themselves would readily admit that it must be modified as research goes on, and that for two reasons. In the first place, new facts are discovered, and, in the second, inferences from the facts may, with the passing of time, be found faulty. In the pages which follow we shall indicate some of the major points on which, in our judgment, modification is required. It is neither convenient nor necessary to follow errors and omissions *individuatim et seriatim*, and to do so would suggest a lack of respect for certain workers in the field of masonic history to whom we, like other students, are greatly indebted. We may here explain that we take the "imaginative" school to include such writers as Preston and Oliver, and the predecessors from whom they derived their material. The "authentic" school we regard as the group of writers of whom Gould, Hughan, Rylands and Speth were outstanding examples, and of whose views Vibert (*Freemasonry before the Existence of Grand Lodges*) has made himself the exponent. Bro. Poole, at least when speculating on "The Antiquity of the Craft" (*A.Q.C.*, li), belongs to neither, but is the exponent of what he calls "imaginative theorizing." This attempt to build up a story of the craft on the basis of certain assumptions may be compared with John Locke's investigations in the field of political philosophy. By postulating the state of nature and the social contract, Locke drew a picture of the evolution of society which can make no claim to be an historical account of the stages by which political society has evolved. For reasons to be indicated presently, we cannot accept Bro. Poole's picture of masonic evolution.

IMAGINATION AND HISTORY

The Brethren will probably agree that imagination, however it may be related to reality, need not coincide at all closely with actuality. The actual material with which a boy is occupied may be but a little sand, but his mind sees it as high towers and battlements of stone. Indeed it is possible, without material of any sort, to frame imaginary structures of an elaborate kind. There

is in all men a greater or a lesser power to impose upon external objects an order or relationship conceived within the mind, as the eye joins up with the distant stars of a constellation to form the Plough or Orion's Belt. It would be possible, by linking up scattered and separate facts or statements, to make a pattern of masonic development in which King Solomon, Stonehenge, the Templars, the York Minster masons, Sir Christopher Wren and Grand Lodge all fitted more or less neatly into a whole. Such a picture might be a source of pleasure and a stimulus to pride; but, for the historian, it would lack the one necessary characteristic, for it would not be true. That is, it would not coincide with the actualities of the past, in the investigation of which the historian is as much concerned with gaps and discontinuity as the astronomer with interstellar space. For both it must be a cardinal rule not to see what is not there.

Danger is apt to beset the student concerned with the earlier phases of masonic history, especially when he seeks a remote origin for the organization of the craft. As the recorded facts are scanty, there seems to be more room for supposition and speculation; but these rarely do much good and may lead to positive harm, for the unwary may slip into treating as proved fact what is at best merely probable or possible. In fact, conclusions reached in this way can be no stronger than the assumptions on which they are based, and such assumptions, however well they may accord with other assumptions, have in themselves no value. In our view, the study of masonic history at present can best be served by a frank recognition of our ignorance on many topics relating to origins and early development, and by a renewed search for further facts, the indispensable raw material of all history. The task cannot but lead to much weariness and frequent disappointment, though it brings as well its moments of excitement and its real rewards; but even if it did not, it has to be undertaken if masonic history is to be soundly based.

To illustrate this need, we may refer to a statement attributed by Clifton Bingham (*Trans. M. & P.M. Lodge, No. 130, N.Z., Sept., 1927, p. 190*) to Chetwode Crawley, to the effect that between the third and thirteenth centuries not a score of references to King Solomon or his Temple are known to exist in the whole range of Western literature. If this be true, it is significant, but its truth must be tested. In the process of doing so, although we have so far read but a small part of the "whole range of Western literature", we have come across some references of interest which prove that allegorical or symbolical study of King Solomon's Temple was not unknown in the Middle Ages. Thus, in a treatise entitled *De Templo Salamonis* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. xci) and attributed to Bede, it is explained that cedar wood was employed because *cedrus arbor est imputribilis omnino naturæ*. *Dumfries No. 4 MS.*, approximately a thousand years later, has the same explanation: "the cedar, cyprus and olive wood was not subject to putrifaction nor possible to be devoured by worms." Bede, if indeed he was the author of *De Templo*, takes the cherubim in the Temple to have been symbols of the Old and New Testaments; so does *Dumfries No. 4 MS.* Both authors regard the laver as a symbol of baptism and the twelve oxen as foreshadowing the Apostles; and both explain the pillars, Jachin and Boaz, as representing the churches of the Jews and Gentiles, the circumcision and the uncircumcision. These references, it will be noted, raise an additional problem; it has become necessary not only to check Chetwode Crawley's statement, but, when the references to Solomon's Temple have been gathered, to consider whether the treatment of that topic in *Dumfries No. 4 MS.* is connected with a traditional interpretation which may have existed in the early Middle Ages.

To believe, as we do, in the masonic historian's inescapable duty to hunt for facts and verify conclusions, is not to belittle imagination, but simply to insist on its right function. Imagination as a substitute for facts is useless; as

a guide to facts it may be invaluable. Moreover, it is by a flash of imagination, as often as not, that the nature of a problem is perceived and a hypothesis framed to relate the facts. When that has been done, facts are sovereign; the hypothesis must be adapted to them, and not they to it.

SOME PREVALENT ERRORS

In masonic history, as in other fields of inquiry, progress requires from time to time a clearing of the ground by the uprooting of errors and misconceptions which, from the eminence of the men who believed and published them, have acquired authority; and we consider that at present a more speedy advance could be made if students would rid their minds of some assumptions and beliefs which have taken on something of the character of a tradition and an orthodoxy.

Of assumptions contrary to known facts, or to the weight of the available evidence, mention may be made of six which are still prevalent among masonic students.

1. Many masons still base conclusions on the assumption that the medieval architects were clergymen, although the studies of such scholars as Prof. Hamilton Thompson and Dr. G. G. Coulton, and careful examination of medieval building accounts, clearly show that the planning and designing of buildings in the Middle Ages were much more probably, and in some instances certainly, the work of master masons. An attempt is sometimes made to strengthen this assumption regarding Church influence in masonic development by suggesting that the catechetical form which instruction given by the Church frequently took influenced the character of masonic ceremonies. This further assumption overlooks two facts: (i) that in the Middle Ages lay instruction, as well as clerical instruction, commonly took a catechetical form, and (ii) that there is no evidence that early masonic ceremonies took the form of catechisms. Test questions and answers were certainly used in connection with the secrets of the Mason Word, but what part, if any, these played in early masonic ceremonies is purely conjectural. It is true that the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.*, or the originals on which they were based, were probably compiled by clerks, who were thus indirectly responsible for at least the historical section of the later versions of the Old Charges, which played their part in early masonic ceremonies; but, as we need hardly remind the Brethren, the Old Charges were not catechetical in form.

2. Another misconception still very prevalent among masonic students is that a contemporary distinction existed between "church" or "cathedral" masons on the one hand and "town" or "gild" masons on the other. In Bro. Poole's paper these two classes of mason are disguised as "mobile" masons and "local" masons. We know of no record to prove that in the Middle Ages any such distinction existed. A study of building accounts and of impressment orders makes it clear that the same masons, whether master masons or ordinary hewers, were often employed on different kinds of building erected in stone, for castles, cathedrals, churches, colleges and bridges, and that masons nominally residents in towns were just as liable to travel, either voluntarily or compulsorily, in order to take part in some new work, as masons normally resident in the country.

As an addendum to this misconception, there is the further unwarranted assumption that the *MS. Constitutions* were the property of the "church" masons (Vibert, p. 34). The Old Charges, however, may reasonably be presumed to be statements of the customs prevalent in the craft, and so far the only independent evidence of customs, under that name, occurs in documents relating to crown building operations (Vale Royal Abbey in 1278, Nottingham Castle in

1348, and Sandgate Castle in 1539). Similarly, the only independent evidence of the ownership or the use of versions of the Old Charges by operative masons relates to the Lodges of Stirling, Melrose, Kilwinning, Aberdeen, Dumfries, Aitchison's Haven, Swalwell and Alnwick, none of which would appear to have had church associations.

3. Ever since the view came to prevail that speculative masonry is historically linked to the operative masonry of the Middle Ages, masonic writers have devoted considerable space to the subject of masons' craft guilds. Their statements, however, are based on false analogy with what happened in other trades, and not on first-hand examination of the facts, which strongly suggest that there were few, if any, masons' craft guilds. Conder (*Hole Craft*, 56) is of opinion that the London Masons' Fellowship or Company was established in the early thirteenth century, at the time when London Bridge was being built, but produces no evidence whatsoever in support of his opinion. Gilbert Daynes (*A.Q.C.*, xxxviii, 87), referring to the London Regulations for the Trade of Masons, 1356, states that "prior to this date there must have been an organized gild of masons in London," for which statement, however, he too produces no evidence, contenting himself with a reference to Conder. Actually, not only is evidence lacking to prove that a masons' craft gild existed in London in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but, on the contrary, there is definite evidence to suggest that such a craft gild did not exist. The names of those elected and sworn in 1328 in divers mysteries of London, for the government and instruction of the same, have survived (*Cal. Letter Book E.*, 278), but no masons are included. In 1351, on the only occasion before 1376 when the Common Council was elected from the mysteries, instead of from the wards, the masons were unrepresented (*Cal. Letter Book F.*, 237). In 1356 the preamble to the Regulations for the Trade of Masons states that, unlike other trades, the masons had not been regulated in due manner by the government of the folks of the trade, which implies that there was no craft gild amongst the London masons at that date. The first explicit reference to a permanent organization of masons in London does not occur until 1376, when four masons were elected to the Common Council to represent the mystery, and the probability is that the gild was established at some date between 1356 and 1376.

Vibert (p. 26) assumes that masons' craft guilds existed in other towns, because in such places as Coventry, Chester, York and Newcastle masons participated in the fourteenth or fifteenth century in the performance of miracle plays. This points to some kind of organization, but in our opinion, not necessarily to a craft gild. The gild regulations of more than forty trades are preserved in the *York Memorandum Book*, but there are no regulations for the masons, nor are there any in the published records of Coventry. In no town in England or Scotland, other than London, have masons' craft ordinances been traced before 1450. We cannot see any reason why masons' ordinances should have been lost, whilst others have been preserved, and we feel compelled to conclude that local guilds of masons were not strongly developed in medieval boroughs, a conclusion which an examination of the conditions prevailing in the stone-building industry would lead one to expect. Masons were doubtless organized, but on a looser and less localized basis than most contemporary trades.

4. Another common assumption, unsupported by evidence, is that in medieval times English masons had secret methods of recognition. The system of recruitment by impressment, so common in England in the Middle Ages, implied that the "pressed" man, if reasonably efficient, would be retained on the work, whether in possession of secret methods of recognition or not. Moreover, it was provided by Article VIII of the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.* of c. 1400, that a less skilful journeyman was to be replaced by a better skilled man as soon as practicable, which strongly suggests that, according to the masons' customs, skill, and not a password, was the recognized test leading to employment.

5. In the nineteenth century there was a common tendency, persisting in some quarters to this day, to over-simplify great changes in social and intellectual history, and to date them too definitely, as though, for instance, the "Industrial Revolution," starting in 1733 or 1760 and finishing in 1850, were the creation of John Kay, Richard Arkwright, James Watt and a handful of others. Historians, aware of the complexity of such developments as the Reformation or the French Revolution, tend to see them as evolutionary movements, not susceptible of rigid dating. The masonic historian, similarly, nowadays finds it difficult to accept Murray Lyon's simple view that Dr. Desaguliers was the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system of symbolical masonry, a dictum contrary to the weight of the available evidence, which points to the transformation of operative into speculative masonry being a gradual process and not a sudden revolution brought about by any one or two men.

6. In our view there may be added to the list of unsubstantiated beliefs held by many masons the notion that King Athelstan (925-40), or an assembly convened by him, laid down charges for the craft. The statement rests on no better authority than the *MS. Constitutions* which, ancient as they are, came approximately five centuries later than King Athelstan's time, and, in any event, made a muddle of the early history of building. Actually, the legendary idea of Athelstan as a founder of masonry accords ill with the weight of available evidence, which shows (a) that there was comparatively little building in stone in tenth-century England, and consequently, very little likelihood of masons' regulations, and (b) that the regulation of industry, when first imposed by external authority, was local and not national in character. The masons' practices in the later Middle Ages were apparently regulated by "customs" and not by ordinances. From surviving building accounts it has been possible to trace certain of these "customs," including one of 1278 relating to the purchase of masons' tools and another of 1348 relating to masons' holidays, but even our limited acquaintance with contemporary building accounts shows us that these particular "customs" were far from being national in their application. Athelstan was doubtless introduced into the story in order to give ancient and royal sanction to an institution of later date and different origin, just as King Alfred (871-901) has been claimed as the founder of the University of Oxford.

Two matters about which the masonic historian would like to know more, if only the necessary evidence could be discovered, are, firstly, whether a "speculative" element, in the modern sense defined below, existed among the masons' craft in pre-Reformation days, and, secondly, whether the masons at that period made a practice of moralizing upon their working tools. So far as we are aware, there is no evidence to suggest that either of these features characterized the craft in the fifteenth century, and until such evidence is found the historian cannot legitimately assume (as Bro. Poole seems to us to do) any similarity in this respect between medieval operative masonry and modern speculative masonry. The assumption results, possibly, from a process of projecting backwards, that is, of thinking that each separate element in modern masonry must have had, if only in embryo, a medieval equivalent. To us it seems that the separate elements may be of different antiquity, and that some may have been added for the first time in a post-Reformation age. We hold most strongly that, to take one instance, the medieval lodge must be treated on the basis of medieval evidence, without allowing any weight whatsoever, for this purpose, to even the best-attested characteristics of eighteenth-century lodges; and similarly with regard to ritual.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTS

The discovery of well-verified facts, and the interpretation of such facts, are by no means the same thing. The old saying that "facts speak for themselves" is at best but a half-truth; according to the way in which the facts

are arranged and presented, so they can be made to tell very different stories. Thus the publication in 1920 of G. W. Daniels, *The Early English Cotton Industry*, placed the old-established facts concerning the Industrial Revolution in an entirely new light. What is true of general history is equally true of masonic history. Old-established facts, well-known to masonic historians such as Findel, Murray Lyon, Gould and Chetwode Crawley, writing in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when interpreted in the light of subsequently discovered facts, and when viewed from a somewhat different angle from that formerly adopted, may be shown to have an entirely different significance from that previously believed. Thus the publication of Sadler's *Masonic Facts and Fictions* in 1887 put an entirely new interpretation upon the facts concerning the so-called "Antient" masons, who until then had been regarded as seceders and schismatics. We propose briefly to review certain problems in order to show how the new interpretation of the facts differs from the old.

1. *Gothic style and Freemasonry.* That the so-called Gothic style of building was introduced into England, and into Western Europe generally, about the end of the eleventh century, and that it continued to develop for a period of some four hundred years, are undisputed facts. That the rise and early development of freemasonry took place during this same period of four hundred years is probable. But to suggest, as Gould and Vibert appear to do, that it was the Gothic style which led to the growth of freemasonry, seems to us to be a complete misinterpretation of the facts. If "freemasonry" were the art and science of building and construction, *i.e.*, if it were equivalent to the term "architecture", then the development of the Gothic style would undoubtedly have played a great part in the development of freemasonry. In the past, *e.g.*, in the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, "masonry" has been treated as equivalent to "geometry" [= architecture]. Even as late as 1878 Woodford, whom Mackey described as a leader of the "authentic" school, states (*Kenning's Cyclopaedia*) that "Freemasonry, according to the general acceptance of the term, is an art founded on the principles of geometry, and directed to the service and convenience of mankind." Though we cannot discover that Gould and Vibert ever committed themselves to any precise definition of freemasonry, we are of opinion that they did not consistently adhere to one conception of their subject-matter. At some places they appear more or less to have adopted Woodford's old-fashioned definition, and elsewhere to take a more modern view of the scope of the subject, approximating to that of Begemann, who concerned himself in his *History of Freemasonry* almost exclusively with the development of organization among freemasons. Present-day writers conceive of the subject more widely as "the organization and practices which have from time to time prevailed among freemasons."

As we see it, the importance of the period 1100-1500 in the development of freemasonry does not lie in the Gothic style which characterized the buildings, but in the great expansion in the use of stone for the purpose of building. It was during that period that stone largely displaced timber in the erection of castles, churches, town walls and bridges. With the growth in the number and size of stone buildings, there was undoubtedly a corresponding growth in the number of stone-workers, and consequently an increased likelihood of organization among such workers. Although the earliest general statement of masons' customs dates from the second half of the fourteenth century, a particular "custom" relating to tools has been traced as early as 1278. The probability, however, is that the "customs" developed gradually, and that they were transmitted orally before being set down in writing in the so-called "Book of Charges" which served as a basis for the articles and points of the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.* of c. 1400. Thus the organization of masons in this country, and the recognized customs to which their trade was subject, may quite well have dated from the twelfth century.

Among those recognized customs was a requirement on the part of a fellow to "hele" the counsel of his fellows in lodge and in chamber. This injunction most probably applied to trade secrets relating both to the working of stone and to the planning and designing of buildings. In this matter we can follow Gould part, but certainly not the whole, of the way, when he says (*Concise History*, 70):

As to the secrets . . . possessed by the operative masons in the Middle Ages, all trades even of the present day have their own, and the very word "mystery"; so often used, indicates the jealousy with which each craft guarded the arcana of its trade.

In his desire to strengthen his argument, Gould has gone completely astray regarding the term "mystery" as it occurs, for example, in the London Masons' Ordinances of 1481, where there is reference to "the Art or Mistery of Masons in the City of London." The "mistery" or "mystery" in this connection is not the word "mystery" = secret or secret rite, derived from the Latin, *mysterium*, but "mystery" [Middle English, *mistere*, later *mystery*] = trade or craft, derived from the Old French, *mestier* [Modern French, *métier*], and has nothing to do with secrets.

2. *The Reformation and Freemasonry.* Gould (*A.Q.C.*, iii, 11) has summarized the connection between the Reformation and Freemasonry by stating: "the Reformation; no more churches built; the builders die out." Vibert has somewhat toned down this summary when he says:

the decline of building, after the dissolution of the monasteries had removed the masons' chief employer, would go to indicate that the actual operative secrets known to the architects who built, e.g., King's College Chapel, were very soon lost by their degenerate operative successors.

Both, however, misinterpret the facts relating to the Reformation and its effects upon the building industry. Their statements are based on a misconception of the importance of the Church as an employer of masons, and also on the previously mentioned mistaken assumption that the so-called "church masons" were responsible for the development of freemasonry. The importance of the Church as an employer of masons had tended to decline already in the later Middle Ages, a decline that was in part at least offset by an increasing demand on the part of other employers, a tendency which became more marked in the post-Reformation period. The building industry continued to thrive during the sixteenth century, as we have endeavoured to show in our paper on *The Sixteenth Century Mason* (*A.Q.C.*, I), and the system of apprenticeship, by which operative secrets were imparted, persisted. Very possibly what Gould and Vibert had at the back of their minds, when making their statements, was the almost complete disappearance for a time at least of the Gothic style, which, as indicated above, they regarded, though wrongly in our opinion, as intimately associated with the development of freemasonry. Actually it was the Renaissance, and not the Reformation, which led to the displacement of the Gothic by the classical style, which in its turn stimulated the interest of scholars and antiquaries in architecture, and thus indirectly led to the interest taken in masonry by non-operatives.

In addition to the change in employers and the change in styles, there were other changes in the building industry in the sixteenth century which cannot be attributed either to the Reformation or to the Renaissance, and these changes probably had a considerable influence both on organization among masons and on the regulations or practices prevailing amongst them. We refer to the increasing use of the contract system in place of the direct labour system, the growing importance of plans and designs prepared by persons other than

masters, and the consequent decline in the status of the master mason, and the changes in working conditions, such as those relating to wages and overtime. There were also changes in the matter of holidays, but those particular changes in working conditions were indirectly due to the Reformation. Thus it is probable that, with the many changes in the building industry in England during the sixteenth century, the old system of regional "assemblies" administering masons' customs, in so far as it really existed during the Middle Ages, slowly disintegrated and that the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* ceased to be the embodiment of living regulations governing the operative masons.

Vibert's statement regarding the loss of operative secrets shortly after the Reformation very possibly misled Bro. Covey-Crump into putting forward, in his Prestonian Lecture for 1931 on medieval master masons and their secrets, the suggestion that that loss both explains why present-day master masons have to be content with substituted secrets, and also gives an indication as to the nature of the genuine secrets. As Vibert, however, misinterpreted his facts, as previously explained, and there actually is no reason to suppose that operative secrets were lost about the time of the Reformation, it follows that Bro. Covey-Crump's suggestion was based on a misapprehension.

3. *The terms "Entered Apprentice" and "Fellow Craft."* The earliest known printed references in England to the terms "Entered Apprentice" and "Fellow Craft" occur in 1723, a fact which Vibert (p. 84) has, in our opinion, misinterpreted when he states that the terms "Entered Apprentice" and "Fellow Craft" were first used in English masonry in 1723. The date when they were first printed does not necessarily prove when they were first used. It is commonly supposed that these Scottish terms were introduced into English Masonry by Anderson; the term "Enter'd Prentice" occurs in his *Constitutions* of 1723 in a footnote and in the title of the re-printed version of Matthew Birkhead's song, which had originally appeared in *Read's Weekly Journal* of 1st December, 1722, as "The Free Masons Health." The term "Fellow-Craft" occurs in the Charges, the Regulations and the Postscript to the *Constitutions* of 1723. We do not doubt that Anderson (whether originally made a mason in Scotland or not) was acquainted from his youth with the Scottish operative terms "enter'd prentis" and "fellow of craft" in one or other of their forms, as even if these terms were not generally known in Aberdeen, they would almost certainly be known in his home, as his father, a glazier by trade, was a prominent member of the Lodge of Aberdeen. Anderson did not use the older form "fellow of craft," plural "fellows of craft," as it occurs in the Schaw Statutes of 1598, and in the minutes of various lodges, e.g., Aitchison's Haven (1598), Edinburgh (1600), Kilwinning (1642), Ancient, Dundee (1651), and which was still being used in Scotland as late as 1735, e.g., Dunblane (1696), Kelso (1701), Dumbarton Kilwinning (1726), Hamilton Kilwinning (1729), Glasgow Kilwinning (1735). Nor did he use the form "fellowcraft," plural "fellowcrafts," as it occurs in the statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670, and in the records of the Lodges of Melrose (1690, 1695), Haughfoot (1704), and Peebles Kilwinning (1718). The form used by Anderson in 1723 was "fellow-craft," spelt with a hyphen, the same spelling being used for the plural as for the singular. We can trace no Scottish precedent either for his hyphen or for his plural, and cannot help wondering whether a man of his undoubted Scottish birth and upbringing would have been the first to introduce these new forms. In any case, neither survived, and already in his *Constitutions* of 1738 we find the forms "fellow craft" and "fellow crafts." In *Sloane MS.* 3329 of c. 1700, which is probably of English origin, the form "fellow craftes" as a plural occurs twice, and in the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* of 1711 (which there is some reason to think was an accepted mason's *aide mémoire*) the forms "fellow craftsman" and "fellow craftsmen" occur. Thus the available evidence points to the process of adopting the Scottish terms

"fellow of craft" or "fellowcraft" in English accepted masonry as having begun well before Anderson's time. Similarly, the term "enter'd prentis" appears to have been introduced into English accepted masonry before 1723. In *Sloane MS.* 3329 of c. 1700 we find the expression "interprintices" and in the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* of 1711 the term "enterprentices". In *A Mason's Examination*, printed in the *London Post Boy* of 11-13 April, 1723, the term "entered apprentice" is found, so that within a month of the appearance of Anderson's *Constitutions*, this particular term had become fully anglicized, which makes it unlikely that the term was first introduced into English masonry by Anderson early in 1723.

4. *Operative and Speculative Masonry.* This section may best be introduced by a brief examination of the terms employed. By "operative masonry" we understand the organization and practices which from time to time prevailed among operative or working masons in the later Middle Ages and early modern times. Where such an organization of working masons was joined by men who were not masons by trade, we describe them as "non-operative masons." In Scotland such non-operative masons were known in the seventeenth century as "gentleman masons" or "geomatic masons." When the term "gentleman mason" was used in England, it apparently meant something different from what it did in Scotland, to judge by two questions and answers in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* of 1730:

Q. What do you learn by being a Gentleman-Mason? A. Secresy, Morality and Goodfellowship.

Q. What do you learn by being an Operative Mason? A. Hue, Square, Mould-Stone, lay a Level and raise a Perpendicular.

By "speculative masonry," or what Murray Lyon calls "symbolical masonry," we understand a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols. In other words, we regard it as synonymous with "freemasonry" in its modern acceptation. The word "speculatyf" occurs in the *Cooke MS.* of c. 1410 in the sense of speculative knowledge or theory, as distinct from practical knowledge. A fifteenth-century "speculative mason," had the expression been used, would have been an amateur architect, or a person interested in the mathematical side of geometry, and not a "speculative mason" in the modern sense.

Speth, in commenting in *Q.C.A.*, ii, upon the occurrence of the word "speculatyf" in the *Cooke MS.*, says:

in the fifteenth and again in the eighteenth century, Masonic documents use the word in precisely the same sense; but the curious part is that intervening manuscripts reveal no trace of its usage. And yet I believe that it was handed down amongst the masons, and not re-introduced fortuitously by Anderson or his co-temporaries.

Apart from the *Woodford* and *Supreme Council MSS.*, which are exact copies of the *Cooke MS.* made by Wm. Reid in 1728, we cannot discover that the word "speculative" was used in eighteenth-century masonic documents, or that it was re-introduced by Anderson or his contemporaries. Chetwode Crawley (*Cæm. Hib.*, i, 6) repeats the statement in what concerns Anderson, when he writes that the word "speculative" was adopted by Anderson in his *Old Charges* of 1723. Unfortunately, neither Speth nor Chetwode Crawley gives chapter and verse for his statement, and we have failed to trace the word in Anderson. Though possibly he does use it in some connection or other, we are quite clear that the terms commonly employed by Anderson to describe the masons associated with the newly-established Grand Lodge were "free mason" and "accepted free mason" in 1723, and "free and accepted mason" in 1738. We have examined such popular eighteenth-century masonic publications

as Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, *Three Distinct Knocks*, *Jachin and Boaz* and Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, but nowhere have we succeeded in discovering the expression "speculative mason" or "speculative masonry." We do not claim that our search has been exhaustive, but we feel justified in concluding that the word "speculative" was not commonly used in the eighteenth century in connection with freemasonry, if it was ever used at all.¹

We are inclined to think that in attributing the adoption or re-introduction of the word "speculative" to Anderson or his contemporaries, Speth and Chetwode Crawley have made an assumption which is not a fact, as in the cases we discussed in the first part of this paper; they have led other masonic students astray, including the editors of Mackey's *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry* (1929), p. 958, and we, too, must plead guilty of accepting their statements on a previous occasion (*Introduction to Freemasonry*, 108) without checking them.

Between the operative masonry of the Schaw Statutes and the speculative masonry of the early nineteenth century there is a gap of some 200 years, and the problem is how it was filled. One possibility is that the operative masonry of the early seventeenth century continued practically unchanged until the early eighteenth century, and that it was then suddenly transformed by Desaguliers, Anderson and others into something approximating to the speculative masonry of the early nineteenth century. The whole weight of the evidence is against any such revolutionary transformation. Looking forwards from c. 1723, we see various indications of a series of changes lasting until after the Union of the Grand Lodges in 1813. Looking backwards from c. 1723, we have less direct evidence to guide us, but there is certainly no reason to think that the process of change was other than gradual, just as it was after 1723. We feel that by treating the history of masonry in England, Scotland and Ireland as separate developments in each country, members of the "authentic" school have placed a wrong interpretation upon the established facts, as one of us has endeavoured to show in a paper on *The Genesis of Speculative Masonry* recently communicated to the Q.C. Lodge (A.Q.C., lv). We shall, however, content ourselves here with quoting the conclusion arrived at in that paper, viz., taking everything into account, there would seem fairly good grounds for thinking that some of the important changes introduced into the old operative ceremonies were already in existence in the last decades of the seventeenth century, thirty years or more before the date commonly accepted. This changing body of masonic practices, which prevailed in the later seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries, can best be described as "accepted masonry," and those who participated in these practices as "accepted masons."

In our opinion, accepted masonry formed the bridge connecting operative and speculative masonry. Further, we hold that the bridge was entirely built in England, as suggested in *The Genesis of Speculative Masonry*. On the other hand, we believe that at the operative end the bridge linked mainly, if not entirely, on to Scottish operative masonry. There is very little information available about English operative masonry in the second half of the sixteenth century, though the only positive reference to masons' "customs" with which we are acquainted, viz., the reference in the Sandgate Castle building account to the jurat at Folkestone visiting the controller at Sandgate concerning the "use and custom of free masons and hard hewers," is dated August, 1539.

¹ In reply to an inquiry from us, Bro. J. Heron Lepper, whose Prestonian Lecture for 1932 dealt with the development of masonic ritual in England during the eighteenth century, has expressed the opinion that the term "speculative" came into masonic ritual "at or before the Union anyway; for it occurs in the appropriate place in Carlile. . . . In an American ritual of the mid-nineteenth century I find "free and accepted" in use. . . . Its absence from the American ritual would tend to the conclusion that it came in latish in the eighteenth century (at earliest)."

As indicated above, Gould and Vibert were of opinion that the builders died out, or in any case that operative masons lost their secrets, after the Reformation. Though we hold that they were quite mistaken regarding this particular point, we doubt if much, or any, purely masonic organization carrying on the old practices remained among English operative masons in the later part of the sixteenth century. Two versions of the Old Charges survive from that period, the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.* of 1583 and the *Lansdowne MS.* of c. 1600, and two seventeenth- and eighteenth-century versions, which claim to be copies of sixteenth-century originals, viz., the *Levander-York MS.* and the *Melrose No. 2 MS.* Of these manuscripts, only the original from which *Melrose No. 2* was copied, the so-called *Melrose No. 1 MS.*, would appear to bear any *prima facie* evidence of an operative connection, viz., a certificate at the end given by John Winchester, free mason, to the effect that Robert Winchester had lawfully done his duty to the science of masonry, which presumably means that he had served a seven years' apprenticeship to the trade. The words at the end of the *Levander-York MS.*, "From York Lodge—copy'd from the original engross'd on Abortive in the year 1560," may be held to imply the existence of a lodge at York in 1560, but may equally only imply the existence of a lodge at York c. 1740, at the time when the copy known as the *Levander-York MS.* was made. In neither case is there anything to show whether the lodge was "operative" or "accepted" in character.

Apart from these sixteenth-century versions of the Old Charges, and the existence in certain towns of trade companies in which the masons were generally associated with various building and miscellaneous trades, there would appear to be little evidence of the existence of freemasonry in England in the second half of the sixteenth century. There is, however, some ground for thinking that a lodge of accepted masons may have existed at Kendal in 1594 in connection with the Company to which the masons, carpenters and other building crafts belonged. Owing to the loss of early records, the lodge of accepted masons or so-called "Acception" connected with the London Masons' Company cannot be traced before the seventeenth century, the first certain reference in the Company's Account Book, 1619-1706, being in 1630-1, though there is a probable reference in 1620-1. It is possible, however, that the Acception dates back to the sixteenth century.

As to the nature of the practices carried on by the Acception and other seventeenth-century lodges of accepted masons, only indirect evidence is available, and that points to a version of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, or Old Charges, being used as ceremonies of acceptance. Four versions of the Old Charges can be ascribed to the second half of the sixteenth century [*Levander York original* (missing), *Grand Lodge No. 1*, *Melrose No. 1* (missing) and *Lansdowne*], five to the first half of the seventeenth century [*York No. 1*, *York No. 3* (missing), *Wood*, *Thorp*, *Sloane* 3848], about forty to the second half of the seventeenth century, and nearly as many to the first half of the eighteenth century. Of those copied in the second half of the seventeenth century, not more than five or six, of which three at least are Scottish, can be attributed to the period 1650-75. Thus, to judge by the surviving versions, the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century constituted the period in which the greatest interest was taken in the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, and it was probably during that period that accepted masonry was making most headway. In the old operative days the *MS. Constitutions*, according to the documents themselves, were read to candidates on admission, the candidates being required to swear to keep the regulations or charges, and the presumption is that a version of the *MS. Constitutions* was read to accepted masons on their admission. That also is implied by the fact that when Anderson revised the legendary history and the charges in his *Constitutions* of 1723, it was stipulated in that book that these

should be read at the making of a new brother, presumably instead of one of the manuscript versions.

Because the fragmentary pieces of evidence are scattered over a period of nearly 200 years, stretching from 1539, when we have a definite reference to the "use and custom of [operative] free masons and hard hewers," to 1723, when Anderson published his *Constitutions* for the guidance and instruction of the brethren associated with the newly-established Grand Lodge, we cannot, in view of the many gaps in the evidence, and certain other considerations to be mentioned shortly, claim to have traced a definite continuity between English operative masonry of 1539 and English accepted masonry of 1723. In any case, such continuity as can be found in English masonry during the period 1539-1723 is in no way comparable with that which can be shown, on the basis of copious Scottish Lodge records, to have existed between Scottish operative masonry of c. 1600 and the speculative masonry of the present day. The other considerations to which we have referred are as follows:—(i) The fact that in London in the seventeenth century certain members of the Masons' Company, who are known to have been masons by trade, joined the so-called "Acception," i.e., became "accepted masons" (just as operative masons may become freemasons at the present time), strongly suggests that the rites and usages of seventeenth-century "accepted masons" differed from such rites and usages, if any, as were practised by contemporary English operative masons. (ii) The early minutes of the only two English operative lodges of the pre-1730 period which have survived, viz., those of the Alnwick Lodge, which date from 1703, and of the Swalwell Lodge, which date from 1725, show that there were no non-operative or gentleman masons associated with those lodges prior to 1730. (iii) There are three elements in speculative masonry, viz., (a) certain expressions, (b) certain esoteric matter, and (c) certain legendary matter, all of which have their prototypes in Scottish operative masonry of the late sixteenth or of the seventeenth century, but no known prototypes in English operative masonry.

(a) Many years ago Gould drew attention to the fact that the operative terms "fellow craft," "entered apprentice" and "cowan," which were afterwards turned to speculative uses by the freemasons of the South, are mentioned in the Schaw Statutes and appear to have been in common use in Scotland since 1598. He stopped short at that point, however, and did not discuss when or how the terms were introduced into accepted masonry, a problem upon which we have briefly touched above.

(b) In 1924 Bro. Poole, in commenting upon the early masonic catechisms (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvii, 12), wrote:

the strong Scottish "flavour" in several of the documents hardly needs to be pointed out, and it is rather a puzzling feature of the whole series. We cannot believe that all our Freemasonry is immediately derived from that country—the large number of definitely English copies of the Old Charges would prove the contrary.

It seems to us that Bro. Poole has not been prepared to accept the conclusions to which his facts obviously point, viz., that the nucleus of the present First and Third Degree ceremonies can clearly be traced back to the somewhat crude usages and phrases associated before the end of the seventeenth century with the imparting of the Mason Word in Scotland. Whether all our freemasonry is immediately derived from Scotland is a somewhat different problem. That Scottish lodges made use of versions of the Old Charges in their ceremonies is clear from an entry of 1670 in the Mark Book of the Lodge of Aberdeen; that the so-called Scottish versions of the Old Charges were of English origin can be proved by careful analysis and comparison. But whether English accepted masons obtained their knowledge of the Old Charges from Scotland, together

with their knowledge of the Mason Word, or whether they obtained their knowledge of the Old Charges from English sources, is not settled. They might have learned from Scotland of the importance of the Old Charges in masonic ceremonies, and yet have obtained their copy of such a document from an English source. Thus no version of the *Sloane* family of the Old Charges has been traced to Scotland; further, the oldest so-called Scottish version that has been discovered is dated 1666, though there is some evidence which points to the Lodge of Aitchison's Haven having a version as early as December, 1646 (*A.Q.C.*, xxiv, 41-2). There is, however, some reason for thinking that the version of the *Sloane* family, *Sloane MS.*, 3848, which was completed on 16th October, 1646, was used at Elias Ashmole's ceremony of acceptance at Warrington on that day. If that were so, the document may on the whole be presumed to have been obtained from an English source, though such secrets of the Mason Word as were imparted would be of Scottish origin, since the Mason Word as an operative institution certainly existed in Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century, and probably as early as the middle of that century. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when accepted masonry was making rapid progress in England, the use of the Old Charges was probably well established in Scottish operative masonry, and at least some English versions dating from that period have close Scottish affinities, as for instance, *Harris No. 1* with *Dumfries No. 3*, and *York No. 6* with *Dumfries Nos. 1 and 2*.

(c) The two pillars referred to in the *Cooke MS.* of c. 1410 and in all later versions of the Old Charges, were, as indicated in Hebrew apocryphal writings and Josephus, traditionally explained as those on which the seven liberal arts, including geometry or masonry, were carved, to keep them from perishing by flood or fire, and not the two pillars set up in the porch of the Temple, as described in *1 Kings*, vii, 21. Solomon's pillars, it is believed, came into masonry, not through the English *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, but through the Scottish ceremonies associated with the Mason Word, as is indicated by the Rev. Robert Kirk, Minister of Aberfoyle, who wrote in 1691 that the Mason Word "is like a Rabbinical Tradition in way of comment on Jachin and Boaz, the two Pillars erected in Solomon's Temple (*1 Kings*, vii, 21), with an Addition of some secret signe delyvered from Hand to Hand by which they know and become familiar one with another." The masonic tradition that the pillars set up by Solomon were made hollow, the better to serve as archives for masonry, doubtless represents an attempt to harmonize the two different pillar legends.

To say that all our speculative masonry is immediately derived from Scotland is to ignore the English origin of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* and the possibility that accepted masons obtained from English sources the copies of the *MS. Constitutions* which played a part in their ceremonies in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. On the other hand, it has to be recognized that, however important the *MS. Constitutions* may have been in early accepted masonry and in shaping the *Book of Constitutions* as we know it to-day, yet, with the gradual expansion and evolution of the working, their ritualistic importance has steadily declined. If a keen ritualist were to make a careful study of a version of the Old Charges, it is very doubtful if he could trace much, if any, connection between the Old Charges and the ritual. The shaping of the present ritual, the result partly of discarding or selection, and partly of elaboration or expansion, is doubtless due to English accepted masons, but the foundation on which it is built is almost, if not wholly, Scottish. With their habit of treating the history of masonry in England, Scotland and Ireland as a separate development in each country, writers of the "authentic" school make little or no reference to the great debt which present-day speculative masonry throughout the habitable globe owes to seventeenth-century Scottish operative masonry.

Enough has been said, we trust, to convince the Brethren that the "authentic" school, for all its excellence, cannot be regarded as having produced a satisfactory version of masonic history. To that end a new school, now being established, may contribute much, and we may be permitted to make certain suggestions as to the lines on which its work should be carried on. In the first place, following the best tradition of the "authentic" school, it should pay special attention to the discovery, description, and publication of documents. The Craft has a rich heritage and its historians are under a special obligation not only to carry out a detailed study of its fundamental documents, but to use every resource of critical scholarship in making good editions of them available for as many students as possible. It is moreover desirable in these days, when to the slow ravages of time there may be added sudden destruction by enemy action, that photographic copies of every masonic document should be made and distributed in convenient and relatively secure places, so that even if the originals were destroyed, the *MS. Constitutions* and ancient lodge minutes would survive to be studied by future generations.

In the second place, organized search is desirable in order to garner every scrap of information of masonic interest in the literature and historical records not only of the British Isles, but of Western Europe. Inevitably this means gathering much information which, at first sight, may seem of little use, and searching in many quarters without result; but it is worth something to know what sources are poor or useless, and the significance of information sometimes takes time to be appreciated. We believe that if the diligence and care shown, for instance, by Bro. Williams were more widely spread among the Brethren, masonic history would be further advanced than it is.

Lastly, we consider that an attempt should be made to deal with some problems as yet neglected or unperceived. Investigation of the institutional history of the Craft and the study of its ritual may be regarded as proceeding satisfactorily, and some work is being done on the economic aspects of freemasonry, at any rate in its "operative" phase. But so far there has been little or no attempt to discover the place of freemasonry in intellectual, cultural and social history. It is therefore to be desired that competent Brethren should investigate the relationship between accepted or speculative masonry and the political, philosophical, ethical, religious and scientific ideas of its formative period, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result of their labours, we may reasonably hope it would be possible to present a fuller history of the craft, in a fashion which would at the same time deepen the understanding of masonic students and interest a wider circle of historians.¹

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the authors for their interesting paper, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W.; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. L. Edwards, Ivor Grantham, F. L. Pick, R. H. Baxter, J. H. Lepper, W. J. Williams, H. Poole, F. R. Radice, H. H. Hallett, and J. W. Hamilton-Jones.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

It is pleasant to have to propose a vote of thanks to the authors of so admirable and attractive a paper, and our thanks are also due to the Secretary for his efficient discharge of the by no means easy task of reading another man's work.

¹ This paper is to be communicated very shortly to the Q.C. Lodge. We have to thank the following for assisting us in various ways: Bro. A. L. Miller, our colleagues Douglas Hamer and A. G. Pool, and Mr. H. M. McKechnie, Secretary of the Manchester University Press.

There seem to be few subjects more apt for illustrating the difficulties and problems, and occasionally the triumphs, of historical treatment than that of the records of the Craft. Its early years are so obscure, the critical points in its history so barren of material, the secrecy of its proceedings and ritual so turned against itself, that one can almost understand the fact-starved adherents of the "authentic" school taking refuge in the dope and pipe-dreams of the "imaginative". So few are the facts that we feel that most inferences that can be drawn from them are merely temporary and provisional, and that should the ever-present possibility of the discovery of but one or two more be realised, we might be at once forced to change the whole tendency of these inferences. Our authors, for example, by reason of the presence of Scottish authorities and the comparative absence of English ones, draw the conclusion that the foundation on which our ritual is built is Scottish. But in addition to a feeling that to suggest that the development of the speculative Craft was from England to Scotland and then back to England with a Scottish influence is to suggest an improbable diversion and something discontinuous. I do feel the possibility of further evidence one day presenting itself showing a native English ritual, nor can I ignore the probability that men like Ashmole entered Freemasonry on account of its reputation for esotericism.

The paper touches briefly and wisely on the now exploded theory, due to Montalembert, of the clerical character of the medieval builders. To the names of Hamilton, Thompson and Coulton it is suggested that there be added that of Swarthwout for his book on *The Monastic Craftsman*.

As is suggested, masonic organization into guilds was probably neither so early nor so extensive as has been sometimes thought. But I for one cannot ignore the evidence, although perhaps chiefly inferential, of travelling or wandering bodies of masons with secret signs of recognition of which Dr. Coulton takes cognisance; nor do I think that the presence of a body of pressed men negatives the existence of a core of regular organized professional masons with their trade and perhaps other secrets.

I am much interested in our authors' discussion of the Gothic style. To judge from Dr. Anderson—and indeed from other eighteenth century authors—the term "Gothic" in 1717 denoted that which was without taste, inelegant, irregular, dark and unlit by the sun of classical learning and practice, and it is interesting that in all probability the change from operative into speculative freemasonry roughly synchronised with the replacement of Gothic standards in architecture by those of Renaissance classicism. I think it would be of some interest to compare the history of the use of the word "architect" and the development of that profession as given in Briggs' *The Architect of History* with the changes just mentioned.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

We have listened to-day to a most refreshing paper. It therefore gives me very great pleasure to second this vote of thanks.

Bro. Knoop and his colleague have done well to direct our attention to certain prevalent errors in the matter of masonic history. One of the common assumptions mentioned in this paper as being unsupported by evidence is the assumption that in medieval times English masons, as distinct from Scottish masons, had secret modes of recognition. If that assumption is without foundation I am bound to admit that I myself must be counted amongst those who have fondly cherished that illusion. I imagine, however, that Bro. Knoop does not go so far as to contend that there is no evidence whatever from which the existence in England of such secret modes of recognition may be *inferred*, but that he confines himself to the assertion that as yet no documents of that

period have been discovered which actually mention the existence of such secret modes of recognition.

To my mind there is one piece of circumstantial evidence from which the existence in England of such secret modes of recognition may legitimately be inferred; and in support of that contention I would quote a masonic student whose views will, I believe, command the respect of Bro. Knoop. I refer to the Prestonian Lecturer for the year 1938—Bro. Knoop himself. In the course of the Prestonian Lecture delivered in that year attention was drawn to the following passage, which is to be found in Andrew Marvell's *Rehearsal Transposed*, published in England in 1672:

“As those that have the Mason's word secretly discern one another”.

Here is a casual remark appearing in a non-masonic publication in 1672 referring to secret methods of discernment practised by those who had the Mason's Word. It is surely inconceivable that masons in possession of the Mason's Word would have communicated that word for the purpose of distinguishing themselves from others without a cautious preliminary exchange of some secret form of recognition.

Written records, made by masons themselves in medieval times, of such secret forms of recognition are hardly to be expected. A casual reference thereto in a contemporary non-masonic publication connotes, I suggest, a masonic practice sufficiently established to have become common knowledge. The very casualness of the remark enhances its significance. Unless, therefore, it is contended that the introduction of secret modes of recognition amongst masons in England was not a gradual but a sudden process, the existence of some secret form of recognition may, in my humble opinion, be inferred long before the date of that non-masonic publication.

Towards the end of this paper Bro. Knoop and his colleague pay a well deserved tribute to the indefatigable labours of Bro. Williams. The warmth of the reception accorded to this paper will assure Bro. Knoop and his colleague of the admiration which as a Lodge we entertain for their own industry and zeal in that field of masonic research associated with their names.

Bro. F. L. PICK said:—

I would like to add my tribute to the thanks paid to the authors of this interesting and provocative paper, but I suggest that a greater portion of the operative end of the bridge connecting operative and speculative masonry stood on English soil than our authors would have us believe. That there was some Masonic connection between the two countries is indicated by the fact that certain Scottish copies of the Old Charges were obviously based on English originals, but the mutual hostility which existed between the two countries until well into the seventeenth century would surely hamper such cultural developments. One may recall the Ordinary of the Masons' Gild of Newcastle-on-Tyne of 1st September, 1581, wherein it was provided that no Scotsman should be taken apprentice under a penalty of forty shillings, nor ever be admitted into the Company on any account whatever (*A.Q.C.*, xxv, 323).

On the other hand we have evidence of the practical interest taken both in Freemasonry and the Craft Gilds of the seventeenth century by Randle Holme the third, of Chester; “I cannot but Honor the Fellowship of the Masons,” etc. Bros. Coulthurst and Lawson indicate in their paper on *The Lodge of Randle Holme at Chester* (*A.Q.C.*, xlv) the intimate knowledge possessed by Bro. Holme of matters relating to the Companies of that City. As an Alderman of the Painters Stationers' Company he signed an agreement between his Company and the Barber Surgeons and received payment for banner-painting

and other work from more than one of the Companies. One finds him in correspondence with Dr. Kuerden, of Preston, another enthusiastic antiquary; and the Gild Rolls of Preston of 1662 and 1682 contain the names of Randle Holme the third, and his son, Randle Holme the fourth, among the foreign burgesses. This is surely the type of individual most likely to have exercised an influence in the development of English speculative Freemasonry.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

With this paper I have no quarrel; indeed I would endorse to the last comma the Six Points put forward by our Bro. Knoop; but I confess that it confuses me to find one whom I look upon as the Authentic of Authentics in an unexpected rôle, playing candid friend to a school of which he is one of the brightest stars.

Bro. Knoop has defined so well a strategy initiated and fostered to this day by Quatuor Coronati Lodge and still being potently pursued that I cannot follow his suggestion that we need some new plan. The very points he puts forth as desirable in Masonic research have, I think, been observed by most of the members of this Lodge for well over fifty years.

The aim of the Authentic School, as I have always understood it and in a humble way tried to uphold, is to maintain no theory that is not supported by the evidence of hard fact; and further, to reject every theory which is at variance with hard fact. It thus follows, as the night the day, that any working theory, necessary as it may be to the writing of history, must be discarded the moment that fresh evidence comes to light to make that theory untenable. A glorious example of this was given by our late Bro. Hughan, who completely modified his views on the "Antient" and "Modern" controversy as a result of Bro. Sadler's researches. This spirit is still with us, and may we never lose it.

While we continue to follow such an example in this Lodge, I venture to think we shall need to formulate no new school of Masonic history. Our task is to pass on the tradition of the giants who have gone this way before us; and we still, thank goodness, have giants in our midst, not least of them our beloved Bro. Knoop.

Coming to minor details: I have no doubt that the pre-Reformation Masons did moralise their tools. I have suggested to Bro. Knoop the phenomenon of Deloney's *Gentle Craft* dealing with the symbolism used by the shoe-makers. The spirit is distinctly pre-Reformation. Are we then to suppose that Deloney invented the whole bag of tricks? If he did, at what date then did the Freemasons copy the idea for their own ceremonies?

Another matter about which I feel uneasy is the suggested difference in connotation between the term "Speculatyf" as used in the fifteenth century and our present-day Speculative. To me it seems a case of Tweedledum and Tweedledee. I confess I cannot fill the gap between the *Cooke MS.* and the Lodge of Reconciliation, but the word as we use it now smacks to me more of the seventeenth century than early nineteenth century.

Since writing the above I have come across an early eighteenth century use of the word Speculative, though not in a strictly Masonic connection. It occurs in *Mist's Weekly Journal* for 6th August, 1726:—

Mr. Whiston has made a model of Solomon's Temple to shown in opposition to that in the Haymarket; Both of which are pretended to be true models, yet are very different. If our Virtuosi can't agree upon Corporeals, no wonder there is such a difference in Speculative Matters.

In conclusion I simply ask: what is satisfactory Masonic history? If it be to speak the last word about the truth of a subject, none of us here is likely to say it; for we cannot know all there is to be known about anything. All we can hope for is that our knowledge will gradually increase as the honesty of followers of the Authentic School make public new facts they discover and render them available for the common cause; and as our knowledge and wisdom increase so will our usefulness. To increase the aggregate sum of knowledge and wisdom has been the aim of this Lodge, the aim of all our School. We have revolutionised the writing of Masonic history, and our work will go on. The present members will vanish, but the desire for "Light, more Light" is immortal. "When all treasure is tried Truth is the best", and to my mind the Authentic School has been content only with the best and prefers truth to everything else.

That is precisely the spirit that animates every line of Bro. Knoop's many and varied works; and with the utmost admiration and reverence for all he has done for us and the cause of research I cannot follow him in the quest for a new term to describe a method which all of us who belong to the Authentic School have followed to the best of our talents and ability.

May I thank Bro. Knoop for a very stimulating paper?

BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

Our P.M., Bro. Douglas Knoop (along with his colleague, Mr. G. P. Jones) has favoured us with a most interesting paper, but one which I am inclined to think will cause no little controversy, as all his conclusions are hardly likely to be generally accepted.

The authors seem rather to "savage" Bro. Poole (with whose views I have much sympathy), but as he is quite able to look after himself there is no need for me to take up the cudgels on his behalf.

It somewhat staggers me to see Speth classified with Hughan, as the former (although not an imaginative writer in the ordinary acceptance of the term) certainly used his imagination with an almost uncanny precision, whilst the latter was a realist of the realists and could hardly be persuaded to accept the evidence of the Haughfoot minutes concerning degrees in pre-Grand Lodge days.

Oliver and Preston were far from being useless in their own day and generation, although they necessarily lacked the advantages we enjoy now.

Anderson was, perhaps, more blameworthy. He must have known that much of what he wrote was quite incapable of being substantiated. On the other hand he might have felt justified in carrying on the tradition of glorifying the antiquity of the Craft and associating it with Royal personages and other notabilities.

If the authors of this paper are trying to disassociate the early builders from our present speculative or free and accepted masons (I am not sure that they are), I cannot possibly agree with them. Speth did good work in dealing with the folk-lore of the builders, and explained many, though not all, of their rites, legends and customs. These all form part of many of our ceremonies, and have not, in my opinion, been merely grafted on to speculative masonry, but are an integral part of it.

Just as we now have architects and contractors, so in olden days we had master masons and building workmen. In my comments on the *Regius MS.*, read before the Leicester Lodge of Research in 1914, I suggested that the two earlier classes formed different degrees as we at present understand the word masonically. The idea never seems to have been either challenged or encouraged by any later writer.

And as to the Old Charges being definitely of English as contrasted with Scottish *origin*, I am inclined to think something might be said on the other side of the question, although I am not just at present in a position to argue the point.

On the point concerning the impossibility of connecting our present ceremonies with our ancient writings, at least one attempt to deal with the subject has been made. I read a paper, *The Old Charges and the Ritual*, in this Lodge (A.Q.C., xxxi), in which I endeavoured to prove that the old documents formed the foundation of our ceremonial and that even much of our terminology could be traced to them. The theory did not meet with much acceptance at the time, but has since gained some notable adherents.

Other points in connection with the paper are sure to be dealt with by other commentators, so I must leave the subject here. It is, however, necessary for me to add that although I am in disagreement with the authors on some of the points they raise, I am sure I am in agreement with all the other members of the Lodge in appreciation of their efforts, which have, at least, made me exercise my critical faculties, and I would like to be associated with the vote of thanks which I know will be accorded to the writers.

BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

By whatever names they may be distinguished by themselves and others, it may perhaps be granted that there are at least two methods of approaching Masonic History—(1) The collection and orderly arrangement of relevant facts; (2) Their interpretation and application.

In a Society such as ours there can be no necessity for any of us to claim that either group excludes the other. Indeed, it seems, from the fact that Freemasonry is defined as “a peculiar system of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols”, that there is a necessity for each student to associate himself with both classes. Unauthentic history is valueless as history, and so we should all belong to the authentic school. Allegorical and symbolical lessons derived from facts and things are the very reason for our existence, and therefore imagination in the highest sense of the word must have its place, and that a very high one.

If there is any school of thought which claims to exclude authentic history it seems to lack justification for its own existence, and if the authentic school refuses to apply allegory and symbolism to masonic materials they have collected, they proclaim their labours as worthless for the purposes of the Society of which they are members.

The great thing is that in Freemasonry neither school can exist in vitality without the other. Nevertheless it is essential to our well-being that the boundaries between the two systems, if we ever regard them as separate, should always be borne in mind. When we bring our draw-net to shore we must be prepared, when we have gathered of every kind, to gather the good into vessels and cast the bad away.

The present paper mentions six assumptions which are alleged to be contrary to known facts or to the weight of available evidence.

There are also two matters mentioned in the paper in addition to the first six specified. (1) Whether the “speculative” element in the modern sense existed in pre-Reformation days and (2) Whether the masons of that period made a practice of moralising upon their working tools.

As to (1) both the Old and New Testaments (which are the first of our Great Lights) evidence that prophets, psalmists and evangelists drew lessons for themselves, and for others, from buildings and the working tools and processes applied in their erection. Church writers throughout the centuries dilate on

received and promulgated by this Lodge; to say nothing about the numerous Past Masters' Lodges and Masonic Study Circles.

Most of the matters brought forward in the six problems propounded in the paper have been dealt with in *A.Q.C.* and other publications; and there is perhaps no real need for the whole of masonic history to be re-written to incorporate what, in effect, are little more than footnotes, and in that position will be more useful and emphatic than elsewhere.

We are all grateful to our Bro. Knoop and our friend, his collaborator, for this further valuable contribution to the research work of the Lodge, and I may be allowed to thank them for their kind reference to my own efforts as a research worker in masonic matters.

Bro. H. POOLE writes:—

Much that Bro. Knoop says is beyond criticism, though I suspect that when, towards the end of this paper, he speaks of "organised search", he would be hard put to it to draw up the lines on which this would proceed.

But he seems to me to have a perverse way of misunderstanding what some other people say; and as this applies to some of my own past work, I may perhaps be allowed to defend my point of view—not so much as a personal matter, as because I regard it as a very vital one, and fully in keeping with his own plea for "garnering every scrap of information" which may have a bearing on Masonic history.

He still, for example, completely misunderstands the main idea of my "work of imagination" of some years ago. I did not *start* with my "postulates" (any more than, no doubt, did our more famous Brother Euclid). I saw, as every Masonic student has done, that one alone among the many Crafts of a medieval age had developed along largely peculiar lines; and I set out to examine any respects in which that Craft must have been, at least in its infancy, on a different footing from the rest. And, moreover, I drew *no* "picture of masonic evolution" at all—at least none that I am aware of: what I was attempting to do was primarily to probe the past, among ascertained facts or probabilities, for some idea of the earliest date at which any non-operative features, or other features *now* visible in the framework of the Craft, might perhaps have effected a lodgement there; and then to suggest some lines along which details of place, person or period might be brought to bear, in order to put the possibility on a firmer footing.

To take a single instance, illustrating the line of attack—how does Bro. Knoop deal with the (so it seems to me) highly significant esoteric detail which I quoted from the Torgau Ordinances of 1462? He may, of course, refuse to admit its significance; but if he accepts it, it seems to me not unreasonable to search history (*not* documents, for there are none to search) for possible contacts with continental Masonry either before or after that date. I could find evidence of none at a date later than 1462; but I brought forward evidence of no fewer than three at earlier dates, in one case, curiously enough, in the reign of Athelstan himself.

I would remind Bro. Knoop, by the way, that the word "doubtless", which he uses several times, does not normally constitute valid evidence either for or against a theory: and I hope sufficient doubt *does* exist (as it does in my own case) to leave the question of King Athelstan still open as an avenue to be explored. I do not propose to go over the ground again; but three points among Bro. Knoop's remarks seem worth comments. In the first place, the "regulation of industry" ascribed to Athelstan in the Old Charges was not represented as one "imposed by external authority", but as drawn up in the

the lessons to be derived in that way. We read of "living stones"; of the edification of living temples not made with hands; of Cities which have foundations, and of the use of line and plummet to test spiritual standards.

Is it to be supposed that the men who were capable of designing and constructing cathedrals and churches were so blind to the elements they were working in and the lessons to be drawn from them as to refrain from "moralising" on their meaning? I think not.

In my paper on the use of the word "Freemason" (*A.Q.C.*, xlviii, pp. 140-198) two instances are cited showing what great thoughts were inspired by such reflections. One is the extract dated 1526 from the *Pilgrimage of Perfection* (a pre-Reformation work) and the other dated 1550 from Bishop Coverdale's little book, *A Spiritual and Most Precious Pearl*.

The writer of the *Pilgrimage of Perfection* refers to several ancient writers in support of his teaching.

As item 3, the paper deals with the subject of Masons' Craft guilds and states that the facts suggest that there were few, if any, masons' craft guilds.

In this I understand the writers use the word *craft* in an emphatic way and so intentionally exclude any gild of masons which does not deal expressly with the trade regulations of masons. I venture to submit that they thus exclude important matter which should be included in the consideration of the subject. In *A.Q.C.*, xlii, 64-67, an account is given of a certificate made A.D. 1389 on behalf of a Gild of Masons at Lincoln in compliance with an order of Richard II. The gild itself made certain rules in 1313. The ordinances were made by the common consent of the *cementarii*. The gild is referred to as having as officers a Master, two Wardens, a Deacon and a Clerk. These were elected by the Fraternity.

It provided that if a Brother were in custody for any fault, saving theft or murder, he should send word to the Brethren and they *shall come to his aid* and assist him as brethren should do.

A Benevolent fund is provided for.

Hasty litigation was discountenanced.

If any *cementarius* took an apprentice he was to give 40 pence to the maintenance of the gild.

(I now refrain from further particulars because I have written a note supplemental to the one in *A.Q.C.* above cited, and it may appear in *A.Q.C.* soon.)

Surely it is both desirable and convenient that in a discussion of this kind such a document as the Lincoln Certificate should be taken into account, if only for its collateral value, as indicating how our ancient brethren did not neglect to support the three great principles on which our order is founded.

It is a pity that this is the only one of such certificates to have been preserved, but that makes it the more urgent that such material should be used.

The certificate, like some of the Old Charges, shows that women might become members of the gild, but that fact may help to explain how such a procedure might have crept into the Old Charges. The certificate states that the gild had "no general meetings save such as are held for their social purposes among themselves"; but this is largely true of our Masonic lodges.

There is a pasasge towards the end of the paper upon which Bro. Knoop may enlarge. After saying that the authentic school cannot be regarded as having produced a satisfactory version of masonic history, the paper thus proceeds: "To that end a new school now being established may contribute much".

This may imply so many things that misunderstandings may easily arise. There seems to be quite a sufficient number of schools now in existence to deal with all the points referred to in the paper. All available matter is gladly

Craft and for the Craft. Secondly, it may very well have been "local and not national in character". And thirdly, the "customs" are surely represented by the "*Charges and manners*" which all texts agree were collected for codification.

In connection with this code, by the way, whatever its date, is it not possible that the absence of gild regulations for local organizations of Masons, to which Bro. Knoop refers, may be due to the Old Charges having served their purpose?

I am glad he admits that the "organization of masons . . . may quite well have dated from the twelfth century", though I cannot agree on what appears to be the basis of his selection of the twelfth for his admission. The "so-called Gothic style" most emphatically was *not* introduced into England until nearly the end of the *twelfth* century, though I agree with him that this has little if any bearing on the subject. But I intentionally devoted a good deal of space in my paper to two matters relating to the period preceding the eleventh century—in the first place that *stone* was the almost universal material used for the building of, at any rate, Churches long before the Norman Conquest (I suspect, too, of town walls, and there is plenty of evidence of this: while I would hazard a guess that for bridges the date was considerably later; and the Norman Castle had practically no pre-Conquest precedent). And in the second place, that there must have been a high degree of organization in the Craft considerably before the Conquest, as shown by the very widespread recurrences of details of ornament and technique.

Bro. Knoop, in fact, in spite of his appeal for "every scrap of information", seems deliberately to rule out one, and that far the largest, class of evidence—that of the building themselves. He is right in his emphasis on operative documents: and he and his colleagues have done far more than any previous students in their production and analysis of these, and the building up of a vast mass of data and, to a large extent, valid conclusions. But this, as I tried to emphasise in my Inaugural Address, as well as in my more recent "work of imagination", is *not* the whole of the evidence.

Again, I must defend myself on another point. I did not attempt to distinguish in any way between what I called the "mobile" and the "local" Mason. Their existence was certainly a fact; and the difference between them, so far as there was one, was primarily a matter of date. There *was* a time when even a fair-sized town had only one stone building—the Church. There *was* a time, much later, when there was enough stone building in a town or city to employ a number of resident Masons. Hence, by degrees, more or less organized bodies of Masons, now here, now there, made their appearance in the larger towns: not unnaturally, the earliest evidence comes from London. Between 1376 and (I venture to say) the Reformation, there *must* have been a large number of Masons who rarely, if ever, functioned outside the town in which they lived (whether or not they belonged to any sort of gild or trade company), *and* a large number of Masons who seldom built for more than two or three years in one place before moving on to another. It would be fairly safe, by the way, to add that the building or enlargement of Churches formed the major part of the work of the latter and the minor part of the work of the former; but I have never suggested that there was any sort of technical distinction between the two classes. On the other hand, I do not think we have been given any evidence for the spontaneous movement of Masons living in towns where gilds or Masons' organizations existed, on the same scale as that of Masons normally living in smaller towns. Even this, however, does not seem to affect my main line of thought, namely, that such a phenomenon as a secret word, by no means unreasonable among a mobile Craft, would seem superfluous among, say, such a body as the London Masons' Company—the inference being the possibility, if not the probability, that this feature of the present-day Craft may have actually

existed in pre-Reformation times. No doubt Bro. Knoop is correct in his statement that "skill, and not a password, was the recognised test leading to employment"; but one cannot help fancying that there may have been many bold rogues, with the slightest possible knowledge of stone-cutting, touring the country for the sake of the food and money which the Masons were obliged to furnish.

Once more, perhaps I may be allowed to defend myself from the wildest of accusations—I never for one moment *assumed* that speculative elements existed in the Craft in pre-Reformation days; and I find it hard to believe that any other reader of my paper can have imagined that I did.

I am not inclined to agree with Bro. Knoop as to the relationship between the Masonry of Scotland and England; or, rather, my view is that we have not sufficient evidence on which to base such a conclusion. Bro. Knoop's picture may be correct, but it has always seemed to me to be far too complex to be true, and I have said so before. A fundamental mistake which he seems to me to make is (apparently) to assume that we have a complete body of evidence, or at any rate a representative sample of it—a mistake which the recent discovery of the *Graham MS.* should put us all on our guard against. But in my opinion he reveals the weakness of his evaluation of documentary evidence in general when he goes so far as to "judge by the surviving versions" of the Old Charges. Apart from the fact that he appears to have forgotten that no fewer than three of the versions belonging to the first half of the eighteenth century were *printed* (to say nothing of the two editions of the *Book of Constitutions*), and that copies must have far *outnumbered* those of the preceding half-century, it does not seem to me at all rational, in the case of such perishable documents, to deduce from the surviving numbers any sort of estimate of how many there originally were. We do not know how many copies of the *Roberts* and *Dodd* prints were produced—obviously far fewer than of the *Cole*: but the extreme rarity of both seems to emphasise the danger of supposing that, even in the eighteenth century, more than a very small sample survived. And the rather predominantly Scottish character and perhaps provenance of the surviving MS. catechisms may quite well be due solely to a more scrupulous observance in England of the principle of not committing them to writing, or of destroying them when they had served their purpose.

While on the subject of Scotland, may I ask Bro. Knoop for a reference for the seventeenth century use of the term "Geomatic Mason"? I am particularly interested in early occurrences of the word, as in later times it was occasionally attached to the "Royal Order of Scotland".

These remarks are already long enough: may I conclude by again commending most heartily the general plea of Bro. Knoop's paper for the collection of "every scrap of information"—I think we differ chiefly in our views as to the assessment of the value of such evidence as there is, and in the fact that I would cast my net more widely than he is inclined to.

Bro. F. R. RADICE writes:—

I wish to associate myself with the other Brethren in expressing my appreciation to the authors for their paper. A stocktaking of this description is very necessary from time to time. There is, however, one point which needs further explanation. What exactly does Bro. Knoop mean by the words "a new school, now being established"? Are the last paragraphs of his paper a manifesto, proposing the formation of a new organized body, either within the Quatuor Coronati Lodge or without? If so, it seems to me that this is unnecessary. We do not need a new school; all that is necessary is to proceed as we

are doing now, and, as Bro. Knoop has done so admirably himself in this paper and elsewhere, to garner fresh facts and correct theories held in the past where these will not fit them. If by "school" he means a collection of Brethren with similar thought and similar views as regards the line of research to be undertaken, an amorphous body without other bond than their outlook and work, such a body is already in existence and hardly needs forming. But perhaps the kernel of Bro. Knoop's meaning is contained in the words of the last paragraph but one of his paper, "organized research is desirable". If this is what he means by "School", I am wholeheartedly with him. I do think that there is room for some body, like a Dirigent Committee, to co-ordinate research and apportion spheres to the workers and prevent overlapping. For instance, it is not likely that anyone could do much within the field that Bro. Knoop and Mr. Jones have made particularly their own but to flog dead horses; or in connection with Irish Freemasonry, in which Bro. Heron Lepper is supreme. Even such a Committee, however, should work under limitations. It should be free to allot spheres and suggest objects of special research to individuals, as was done in my own case. But thought and speculation must remain free; we all must be allowed the privilege of examining, checking and putting to the test the conclusions our Brethren arrive at in consequence of their research.

Bro. H. HIRAM HALLETT writes:—

I have read the paper, *Masonic History Old and New*, prepared by Bro. Douglas Knoop and Mr. G. P. Jones, with the greatest interest, and I tender to them my sincere congratulations. We all highly appreciate the able way in which these writers have set forth the results of their laborious researches among the old records of many past centuries; but they have written so much thereon, in this and many former papers, that it is a very difficult task to co-ordinate the evidence they have brought forward. I trust that one day they will do this themselves to the great benefit of all masonic students.

Frankly, I am not able to follow all their remarks regarding "Speculative Masonry", and I add the following only in an endeavour to throw a little more light on this matter. The expression is used by Preston in his *Illustrations of Masonry*, and I will quote from the 8th edition, published in 1792, page 10:— "Masonry is understood under two denominations: it is operative and speculative. . . . Speculative Masonry is so far interwoven with religion as to lay us under the strongest obligations to pay that rational homage to the Deity, which at once constitutes our duty and our happiness. . . . Tools and implements of architecture, symbols, the most expressive! are selected by the fraternity, to imprint on the memory wise and serious truths; and thus, through a succession of ages, are transmitted unimpaired the excellent tenets of their institution." Preston was one of the foremost writers of the eighteenth century, and it is interesting to note that he uses the words: "succession of ages".

A work entitled *The Freemasons' Library and General Ahiman Rezon; containing a Delineation of the true Principles of Freemasonry, Speculative, Operative, Religious and Moral*, was published at Baltimore in 1826; the Compiler included the foregoing extract from Preston's work, and, strange to say, it appeared in two different chapters of the work. The first edition was published in 1817, but I am unable to say whether the term "Speculative Masonry" occurred in any of the preceding American editions, for Bro. Cecil Adams (A.Q.C., xlv) has mentioned that the first was published in 1783 and others in 1786 and 1797.

Then as regards the meaning of the word "Speculatyf" from the *Cooke MS.*, Bro. A. S. Macbride, in his *Speculative Masonry*, published in 1914, stated:—

"It may of course be said that the speculative here referred to was the abstract theories of building, as distinct from the practical, or of philosophy generally. But, if this be so, how can we account for the expression, common in some masonic quarters even to-day, of "theoretical and practical masons," thereby meaning speculative and operative masons? There may be a reasonable probability of a King's son turning his mind to science, but unless there was something else in masonry than merely rules for operative workmen, then we cannot for a moment understand the tale, if it be true; nor even the invention of the tale, if it be not true. . . . What interest had the lodges in admitting non-operatives, if they were purely operative lodges, and, on the other hand, what were the inducements that caused the non-operatives to join these lodges? The lodges do not seem to have needed, or received, any special protection from the non-operatives. . . . Jealous of their rights, very exclusive and conservative as we find them in their statutes and laws against cowans, etc., is it at all likely that these ancient lodges would have thus received into their ranks men so entirely severed from them in many ways, had there not been something more in these lodges than pure operative masonry?"

The writer, moreover, in reference to the antiquity of masonic symbolism, has mentioned the following texts from the Sacred Writings:—"I will lay righteousness to the plummet"; "Behold the Lord stood upon a wall made by a plumb-line, with a plumb-line in His hand". "Behold, I will set a plumb-line in the midst of My people Israel"; "As a wise master builder, I have laid the foundation"; "Ye, also, as lively stones are built up a spiritual house". He also mentioned that "In the writings of Mencius (about 280 B.C.) we find it taught 'that men should apply the Square and Compasses figuratively to their lives, and the Level and the Marking Line besides, if they would walk in the straight and even paths of wisdom and keep themselves within the boundaries of Honour and Virtue'"; and also: "A Master Mason in teaching his apprentice makes use of the Compasses and Square; Ye who are engaged in the pursuit of Wisdom must also make use of the Compasses and Square".

Although there is apparently no direct evidence that medieval masons and later ones moralised upon their working tools, yet they probably did so, taking for their example some of the foregoing quotations.

BRO. J. W. HAMILTON-JONES said:—

We are all very much interested in the investigation, from an historical point of view, which Bro. Knoop has given us in his contribution to-day.

Replying to your question, Worshipful Master, regarding the medieval documents of the Craft, which are conspicuous by their absence, I suggest that those documents are to be found upon you. In other words, they are contained within the symbolic nature of the clothing which Masons wear.

We all applaud and reiterate the definition that Freemasonry is a peculiar system of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols. We are informed in the course of our masonic education that the secrets of nature and the principles of intellectual thought are unveiled to our view. Were they?

This great Lodge performs a very useful function and its influence and learning has earned it a great deal of renown throughout the world; but in my view we shall fail in our best endeavours if we lose sight of the truth that fundamentally Freemasonry is a spiritual teaching, and that, stripped of this ultimate goal, our investigations are nothing more than an intellectual pastime.

Our Bro. Treasurer has very wisely implied that any concretion of ideas would be foreign to the purpose of this Lodge. The door is wide open to investigation, and long may it so remain.

In the course of my long Masonic career I have endeavoured to make some daily advancement, particularly in the philosophical aspect of the study. I have worked out a lecture upon the esoteric interpretation of the 1st Degree Tracing Board, which the Brethren might find of interest at some future date, the only difficulty being that such a statement, although it could be given in Open Lodge, could not very well be printed for the benefit of correspondence members.

Bro. KNOOP, on behalf of G. P. Jones and himself, *writes* in reply:—

This "Reply"¹ is divided into five sections. First, we attempt to be a little more clear on the subject of schools of masonic history; second, we review the nature of the evidence upon which the masonic historian has to rely; third, we amplify our previous remarks about organized search for evidence; fourth, we consider quantitatively and qualitatively the character of the evidence relating to a partly Scottish origin of the ceremonies of English accepted masons; finally, we discuss a number of problems raised by various commentators, and not referred to in the earlier part of our Reply.

SCHOOLS OF MASONIC HISTORY

In our paper we distinguished between the "imaginative" and the "authentic" school of masonic historians, and suggested that a new school is now emerging. We used the term to denote a "band or succession of persons," as the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* has it, "devoted to some cause or principles, or agreeing in typical characteristics," such as the Hegelian school in philosophy, the Manchester school in economics, or the post-impressionist school in painting. It was not intended to imply that the members are, or need be, associated in any special society or institute, and certainly not that the school should consist of the Q.C. Lodge, Past Masters' Lodges, or Masonic Study Circles. It may indeed be true, as we hope, that among the members of those bodies there are students whose methods and outlook are those we attribute to the new school of masonic history; but there are others, we do not doubt, who find the "authentic" or even the "imaginative" school satisfactory, and who will therefore prefer to study and to write in the same manner. In differing from them, we do not for one moment deny that they may make valuable contributions to masonic history, but we record our view, for what it is worth, that their contributions might be made more valuable still.

As to the common principles, or typical characteristics of the "authentic" school, we accept Chetwode Crawley's dictum (*Cæm. Hib.*, i, 5) that "the Authentic School takes no fact for granted until proved"; and we accept, too, Bro. Lepper's statement that the aim of the "authentic" school is to maintain no theory that is not supported by the evidence of hard fact, so long as the historical inquirer is not thereby precluded from constructing a working hypothesis to be tested by the hard facts. It may, however, be remarked that it is more difficult to reject or dispel unsound theories or assumptions than Bro. Lepper seems to suggest. He quotes the case of Hughan's change of attitude in the "Ancient" and "Modern" controversy, as a result of Sadler's researches. We do not know where Hughan expressed his original or revised views on the subject, and so accept Bro. Lepper's statement on faith. We have, however, been able to trace Gould's views on the same subject. So far as we are able to gather,

¹ It was printed as a pamphlet for private circulation in March, 1943, under the title: "Second Thoughts on Masonic History Old and New".

Gould in his *Concise History*, published in 1903, still wrote about the "Ancients" as "the schismatics" in the same strain as he adopted in his *History of Freemasonry* in 1885, notwithstanding the publication of Sadler's *Masonic Facts and Fictions* in 1887. Apparently Gould never did revise his views, and it was not until 1920, some years after his death, when Crowe was editing the second edition of the *Concise History*, that Gould's original statements on the subject were modified.

So far as we can judge, Bro. Lepper seeks to define the "authentic" school by one criterion only, viz., its attitude towards its facts, which Chetwode Crawley summarized by saying that the school submits itself to the ordinary canons of historical research. That, presumably, is true of all serious historians of the last hundred years or so, both in masonic and other fields of history, but it does not prevent their being placed in different classes or schools. Thus a fairly clear division can be made between the "literary" school represented by such an historian as Carlyle, and the "scientific" school represented by such a man as Round. Looking at the problem in a different way, it may be said that Hallam, whose gibe at masonic historians is so often quoted, belongs to a different school from Ensor, Woodward and other contemporary historians. The schools differ considerably in the importance they attach to different aspects of the societies about which they write—the older writers laying far more stress on constitutional and political developments, the younger writers on economic and social changes, or on administrative developments.

Similarly, present-day masonic historians differ considerably from members of the "authentic" school in their conception of the scope of masonic history: the "authentic" school appears to have concerned itself very largely with the development of organization among freemasons, whereas present-day students are concerned both with the organization and the practices prevailing among freemasons at different periods. Again, of recent years, far more attention has been devoted by masonic historians to the detailed study of primary sources which had been either only superficially examined or entirely ignored by members of the "authentic" school. Thus Begemann, who was in many respects very thorough, makes no reference to the London Masons' Ordinances which were not available in print at the time he wrote; nor does he take any cognizance of the vast mass of manuscript material, 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. Further, the tendency of that school to deal with the development of freemasonry in watertight compartments—English freemasonry, Scottish freemasonry, and Irish freemasonry each being handled in different books, or separate chapters—is being displaced by a recognition of the interdependence of English, Scottish and Irish freemasonry in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Similarly, the connection between masonic developments and what may be broadly described as social and economic developments is coming to be more fully recognized. Present-day masonic historians resemble members of the "authentic" school in "taking no fact for granted until proved," but in other respects they differ so much from members of that school that they can no longer be regarded as members of it. We enlarged upon these matters in our recent review-article on Begemann's *History of Freemasonry* [published as a pamphlet for private circulation in 1941, and obtainable from the Secretary of the Q.C. Lodge], and we venture to refer readers who are interested in problems of historiography to that review-article, in which we deal with a writer whom we describe as "the last of the so-called authentic school of masonic writers."

Yet one other point; when we refer to "a new school, now being established", we do not mean that X or Y or Z is deliberately seeking to

build up a body of students imbued with new ideas on the subject of masonic history and its writing, but that masonic historians are more or less unconsciously adopting a new conception of their subject-matter and new points of view in approaching their facts, as a consequence of which developments they are slowly but surely finding themselves more and more out of harmony with writers of the "authentic" school, although recognizing and availing themselves of valuable work done by writers of that school. Bro. Williams suggests that as the six problems [prevalent errors] propounded in our paper have been dealt with in *A.Q.C.* and elsewhere, there is no real need for the whole of masonic history to be re-written to incorporate what in effect are little more than footnotes. In his opinion they will be more useful and more emphatic as footnotes than elsewhere. There is the much larger problem of the partly Scottish origin of accepted masonry with which we dealt towards the end of our paper, and various matters upon which we did not touch at all, on which new light has been shed of recent years. Nevertheless, we do not question for a moment that many of the main facts and conclusions concerning masonic development, more particularly in the post-operative period, have been well established for many years past. But to embody new facts and still more new points of view in footnotes, to be read in conjunction with the original and unrevised text of a late nineteenth or early twentieth century masonic history book, is about as satisfactory, and as easy for the reader to follow, as a will with a score of codicils, or a statute with a dozen amending acts. Sooner or later it is very desirable to prepare a new will, or to pass a consolidating act.

The same thing is true of masonic history books: both Crowe's revision of Gould's *Concise History* and Dudley Wright's revision of Gould's larger *History* have come in for a good deal of criticism (see Tuckett's review of the *Concise History* in *Misc. Lat.*, v, 81, and Hugo Tatsch's review of the *History* in *A.Q.C.*, xlv, 456). A point is reached, sooner or later, where the only solution is to re-write the book entirely. Much that was once regarded as important has probably ceased to be of interest, or is absolutely wrong, and is best omitted; much that was formerly ignored calls for adequate treatment; even the parts which remain sound and are still of interest probably cannot be fitted into a revised edition without being rearranged. A revised edition of a masonic classic, prepared, not by the author who is free to scrap the whole plan of the first edition [as Hughan did in 1895 when preparing the second edition of his *Old Charges* (1872)], but by an editor whose hands are tied and who feels more or less obliged to follow the old plan, is not likely to prove very satisfactory, however well the editor discharges his task. If, on the other hand, the editor decides to re-cast and radically revise the whole book, then it is far better that the old name should disappear from the title-page, and that the reviser should be described as the author.

We do not suggest, however, that the time has arrived for re-writing the whole of masonic history, though Bro. Hallett draws attention to the difficulty of co-ordinating the new evidence which we have brought forward in various papers, and expresses the hope that we ourselves shall one day undertake the task. As a temporary makeshift, we venture to draw his attention to our *Short History to Freemasonry to 1730* (1940), in which all the new evidence available at the time we wrote, whether discovered by ourselves or others, is taken into account, but we should be the first to stress that for some time to come any history of freemasonry must be of a tentative character (see p. below).

One final observation in reply to Bro. Baxter. If both Speth and Hughan maintained no theory not supported by the evidence of hard fact, and rejected every theory which was at variance with hard fact, to quote the test of the "authentic" school as given by Bro. Lepper, then both must be regarded as belonging to that school, although one used his imagination as a guide to facts, and the other did not.

THE NATURE OF THE MASONIC HISTORIAN'S EVIDENCE

Bro. Poole counters our appeal to garner every scrap of information of masonic interest in the literature and historical records of Western Europe by suggesting that we rule out one, and that by far the largest, class of evidence—that of the buildings themselves. We did so quite deliberately, because we do not regard buildings as important evidence when writing a history of freemasonry, *i.e.*, an account of the organization and practices which have from time to time prevailed among freemasons, though they are obviously of great importance to one writing a history of architecture and concerned with the plans and designs of buildings. We recognize, of course, that a cathedral, or abbey, or castle, is evidence that some kind of organization existed, as no such vast operation could otherwise have been conducted, but in our opinion the buildings themselves throw little or no light on the character of such organization, *e.g.*, they do not show whether the building was erected by direct labour or by contract. Bro. Poole is inclined to deduce from similarities of planning and ornamentation that masons were highly organized, but to us this does not seem necessarily to follow. In the case of the planning and designing of ecclesiastical buildings, the organization which probably dictated the whole plan, and possibly much of the ornamentation, was the Church. Thus, for example, most, if not all, Cistercian abbeys appear to have borne a strong resemblance to each other, whether erected in this country or on the Continent. This we should attribute, not to any organization among masons, but to Cistercian abbots and monks knowing exactly what was wanted to facilitate the practice of their rites and ceremonies, and seeing to it that their master masons designed the buildings accordingly. Further, they very likely employed a master mason or master of the works who had experience of the same class of work elsewhere. Thus Walter of Hereford, the first master of the works at the Cistercian Abbey of Vale Royal in Cheshire, had held an appointment at Winchcombe Abbey in Gloucestershire prior to his taking up work at Vale Royal. In the case of castles, the master mason or engineer employed by the Crown would in most cases have had experience of similar building operations elsewhere; thus Walter of Hereford after leaving Vale Royal Abbey was employed at Caernarvon Castle and also on Scottish Castles; Nicholas de Derneford, who in 1323 was master of the works at the castles of Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Conway, Criccieth and Harlech, was in 1327 also placed in charge of all the King's castles in South Wales. The wide experience of military commanders and of the master masons they employed could hardly fail to lead to a considerable measure of uniformity in the designing of castles.

In dealing with conditions in prehistoric times, or the habits of primitive man, or early Greek civilization, little or no evidence except of an archæological character is available, though such evidence generally lends itself to more than one interpretation, and at best can give only a vague and uncertain picture of the conditions prevailing at the period to which it relates. For historical periods, where relatively little documentary evidence remains, as for Saxon times in this country, it may be desirable to supplement such written evidence by archæological evidence when possible. But for any period of social history in this country subsequent to the Norman Conquest, in view of the great wealth of literary and record evidence which has survived, there is much less space for archæological evidence. For the social historian a good set of fabric rolls is far more informative and more reliable than the mere building, however well preserved, to which the rolls relate.

ORGANIZED SEARCH FOR EVIDENCE

Our suggestion that organized search for evidence is desirable appears to have misled some of our readers. We had no such thing in mind as some large

co-operative enterprise. Even one individual can organize or systematize his studies. In our experience, it is never safe to rely only upon Calendars of State Papers or Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, excellently prepared though these and their indexes may be. Casual references to matters of masonic interest have possibly been ignored by the editors, or by the compilers of the indexes. The only way to be sure of garnering the evidence of masonic interest contained in such a publication is by a systematic page-by-page examination. Occasionally a casual examination will result in a chance find, such as the discovery made a few years ago by Bro. Williams of the existence of the *Ralph Poole MS.* among the Lowndes MSS. calendared in the Seventh Report of the Historical MSS. Commission. The indexes of the *Gentleman's Magazine* apparently served as the main basis of Fred Armitage's *Story of the Craft as told in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1731 to 1820* (A.Q.C., xxvii); they enabled him to list numerous references to freemasonry, but, as was pointed out when the paper was read in Lodge, the *Gentleman's Magazine* may contain a good deal more information of masonic interest which is not indexed, and lies buried in the obituary notices and elsewhere. Vibert more than once referred in *Misc. Lat.* (e.g. xxi, 87) to a gentleman (presumably a sort of Press clippings agent) who was working his way year by year through the files of the early eighteenth-century newspapers and reporting to him items of masonic interest. The efforts of the gentleman in question represent a good example of "organized search" for evidence. So do those of Bro. Williams, who has done valuable work in searching for wills made by freemasons.

Such organized or systematized search for evidence must not be confused with organized research in a particular field. The former implies an attempt to list or calendar *all* items of masonic interest in some particular work, or publication, or collection; the latter implies a wide search for evidence bearing on certain points, without any restriction on the sources to be tapped, in the hope of elucidating some aspect of a problem, possibly with the ultimate object of re-examining the problem as a whole. The field of masonic research is so wide that there is naturally a tendency among students to specialize according to their interests and qualifications. Vibert (*A Survey of Masonic Research*) seems inclined to give such specialization his unreserved blessing, but we feel that there is an element of danger in over-specialization. The fact that a Brother has explored a particular field is no reason why he should not sooner or later turn his attention to cognate fields, or why other workers should not explore his original field. We do not agree, for instance, with Bro. Radice's remark that "it is unlikely that anyone could do much, within the field that Bro. Knoop and Mr. Jones have particularly made their own, but flog dead horses." Bro. Radice is probably referring to our studies in operative masonry, but there must be scores, if not hundreds, of building accounts which are as yet unedited, if not actually unexamined, all of which could help to throw light on early freemasonry, even if it were only to confirm conclusions previously reached. Some of these documents might contain new information of great value, such as a statement of the masons' customs, comparable to the statement of the tin-miners' customs contained in the Black Prince's Register.¹

We neither like the idea that X, or Y, or Z has a vested interest in some field of research which he first explored, from which all trespassers are to be warned off, or that it is a sort of duty of X, or Y, or Z to stay put for the rest of his life in his particular field. We much prefer the attitude adopted by Bro. Poole in January, 1935, in commenting upon our paper, *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century* (the seventh paper in succession on operative masonry which we had communicated to the Q.C. Lodge), when he expressed a wish that we were more interested in the speculative development

¹ In P.R.O. It has been published in four parts by H.M.S.O.

of freemasonry. We have endeavoured ever since to gratify that wish, and have even ventured with our edition of the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.* into the field in which he has laboured. Further, we have in the press a volume on the early masonic catechisms, a subject in which he has also shown a special interest. Though he may not agree with all our conclusions, we feel sure that he welcomes the fresh angle from which each new investigator tends to approach old problems. Similarly, though as Bro. Radice says, Bro. Heron Lepper is supreme in the field of Irish masonic history, we are convinced that he would not object to our entering that field, in so far as it overlaps some of our more recent special interests concerning the genesis of speculative masonry and the early masonic catechisms. In the case of *A Letter from the Grand Mistress* we even venture to differ from some of the views expressed by him and Bro. Crossle, and by their distinguished predecessor in the field of Irish masonic history, W. J. Chetwode Crawley.

Though in our paper we referred only to organized search for evidence, we have here touched upon organized masonic research as the work of an individual planning his investigations systematically some way ahead. Another possible interpretation of the expression would be the co-ordination of research with the object of avoiding overlapping and of securing that all fields shall be covered. From time to time in other studies scholars have co-operated to produce such works as the *Cambridge Modern History* and the *Cambridge Ancient History*, but in these cases the editors' task was not to allocate fields of research to particular students, but to invite recognized specialists in the different fields to contribute sections or chapters to the work in question. We know of no attempt to allocate fields of research, unless it be in the preparation of such works as the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Victoria County Histories*, where, in view of the very wide range of topics, often of somewhat narrow interest, recognized experts on some of them with the necessary knowledge at their finger-tips are hardly to be found, and qualified students have frequently to be invited to undertake the required investigations. A negative form of allocation is implied by the yearly publication in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* of the historical researches being conducted in the different universities, and by the compilation, for private circulation, of a record of current research in economics and the social sciences (*Register of Research in the Social Sciences*), prepared by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research. We are strongly of opinion, however, that every experienced student should be allowed to choose his own field of research, though there is no reason why he should not seek advice on the subject, if he so desires. Nor is there any reason why masonic students should not sometimes co-operate for the purpose of a particular research, just as chemists often do.

It must be borne in mind, however, that when chemists co-operate in a piece of research they generally form a team of which a senior man is leader; something similar is true of social investigations into poverty which have been conducted from time to time by such men as Charles Booth, Seebohm Rowntree and A. L. Bowley. In the field of literature and history, partnership is rare. We call to mind an excellent book on the Empress Dowager of China written by Bland and Backhouse, and the well-known history of English factory legislation written by Hutchins and Harrison. In each case the authors accept joint responsibility for their book and make no attempt to differentiate between their respective contributions to the final result. In other cases, for example, Tout and York Powell, *History of England*, it is clearly stated that one author is responsible for one part of the book, and the other for the other part. Bros. Poole and Worts have similarly indicated in the preface to *The "Yorkshire" Old Charges of Masons* how the work was divided, and carefully specify that neither must be held responsible for the errors of the other. These latter examples are cases of co-operative authorship, comparable on a modest scale to

the *Cambridge Modern History*, rather than of joint authorship or partnership. On the other hand, Bros. Lepper and Crossle were jointly responsible for the first volume of *The History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*, and, on a much smaller scale, Bros. Coulthurst and Lawson for the paper on Randle Holme III in *A.Q.C.*, xlv. Unfortunately, the one partnership has been dissolved by consent and the other by death, so that our own partnership in the writing of masonic history appears to be the only one still active, and may perhaps, therefore, be quoted as an example of organized masonic research in both connotations of the expression.

EVIDENCE OF THE SCOTTISH ORIGIN OF MASONIC SECRETS

Towards the end of our paper (p. 296) we stated:

There are three elements in speculative masonry, viz. (*a*) certain expressions [*e.g.*, Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft], (*b*) certain esoteric matter, and (*c*) certain legendary matter [the two pillars set up in the porch of King Solomon's Temple], all of which have their prototypes in Scottish operative masonry of the late sixteenth or of the seventeenth century, but no known prototypes in English operative masonry.

Our observations about the second element, concerned with the Mason Word and other features of the early masonic catechisms, must be read in conjunction with what we said on p. 288 regarding secret methods of recognition:

Another common assumption, unsupported by evidence, is that in medieval times English masons had secret methods of recognition.

No commentator on our paper contested what we wrote about the first and third elements, but the second element, the strong preponderance of Scottish evidence in what concerns the imparting of the Mason Word, and all implied thereby, or at least our inference from it, that present-day speculative masonry owes a great debt to seventeenth-century Scottish operative masonry, does not meet with much, if any, explicit approval. No attempt is made to marshal any evidence against us, but we are criticized either on the ground that we have ignored certain evidence from which inferences of early English influence on modern ritual might possibly be drawn, or on the ground that our evidence is incomplete.

The views on this problem put forward in our paper were not new; we voiced them in 1939 in *The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word*, and in *Prolegomena to the Mason Word* (*A.Q.C.*, lii, 139), and again in 1940 in our *Short History of Freemasonry to 1730*. No frontal attack has ever been made upon them, only minor attacks upon particular points. As, however, we are still convinced that in the present state of masonic knowledge our working hypothesis is the best one which can be found to relate the established facts, we propose briefly to review here the evidence on which we rely, whilst discussing at the same time some of the points raised by commentators, in the hope of convincing at least most of our readers of the soundness of our position.

In the first place, we must remind the Brethren when comparing the amount of Scottish and English evidence available, that in former, as in present, times England had a far larger population than Scotland. Thus, other things being equal, there should be far more surviving documentary evidence in England than in Scotland. We had occasion in our *Scottish Mason* (p. 4) to draw attention to the scarcity of records in Scotland in comparison with England, and to the consequent difficulty of dealing in detail with the early development of Scottish masonry. When, however, we come to the Mason Word the scarcity of records is entirely reversed; instead of finding one Scottish

record for every half-dozen English, we find actually far more Scottish evidence than English. If allowance be made for the difference in population, there is an overwhelming preponderance of Scottish evidence.

The evidence which we have in mind is of a fourfold character:

(i) The early masonic catechisms have, as Bro. Poole, a vigorous opponent of our theory, admits, a strong Scottish "flavour".

(ii) Various entries in Lodge records in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries refer to the Mason Word; these records, without exception, relate to Scottish Lodges.

(iii) References to the Mason Word occur in non-masonic literature of the seventeenth century. Of eight such references known to us, six, viz., those of Henry Adamson in the *Muses Threnodie*, 1638; of Lamont, in *The Chronicles of Fife*, 1649; of a report of the proceedings of the presbytery of Kelso, 1652; of Robert Kirk in *The Secret Commonwealth*, 1691; of a report of a Kirkcudbrightshire ministerial investigation, 1696; and of a letter from Scotland written in 1697 (printed in the *Report of the Portland MSS., Hist. MSS. Com.*) are of undoubted Scottish origin. One, a remark of Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, the well-known seventeenth-century antiquary, sometime Bishop of Worcester, made at his own dinner-table in London in 1689, must be regarded as of immediate English origin, though the speaker apparently had Scottish associations, to judge by the fact that the Rev. Robt. Kirk, Minister of Aberfoyle, was his guest on the occasion when the remark was made. Thus Dr. Stillingfleet may well have acquired his knowledge of the Mason Word from Scotland. The last reference, that of Andrew Marvell in *The Rehearsal Transposed*, 1672, would appear to be unquestionably of English origin. From this single casual reference to the Mason Word in 1672, Bro. Ivor Grantham infers the existence in England of secret modes of recognition among masons in the Middle Ages. After weighing up all the very considerable Scottish evidence, we have given it as our considered opinion that the Mason Word, as an operative institution, was not established in Scotland before *circa* 1550 (see our *Short History of Freemasonry*, 49-51). We venture to suggest to Bro. Grantham that it is far more probable that Marvell was referring in 1672 to the customs of English accepted masons of his own day, than to those of English operative masons in the Middle Ages, about whose practices he would almost certainly know nothing.

Bro. Lewis Edwards also appears to believe in secret signs of recognition among English masons in the Middle Ages, in support of which he quotes Dr. Coulton. If, as we believe, Bro. Edwards is relying on Coulton's chapter on "Wander Years" in *Art and the Reformation*, he has apparently overlooked Coulton's own statement that the chapter "is all make-believe."

(iv) The last class of evidence relates to the setting or background in which the Mason Word existed. We feel that it is a mistake to consider the Mason Word *in vacuo*, without reference to the conditions which called it into being, and which made its establishment and subsequent maintenance possible. The purpose of the Mason Word was to distinguish masons who were members of their trade organization from others who were not. The need for some secret method of recognition arose from two conditions peculiar to Scotland, viz., the possibility of employment open to "cowans", and the existence of an industrial grade, without exact parallel in England, that of the entered apprentice.

In discussing the hypothetical existence of a Mason Word in medieval England, Bro. Poole makes an entirely different assumption regarding its purpose:

One cannot help fancying that there may have been many bold rogues, with the slightest possible knowledge of stone-cutting, touring the country for the sake of the food and money which the Masons were obliged to furnish.

The obligation of the masons, according to the Old Charges, was to receive and cherish strange masons and to set them to work for at least a fortnight, and only if they had no stones were they to refresh such strangers with money to the next lodge. Even if there were no temporary job available, it would surely be common sense to test a stranger claiming to be a mason by giving him a piece of stone to dress or cut, before refreshing him to the next lodge, and in our opinion that was the test adopted, and not the possession of a password.

In order to establish and maintain the Mason Word as an institution, local organizations capable of co-operating with each other, and some supervisory authority with a wide jurisdiction, would be required. In Scotland the local or "territorial" lodges, such as the Lodge of Edinburgh and the Lodge of Aberdeen, as distinct from temporary or semi-permanent lodges or workshops associated with particular building operations, served as the necessary local organizations. The King's Principal Master of Work or Warden General, in conjunction with the Masters of the various lodges, constituted the central authority which controlled and supervised the various local lodges. So far as we are aware, there was no corresponding machinery in England.

Bro. Poole seems disposed to deny the need for local organizations when he writes:

Such a phenomenon as a secret word, by no means unreasonable among a mobile craft, would seem superfluous among, say, such a body as the London Masons' Company—the inference being the possibility, if not the probability, that this feature of the present-day craft may have actually existed in pre-Reformation times.

What Bro. Poole supposes would be unnecessary for masons in London, or in other towns where local organizations of masons existed, was, as an actual fact, the adopted practice in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and other Scottish burghs where local organizations of masons did exist. He offers no suggestion as to the machinery by which the Mason Word could have been established or controlled in England, and, so far as we are aware, there were no organizations in England available for such purposes, nor is there the slightest evidence that in medieval times English masons had secret methods of recognition.

All the evidence we have here reviewed is predominantly Scottish. We have therefore to ask ourselves, is it chance, an unfortunate coincidence, that there is such a paucity of references to the Mason Word in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in England, compared with Scotland, or is it rather that little or nothing was known about the Mason Word in England at that period? We can see no reason why English references should have been lost, while Scottish references have been preserved, and we feel compelled to conclude that the Mason Word as an operative institution did not exist in England as it did in Scotland. Thus, in our opinion, everything in English accepted or speculative masonry that is derived from the Mason Word and all that it implied, is necessarily of Scottish origin. This is not the same thing as saying that all our Masonry is derived from Scotland; we can reassure Bro. Baxter that we are not attempting to dissociate the early English operative masons from the present speculative masons. Those essentially masonic documents, written about masons for masons, the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, which appear to have served as a basis for any ceremony of admission that may have existed among English operative masons, can be traced back in this country as early as *circa* 1400, and are almost certainly of English origin. They undoubtedly exercised their influence on the development of speculative masonry, and there is evidence to show that accepted masons attached considerable importance to the *MS. Constitutions*, as we pointed out in our paper. Furthermore, certain versions appear to have been revised, in the second half of the

seventeenth century or later, by the introduction of an oath of secrecy and reference to masonic secrets, such revision not improbably being made by accepted masons to bring the Old Charges more into harmony with the esoteric knowledge originally associated with the Mason Word.

It has been urged that our method of explaining the origin of masonic ceremonies is very complicated, or too complex to be true; further, that the somewhat hostile relations between the English and the Scots, which prevailed from the time of the Scottish Wars of Independence in the fourteenth century, until the Union of the two crowns in the early seventeenth century, and even later, made unlikely the adoption by English accepted masons of the secrets associated with the Mason Word in Scotland. To this objection we would reply: (i) that the cultural and social break between the two countries was probably not so great as is sometimes suggested (see Coulton, *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life*, 33-4); (ii) that if a knowledge of versions of the Old Charges was transmitted from England to Scotland at this period, as actually appears to have been the case, and which no one seriously contests, there seems no reason why a knowledge of the Mason Word should not have been transmitted from Scotland to England at the same period; (iii) that our explanation is not complicated; it merely suggests that present-day masonic ceremonies have a twofold origin, part English and part Scottish, and that the bringing together of the two elements probably occurred in the seventeenth century. The Scottish operatives borrowed the Old Charges from the English operatives; the English accepted masons borrowed the Mason Word from the Scottish operatives. There is no evidence either for the Middle Ages, or for a later period, that use was made of the Mason Word by English operatives, who consequently could not have transmitted it to the English accepted masons.

Finally we may turn to the contention that our evidence is incomplete, or at least insufficient to bear our conclusion regarding the relationship of Scottish operative and English accepted masonry. We should be the first to admit that the evidence on most problems of masonic history is incomplete. If the masonic historian is not to set pen to paper, or to formulate working hypotheses to relate the established facts, until the evidence is complete, no treatment of certain aspects of masonic history, *e.g.*, anything which has to do with the practices among freemasons at different periods, is ever likely to be published. Provided it is stressed that masonic history is necessarily, in part at least, provisional in character, we feel that the general body of freemasons is entitled to know what tentative conclusions the masonic historian is able to reach from the weight of the evidence available at any given time. We ourselves have never approved of attempts by masonic historians to write "*The History of Freemasonry*," as distinct from "*A History of Freemasonry*." One of our main criticisms of Begemann, as set out in our previously mentioned review-article, was directed against his endeavour to write a *definitive* history of freemasonry. We pointed out (i) the large fields of knowledge concerning masonry either entirely unknown or but slightly explored; (ii) the possibility of important new masonic documents being discovered, such as the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* and the *Graham MS.*; (iii) the liability of opinions to change regarding the scope of the subject and the method of approach. In our own case we make no attempt to formulate a definitive explanation of the origin of masonic ceremonies; it is purely tentative, based on the evidence at present available. If further important evidence is discovered, we shall cordially welcome it, and modify, revise or scrap our present theories in so far as they conflict with such new evidence. As we wrote in June, 1940, in the preface to our *Short History*, "we have changed our minds more than once in the course of our investigations, and are conscious that our present views, stated in this volume, are certain to require modification in the future." In the meantime, we advance our theory—that English accepted masonry was partly Scottish in origin—as being more

in accord with the evidence than any other theory known to us concerning the origin of masonic ceremonies.

ADDITIONAL ISSUES RAISED BY VARIOUS BRETHREN

The Brethren in general, and Bro. Poole in particular, will, we trust, be assured that in discussing the issues in question between him and ourselves we act without animus, and that, if we have misrepresented his views, the cause is our failure to understand them. He, on his part, may also have misconceived of some of our remarks. For example, we do not remember to have stated, and we certainly did not intend to state, that the "postulates" laid down in his "*Antiquity of the Craft*" bore no relation to historical possibilities. What we did intend to stress was the fact, admitted by Bro. Poole himself in regard to some of his "peculiarities" of the masons' craft, that his belief is held in part on the basis of imagination and despite lack of evidence (*A.Q.C.*, li, 7-8). At bottom, the question between him and us is the validity of such a proceeding; he believes that it can be useful and instructive, while we consider it dangerous. It may very well be that we are wrong, and Bro. Poole right; but, if right, he cannot clearly be right in the manner either of the "authentic" school or of the school which we consider to be emerging at present. Readers may be referred to our remarks on his paper in *A.Q.C.*, li, 25-7.

Near the beginning of his paper he indicates five peculiarities distinguishing the masons' craft from most other medieval crafts. These peculiarities he calls postulates. Then he distinguishes five other peculiarities, distinguishing the masons' craft from almost every other medieval English gild. We find his nomenclature confusing; but we take Bro. Poole broadly to mean by his "postulates" general conditions relating to the mason's trade, and by his second five "peculiarities", characteristics of the mason's organization; and it is held that the second "peculiarities" were more or less the result of the five "postulates". We are not convinced about the casual connection; and we see no ground as yet for believing either on *a priori* grounds, or on the basis of known evidence, in some of his second five peculiarities.

Among these are listed, as existing in the Middle Ages:

- (a) secret modes of recognition,
- (b) a speculative element and a habit of moralizing on the Working Tools.

On page 7 of *A.Q.C.*, li, he admits that these are *assumptions*, for he writes "Supposing they all existed in early times." Yet in his comments on our paper he refers to certain remarks of ours as "the wildest of accusations," and states:

I have never for one moment *assumed* that speculative elements existed in the craft in pre-Reformation days.

We can only reply that he has apparently forgotten what he "supposed" on page 7 of his *Antiquity of the Craft*, and the specific and unqualified statement on page 19 that "in any case the esoteric content of the craft was of pre-Reformation date."

The Old Charges. Bro. Poole contests our statement that the "regulation of industry," ascribed to Athelstan in the Old Charges, was "imposed by external authority." He maintains that it was drawn up in the Craft and for the Craft. Our contention is based on the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.*; according to the former, Athelstan held a Council of nobles and great burgesses, who, together with the masons summoned to the Council, ordained fifteen articles and fifteen points; the *Cooke MS.* does not even mention the presence of the masons, but only the King's Council and other great lords of the land, who ordained

a certain rule or government among masons, including nine articles and nine points.

Further, Bro. Poole suggests that the above-mentioned "regulation of industry" may have been local and not national in character. If the evidence of the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.*, and of later versions of the Old Charges, is accepted, then there is nothing to indicate that the articles and points, or charges general and singular, varied from one locality to another. The implication of the documents appears to be that the charges were given to the Craft as a whole.

We have expressed the opinion elsewhere, if not in this paper, that the masons' "customs" were represented by the charges of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*. Bro. Poole raises the question as to whether we do not mean "charges and manners." We had in mind the Charges General and Singular, or, to use the terms of the oldest versions, the Articles and Points. If Vibert's identification (*Legislation of the Craft*) of "manners" with "points," or moral precepts, be accepted, then apparently we are in agreement with Bro. Poole. On further consideration, however, we are inclined to think that the opinion we expressed was perhaps too sweeping; the "customs" of the industry would be concerned only with operative rules, most of which are embodied in the Articles or Charges General, and only one or two in the Points or Charges Singular.

Bro. Poole is quite right to draw attention to the fact that among the early eighteenth-century copies of the Old Charges were three printed or engraved versions. There were, consequently, many more copies available than a mere count of the numbers of surviving versions would suggest. The fact that it was worth while printing certain versions of the Old Charges in the first half of the eighteenth century points to even more interest being taken in the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* at that period than in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but in no way contradicts our original statement that the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century constituted the period in which the greatest interest was taken in the *MS. Constitutions*, and that it was probably during that period that accepted masonry was making most headway.

"*Mobile*" and "*local*" masons. We agree with Bro. Poole that in the Middle Ages and early modern times masons sometimes moved from place to place and that sometimes masons remained stationary in one place for considerable periods, but we know of no evidence to suggest that it was particular masons who did all the moving about, and certain other masons who stayed put all the time. There was presumably plenty of work for masons in the stone-built burghs of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, yet there was considerable mobility among the masons in such towns (*The Scottish Mason*, 47-8). The same thing was apparently true of London as early as the fourteenth century and as late as the seventeenth century. Thus the Sheriff of London was ordered to send to Windsor 70 masons in 1344, 40 masons in 1360 and 80 masons in 1361, whilst in the seventeenth century the London Masons' Company "pressed" men for the King's service in the "Isle of Garnesey" and at Sheerness (*Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Nov. 1937, pp. 57, 58). Towards the end of the seventeenth century several well-known London mason contractors, such as Thos. Hill, Edward Strong, Benjamin Jackson, John Clark, Samuel Fulkes and Thos. Wise, were responsible for substantial building contracts at Hampton Court, Greenwich Hospital, Winchester Palace, and Windsor Castle (*The London Mason*, 48, 49), and almost certainly employed various London masons on such works. The mere fact that masons were organized in the Scottish burghs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in London in the seventeenth, does not seem to have prevented many of these masons from working outside

the boundaries of the municipalities with which their organizations were associated.

Geomatic masons. We used this expression relying on Murray Lyon and on Hawkins, and can quote no first-hand evidence in reply to the request made by Bro. Poole. On examining our references more closely, we are not sure that either supports the use of the term in Scotland in the *seventeenth* century.

Speculative Masonry. We are grateful to Bro. Hallett for drawing our attention to the use of this expression in the eighth edition of Preston published in 1792 [*Illustrations of Masonry*, Book I, Sect. iv, Masonry considered under two Denominations]. In reply to inquiries from us, Bro. F. J. Underwood, of the Worcester Masonic Library, informs us that in the 1775 edition of Preston [Section vi, p. 17] there occurs the sentence "Masonry passes and is understood under two denominations, it is operative and it is speculative." Bro. Heron Lepper has very kindly drawn our attention to an earlier use of the expression which occurs in the letter Dr. Manningham, D.G.M., wrote to Bro. Sauer at The Hague on 12th July, 1757, to assure him that Freemasonry consists of three Degrees and no more:

. . . I believe you can scarcely imagine, that in antient time the Dignity of Knighthood flourished amongst Free Masons; whose Lodges here to fore consisted of Operative, not Speculative Masons (*A.Q.C.*, v, 110).

We do not follow Bro. Lepper's difficulty in grasping the difference in connotation between the term "speculatyf" as used in the fifteenth century, and the word "speculative" as used in masonry to-day. In the *Cooke MS.* the contrast is between the "practyke" of the science of geometry, *i.e.*, architecture or the practical application of one of the Seven Liberal Sciences, and the speculative or theoretical aspect of the science of geometry, *i.e.*, pure mathematics or possibly the mathematical side of architecture. We do not think that any question of morality or symbolism was implied in the fifteenth century by the "speculatyf" of the *Cooke MS.* such as is implied at the present time when we contrast "speculative" with operative masonry.

On the subject of symbolism, we may add that we do not question the antiquity of symbolism in general, or of the use of masons' tools to inculcate moral lessons, to which Bros. Williams, Hallett and Lepper refer. What we do affirm is that there is no evidence to suggest that masons themselves moralized upon their tools. Though the *Regius Poem* is full of moral precepts, and the *Cooke MS.* rather less so, in neither of these early manuscripts, nor in the later versions of the *MS. Constitutions*, those peculiarly masonic documents written about masons for masons, is there any sort of symbolism based on the masons' tools. Had the masons made use of such symbolism in their teaching, one would have expected some reference to it in surviving masonic documents.

Yet one other point regarding symbolism. We cannot agree with Bro. Williams (if we understand him rightly) that it is any part of the masonic historian's duty to "apply allegory and symbolism to masonic materials." As mason, of course, he is concerned with these things, but as historian his duty is (i) to collect relevant facts; (ii) to classify them; and (iii) to trace cause and effect, or to show how the various facts are related to each other. He is only concerned with moral teachings in so far as it is possible to trace the history or development of such teachings or ideas among operative and speculative masons. The philosophy and symbolism of masonry are quite distinct from the history of masonry.

Craft Gilds. We would also remind Bro. Williams that the expression "craft gild" was the invention of economic historians to distinguish a particular type of medieval municipal organization, concerned with the industrial regulation

of a particular trade or craft, from another medieval municipal organization, the merchant gild, concerned with the trade of a whole town. The term "craft gild" never occurs in medieval documents, the organization in question being described as a "mystery" or "fellowship." In our paper, in discussing the third prevalent error, we used the expression "craft gild" in its technical sense, and were consequently not concerned there with social or religious gilds among masons, such as Bro. Williams has traced in Lincoln in the fourteenth century. He is mistaken, however, in thinking that we are not interested in such organizations, but there was no place for them in this particular paper.

Finally, we must apologize for mentioning Bro. Pocle's name so often, but his comments were as long as, and raised even more points than, those of all the other commentators put together. To all the Brethren who joined in the discussion we express our sincere thanks for the trouble they took in preparing their comments.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

SATURDAY, 7th NOVEMBER, 1942



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 12 o'clock noon. Present:—
Bros. Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *W.M.*; *Wing Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex*, *S.W.*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *J.W.*; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, *Chap.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*, *Treas.*; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*, *Secretary*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.D.*; F. R. Radice, *I.G.*; and H. H. Hallett, *P.G.St.B.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. M. Baxter; T. Baldwin; C. M. Giveen; *Capt.* F. H. H. Thomas, *O.B.E.*, *P.A.G.S.B.*; H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*; W. Smalley; F. A. Greene, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*; S. H. Love; Ian Macaulay; J. O. Dewey; E. A. Hyett; J. W. Hamilton-Jones; A. E. Evans; J. J. Cooper; C. H. Duvcen; S. W. Freeborn; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*; H. W. Martin; A. F. Hatten; E. Alven; A. F. Cross; L. G. Wearing; A. W. R. Kendrick; C. H. Lovell; F. E. Barber; F. W. Harris; L. J. B. Morris; W. T. J. Gun; and *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *P.G.D.*

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. M. Flint, *W.M.*, *St. Winnold Lodge No.* 3955; *Rev.* E. Griffiths, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*; F. G. Marr, *W.M.*, *Edmonton Latymer Lodge No.* 5026; R. Taylor, *W.M.*, and F. E. Tully, *P.M.*, *South Saxon Lodge No.* 311; M. Goldberg, *Mildmay Coronation Lodge No.* 3536; Alfred Cox, *Gordon Lodge No.* 1726; and A. C. Cooper, *P.Pr.G.D.*, *Surrey*.

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.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*; W. J. Williams, *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.*; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; B. Ivanoff,

P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; R. E. Parkinson; and Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

One Lodge, one Library and six Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. *Wing Commander* William Ivor Grantham, *R.A.F.*, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, 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. F. L. Pick	S.W.
„ H. C. Bristowe	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ J. Heron Lepper	Treasurer
„ F. M. Rickard	Secretary
„ J. A. Grantham	S.D.
„ G. Y. Johnson	J.D.
„ F. R. Radice	I.G.
„ G. H. Ruddle	Tyler

The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“That W.Bro. Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, Past Assistant Grand Registrar, 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



BRETHREN,

My first words to you on this occasion must be words of gratitude—gratitude to the members of this Lodge of Research for the high honour which they have seen fit to confer upon me, gratitude to my immediate predecessor in the chair of this Lodge for the kindly manner in which he has performed the duties of Installing Master, and gratitude for the support of those members of the Correspondence Circle who have gathered here to-day to celebrate the Festival of the Quatuor Coronati and to mark the opening of yet another year in the life of this Lodge.

Perhaps I may be permitted to record that it is twenty-one years ago to the very day since I joined the Correspondence Circle as a humble masonic student. It is still as a humble student that I have accepted this office to-day, pledging myself to serve the Lodge to the best of my ability, conscious of my own shortcomings but equally conscious of the goodwill and forbearance of my brethren.

From the very commencement of the existence of this Lodge it has been the custom for each newly-installed Master to deliver an Inaugural Address, either choosing as his subject some topic of masonic interest falling within his own particular sphere of research, or else addressing his remarks to a retrospect of the work already accomplished by the Lodge and perhaps indicating at the same time some of the useful fields of masonic research which still await the explorer.

Time and circumstances over which the present occupant of this chair has been able to exercise no control have combined in the past year to prevent him from compiling an address of any real value to the student. A retrospect of the work of the Lodge does not seem to be called for at the present time, for a permanent record of that work is readily available in our printed *Transactions*. I propose therefore to invite you to-day to cast your minds forward to the time when it may once more be possible for this Lodge to resume its work in more peaceful surroundings, and to consider with me some of the matters which will then call for immediate and earnest attention.

At the end of the war our first concern as a Lodge of Research will, surely, be the re-expansion of the Correspondence Circle—the very life-blood of our Lodge. The cessation of hostilities will enable many of us to resume masonic research, but it will not be possible for this Lodge to publish the fruits of that research for the benefit of the craft at large unless we can count upon the financial backing to be derived from a large circle of associate members. Past experience has shown that our aim in this connection must be an associate membership of at least four thousand brethren. With a Correspondence Circle of those dimensions it should be possible in due course to resume publication of much valuable matter beyond the papers which form the regular feature of our meetings.

How can this large increase in the membership of the Correspondence Circle be attained? The experience of several years as a Local Secretary both at home and abroad has convinced me of the value of personal recommendation. But the number of Lodges whose members still appear to be ignorant of the existence of this Lodge of Research is so large that reliance must to a certain

extent be placed upon the circulation of printed memoranda explaining our aims. The co-operation of the editors of masonic journals might well be enlisted in our cause.

At the end of the war every surviving member of the Lodge, and every member of the Circle, will be expected to sow masonic seed in fruitful ground and to bring into the fold as many brethren as he can of the right type. Much will be expected of the Local Secretaries, but all will be able to assist. A carefully worded letter addressed to a newly-installed Master may sometimes be productive of better results than a circular addressed to the Secretary of a Lodge. As membership of the Correspondence Circle is open to masonic Lodges, Chapters, Study Circles, Libraries and Museums, approaches should be made to all such corporate bodies. Is it too much to expect that every Provincial and District Grand Lodge, and every private Lodge possessing premises in which our *Transactions* can be kept, can be prevailed upon to join? To a Lodge a subscription of one guinea a year would mean so little; to its members the possession of our printed *Transactions* could mean so much.

Assuming an assured income of adequate proportions, how best can that income be applied to the advantage of masonic students?

First and foremost I would place the maintenance of the high standard of publication attained in the issue of our *Transactions*. From time to time in recent years tentative suggestions have been made that for the sake of economy abridged versions of papers communicated to the Lodge should be printed in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, the original paper in its entirety being deposited in our Library for the benefit of those who may desire to refer to unpublished passages. Brethren, we are working not merely for our own edification and enjoyment but for the benefit of future generations of masonic students. Let us not mutilate the reproduction of our handiwork; let us economise in some other direction, or even postpone publication for a brief period, rather than publish emasculated versions of our papers.

Subject to our ability to continue the regular and unabridged issue of our printed *Transactions*, I would urge the publication at the earliest possible date of Bro. Songhurst's second volume of Grand Lodge Minutes, the first of which appeared in 1913 as Volume X of *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*. When funds permit, facsimile reproductions of the more important versions of the recently discovered copies of the Old Charges could also be published for the benefit of students. A revised and up-to-date edition of Lane's *Masonic Records* is required, and similar publications dealing with Scotch and Irish Lodges would be of inestimable value to the craft. A Dictionary of Masonic Biography, on the lines of *The Dictionary of National Biography*, deserves consideration, in the compilation of which much useful material could be derived from the fifty odd volumes of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* already published. A Catalogue of our own Lodge Library and Museum would be of more than mere domestic interest, and a Comprehensive Index of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* is long overdue.

The lack of an adequate index to the whole of our printed *Transactions* has been felt by many of us, and has evoked comment on the part of several of my predecessors in this Chair. The compilation of such an index would entail a vast amount of detailed work, but the longer this task is delayed the greater will be its magnitude. The co-operation of a number of brethren would be required extending over a period of several years. It might be found convenient to deal with the volumes of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* in batches of ten or twelve at a time. If this were done it would be possible for separate volumes of a Comprehensive Index to be published at intervals in succession while the work of indexing proceeded. A member of the Lodge would presumably be selected to act as co-ordinator of the work of others, his collaborators being drawn from both Lodge and Circle.

As a prelude to this major work of indexing our *Transactions* an up-to-date edition of Bro. Baxter's more limited index of the papers published in the first twenty-eight volumes of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* could be produced with much less labour but with advantage to the Lodge. This edition could conveniently cover the first fifty volumes of our *Transactions*.

The undertakings to which I have already referred are matters dependent upon the financial resources of the Lodge. Some time therefore is bound to elapse after the termination of the war before any of these suggestions could be put into operation; but no time need be lost at the end of the war in striving to foster a more active interest in masonic research amongst members of the Correspondence Circle both old and new. These brethren should be encouraged, as in the past, to submit papers to the Secretary of the Lodge, who would carefully discriminate between those suitable for communication and discussion in Lodge and those perhaps more suitable for publication in our *Transactions* without previous submission to the Lodge.

Much profit and pleasure might be derived from actual correspondence between members of the Correspondence Circle and members of the Lodge upon branches of masonic research of mutual interest to the brethren concerned. Our Secretary, I am sure, would be only too pleased to place a member of the Circle in touch with a member of the Lodge who has specialised in the particular sphere of research of interest to the less experienced brother. In this manner it should be possible to ensure a succession of students to carry on the study of the Old Charges, the early development of masonic ritual, the customs associated with our operative ancestors, and the many other fields of masonic research.

Useful employment could easily be found for those members of the Circle who, though lacking the aptitude or the inclination to compile papers on their own account, are yet possessed of a certain amount of leisure and of facilities for visiting public libraries in their neighbourhood. Such brethren could be invited to co-operate in the search for entries of masonic interest in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century files of provincial newspapers. In this work our Local Secretaries might play a prominent part by co-ordinating the labours of the brethren in their respective districts. The periodical publication in our *Transactions* of extracts from the provincial Press of early days, arranged under masonic provinces, would be of material assistance to the compilers of Lodge Histories. The task in question is full of fascination, as any one will testify who has already undertaken it. When searching newspaper files care should always be taken to ensure that periods covered with negative results are duly noted to prevent further fruitless search through the same files by other brethren.

From time to time the minute books of an extinct Lodge come unexpectedly to light, only to be relegated to the chest or cupboard from which they temporarily emerged. The discovery of such books should be brought to the notice of this Lodge or some other Lodge of Research, in order that the volumes may be examined by a qualified brother with a view to the publication of such of the records as may contribute to our knowledge of the past.

If any member of the Correspondence Circle is minded to compile a history of a masonic Lodge or Chapter I would urge that brother not to neglect contemporary records. The local Press of the period in question, the records of neighbouring Lodges and Chapters, the registers and letter-books preserved by Grand Lodge or by the Provincial or District Grand Lodge concerned, and even inscriptions upon tomb-stones and memorial tablets in churches in the locality, may provide material to supplement the information to be derived from the minute books and other archives of the local Lodge or Chapter, the history of which is the subject of investigation. In his Inaugural Address in 1930 (*Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, volume xliii, at page 246) Bro. Daynes dealt with this matter at considerable length. His observations are earnestly commended to

all Lodge historians. The records of many Lodges of respectable antiquity still remain to be written.

The reader who picks up the published journal of an eighteenth century or earlier diarist may well alight upon an occasional entry of masonic import. Such entry may not be of particular interest to the reader concerned, but it may provide some other brother with a clue to the information which he has long been seeking. The Editor of our *Transactions* might consider the establishment of a masonic clearing-house for such information and the publication of such extracts from time to time classified under masonic provinces. As an example of the type of entry which I have in mind I would refer to the passage quoted in the appendix to this address, extracted from *The Journal of Gideon Mantell*, a surgeon and geologist who lived in Sussex from 1811 until his removal to London in 1838. This passage may not be of any particular interest to a brother unconnected with the province of Sussex who alights upon it in the course of his general reading, but the passage in question may prove useful to the historian of some Sussex Lodge or Chapter and may throw much light upon the character of a local masonic worthy of an earlier century. William Lee, the freemason referred to in Gideon Mantell's Journal, was Master of the South Saxon Lodge at Lewes for an unbroken period of twenty-four years.

As another example I would quote this entry in Pepys' Diary:—

1662 March 22^d

At noon, Sir Williams both and I by water down to "the Lewes", Captain Dekins his ship, a merchantman, where we met the owners, Sir John Lewes and Alderman Lewes, and several other great merchants: among others, one Jeffreys, a merry man, and he and I called brothers, and he made all the mirth in the company. We had a very fine dinner, and all our wives' healths, with seven or nine guns apiece; and exceeding merry we were, and so home by barge again.

This suggestive entry has already been published in Volume XIII of *Miscellanea Latomorum*, that most useful medium for the dissemination of information amongst masonic students which I heartily commend to our brethren in the Correspondence Circle, but the publication of this entry failed to arouse any comment at the time.

In the Appendix to this address, to which allusion has already been made, there will be found a miscellaneous collection of references to freemasons and freemasonry in the Province of Sussex extending from 1657 to the middle of last century. These references have been noted from time to time during the past twenty years in the course of general reading and in the course of researches undertaken in connection with the histories of certain Sussex lodges. The majority of the items quoted in this appendix have been extracted from files of *The Sussex Weekly Advertiser or Lewes and Brighthelmston Journal*, copies of which are preserved in the public libraries at Lewes and Brighton. Some of these extracts contain items of masonic news, while others comprise advertisements with masonic allusions.

From the columns of this local newspaper it is apparent that the South Saxon Lodge at Lewes was functioning actively during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, a period in respect of which the minute books of that lodge are missing. From the same source it is learnt that the black flag belonging to this lodge, bearing the customary emblems of mortality, was flown from the eastern tower of Lewes Castle as late as 1843 whenever the lodge was in session at the Castle.

The earliest item mentioned in the appendix to this address is an extract from certain accounts maintained by the steward at Cowdray for the years

1657 and 1658, containing a note of payments made to "ffrancis Hille the free Mason". This particular set of accounts was discovered some years ago amongst the books and papers left by the grandfather of the present occupant of this chair, who was not a member of the Craft. Similar volumes are known to be preserved in the museum situated amongst the ruins at Cowdray, and might well repay careful study on the part of some local masonic student.

An extract from one of the Sussex correspondence files preserved in the Grand Lodge Library contains a letter dated 3rd July, 1800, addressed to the *Modern* Grand Lodge by a member of the Lodge of Harmony then meeting at Chichester. In this letter reference is made to an anchor, cock and triangle, costing more than sixty guineas, amongst the ornaments belonging to a former Royal Arch Chapter named Love and Harmony No. 71. We are left to speculate as to the nature of the ceremonies for which an anchor, cock and triangle were requisite. In this connection it is to be noted on the authority of the late Bro. T. Francis (*The History of Freemasonry in Sussex*, at page 8) that Kadosh and Knight Templar degrees were worked by this Chichester Royal Arch Chapter before its extinction at the end of the eighteenth century.

The remaining items quoted in the appendix to this address do not appear to call for any special comment. It is hoped, however, that some of these items will provide at least one masonic student with information of assistance to him in his researches. Many other Press references to the activities of Sussex lodges have been noted in the local newspapers of the early nineteenth century, most of them relating to the Royal Clarence Lodge, and it is hoped that use may be made of these for the benefit of our *Transactions* when peace has been restored to a troubled world.

Brethren, viewed against the sombre background of a world at war, our masonic labours, and our gathering here to-day, may at first sight appear trivial and superfluous; but amidst the calls of public duty at this time of national peril is it not legitimate to seek for mental recreation in the pursuit of masonic knowledge? For the past three years our nation has been passing through a period of grave crisis, the gravity of which is still acute. Those of us who are convinced of the ultimate triumph of good over evil cannot doubt the outcome of this war. As a nation we have been taught during the last three years the lesson of humility. As individuals let us learn that lesson, and let us strive to become worthy of victory and worthy of our national calling—that of service to mankind. In the meantime, as members of this Lodge let us strive to keep alight the torch of masonic research which we have received at the hands of those worthy brethren who established this Lodge upon such firm foundations over fifty years ago.

APPENDIX

Containing miscellaneous references to Freemasonry in the Province of Sussex.

COWDRAY, MIDHURST—Steward's Accounts (1657-1658) in the possession of Bro. Ivor Grantham.

Jan 12th 1657

Paid to ffrancis
Hille Msⁿ for the
stones which he is
providing in the
North Heath towards
the repaires of the
Towers at Cowdray
aggreed with him
at iiij^d 06 the foote

Paide to ffrancis Hille the free
Mason ffor the hewing of foure
hundred threscore and seaventeen
and thre floote of stone in the
North heath wh are used at the
towers in Cowdray Housse ~~to~~w

8 : 17 : 4½

for the Quoynes
Ashelers & Kants
Stones &
the some of

towards the Reparation of them
at the price of fourepence 06 —
the ffoote: for the Quoines the
Ashelers and the Kants In all
amounting to the some of viij: xvij: 4½

Paide more to fran
cis Hille Msⁿ for
stone fortie shillings

Margaret Pryer
July 17

Paide more to
Francis Hille eee'
In all foure Ponds &
ten shillings

F.H.

SUSSEX CORRESPONDENCE FILE in the Grand Lodge Library, Free-
masons' Hall, London.

1800 July 3

(Letter from W. Raper to the Grand Secretary)

Lodge of Harmony.
Dolphin, Chichester.

The Ornaments of our late Chapter were upon a grand scale,
and the Anchor, Cock & Triangle still with me cost upwards of Sixty
Guineas.

HORSFIELD—*The History and Antiquities of Lewes*

1824 *(Footnote on page 256)*

Within this southern gateway (*of Lewes Castle*) is a flight of steps
leading to a room over the arch, which has for some time been occupied as a
lodge for the Free-masons. This apartment has been recently fitted up with a
splendour befitting the Eleusinian occupations of the masonic body.

THE JOURNAL OF GIDEON MANTELL (*Sussex County Magazine*,
February and March, 1938).

1819 September 15

On the morning, yesterday, there was a grand procession of Freemasons;
they proceeded from the White Hart to the Church in the Cliffe (*Lewes*).

1830 November 26

On Monday last attended the funeral of Mr. William Lee, in his 85th
year. He has been Editor of the Lewes Paper above half a century, and was
a beau-ideal of a country editor of the old school. He was a man of the middle
size, rather corpulent, with shaggy hair which would have been grey if he had
not kept it of a mahogany colour by Atkin's tryian dye. He had a remarkable
prominent but thin nose, sharp grey eyes, and a peculiarity of physiognomy
hard to describe. He was a man evidently some 50 years ago of strong natural
powers, but he had not kept pace with the progress of knowledge, and although
remarkably quick and shrewd he was lamentably ignorant of every principle
of science. He was an *antiquist*: that is fond of collecting *old things*, without
understanding them; and affected universal knowledge without being acquainted
with any branch thoroughly. Yet with all this there was an independence
about him and an originality that rendered him valuable. He was buried with

masonic honours!—a good commentary on his life; this foolery is the only remnant of necromancy that remains in these days, when the *Schoolmaster* has mounted the wool-sack!

THE SUSSEX WEEKLY ADVERTISER OR LEWES AND
BRIGHTHELMSTON JOURNAL

1769 July 24

This is to acquaint the PUBLIC
That Capt. SARGENT, the FREE MASON SCHOONER, a new
built Vessel, the largest in the Trade, one of the
most compleat Things of the Kind ever built, is now
compleatly fitted up for the Reception of Passengers,
any kind of Merchandize &c.

She sails from Brighthelmston to Dieppe
every Thursday, and from Dieppe to Brighthelmston
every Monday, till further Notice is given.

The said Captain hopes to have the
Favours of the Public, as no Cost or Pains
have been spared by him to accommodate
Passengers in the genteelest Manner. Passengers
a Guinea each.

∴ If any Party of Gentlemen or Ladies
chuse to have the Cabbins (which are both
private) to themselves, the Price is Ten
Guineas.

1798 June 4

To the young nobleman who has brought himself into disgrace through
a breach of confidence, we would recommend the Science of FREEMASONRY,
as practised in all regular and well-formed Lodges, for in them, as in the
Pythagorean School of old, he would be taught to know the use of *Silence*, and
how to appreciate the value of *SECRECY*; attributes which Pythagoras and
other celebrated Philosophers esteemed, as the rarest virtues.

1798 November 26

The King of Prussia having, by his late ordinance, prohibited the meetings
of the *Illuminati*, and restricted the sciences of *Free-Masonry*, to its three
original degrees, the amateurs of the Art in his dominions may now, like the
English Free-Masons, bid defiance to the base calumny of PROFESSOR
ROBISON, whose wily insinuations, and specious attacks are at length easily
seen through, even by the blinking eye of PREJUDICE.

1799 February 25

As the Commissioners for carrying into execution the Act on Income,
will be expected to possess a more than ordinary share of *fidelity* and *secrecy*,
we would recommend FREE-MASONS to the appointment of that important
trust. Gentlemen, therefore, who are liable to serve and have not already
embraced the Order, will do well to qualify accordingly.

1799 August 19

The performance of SECRETS WORTH KNOWING, at our Theatre,
on Saturday evening for Mansel's Benefit, patronised by the South-Saxon Free-
Masons, attracted all the taste and fashion of the town.

1799 October 14

For the LEWES JOURNAL

EXTEMPORE

on the fall of the Dirt House,
near Brighton.

Decidunt Turres, feriuntque summos fulmina Montes.

To the Tune of the Children sliding on a Summer's day.

ITALIAN Masters build their walls,

As Children in their play;

Soon as the stormy tempest falls,

The whole is *wash'd away*.

Bound is the work by iron screws,

As tight as strength can press,

Bound, but to make in Lewes News

A Tale of sad distress.

Oh! had they built in common form

With true MASONIC skill,

Firm, and unmov'd by any storm,

It had been standing still.

1800 October 27

The PRINCE of WALES has honoured Mr. SCOTT, artist, at Brighton, with several sittings for his portrait, as GRAND MASTER of FREEMASONS. His Royal Highness is represented sitting, as in open lodge, invested with all the insignia of that ancient and honourable order. From the painting, which is a very capital likeness, we hear, it is Mr. Scott's intention to publish an elegant copper-plate print by subscription.

1801 April 20

W. WILLIAMS,

STONE-MASON and SLATER,

NEW STREET, BRIGHTON,

RESPECTFULLY acquaints his friends and the public,

he has just imported, a large quantity of the best

HEALING SLATES, which are selling wholesale and
retail on the lowest terms.

1801 November 9

MUSIC

Speedily will be Published

WITH AN ELEGANT ENGRAVED TITLE PAGE,

PRICE 2s. 6d.

THE ORIGIN OF MASONRY;

AN ODE,

Composed and most respectfully inscribed
(by permission)

To His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES,

By W. PRINCE,

And may be had at his Music Warehouse, Princes-Place,
Brighton, and at Messrs. Tebbert and Didier's, No. 78, St.
James's-Street, London.

1803 February 28

In this country we have heard FREEMASONS both idly and ignorantly, traduced as atheists and blasphemers, branded as idoleters, and ridiculed as the dupes of nonsense; but that they are viewed through a very different medium, in the other countries, the following article must incontrovertibly testify.

“At Stockholm, Sweden, the residence of the Prince of GLOUCESTER, on the 28th of last month, the LODGE of FREEMASONS gave a dinner in honour of the birth-day of the DUKE of SUDERMANIA, GRAND MASTER, at which the PRINCE, and other great personages were present.”

1804 April 2

At Shoreham this evening, four or five Military Gentlemen of the first respectability, are to undergo, at the *Harmony Lodge*, the ordeal of initiation into the mysteries of FREEMASONRY, for which they are become candidates, and if they fail not in confidence or resolution, they will have made some progress towards a farther knowledge of the grand PRINCIPLES upon which that most ancient, most honourable, and distinguished institution is founded. And may we venture to add, that those great, operative causes will not be made subject to their abuse.

1805 December 9

We congratulate the Fraternity of FREEMASONS on the late instalment of his Royal Highness the PRINCE of WALES, as Grand Master of all the Masonic Lodges in Scotland. By this nomination, the old constitution of the Duke of Athol will be set aside, and the trifling distinction between *Ancient* and *Modern Masonry* entirely done away. This union, which has been long wished for, and will greatly strengthen the purposes of a most benevolent and widely-extended body of men, was the laudable work of that *excellent Mason*, THE EARL of MOIRA.

1806 April 14

The London Prints, some months since, in speaking of the installation of the PRINCE of WALES as GRAND MASTER of Free Masons, in SCOTLAND, observed, that a consolidation of the Ancient and Modern Constitutions, would be the immediate consequence. This was taken for granted, and thus many have been led into error and disappointment; but who may in future avoid the same, by attending to the fact, which is, that no steps whatever, have as yet been taken to unite the Masons acting under the authority of the PRINCE, and those who are governed by the ancient constitution, under the Duke of ATHOL, though it is probable, that his Royal Highness's election to the Chair of Scotland, may, in time, be productive of the best effects, by the assimilation of Masons in general. The misrepresentation seems to have originated in an idea, that the Duke of Athol presided over the Lodges of both England and Scotland, which was a mistake, it being of the former only, that those who act under the Duke, considered him Grand Master.

1807 January 26

LEWES—We yesterday received a very interesting account of the distress of the English prisoners in France, communicated to a LODGE of FREEMASONS, on the festival of St. John, by an honorary member, lately returned from France, after a detention of nearly four years. The narrative excited a considerable degree of indignation and compassion in the breasts of all present; and the brethren immediately set on foot a subscription, a part of which was ordered to be forwarded for the relief of the brave captives, without delay; not confining their charity to the fraternity, but extending it to all the prisoners

who stand in need of it. The substance of the speech shall appear in our next paper.

1807 March 30

LEWES—Last Saturday morning David Grannell, who stated himself to be a protestant clergyman, and a native of Ireland, was found dead in his bed, at the Pelham Arms, at Seaford. An inquest was held the same day on view of the body, before James Cook Esq. when the Jury returned their verdict,—Died by the Visitation of God. The deceased was a good-looking man, and being of the fraternity of Free-masons, solicited and received relief of the brotherhood here, not many days before his death.

1808 March 21

BRIGHTON—In answer to the enquiries made by our Correspondent, who signs a FREEMASON, we have, for his satisfaction, to inform him, that the Most Noble Charles Duke of RICHMOND and LENOX, was, in 1695, MASTER of a Lodge of FREEMASONS, at Chichester, and having, in that year, visited the annual assembly, in London, he was chosen GRAND MASTER, and invested with the insignia of the Order, by his predecessor, Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN, who two years before, had the honor of making KING WILLIAM a mason. The King expressed his entire approbation of the choice of the Noble Duke, and spared no pains in promoting the interests of the craft.

1808 June 20

The apartment in Lewes Castle, in which the SOUTH SAXON LODGE OF FREEMASONS are, on Friday next, to celebrate the FESTIVAL of ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, is most appropriately chosen, being supported by SAXON arches, which it is to be presumed, were constructed by their ancient Brethren of the same denomination, as the Saxons are known to have been great patronisers of Freemasonry, after all the Kings of the Heptarchy had been converted to the Christian faith. We hear, that they expect a full meeting, many visiting brethren having promised them the honor of their attendance.

1809 January 9

The only provincial Brethren who embraced the honor of assisting the PRINCE of WALES, their GRAND MASTER, in the ceremony observed by his Royal Highness, in laying the foundation stone of Covent-Garden Theatre, on last Saturday se'nnight, were, the Master and Wardens of the SOUTH SAXON Lodge, at Lewes, and the deputed Master and Wardens of the ROYAL CLARENCE Lodge, at BRIGHTON.

1810 October 1

BRIGHTON

DIED—On Wednesday last, Mr. Burfield, Draper, of this town. His remains were removed yesterday for interment at Steyning, from his house, in North Street, in Masonic procession, to the end of the town, in the following order, viz.

The Tyler — Two Stewards — A Band of Music — Visiting Lodges, according to their seniority — A Brother of the R.C. Lodge, with the 1st Light — Entered Apprentices, Two and Two — A Brother carrying the Terrestrial Globe, Two and Two — A Brother carrying the Rough Ashlar, Two and Two — A Brother carrying the 2nd Light, Two and Two — A Brother carrying the Celestial Globe, Two and Two — A Brother carrying the perfect Ashlar — The Visitors — The Treasurer and Secretary — A Brother carrying

the 3rd Light — Senior and Junior Wardens — Past Master — Bible — Master — THE BODY — Two Stewards — Tyler.

The procession moved in the above-mentioned order to the top of Church-Hill, then opened right and left, the Brethren remaining uncovered whilst the Hearse and Mourning Coach passed through. — On the return of the procession, the Royal Clarence Lodge took the lead; when they arrived at the Old Ship Tavern, the Members opened to the right and left, whilst the Bible, Master, and the Visiting Lodges passed.

The concourse of spectators to witness the procession was immense.

1810 October 29 ,

One article of the Masonic apparatus exhibited in the Jubilee procession (*of the Royal Clarence Lodge*), being carefully covered with white linen, and borne with more than ordinary attention, by two of the Brethren, greatly excited female curiosity, and led to many ladies of fashion to think, that therein lay concealed, all the secrets of Freemasonry, and to betray an almost dying wish—to get a peep at them.

1811 February 11

The MODERN FREEMASONS are, it seems, henceforward to take the ANCIENT LANDMARKS as their guide

1811 November 18

The Theatre (*at Brighton*) has this week been a little better attended than heretofore, having been honoured with two distinguished bespeaks:—THE CURFEW and DARKNESS VISIBLE, were performed by desire of the Hon: Mr. BURRELL.

1813 July 12

(This number contains the report of a masonic funeral accorded to a Quartermaster-Serjeant of the 18th Hussars in St. Ann's Church-yard, Lewes)

1815 April 24

The Neapolitan Freemasons, it is said, have it in contemplation, to petition KING MURAT, for the Loan of the POPE's CHAIR, for the use of their Lodge, until his Holiness is permitted to return to Rome, to resume his Papal dignities.

1815 May 1

The POPE's BULL issued against the FREE-MASONS, since the flight of his Holiness from Rome, we hear, has been consigned to the Temple of *Clotacina*, that being deemed the only situation in which it could possibly be rendered useful.

1816 September 16

FREEMASONRY, says a correspondent, has existed in most countries; it was transported from Germany to England, by the Anglo-Saxons, where it was renewed at the death of Charles I by the partizans of the restoration, who assembled near St. Paul's church for the purpose of recalling Charles the second to the throne. Its members are divided into two classes,—The *Philosophical Freemasonry*, and The *Hermetic or Egyptian*. The first has for its object the internal development of the Spirituality of the Soul, and the second is connected with the Sciences.

1817 November 24

On the battlements of the tower of the South Saxon Lodge of Freemasons, a mourning Ensign was hoisted, ornamented with four tassels . . . in honour of the memory of Princess Charlotte of Wales, on the occasion of her burial last Wednesday.

1819 January 4

The South-Saxon Freemasons at their Hall, on Tuesday last, celebrated the festival of St. John the Evangelist, one of their never-to-be-forgotten Patrons, not only with masonic harmony, but also with musical harmony, if we may judge from the Vocalists in attendance, who sang a great variety of favourite airs, and admired catches and glees, with exquisite taste and judgment; and at nine in the evening, their scientific performance of the celebrated glee "*Strike the harp in praise of Bragela*" over the lofty battlements of the Lodge, must have proved highly gratifying to all who heard them, and are fond of sweet harmony.

1819 September 20

(This number contains a report of a meeting of the South Saxon Lodge on September 15th at an "occasional Lodge Room at Brother Hodd's, the White Hart Inn". The report runs to 150 lines of print and mentions the delivery of a lecture on "The Differences between the three Degrees of Craft Masonry", by Bro. De Costa, Provincial Grand Master of Rutlandshire.)

1822 November 18

DIED

At Maresfield, in this County, on the 15th inst., Mr. Domenico Santiero, aged 53, leaving a disconsolate wife, and seven young children, to mourn his loss. The deceased was a distinguished member of the ancient Society of Freemasons; and was particularly remarkable for great ingenuity and skill as an amateur mechanic and artist. Like a good man, a pious christian, and an upright craftsman, who always lived and worked upon *the Square*, he surrendered his spirit into the hands of The Most High, from whom he received it, without a struggle—without a murmur—and almost without a sigh. It is expected his remains will be interred with masonic honours.

BRIGHTON GAZETTE

1824 July 15

FREEMASONRY

South Saxon Chapter of Meridian Splendour,
No. 581, Eastern Tower of the Lewes Castle

By command of the M.E. and E., the Principals of the above Chapter, the Members of Chapters and Lodges are hereby informed that the M.E. and E., the Principals of the above Chapter, have received a Warrant of Constitution, granted by His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, M.W. and M.E. G.M., and the Supreme Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of England, empowering them to hold a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, at the Eastern Tower of the Lewes Castle, in the county of Sussex, and to exalt to the Supreme Degree of Royal Arch Masonry, such Brethren, as by their zeal and ability, may be duly qualified.

By Virtue of the Warrant of Constitution, to them directed, they have appointed Monday, the nineteenth day of July, for opening the said Chapter, when they will be most happy of the company of those Companions and Brethren, who feel disposed to attend on the occasion.

The South Saxon Lodge will be close tyed by nine o'clock, and the Chapter will be opened by ten o'clock precisely, on the morning of Monday, the nineteenth day of July, at the County Hall, from which place the Companions and Brethren will go in procession to Church, and on their return partake of a Banquet at the Star Inn.

Two Companions will be at the Star Inn, for the purpose of receiving those Companions and Brethren who wish to attend either the Banquet or Ceremonies.

WILLIAM ATWOOD, E.
RICHARD INSOLL, N.

Lewes, July 8, A.L. 5828, A.D. 1824.

Tickets for the Banquet to be had at the Star Inn.

In consequence of conditions imposed by the war, a banquet did not take place after the Lodge meeting, but at a Luncheon which followed, W.Bro. Lewis Edwards, I.P.M., proposed the Toast of the Worshipful Master in the following terms:—

Brethren, you have elected and I have had the honour to instal into the Chair of the Lodge Bro. Ivor Grantham, and to a—probably imaginary—diffident or enquiring member perhaps I would do well to justify the choice that has been made.

Our Master was born in London in 1898, the son of a well-known public figure, Major W. W. Grantham, L.C.C., and the grandson of a well-known Judge of the King's Bench Division, Mr. Justice Grantham, all three generations, by-the-by, being members of the Inner Temple. Though born in London, Bro. Grantham was bred in Sussex and educated at Harrow School. The end of his school years fell during what, alas, with unjustified boasting was then known as the Great War, and so, consistently with the then topsy-turvy state of affairs, years of military service were to elapse before he proceeded to Trinity College Cambridge, of which University he is a M.A. and LL.B. From 1915 to 1919 he served in the 4th, 5th, and 8th Territorial Battalions of the Royal Sussex Regiment—to which regiment, according to Gould, there was in the eighteenth century attached a Masonic Lodge; and he was severely wounded. After leaving Cambridge Bro. Grantham was called to the Bar in 1922, and practised in Common Law in London and on the South-Eastern Circuit until he was appointed to a commission in the Legal Branch of the Royal Air Force in 1931. Thereafter he served in Egypt and Palestine as Judge Advocate General for the Army and Royal Air Force in the Middle East from 1934 to 1938, when he was invalided home from Palestine. He is now serving in the office of the Judge Advocate General in London as a Wing Commander.

Amid the many claims to celebrity which I am endeavouring to detail, the diligent newspaper reader would not omit a claim to notoriety. Bro. Grantham some years ago, apparently not satisfied with the adventure of matrimony, on the very afternoon of entering thereon, with his bride sought a further adventure motoring through the English countryside with results for a time disastrous, but from which he ultimately recovered, to the joy of the Brethren of this Lodge and to the further advancement of Masonic research.

As to Bro. Grantham's interest in and services to Masonry, this long catalogue will be sufficient evidence.

Bro. Grantham was initiated in the Isaac Newton University Lodge No. 859, Cambridge, in 1920, and subsequently joined the following Craft Lodges:—South Saxon Lodge No. 311, Pelham Lodge No. 1303, Earl of Sussex Lodge No. 2201 (Master in 1926), Sussex Masters Lodge No. 3672, Grecia Lodge No. 1105, Cairo. He joined the Correspondence Circle of Quatuor Coronati

Lodge in 1921, was elected to full membership of the Lodge in 1931, and he has acted as Local Secretary in East Sussex and later in Egypt. He was appointed Provincial Senior Grand Warden of Sussex in 1931, and acted for several years as a Preceptor of the Pelham Lodge of Instruction at Lewes. His Masonic publications include *Freemasonry in Lewes prior to the Union* (A.Q.C., xliii), *The Attempted Incorporation of the Moderns* (A.Q.C., xlvi), *The United Lodge of Harmony and Friendship* (A.Q.C., liv), *Records of the South Saxon Lodge No. 311*, and a number of short papers read in Lodge and Chapter.

Until invalided from the Middle East Bro. Grantham was active for many years in Royal Arch Masonry, Mark and Royal Ark Mariners Lodges, Cryptic Degrees, Knight Templary, Ancient & Accepted Rite, Rosicrucian Society Royal Order of Scotland, Order of Secret Monitor, Order of Eri, and other Degrees.

In Royal Arch Masonry he was exalted in Euclid Chapter No. 859 in 1921, and joined South Saxon Chapter No. 311 (installed as "H" in 1933), and Star in the East Chapter No. 1355.

In Mark Masonry he was advanced in Isaac Newton Lodge No. 112 in 1921, and joined Lewis Lodge No. 391 (W.M. in 1927), and Egypt Lodge No. 311. He became Provincial Junior Grand Warden (Sussex) in 1931. In the Royal Ark Mariners he was advanced in Isaac Newton Lodge No. 112 in 1921, and joined Lewis Lodge No. 391 (W.C.N. in 1929), and Egypt Lodge No. 311.

In Cryptic Masonry he was received in University Council No. 26 in 1921, and joined Brighthelmstone Council No. 15.

As a Knight Templar he was installed in Thornton Preceptory No. 205 in 1922, and joined De Warenne Preceptory No. 126, and has received Provincial Grand rank.

In the Ancient & Accepted Rite he was perfected in University Chapter No. 30 in 1921, and joined Thornton Chapter No. 203, passing the Chair of this last in 1932. He received the 30° in 1932.

He holds Grand rank in the Order of the Secret Monitor, having been Grand Registrar for several years. Also he holds Provincial Grand rank in the Royal Order of Scotland.

He joined the Rosicrucian Society in 1922, and has been through the Chair of the William Wynn Westcott College.

In his interest in Freemasonry he has visited many Lodges abroad in France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Jamaica, Canada, United States of America, Egypt, Palestine, and Iraq.

Brethren what I have just related you can find set out in print or in type, but what the written record will not give you, though what personal intercourse will assure you of almost at once, is an attractive personality, a careful and well-stored mind, and an intense and assiduous devotion to any subjects to which Bro. Grantham turns his attention, among which we may happily count Masonic research. Mine has been a happy and an easy task, and so, Brethren, I ask you to give expression to your feelings and to acclaim Bro. Ivor Grantham as at once honouring and honoured by your choice as Master of this distinguished Lodge.

NOTES ON SOME IRISH BUILDING ACCOUNTS OF THE XIIIth CENTURY.

BY BRO. R. E. PARKINSON



MHEN, on that fateful day in 1169, the first band of Anglo-Norman adventurers set foot on Irish soil, there began, not only a conflict that was eventually to oust an aristocracy that had held sway for over a thousand years, but a struggle between two vastly different civilizations. In nothing, perhaps, was the contrast more marked than in the scale and style of building. The Irish did not erect large buildings, though that the native craftsman was not lacking in skill and wielded mallet and chisel with as nice a touch as his English or Continental brother, is evidenced by the intricate tracery wrought in our stubborn native stone in the High Crosses and other works which have survived the vicissitudes of well nigh a thousand years.

The invaders speedily made good their grip on the more accessible parts of the country; strong points were held by earthen mote and bailey castles, replaced as soon as possible by masonry structures of the latest type of those days. With the erection of such military works also proceeded the building of stately abbeys and churches, which, while not approaching the size and grandeur of their English prototypes, are no mean structures.

For example, the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, commonly called Christ Church, founded by the Norsemen, was completely rebuilt after 1171 by two successive companies of masons from Somerset.¹ They came probably not direct but *via* the Geraldine country of Pembroke. Further importation of artists and ideas came from the same quarter, and were probably supplemented *via* Bristol. Characteristic features of this style are said to be traceable in Cashel Cathedral, Kilkenny Cathedral, and Boyle Abbey, all commenced before 1230.²

The Irish student is constantly forced to bewail the lack of original documents; anything earlier than the seventeenth century in private hands, or indeed in the possession of corporations, civil or ecclesiastical, is a rarity, and the destruction of the Record Office in 1923 was the final straw.

Something has been calendared, and the earliest record relating to building matters which has been preserved in any detail is probably that portion of an Exchequer Roll, 45 & 46 Henry III, reproduced in facsimile following p. 56 in the first volume of the *Reports of the Irish Record Commissioners*. It is the account of the expenditure of twenty marks received in Hilary Term, a.r. 43 (1259), by one Robert Gelus, and by him expended on repairs of the castles of Viride Castrum (Greencastle, Co. Down) and Rath (Dundrum, Co. Down).

The remains of Greencastle are a square keep, about 72ft. 6ins. by 40ft. 6ins. in plan externally, with vaulted basement of perhaps later date,

¹ Crawley, *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. I.

² *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle Ages*, Arthur Champneys, M.A., London, G. Bell and Son, 1910.

a hall occupying all the space on the first floor, and remains of wall passages and turret chambers at second floor level. Sited as it is, on the flat land of the northern shore, just inside the entrance to Carlingford Lough, it was designed, with Carlingford Castle on the southern shore, not only to guard the entrance to the Lough, but also to preserve the lines of communication between Louth and the eastern part of County Down.

The account refers mainly to carpenter's work on the roof and hall, and plumber's work, but quarrymen (*quadratores*) and labourers (*operarii*) also are mentioned.

There is also an item for the purchase of two bands (*Bendis*) and 12 hatchets (*spartutis*) of iron, and the making of crowbars, mattocks, wedges, hammers, spikes and nails.

Although the quarrying of stone and the making of mortar are recorded, there is no mention of masons (*cementarii*) at Greencastle.

Dundrum is one of the few examples of a circular donjon in Ireland: about 45ft. in external diameter and 46ft. high above the present level of the courtyard, which is an irregular oval, about 160ft. by 140ft.

Some authorities suppose it to have been built by de Courcy before 1200, but present opinion inclines to a date about 1230, and suggests that the donjon is a smaller edition of the great tower at Windsor. Be that as it may, the site is one of a fortification existing far back in legendary times, guarding the southern marches of Lecale, the centre of de Courcy's power in Ulster, and, for centuries to come, in importance second only to Carrickfergus.

The account refers to the purchase of timber and iron, and to carpenter's and smith's work for the repair of the gates; the purchase of freestone, and wages of masons (*cementarii*) working and setting the stone in the gateway of the castle and the doorway of the donjon.

The association of *cementarii* with the working and setting of freestone at Dundrum and the absence of such workmen at Greencastle have perhaps significance; on the other hand it may be explained by the smallness of the jobs, where a large staff of craftsmen would not be necessary.

About this time is recorded the name of William de Tolosa, the King's Engineer.¹

About 1270 it is recorded that Nicholas of Gloucester, carpenter of the castle of Athlone, was paid five marks as his fee for Michaelmas term (54, Hen: III) and Easter term (55, Hen: III).²

From this time on there is a good series of Exchequer Accounts, and in the Roll of Payment for Easter (7, Edward I) and succeeding Rolls appear several payments to Thomas Burel for works in the Castle of Dublin, and in the Exchequer: in one Roll he is described as "Keeper of the King's Works of the Castle of Dublin". An entry of about 1281 shows that he was allowed for his robes, and in the Roll for Easter (10, Ed: I, 1282) he was allowed £7. 4. 9½ for the wages of 10 workmen and carpenters, and for necessities bought by him for 15 days, a fraction under a shilling a day per man.³

The Patent Roll, 12, Edward I, m. 6,⁴ recites that having learnt by testimony of the King's Council in Ireland that William de Prene, carpenter, is useful and necessary to the King for carpentry work at his castles and houses in Ireland, the King appoints him to do these works by counsel of the Justiciary of Ireland for the time being, and grants him 12d. a day for his maintenance and 40s. a year for his robes, payable at the Exchequer, Dublin, so long as he shall, of the King's will, well and faithfully discharge that office.

¹ Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, preserved in H.M. Record Office, London, 1252-1284, No. 612. (Hereinafter quoted as "C.D.I.")

² *Chancery Miscellaneous Rolls*, No. 28, Rot. 3. C.D.I., 1257-1284, No. 891.

³ C.D.I., 1252-1284, No. 1535, etc.

⁴ C.D.I., 1252-1284, No. 2278.

In 1290 the King confirmed to him a grant by the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, Dublin, of the King's mills, houses, and land of Chapelizod, for the term of 10 years at 31 marks per year.¹ Thirty-one marks do not represent what William got, but what he paid. What he made out of the mills, etc., is not known. William's emoluments may be compared with the annual fee of a Justice of the Common Pleas, 40 marks, and of the Chancellor, Barons, and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, 20 marks each.

There are also entries relating to a William de Moenes,² who seems to have been the same man, as Keeper of the timber works of Queen Alienor in Ireland, including a receipt for £60 of silver, to be expended in carpentering of timber, and the carriage of the same from the woods of Newcastle Mackynegan (Co. Wicklow) to the Queen's castle of Haverford in Wales.

Incidentally, Edward's building activities in Wales have some Irish interest, for between 4th June, 1287, and 18th July, 1288, £11,000 were contributed out of the issues of Ireland for the King's affairs and castles in Snowdon, and expenses and works in Wales.³

But William was to fall on evil times. He was charged⁴ before the Justices Itinerant in Dublin in 1292 with stealing the King's iron wherewith to bind a cart on which he loaded 60/- worth of spikes, bought by the King's money for the castle of Roscommon, and sold them to his own profit: it was also alleged that he, as Master Carpenter throughout Ireland, frequently rendered account of more workmen than he employed, so embezzling the money of the King and Queen to their damage of £300, and in particular that at Roscommon he had maintained a common servant there in lieu of a carpenter, and, whereas he ought to have been at Glencree and Newcastle looking after the Queen's workmen, he attended to his own work, and hired other workmen at the King's expense at 8d. a day, so cheating the King to the amount of £10.

The justices would have adjudged him to be hanged (*suspendi adjudicassent*) had he not paid them a fine of £200; and William appealed to the King, who referred the cause to the Justiciary of Ireland, and members of the King's Council at Dublin. William held that he ought not to be tried at Dublin for an offence alleged to have been committed in Roscommon, but the justices replied that the nails had been sold at Dublin, and that therefore they had jurisdiction. The justiciary and his associates, therefore, refused to proceed any further until further orders.

And in 1294 Adam de Claverle appears as the King's Carpenter.⁵

In 1304 John Matheu appears as Supervisor of the Works of the Houses of the Castle of Dublin and the Exchequer; and the following year John Sampson was paid £30 for works at the same places.⁶

Other names associated with works at different castles in Ireland are:—

At Newcastle Mackynegan, Hugh de Cruys, 1279, John of Stratton, 1282, and John de Bentley, 1282 and 1284.

At Roscrea, in 1279 and 1284-5, John de Lyddyard.

At Roscommon, William de Spineto in 1282; in 1284 he was allowed 12d. per day for his maintenance.

Also at Roscommon, in 1282 and 1284, Gregory de Cokeley.

Henry Mape was at Randun (Co. Roscommon) in 1279, and Thomas de Isham was at Randun, Roscommon, and Athlone in 1281 and 1284.

¹ *C.D.I.*, 1285-1292, No. 827.

² *C.D.I.*, 1285-1292, Nos. 741, 769, 796.

³ *C.D.I.*, 1285-1292, No. 829.

⁴ *C.D.I.*, 1285-1292, No. 1151.

⁵ *C.D.I.*, 1293-1301, No. 98.

⁶ *C.D.I.*, 1302-1307, p. 106 and No. 456.

All these men were presumably craftsmen, but a word of warning is necessary; in other cases I have found entrusted with monies for building works, clerics and officials of the Exchequer.¹

All these names, too, appear to be definitely English, and, indeed, it is only to be expected that no natives, presumably hostile, would be employed on royal castles in positions of responsibility. Of the subordinate staff I can say nothing, except that in 1280 250 *Cementarii*, *Carpentarii*, *Operarii*, and *Fossatores* were sent into Ireland for the King's Works.

Thus the evidence, scanty as it is, bears out what might have been expected, that the Anglo-Normans brought with them the organization of the building trades as it was in England. Doubtless, too, the craftsmen brought with them their peculiar customs: is it too much to suggest that these customs, reacted on in turn by those of the native craftsmen, together with those brought direct from the continent, formed the ultimate source of the distinctive Irish masonry, which sprang into such vigorous life four hundred years later?

The end of the thirteenth century marks the highest peak reached by English power in Ireland for many a year to come; although Edward I on several occasions made every preparation to cross over to Ireland in person, he was always hindered by affairs in Gascony or Scotland. Under his successor the success of the Scots in throwing off the English yoke encouraged their Irish cousins, and the invasion by Edward Bruce dealt the Norman power in Ireland a blow from which it never recovered. In 1330, the murder of William de Burgh, the Brown Earl of Ulster, brought to an end the main line of the most powerful family in Ireland: the native power rose again, and gradually hemmed in the area of the royal authority; the struggle between the older Gaelic and the newer Norman civilisations produced anarchy, and building practically came to an end for over a hundred years. It was not till about 1440 that there was a general resumption, both ecclesiastical and domestic.

Ex Rotulo 45 et 46 Henrici III in officio Remembrancearii Thesaurarii Scaccarii Hiberniae Compotus Roberti Gelus. De denariis receptis ad scaccarium Dublini in termino Sancti Hillarii anno xliii per manus venerabilis patris Hugonis Ossoriensis Episcopi tunc Thesaurarius Hybernice ad castra de Rath et Knockfergus et viride castrum emendenda per visum et testimonium David Silvestris Hugonis le Paumer Burgensis de Karlyngford Walteri Santivell et Willielmi filii Ricardi.

Idem Robertus reddit compotum de xx marcis receptis de thesaurario Domini Edwardi per manus predicti Hugonis Ossoriensi Episcopi ad predicta castra emendenda.

In thesaurio nichil.

Et in Gistis Planchiis Gutteriis Cendulis Virgis Bordis et alio meremio ad hurda facienda ad viride castrum emptis in Bosco et in Kariago predictorum gistarum et aliorum a Bosco tam per terram quam per aquam lxv solidi.

Et in carpentariis operantibus predictum meremium cendulas et alia et in Aula turris cendulis supradictis chopiente* xxxvii solidi v denarii.

Et in xxvi pedibus plumbi emptis apud Drocheda et in cariagio ejusdem a Drocheda usque viride castrum ad opus ejusdem xlviij solidi iiii denarii obolus.

Et Plumbatori fundenti predictum plumbum et ejus auxiliis v solidi ix denarii.

Et in xl crannocis calcis empta apud Karlyngford et in cariagio ejusdem a Karlyngford usque ad idem castrum ad opera ejusdem xii solidi viii denarii.

¹ *C.D.I.*, 1285-1292, No. 814. Writ of Liberate to Geoffrey Brun, clerk, Chamberlain of the Exchequer, assigned for custody of works in Ireland to make fortifications of castles and defray other expenses on the King's behalf, of £20 for his yearly fee for one year from 8 a.r. 16 (1288).

* This phrase seems corrupt: I suggest "in Aulam turris cooperientibus", i.e., in roofing the Hall of the tower with said shingles".

Et quadratoribus openantibus in quadrario ad eruandam petram ad constructionem ejusdem castri xii solidi vi denarii.

Et pro sablone et aqua ducenda ad morterium faciendum ad idem et tractanda a mari usque ad castrum et operariis facientibus morterium xvi solidi v denarii.

Et in duabus Bendis et xii spartutis ferri emptis et in fabricacione iii Crovorum iiii ligonum v Coynorum ii malliorum et xx spikyngorum de medioeri forma et cccc spikyngorum de minori forma, et in mm minorum clavorum xix solidi v denarii.

Et quibusdam Hybernicis ibidem pro salvo conductu habito cum meremio predicto a Bosco usque ad castrum predictum ii solidi viii denarii obolus.

Et in meremio empto ad Januas castri de Rath reparandas et in cariagio et in carpentario ejusdem meremii xv solidi viii denarii.

Et in libera petra empti apud Dun et pro cariagio ejusdem a Duno usque ad castrum de Rath ad opera ejusdem castri ii solidi iiii denarii obolus.

Et Cementariis operantibus eandem petram et assendentibus eam in Januis et Hostis turris ejusdem castri v solidi iiii denarii.

Et in ii bendis ferri emptis apud Drogheda et ductis ad idem castrum ad reparacionem dictarum portarum viii solidi iiii denarii.

Et cuidam fabro fabricanti predictum ferrum et in ejus auxillis tam in carbone quam ceteris viii solidi v denarii.

Et pro i cabla empti ibidem ii solidi i denarius.

Et pro plumbo ibidem empto dimidia marca.

Summa xiii libra viii solidi ii denarii obolus.

Et habet de superlus ii solidi ii denarii obolus.

From the Roll 45 & 46 Henry III, in the Office of the Remembrancer and Treasurer of the Exchequer of Ireland.

ACCOUNT of Robert Gelus of monies received at the Exchequer, Dublin, in Hilary Term a.r. 43, by the hands of the Venerable Father, Hugh (de Mapilton) Bishop of Ossory, then Treasurer of Ireland, for the repair of the castles of Dundrum, Carrickfergus and Greencastle, by view and testimony of David Silvester, Hugh le Palmer, Burgess(es) of Carlingford, Walter Santivell and William son of Richard.

The said Robert renders his account of 20 marks received from the Treasury of the Lord Edward, by the hands of the said Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, for the repair of the castles aforesaid.

In the Treasury, nothing.

And for joists, planks, gutters, roofing, shingles, laths, boards, and other timber for making hoards at Greencastle, purchased at "The Wood" and in carriage of the said joists and other (timber) from the "Wood" as well by land as by water, 65s.

And for carpenters working the said timber and shingles and other (things) and cleaving the said shingles in the hall of the tower 37s. 5d.

And for 26 feet of lead, bought at Drogheda, and for carriage of the same from Drogheda to Greencastle, for the work thereof 48s. 4½d.

And for a plumber casting the said lead and his assistants 6s. 9d.

And for 40 crannoeks of lime bought at Carlingford, and for the carriage of the same from Carlingford to the said castle for the work thereof, 12s. 7d.

And to quarrymen* working in the quarry raising stone for the construction of the said castle 12s. 6d.

And for sand, and drawing water, for making mortar at the same, and hauling from the sea to the castle, and to labourers making mortar 16s. 5d.

* The word *quadrator* may mean a stone dresser, and *quadrarium* a stone yard, but the word *eruandum* seems to imply quarrying.

And in the purchase of two bands and 12 hatchets of iron, and in the making of 3 crowbars, 4 mattocks, 5 wedges, 2 hammers, and 20 spikes of the medium sort, and 400 spikes of the smaller sort, and 2,000 smaller nails 19s. 5d.

And to certain Irishmen there for having safe conduct with the said timber from "The Wood" to the said castle, 2s. 7½d.

And for timber bought for the repair of the gates of Dundrum Castle, and in carpentering and carriage of the said timber 15s. 8d.

And in freestone bought at Downpatrick and for carriage of the same from Downpatrick to Dundrum Castle for the work of the said castle 2s. 4½d.

And to masons working the said stone, and setting it in the gates and doorway of the tower of the said castle 5s. 4d.

And in 2 bands of iron bought at Drogheda, and brought to the said castle for the repair of the said gates 8s. 4d.

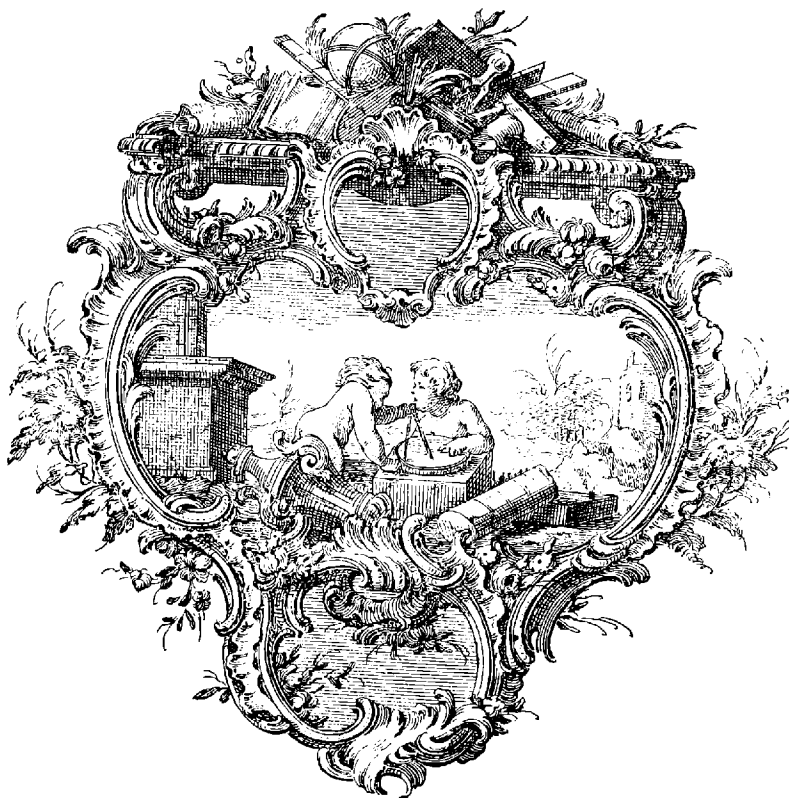
And to a certain smith working the said iron, and in his assistants as well in charcoal as in other (materials) 8s. 5d.

And for 1 cable bought at the same place 2s. 1d.

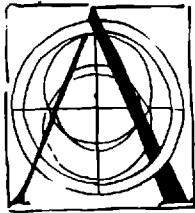
And for lead bought at the same place, half a mark.

Total 13L 8s 10½d.

And he has of surplus 2s. 2½d.



NOTES.



PRIESTLY SPECULATIVE AND OPERATIVE MASON.—In a paper entitled *The Religion of the English Town* (at pages 146-7) of *The Continuity of the English Town*, published by the Ecclesiological Society, Mr. Gillie Potter cites an entry from the Parish Register of the Church of the Holy Trinity of Much Wenlock, of which an abstract follows:—

This 26th May 1546 was buried the body of Sir William Corvehill, Priest of the Service of our Blessed Lady St. Mary within the Church of the Holy Trinity of Much Wenlock, whose body was buried before the Altar in a tomb of lime and stone which he caused to be made for that intent after the rearing and building of the new roof of the chancel was done through the counsel of the said Sir William Corvehill who was excellently and singularly expert in divers of the seven liberal sciences and especially in geometry, not greatly by speculation but by experience; and few or none of handy crafts but that he had a good insight in them as the making of organs, of a clock and chimes, and in carving, in masonry, and weaving of silk, and in painting: and no instrument of music but that he could mend it, and many good gifts the man had; and a very patient man, and full honest in his conversation and living born here in this borough of Much Wenlock, and sometime monk in the monastery of St. Milburghe here. . . . All this country hath a great loss of the death of the said Sir William Corvehill, for he was a good bell-founder and a maker of the frame for bells.

This, so far as I know, is a rare record in its references to masonic work done by a priest who was credited with expertness in the seven liberal sciences and especially in geometry, and not greatly by speculation but by experience. It seems that the recorder must have had some acquaintance with the Old Charges.

W.J.W.

The "Edinburgh Letter," 1745, on Templary.—In *A.Q.C.*, xxxiii, 44, will be found, in a paper by the late Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett, a Letter, supposed to have been written in 1745, from Edinburgh, just before the "operations" of the Young Pretender, by Lord Perth to David, Lord Ogilvie, son of the 4th Earl of Airlie.

It has been long ago put forward as supplying "proof" that a Masonic Knight Templar "assemblage" (under what name you choose) was held at Holyrood, at which the Prince "took his profession" and was forthwith acknowledged as G. M. [24 Sept., 1745].

Two versions are extant, one longer than the other, supplying further detail. It has been dismissed entirely as a "fake."

Alternatively, the additions in the "longer version" have been denounced as mere interpolations.

Bro. Tuckett brought forward arguments against this wholesale condemnation, one of the most cogent being that Lord Perth would have written in French, which Lord Ogilvie would have understood. Consequently "textual criticism" must take note of this.

I do not find that he says anywhere (if the "Original" letter were French):—

- (a) Is there any sign that the Letter is a translation from French?
- (b) If such be the case, is it an accurate translation?

I answer, yes to the first question, and no to the second.

The Letter, in either version, has the remarkable sentence:—

. . . "he is much beloved of all sorts and we cannot fail to make that pestilent England smoke for it. ."

This one sentence condemns itself. It is so out of character with all the rest, being a sudden plunge into a Hunnish savagery of expression, quite purposeless. The writer has explained to Lord Ogilvie how charming his Prince is; moreover, he is confident that England will think so, too.

Supposing the Letter to have been in French, it might well have run:—

. . . "he is much beloved of all sorts" . . . "et nous ne manquerons pas faire s'enfumer cette Angleterre empestée. ."

Which would really mean . . . "and we cannot fail (shall not fail) to make this plague-stricken England fumigate herself. . ."

It is just what they did then, with "fumigating-pans."

There is all the difference in the world between a cheerful, kindly hope, and a colourable threat of a "scorched earth" for the rest of the kingdom the writer hoped to gain for his Prince.

There is another phrase too, which I quoted above . . . "took his profession." Idiomatic English would write "made" and not "took". The word is, I think, a translation of "prenait". And as I doubt whether the French had any other word than "serment" for "oath". I think the translator wanted to avoid a word perhaps irritant at the time he made his rendering for publication.

One other point occurs . . . the "white robe" of the Masonic K.T. My impression is that our earliest K.T. Brethren clothed themselves in black. But it is also true, I think, that our Brethren in Ireland who did so made an abrupt change to white; and putatively, at least, drew their inspiration from Scotland, with the magic name of Kilwinning. I cannot find any record of what might be called direct K.T. instruction emanating from Scotland reaching Ireland; the link was simple Craft authority, upon which the other was superadded. So what if the change in Ireland were, to a use, believed Scotch, and "Early"?

There is little more to say, except that Lord Ogilvie, recipient of the Letter, might have kept it piously all his life. He died in 1803. The attainder of his line was not reversed till 1826. Forty years after Lord Ogilvie's death the Letter was published in English, in the long version, in the *Statutes of the K.T. Order*, Edinburgh, 1843; in the shorter, in Dennistoun's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange*, 1855.

Whether any, and, if so, how much, is a "fake" I do not know. But do not let us assert that no "original" existed. I think it possible to say that there is a probability of a French original, much mistranslated. Further I cannot go.

But having this in mind, it is worth looking for it. It is not "a black cat in a dark room, which isn't there", but one which miaows audibly!

W. E. Moss.

Operative Masons in Ireland.—As I have elsewhere commented on the connection between Ireland and the Continent through the Irish monasteries in Germany, the following note by the foremost Irish authority at the present day on medieval architecture will be of interest. It is from the official guide to "Saint Patrick's Rock, Cashel", by H. G. Leask, M.R.I.A., M.R.I.A.I., who is in charge of all the ancient monuments in Eire under State charge. He refers to Cormac's Chapel, consecrated in 1134, as "unique in Ireland".

Here is a factor in the evolution of the building craft in Ireland, previous to the arrival of the Normans, which has hitherto received little attention; it suggests that at some future date we may be able to insert in the pedigree of Irish masonry the Steinmetzen of Germany.

CORMAC'S CHAPEL ("St. Patrick's Rock, Cashel"). H. G. Leask, M.R.I.A., M.R.I.A.I. (Commissioner of Public Works).

Unique in Ireland, in possessing two towers—rather like transepts—at the junction of the nave with the small chancel, stories of blank arcading within and without, numerous string courses and a barrel vault with transverse ribs or arches. These features, and especially some other details of the carvings of the chapel, bear so close a resemblance to the Romanesque architecture of the Rhineland that it is not surprising to learn of the links which bound the church of the homeland with the well-established Irish monasteries at Cologne, Ratisbon, and other places in Germany at and before the time of its erection. Some years previously, it is on record, Dionysius, an Irishman and seventh Abbot of Ratisbon, sent four men of his own race on a mission to Ireland to make a collection in aid of his projected buildings. Two of the men were craftsmen, William and Conrad the carpenter.

(See also *Irish Monasteries in Germany*, U.J.A. First Series, vol. vii. p. 227, July, 1859.)

IRISH CASTLES. H. G. Leask (Dundalgan Press, 1941).

P. 25. The great castle building period in Ireland extended from the end of the twelfth century for about 120 years; broadly speaking, from 1180 to 1310.

P. 74. From about 1440 onwards there was a great building revival, signalised especially by the addition of belfry towers and cloister arcades to the monasteries, and the erection of completely new houses for the Friars, both both Franciscan and Dominican—particularly in the western parts of the country. About the middle of the century the laymen seem to have begun to build for themselves, and for another hundred and fifty years or more they kept the masons hard at work.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE. Arthur Champneys, M.A. (Batsford), Christ Church, Dublin.

After 1171, complete rebuilding begun by Richard de Clare (Strongbow), Robert FitzStephen, and Raymond le Gros, Geraldines from St. David's.

Stone, probably Somersetshire oolite; shafts, Purbeck marble. Carving of Somersetshire type, resembling the earliest work at Wells; the style probably came, not direct, but *via* Pembrokeshire, "Little England beyond Wales."

Christ Church set an example; further importation of ideas and architects from the same quarter, and these were probably supplemented from Somersetshire *via* Bristol.

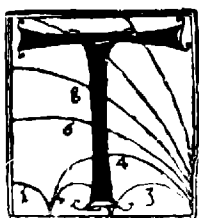
Cites the banding of shafts in windows at unusually short intervals, as a feature common to St. David's Choir, Christ Church Choir, Boyle Abbey, Cashel Cathedral and Kilkenny.

R. E. PARKINSON.

REVIEW.

"THE STORY OF ROYAL BRUNSWICK LODGE, SHEFFIELD), 1793-1943."

By Douglas Knoop. (Printed for the Lodge.)



HIS fine old Lodge, which has at various times in its career been numbered as 527, 556, 373, and 296, celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary on the 10th July, 1943, and to mark the occasion has issued a fitting memorial of the event in this handsome little volume from the pen of Bro. Douglas Knoop.

The Lodge works under a Provincial Warrant issued by the P.G.L. of York acting by the authority of the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns", of date 8th July, 1793; and, by what at first sight would appear a paradox, all the Founders had belonged to "Antient" Lodges. It is patent, however, both from indications about Sheffield Masonry given in this book and from what we have learnt of other Yorkshire Lodges, that whatever differences may have divided "Antients" and "Moderns" in that part of England, divergence in ritual cannot have been one of them.

Unfortunately the Minute Books of the Lodge are not extant until the year 1810, and Bro. Knoop has had to draw upon the original Account Book for most of the Lodge's history in its early years. The amount of information he has been able to gather and deduce from such meagre sources is astonishing, and demonstrates what sap can be pressed from the dryest of documents in the hands of an expert.

The written records preserved lie on the safe side of the Lodge of Reconciliation, so they do not reflect, except very dimly, the great civil war in the Craft during the eighteenth century; but on the other hand they do illumine greater crises in our national history. Two portraits reproduced here, of the first and present Masters of the Lodge, both in uniform, though of widely separated epochs, show that the Mason of to-day is as ready to defend his country as in the times of Napoleon. The first Master of the Lodge, James Woollen, and leading personality in it till his death in 1813, was Quartermaster and Lieutenant in the Sheffield Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, and the Brethren are to be envied at being in possession of the original oil painting which shows him in the elaborate battle dress of the period, with which should be compared that worn by Captain Clement Roberts, W.M.

The Lodge has had several notable Masters during a century and a half, and the story contains sketches of their careers as well as their portraits. Moreover, it has produced a poet, John William Iliffe, who has recorded their names and qualities in topical verse.

As might be expected when a Masonic Autolycus like Bro. Knoop goes a-roving through the withered leaves of the past, he does not neglect the main chance, and it is the pleasing duty of a reviewer to note some attractive wares snapped up on the way that have a more than local value. Of course my first recommendation is to get hold of the book, if you can, and pick out the plums for yourself. Points that particularly struck me were the indifference shown by

Masons in Sheffield about allegiance to either of the antagonistic Grand Lodges, and their willingness to serve one or other in turn, from which I conclude that no bitterness of conflict in ritual existed; their persistence in the celebration of St. John's Days, though the "Modern" Grand Lodge had neglected, not to say abandoned, the festival since *circa* 1730; and the absence of any evidence of "remaking" when an "Antient" recruit was received into their fold. All this would have been grist to my mill, had knowledge of it reached me in time to be ground for my essay on Freemasons I have denominated "Traditioners." I would further draw the attention of those interested in ritual matters to early minutes dealing with the ceremony of Passing the Chair as a preliminary to Exaltation, and the Lodge's general connection with Royal Arch Masonry in Sheffield.

Here I must leave this fascinating study of old-time Masonry in Sheffield, with congratulations to the Lodge on its advanced age, good wishes for continued prosperity when the year comes to celebrate its bicentenary, and a prophecy that 1943 will be a notable year in its annals because of the publication of the present history. Not only Lodge members should be grateful to Bro. Knoop.

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

ERRATA

A.Q.C., Volume LV, Part I.

Page 7—Third line from bottom should be transposed with fourth line from bottom.

Page 68—Line 41—insert comma after "Association", and delete "and".

Page 69—Note 1, line 2—read "Besançon".

Page 71—Note 1—add "pp. 75, 94, 115".

Note 3—"Del Risorgimento d'Italia" should be in italics.

Note 4—delete "Del Risorgimento".

Page 76—Last line—before "symbols" insert "other".

Page 78—Lines 42 and 43—read "as we see in . . . decrees^{2a}". Add note "^{2a} Appendix, Document 23."

Page 86—Line 21—for "this" read "the last".
Line 22—delete "namely".

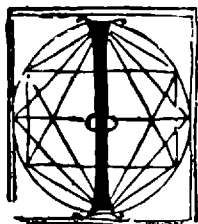
Page 88—Line 6—for "Adelfi" read "Adelfia".

Page 98—Line 30—read "aeterna placida".
Note 2—read "aeterna".

Page 109—Line 3—for "from" read "form".

Page 119—Last line—read "Kotzebuc".

OBITUARY



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Henry James Kingston Balls, of Wanstead, on 11th November, 1941, aged 73 years. Bro. Balls held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1917.

Major John Neptune Blood, *M.A., B.C.L.*, of Gloucester, on 29th September, 1942. Bro. Blood held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.J. He was admitted a member of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1899.

Lt.-Col. Sir Raymond Frederic Boileau, *Bt., D.L.*, of Wymondham, Norfolk, on 23rd June, 1942. Bro. Boileau held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner, and the office of Prov. Grand Master and Prov. Grand Superintendent. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1925.

Henry Marc Adrian Boutroy, of London, W., on 20th November, 1942. Bro. Boutroy was P.M. of Runymede Lodge No. 2430, and P.So., Mount Sinai Chapter No. 19. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1936.

Arthur Richard Dupuis Brown, of London, W., on 15th September, 1942. Bro. Brown held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was admitted a member of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1912.

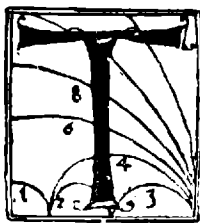
John Elston Cawthorn, of Scarborough, on 3rd October, 1942, aged 79 years. Bro. Cawthorn held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). For many years he acted as our Local Secretary for Leeds and District. He was admitted a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1897.

William Starcke Devey, of Erdington, Birmingham, in October, 1942. Bro. Devey held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.Sec. He was P.M. of St. Laurence Lodge No. 2724. For many years he acted as our Local Secretary for Worcestershire. He was admitted a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1907.

Brenton Fenwick Porter, of Kingston, Ont., Canada, in 1942. Bro. Porter held the rank of Dep. G. M. (Nova Scotia), and for a few years was our Local Secretary for Nova Scotia. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1928.

Col. Sir John Chappell Ward, *K.B.E., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O.*, of Basrah, on 3rd October, 1942. Bro. Ward held the office of Grand Inspector, Iraq. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1935.

ST. JOHN'S CARD



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1942:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—South Saxon Lodge No. 311, Lewes, Sussex; East Kent Masters' Lodge No. 3931, Canterbury; William of Colchester Lodge No. 5255, Colchester, Essex; and The De Aaar Masonic Library, De Aaar, South Africa.

BRETHREN:—Thatcher M. Adams, of Paget East, Bermuda, 224, 195; James Henry Blackmore Beer, of Sydenham, London, S.E., 5330; Alexander Beveridge, of Sevenoaks, Kent, P.M. 1414; Louis B. Blakemore, of Chicago, U.S.A., P.G.M., Ohio, 97 (Ohio C.); Dr. Allan Henry Briggs, of Lincoln, 2351; *Group Capt.* Colin Peter Brown, *R.A.F., C.B.E., D.F.C.*, of Bletchley, Bucks., 4165; Alfred Brunyee, of Tavistock, Devon, 5336; Herbert Charles Knightley Dixon, of London, W., P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Surrey, *P.Pr.A.G.D.C.*, Surrey; Claude Henry Duveen, of Holyport, Berks., 21; Harold Victor Elcock, of Alice Springs, Nth. Territory, Australia, W.M. 156; Dr. Albert Edward Evans, of Mill Hill, London, N.W.7, W.M. 3396, 3396; Louis Max Eyermann, *B.S., Ch.E., LL.B.*, of St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A., 224 (Ky.C.); George Herbert Fisher, of Romford, Essex, 3171, 30; Herbert James Forty, of Saltburn-by-Sea, Yorks., 5297; Walter Foulger, of Maidstone, Kent, 2046; Frank Garfield Rowland Gerry, of Plymouth, 3704; John James Gerry, of Saltash, Cornwall, P.M., 4604, 156; Michael Goldberg, of Kentish Town, London, N.W., 3536; John Walter Hamilton-Jones, of Norwood, London, S.E., P.M. 1572, 1572; Frederick William Harris, of Wimbledon, London, S.W., P.M. 5840, *P.Z.* 1677; Harry Prince Healy, of Wembley, Middsx., 4517; George Samuel Heaven, of Bridgwater, P.M. 725, *P.Pr.A.G.So.* (Warwicks.); Dr. Francis J. Hector, *M.D., F.R.C.S.*, of Bristol, W.M. 1404; Frederick John Holmes, of Finchley, London, N., P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Lionel Claude Housden, of Barnet, Herts., 3192; John Cecil Guy Howard, of Zawi, S. Rhodesia, 1075 (S.C.); Gordon James Jack of Berkhamsted, Herts., 1216; Frank Dodd Leppard, of Bognor Regis, 1726; Sydney Henry Love, of Bristol, Pr.G.Org., 82; Francis George Victor Lovell, of Eltham, London, S.E., 4277, 1872; Ian Anderson Macaulay, of London, S.W., 2923, 1393; Dr. Wilfrid Norman Maple, of Hove, 1466; Sydney Herbert Morris, of Hythe, Kent, 1436, 1436; George Ferguson Mundell, of Manchester, P.M. 2482, *P.Pr.G.So.*; Frederick Stephen Osborne, of Bognor Regis, P.Pr.G.St.B., *P.Pr.A.G.So.*; Lancelot Eric Charles Peckover, of Worthing, P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.3d.G.Pr.*; Rev. John Edward Riley, *B.Sc.*, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., 1618; Reginald Stones Robinson, of Leeds, 306, 306; Frederick Charles Ruddle, *C.T.O.*, of Golders Green, London, N.W., W.M. 4156, *P.Z.* 4156; Arthur Sharp, of Sale, Cheshire, P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Percival Frederick Simpkins, of Stourbridge, P.M. 347; Rev. Sydney Smith, of Middlesbrough, P.Pr.G.Chap., 3774; Albert Stafford, of Plymouth, P.Pr.G.D., 2025; Charles Harold Taylor, of Strawberry Hill, Middsx., 5422; George Tryon, of Bristol, P.A.G.D.C., Dep.Pr.G.M., *Z.* 187; Arthur Egerton Watts, of Highgate, London, N., P.M. 1491, 28; Arthur Wilson, of Newcastle upon Tyne, P.M. 3700, 547; Frederick Woodhams, of Sevenoaks, Kent, 1414; Andrew Money Woodman, of Reigate, Surrey, P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; Herbert Bernard Yardley-Dudeney, of Staplehurst, Kent, 4146; Frederick Walter Young, of Worthing.

Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.

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Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

No. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY :

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.Swd.B.

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