

# »: 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.D.

## VOLUME LVIII. PART 1.

### CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Proceedings, 5th January, 1945 .. ..	1	In Memoriam—Hubert Carpenter	
Audit Committee .. .. .	2	Bristowe, M.D. .. .. .	126
Exhibits .. .. .	3	Exhibits .. .. .	127
The Earl of Middlesex and the English		Wessel Linden and the Holywell MS.	128
Lodge in Florence .. .. .	4	Additional Notes on the York Grand	
Proceedings, 2nd March, 1945 .. ..	78	Chapter, Etc. .. .. .	159
200 Years of Freemasonry in Bury .. ..	79	Review .. .. .	164
Proceedings, 4th May, 1945 .. .. .	126	Obituary .. .. .	166

W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate  
1947

## THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE, No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

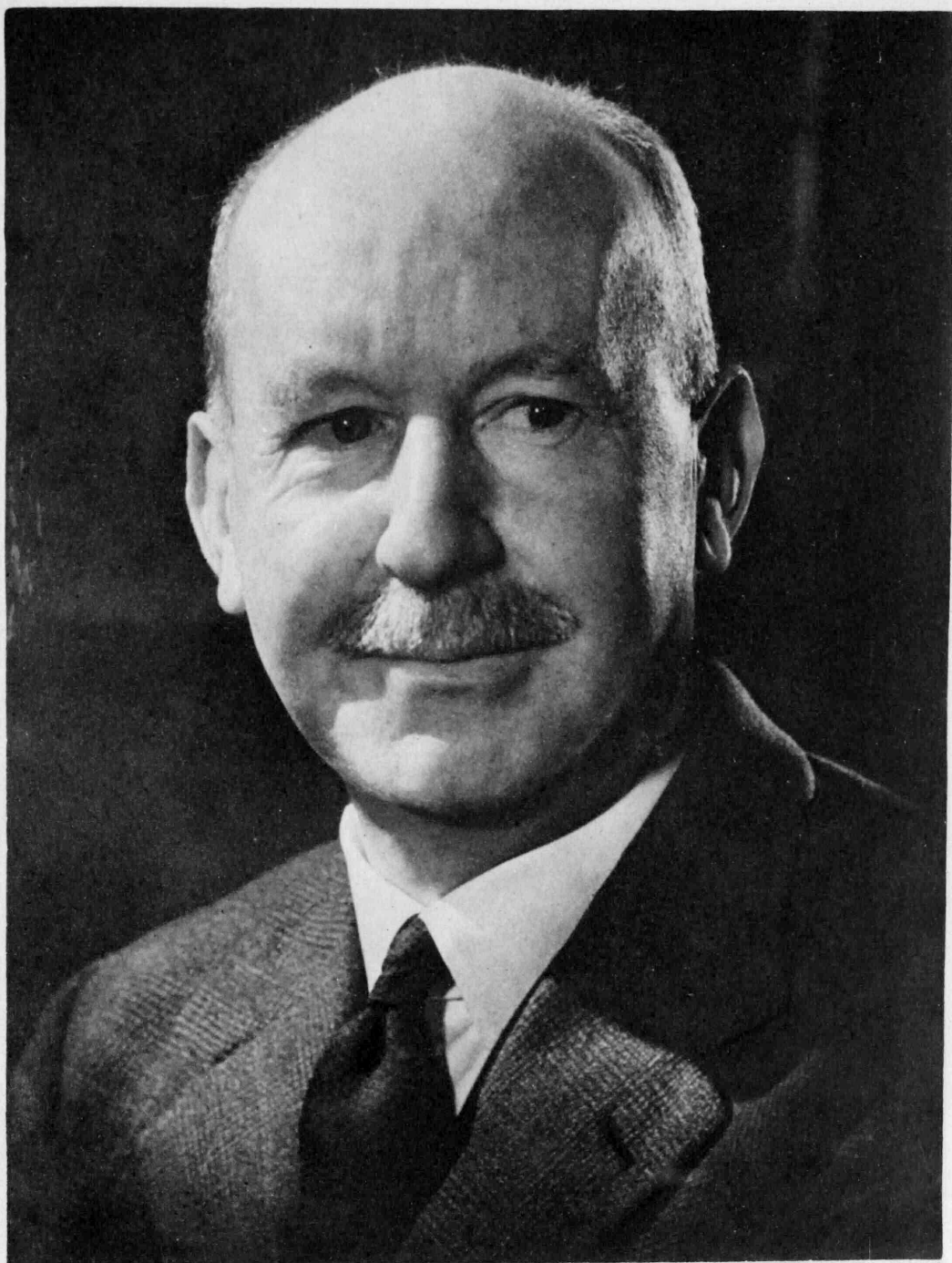
It will thus be seen that the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting on Lodge matters and holding office.

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 and a subscribing member of a regular Lodge throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.





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*Chas. Johnston*



➤⌘ Ars ⌘➤  
**Quatuor Coronatorum**

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QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



*EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY COLONEL F. M. RICKARD, P.G.D.*

— — — — —  
**VOLUME LVIII**  
— — — — —

W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.

1947



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

## LODGE PROCEEDINGS.

	PAGE
Friday, 5th January, 1945	1
Friday, 2nd March, 1945	78
Friday, 4th May, 1945	126
Saturday, 23rd June, 1945	169
Friday, 5th October, 1945	225
Thursday, 8th November, 1945	242

## OBITUARY.

Bennett, W. J.	166
Bond, W. R.	166
Bradley, W. M.	292
Bristowe, H. C.	126, 166
Brown, J. W.	166
Clark, G.	292
Clifford, H. J.	166
Cooper, J. J.	166
Curran-Sharp, T. A.	166
Dawson, R.	166
Devonshire, G. T. ...	292
Durell, <i>Colonel</i> A. J. V.	292
Errington, J.	292
Everitt, C. K.	166
Gilbert, A. ... ..	166
Gillespie, <i>Ven. Archdeacon</i> H. R. B.	167
Goldberg, S. J.	167
Haines, <i>Major</i> M. C.	167
Hewitt, G. F.	292
Howard, P. W.	167
Johnson, B. Marr	292
King, <i>Captain</i> O. W.	167
Klinck, J. C.	167
Lambert, A. R.	167
Lawton, R. F. ...	167
Le Manquais, J. C. R.	292
Luke, N. J.	167
Macdonald, J. G.	167
Mond, A.	292
Morton, J. W.	167
Palmer, T. H.	167
Pugh, A. L.	168
Saunders, J. W.	292
Silberbauer, C. C.	168
Story, W.	168
Sworder, J.	293

**OBITUARY.—Continued.**

	PAGE
Taylor, J. A.	168
Thomas, H. W.	293
Tinker, D. B.	293
Townend, T.	168
Tristram, G. T.	293
Watkin, A. J.	168
Wearing, L. G.	293
Wild, A.	168

**PAPERS AND ESSAYS.**

<b>The Earl of Middlesex and the English Lodge in Florence.</b> By J. Heron Lepper	4
--	---

First documentary evidence of the Lodge, 4; The English in Italy, 5; Jacobite influence, 5; Freemasonry in Florence, 6; English members of the Lodge, 7; Charles Sackville, Earl of Middlesex, 7; Letters of Horace Walpole, 8; Lord Raymond, 11; Baron Philip von Stosch, 12; Italian members of the Lodge, 14; Tomasso Crudeli, 21; The Pope's Bull "In Eminenti", 26; Dissolution of the Lodge in Florence, 26; Action by the Inquisition, 27; Bernardo Pupiliani, 30; Nonsensical Tales about Freemasonry, 32; Cardinal Corsini's Letter on Freemasonry, 35; Arrest, Trial and Defence of Crudeli, 37; Intervention of Papal Nuncio, 45; Release of Crudeli, 47; Appendices—Jacobites in Italy, 50; Italian State Papers referring to Freemasonry in Florence, 51.

<b>Two Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Bury.</b> By N. Rogers	79
---	----

Bury in 1733, 79; First Lodge of Freemasons in Bury, 80; Petition, 80; Deputation, 82; Lodge By-Laws in 1734, 83; Early Minutes, 87; Officers of the Lodge, 93; Connection between "Moderns" and "Antients", 98; Relief Lodge, 98; Bi-Centenary, 98; Lodge of Temperance, 98; Prince Edwin Lodge, 98; Lodge of St. John, 101; Removal to Warrington, 101; Decline of Lodge, 103; Removal to Bury, 105; "Bury" ritual, 106; Royal Arch Masonry in Bury, 106.

<b>Wessel Linden and the Holywell MS.</b> By A. E. Evans	128
--	-----

The Holywell MS., 128; Thos. Humphreys, 129; Freemasonry in N. Wales, 129; The Lodge at the "Star" in Holywell, 131; Wessel de Linden, 132; Publications by Linden, 133; Linden's connection with mining, and with mineral waters, 137; Duke of Newcastle, 142; Letters by Linden, 143; The Morrisiaid, 149; The Cymmrodorion, 150.

<b>An Outline of the Usage of Marks of Medieval Men.</b> By W. Waples	171
---	-----

Notes on Companies and Guilds, 173; Legal use of Marks, 174; Law relating to Trade Marks, 175; How the Marks were made, 176; Medieval Marks, 177; Varieties of Marks, 179; Classifying the Marks, 181; Marking Stone by Masons, 182; Varied sizes of Marks by Masons, 183; Did Apprentices have Marks, 183; Similarity of Marks in Districts, 184; Tradition in forms and shapes, 184; Symbolism of Marks, 184; Reversed Marks, 186; Differenced Marks, 186; Positional Marks, 187; Effects of Reformation, 193.

*Table of Contents.*

v.

**PAPERS AND ESSAYS.**—*Continued.*

PAGE

**Three Early Grand Masters.** By Lewis Edwards

226

Duke of Buccleuch, 226; Family descent, 226; Attainder of Duke of Monmouth, 226; Restoration of English Titles, 227; Time of the "Forty-five", 227; Lady Louisa Stuart's account, 228; Lodge at the Rummer Tavern, Charing Cross, 229; Grand Master in 1723, 229; Earl of Abercorn, 230; Literary attainments, 230; Society for Encouragement of Learning, 231; Lodge at the Horn Tavern, Westminster, 231; Grand Master in 1725, 231; Lord Coleraine, 231; Spalding Society, 234; Literary and artistic tendencies, 234; Marriage, 235; Lodge at the Swann Inn, 233; Grand Master in 1727, 237.

**Inaugural Address**

244

**Toast of Worshipful Master**

288

**NOTES.**

**Additional Notes on the York Grand Chapter**

159

**REVIEWS.**

**History of Lodge of Friendship, No. 6.** By C. D. Rotch.—  
J. Heron Lepper

164

**History of Lodge of Friendship, No. 6.** By C. D. Rotch.—  
R. J. Meekren

289

# INDEX

Assembly, The	173
Astley, F. D., Suspension of	103
Banishment of von Stosch	36
Bruce Castle	232
Bull, Papal <i>In Eminent</i>	26
Bury, Lancashire, in 1733	79
By-Laws, Lodge No. 42	83
"Calves' Head" Riot	9
Cardinal Corsini, letter to the Duke on Freemasonry	35
Crudeli—Arrest	37
Decease	48
Defence	43
End of Trial	47
Imprisonment	38
Trial	39
Deputation for Lodge No. 42	82
Dissolution of Lodge in Florence	26
Dromore Medallion	160
<b>Exhibits:—</b>	
Apron, Irish, 1801	170
Apron, Royal Arch, 1800	127
Apron and Collar, formerly belonged to J. M. Ragon	170
Certificate, Royal Arch, dated 1800	127
Cloth with Masonic Emblems, Scotch	170
Letters, copies of, written by Wessel de Linden	127
Medal—Sackville, electrotype copy	3
illustrations	3
Photographs—Holywell MS. The Well	127
Portrait—Earl of Middlesex	3
<i>Rye Engagements</i> (1649)	170
Vade mecum, French, on Maçonnerie Symbolique, 1808	170
Fables	32
Florence after 1737	28
English visitors in 1730	5
Freemasonry in Lodges in	7
Inquisition, The	25, 27
Suppression of in Tuscany	49
Inquisitor, manœuvres of	33
Intervention by the Papal Nuncio	45
Jacobites in Italy	50
Jesuits and Freemasonry	24
Knights Templar in Bury	109

## Lodges referred to:—

	PAGE
Anchor and Hope No. 37	81, 106
Faithful No. 85	81
Felicity No. 58	81
Friendship No. 44	99
Integrity No. 163	81
Lights No. 148	103
Love and Harmony No. 852	104
Loyalty No. 86	81
Naphtali	98
Prince Edwin No. 128 ("Antients")	98
Punch Bowl	159
Relief No. 42	80
Royal Cumberland No. 41	81
Royal Lancashire No. 116	86
St. George and Cornerstone No. 5	153
St. John No. 191	101
St. John the Baptist No. 39	81
Temperance No. 403	98
Unanimity No. 89	81

## Chapters:—

Prince Edwin No. 128	108
St. John	109
Trinity No. 63	107
Unanimity	107

Mark Degree in Bury	110
Marks, Classification of Medieval	181
	177

## Persons referred to:—

Abercorn, <i>Earl of</i>	230
Albrizzi, <i>Marchese</i> L. C.	44
Allen, T.	105, 107
Alport, E.	249
Ambrogio, P. A.	25
Archer	6
Astley, F. D.	103
Avanzini, <i>Doctor</i>	15
Baron, W.	86
Beaufort, <i>Duke of</i>	131
Beesley, E. B.	129
Begemann, W.	4
Benedict, <i>XIII. Pope</i>	12
Bonducci, A.	18
Bowen, T.	133
Bremmyrrhe, A.	99
Bridges, W.	133
Briscoe, J.	133
Bruce, R.	232
Buccleuch, <i>Duke of</i>	226
Buonaccorsi, <i>Abbate</i> , O.	15, 21
Buondelmonti, G. M.	18
Cerretesi, G.	15, 20
Clare, M.	164
Clarke	6
Clement <i>XI. Pope</i>	12

## Persons referred to:—

	PAGE
Cobb, <i>Sir G.</i>	129
Cocchi, <i>Dr. A.</i>	13, 19
Coleraine, <i>Lord</i>	231
Corsi, <i>Dr. L.</i>	15
Crudeli, Tomasso	14, 21
Dassigny, F.	159
Davis, T. ...	132
Daynes, G.	131
de Brosse, C.	12
de Craon, <i>Abbé</i> ...	15
de Richecourt, <i>Count</i>	15, 41
Defoe, D.	79
del Nero, <i>Abbate</i>	15
Desaguiliers, <i>Dr.</i>	229
Dolci, P.	15, 16
Dring, E. H.	244
Entwisle, E. ...	81
Franceschi, <i>Abbate</i>	15
Francis, <i>Grand Duke</i>	14
Folkes, M. ...	234
Gale, Roger	234
Gaston, Giovanni	6
Gent, T. ...	245
Giannetti, <i>Professor</i>	15
Hanger, J.	235
Hare, N. ...	231
Harper, E.	103
Harris ...	6
Hey, J. ...	86
Hirst, J. ...	244
Holland, R.	132
Holland, W.	133
Holt, R. ...	106
Hughan, W. J.	82
Hutchinson, P.	176
Humphreys, T.	128
Inchiquin, <i>Lord</i>	129
Kennett, <i>Dr. B.</i>	234
Lami, G. ...	15, 24
Lepper, J. H.	130
Linden, W.	128
Livsey, T.	86
Lomax, E.	106
Low, W. ...	86
Lynch, D.	101
Maddocks, J.	133
Maffei, <i>Marquis S.</i> ...	234
Maggi, <i>Canon</i> ...	15
Makins, W. R.	244
Mann, Horace	14
Marcantelli, A.	15
Marcantelli, G.	15
Martin, D.	6
Martini, C.	15
Marvin, W. T. R. ...	83
Middlesex, <i>Earl of</i>	4, 7
Middleton, Conyers	234
Minerbetti, A. d'H.	32
Montague, R. ...	6
Moorhouse, J.	128
Natter, J. L. ...	9
Newcastle, <i>Duke of</i>	42
Niccolini, <i>Abbate</i>	15, 16
Pennant, T.	138

## Persons referred to:—

	PAGE
Perelli, T.	15
Plant, L. ...	86
Plumer, <i>Colonel J.</i>	230
Poole, <i>Rev. H.</i>	129
Preston, W.	11
Pupiliari, B.	30
Raymond, <i>Lord</i>	11
Reid ...	23
Riley, H. T.	175
Rinuccini, C.	15
Rogers, <i>Rev. J.</i>	233
Rotch, C. D.	164
Rucellai, G. ...	15
Sackville, <i>Lord Charles</i>	7
Sambroke, <i>Sir J.</i>	233
Sbigoli, F.	5
Schester, W. F.	174
Scott, <i>Sir W.</i>	226
Shirley ...	6
Smith, <i>Dr. A.</i>	228
Smith, J. ...	86
Songhurst, W. J.	129
Spencer, <i>Captain</i>	6
Stock, J. ...	86
Stukeley, W.	153, 234
Thomas, <i>Rev. D.</i>	129
Thornhill, J.	133
Tickle, W. ...	86
Vanneschi, <i>Abbate</i>	15, 21
Vertue, G. ...	234
von Stosch, <i>Baron H.</i>	30
von Stosch, <i>Baron P.</i>	12
Walpole, Horace ...	7
Walpole, <i>Sir Robert</i>	5, 227
Warburton, H.	129
White, J. ...	245
Whiteside, H. ...	129
Williams, <i>Colonel J. R.</i>	128
Wonnacott, W. ...	129
Wood, J.	106
Wood, W. H.	176
Woodale, <i>Dr.</i>	233
Zobi, Antonio	14
Petition of Lodge No. 42	80
Relief Lodge, Centenary	98
Ceremonies	95, 96
Form of	93
Jewels of	94
Treasures of	111
Ritual, The Bury	106
Royal Arch, in Bury	106
Titles	160
Searchers ...	173
Sick and Burial Fund	87
Tottenham Manor	232
Warrants, Irish travelling	130
Zodiac	95

**CONTRIBUTORS**

	PAGE		PAGE
Baxter, R. H.	... 67, 115, 154, 214	Lepper, J. H.	4, 74, 115, 155, 164
Booth, H. C.	... 119	Meekren, R. J.	159, 289
Bullamore, G. W.	71, 120, 156, 222, 240	Nichols, J. F.	221
Covey-Crump, W. W.	68, 117	Parkinson, R. E.	73
Dashwood, J. R.	161	Pick, F. L.	156, 218
Edwards, L.	226, 240	Poole, H.	215
Evans, A. E.	128, 157	Pope, S.	120
Grantham, W. I.	117, 217	Radice, F. R.	... 65, 118, 219, 239
Johnson, G. Y.	69, 114, 162, 214, 244	Rickard, F. M.	... 64, 113, 154, 213
Johnstone, J.	... 72		238, 288
Jones, G. P.	217	Rogers, N.	... 79, 121
Knoop, D.	217, 239	Rylands, J. R.	71, 220
		Walpole, W.	171, 224

**ILLUSTRATIONS**

	PAGE		PAGE
Marks, varieties	... 196, 212	Portraits--Lord Coleraine	... 241
Portrait--Duke of Buccleuch	241	G. Y. Johnson	<i>Frontispiece</i>



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

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VOLUME LVIII

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FRIDAY, 5th JANUARY, 1945.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.15 p.m. Present:—Bros. Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., W.M.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., as S.W.; F. R. Radice, 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.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., Secretary; Lt.-Col. H. C. B. Wilson, P.G.D.; S. Pope; and J. Johnstone, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. E. Gould; L. G. Wearing; J. D. Daymond; W. Casasola; H. Thrower; M. Goldberg; C. R. Walker; H. Attwooll; F. Coston-Taylor; H. Bladon, P.G.D.; J. Green; A. E. Bean; H. Johnson; A. F. Cross; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; F. G. Cooper; A. F. Hatten; S. J. Bradford, P.G.St.B.; J. F. H. Gilbard; E. Eyles; H. A. Hartley; J. Windibank; S. C. Fidler; D. A. Blair; G. W. Hookham; and B. E. Jones.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. Neville, W.M., Royal Somerset House Lodge No. 4; and P. A. Jenkins, Junior Engineers Lodge No. 2913.

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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.-Commr. W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, P.M.; 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., P.M.; H. C. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; R. E. Parkinson, B.Sc.; G. S. Knocker, M.B.E., P.A.G.Supt.W.; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., S.D.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., J.D.; Cmdr. S. N. Smith, R.N., P.Pr.G.D., Cambs., I.G.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; J. R. Rylands; and C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.

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

#### PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, January 5th, 1945.

*Present*:—Bro. F. M. Rickard in the Chair, with Bros. J. H. Lepper, W. W. Covey-Crump, H. Poole, L. Edwards, F. R. Radice.

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 1944.

##### BRETHREN,

During the year Bros. S. N. Smith, H. C. B. Wilson, H. C. Booth, J. R. Rylands, C. D. Rotch, and S. Pope have been elected full members of the Lodge, of which the membership is now 30.

The number of new members of the Correspondence Circle during 1944 was 219, a figure larger than in any year since 1934; and, though members have been lost by erasure, death and resignation, its numbers shew a net gain of 120. The total membership is now 1,866.

*A.Q.C.* Volume LV has been completed and should be distributed very soon. This Volume contains the *Transactions* for 1942, so that the arrears in publication have been reduced to about 1½ years.

As shewn in the accounts now presented to the Lodge, approximately £1,000 will be required for each of the Volumes LVI (1943) and LVII (1944).

Subscriptions amounting to over £370 are outstanding, of which a sum of £286 is considered good. This figure does not include subscriptions from members on the War List, which amount cannot be closely estimated.

A brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the past year has been drawn up for record, but has not been generally circulated.

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

For the Committee.

F. M. RICKARD,

In the Chair.

## RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the Year ending 30th November, 1944.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Cash in Hand	374 13 4	Lodge ... ..	23 10 9
Lodge	78 15 0	Salaries, Rent, Rates and Taxes	997 17 5
Subscriptions ... ..	1571 15 0	S.C.S. Fund ... ..	156 0 0
Cash in Advance and un-		Lighting, Heating, Telephone,	
appropriated	115 10 7	Cleaning, Insurance, Car-	
Medals	24 1 0	riage and Sundries	126 19 6
Binding ...	38 8 7	Printing and Stationery	493 17 0
Sundry Publications ...	149 18 10	Medals	25 12 6
Interest and Discounts	24 4 8	Binding ...	16 11 7
Publication Fund	29 9 9	Sundry Publications	3 2 10
		Postages	103 1 1
		Local Expenses	2 13 1
		Cash in Hand	457 16 0
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£2408 1 9		£2408 1 9

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Upon Ballot taken:—

Bro. JAMES JOHNSTONE, *F.R.C.S.*, residing at Tudor Lodge, 90, King's Road, Richmond, Surrey. Surgeon (Retired). P.M. Lodge of Harmony No. 255. Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. Author of (Published) *History of Lodge of Harmony No. 255*; and paper read in Lodge, *The Revd. Samuel Hemming*.  
 was elected a joining member of the Lodge.

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Four Lodges, one Masonic Library and Forty-six Brethren, were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

## EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. J. HERON LEPPER.

Portrait of the Earl of Middlesex.

Electrotype Copy of the "Sackville Medal."

By Bro. J. R. RYLANDS.

Illustration of the "Sackville Medal."

as shown in Medaillenwerken

do Numismatica Latomorum.

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

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER read the following paper:—

## THE EARL OF MIDDLESEX AND THE ENGLISH LODGE IN FLORENCE.

BY BROTHER JOHN HERON LEPPER

### PART ONE — THE LODGE INTRODUCTORY.



FOR the past seventy years the English Lodge in Florence has given rise to a good deal of discussion. Evidence, by no means conclusive, being a beautiful rare medal, not indisputably Masonic in its symbolism, connected its name with that of the Earl of Middlesex as founder; but no written document attesting its actual existence as a Masonic body appeared in an English book until the publication of the *Bicentenary History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland* in 1925.<sup>1</sup> I will summarise the information therein given.

In the year 1911 Dr. Wilhelm Begemann published his *History of Irish Freemasonry* in German, which remained untranslated into English, and at p. 121 *et seq.* he set himself the task of proving that the Earl of Middlesex was an Irish Mason. He based his verdict on the evidence of a publication that appeared in Nuremberg in 1736, which quoted a letter from a correspondent in Florence dated 9th June of that year to the following effect:—

“Mylord Earl of Middlesex, one of the most learned British noblemen, was in Florence and founded a Lodge of Freemasons in Florence, and I was accepted with the usual ceremonies as a member of this respectable society, which later at its own cost caused the commemorative medal of Mylord to be struck; he did not wish that any other title should be placed on it but *Carolus Sackville Magister* (i.e. of the Lodge of Freemasons) *Florentinus*. The reverse of the medal, etc. . . . Herr Professor Koehler doubtless knows that the present Duke of Lorraine was accepted as a worthy member of the Society of Freemasons at the time he was in London, etc.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 92 *et seq.*, from which I quote. Readers may be referred to *A.Q.C.*, xii, 204; xxxii, 31; and in particular Crawley's article in xiii, 149, for the gradual accumulation of evidence to prove the existence of the medal and the Lodge. Gould in his *History III*, 300, credited neither one nor other. Crawley accepted a passage from *Freemasonry Farther Dissected* to assume the existence of a Lodge in Florence as early as 1730, basing this upon the date “July 18. 1730”, given in a letter from Rome. I suggest that the year 1730 was a misprint for 1737, and that therefore his conclusions fall to the ground. The reader will be enabled to form his own opinion from the new evidence I present later in this essay.

<sup>2</sup> The writer of this important letter could not be identified in 1924. I now have no hesitation in saying it was Baron Philip von Stosch, of whom the reader will hear more than enough.

It will be unnecessary to repeat the inferences drawn by Dr. Begemann or the reactions of the Irish editors to his conclusions; though it seemed to be proved that there really had been an English Lodge in Florence, we knew little about its establishment, less about its disappearance, and nothing at all about its members.

More light has now been granted. It so happened that one of the Florentine members was a poet as well as Freemason and of enough importance to have his biography written by one of his countrymen. The title of this book is in English *Tommaso Crudeli and the first Freemasons in Florence*,<sup>1</sup> its author Ferdinando Sbigoli, and it was published as long ago as 1884. Sbigoli was a Freemason, too, of a militant type, but, thanks be to providence, a real scholar with a flair for research. He went to the state documents preserved in Florence and elsewhere in Italy for details about his hero's life, and printed many of them in full in his book, which curiously enough seems hitherto to have escaped notice by Masonic historians in other countries.

Its title caught my eye one day soon after my installation as Librarian to the United Grand Lodge of England, when still feeling rather like a small boy at school in his first term I was moodily examining the bookcases; so I took out the book, discovered it to be still uncut, and proceeded to investigate the contents.

The results of those investigations I am now submitting to you.

#### THE ENGLISH IN ITALY.

In the seventeen-thirties Italy was full of English travellers and residents, there for various reasons. Experience, diversion, health were the main objects sought by our countrymen, but a more secret motive entertained by some of them was very much the concern of Walpole's government at home; for in Rome was residing the exiled Royal family of the Stuarts. There were many of these English travellers who had a foot in both camps; they were worth watching; and watched they were.

The daring, if luckless attempts made by the Old Pretender to regain his crown and the hopes placed by the British Tories on the bold and spirited Prince Charles Edward were an evergreen anxiety to the government of George II, who maintained shrewd diplomatists and spies in every place, particularly in Florence and Rome, where the Stuarts and their adherents had found or might hope to find favour. So Italy had not only its itinerant English, birds of passage, but its fixed colonies of the same nation engaged in commerce or diplomacy or more delicate secret service, or simply as refugees.<sup>2</sup>

Those of them who congregated in Florence were fairly regular in observing, as is the wont of our nation, their own usages and customs; and since they had developed from Reformation times on, and particularly from the Revolution of 1688 entire freedom in expressing their thoughts on matters of philosophy and religion, many of them openly professed, even when in Italy, opinions that must have seemed new and dangerous to the native Italians.

The cliques or parties into which they were divided in England were conserved, even when they were residing abroad; and, encouraged by the toler-

<sup>1</sup> In Italian: *Tommaso Crudeli e i primi Framassoni in Firenze*, Milano, 1884. Throughout this essay I have contented myself with rearranging and presenting Sbigoli's narrative, without noting pagination in the original. Very occasionally when I could find no voucher in the original documents for one of his statements I have put it in inverted commas. My belief is, however, that Sbigoli is very reliable in matters of fact. I have translated the great bulk of the original documents he printed, and these will be found in Appendix II to this essay.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I.

ance of Duke Giovanni Gastone's government, they did not hesitate to introduce for the first time into Florence that truly British institution Freemasonry.<sup>1</sup>

### THE FIRST MASONIC LODGE IN FLORENCE.

I shall now give Sbigoli's account of the institution of our Order in Tuscany which is evidently based on contemporary documents.

"The first Masonic Lodge in Florence was instituted by the Earl of Middlesex in 1733, though the British Freemasons resident there might well have been holding occasional assemblies for several years previously."

Whenever a quorum could be gathered together in accordance with time immemorial custom, I presume.

"Middlesex's Lodge met during its early period in the Via Maggio in the house (*albergo*) of a certain Pasciò, also known to the Florentines as Pascione; and the first Master, the Worshipful, as they call him, was a Monsieur Fox, a great mathematician and man of much learning, about whom, however, we have no further details.<sup>2</sup>

"Since the meetings of the Society always ended with a sumptuous banquet, the members having decided that their host of the Via Maggio was not a satisfactory caterer, changed their rendezvous to the house of one John Collins, a leading innkeeper, and also a member of the Masonic Order.

"There the Lodge had as its second Master, its founder Lord Middlesex, and later a certain Lord Raymond, who had the repute of being a Deist and unbeliever."

"Many other important foreigners also belonged to this Society," among whom our author mentions the names of Archer, Harris, Shirley "who often acted as presiding officer", two Clarkes, Frolik,<sup>3</sup> two Captains Spencer, David Martin, described as a Scot, Roman Catholic, and portrait painter of some merit, and finally a Robert Montague, "perhaps a scion of the family into which the famous Lady Mary Wortley Montague married."

Where Sbigoli obtained this list of English members of the Lodge he does not disclose, but it was probably from the state documents he used so fully, though he did not print everything he examined. Circumstances of the period wherein this paper was prepared have hindered research to identify these Brethren. I regret this, particularly in the case of "Mr. Shirley", who may well have come from that noble Leicestershire family which has been a robust pillar of the English Craft for over two centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Gastone, usually referred to as Gian Gaston, the last of the Medici Grand Dukes, was born in 1671 and succeeded to the Dukedom in 1723. His father and predecessor Cosimo III had been greatly under the influence of the clergy, and this influence was eclipsed by his death. Gian Gaston married in 1697 Anna Marie of Saxe-Lauenberg, but left his wife after a year, and the subsequent scandals of his private life were never connected with any other woman. From the death of his sister-in-law, Princess Violante, in 1731, he allowed undue influence in the government of the Grand Duchy to fall into the hands of his valet, Giuliano Dami, who was as notorious as hated to the *n*<sup>th</sup> degree. Since Gian Gastone was the last of his line and left no direct heir, the Great Powers of Europe proceeded to settle the affairs of Tuscany without consulting her wishes; their first decision was to give the Grand Duchy to Don Carlos, son of the King of Spain, but this scheme fell through; and finally, after much expenditure of diplomacy, Francis of Lorraine was bribed by the hand of the Arch-Duchess Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles, together with the reversion of Tuscany, to give up his hereditary state of Lorraine to Louis XV of France, who wanted it as an appanage for his father-in-law, the ex-king of Poland.

<sup>2</sup> Sbigoli suggests, *op. cit.*, p. 62, that this may have been Henry Fox, later Lord Holland, and father of the famous Charles James Fox; but the conjecture must pass for what it is worth until more evidence of his identity is available.

<sup>3</sup> Query, Foulkes?

#### MATTER FOR SPECULATION.

So far as the evidence goes, this Lodge in Florence was self-constituted. At all events there is no record in our Grand Lodge Minutes of its having obtained a Constitution from England; and Anderson in 1738 noted with some peevishness that the Italian Lodges "affected independence", which passage to my mind is conclusive as showing a lack of any official Masonic connexion between London and Florence.

Still there is one other possibility about the Lodge's regularity, or otherwise, which should not be dismissed without examination, though I fear at this late day the question must remain unanswered. What I would draw attention to is this: we know that the Earl of Middlesex in 1733 frequented Masonic company in Dublin where his father was Lord Lieutenant; the first Masonic Warrants in the world were just at this period being issued by the Grand Lodge of Ireland; and Lord Middlesex may have carried one of them abroad in his valise as a guarantee of his Masonic standing and a permission to assemble a Masonic Lodge wherever he pleased.<sup>1</sup> Such a document, sealed and signed by the Officers of an established Grand Lodge, would have cast a light of respectability over any non-regular body of Masons which chose to accept Middlesex and his parchment as Master and charter; and, if we adopt such a theory, it helps us over what has struck me as a difficulty in the varying tales that have come down to us; for we are told there was a Lodge meeting at Florence before Middlesex's arrival there, and in the next breath that he founded the Lodge there. These statements are not easy to combine in a lucid whole.

Do not assume, please, that I am arguing in favour of an Irish Warrant's having become attached to the Lodge, for my only reason in alluding to such a speculative matter is to point out a trail that might be worth following up, if the flight of years has not destroyed all traces of where it led.

#### CHARLES SACKVILLE, EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

A general view of the company that assembled as Freemasons in Florence will best be gathered from the careers of those known to have been members of it, and I shall begin with the best known of all, the Earl of Middlesex.

Charles Sackville, eldest son of Lionel 7th Earl and 1st Duke of Dorset, was born 6th February, 1710-11. He was educated at Westminster School, became the friend of Prior the poet, and was accompanied abroad on the grand tour by Spence, who naturally has many allusions to him in his *Anecdotes*. A great traveller in his younger days, he was a man of artistic tastes and free habits, with a touch of that genius which seems to be hereditary in his family. Italy was particularly attractive to him, because he was passionately fond of music and also of the *cantatrici* who interpreted it on the opera stage, and his whole life through he spent vast sums in gratifying both inclinations. After having been *impresario* of the Teatro della Pergola in Florence in 1737, he became the manager of several opera companies in England. Though none of these ventures was a financial success, we should be grateful to him for helping to keep alive that appreciation for really good music still so common in England. To such a public benefactor much irregularity in private life might be condoned; but unfortunately the most amusing and readable old woman of the period, Horace Walpole, had lost money in one of Middlesex's theatrical schemes, and never forgave him, nor ever mentioned his name from that moment without pinning to it a sneer or malicious anecdote, for which his memory or invention was never at a loss; and since he is our chief source of information about the fashionables of

<sup>1</sup> We know that Thomas Mathew, later Grand Master of the "Antients", carried such an Irish Warrant with him during his travels on the Continent in his younger days.

With this word of warning I append the following analects from Horace Walpole.<sup>1</sup>

"I am quite uneasy about the opera, for Mr. Conway<sup>2</sup> is one of the Directors, and I fear they will lose considerably, which he cannot afford. There are eight: Lord Middlesex, Lord Holderness, Mr. Frederick, Lord Conway, Mr. Conway, Mr. Damer, Lord Brook, and Mr. Brand. The last five are directed by the three first; they by the first, and he by the Abbé Vanneschi,<sup>3</sup> who will make a pretty sum. I will give you some instances; not to mention the improbability of eight young thoughtless men of fashion understanding economy: it is usual to give the poet fifty guineas for composing the books—Vanneschi and Rolli are allowed three hundred. Three hundred more Vanneschi had for his journey to Italy to pick up dancers and performers, which was always as well transacted by bankers there. He has additionally brought over an Italian tailor—because there are none here! They have already given this *Taylorini* four hundred pounds, and he has already taken a house of thirty pounds a year." Walpole goes on to speak of the high salaries paid to the singers, and then refers in particular to one in whom Middlesex was enamoured. "But to the Muscovita (though the second woman never had above four hundred), they give six; that is for secret services. By this you may judge of their frugality! I am quite uneasy for poor Harry, who will thus be made to pay for Lord Middlesex's pleasures."

After saying that he and Mr. Conway have gone shares in a subscription of £200 for the year, he adds: "We keep Montecelli and Amorevoli, and, to please Lord Middlesex, that odious Muscovita; but shall discard Mr. Vanneschi."

Still harping in the opera: "Gentlemen directors with favourite Abbés and favourite mistresses have almost overturned the whole thing in England . . . There is a new subscription formed for an opera next year, to be carried on by the *Dilettanti*,<sup>4</sup> a club, for which the nominal qualification is having been in Italy, and the real one, being drunk; the two chiefs are Lord Middlesex and Sir Francis Dashwood, who were seldom sober the whole time they were in Italy."

"We are likely at last to have no opera next year: Handel has a palsy and can't compose; and the Duke of Dorset has set himself strenuously to oppose it, as Lord Middlesex is the impressario, and must ruin the house of Sackville by a course of these follies. Besides what he will lose this year, he has not paid his share to the losses of the last, and yet is singly undertaking another for next season, with the almost certainty of losing between four or five thousand pounds, to which the deficiencies of the opera generally amount now. The Duke of Dorset has desired the King not to subscribe; but Lord Middlesex is so obstinate, that this will probably only make him lose a thousand pounds more."

"I have found it (*the opera*) a most dear undertaking! I was not in the management: Lord Middlesex was chief We have been made to pay

<sup>4</sup> The Dilettanti Society was founded in 1734.



fifty-six pounds over and above the subscription in one winter. I told the Secretary in a passion, that it was the last money I would ever pay for the follies of directors."

Walpole had more spiteful things to say when Lord Middlesex in 1744 was married to Grace, daughter and sole heir of Richard Viscount Shannon. Contemporary descriptions of her show a dwarfish, sallow-complexioned woman, rather proud of her accomplishments, for she was a mistress of Greek and Latin, and skilled in music and painting. She is credited with having been free from spite in a malicious age, and never to have dabbled in political intrigues, which were the pastime of courtiers. "The girl is low and ugly, but a vast scholar," writes Horace.

The Earl had been made a Lord of the Treasury in 1743.

A year after her marriage Lady Middlesex was appointed Mistress of the Robes to the Princess of Wales; and in 1747 her husband became Master of the Horse to the Prince. These promotions caused more acid to spill from Horace's pen; but a better opportunity for spreading slander occurred in the Middlesex circle in 1747, and our gossiping letter-writer did not miss it.

*2nd October, 1747.*

"Lady Middlesex is breeding—the child will be well born; the Sackville is the worst blood is is supposed to swell with."<sup>1</sup>

*10th November, 1747.*

"Lady Middlesex has popped out her child before its time; it is put in spirits, and my Lord very *loyally* cries over it."

What a comment on a natural human grief shown by its parent to the only child of his marriage!

The Earl had been having other troubles before this with his operatic companies.

*12th August, 1746.*

"Lord Middlesex took the opportunity of a rivalry between his own mistress, the Nardi, and the Violetta,<sup>2</sup> the finest and most admired dancer in the world, to involve the whole menage of the opera in the quarrel, and has paid nobody; but, like a true Lord of the Treasury, has shut up his own exchequer. . . . To the composer his Lordship gave a bad note, not payable in two years, besides amercing him entirely £300, on pretence of his siding with the Violetta."

*2nd December, 1748.*

"Lord Middlesex has stood a trial with Monticelli, for arrears of salary, in Westminster Hall, and even let his own handwriting be proved against him! You may imagine he was cast."

Even allowing a generous discount for Horace Walpole's malice, we are forced to conclude that the Earl of Middlesex was sometimes unfortunate in attracting public attention to his doings.

After having founded the Lodge in Florence in 1733, which led to the preparation of a beautiful commemorative medal by Johann Lorenz Natter, a German sculptor, he returned on a visit to England at the close of the next year, and at once got into hot water.

On 30th January, 1734-5, occurred the famous Calves' Head Riot outside the Gold Eagle in Suffolk Street. The story commonly put about was that a party of young Whig gentlemen dining in the house, in order to express their contempt for the Royal Martyr on the anniversary of his execution and for all Jacobites in general, "exhibited to the mob outside a calf's head in a napkin

<sup>1</sup> The Prince of Wales was said to be an admirer of Lady Middlesex.

<sup>2</sup> Later married to David Garrick.

dipped in claret to represent blood, and the exhibitors . . . drank anti-Stuart toasts, and finally flung the head into a bonfire which they had ordered to be kindled in front of the house. The Jacobite mob broke into the house, and would have made 'martyrs' of the revellers but for the timely arrival of the Guards."<sup>1</sup>

Those who were at the dinner-party, according to a contemporary letter-writer, were: Lord Middlesex, Lord Harcourt, Lord Boyne, Lord Middleton (all of whom were Irish, according to the scribe, though in the case of Middlesex it can have been only a "courtesy" title bestowed on the son of the Lord Lieutenant), Lord John Murray, Sir James Grey, Mr. Smith, Mr. Stroud, "and some say Mr. Shirley."

Lord Middlesex's own account to Spence was that the dinner had been arranged with no thought to the date, but all the guests had drunk hard, and proposed loyal toasts from the windows. To a Jacobite crowd this was an intolerable insult, "for to drink the King, the Protestant succession, and the administration, was to express affection for what they cordially hated."<sup>2</sup> Weighing all this testimony I fear we must conclude that Lord Middlesex was a diligent sower of wild oats and bound to get into trouble. The alleged presence of a "Mr. Shirley" among the party of roisterers catches the eye; was he the same person who "often acted as presiding officer" in the Lodge at Florence?

Middlesex's stumbles into unwelcome publicity did not pass unnoticed in high quarters. Writing in April, 1751, a month after the death of Frederick Prince of Wales, Walpole notes with satisfaction that his *bête noire* has lost his post in the Royal household: "The King asked the Princess, if she had a mind for a Master of the Horse; that it must be a nobleman, and that he had objections to a particular one, Lord Middlesex."

Middlesex died on the 5th January, 1769. His wife had predeceased him by six years. His constant critic gave him the following epitaph<sup>3</sup>:

"His figure, which was handsome, had all the reserve of his family, and all the dignity of his ancestors. He was a poet too, because they had been poets.<sup>4</sup> As little as he came near them in this talent, it was what he most resembled them in, and in what he best supported their honour. His passion was the direction of operas, in which he had not only wasted immense sums, but had stood lawsuits in Westminster Hall with some of those poor devils for their salaries. The Duke of Dorset had often paid his debts, but never could work upon his affections; and he had at last carried his disobedience so far, in complaisance to and in imitation of the Prince, as to oppose his father in his own boroughs."

In a letter to Mann, 14th January, 1769, Walpole used even more candour in an obituary notice:

"*A propos* to operas: your old acquaintance the Duke of Dorset is dead, after having worn out his constitution, and almost his estate. He has not left a tree standing in the venerable old park at Knowle. However, the family think themselves very happy that he did not marry a girl whom he kept, as he had a mind to do, if the state of his understanding had not empowered his relations to prevent it."

<sup>1</sup> Vide John Doran, *London in Jacobite Times* (London, 1877. Vol. ii, p. 63 *et seq.*)

<sup>2</sup> I have not the least doubt that such brutish exhibitions of party spirit, when it was considered laudable to offer provocation to opponents in as public a way as possible, led to the salutary regulation that Freemasons should refrain from every topic of religious or political discussion in their Lodges. This wise rule, still strictly observed in this country, has preserved our Brotherhood from becoming one of those secret political societies, which only breed mischief, and for which there should be no need in a free state.

<sup>3</sup> Horace Walpole, *History of George II* (Edit. 1846, vol. i, p. 97).

<sup>4</sup> And still are, to the great advantage of English literature.

I am loath to let this uncharitable vignette remain our last glimpse of one whom I prefer to remember in his earlier days as "Carolus Sackville Magister", young, handsome, daring, attractive, of great possessions, which he spent in furthering one of the greatest of arts, music, and in bringing pleasure to thousands, without seeking any recompense in money or adulation; if he ran through a fortune in doing so, seldom has a fortune been scattered in a better cause, that of bringing happiness to others.

#### LORD RAYMOND

Robert 2nd Lord Raymond of Abbot's Langley, only son of the Chief Justice of that name and title, was born in 1717, and succeeded to the title 19th March, 1732-3. Thus he was no more than 22 when elected Grand Master of England in May, 1739, and barely of age when Master of the Lodge in Florence, in which he was probably initiated. To discover his name among the members must be looked on as a happy find, for the Mother Lodges of most of the early Grand Masters of England are unknown.

As will become apparent in the course of this story, Lord Raymond was not popular with the Italians, and the Papal authorities tried to have him expelled from Florence. Though no official decree to that effect was obtained, the object of popular odium evidently returned home soon afterwards, and this strategic withdrawal was according to the plan and much to the relief of Mr. Horace Mann, then acting as deputy to the British Resident in Florence.

None of the contemporary references I have been able to gather about Lord Raymond is very flattering. Lord Orrery, writing to his wife on 2nd February, 1743-4, and describing a debate in the House of Lords, says<sup>1</sup>:

"My thoughts wander not from you even amidst the eloquence of Ld Ches(terfield), the madness of Ld B(ath), or the drunkenness of Ld Raymond, whom I forgot to mention before, and who always takes a dram before he speaks."

Walpole, describing the debate on the King's Speech in a letter to Mann of 10th December, 1741, reports:

"Lord Halifax spoke very ill, and was answered by little Lord Raymond, who always will answer him."

On 20th May, 1742, the same writer quotes Raymond as a poet, of sorts:

"I must tell you an ingenuity of Lord Raymond, an epitaph on the Indemnifying Bill—I believe you would guess the author:

Interr'd beneath this marble stone doth lie  
The Bill of Indemnity;  
To show the good for which it was design'd,  
It died itself to save mankind."

From which we may conclude that whatever his views on religion may have been, those he held about metre were revolutionary enough.

Raymond has received more attention as Grand Master than he is actually entitled to, for in the next generation Preston asserted that under his régime those changes were made in the ritual which caused so much dissension between the "Antients" and "Moderns"; and, since Preston was wrong in his statement, we can wipe out that particular blot from Raymond's escutcheon, though there is no doubt that in other ways Freemasonry in England fell on evil days during his term of office. He died 19th September, 1756.

<sup>1</sup> *Orrery Papers*, vol. ii, p. 181.

## BARON PHILIP VON STOSCH

Another famous member of the Lodge was Baron Philip von Stosch, who was born at Küstrin in Brandenburg in 1691, and acquired British nationality, or at least protection by becoming a trusted secret agent of George II.

He was a man of more than ordinary knowledge in matters archæological and numismatic, and his fine house in Florence in the Via dei Malcontenti, containing a splendid library and a large collection of rare cameos and medals, was frequented by the most erudite and respectable people in the city,<sup>1</sup> as well as by others to whom neither adjective could be properly applied. In a word, this gentleman's reputation was far from being of the same high standard as his learning. He belonged to that class of men of letters who thrive by intrigues and the doing of dirty work, men never lacking at any period, but particularly abundant in the eighteenth century. Thus from his early youth Stosch had plied as a political spy, at first in the service of the Dutch government, and then in English pay had kept watch in Rome on the dangerous manœuvres of the Old Pretender, more respectfully known as the Chevalier of St. George.

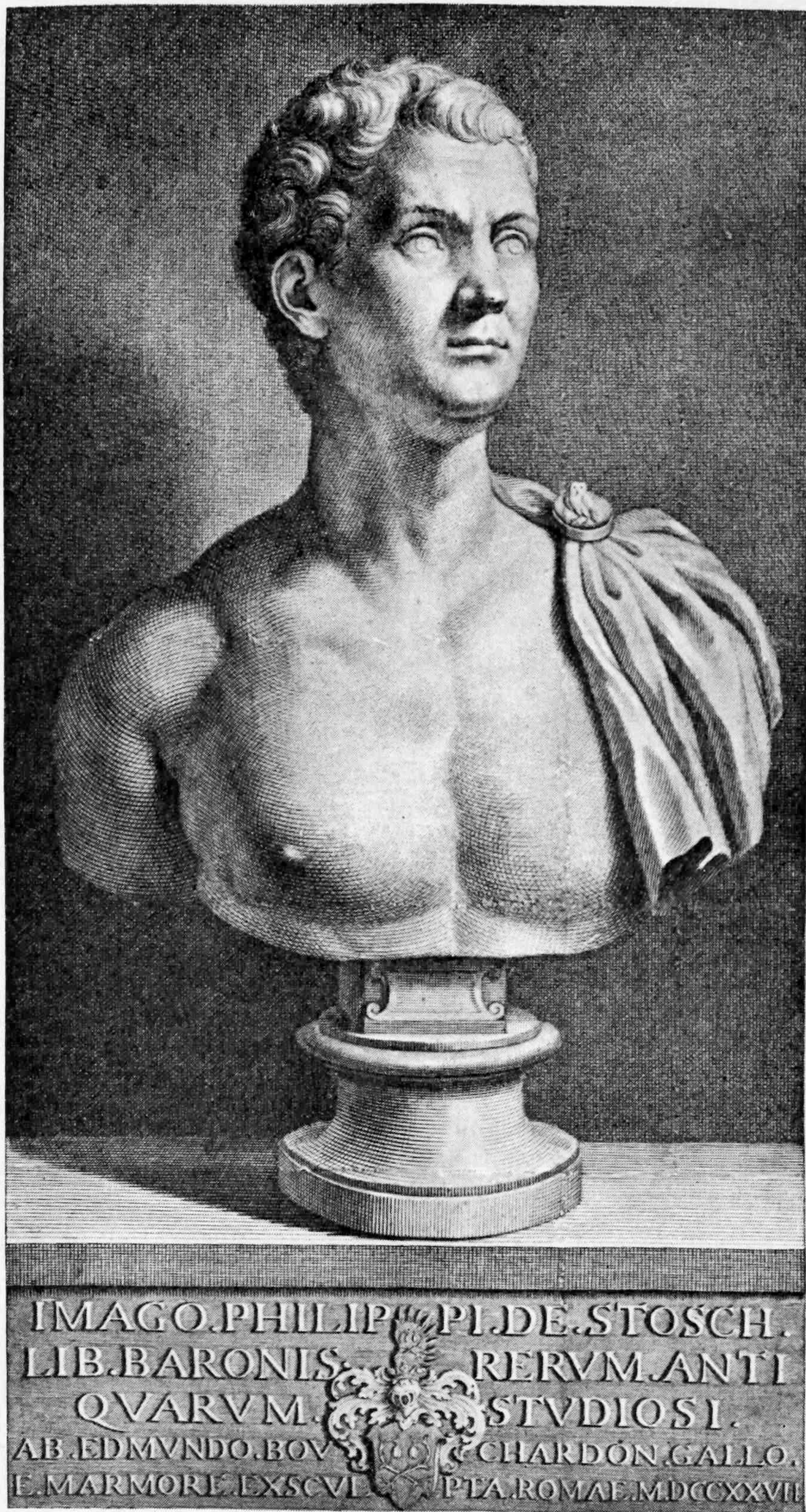
When the Baron first settled in Rome he was in sufficiently good odour with Pope Clement XI, and there got on terms of friendship with Cardinal Alessandro Albani, the Pope's nephew, a learned archæologist, with whom he maintained a correspondence throughout his life. Favoured by such protection, Stosch settled down comfortably in Rome to ply his varied crafts, not without pleasure and profit, and continued so to do until the death of Benedict XIII in 1730; but when the Papal Throne came to be occupied by Clement XII, who favoured the Stuarts more than a little, the Baron began to be faced with greater perils in performing the functions of his office as "intelligencer"; and things went on getting worse, until in 1731, finding himself in danger of assassination, he was obliged to fly from Rome. "He had been driven from Rome, though it was suspected that he was a spy on both sides", was the version given by Horace the backbiter. Walpole had a poor opinion of Stosch as a spy: "Stosch used to pretend to send over an exact journal of the life of the Pretender and his sons, though he had been sent out of Rome at the Pretender's request, and must have had very bad or no intelligence of what passed in that family." He notes however, in a letter to Mann of May, 1743, that King George thought well of his secret agent: "I don't approve of your hinting at the falsehoods of Stosch's intelligence; nobody regards it but the King; it pleases him—*e basta!*"

Stosch betook himself to Florence, which, if not so convenient a headquarters for spying, had the advantage of allowing him to devote more time to his favourite studies. Popularity there was never to be his among the Tuscan aristocracy, for strange stories were current about his past. Charles de Brosses, for example, tells us in his letters,<sup>2</sup> as Paris gossip, that Stosch on one occasion visited the *Cabinet du Roi* at Versailles with a party of other sightseers, and while they were viewing the intaglios one of the gems, a famous one, was suddenly

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Sbigoli, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4. Stosch's Museum in Florence was described by the famous Winckelmann: "Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch, dédiée à son éminence monseigneur le cardinal Alexandre Albani, par M. l'abbé Winckelmann, Bibliothécaire de son éminence. A Florence MDCCCLX. Chez André Bonducci." The book contains a dedication to the Cardinal by Philip von Stosch, born Muzell, nephew and heir of Baron Philip the elder, with a portrait of the latter in the form of a Roman bust inscribed: IMAGO PHILIPPI DE STOSCH. LIB. BARONIS RERUM ANTIQVARIARVM STUDIOSI AB EDMUNDO BOUCHARDON GALLO E MARMORE EXCVLPTA. ROMÆ MDCCXXVII.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres d'Italie* (Edit. Dijon, 1927, vol. i, p. 213). This same traveller, writing from Florence in October, 1739, records as follows: "Ce Stock vient d'être chassé de Rome comme espion du Prétendant; il s'est réfugié ici, où l'on voulait lui faire le même traitement, si le roi d'Angleterre n'eût déclaré qu'il y maintiendrait par toutes les voies imaginables, cela n'a pas servi à diminuer les soupçons qu'on avait."





BARON PHILIP VON STOSCH  
from *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch*,  
Florence. 1760.

*By the courtesy of the British Museum.*





found to be missing. Hardouin<sup>1</sup> the curator at once made all the company strip, one of the duties of a curator that has nowadays fallen into disuse, and when this had no result, administered an emetic to Stosch, the only stranger present, whereupon the gem was quickly restored to its rightful keeper. This story, even if apocryphal, bears witness to Stosch's repute among his contemporaries.

In Florence some people thought that Stosch cheated the English visitors when selling them antiques, passing off fakes as genuine; and that in the zeal of his other profession he had falsely denounced some of them to the British Government as Jacobites.

Others said that he was accustomed to boast of being an out-and-out blackguard, and did so because it is a good thing to be dreaded as unscrupulous scoundrels always are. Such behaviour, however, would have been at variance with the refinement of shrewdness and excess of prudence he is known to have usually shown, and it sounds to me like a libel.

There is no doubt, however, that Stosch was in bad odour in Florence, as is shown by the expressed opinions of Dr. Cocchi,<sup>2</sup> Horace Walpole, and Stosch's own Brethren in Freemasonry. The Lodge in Florence had been accustomed to meet every Thursday, but because the German archæologist had become unpopular with the English members, indeed some of them hated him like poison, it was decided to change the day of meeting to Saturday, on which being post day Stosch, having to dispatch his ordinary business, could not attend the Lodge without inconvenience.

Stosch's unpopularity with the English was increased, it would seem, by his custom of ridiculing all religious beliefs. Walpole wrote of him:

"I have been plagued all this morning by that oaf of unlicked antiquity, Prideaux. . . . He talked through all Italy, and everything in all Italy. Upon mentioning Stosch, I asked him if he had seen his collection. He replied, very few of his things, for he did not like his company; that he never heard so much heathenish talk in his days. I inquired what it was, and found that Stosch had one day said before him, 'that the soul was only a little glue.' I laughed so much that he walked off; I suppose thinking that I believed so too."<sup>3</sup>

"As to Stosch expecting any present from me, he was so extremely well paid for all I had of him, that I do not think myself at all in his debt; however, you was very good to offer to pay him." (26th May, 1742.)

"I am quite sorry you have had so much trouble with those odious cats of Malta; dear child, fling them into the Arno, if there is water enough at this season to drown them; or, I'll tell you, give them to Stosch, to pay the postage he talked of. I have no ambition to make my court with them to the old wizard." (10th June, 1742.)

"Baron Stosch was a man of most infamous character in every respect."<sup>4</sup>

"I enclose a letter for Stosch, which was left here with a scrap of paper with these words: 'Mr. Natter is desired to send the letters for Baron de Stosch in Florence by Mr. H.W.' I don't know who Mr. Natter is, nor who makes him this request, but I desire Mr. Stosch will immediately put an end to this method of correspondence; for I

<sup>1</sup> Jacques Hardouin (1686-1766), historian and scholar. Tutor to the daughters of King Louis XV of France.

<sup>2</sup> A celebrity of Florence, of whom more later. "Stosch is a really vicious man", wrote Cocchi in his *Effemeridi*, 21st September, 1739.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*: Cunningham's edit., 1877, vol. i, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 73.

I shall not risk my letters to you containing his, nor will post to such a dirty fellow." <sup>1</sup>

In 1739 the Grand Duke Francis ordered Stosch's expulsion from Florence; Horace Mann protested in the name of George II; and after much negotiation, to be told in greater detail later, the Baron remained undisturbed. Antonio Zobi in his *Storia Civile della Toscana* (Vol. I, p. 199) has this account of these events:

"At that time there was living in Florence Baron Philip von Stosch, of English<sup>2</sup> origin, a gentleman skilled in antiques and numismatics, whereby he had become on terms of intimacy with all the learned Tuscans of the day. Crudeli taught him Italian, and enjoyed his full confidence.<sup>3</sup> Impenetrable secrecy veiled discussions which took place at the evening assemblies in his house, and women were debarred from attending because of their fondness for chatter. This secrecy had aroused curiosity, and the imagination of the common herd began to invent fantastic tales of the strange doings that went on there; the Inquisitor (Ambrogi) was deeply disturbed by these rumours, and of course assumed that Stosch's visitors were so many impious enemies of our Holy Religion. He did everything in his power to get the English baronet<sup>4</sup> expelled, who was stoutly protected by Mr. Mann, the British Minister."

In November, 1757, Stosch died of apoplexy in Florence. He left all his possessions to a nephew by a will made in 1754, in which Horace Mann and Buonaccorsi were named as executors. Mann writing to Walpole about the death remarked: "It would be vastly clever if I could get the addition of old Stosch's appointments for the branch of the affairs of Rome;<sup>5</sup> in which case, I could relinquish what they have allowed me some years past, on account of secret service."

Evidently Stosch had been handsomely paid for his underground activities.

A later letter from Mann on 18th May, 1758, referred to Philip von Stosch the younger, the nephew and heir, who had been an officer in the Prussian Army, and was now busied in turning his late uncle's collection of *objets d'art* into cash:

"Stosch holds his obscene drawings and prints, both Chinese and others, at a vast price, and has views of being able at some time or other to dispose of them to the King of Prussia."<sup>6</sup>

#### THE ITALIAN MEMBERS.<sup>7</sup>

The first native of Tuscany to be received as a Freemason was the famous Doctor Antonio Cocchi, and on the 4th August, 1732, his initiation was celebrated, as the custom was, with a pleasant banquet. Note that the date is the year previous to that accepted for the "Foundation" of the Lodge by Middlesex.

Among the other early members were: a certain Galassi, of whom nothing is known beyond that he was Standard-Bearer to the Grand Duke, and a blameless young man; Tommaso Crudeli, poet and martyr of the Craft, by no means

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*: Cunningham's edit., 1877, vol. ii, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Recte*, Prussian.

<sup>3</sup> Compare with this Crudeli's own statement at his trial, that he prided himself on never having been a friend of Stosch.

<sup>4</sup> *Recte*, German Baron.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.*, spying on the Pretender.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Doran, *Men and Manners at the Court of Florence*, vol. ii, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> This section is taken largely from Sbigoli, p. 69 *et seq.* He has evidently drawn on many contemporary documents for the name of the reputed Freemasons of Italian birth, and as he has not disclosed his sources, his statements must be accepted with caution. I am giving a general account of the membership of the Lodge, to be followed by fuller biographies of one or two celebrities.



so blameless a young man; Giuseppe Cerretesi, also a poet and translator of Alexander Pope's *Moral Epistles* into Italian; Antonio Niccolini, of whom more later; Paolino Dolci; the Abbate Franceschi; the Abbate Ottaviano Buonaccorsi, also an author of some note; of these only is there any certainty in styling them Freemasons.

Yet it is probable enough that among the initiates were Giulio Rucellai, Secretary of State (*Segretario della Giurisdizione*); Marchese Carlo Rinuccini, Minister to the last Medici and to the first Grand Duke of the House of Lorraine; and Count de Richécourt, Prime Minister of the Regency Government of Grand Duke Francis. Among others suspected to be Freemasons or known to be favourably disposed to the Society were the famous Doctor Giovanni Lami, dreaded for his satires, Tommaso Perelli, skilled in astronomy and hydraulics, Professor Pascasio Giannetti of the University of Pisa, fierce opponent of the Jesuits, Canon Maggi, Doctor Avanzini, Abbate del Nero, Abbate Vanneschi, mixed up in the operative business with Lord Middlesex, Cerasico Martini, Antonio and Gaetano Marcantelli, brothers and wealthy bankers in Florence, Doctor Luca Corsi, bosom friend of Crudeli, and the Abbé de Craon, Primate of Lorraine,<sup>1</sup> elder son of Prince Marco de Craon, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Grand Duke.<sup>2</sup> Various doctors in law and medicine are quoted as having been members of the Lodge, together with some of the clergy, including Canons from the cathedral and an Abbate Pratesi, an employee in the Archiepiscopal Chancery (*Curia Archiepiscopale*).

"It would appear, however, that the native Florentines did not often attend the Masonic gatherings, either because they found the manners of the English crude and strange or because of distaste for and disapproval of the excessive drinking indulged in by some of the English members at the banquets."<sup>3</sup>

In running through the names of those Italians known to have joined the English Lodge it is rather disconcerting to find one who should never have been

<sup>1</sup> This young prelate, son of the Prince de Craon, who later became Regent in Florence under Grand Duke Francis, was famous for his wit and vices. Walpole compared him in this respect with Primate Stone of Armagh, known in his day as the "Beauty of Holiness", and added a rider that the former sought vice for the pleasure it gave him, while the latter took to it as a relief from the tedium of life in Ireland—a truly Horatian touch! The Primate of Lorraine died of smallpox in Paris in 1742, and Walpole alludes to him almost with affection in one of his letters, though elsewhere he wrote: "I hear the other day that the Primate of Lorraine was dead of the smallpox. Will you make my compliments of condolence? though I dare say they are little afflicted: he was a most worthless creature, and all his wit and parts, I believe, little comforted them for his brutalities and other vices." (Walpole to Mann, 24th June, 1742). *Vide* Doran, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 75, and also Walpole's *Letters to Sir Horace Mann*.

<sup>2</sup> The Prince de Craon was a Lorrainer. His family name was Beauvau and he came of an Angevin noble family. His father had been a trusted servant of Duke Leopold, Francis's predecessor, and young Beauvau married one of Leopold's mistresses and became tutor to Francis, who in due course had him created a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. The Princess, the ex-ducal *chère amie*, had been of humble origin and became generally popular as Vice-reine in Tuscany. The Prince himself seems to have been an honest man, if honesty can be inferred from his having been often in straits for money while exercising the Regency in Florence. In January, 1743, for example, Mann wrote that he had just lent the Prince 200 Zecchini for an urgent need, and to do so had had to borrow the sum in question from an English friend. (*Vide* Doran, vol. i, p. 9.) Charles de Brosses (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 202) wrote of his consort: "The Princess de Craon also keeps a good house, most convenient for strangers. She is a woman whose air and manners please me greatly; and although she has been a grandmother for years, I verily believe that I could bring myself to fill the Duke of Lorraine's place. Her husband keeps great state here, as does too the Marquis de Châtélet, governor of the city. None of these persons is included in the general hatred sworn against their compatriots by the national party. This hatred is directed against those who are concerned in the government, in which the native Italians, despite birth or position, have almost no share."

<sup>3</sup> Sbigoli, p. 73. Horace Mann in his letters alludes several times to the excessive fondness for wine shown by the English visitors to Florence.

included among so many respectable people. Sbigoli, contrary to his usual custom, can find nothing good to tell us of Paolino Dolci, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to Grand Duke Gian Gastone, and the most execrated and hated man in the city, always excepting the infamous Dami. To the personal beauty, which had been the gift of a mother notorious for not confining her favours to a single cicisbeo, as the morality of the times demanded, Dolci owed his first employment at Court among the ganymedes of the sovereign. Common rumour had it that he added to the emoluments of his equivocal office by stealing his Royal Master's jewellery; but the Grand Duke not only glossed over this peccadillo, but seemed unable to refuse any of his favourite's requests; thus Dolci's father, at that time imprisoned in the galleys for speculation while exercising a public office, was pardoned and given handsome compensation, and favours were lavished on any of his acquaintance who had ever shown kindness to Dolci or his mother. "A favourite has no friend"; and decency would try in vain to reproduce the terms in which Dolci and his fellow-favourites were referred to in contemporary pasquinades.

After the death of Gian Gastone he was chased from the Palazzo Pitti with the rest of the crew of parasites, got in tow with a fair Venetian enchantress, sweeter in voice than reputation, and, unable to cut the painter in time, was obliged to marry her in 1739, a condign punishment for all past offences. On account of some misdemeanour or other he had in 1743 to fly from Florence to Rome, and died there shortly afterwards in great misery.

"It is hard to understand," adds our author, "how a person of such ill repute could have been accepted in a Society, of whom it is said that the only qualification required is to be of good report (*basta che fossero galantuomini*)".

It is possible that his being in credit with the Duke and in a position to gain royal favour for the Society served Dolci as a recommendation instead of honour and good name.

"One should never forget, that whenever a Society, whatever its nature may be, begins to extend its borders, its growth is often marked more by the numbers of its adherents than by their quality. To quote the most signal of examples, this very phenomenon is clearly apparent in the rise of Christianity, to which that of Freemasonry bore no small resemblance. On which analogy neither Paolino Dolci, nor Baron von Stosch, nor the more notorious Casanova, nor any other of the same stamp who joined the Order would serve to discredit the Society of Freemasons any more than the early Christians can be defamed for having had as their brother in the faith and protector the cruel and ambitious Constantine the Great."<sup>1</sup>

Let us now pass on to describe some of the better known members.

#### ANTONIO NICCOLINI

Enjoying during his lifetime a fame that is now forgotten, Antonio Niccolini was born in Florence in 1701, younger son of a noble family, to whom the city owed the establishment of its first library. He took orders early in life, according to the custom of the time, in order to enjoy the ecclesiastic benefices in the gift of his family, and to have more time for study, in which from his tender years he showed extreme ability and zeal. Although always called the Abbate Niccolini in contemporary allusions, he never was a priest nor proceeded beyond minor orders. Educated by the Jesuits in the Collegio

<sup>1</sup> Sbigoli, p. 78.

di San Giovannino, at the age of 17 he was already celebrated for his learning. Knowledge acquired solely from books did not satisfy his inquiring spirit, so he travelled all over Europe, and after being in Germany, Holland, and France, passed into England, where he was introduced to the most illustrious men of the day, became a close friend to many of them, and enlarged his mind with ideas far more exalted and advanced than those commonly current in Tuscany. He became, in short, what we might term a Liberal Catholic, a Jansenist was the term then in use, to distinguish not only those who adhered to the doctrine promulgated by the Bishop of Ypres, but also every adversary of the claims of the Church of Rome to temporal power.

In England particular favour was shown to Niccolini by the Prince of Wales, later George II; and when this fact came to the ears of Grand Duke Cosimo III, a bigot of the Grand Monarque type, he decided that his subject must be a heretic and libertine, and forbade him to return to Tuscany. This decree of banishment remained in force for over a year until revoked at the intercession of some highly respected dignitaries of the Church.

Niccolini thereupon obtained a post in the Papal Curia at Rome, but the atmosphere of intrigue did not suit him, and he soon returned to Florence, where, having independent means, he devoted himself to his favourite studies, scholarship being his true profession, although he still retained his clerical habit. Soon the Casa Niccolini became renowned for the agreeable entertainments given by the Abbate Marchese. They were his least claim to honour, for his services to learning and the grants he made to aid the advancement of science were varied and immense.

Charles de Brosses in a letter from Florence dated 3rd October, 1739,<sup>1</sup> mentions Niccolini and some of his friends as notable scholars:

"Those in the first flight (*première volée*) who have shown us all manner of good offices are the Marquis Riccardi; Monsignore Cerati, president of the University of Pisa; Abbate Buondelmonti, nephew of the governor of Rome; Count Lorenzi; the Abbé de Craon, Primate of Lorraine; and Abbate Niccolini, whose brother married the Pope's niece. This Abbate Niccolini is a master man and no mistake. On my travels I have as yet met no one to compare with him in powers of mind, prodigious memory, readiness of speech, or such wide knowledge on all imaginable subjects, from the proper mode of adjusting a lady's headdress to the integral calculus of Newton. He could have become anything he pleased, had he not deliberately cut his own throat by a calculated freedom of speech carried to such extremes as to gain him the repute of a Jansenist, wherein he has undoubtedly been slandered, for he is nothing of the sort."

Niccolini's benefactions were many: at his own expense he drained the marshy plain of Foligno, helped to establish the Botanical Society of Florence, and was the literary patron of Antonio Marini, later Archbishop of Florence and renowned for his commentary on the Scriptures.

Some of his correspondence has been published,<sup>2</sup> from which it appears that even though he had been connected but a short time with Freemasonry, he had always preserved that spirit of tolerance and desire for human progress in knowledge and wisdom which form the main characteristics of our great Fraternity.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Niccolini Antonio: alcune lettere a Giovanni Bottari*, edited by Girolamo Anati, Bologna, 1867.

<sup>3</sup> According to Sbigoli, some of his views on religion were so liberal as to be startling in one not only a cleric but also a blood relation to the Pope himself.

Niccolini can have been no ordinary man. We know that George II held him in enough respect to summon him to England to intervene in his dispute with Frederick Prince of Wales.

Even Walpole has nothing catty to say about him:

"Niccolini sups continually with the Prince of Wales, and *learns* the Constitution."<sup>1</sup>

"I hear as little of Lady Orford, who never appears; nor do I know if she sees Niccolini; he lives much with Lady Pomfret and a good deal with the Prince."<sup>2</sup>

"For Niccolini is gone with the Prince to Clieveden. I have a notion the latter would never leave England, if he could but bring himself to change his religion; or, which he would like as well, if he could persuade the Prince to change his."<sup>3</sup>

Niccolini died in Rome in October, 1769, and among those who mourned his loss was the Emperor Joseph II.

#### GIUSEPPE MARIA BUONDELMONTI.

A member of one of the oldest and most famous families in Florence, Giuseppe Maria Buondelmonti was born in that city in 1713, and was thus in his early twenties when he became a Freemason, a step which brought him into serious danger eventually, though he escaped with a fright. He was a Knight Commander (*cavaliere commendatore*) in the Order of Malta, ranked as a cleric, and was referred to indifferently as Fra Giuseppe Maria or Commendatore Buondelmonti. Clever and very learned, he delighted in travel and conversing with foreigners; poet, orator, and philosopher, he enjoyed a mighty reputation among his contemporaries, one of whom called him "the most learned genius among the nobility of Florence"; and as a tribute to his eloquence he was called on to deliver the official orations in San Lorenzo at the exequies of Duke Gian Gastone in 1737, of the Emperor Charles VI in 1741, and of the mother of Grand Duke Francis in 1742.

A poet as well as linguist, he introduced Pope's *Rape of the Lock* and *Universal Prayer* to Italians with the help of Andrea Bonducci, a famous publisher of the time, and this taste for English literature is perhaps an indication of the company he delighted to keep in Florence.

Though member of a Military Order, he was no firebrand, and on his election to the Academia della Crusca delivered an address on war, declaring that its horrors and cruelty should be confined to strict necessity, and then went on to recommend a European Diet to maintain peace—truly, there is nothing new under the sun.

Though Buondelmonti was in the black books of the Inquisition, he was not without powerful protectors in the Church, for his uncle Filippo Manente was Vicecamarlingo in Rome and governor of the Eternal City, a fact that stood the nephew in good stead when about to be arrested as a Freemason. He had brought much of the trouble on his own head, for he was much more of a free-thinker than Niccolini and made no secret of it. Being obliged as an ecclesiastic to say Mass daily, he demanded a dispensation from Rome, but though such a grace was usually granted without difficulty, the Commendatore met with a refusal, because he had been a member of the Masonic Society.<sup>4</sup>

He never enjoyed good health, and died young in Pisa in 1757. His reputation as a scholar which stood so high in his lifetime did not outlive him. Walpole did not like him: "As to Bondelmonti he is much less; he is a low

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> See original documents in Appendix.

mimic; the brightest cast of his parts attains to the composition of a sonnet; he talks irreligion with English boys, sentiment with my sister, and bad French with anyone that will hear him."<sup>1</sup>

Let us hope Horace's opinion was as peculiar to himself as his spelling of Buondelmonti's patronymic.

#### ANTONIO COCCHI.

Born on 3rd August, 1695, in Benevento, Antonio Cocchi at Pisa University studied mathematics under the famous Guido Grandi, and medicine under Antonio Dominico Bellini. After taking his degree he was appointed doctor to the garrison in Elba then in the possession of Spain. Later in 1723 he was engaged as personal physician to the Earl of Huntingdon, husband of that Countess whom Walpole styled, "The Saint Theresa of the Methodists", and accompanied him to England. With this nobleman as his patron, Cocchi travelled through the greater part of Europe, and had much to suffer from the eccentricities of his employer, who at times left him without enough money to buy the necessities of life; the compensations were meetings and pleasant intercourse with scientists in every country he visited. Amongst others he met Newton in England and Boerhave in Holland.

Refusing a flattering offer of employment from Caroline, Princess of Wales, Cocchi returned to Florence in 1726, when the Grand Duke Gian Gastone nominated him to the Chair of Medicine in Pisa, but as he was not a facile speaker he managed to get himself transferred to the Chair of Anatomy in Florence. Later on he was held in high esteem by Grand Duke Francis and the Council of Regency, from whom he had many offices of much honour, though little profit. He founded, with Micheli, the Botanical Society in Florence; and helped by Tozzetti was responsible for the arrangement of the Magliabechiana Library, opened to the public in 1747.

He died in 1758 of heart disease, having for years foreseen his own end and meeting it with philosophic resignation.

His learning was vast and varied; he was master of Greek, Latin and Hebrew, as well as several modern languages which he spoke and wrote with ease and fluency. Although he attended Mass, went to Confession, and was a Communicant, the worthy Doctor was held in suspicion by the Inquisition, as he tells us himself, writing the statement *in English* in his diary:

"Benevuti told me that at the Inquisition they suspect me to be uncatholick, and that a person of authority said to a friend of his that I should be very cautious."<sup>2</sup>

He was the first Tuscan to be initiated as a Freemason, and many of the ideals of the Society's teaching can be traced in his character and way of life.

He had always a kind welcome for strangers to Florence, particularly the English, and among his friends numbered many of our nation, including Sir Horace Mann and his Achates and correspondent Horace Walpole, who speaks of Cocchi with affection, if not respect.

"I am very well acquainted with Doctor Cocchi; he is a good sort of man, rather than a great man; he is a plain honest creature, with quiet knowledge, but I dare say all the English have told you he has a very particular understanding: I really don't believe they meant to impose on you, for they thought so."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, vol. i, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary*, 1734.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, vol. i, p. 60.

Walpole came to have a higher opinion of Cocchi later:

" 'Tis terrible a man of his worth, and who might be so useful to society, should be so neglected." <sup>1</sup>

"I want to know Dr Cocchi's and your opinion of two new French books, if you have seen them. One is Montesquieu's *Esprit des Loix*; which I think the best book that ever was written." <sup>2</sup>

"Except good Dr Cocchi, what sensible friend have you at Florence to share and moderate your unhappiness?" <sup>3</sup>

The Earl of Cork, writing to his friend Duncombe, 29th November, 1754, recommends Cocchi's acquaintance to him as follows:

"Mr. Mann is fortunate in the friendship, skill, and care of his physician Dr Cocchi. He is a man of most extensive learning; understands, reads, and speaks all the European languages; is studious, polite, modest, humane, and instructive. He is always to be admired and beloved by all who know him. Could I live with these two gentlemen only, and converse with few or none others, I should scarce desire to return to England for many years." <sup>4</sup>

Cocchi on his side had a great admiration for the English nation. Writing from this country to a friend at Florence he said: "One must do them justice, with all their vices and extravagances they display themselves as complete masters of prudence, bravery, and courtesy." And later: "You will not find in England a gentleman who is a complete ignoramus, though in the rest of the world the greater part of that class is such."

Cocchi left a son, Raimondo, who also became a doctor and a learned man, and is mentioned as having a great deal of humour by Horace Walpole, who added the hope that such a fatal gift might not get its possessor into trouble with the Inquisition, a body incapable of seeing a joke. The younger Cocchi died at the early age of 40 in 1775.

Antonio's daughter, Beatrice, was a well educated girl who married Angiolo Tavanti, an economist of repute and Minister of State under Grand Dukes Francis and Leopold I. She translated an English book into Italian, and it attracted enough attention to be inscribed on the Index.

Thus all the Cocchis seem to have been talented, and rather in advance of their times.

#### GIUSEPPE CERRETESI.

A member of the Lodge whose name appeared prominently in the famous trial by the Inquisition was Giuseppe Cerretesi, another poet. By his own account he was of noble family, but he usually completed the boast by confessing that the only legacy entailed on him by his ancestry consisted in the gout. He was commonly said to be a Freemason, and that led to an encounter with a foolish young gentleman, of which more later, when a silly jest involved several persons in serious trouble. The upshot was that Cerretesi in trying to find cover from the storm raised by Crudeli's trial made his way to England, and got himself introduced to Sir Robert Walpole by his son Horace. As Sir Robert's skill in the tongues was limited to English and Latin, while Cerretesi knew not a word of either language, the resulting interview can hardly have been illuminative to the Prime Minister or his visitor. <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of May, 1741, to Mann, quoted in Doran's *Mann and Manners*, vol. i, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, vol. iii, p. 55

<sup>4</sup> *Orrery Papers*, vol. i, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Walpole's *Letters*, vol. i, p. 191.

The refugee had entered no Land of Promise, and while in England Cerretesi suffered all the privations known to a needy poet. He subsequently returned to Italy, where in 1756 he published at Milan an Italian translation of Pope's *Moral Essays*, which still makes him of interest to us; but critics best qualified to judge declare that his output of verse exceeded his inspiration.

#### ABBATE OTTAVIANO BUONACCORSI.

Another member of the Lodge, Buonaccorsi, comes a great deal into the story of the famous trial in the Inquisition. He sprang from a patrician family, became an erudite scholar, and was given to philosophising in the vein of Epicurus far from the madding crowd. In 1744 he published a book in defence of the Epicurean doctrines, and I dare say it provoked more people than it converted. His tendencies towards hedonism would account for his association with Stosch, of whom he was an intimate friend and admirer during life, and one of his executors after death. Buonaccorsi escaped arrest by the Inquisition, because he happened to be seriously ill in 1739, and the Minister Tornaquinci thought it right to delay issuing the warrant until he should have recovered; and, in consequence of the turmoil caused by Crudeli's case, it was never issued.

#### ABBATE VANNESCHI.

There is no certainty that the Abbate Vanneschi ever was a member of the Lodge in Florence, and the rumour that he was a Freemason may have sprung from the fact that he was a hanger-on of Lord Middlesex, who engaged him to write *libretti* for the operas and help in their production. This occupation brought him to England on a visit, and Walpole was thrown into his company at Calais when he and the operatic stars were on their way to England:

"I was overtaken by Amorevoli and Monticelli, who are here with me and the Viscontina and Barberina, and Abbate Vanneschi . . . what a coxcomb! I would have talked to him about the opera, but he preferred politics."<sup>1</sup>

"You know Vanneschi, Lord Middlesex's favourite poet," he writes in November, 1741. While in April, 1743, he supplies a typical obituary: "We hear Vanneschi is dead. Bonducci heard he had succeeded well in England, made operas, cheated Lord Middlesex, changed his religion, and married a *Dama*."<sup>2</sup>

The last we hear about Vanneschi from Horace was written on 14th April, 1743: "I really don't know whether Vanneschi be dead; he married some low Englishwoman, who is kept by Amorevoli; so the Abbate turned the Opera every way to his profit."

In sober fact, Vanneschi had set up as an *impressario* in England where he quarrelled with the singer Mingotti, was ruined by his theatrical ventures, became a bankrupt, and was clapped into prison whence he escaped only to be arrested by "that fell sergeant Death." Of course the *libretti* of his *Il Fetonte* and other operas have long ago passed over to the limbo of things not worth remembering.

All things considered, if he actually was a Freemason, the Society was given no special reason to inscribe his name in its Golden Book.

#### TOMMASO CRUDELI.

We now come to consider one who has, perhaps, the best claim to Masonic fame of all the Lodge members; because when the Society fell under the ban of the Church, he was singled out to be scapegoat for the detested Brotherhood,

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, vol. i, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Doran, *Mann and Manners*, vol. i, p. 32.

while the remaining Italian Freemasons suffered no ill consequences, apart from a fright and the discomfort of being kept under observation by the Holy Office ever after.

Crudeli had been imprudent in speech as well as active in the Society, and in consequence was called on to pay the penalty for all the others.

Among the loungers and wits and talkers who frequented the cafés and bookshops of Florence in the seventeen-thirties, no observer who used his eyes could have failed to notice a tall skinny young man, rather resembling Dante in features, though these were framed in the ridiculous wig of the period. The little black sparkling eyes, prominent chin, and thrusting nose were signs of a man given to satire, and never slow to express it, regardless of the occasion or company. The curious inquirer would have been told that this was Doctor Tommaso Crudeli of Casentino, asthmatic and tubercular, but with fine lively talents, a delightful talker, and generally popular with natives and strangers alike because of his charming ways.

He was born in 1703 in Poppi of a good family in easy circumstances, some of whom had held high offices in the Church. Having had his early education at Florence under masters noted for learning and, as times went, breadth of ideas, he went at the age of 18 to Pisa University, where he studied law. In 1722 he took his doctorate in both faculties, and then visited Padua and Venice, becoming in the latter city tutor in the Contarini family, which had given eight Doges to the republic. Ill-health forced him to return home, and until 1733 he divided his time between Casentino and Florence. Finally settling in the latter place, he abandoned practice of the law in order to teach Italian to foreign visitors, particularly the English, of whom a great number were then residing in Florence. With the strangers he became immensely popular, partly for his skill in teaching the beautiful *lingua toscana*, but much more so because of his pleasant humour and liberty of thought and expression, which could not but appeal to the countrymen of Swift and Bolingbroke and Pope. High favour was shown him by the British Resident Minister Charles Fane, and later by Horace Mann, whose receptions and society he frequented; and the latter was to prove a constant friend in a later time of trouble. We are told that no sooner did an English visitor arrive in Florence than he sought for the acquaintance of Doctor Cocchi to cure his ailments and of Doctor Crudeli to cure his ignorance of Italian.

"Even the severest attacks of asthma neither perturbed his mind, which remained serene and tranquil," says his Italian biographer, "nor deterred him from adventures in the domain of Cytherea, from which he did not always come off unscathed."<sup>1</sup>

Then, as well as being wit and conversationalist, Crudeli was a poet also, in a light lyrical vein, much in the taste of the times, if not to our taste, in short, one of "the scores of gentlemen who wrote with ease."

Enamoured like most of his countrymen of any novelty, when Crudeli came to hear from the English about the Masonic gathering which met in the Via Maggio, he was smitten with the wish to join it, but waited for some time before expressing that wish, overcome by doubts, even he so reckless otherwise in his ways of life, lest the Holy Office might have a word to say in the matter, even though the Society of Freemasons had not yet been banned by Rome. However, having heard that Cocchi, Galassi the Duke's standard-bearer, and two Irish Augustine friars from the Convent of San Spirito had become members of the Lodge, he handed in his name in the year 1735, as is reported, and found such a delight in the new ceremonies and the intercourse at the Masonic banquets, that he was soon reckoned to be one of the most zealous Brethren in the Lodge, where he was given the office of Secretary.

<sup>1</sup> Cocchi was his friend and doctor, and has noted in his diary the receiving of a delicious home-cured ham from Casentino, the gift of his grateful patient.





TOMMASO CRUDELI  
from *Poesie*, Napoli, 1767.

*By the courtesy of the British Museum.*



As regarded the outside world, he lived without the ambition to excel in any line, nor even tried to achieve the fame of a notable poet, and was content to spend his days among chosen friends, without a thought for the morrow, for the morrow, uncertain for all men, was far too uncertain for him. Diversion and amusement were his main aims in life, more so than was helpful to his good name. In his satirical compositions he occasionally exceeded the established limits of decency and good manners. The Court and the City of Florence provided him with more than enough models of iniquity for chastisement, and in administering it he was often more thorough than discreet. It was the custom of the times to use plain language about unpleasant things, a custom to which we have been returning in recent years, and it is no concern of mine to condemn or approve coarseness of expression in applying the lash to vice. Far be it from me, however, to gloss over facts or deny that Crudeli's wit, while always very quick, was often very dirty; and some of his most inexcusable sallies, uttered to wound his adversaries in the most tender place, their religious beliefs, were remembered years later to his detriment.

His biographer Sbigoli tells a couple of anecdotes about Crudeli's unruly tongue, the first recounting some profane advice tendered by him to a Jesuit Father who, seeking a book of devotion, had asked for it in a shop filled with gossiping idlers, the second concerning his badgering of an unlearned country Priest; and neither tale gives us a higher opinion of Crudeli's humour, to say not a word of his manners. Beyond doubt, he was always too ready to find a clerical butt for his shafts of satire. This habit of his was noted against him. In due course the Nuncio and Inquisitor began to make inquiries about the faith as well as the morals of the scapegrace poet and jester.

Of the results of those inquiries you will hear quite enough before the end of this essay.

#### WAS THERE A SECOND LODGE IN FLORENCE?

Sbigoli, without quoting his authorities, gives the following information<sup>1</sup> about another Masonic gathering which was meeting in Florence about this time and had no connexion, except that of common Brotherhood, with Middlesex's Lodge. If his facts are correct, this body would seem to have catered for a less aristocratic membership than the other and more famous one.

"During the last years of Grand Duke Gian Gastone there lived in Florence a certain Mr. Reid, who being pretty poor and knowing that the besetting sin of the Florentines was curiosity, kept himself well informed of rumours current in the city, in order to turn them to his own advantage. As soon as news of the Lodge and the inviolable secrecy imposed on its members spread throughout Florence, many of the citizens began to yearn for information about its proceedings, and not a few also wished to become members of it. Reid, who was himself a Freemason, was not slow in bestirring himself to satisfy their desires, and arranged for some who had money to be admitted to the mysterious Society. According to the documents,<sup>2</sup> there were about sixty native Florentine members; but the names of many of these are unknown; nor can one believe that some of the others named as having belonged to the body, did so in fact, though it is strenuously asserted that they were members of the Society."

We have matter here for more speculation.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noted, from this expression, that Sbigoli must have obtained his information from some contemporary account, which is not identified.

Did the impoverished Mr. Reid inaugurate what our transatlantic Brethren termed a "selling campaign" in behalf of the Middlesex Lodge? Would its members have welcomed recommendations coming from such a source? Or did Mr. Reid set up a Lodge of his own of the non-regular type?

Answers cannot be given in the present state of my information.

### THE APPROACHING STORM.

We have seen that most of the Florentines known to have joined the Lodge were men of liberal education and advanced views for the times. The average Italian, however, and particularly the clergy must have regarded the new Society with a scrutiny anything but benevolent; for it sprang from England, and was not England the Mecca of heresies innumerable?

Yet it had support from the Church too. In 1735, before the Society had been prohibited by the Pope, the Lodge had as initiates two Augustan friars from the Convent of San Spirito. Their names are given as Denij and Flud;<sup>1</sup> both were Irishmen, and both, particularly the latter, had suffered in their own country severe persecution for the sake of the Roman Catholic religion. The example thus given by persons of noted piety put an end to the doubts of those who had wished to be admitted to the Lodge, but were deterred by scruples or fears.

On the whole, those Italians who let their caution prevail over their curiosity were the wiser men; for within a couple of years of Middlesex's assumption of office, the Lodge seems to have become a focus of attention from the Inquisition, and attention from the Holy Office was the last thing any Italian wished to attract to himself.

Lagomarsini, a Jesuit, during the battle of books that took place between his Order and that of the Scolopi<sup>2</sup> in Florence in 1737, alluded openly to the Freemasons, and asserted that this Society, though not yet banned by Rome, would not be allowed to exist much longer in Italy, because the Pope had his eye on it.<sup>3</sup> Of course Lagomarsini attributed strange tenets to our Fraternity. He declared that it was one of the landmarks of Freemasonry never to read or own books written by the Jesuits, but on the contrary to buy and read everything written by their opponents, and that consequently in our Lodges the *Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal was held in as much reverence as the Bible.

This sounds ludicrous to us; but controversy has no sense of humour.

Doctor Lami, generally believed to have been himself a member of the Craft, replied to this diatribe in a bitter satire, into which he inserted a defence of the Freemasons.<sup>4</sup> Their meetings, said he, are secret, but their aspirations and behaviour are upright (*rette*); he then went on to point out how foolish his opponent was to attack "these new Eleusinian Mysteries" which he had never witnessed; and ended by suggesting (in accordance with the taste and manners of the century) a base use to which the wronged Freemasons might put Lagomarsini's book and others of the same genre.

The Jesuits retaliated by having Lami's satire publicly burnt as a libel; and pursuing their attack brought influence to bear on Clement XII, a blind and ailing old man, entirely swayed by his nephew, Cardinal Corsini, who in June, 1737, summoned to Rome the Chief Inquisitor of Florence, Paolo Antonio Ambrogì, with whom and Cardinals Ottobini, Spinola, and Zondadari he held a conference about the new Brotherhood whereof so many strange tales were current.

<sup>1</sup> Denehy and Flood suggest themselves as the original names. It is curious to find men who had suffered from the Penal Laws in Ireland joining a Society presided over by the son of the man who, as Lord Lieutenant, administered those laws.

<sup>2</sup> Familiar name given to the Cherici della Madre di Dio, an Order which was no despicable rival of the Society of Jesus in educating the young.

<sup>3</sup> For this and what follows see Sbigoli, p. 58 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> I have as yet had no opportunity of examining this work.

In this conference, we are told, particular attention was given to the secrecy observed among Freemasons and the oaths with penalties attached administered to initiates.

The ultimate result of this conclave was the drafting of the famous Bull, issued 28th April of the following year, whereby, for the first time, the Society of Freemasons was prohibited and excommunicated.

The 25th June, 1737, is given as the date on which the Society was condemned at a meeting of the Inquisition held in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

### THE INQUISITION TAKES ACTION

Long before the events alluded to above had come to pass, Chief Inquisitor Ambrogi had been in correspondence with the Holy Office in Rome, feeding it with information about the meetings of the Freemasons. He had already received several denunciations of the Society, whether founded on personal knowledge or otherwise is hardly ascertainable at this late day, and some time in 1737, the exact date I have not been able to discover, he endeavoured to obtain the aid of the secular arm (*braccio regio*) against the *Primeasons*, as the Society of Freemasons was then denominated in Florence.

Having had no success when he made this demand to Auditor Pini, Ambrogi betook himself to the Palazzo Pitti, and in the Grand Duke's ante-chamber interviewed Rucellai,<sup>2</sup> and with a great deal of vehemence spoke about the Lodge (*congrega*), calling it a heretical sect (*Setta*) and very dangerous. Not meeting with the response he desired from Rucellai, he obtained by importunity a personal audience with Gian Gastone, who was then a dying man. On his beseeching the Duke to grant, as his sainted father would have granted, the aid of the secular arm against the Society of Freemasons, he was answered by a firm refusal to do anything of the kind, with the added assurance, which can have been neither welcome nor cheering to him, that there was no harm in such gatherings as took place in the Lodge.<sup>3</sup>

Antonio Zobi in his *Storia Civile della Toscana*<sup>4</sup> has the following passage about the Inquisitor Paolo Antonio Ambrogi: and I quote it rather out of the due sequence of time as an indication of the persistence with which he pursued his ends after Gian Giovane had died and Francis of Lorraine had entered to take possession of his Dukedom:

“A more secret motive was influencing his (*Ambrogi's*) restless spirit, his intention to discover the secrets of Freemasonry. He took advantage of the Duke's arrival to accuse all the Ministers except the Secretary of State, of having *scant respect for the Church*, and to beg for a faculty to arrest three persons. Doctor Tommaso Crudeli, poet and man of letters, whom the Inquisitor disliked of old, was the first destined victim and he was carried off to the prisons

<sup>1</sup> Leading Masons in England were keeping a watch then, as now, over problems the Order had to face abroad. On 19th July, 1737, the Duke of Richmond, former G.M. of England, writing to a brother Duke unnamed, who may have been either Norfolk or Montague, added an interesting postscript in these terms: “Will our brother the Grand Duke keep quiet possession of his Grand Dukedom? I fear the Pope wont approve of a Free Mason so near the Holy See. If there should be any disputes, all wee of the Brotherhood must attend the Holy warr.” Note that this was written just after Francis of Lorraine had succeeded to the Grand Dukedom, and months before Pope Clement has issued his bull against Freemasonry. This important document will be found in volume iii of the Bradley Collection in Grand Lodge Library.

<sup>2</sup> See his account of the interview in Appendix II.

<sup>3</sup> “I do not know why Cantù and Findel (vol. i. p. 425) affirm that the Duke issued an edict against the Freemasons, when we know from the historians Settimanni, Galluzzi, and Zobi that he refused to grant the secular arm, and declared there was nothing bad in this Institution.” Note by Sbigoli, p. 55. Of the Italian writers quoted by him I have consulted only Zobi.

<sup>4</sup> *Florence*, 1850, vol. i, p. 198.

of the Inquisition in the famous Convent of San Croce. It was just touch and go that a certain Guiseppe Cerretesi was not arrested too; but the Count de Richecourt, angered by Crudeli's fate, opposed the arrest tooth and nail. The name of the third intended victim was not divulged, but the probable candidate for sacrifice was Abbate Ottaviano Buonaccorsi, who was spared because of chronic bad health."

This of course happened a year later, but it is important to remember that months before the famous Bull *In Eminenti* against the Freemasons had been published, the Society had become very suspect to the Roman Catholic Church.

Not only among the clergy and devotees had the Lodge aroused trepidation, some of the statesmen were perturbed lest it should introduce new ideas of government alien to Italian institutions. Thus Diodati, envoy from the Republic of Lucca residing in Florence, had this very same year of 1737 written several letters to his government giving current gossip about the Lodge and its members. The interview between the Inquisitor and Gian Gastone had given birth to a numerous litter of rumours, to which Diodati tried to give shape and sense in a letter of 16th June to his chiefs. This letter is important to us as containing some very welcome information about the Lodge and its membership.<sup>1</sup> Here is the substance of it.

In Florence an assembly of Freemasons had been established, in imitation of similar societies existing in England, by the act of Lord Middlesex, another Englishman unnamed, Baron Stosch of Hanover, and a Jew, also unnamed; and to these original members there had been added some native Tuscans, comprising nobles, clergy, and citizens. The envoy added that even if the government should endeavour to disperse this society in Florence, they would find it no easy task on account of the disorder existing in the departments of State and the uncertain political conditions brought about by the Duke's moribund condition.

One result of Diodati's communication was that the authorities in Lucca at once took steps to prevent the possible establishment of any Lodge of Freemasons in their republic; and since the inhabitants of Lucca in the eighteenth century were not so inclined to run after novelties as they had been in the sixteenth, there is no sign, either then or later till the last days of the Republic, of a Freemason's existence in that little Italian state.

#### DISSOLUTION OF THE LODGE IN FLORENCE.

After lengthy deliberations in Rome, there was issued on 28th April, 1738, the Bull of Clement XII, *In Eminenti*. Many translations of this document have appeared, so it will be enough to remind you that in this decree the Papacy inferred the subversive character of the Brotherhood from the strict secrecy observed about our proceedings, using these words: *nisi enim male agerent, tanto nequaquam odio lucem haberent*. In a word, the Church condemned Masonry as perilous to the soul, forbade Catholics to join the Order, and ordered Bishops and Inquisitors to take proceedings against members of the Craft as heretics.

This Bull was hardly less displeasing to the Council of Regency in Florence than to the Freemasons themselves; nor was permission given to publish it in Tuscany, for Duke Francis's government considered that since it concerned a society that was in no sense a religion, it constituted an infringement of the rights of the Civil Power.

The effect upon the ordinary man in the street was, however, great and immediate. Those Florentines who had been admitted to the Society no sooner

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II for translation of original documents.

became informed of the Pope's veto than, some from religious scruples, others from dread of the Holy Office, they ceased to attend the meetings of the Lodge. Collins, in whose house the Lodge met, also took fright, and after having consulted with Crudeli, who acted as Secretary to the Lodge and probably managed its affairs much the same as Lodge Secretaries still are wont to do, they approached Charles Fane the British Resident. To find a plausible conjecture to explain this step of theirs is not difficult; for Middlesex had been succeeded in the Mastership of the Lodge by Lord Raymond, a young man without much discretion, and unlikely to choose the best course to avoid an open scandal. However, with the assistance of Fane, who, as a diplomat, must have at once realized all the delicacy of the situation in which the English Freemasons found themselves after the issue of the Bull, they advised and finally persuaded Lord Raymond to dissolve the Lodge. From that moment, we are told, neither English nor Florentines ever foregathered as a tyled Masonic gathering (*in ordinate assemblea*).

If ever it be possible to feel satisfaction at the extinction of a Masonic Lodge, in this instance we can indulge in that feeling; for the whole incident is a tribute to the good commonsense that has nearly always distinguished English Freemasonry. When the Brethren discovered that the plant they had imported to Italian soil was not suited to the climate, rather than allow it to degenerate from its original generous stock into something resembling a upas tree, they wisely preferred to uproot it.

In dropping the curtain on this episode, I may point out that this is the only case known to me when Freemasonry caused trouble in the chancelleries of Europe; for, as we shall see, the mischief done was not wholly dissipated with the dissolution of the Lodge.

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## PART 2.

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### THE INQUISITION.

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#### THE LAST OF THE MEDICIS.

On the 9th July, 1737, Gian Gastone, the last Grand Duke of the Medici family, died in Florence. His death gave the clerical party hope of obtaining more power in the state than it had enjoyed since his accession in 1723, and this hope was mainly based on the influence which the Electress Palatine was expected to exercise in the new reign, for Grand Duke Francis of Lorraine had such a high opinion of her character that on two occasions he offered her the Regency of Tuscany; and after she had refused this post, it was noted that the Prince de Craon, head of the new Regency government, had been careful in showing her the utmost deference from the time of his arrival in Tuscany.

This devout lady, Anna Maria, daughter of Cosimo III and sister to Gian Gastone, who was estranged from her, was the widow of John William Elector Palatine. She was extremely wealthy, and patronised the arts as became a Medici, being herself a painter of merit; but the bulk of her riches and energies was devoted to good works. At the time she died, 18th February, 1743, she was reputed to have been spending 1000 crowns a week in building the chapel of San Lorenzo; and for many years previously she had been regularly disbursing 1000 zecchini every month in charitable gifts. Her wit and tact as well as kindness of heart were shown even in her last will and testament, as Mann noted when writing to Walpole about that particular document:

" 'Tis said about the town that there's a legacy for il re d'Angheterra (*sic*), but I'm afraid it is for one she calls so in Rome<sup>1</sup> . . .  
 'Tis as I expected, but mind with what delicacy and circumspection — a Ring — for the Prince, son of King James the Second of England'."

If such a personage had become all powerful in the state, the clergy might well have dandled hopes of obtaining more influence, and the more so as the confidant and confessor of "this heroine of her century" was Father Ignazio Giacomini of the Society of Jesus.

#### CONDITIONS IN FLORENCE FROM 1737

Even after the Freemasons had ceased to meet in Florence, they were none the less suspected of having introduced dangerous ideas about religion and government, so it will be readily understood that during the last months of the Lodge's existence there ecclesiastics of the old school were extremely curious to find out all they could about the Masonic secrets. According to Sbigoli, the Archbishop of Florence and the Papal Nuncio, Stoppani Archbishop of Corinth, were the prime movers in this inquiry; while Inquisitor Ambrogi, who was to have not a little to do with bringing the Bull *In Eminenti* to fruition, went out into the highways and byways and up and down unending backstairs in search of information.

As regards subsequent events it is impossible to be exact about dates. That various things happened we know from sworn documents, but too often the year and month, to say nothing of the day of the month, is left to conjecture, hence an aura of vagueness, which nobody deplores more than myself, dims the procedure of the watchdogs of the Inquisition.

This much is certain, that a few of the minor clergy who had been more loquacious than discreet, I fear that our Irish friars may have been included in this category, were whisked into the prison of Santa Croce as suspected of knowing something about the mysterious Brotherhood of Freemasons; and on 9th June, 1738, a priest named Bernini was interrogated at length by the Inquisition about his intercourse with the English visitors, and subjected to the usual pressure of cajolery and threats as an inducement to disclose all he knew. Some of the questions put pointblank in the latter case show the sort of disclosure that was wanted, for Bernini was asked whether Tommaso Crudeli, Abbate Franceschi, Doctor Luca Corsi, and Abbate Buondelmonti were Freemasons.

Bernini, however, even if he knew anything, which is doubtful, kept his own counsel. The Holy Office learnt nothing from him, but the incident of course indicates the line of policy being pursued.

In the meantime in all secrecy indictments were drawn up against certain Florentines to be in readiness for the moment when permission was obtained from the government to arrest them; so far so good; but what the Inquisition had most of all at heart was to obtain a decree of banishment from Tuscany of some foreigners, mainly English; and Baron Philip von Stosch stood at the head of the list as criminal in chief, for this dealer in antiques and intrigues though unrespected was dreaded, and to have him expelled would be laying the axe to the roots of the plot, or so the Inquisition thought, without taking into consideration what the British Resident might have to say on the matter.

In point of fact the Prussian Baron was such a serviceable villain to the British government, even if held in contempt by the British in Florence, that he was assured of protection; his expulsion after having been decreed was

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the Chevalier de St. George or Old Pretender, according to taste.



deferred for a term to satisfy the protests and arguments of Mr. Horace Mann, and subsequently deferred *sub silentio* to the Greek Kalends.<sup>1</sup>

Mann's defence of the Baron was addressed to no unwilling ears, for the Council of Regency was composed of men unwilling to bow the knee to clerical interference in secular affairs. The Lorrainer Count Emanuel de Richecourt and the Florentine Giulio Rucellai, the former virtual Prime Minister, and the latter Secretary to the *Regio Diritto*, a department which had in its special care the relations between Church and State, were both open opponents of clerical usurpation;<sup>2</sup> and it was whispered that both had been Freemasons. They were clever and resolute statesmen, worthy of having filled parts on a wider stage than was offered by the little Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

While this trouble about the Freemasons was still brewing, the Regency government in August, 1738, had already crossed swords with the Holy Office about a scandal caused by an unworthy priest in Sienna, and had begun an inquiry into its procedure in Tuscany in order to prepare a report for the new Grand Duke, who had had no opportunity of learning about its methods in his native Lorraine, where it had never been established; and this friction tended further to diminish the scant affection existing between the Regency and the Inquisition in Florence.

Francis made his first entry into his Grand Duchy on 19th January, 1739, accompanied by his wife Maria Theresa, and received a warm welcome from the populace, who were glad to see their sovereign and hoped he would stay if demonstrations of loyalty could keep him in Florence. All the same, doggerel epigrams of the period show that the Lorraine dynasty and the Lorrainers who formed the government were not popular with those who remembered the Medici régime.

"Lotto, lusso, lussuria e Lorenese,  
Quattro L c'han rovinato i miei pasci."

Lotteries, luxuries, lusts and Lorraine,  
Four of the L's have been Tuscany's bane.

"Co' Medici un quattrin facea per sedici;  
Dacchè abbiamo la Lorena, ne si desina non si cena."

With Medici so thrifty, one farthing was worth fifty,  
But with Lorraine our nation tastes nothing but starvation.

The observations of the French traveller Charles de Brosses, who visited Florence in October, 1739, will serve as a commentary on these folk rhymes:<sup>3</sup>

"Really Tuscany has suffered a great loss in the Medici. The Florentines are so convinced of this that there is scarce one but would give a third of his property to see them return from the dead, and another third to be rid of the Lorrainers; nothing can equal the contempt the latter are shown here, unless it be the hatred borne by the Milanese to the Piedmontese. . . . Thus at Florence we (as French)

<sup>1</sup> See translation of original papers in Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> They were responsible for legislation which in August, 1737, compelled ecclesiastics to contribute to a forced loan for the repayment of the national debt, and, in January, 1738, prohibited the Holy Office from arming its familiars with lethal weapons when carrying out the functions of their duty.

Senator Giulio Rucellai was professor of Civil Law at Pisa from 1727 till 1730, in which year he was appointed Deputy Auditor-Secretary (*auditor-segretario*) in the government, and succeeded to the office in 1733. A sound and erudite lawyer, his learning and firmness of character made him highly successful as an administrator. He did the State good service, "and at all times maintained its supremacy against claims by the Church authorities to intervene in secular matters." Zobi, *Storia della Toscana*, vol. i, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 225.

have the entrée everywhere, and the Lorrainers nowhere. . . . It is true that the Lorrainers have treated them badly and, what is worse, contemptuously. M. de Richecourt of Lorraine, who has full powers from his master, is a man of wit and talent, as everyone agrees; but I am told that he has not been very tactful in managing a government by foreigners. One would say that the Lorrainers look upon Tuscany as a place of temporary sojourn, where one must grab all one can, without counting upon the future."

Notwithstanding the ill-success of his government, Francis was a man of liberal ideas who wished to do the best he could by his new subjects, provided he was not forced to live among them. In matters of religion he was most tolerant; but as ruler he meant to be master in his own house, and could not regard with any favourable eye the claim of the Inquisition to be a law unto itself. There is no doubt that a real dread of the Holy Office existed, and was exaggerated in the case of strangers, as is shown by the behaviour of Francis's friend and *protégé* the famous archæologist Valentine Jamaray Duval,<sup>1</sup> who accompanied him to Florence, and on hearing rumours of the part played in everyday life by the Inquisition was so scared that he besought permission to return to Nancy without a moment's delay, nor could he be pacified by his patron's solemn undertaking to defend him against the Holy Office; for Duval objected that, so far as he could see, such protection would be insufficient; whereupon Francis rejoined that he would soon put an end to such a state of things.

Brave words; but the Duke was not free to do as he wished, as he soon discovered. There was a natural fear of offending the Church, which would have wounded his wife in her strict orthodoxy, a thing he always respected and humoured; moreover, he had to consider that the Tuscans disliked their foreign rulers and would chafe at infringements of ancient custom, no matter how irksome the custom; factors such as these could not fail to evoke doubts in his mind and uncertainty in his policy.

#### PUPILIANI AND THE INQUISITION.

Curiosity, so we are told by the well-informed, has always been a noticeable trait in the temperament of the Florentines, and after the English Lodge had dissolved itself the focus of interest shifted to Stosch's library, where some of the former members continued to meet behind closed doors. Many inquisitive people were itching to find out what went on at these meetings, for Stosch being a foreigner, a Protestant or what was worse a Freethinker, and in his moral conduct blameworthy, presented a hieroglyphic odd enough to wake a multitude of suspicions, speculations, and suppositions about what was hidden behind the veil.

One of the most eager searchers after hidden knowledge of this kind was a certain Bernardino Pupiliani, a doctor of some considerable practice in Florence at that time, and later to become a professor in one of its medical schools. He was a close friend of Abbate Ottaviano Buonaccorsi, who had been a member of the English Lodge, and through him became acquainted with Baron Henry von Stosch, younger brother of the archæologist. Baron Henry occupied a self-contained suite in his brother's house, and while visiting him there on several occasions Pupiliani was struck by the number of people who frequented the building at all hours of the day and night. He asked Buonaccorsi for information, particularly if they were Freemasons, and got the answer that they assembled in Baron Philip's apartments to discuss questions of theology and philosophy, such as: Whether the earth moves? Is the soul immortal? Is the world governed by God or chance? Does Purgatory exist? and so on to ships and shoes and sealing-

<sup>1</sup> Born at Artonay in Champagne in 1695; died in Vienna 1775.

wax, in a manner of speaking. But if any formal communications took place in the house in accordance with Masonic rites, Buonaccorsi declared that he was unaware of them.

Pupiliani repeated these morsels of gossip, snatched out of the mouth of his friend, to all and sundry who had ears to hear, and embellished them in the telling with hints of further personal knowledge about the doings of Freemasons, so leaving it to be inferred that he himself was of the Brotherhood. An amiable readiness to avow more peccadilloes than could actually be warranted by personal experience is no uncommon trait in a young man, and Pupiliani's exaggerations no doubt helped to enliven the tedium of many a bed of sickness and tickle the ears of those seeking for some new thing in cafés and bookshops, and his garrulity would have harmed nobody, but for a feminine complication; his highly speculative researches into the hidden mysteries of the badge of innocence and the bond of friendship would have been forgotten and never remembered against himself or anyone else, had he not simultaneously occupied himself, and by no means so speculatively, with a tempestuous petticoat, rightly so described, for the storm it raised blew him into banishment and even worse trouble, as we shall see.

Pupiliani's Delilah was named Caterina Giardi, who, when she found her lover grown cold and rather more than unwilling to marry, knew a better way to wring the bosom of an inconstant swain than by treating him with the contempt of silence, and proceeded to threaten an action in the courts for seduction. So all at once Pupiliani found himself facing several alternatives, all distasteful, of being ordered by the courts to marry the girl or, in default of so doing, to provide her with a dowry, with the further possibility of being banished or imprisoned into the bargain; for such were the civil penalties pendent like the sword of Damocles over the Florentine Lovelace of the period. All this was bad enough; but the Holy Office, having got wind of the affair, was also interested in it, and that gave our doctor still greater cause for anxiety.

He was in this predicament when Easter Sunday, 29th March, 1739, was approaching, and tormented by his dread of the Inquisition and his even greater dread of a forced marriage with Caterina, Pupiliani, in accordance with a custom honoured even by those who otherwise were remiss in religious observances, visited his friend Canon Guadagni in order to make his Easter confession. The priest comforted the worried man, and advised him before going to confession to make a retreat in a house the Jesuits maintained for that purpose. While there he went to confess to a Father Pagani, who on hearing from his penitent that certain matters concerning the Faith were involved, declared at once that he had no power to pronounce absolution, and that Pupiliani must denounce himself to the Inquisition. The doctor was determined not to venture into such a lion's den, and several days passed full of exhortations by the Jesuits and Guadagni before he was induced to confess to a young Frater of the Holy Office who had been brought to the house specially for that purpose.

The inquisitor questioned him whether he had ever discussed certain heretical doctrines with various people whom he mentioned by name, including Crudeli, Buondelmonti, Franceschi, Buonaccorsi, and Rucellai, all, be it noted, reputed Freemasons; and when the questioner failed to obtain much information on this head, he passed on to ask about the assembly or conventicle (*triocco*) held in Stosch's house, demanding if any of the persons aforementioned had frequented it.

The hunt was up after one quarry in particular, as was shown by the pointed question, if Pupiliani had ever heard Crudeli declaim against religion; and on receiving a negative reply, the inquisitor further demanded whether Pupiliani considered him to be a good Catholic, to which the answer had to be, "Only so-so."

After having written down all his answers, the inquisitor administered the oath of secrecy to Pupiliani, pronounced absolution, and then took a

courteous leave of his penitent. Pupiliari, acting on the advice of Canon Guadagni, left Florence shortly afterwards and went to take up residence in Livorno for a time, as the best means of escaping from the Giardi prosecution as well as further attention from the Holy Office.

In this way material was obtained for the first count in an indictment against Stosch, Crudeli, and the others in the black books of the Inquisition, to wit, that the Prussian Baron was a disseminator of heresy and that the rest were his adherents and supporters.

However, Chief Inquisitor Ambrogi had no intention of prosecuting the Freemasons for heresy alone without at the same time accusing them of moral turpitude, such as had been alleged aforetime against the Templars and heretical sects in general, and even against the early Christians themselves.

Any stick is good enough to beat a dog, and any evidence good enough for a conviction, if you are certain of the culprit's guilt, so thought the Father Inquisitor, and when chance threw into his hands a Tuscan Sir Andrew Aguecheek, he promptly accepted him as the star witness needed for the prosecution.

#### MINERBETTI

Andrea d'Horazio Minerbetti was a true descendant of those "foolish knights" so popular with playgoers in the days of Elizabeth. Of considerably better birth than brains, this young gentleman was notorious in Florence, according to the sworn deposition of a contemporary, as a fool of the first water. His vanity matched his folly. Having learnt from the tittle-tattle of the town that many of the best people had become members of the Society of Freemasons, he was on tiptoe to obtain a similar privilege, and so proceeded to buttonhole all and sundry, without any regard to the quality of his auditors, expressing his desire to be received as a Freemason: a method of seeking initiation which shows that on him the title of town idiot had been well and truly bestowed.

Nor did he fail to find an audience only too ready to treat a fool according to his folly; his search after the true light soon became the jest of the quidnuncs in Florence, and his gullibility in swallowing any fable provoked one idle wit after another to stuff him full of the most fantastic ideas about the ceremonies that took place in a Masonic Lodge. Initiation in a Lodge or admission to the symposia held in Stosch's house meant just the same thing to Minerbetti, and his tormentors delighted in dangling both prizes before him with hints of unavoidable delay as prelude to approaching initiation, and, in short, fooled him to the top of his bent.

Among those to whom Minerbetti addressed himself in search of information about the Masonic Order (as the depositions state) was a certain *noble and respectable* Protestant, whose name is not recorded, and this man crammed him with a description full of filth and indecency of the ceremonies practised at Stosch's house. Cocchi in his diary (21st September, 1739) has suggested that the inventor of this pornographic piece of nonsense was none other than Stosch himself, whom he labels as "a really vicious man and a teller of fables invented by him, which might have given occasion to that supposition."<sup>1</sup>

Well, whether Stosch or some other foul-minded fellow composed this fable either as a test of Minerbetti's credulity or as means of choking off his importunity, the foolish gentleman accepted it as nothing but the truth; and here is the story in a Bowdler's edition, while, lest it should be thought that anything is being glossed over out of respect to the Masonic Order or my

<sup>1</sup> The entry is written in English, and the writer's meaning is clear, if not his construction.

obligations therein, I give in an appendix the original Italian text, which readers will find disgusting enough to warrant my aversion to undertaking a literal translation.

Minerbetti's unnamed informant began by saying that people gathered at Stosch's in order to speak freely of religion and science, and that in their discussions blasphemous and heretical opinions were openly advanced, and scant respect paid to the Grand Duke's divine right. When a newcomer was to be admitted to this society, the president ordered him to prostrate himself on the floor, and after a ceremony best left undescribed made him write out the oath of the association in a liquid little adapted for such a use. Having in this way transcribed the oath, he was then called upon to ratify it while sitting in a chair in a ridiculous posture.

This idiotic and obscene story, which would never have been believed by anyone with a grain of sense in his head, seemed to our foolish young gentleman a fine secret of the utmost value; and he promptly began to retail what he had heard to all who would listen, and he did so in such a way as to insinuate that *he personally had seen, heard, and undergone the full ceremony*, spreading these falsehoods merely to gratify his own vanity and appear a person worthy of note. In a sense he succeeded, for some of his listeners passed on these tales to his Confessor and Inquisitor Ambrogi, and the latter noted him as one who might be useful as a witness against others less foolish but more dangerous.

Contemporaneously with Pupiliani, towards the end of Lent 1739, Minerbetti went in search of his annual absolution; but his Confessor refused to listen to him, and declared that for the things he had said and done he must go to the Holy Office and denounce himself as having committed very grave crimes. This severity was tempered with the assurance that he need have no fears for his own personal safety. The priest provided him with a letter of introduction to Chief Inquisitor Ambrogi, who on the 4th April received him with all the politeness due to a welcome visitor.

Ambrogi, rendered conversant with all the details of the case by means of the letter of introduction, then began to question Minerbetti about the reports he had been spreading of the Freemasons, and particularly about the obscenity of their rites, the heresy of their opinions, and their lack of respect for the head of the state. Minerbetti, only too conscious of the falsity of the tales he had recounted, began by offering a flat denial of any special knowledge about these matters. The Inquisitor, however, who had already made up his mind that all Freemasons were foes of the Church, was not going to miss any chance of attacking them, and exhorted the witness to speak freely and without fear; he could not deny, said Ambrogi, that at many times and in many places he had avowed having heard the heresies with his own ears and seen the orgies with his own eyes; so then, better make a full confession.

Minerbetti now began to realize that his desire to show off had landed him in a pretty mess; the Inquisitor was obviously well informed about his boasting jabber, and he began to fear that if he persisted in a denial, he would be arrested and tortured to force a confession; so in the upshot, after much shy, reluctant, timorous delay, he swore that he had actually seen and heard all the things he had recounted about the Freemasons.

The Inquisitor then questioned him about various persons never hitherto mentioned, stating their names and asking if they had been present and witnessed the same scenes as himself in Stosch's conventicle? The denouncer, half-dead with fright, replied in the affirmative to every name suggested to him.

He was then asked who had introduced him to such a filthy crew of male-factors? He replied by giving the name of Giuseppe Cerretesi, one of those acquaintances who had stuffed him with nonsensical tales to make a fool of him. What follows is a translation of his deposition.

"In November or December, 1736, I happened to be one day in the Café Pannone, near Pontevecchio, with Cerretesi and some of his friends, when all at once he turned to his companions and, fixing them in a stare, began to raise his eyebrows and wriggle his body in a peculiar way. I perceived thereby that he was a *Desmason*.<sup>1</sup> that is to say, one of the Freemasons, and seeing this and hearing them talk so much about the matter, gave me the wish to become one also. I therefore set myself to entreat Cerretesi to have me too admitted, but at first he was obdurate and made a mountain of difficulties. Finally, he promised to content me, and in fact called for me a few days later after nightfall, and introduced me into Baron Stosch's house in the Piazza di San Croce, where I was received into the Assembly with the rites and ceremonies already noted by Your Most Paternal Reverence (*Vostra Paternità Reverendissima*). I visited this academy about a dozen times, always at night; there were present the persons mentioned by Your Reverence, and always Doctor Crudeli, who propounded doubts about religion in Latin, and after having uttered many heresies and called St. John the Baptist an ass, the meeting adjourned for gambling followed by a sumptuous repast."

To all this farrago of nonsense and lies, partly because of prompting from the Inquisitor, partly to save his own skin, Minerbetti deposed on oath, although he had never known Stosch, even by sight, nor had ever entered his house, as he subsequently swore in retracting this piece of perjury.

Though the declaration of such a man obtained in such a way would seem to us of little value, the Inquisitor was satisfied, and dismissed the deponent in peace, of a kind into which peace of conscience can hardly have entered.

#### AMBROGI'S MANŒUVRES.

These denunciations thus extorted from Pupiliani and Minerbetti were the foundation stones of the process instituted against Crudeli, Cerretesi, and Buonaccorsi, who, it was hoped, would be made to serve as horrible warnings to Freemasons in general. For some reason or other it was not thought prudent or feasible to proceed at that juncture against more of the Brotherhood.

Of course many other minor charges were raked up against Crudeli, and careless words uttered in unguarded moments during the preceding ten years were thrown into the balance against him. To repeat all the details of his inadvertences would be needless and tedious; but it may be mentioned that his own brother Jacopo, rendered unbrotherly by a family dispute, had as far back as 1735 denounced Crudeli to the Inquisition as a reader of books on the Index, and this denunciation had been filed in the archives for use on some future opportune occasion, such as now presented itself.

Ambrogi recognised, however, that in spite of all these attested documents it was going to be no easy matter to lay hands on Crudeli, if the usual forms were followed of demanding his arrest by the civil power, and he therefore determined to obtain a faculty to make the arrest direct from the Grand Duke, who was a stranger to the country and unversed in its administration. The moment was opportune for trying this finesse, for Francis was soon to leave Florence for Vienna, whither his father-in-law, the Emperor Charles VI, had summoned him to assume the command of an army directed against the Turks in Hungary; and once Francis was safely out of Tuscany, it would be difficult for Richecourt or Rucellai to make him fully aware of his error in having granted the Inquisitor's request.

It should be borne in mind that, leaving personal rancour out of account, to effect Crudeli's arrest by officials of the Holy Office was greatly to be desired from Ambrogi's point of view, because that would be taken as a sign of the

<sup>1</sup> So written in original.

Inquisition's having recovered some of its authority and prestige, both much lessened of late, on the one side by various scandals, on the other by legislation limiting its interference. No doubt Ambrogi must have hoped too that Crudeli would feel himself removed from the protection of the civil power and in despair might be induced by threats or promises to reveal all the mysteries of that dreaded Society, in which he was reputed to be secretary and a moving spirit.

So, no sooner were the depositions of Pupiliari and Minerbetti in his hands than the Inquisitor sent an account of the whole matter to the nephew of the Pope, Cardinal Neri Corsini, who, since Clement XII had become ill and almost totally blind, exercised great civil and religious power at the Court of Rome.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this communication, Corsini wrote on 16th April, 1739, a letter to the Grand Duke that was in effect an ultimatum, though couched in terms of the utmost suavity and respect.<sup>2</sup>

#### CARDINAL CORSINI'S LETTER ON FREEMASONRY.

The letter began by stating that Religion in Florence was in grave peril. Baron von Stosch, who had been notorious in Holland and Rome for his impiety and lack of morals, had set up in his house in the Tuscan capital a school of absolute Deism frequented by the most corrupted professors and most wrong-headed graduates from the University of Pisa, who mingled with their perfidious doctrines practices of the utmost turpitude. This atheistical Baron, sheltered by the protection of England, though loathed by all the respectable English, would dare anything to gain his ends; and in order to prevent any inquiry about what was going on in his house had dubbed his conventicle with the name of Freemasonry, a society founded in England as a diversion or harmless means of recreation, but in Italy sadly degenerated and become a school of irreligion and moral perversion.

The letter then went on to beg the Grand Duke to hear what Inquisitor Ambrogi had learnt from the mouths of divers members of the sect, who, overcome by remorse, had denounced themselves and revealed the names of their accomplices; and it further begged him to have pity on those careless young men who were imbibing iniquity like water; for not only at Baron Stosch's, but even in the cafés and public resorts of Florence faith and morals were being attacked; the Holy Trinity, the Immortality of the Soul, the Authority of the Church, all were being openly denied; every sin of the senses, except sodomy, condoned; so His Highness would do well to pay attention to what the Grand Inquisitor could communicate to him about these things.

The Cardinal continued by admonishing the Duke to extirpate these evils in order to obtain a blessing from Heaven on his forthcoming campaign against the Turk. He demanded that Baron von Stosch and Lord Raymond, who had earned the reputation of being a freethinker, should be banished from Tuscany, and that authority should be given the Inquisition to arrest two or three of the worst culprits in order to lay an axe to the roots of heresy and thus bring others to a fit state of repentance.

<sup>1</sup> Charles de Brosses, who was granted an audience with Clement in 1739, reports (*Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 60): "For a long time now he has meddled with nothing, having become blind soon after his election as Pope (1730). His nephew Neri Corsini, a man of capacities well below mediocrity, governs everything." Again (p. 115): "The Cardinal Corsini has no reputation beyond that of *bonhomme*; although all the affairs of government are in his hands, that does not mean that he has the requisite capacity; so they are badly enough administered. The consideration which he now enjoys will not endure beyond the life of his uncle." Clement was then in his 88th year. In his character sketch of the College of Cardinals our author is even more severe on Corsini (p. 291): "Corsini, tonsured clerk, Florentine, nephew of the present Pope, little talent, less judgment, no capacity, courted because of his position and the great number of his uncle's creations in the College. The conclave will show what he is able to do. The government is in his feeble hands; he has got the finances into a deplorable state."

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II for this letter.

Thereupon followed a suggestion that it would be well if the University of Pisa were purged of persons whose orthodoxy was, to say the least of it, suspect.

Finally, the Cardinal gave the Grand Duke to understand, that if his advice were not taken, the Holy See would be obliged to recall the Apostolic Nuncio from Florence; and a most skillfully composed diplomatic document closed with an exhortation to Francis to combat the enemies of the Faith at home with a zeal equal to that which he was about to display against a similar pack of infidels in Hungary.

#### FRANCIS'S DECISION.

No ruler who had married the daughter and heiress of the Holy Roman Emperor could afford to disregard the threat of a withdrawal of the Papal Nuncio from his states. Ambrogi was given an audience on 21st April, when he went into details of the matters mentioned by the Cardinal only in general terms; and though the Duke hesitated at first to do what he was asked to do, other clerical pressure having been brought to bear on him, he was finally forced into granting the banishment of Stosch, and the arrests of Crudeli and Buonaccorsi, the charge against the latter being based on Pupiliari's recollections of their conversation. As regards Crudeli, his case may have been prejudiced in the eyes of an absolute ruler by the allegation that he had maintained it lawful to revolt against a Prince for overtaxation.

There is a possibility, too, that the Grand Duke imagined that by banishing the Baron and arresting the others he might be removing blemishes from the Society in which he was himself a Brother, and whose name had been sullied by having been bestowed on Stosch's equivocal assembly. After all, Minerbetti's deposition demanded an investigation of some strictness. Anyway, on the 27th April Francis ordered his minister Tornaquinci to carry out the arrests as Ambrogi should direct, and commissioned General Braitwitz, commander of the Austrian troops in Tuscany, to order Baron von Stosch to leave Tuscany within three days; and having thus disposed of his Italian affairs, Francis departed from Florence on the 27th April, 1739.<sup>1</sup>

#### STOSCH DIGS HIMSELF IN.

Ambrogi's campaign did not go quite according to plan. He had been too ambitious in adding the name of a British subject, for as such we must consider Stosch, to his list of proscripts.

Much upset by the sudden and unexpected decree of expulsion, the Baron, who found life in Florence much to his taste, as were, too, his profits from the sale of antiques, hurried hot-foot to Horace Mann, and besought his intervention. Mann, then deputising for Charles Fane, whom he was to succeed as British Resident in Florence while still very young as a diplomat, was far from pleased at the thought of losing a serviceable villain skilled in espionage, counter-espionage, and the similar indispensable but dirty jobs of high politics with which no gentleman could soil his own hands, though he had to find others less thin-skinned for the purpose; so he at once requested and obtained from the Duke a suspension of Stosch's banishment, first of all for one week, and then for such a period as would be needed for a reply to be received from King George II to a dispatch sent by Francis justifying his action.<sup>2</sup>

Often in such cases to gain time is to gain everything. The week's grace was extended indefinitely, and Stosch continued to live on undisturbed in Florence, plying his wonted arts and crafts till the year 1757 when he died, leaving to his heir a collection of rare and valuable works of art, and to the world in general a reputation that was none of the best.

<sup>1</sup> He was elected Emperor of Germany in October, 1745. I cannot trace his ever having set foot in Tuscany again.

<sup>2</sup> See original letter in Appendix II.



It was of course a disappointment for the Inquisitor to have the German Baron escape from the net, and the only consolation would be to land the other fish as soon as possible.

#### CRUDELI'S ARREST AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

On Saturday, 9th May, 1739, Crudeli, returning home late at night from some gathering, was set upon by a band of *sbirri*, the state police notorious for their ruffianly character, and was dragged first of all to the common gaol, and then to the prisons of the Inquisition in the Convent di Santa Croce.

Some of his friends, including Mann and Rucellai, heard the next day of what had happened to him, but the news did not reach Cocchi till the Monday, and at first he refused to believe it. However, the truth suddenly made its presence known like the explosion of a high-explosive bomb.

Everyone, including even the irrepressible Doctor Lami, who had at any time been anti-clerical or anti-Inquisition in his small-talk, was struck with terror, and all the retailers of gossip and scandal deserted the bookshops and cafés where they had been accustomed to vend their opinions *gratis*; so thus early the Holy Office had already achieved one of its aims, to let the public know that it still was a power in the land. Men whispered to one another at low breath that Rome had determined to stamp out the detestable Freemasons, and since everyone knew that Crudeli had been one of them, his arrest could be regarded only as a beginning of a determined persecution of all who had been connected with that heretical English sect. All manner of rumours ran wild: that the Inquisitor had demanded the arrest of Buondelmonti also, but the latter being of kin to Rinuccini, one of the Ministers of State, had escaped for the present; that more arrests might be expected; and that letters had arrived from Rome containing the names of those to be called to an account. As a result, all Florentines who had been at any time associated with the now extinct Lodge feared for their liberties if not their lives, and some even appealed to Mann for protection.

Ambrogi helped not a little to increase the scare by boasting openly in all the gatherings of fashion about his triumph, saying that even if he had not yet succeeded in getting Stosch banished, at least he had clapped Crudeli into prison; and as a result of his behaviour a rumour gained currency as truth, that any Florentine who had been in the habit of frequenting the company of the English visitors was in danger of being prosecuted by the Holy Office. "The English are a dangerous people", became the catchword of the hour.

The foreign Press, as was but to be expected, did not help to make the situation easier, for many exaggerated and false reports of what had been taking place in Tuscany were published abroad; thus the *Gazette de Berne*<sup>1</sup> on 19th May, 1739, stated in a dispatch from Florence, that Crudeli had been imprisoned on suspicion of having been at one time a Freemason, that all his papers had been impounded, and that the Grand Duke had granted, on an appeal by Rome through the Nuncio, the fullest powers to Ambrogi to proceed against all persons suspected of having any connection with Freemasonry.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Sbigoli, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Such fables have been accepted as truth by some Masonic historians. Rebold gives a completely false account of the whole affair, stating that Gian Gastone prohibited all Masonic meetings in 1737, and that after his death the Freemasons resumed their communications, whereupon the Pope sent inquisitors to Florence and Livorno to arrest them all, but that they were liberated by Francis of Lorraine. Findel also goes wrong in details. According to him, Crudeli was arrested in his own house, but his papers were rescued by a Brother Mason of high rank; and he adds that other members of the Lodge were imprisoned and tortured to extort the secrets of Freemasonry. In this respect Findel's imagination has run riot and followed an imaginary scent down the primrose path of romance. Much as Ambrogi was prejudiced against Crudeli, and even though his treatment of the latter was harsh and inhumane, there is no evidence to suggest that he ever had the wish to subject his prisoner to torture.

These rumours reached Mann, who on learning that Crudeli's arrest was attributed to his having joined a purely English society and having had friendly intercourse with the English visitors, sought an audience with the Count de Richecourt, with whom he was never on the best of terms, and, representing what had taken place as an affront to his countrymen and nation, demanded the liberation of Crudeli and an undertaking to refrain from similar insults to Great Britain for the future. He ended this protest by a warning that the decree banishing Stosch would have been more acutely resented by King George II, if he had known, as had become patent from recent events, that the Florentine Government in trying to expel his subject was acting on orders from the Papal Curia, a body to which his King would never truckle in the least degree, since it was friendly to the Stuarts and a mortal enemy of the Church of England.

Richecourt, who was probably quite as annoyed as Mann at the turn events had taken, was conciliatory in his reply, and while professing himself unable to order Crudeli's release, promised to do what he could in his behalf.

In the upshot Baron Philip von Stosch was the main gainer by Mann's intervention; for his expulsion was postponed *sine die*, which was probably as much as the British Resident had hoped to achieve by his protest. Its effects, however, did not stop there, for further demands by the Inquisitor, for permission to arrest Cerretesi and to search the house of Doctor Giuseppe Attias, a learned Jew of Livorno, for prohibited books, were refused by the Government; and in addition an injunction was laid on and promise obtained from Ambrogi to treat Crudeli with every possible leniency while he was in prison.

#### CRUDELI IN PRISON

Crudeli, being a sufferer from chronic asthma, on being conveyed to the prison of Santa Croce, informed the Inquisitor of his state of health, and asked that this should be borne in mind. A reassuring answer was given, that he should have humane treatment and a large airy room. In fact, he was confined in a cold garret, with only one small window for light and ventilation opening on a corridor; to make things worse, the cell was verminous and the sanitation primitive. These surroundings brought on an attack of his old trouble which put him in danger of his life. When news of this reached his friends, they besieged Rucellai with complaints, and he sent the inquisitor an admonition to show charity to the prisoner; but five long weeks passed before he was moved to a more comfortable room, and even there the window was blacked out so completely as to prevent fresh air from entering. The prisoner was allowed neither books nor writing materials nor visits by friends, not even by a younger brother who was in orders and had influence with the Holy Office.

Rucellai, who was of a fiery nature, would have liked the Grand Duke to pounce upon these severities as an excuse for abolishing the Inquisition in his dominions; but the moment was inopportune to press for such a change; the Curia had great influence at the court of Vienna, and did not fail to employ it; and Francis, knowing that his government in Tuscany was unpopular since it was administered by foreigners, hesitated to add to its unpopularity by such an innovation in matters of religion. In the outcome the only thing done to thwart the Inquisition was, on one pretext and another, to refuse permission to arrest Cerretesi and Buonaccorsi.

Crudeli in the meantime was left to fade away in his prison without being questioned, and after two months of durance his health had become so bad that his lungs were affected.

At this stage Richecourt, moved by a petition from Crudeli's aged parents, forwarded it to the Grand Duke, together with a personal letter from Rucellai.

The substance of the latter document was to suggest that the Duke had been misled about Crudeli's case; and that in pursuing a *vendetta* against the

Freemasons the real aim of the Holy Office was to usurp the function of the secular arm. The Minister, therefore, advised Francis to propose to the Curia that a secular commissioner should always be present at the courts held by the Inquisition; and that if the Pope refused to consent to this, as was probable, to deny the help of the secular arm to any request for an arrest henceforth.

This letter had no effect.

Our Masonic records show that Crudeli's friends in England did not forget him, and gave him financial help.

"The Petition of Brother Thomas Crudeli a prisoner in the Inquisition in Florence on Account of Masonry referred by the last Committee of Charity was read & spoke to by sev<sup>l</sup> Brethren & particularly recommended by the G.M. Ordered that the Treasurer do pay the sum of Twenty one pounds to the R<sup>t</sup> Worship<sup>l</sup> G.M. to be applied towards the Pet<sup>r</sup>'s relief. (*Minutes of G.L. England*, 12th December, 1739.)

#### THE TRIAL BEGINS.

When proceedings in the trial did at last begin, friends and more particularly enemies of Crudeli were summoned and cross-examined about his manners and way of life. Some replied merely in general terms; others were only too willing to aggravate the case against him. Words spoken in jest, however sorry the jest, were now brought up in denunciation. A disappointed father who had failed to marry his daughter to Crudeli testified to his having spoken in slighting terms of a Madonna whose shrine was popular as a place of pilgrimage. One Fantacci, an enemy; deposed to having heard him call St. John the Evangelist an ass. Various gossipmongers from the cafés said they had heard him and other Freemasons unspecified using subversive language about the Pope for having prohibited their meetings. Props such as these, however insignificant, were needed to strengthen the tottering structure raised on the depositions of Pupiliani and Minerbetti, for it was intended to insinuate that these deplorable expressions laid to the charge of Crudeli were actually vital tenets of a Society of which he had been a member.

The greater part of the denunciations rested on mere hearsay, which is repugnant to our British ideas of admissible evidence, but held in better repute in some Latin countries; and a full collection of such scraps of tittle-tattle shall not impose an additional tax on the patience of my readers.

One difficulty faced by the prosecution must be made plain.

The Regency had refused permission for the Bull *In Eminenti* to be published in Tuscany, on the grounds that Freemasonry was a secular society and in no way subject to clerical control. So the Inquisition could not proceed against Crudeli simply for having been a Freemason without giving an unfriendly government a weapon for pruning its already curtailed powers still further; moreover, the Bull itself did not authorize any prosecution of those Freemasons who had obeyed its injunctions and withdrawn from the Society, as those in Florence had done. Therefore the Inquisitor was anxious to obtain such a deposition from a notorious member of the Order as would contain an argument against it, and show good cause for its suppression in the interests of religion and morals. Crudeli was well known to have been a Freemason, and that of course was the real reason for his arrest; but as the real reason must not be allowed to appear in the proceedings, the Inquisitor could not cross-examine him about Freemasonry. The course adopted was to beset him with questions about this very matter, and to summarise his answers as though they formed a voluntary statement. If any criticism were levelled at such evidence, it would be easy to reply that the Holy Office had not asked for the information, but could not neglect to record it when volunteered by the accused.

## CRUDELI IN THE BOX.

At last, after three months of imprisonment, Crudeli, on 10th August, 1739, was brought into the chapel of the Holy Office and questioned by Chief Inquisitor Ambrogi and his Chancellor, Frater Anton Maria Montefiori.

First of all they gave him to understand that the government's refusal to permit the arrest of his friends Buonaccorsi and Cerretesi had prejudiced his case and caused the delay in opening the proceedings. He was then sworn to give true answers.

The first question was: Had he formed any opinion about the reason for his arrest? He replied that he knew of no reason, and on being pressed to think again suggested the venial offence of his having eaten meat on a fast day, and added that he had a dispensation so to do because of the state of his health. To this reply he then added an important rider.

"At least, I thought so during the first days in prison, but later, after pondering over the matter, believed I was arrested because I had belonged to the Lodge of Freemasons, although I obeyed the Bull, and even bestirred myself with the English Minister in order to have an end put to meetings of the kind,<sup>1</sup> and in fact they were discontinued; so it seems to me that I did not merit imprisonment on that account."

Crudeli in making this voluntary statement took credit to himself for having been a prime-mover in getting the Lodge dissolved, and the claim is probably well founded, for his English friends would undoubtedly have given due weight to the advice of a trusted Brother who knew the hidden currents of opinion in Florence much better than they could hope to do as foreigners; and the mention of the British Minister's intervention in his official capacity throws further light on the matter, and explains why no truculent knot of members should have tried to keep the Lodge alive in defiance of the Pope and public opinion.

Candid and justifiable as Crudeli's statement was, it gave the Inquisitor the opportunity he was seeking of demanding what took place at the Masonic meetings.

Crudeli answered that nothing took place beyond a banquet and amiable trifling (*bagattelle da ridere*)—probably no bad description of a fashionable Lodge of the day.

Some sparring then ensued about the Inquisitor's right to examine the prisoner on this head, but he insisted on putting no less than forty-five questions about Freemasonry to Crudeli,<sup>2</sup> to which the latter replied by either pleading loss of memory or confessing many things which the Holy Office knew already, but without making any mention of members by name, except those already known as such to the world in general and the Inquisitor in particular.

In short, Brother Crudeli kept his head, and the counsel of his Fellows.

Another squabble took place, when Crudeli found that the cross-examination had been written out in the form of a connected statement which he was asked to sign. In the end he did so, under protest. As a final taunt the court swore him to secrecy with the jeering assurance: "This oath is a good one, this is, and none of your Freemason's oaths."

Four days later, on 14th August, Crudeli was submitted to another interrogatory on the same subject. However, in the meantime he had managed somehow or other to inform his friend Corsi by letter of what had been taking place, and this information was at once passed on to Rucellai, who as rapidly advised the Prime Minister of the Regency government that a subject of the Grand Duke was being held a prisoner solely because he had been a Freemason. Appeals to the same authority in behalf of Crudeli were launched at the same time by Corsi,

<sup>1</sup> Such a reaction to the Bull in an Italian who was, to say the least of it, not a very devout Catholic, seems to me highly noteworthy.

<sup>2</sup> I regret not being in a position at present to reproduce these questions.

the British Resident, and the prisoner's brother, all suggesting the same course, that Crudeli should escape from his present prison and be confined in a state one until such time as he had proved his innocence of any real offence.

Count de Richecourt was not unfavourable to such a compromise, but before conniving at the escape thought it his duty to send an account of the whole affair to the Grand Duke in Vienna and take his opinion. He wrote at length in cypher, and pressed Francis to give his consent to the plan devised by Crudeli's friends. The Inquisitor for his part had already written to the Nuncio in Vienna, urging him to use every possible influence to obtain from the Duke a faculty for the arrests of Buonaccorsi, Cerretesi, and, if need arose, of any other member of the banned Society. So the Duke found himself between two fires, in a position similar to that of the police in the bad old days during an orange and green riot in Belfast.

While these intrigues were going on in Vienna, Ambrogio in a series of examinations kept bombarding Crudeli with further questions about Freemasonry, exhorting him to disclose the names not only of the Lodge members but of all who protected the Society, even if they were Princes, assuring him that the Holy Office would never reveal a syllable of what was revealed to it under the seal of secrecy; but, apart from protesting his innocence, Brer Crudeli he lay low.

It would only try your patience to give a synopsis of the questions put to him about irreverent remarks he had made and prohibited books he had read; so let us pass on to what he had to say in reply to the accusations made in the sworn statements of Pupiliani and Minerbetti, which were of course the real reasons for his being where he was.

When he was asked if he knew where Stosch's house was situated and what kind of meetings took place there at night, Crudeli replied to this effect, that the Baron was loathed by all the English visitors in Florence for his general black-guardism and for indulging in abuse of the British Resident Charles Fane, with whom he was on bad terms; that he, Crudeli, had often been in Stosch's house, but always in the daytime with English gentlemen who wished to inspect the museum and buy engraved gems. Probably his services were required as an interpreter.

"The last time I entered his house, which is near Santa Croce, was a few days before the Grand Duke arrived here; and I went with Lord Charles Fitzroy (which in English means the son of the king). He wished to buy the Meleager, an engraved gem, and was afraid of being cheated because he was the son of the Duke of Grafton, so I went with him, and having inquired about that particular gem, Stosch said that he had no wish to sell it, and would do so only if he had no other means of obtaining food."

Crudeli went on to say that he knew nothing about the nocturnal meetings at Stosch's, and when pressed to say whether an oath was taken by those who attended them, replied:

"That would be Freemasonry (*il Frimesson*), but I am unaware that Freemasons have ever met in Stosch's house."

When asked about the disgusting ceremonies alleged to have taken place there, Crudeli indignantly rejoined:

"Infamy such as that is indeed news to me!"

The Inquisitor then questioned him about the ridiculous and indecent methods by which the oath was said to be confirmed.

"That too is brand-new to me," was the reply; and he added, that though Stosch's morals were of the worst possible, he did not believe him capable of such depths of degradation.

When the Inquisitor later on harked back to what was supposed to go on in these gatherings at Stosch's, Crudeli answered:

"Such questions should be asked of those persons who attend these meetings and are Stosch's friends, not of me, who do not go to his house and pride myself on not being one of his friends."

When asked who were the protectors and defenders of the conventicle in question, he returned a similar answer:

"I say once again, that I have no knowledge whether such meetings be held there, and consequently cannot know who protects them."

This did not satisfy the Inquisitor, who urged him to make a full confession; but Crudeli had nothing to tell.

He was taken back to his cell, a sick man, and it looked as if death might soon put an end to these repeated attempts to extort from him a confirmation of Minerbetti's story; but neither promises of immediate release nor threats of perpetual imprisonment could shake his firmness.

His only consolation during this period was that, owing to the venality of one of the familiars appointed to guard him, he was able to correspond with friends; and when Fra Giovanni Boni, while continuing to pocket the bribes, failed to deliver the letters, another method was devised, and they were lowered by a cord into a cloister where Crudeli's younger and devoted brother was waiting at stated times to receive them.

More weeks and months passed, during which the Cardinals of the Congregation in Rome were considering Crudeli's case, and opinion there was divided; some members held out for imposing a light penance to be followed by immediate liberation; while others, led by Monsignore Feroni, Secretary of the Holy Office, and author and defender of the Bull *In Eminenti*, were for allowing him to make his defence and continuing the trial. The latter party secured a majority. This was tantamount to condemning Crudeli to perpetual prison, for the proceedings could be delayed and extended *ad infinitum* at the will of the tribunal, and it seemed unlikely that Ambrogio would will it otherwise.

#### INTERVENTIONS.

Happily for justice, all the manœuvres employed by the Holy Office in extorting depositions from Pupiliani and Minerbetti had now become known to Richecourt.

Pupiliani had just been arrested in Livorno in order to be called to account for his unfortunate love-affair. On hearing of the arrest Richecourt arranged to have him interrogated about all that had taken place prior to his departure from Florence and named as commissioners for this purpose the Vicar of the Holy Office in Livorno and General Braitwitz, commander of the Austrian troops there. The resulting revelation of clerical intrigue drove the Prime Minister into a fury, and he at once prepared a copy of Pupiliani's sworn statement for dispatch to the Grand Duke.

Another important person was also to intervene with some effect. The Duke of Newcastle, who had become Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Walpole's government, wrote to the British Resident in Florence to inquire about the progress of a trial in which the reputation of many respectable British citizens might be involved as well as Crudeli's liberty. Mann was instructed to inform Richecourt that His Majesty's government considered that the detention of the unfortunate prisoner merely for having been a Freemason and a friend of Englishmen was an affront to the dignity of England. Mann conveyed this message, and Richecourt assured him that *sub rosa* he was doing all he could for a man so well

liked at the British Residency; but considering that the prisoner was a Tuscan subject, he could not but marvel at English intervention on his behalf. Mann replied with flowery platitudes about the cordial friendship between the two courts, and expressed himself confident that the Grand Duke would wish the honour and dignity of England to be upheld in his states. He then dropped the language of diplomacy and told Richecourt that he knew just as well as himself what was behind the case; that it had been brought forward so as to find a pretext for demanding Stosch's expulsion from Tuscany; but that the Baron had convinced the British government that he was the victim of a plot hatched in Rome, and consequently was higher in favour than ever with his Royal Master, and had even been given an increase in the allowance awarded him for unspecified purposes *alias* secret service *alias* spying, terms not current in diplomatic conversations. In short, Mann succeeded in giving such a grave international colouring to the whole business that Richecourt promised to write to the Grand Duke about it at once, and did so in October, 1739.

Francis had no wish to offend King George, for the greater part of the state revenue was made up of taxes and dues paid by British merchants resident in Livorno and other Tuscan cities; he had just as little wish to offend the Pope; so he thought of a compromise, and wrote authorizing the Regency to connive at Crudeli's escape from the prisons of the Inquisition.<sup>1</sup> As a man he wished to do justice; as a sovereign he wished to avoid any friction with other courts; as husband of a devout Catholic, he wished to remain on good terms with Rome.

I shall omit all details of the scheme hatched to ensure Crudeli's escape in December, 1739, because he refused to adopt it, and wrote to his brother: "I do not wish to lose my country, and live like a man who has cheated justice." The sentiment speaks a heart no hardship could rob of either patriotism or bravery; but his brother, unimpressed by this refusal to co-operate, continued to plot an escape for him, and owing to his indiscretions Crudeli's confinement was made more rigorous.

#### THE DEFENCE.

At last the time came when he was allowed to open his defence. The regulations affecting such a defence in a court of the Holy Office were strict, and in our eyes unjust when measured by the scale of British procedure in criminal cases.

The prisoner was not free to select an advocate, but had to take one approved by the Inquisitor from a panel of lawyers licensed to plead as defenders in that court. Then after he had been chosen and instructed, counsel for the defence might not disclose the names of the denouncers or witnesses, nor show a copy of the proceedings to anyone, and when the trial ended had to return all documents to the Holy Office. Moreover, he had to declare on oath that if at any time he should deem his client guilty, he would at once abandon the defence, and reveal the names of any accomplices he might have discovered in the course of the case. There were other restrictions too, but they need not detain us longer from the incidents of Crudeli's defence.

It began on the 28th March, 1740.

Four of the denouncers were, after much argument, summoned to repeat their testimony; among these were Pupiliani and Minerbetti, on whose words rested the charge against Crudeli of having frequented Stosch's conventicle. I shall omit the evidence given by the others about Crudeli's irreligious behaviour and general misdemeanours.

Pupiliani, who in his first deposition had said that Crudeli had voiced doubts about religion in his hearing at Stosch's, now on 15th April, 1740, ate his words of a year before, and swore that he had never heard the prisoner speak

<sup>1</sup> For this letter see Appendix II.

against the Faith; and further swore that all the persons he had then named as Freemasons were merely conjectured by him to be such, for he had no personal knowledge of the matter. He had to confess, however, that he held Crudeli to be a poor sort of Catholic—and I dare say this view of his was possibly correct enough.

When Minerbetti's turn came to go into the box, he proceeded to deny or affirm or forget at random, contradicting his first deposition and exonerating the prisoner.

No, he had never heard him speak against the Holy Father and the authority of the Bull; had never seen him in Stosch's house; he knew nothing about obscene ceremonies and oaths in the Baron's conventicle, and had never witnessed any proceedings of the kind, much less been the centre of interest therein.

At this point the Chief Inquisitor grew wrath, as well he might, with his star witness, and began to treat him as a hostile one. When threatened with torture, Minerbetti, whose retraction was due to his deadly terror of meeting retribution at the hands of Crudeli's kinsmen, yielded to this new and more dreadful and more imminent menace, recanted his late recantation while the words were still warm from his tongue, and swore once again that what he had sworn in the first deposition was gospel truth.

Asked to account for his recantation, he pleaded forgetfulness; but offered no reason to account for this strange loss or still stranger and sudden recovery of his memory.

What a midsummer-night's-dream of a witness for any young barrister holding his first brief for the defence in a criminal case!

But all the contradictions and equivocations of Minerbetti and other witnesses had failed to convince Ambrogio of Crudeli's innocence; and on the 29th April he cross-examined him anew on what had been sworn about the doings at Stosch's.

Crudeli's answer was: "The whole truth is that I am no friend of Stosch's, that I don't frequent his house, that I never was there after nightfall, that I never heard a word about the assembly, either there or anywhere else, that the depositions are full of lies, and that I shall make manifest their falsity and my own innocence."

This protest failed to impress Ambrogio, who had long since made up his mind that Crudeli was an agreeable sacrifice.

The advocate for the defence now proceeded to open his case, but hampered as he was by the rules of court and restrictive orders already referred to, practically the only course open to him was to call as many witnesses as possible to swear that from his earliest youth the prisoner had been exemplary in the discharge of all his religious and moral duties, so far as they knew. There never is much difficulty in obtaining a cloud of witnesses to express the good opinion they hold of a man in trouble, and so many were prepared to speak up for Crudeli that the business of recording their testimony threatened to protract the proceedings out of all proportion to the effect it was likely to have in determining the verdict of the court.

#### MINERBETTI RECANTS YET ONCE AGAIN

At this time the old Marchese Luca Casimirro degli Albrizzi, former Maestro di Camera to Prince Ferdinando,<sup>1</sup> former ambassador to Bavaria,

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinando (1663-1713) eldest son of Cosimo III. He married 1688 Princess Violante Beatrice of Bavaria. There were no children of this marriage. When Gian Gastone succeeded as Grand Duke in 1723, his sister-in-law the widowed Princess Violante became the chief influence in social and political affairs at his court. She was beloved by all classes, and Pope Benedict XIII honoured her virtues with the bestowal of the Golden Rose. After her death in 1731, Gian Gastone gave himself up to self-indulgence and abandoned the conduct of public affairs to others.



and former Maggiordomo to the Princess Violante, having retired many years previously from all such employments at court, was living in his palace in the street named after his family, still taking his pleasures as patron and protector of sweet-voiced interpreters of Italian music whose siren strains during the course of a long life had been a hobby leading to the serious encumbrance of his patrimonial estates. On 21st April, 1740, this fine old Italian nobleman had his quiet disturbed by an unexpected visit from his cousin Andrea d'Horazio Minerbetti, who, flinging himself on the floor in a violent crisis of nerves, declared with many sobs and groans: "I'm done for, and damned into the bargain!" (*son morto, son dannato.*)

The Marchese, to whom it was no secret that his young relative was singularly lacking in intelligence, at first thought he had completely lost his wits; and indeed patience and persuasion were needed to discover the reason for his fit of despair. Minerbetti had been attacked by remorse; the thought of the perjury he had committed was more than he could bear; and he had come to beg for protection and good counsel. Fortune favours fools, they say; anyway, in this wise old man of the world his cousin poor Minerbetti found a physician skilful in ministering to a mind diseased.

Albrizzi calmed the distraught man, promised to set everything right in such a way as to entail no penalty on the perjurer, and then carried him off to his own villa in the country, there to recover from his fit of hysteria.

The Marchese then summoned to council cronies of his own kidney, and this sanhedrim agreed that Minerbetti should reveal his misdeeds in the secrecy of the confessional and regulate his conduct by whatever injunctions were laid on him by the priest. He chose for this purpose Padre Niccolo da Scansano, at that time lecturer at Pisa University and later Bishop of Sovana, who after hearing his confession ordered him to atone for his perjury by making a retraction in the tribunal of the Inquisition of all he had previously sworn there; but, foolish as he was, Minerbetti had a well-developed instinct of self-preservation, and flatly refused ever to set foot again inside the portals of the Holy Office.

On further consideration, therefore, his advisers decided that he should make a written retraction attested on oath, and that this document should then be transmitted to the authorities in Rome by some trustworthy hand; for none of the culprit's counsellors, either lay or spiritual, had any hope of its efficacy in altering Ambrogio's preconceived opinion of Crudeli's guilt.

### THE NUNCIO'S INTERVENTION

Here I am more than a little pleased to put on record that the person who took charge of Minerbetti's sworn retraction and had it conveyed to the competent court of appeal, in this case the Holy Office in Rome, was none other than the new Apostolic Nuncio to Florence, the Milanese prelate Alberigo Archinto, Bishop of Apamea, and later Secretary of State to Pope Benedict XIV. His behaviour in this affair shows him to have been worthy by elevation of mind and greatness of soul for the high calling to which he had been consecrated and the important offices he filled in the Church.<sup>1</sup>

The French have a happy phrase, *coup de théâtre*, to describe an unexpected turn in events which confounds the calculations of statisticians and the prognostications of wiseacres; and here indeed was a theatrical surprise for Inquisitor Ambrogio, who was prepared and expected to extend the duration of Crudeli's trial to doomsday, in defiance of the uneasiness of the Grand Duke, the opposition of his ministers, the annoyance of King George of England, the

<sup>1</sup> It was this same Bishop Archinto who, when Nuncio at Dresden in 1754, converted Winckelmann to the Catholic religion and carried him to Rome for those labours that were to bring him world-wide fame.

protests of Mr. Horace Mann, the supplications of the prisoner's friends, and the curses, not loud but deep, of everyone harbouring a grudge against the Holy Office; and he would probably have accomplished his design and Crudeli have died in prison with the cause yet undecided, if the Nuncio had been less of a Christian and more of a politician. However, he unexpectedly intervened on the side of justice; and in consequence of his intervention, even if full justice was not done, Crudeli was ultimately restored to liberty. Nay, more; once he was in possession of the facts, Archinto's personal intercession ensured a betterment of conditions for the prisoner; his brother was allowed to visit him during a serious attack of hemorrhage, and in May, 1740, he was moved into a larger and more airy apartment and provided with every necessary medical attention. All these improvements were the result of direct orders given by Archinto to Ambrogio, which the latter, though under protest, could not but obey.

We shall do well not to forget that the very first Freemason ever prosecuted for being a member of the Craft found his most able defender in a prelate of the very Church which had banned the Order; a curious paradox of history to remind us of Sir Roger de Coverley's dictum, that in a disputed matter much may be said on both sides.

#### INTERLUDE

Here, at the risk of being labelled *advocatus diaboli*, I must indulge my desire for judicial fairness by suggesting that even as Crudeli was not all of a saint, though Freemason, so Ambrogio was not all fiend, though Inquisitor in the Holy Office.

Evidence had been laid before him that a certain member of his flock had not only spoken blasphemy but indulged in obscene rites, and was still actively engaged sowing heresy in the state. While he was responsible for morals and orthodoxy in that state, it was assuredly his duty to investigate these charges, making use of all the means already at his disposal, or any other means he could acquire or extort. Thus, though he appears to us an unamiable character, he was only doing his duty as his office in the Church prescribed it.

Let us leave the matter at that and refrain from initiating any debate on the ethics of the case, for to do so might too easily carry us into a discussion on matters unmentionable in an English Lodge.

There is one thing we should not forget: that neither the Italy of that day nor the Catholic World in general had any particular quarrel with the Holy Office. In fact, in some cases the secrecy in which its proceedings took place was looked upon as a boon. Take the following remarks by a contemporary French traveller as an indication of how the wind of opinion blew:

"Liberty of thinking and at times even of speaking freely on matters of religion is at least as great in Rome as in any city I know. You must not assume that the Inquisition is as black as it is painted; I have heard no talk of anyone's suffering by having been arrested by the Inquisition or rigorously treated by it. The Holy Office has its palace near St. Peter's; but the Congregation is held at the Minerva. It is composed of 12 Cardinals and a Cardinal Secretary; the Grand Penitentiary presides over this tribunal; his duty is to report to the Pope all such cases in which they wish to hear his opinion (*sentire il suo oraculo*). As well as the Cardinals several prelates are members of the tribunal, together with a Commissioner, an Assessor, and several consultant theologians, among whom are invariably one Franciscan and three Dominicans. The consultants with the Commissioner and Assessor go into the matters and report to the Cardinals. The latter . . . decide the cases, unless they consider them worthy of being referred to the Pope in person the next day. They inform him how the voting has gone, and he confirms the decree. Any kind of

solicitation is banned in this tribunal; so if a judge is solicited, he must inform the Congregation of the fact and the name of the person who approached him. It is said that no one is imprisoned, unless the fact of his guilt is fully proved; and that delinquents who come to denounce themselves are always absolved. Secrecy is inviolably observed; for that reason cases are brought into this court when strict privacy is desired, though they may have nothing whatever to do with matters of belief."<sup>1</sup>

This statement by an inquisitive traveller, who, judging from the general tone of his correspondence, can hardly be accused of excessive piety or blindness to blemishes in ecclesiastical polity, is worth quoting, if only as an antidote to more romantic writers, such as Edgar Allen Poe, who had less opportunity for personal observation of the way in which the Inquisition worked.

#### END OF THE TRIAL.

Pope Clement XII, who was a Corsini and native of Florence, and had been Pope for ten years, died 6th February, 1740. Zobi<sup>2</sup> writes of his successor in the Chair of Saint Peter:

"After a long and stormy conclave, protracted for almost six months by those who wished to exalt Cardinal Aldovrandi, Prospero Lambertini of Bologna was finally elected Pope on 7th August. The whole of Christendom was impatient at such wearisome dilatoriness and was grumbling at the College of Cardinals. . . . Botta wrote of the new Pope in his *Storia d'Italia*: 'He found that in maintaining righteous causes the best policy is not to irritate your adversaries. The times needed a Pope of this kind. Henceforth controversies with Rome were no longer battles, but discussions; and unbelief, then too rampant in the world, was checked by the advent of a Pope so lovable and spiritual.'"

Crudeli owed his final release from the Inquisition in April, 1741, primarily to the good offices of the Nuncio and then to the shrewdness of Pope Lambertini, Benedict XIV. Reports were abroad that the new Pope had belonged to the Masonic Order, but on what they were based is unknown, probably malice, for he was also reported to be a Jansenist; anyway, he renewed the excommunication laid on the Craft by his predecessor, and can in no way be claimed as one of its supporters.<sup>3</sup>

The skirmish between the Nuncio and the Inquisitor continued for several months, the one insisting on a speedy determination of the trial, the other as determined to delay proceedings. The death of Clement XII, stern upholder of ecclesiastical power and enemy of the Freemasons, helped the Nuncio, for during the long interregnum of nearly six months before Prospero Lambertini was elected Pope milder counsels gained the upper hand in Rome.

On the 9th June the Nuncio gained a major success by securing the removal of Crudeli from the prisons of the Inquisition to the Castle of San Giovanni Battista, there to await the final verdict in secular custody.

<sup>1</sup> Charles de Brosses, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 108-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Charles de Brosses has always a good word for Lambertini when he mentions him. How the Pope appeared to a contemporary may be considered worth a short note. "I know only two Cardinals who are free from arrogance (*morgue*), Lambertini and Passionei. . . . There are hardly any learned Cardinals but Quirini and Lambertini." (II, 64.) Then in his sketch of the Cardinals' College (II, 293): "Lambertini, Bolognese, Archbishop of Bologna, *banhomme*, easy-going, amiable, no arrogance, a rare thing in his position; given to freedom of expression in his conversation; exemplary and virtuous in his behaviour. . . . particularly learned in Canon Law; is reputed to have Jansenist tendencies; esteemed and loved in his profession, although free from arrogance, which is very exceptional."

Though Crudeli's troubles did not end with his transfer to a state prison, he had come a long stage forward on the highroad to freedom; and the rest of his story can be sketched hastily without paying overmuch attention to detail.

On 20th August, 1740, Crudeli was conducted to the church of San Piero Scheraggio, and there made a private abjuration of the heresies laid to his charge. Members of the public were not admitted to hear the documents in the case read, lest Minerbetti's imaginative deposition should be remembered and quoted later as an authority to cast discredit on respectable citizens or the Society of Freemasons, and consequently on the Grand Duke in person. Because of this prohibition, not more than seven people formed the audience.

The abjuration having been sworn, the verdict was then given, and it found him guilty of divers heretical utterances and sentenced him to banishment in his own house in Poppi, and in addition ordered him to enter into a bond for 1000 Scudi, to be forfeited, if he moved elsewhere without permission. An interchange of bitter remarks then ensued between prisoner and Inquisitor, after which the former swore to observe and undergo the sentence, and was then finally released from custody.

Confinement to his own house in Poppi was still a kind of imprisonment, for he was not supposed to leave its precincts except to hear Mass; and in the house itself he had to submit to domiciliary visits from the local inquisitor Padre Cochini, who kept urging him to execute the bond; but Crudeli delayed doing anything of the kind, which dilatoriness was adopted on the advice of Richecourt, who was still fuming with the Inquisition for having matched its power against that of the state. At Poppi, moreover, "each wind that blows from the Appenine is a menace" to those with weak lungs, and kept the poor poet in constant conflict with his old enemy asthma. On this account he sent a memorial to the Holy Office praying permission to change his domicile to Pisa; but September passed without any answer. His friends, with Antonio Niccolini the most active, did what they could. Richecourt was in favour of his moving away from Poppi and facing the consequences, but, having sworn to obey the sentence of his judges, Crudeli had scruples about anticipating a mitigation of it; and thus November found him still at home. Then he was suddenly summoned to Florence to hear the change of residence permitted him by the Holy Office, and it proved to be Pontedera, near Pisa, a country town with a climate mild enough, but sadly lacking in other attractions for such a man as Crudeli. So, no sooner was he installed in the new place of exile, than his friends, with Richecourt as chief conspirator, began intriguing for his removal to Pisa. It is highly probable that Richecourt's zeal in the matter was inspired by his feud with the Inquisition, and the latter body naturally made Crudeli pay for the reverse it suffered, when on finally granting Richecourt permission to hold him as a sort of ticket-of-leave man *loco carceris* anywhere in Tuscany, it particularly excepted Florence, Sienna, Pisa or Livorno, any one of which cities would have been a happy haven to Crudeli.

In the upshot he remained at Pontedera all through the winter.

However, good Bishop Archinto had not forgotten his client, and pleaded his cause with Benedict XIV, so effectually that in April, 1741, Crudeli was given his complete liberty. He promptly returned to Florence, to his friends, to Horace Mann's receptions, and to gossip and argument and tittle-tattle and *dolce far niente* in bookshop, garden, café or drawing-room, wherever the quidnuncs of the gracious city did most resort.

#### DEATH OF CRUDELI.

One of his best friends, Doctor Cocchi, recognised at once that he was a dying man; but the illness took a lingering course, and the end did not come till 27th January, 1745, in his own house in Poppi.

“The love and hate he had aroused in others did not perish after he had ceased to breathe,” says his Italian biographer. “Friends and enemies, Freemasons and bigots, busied themselves in extolling or execrating his memory.”<sup>1</sup>

What his enemies had to say has been eaten by the moth of time, but his friends can still be heard speaking in his favour in a volume of commendatory verses published after his death, dedicated to Horace Mann, and illustrated by a fine portrait. The poet, however, had passed beyond earshot of either praise or blame.

*“Autant en emporte le vent.”*

According to the tradition, he died with a rhyme on his lips, speaking to Padre Doni Vallambrosano, who had been offering him spiritual consolation in the article of death:

*“Padre Doni, Padre Doni,  
Pregghi Dio che ci perdoni.”*

The form of his last utterance, while typical of the man, coming at such a moment must have startled those who heard it, but the spirit and sentiment are such as none of us need fear to endorse, for “we all do pray for mercy”, as did the Publican in the parable, knowing no better password to the ear of that Mercy which is Eternal.

#### SUPPRESSION OF THE INQUISITION IN TUSCANY

The story just told has revealed what friction existed between the civil and religious authorities in Tuscany. This finally came to a head.

An illegal seizure of books by the Inquisition had determined the Regency government to abolish the censorship of the Press, which had been administered hitherto by the Holy Office with more rigour than tact. No steps were taken till 1743, when a law drafted by Rucellai annulling censorship by the Inquisition was promulgated. The Nuncio protested. The reply was that the new law was no infringement on the rights of the Church. The Universal congregation of the Holy Office then issued a solemn decree condemning the provisions of the obnoxious law; and Benedict XIV was induced, much against his will, it is said, to write an Apostolic letter of complaint to the Grand Duke. In this his ministers, Rucellai in particular, were charged with continual trespasses on the rights of the Church, not merely in this one instance; and other old sores were ripped open, and men's tempers responded to the pibroch note of controversy. Francis in his reply to the Pope demanded the abrogation of the Decree, which, he said, had trespassed on his temporal rights as sovereign of Tuscany. The authorities in Rome traversed his assertions, and refused to withdraw a single word in the Decree. The Duke then gave orders to suspend from activity of any kind all the tribunals of the Holy Office in Tuscany; and this state of things continued for eleven years.<sup>2</sup>

Hardly had the Inquisition been abolished in Tuscany than the Freemasons again appeared in Florence, though not, so far as we know, as a Lodge, and proceeded to give the Craft some publicity with which it could well have dispensed.

“On the night of 13th February, 1747, there was a great ball in the Via della Pergola, at which many of the English represented Free Masonry. Their habits were pretty, and Denis, the first dancer, who is a Master Mason, composed a dance on purpose, which succeeded

<sup>1</sup> Sbigoli, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Readers who would like further details about this affair may be referred to Zobi, *Storia Civile della Toscana*, vol. I, p. 241.

very well. The Italians liked it as a masquerade, which was all they knew of it. They danced it twice with great applause; but the third time the people were offended that their Tresconi was interrupted, which occasioned some bustle, and had not General Salvi threatened to put all the fiddlers into prison, the Tresconi would have got the better. The Impressarij, I hear, are all offended (for I was not there so late), and Lord March<sup>1</sup> was so angry with them that he proposed that each of the Nine Free Masons should fight an Impressario. They intended to appear in the same habits on Tuesday night at the Ball, but the fracas has made them alter their minds.”<sup>2</sup>

This incident could be quoted in support of the wisdom of our forerunners in the Grand Lodge of England, who over two centuries ago forbade the display of Masonic regalia in public places, a salutary law.

On 5th June, 1753, the Vatican revoked the Decree promulgated ten years before by the Holy Office which had led to the banning of the Inquisition in Tuscany. Zobi praises Benedict XIV highly for this act undertaken in defiance of the extremists at his court. The quarrel between Pope and Emperor having thus been accommodated, the Inquisition resumed its functions in Tuscany in September, 1754; but only in the form as established in the Republic of Venice, that is to say, in all the tribunals lay judges appointed by the state sat with the clerical judges. The old prisons of the Holy Office were closed, and the accused henceforth were accommodated in the ordinary state gaols.

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## APPENDIX I

### JACOBITES IN ITALY

Some of the English visitors to Italy proved troublesome to the representatives of the home government. Mann notes in a letter to Walpole, dated 18th January, 1745, that some loyal English had left Rome in disgust because of deference displayed by certain compatriots to the Old Pretender, who held his court in that city. It should be noted that at the time he wrote the Rebellion was still in full career, and the issue yet undecided.

“They”, the loyalists mentioned above, “have left Bouverie, Phelps, Holt, and Monroe in high favour, because they pay their court publicly to mock-Majesty, with whom they have dined. The first was a worthy disciple of Holdsworth<sup>3</sup>; the second is a fellow at Oxford, and flaming; He has nothing to lose, but travels at Bouverie’s expense; but, because he is of the right idea, is thought a great Cavalier. Holt is of Suffolk, and has, they say, a good estate. Monroe<sup>4</sup> is the mad Physician’s son, and is himself a travelling Physician. They are all persuaded things will go as they wish; for, as I told you, they publicly frequent the Pretender and his people. Surely the government will take notice at last of this behaviour?”

(Quoted by Doran in *Mann and Manners at the Court of Florence*, vol. i, p. 229.)

<sup>1</sup> Lord March (1724-1810) became Duke of Queensberry in 1778, the famous “Old Q.” the original of Thackeray’s Marquis of Steyne.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Mann to Walpole, 14th February, 1747. Quoted in Doran, *Mann and Manners*, vol. i, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Holdsworth (1688-1747), a classical scholar.

<sup>4</sup> John Monro (1715-91), succeeded his father as physician at Bethlehem Hospital in 1752.

## APPENDIX II

*Italian State Papers referring to Freemasonry in Florence*

(Copied from the archives in Lucca and Florence by Ferdinando Sbigoli. Now for the first time translated into English. It should be recorded that Sbigoli's reprint of the documents reproduces all the slips and errors of the originals, and they were not a few; so the translation will be found more literal than elegant.)

(1)

*Letter from Diodati, Resident Minister of the Republic of Lucca in Florence, to his Government*

Florence, 12th June 1737

To the Most illustrious Signor Giuseppe Niccolini

I recently announced to Your Worship that a special missive (*corriere*) had been dispatched to Rome from the Office of the Secretary of State here, without my being able to learn the motive for this, and it was not till later that too well did I begin to suspect the cause. For some time past the Spiritual Government has been growing alarmed about divers tenets (*massime*), which challenged too boldly our holy religion, that have been current among men of letters here, and derived for the greater part from the schools in Pisa, there having come into being a convocation of such *virtuosi* on the model of the one designated Freemasons, which tried to establish itself in France, and was suppressed because it was similar to another which exists in England, in whose meetings, as is reported, an oath is administered about all that is done or said in them, and the Court of Rome has determined to send here two Apostolic Delegates or Delegates of the Inquisition to look into the matter, and further messengers, it is said, have been sent with replies about this matter, of what purport is not so far known, whether to hinder the coming hither of such Delegates, or to press them to make haste to nip a disorder in the bud, which if allowed to expand might bring fatal consequences, and also according to what I have verified Her Serene Highness the Electress herself was disturbed on this point, and as the Council of State is beholden to her at the moment, it is more likely that the Court of Rome will be supported here, provided no attack is made on various notabilities who enjoy great credit and support in this country, time will better disclose the truth, and especially if it is true that the summoning of General Wachtendonck<sup>1</sup> yesterday by His Highness the Grand Duke had this particular object, and with all respect I remain Your Worship's devoted and obedient servant

Lorenzo Diodati<sup>2</sup>

(2)

*Diodati to Niccolini*

Florence, 16th June 1737

To Signor Niccolini of Lucca

In reply to your Worship's esteemed letter of the 14th inst. I shall tell you how the Lodge (*congregazione*) of Freemasons in Florence was instituted, according to common report, by a certain Milord Mildesses (*Middlesex*), with another Englishman whose name I do not know, a certain Baron Stoches (*Stosch*) of Hanover, and a Jew, which, it is said, a great many native Florentines have

<sup>1</sup> General Wachtendonck was in command of the troops of Lorraine at Livorno. He died in August, 1741.

<sup>2</sup> Diodati was probably of the same stock as that Giovanni Diodati, of Lucca, who in the 17th century made an Italian translation of the Holy Bible still in use, and became thereby as notorious for bad style in writing in Italian as ever was Bishop Burnet in English. Judging by the above letter, the diplomat wrote us better than the clergyman.

joined, both from the nobility as well as from the Church and bourgeoisie, and particularly those who claim to be men of letters. However, since in Florence, according to the usual custom, things are greatly exaggerated in conversation, I am sure that the influx (*to the Lodge*)<sup>1</sup> is not so strong, in spite of what is gossiped (*decanta*) and written. Up till now it remains undiscovered what are the doctrines held by this Convocation, because they bind themselves by a most solemn oath, and it is even asserted, though a thing incredible in itself, that they license one another to murder anyone who divulges the secret. However, I have heard that when an attempt was made to introduce the society into Turin, it was discovered that it held the following 3 detestable principles: that carnal knowledge of women was no sin; that Confession is not necessary, contrition alone being enough to restore one to a state of grace; and that meat may be eaten on Friday and Saturday. If those people hold the aforesaid opinions is not known; it is indeed true, to judge from certain opinions which one hears going about and which are repeated by more than one person who might be a secret member of the society in disguised form, one may well imagine that such ideas are held, the more so because they say without any hesitation or reserve, that educated men (*Letterati*) should not have prejudices, and that none but an idiot would have blind faith, so that a good Catholic is looked upon by many (*of them*) as an ignoramus. We shall see if the two Dominicans who, as is affirmed, arrived here yesterday evening from Rome, sent secretly by the Inquisition, make any definite discovery. Both the Nuncio and the Archbishop are doing their utmost to have this Company dissolved, or at least to have the leaders of it banished; but up to the present no decision has been made, and indeed the moment is bad, considering the situation of the government. The attention and care shown by Your Worship in this matter are most commendable, for I believe that people are trying to scatter this poison through all the cities of Italy, and they will succeed in recruiting members in secret, even though Lodges may not be set up in particular cities, on the pretext that all the members form one single body with the first Lodge formed in England. It shall be my constant thought to be on the watch to keep you informed of what comes to my notice from time to time regarding this, in the desire to help to avert such a great evil from our country; and in the meantime I remain most obediently, etc.

Lorenzo Diodati

The chief native Florentines who are said to be associates, I cannot say whether with any truth, are: Abbate Niccolini; Abbate Buondelmonti, who is employed in the office of the Secretary of State and nephew to Signor M. Rinuccini; Abbate Franceschi; Senatore Rucellai, Secretary of State; Doctor Giannetti, Lecturer in Pisa University; some Canons from the Cathedral, various Doctors of laws and medicine, and other clergy.

(3)

*Council General of Lucca. Secret Archives*

18th Day of June 1737

Read a letter of 16th June from Diodati to the Chancellor about designs against the Catholic religion diffused in Florence, and specially in a convocation of private persons. Read a list of some individuals who are said to be infected with such opinions, and it was decided that said information should be kept a sworn secret . . . Decreed: that the sum of 500 Scudi be employed . . . to the effect of keeping this City and State free from doctrines contrary to our Holy Religion . . .

<sup>1</sup> The italics here and elsewhere in this letter are my additions.



(4)

*Diodati to Niccolini.*

Florence, 29th June 1737

I have not troubled Your Worship lately in the matter of the Convocation of Freemasons, because since my last letter nothing has happened worth bringing to your notice, and you may rest assured that when I hear anything to write about, I shall certainly not fail to do so. I am sure that many individuals will write an infinity of things, but most of them will be far from reality, these gentlemen following the custom of the country are wont to amplify every matter, and at times even to invent matter. What is positive is that the said Convocation<sup>1</sup> is established here, but I still believe that the number of members is not so great as stated, and that it is restricted to some men of letters, against whom no action will ever be taken, because of the state of the divided (*sfasciato*) government now existing. But as a matter of fact, all the foreigners who were the authors of this Foundation are staying on here in all freedom, and not one of the literary set has had a word or threat addressed to him, and only some priestlings or friars of no account have been imprisoned by the Inquisition, and these perhaps never belonged to the secret society (*lega*), despite of what has been said or even written, that increasing numbers of persons of consideration, even including ladies, have been arrested; and my Lords the Nuncio and Archbishop are using their utmost endeavours to have this society dissolved and its meetings prohibited, but all in vain. It is a real misfortune that this matter came to light at such a critical juncture, because by not applying at the outset such strong and resounding remedies as would be needed, the poison may spread in a way to render the disease incurable, and until the heretical countries have come to believe that it may have a prejudicial effect, if not on the religion they profess, yet on good government; and there many of them have written against this Convocation.

Acknowledging the receipt of your last two letters, etc.

(5)

*Diodati to Niccolini.*

Florence, 2nd July 1737

Milord Mildesses (*Middlesex*), who is paying all the expenses of the magnificent Opera being given this season in the Theatre of Via della Pergola, has caused me to be informed that he would be disposed to send the same company to Lucca towards the end of August to perform there at his expense; but because he does not wish to appear in person there, he would like me to do him the kindness of finding him some gentleman of standing there to act as his deputy in arranging everything concerning the production, while the loss or benefit would be his (*Middlesex's*) affair; and he wished me to approach in the first instance Cavaliere Bernardini; but before taking any step I think it well to inform Your Worship, because this gentleman, they say, is one of the Convocation of Freemasons. Apart from this consideration, it is certain that the proposal would benefit our state, for without any expense to the citizens Lucca would offer an entertainment capable of attracting strangers, who always leave much money behind them; the more so, as General Vachtendonck on leaving for Livorno said to me, that he would have liked such an opera in September, because in that case he would have gone to see the city and get on terms of intimacy with the nobility. Indeed, it would not seem that there could be any danger in this,<sup>2</sup> as Milord has not got the mind for serious plotting (*da far gran raggiri*), and the real intriguer here has been the famous Baron Stoches (*Stosch*), and would at the most be only a few days there,

<sup>1</sup> i.e., the Masonic Lodge.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., Middlesex's projected opera season in Lucca.

during which he would always be accompanied and watched by an astute citizen, placed at his side on the pretext of helping in the opera, such as the aforesaid Cavaliere Bernardini or some one else in his stead. With all that, Your Worships will make your own prudent reflections on this matter, I having thought it my duty to tell you everything for your information and guidance, and so if you will be pleased to instruct me about the contents of my reply, and in the meantime I remain, etc.

## (6)

*Secret Archives of Lucca.*

5th July 1737

Having read a letter of Signor Diodati of 2nd inst. to the Grand Chancellor giving notice that an English Milord wished to send a company of actors (*comici*) to Lucca to perform an opera in the theatre here.

It was decided . . . to reply to the Minister that he should side-track the said project, so that it should not take effect.

## (7)

*Letter unsigned, but evidently from Diodati to Niccolini.*

16th July 1737

It is not established that the Emperor had spoken to Marchese Bartolomei about the innovations rumoured in Florence, and many of the messengers sent from that Court to Rome were about the matter of the Bishopric of Pescia, which has been conferred contrary to the usual custom by His Holiness, which innovation also concerns the Duke of Lorraine, who belongs with other patricians of this place to the Society of Freemasons of England, which is most ancient, and it is said that apart from the strict secrecy observed by its members it has absolutely no other particular or observable feature. It seems as if that may probably be true, because they admit every kind of person without distinction of rank or nation, and it is generally thought that the secret is a mere Nothing, and the meeting of this Society a thing of no account. If at Florence the thing has made greater progress than that, the most exact care will certainly be needed to preserve our country from it.<sup>1</sup>

## (8)

*State Archives of Florence.*

*Extracts from a letter written by His Eminence the Cardinal Neri Corsini to H.R.H. Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany.*<sup>2</sup>

16th April 1739

He remarks that he flatters himself that the respect and attention he has shown H.R.H. since he became Grand Duke will cause H.R.H. to receive in a benign way the representations he has to make to him, and hopes he will not be suspected of lack of sincerity or ulterior motives.

That all his fellow citizens<sup>3</sup> will be able to assure H.R.H. about the way in which he served the late Grand Dukes, his predecessors, of his love for his country

<sup>1</sup> Diodati was such a diligent snapper-up of unconsidered rumours that it would be dangerous for us to ascribe too much authority to his reports; but it certainly is curious to find him hinting in this last sentence that the Freemasons in Florence might be going beyond the original tenets of their Society.

<sup>2</sup> This document is in indifferent French. It might be a translation from the original Italian made by one of Francis's Ministers for a Master with little knowledge of the language.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Neri Corsini was a Florentine.

which is shared by His Holiness, who has always been its protector, and in consequence of whose orders he now takes the liberty of writing to H.R.H. That religion is in peril in his country where the evil is spreading with rapid steps. That piety and wise policy will be able to arrest its course, and to assure him that it is no hallucination (*vision*) or unfounded fear on the part of the writer, nor alarm caused by an evil still far removed from us, we shall demonstrate the facts to H.R.H.

H.R.H. then has to be informed that the Baron Stock (*Stosch*), whom he has known for some considerable time (*de longue main*) both in Holland and at Rome to be a man without morals or religion, is holding a school of pure Deism in his house with some of the most corrupt professors from the University of Pisa, and the most perverted students who have come from the same university and joined to these principles the most dissolute debauchery. Stock (*Stosch*) will think himself safe from everything under the protection of the Court which rules in England<sup>1</sup> (although he is very much hated by all the decent people of that nation). And in order to prevent inquiries being made about what goes on in this society he has set up in his house, he gives it the name of Freemasons (*Fram-masons*), and by doing so covers up his tracks (*se met à couvert près*) for those who know that this society was formed in England as a pastime or decent diversion, but do not know how it has degenerated in Italy and become there a school of impiety. Indeed in England where the society originated no pretext or cover is needed, all sects being tolerated there, though otherwise in Italy. The actual facts will be made certain to H.R.H. if he will be pleased to listen to the communications made to the Inquisition by people who were touched by remorse in their consciences and came to denounce themselves and their accomplices. He would like to think that all of them are not yet perverted, but it is greatly to be feared, particularly with the young, that they will unknowingly swallow iniquity like water.

The denunciations received by the Inquisition are, in the main, that in Baron Stoch's house and in the cafés and public shops various doctrines contrary to the Faith and purity of morals are being spread. They go so far as to deny the Trinity, the immortality of the soul, the authority of the Church, and in regard to morals they assert that there is no sensual sin but sodomy, as H.R.H. may know more in detail from the Father Inquisitor, if he deigns to summon and hear him.

*(The document goes on to refer to Francis's approaching campaign against the Turks, and suggests he should first of all put his own house in order, so as to merit the favour of Heaven against the infidel.)*

The only remedy then for this evil, so as to maintain purity of religion and morals in the state as every prince should do, is to expel at once from his territories Baron Stoch and Milord Raymond,<sup>2</sup> and allow the Inquisitor to arrest two or three of the principal culprits, in order to tear out the living roots of this sect and reduce the others to penitence.

*(The Cardinal then suggests that the University of Pisa should be purged of heresy. The letter ends by pointing out the disadvantages that would arise, should the Pope find it impossible to continue to maintain a Nuncio at Florence, and tacitly hints that such would be the effect, if the Grand Duke allowed heresy to flourish unchecked in his states.)*

<sup>1</sup> At this period the exiled Stuarts were being strongly supported by Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Raymond must have already left Florence, because on the 3rd May, 1739, he was installed Grand Master of England in the Braundshead Tavern, New Bond Street.

## (9)

*Archives of Florence.**Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Duke of Newcastle.*<sup>1</sup>*Endorsed:* Baron Stock to be expelled from the State of Tuscany.

Florence, 26th April 1739

The welfare of my service and my subjects having obliged me to give an order on the 22nd inst. to Baron Stock, who has resided here for some years, to leave my states within three days, Mr. Mann having come to make a remonstrance on this occasion, I prolonged the term to eight days, and (*he*) having again represented to me that he was under the particular protection of the King his master, I have not hesitated to suspend the execution of my orders, in spite of the pressing motives which led me to give them, out of the attachment I have for His Majesty. I pray you, sir, to tell His Majesty of the deference I have had to his wishes, and that I hope from his sense of justice that taking into consideration that I only issued those orders for very good reasons, as well for my own service as the benefit of my subjects, that he will not take it amiss that I cause them to be executed, which however I shall not do until I have your reply. I count upon your friendship, sir, to render me this service, which will be a real one, as I much wish to preserve the favour and precious friendship of the King, and to acquit myself of those duties a sovereign owes to his people. I am, etc.

## (10)

*Archives of Florence.**The Grand Duke of Tuscany to Cardinal Corsini.*<sup>2</sup>*Endorsed:* On the differences of the Inquisition with the Court of Rome.

Florence, 27th April 1739

I cannot testify to Your Eminence how sensible I am of all you say in your letter of the 16th inst. I beg that you will retain the same feelings for me, and as regards myself, my state, and subjects be sure of my gratitude. The Inquisitor will inform Your Eminence of what I have done; my departure prevents my doing more for the present, but I have taken, and shall take further measures to prevent what Your Eminence so justly fears.

What the Nuncio will communicate to Your Eminence will show you, I hope, how much I for my part desire to remove every obstacle and retain here a Minister of his rank; I have no doubt that the Court of Rome for its part will use the same means; I shall always welcome an occasion to show my perfect attachment to Your Eminence, etc., etc.

## (11)

*Extract from a letter*<sup>3</sup> *from the Grand Duke of Tuscany to his Prime Minister the Count de Richecourt in Florence.*

*No address given. Probably written from Vienna.*

24th October 1739

The rest of the contents of your letters concerns the Crudeli affair, which you seem to have so much at heart; although We do not view it in exactly the same way as you, in order to finish with it and to hear no more about it, if that be possible, We are willing to allow him to escape, but on condition that he leaves Our territories; then he can send Us a memorial (*placet*) protesting his innocence and putting before Us all the evidence in his case, and asking to be allowed to return to Florence; whereupon We will make a decree in such a way that it

<sup>1</sup> This letter is in French.<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

cannot compromise Us with Rome; you should even consider the terms of this in advance and tell Us what you think; the escape should be so arranged as not to seem one that has been winked at (*tolérée*), much less suggested (*insinuée*), which could not be accomplished if he were to remain in Our territories.

(12)

*Archives of Florence.*

*Extracts from a document drawn up by Giulio Rucellai, Secretary of State.*

21st July 1739

Account given by the Senator Rucellai to the Count de Richecourt about the various reasons he has for considering the incarceration of Crudeli contrary to the law and an abuse of power.

Letter written to the Count de Richecourt by my own hand which I saw enclosed the same day in a dispatch to His Royal Highness.<sup>1</sup>

The English visitors, who on account of the great sums of money they spend are very popular here, have increased the prevalent fear and discontent by their complaints about some words dropped by the Inquisitor in houses of the leading citizens, (in Casa Vitelli he said, that even if he had not been able to succeed in banishing Stosch, at any rate he had got Crudeli arrested), because such utterances of his have given good cause for believing that one of Crudeli's main crimes was having been much in the society of Englishmen, from whom he earned his bread by teaching them our language; and from his (*the Inquisitor's*) behaviour and the way in which he spoke it was evident that he would have been very pleased to make people think that various contemporaneous effects had been produced by the one cause. Suspicions of this kind continued to increase, for it was known not only that he was trying to spy on what was being said and done in the houses of some highly respected English people in Florence, but was even dogging the steps of others in Sienna, so that he almost succeeded in prohibiting a certain Doctor Valentini, who used to teach them Italian there, from frequenting their society, saying that *these English were very dangerous*, and adding further equivocal remarks. So everyone who has been keeping company with the English is under suspicion; and it is an undoubted fact that some of our own countrymen have told the English to their faces that they cannot associate with them in safety, which has alarmed the latter and given rise to various suppositions (*sistemi*).

Of these suppositions the one which seems the most plausible is, that his (*Crudeli's*) real crime was to have been *one of the Freemasons*. I say it is the most plausible, because, first: even during Gian Gastone's reign in the Duke's own anteroom the present Inquisitor spoke to me with much vehemence about this Society, which he called a conspiracy (*Setta*), and in such a way that as early as then I perceived that he had been given his orders in the matter, and possessing this information I thought it my duty when the famous Bull was issued to report the said information to the Council of Regency, who resolved that the said Bull should neither be printed nor offered for public sale in Florence. In the second place: on 9th June, 1738, a priest named Bernini was examined by the present Inquisitor expressly about these Freemasons, and was asked if Crudeli was one of them, and other persons as well, *Abbate Franceschi, Abbate Buondelmonti, Doctor Corsi*.

Doctor Pupilianni was examined about the Freemasons, and about the character (*persona*) of Stosch, and was kept five days in prison without the Government's knowing anything about it.

Thirdly: Because letters from Rome say, that beyond a doubt this is the true reason.

<sup>1</sup> The Grand Duke Francis.

And finally: Because by the last post from Rome I have learnt for certain that two privileges, usually granted as a matter of course, have been refused to two gentlemen: *Abbate Giulio Buondelmonti has been refused a dispensation to say Mass, and Cardinal Corsini said the reason is that he was a Freemason.*<sup>1</sup> *Canon Maggi was refused a dispensation to enter Holy Orders, and I have seen the mandate (rescritto) executed by Cardinal Corsini and later cancelled which was sent him through Cardinal Riviera.*

The only excuse given being, that one of them had belonged to the Freemasons; and the other because he had associated with them, and had recommended Crudeli, and the dispensation was refused to the latter after the mandate had been issued.

## (13)

*Archives in Florence.*

*Extract from a letter from the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Count de Richecourt.*<sup>2</sup>

*Endorsed; Have an eye on the behaviour of Baron Stosch.*

Vienna, 21st November 1739

As you have been informed about the reasons that have determined Us in the decision We have taken about Stosch, which was only postponed by the letter from England, of which you have a copy, it is only right to make thorough research whether this man be engaging in speeches or arguments against Our Religion, which would come within the cases excepted by the King of England, and as you will readily understand, one must be sure of the facts and have convincing proof of them in order to do what is fitting in the circumstances; that is why We order you to do all that you think necessary to achieve this end, which perhaps will not be difficult, as the affair seems to be public enough.<sup>3</sup>

## (14)

*State Archives, Florence.*

*Extracts from the interrogatory administered by the Vicar of the Holy Office to Bernardino Pupiliani.*

My name is Bernardino Pupiliani, Doctor of Medicine, aged 28 years, and native of Florence, where I have parents and brothers. . . . Occasionally I have been at Baron Henry Stosch's.

How did you become a visitor in the house of the said Stosch?

I was introduced there by Abbate Buonaccorsi.

When visiting Baron Henry Stosch, were you ever in company with his brother there?

Never; nor did I ever enter his quarters in the house.

Who visits Baron Stosch, brother of the aforesaid Baron Henry, at what time, and whether all together or in small parties? (*alla spicciolata*)

Many people may go there whom I do not know, only I happened to see, while at Baron Henry's, coming out of his brother's rooms Abbate Buonaccorsi, the two brothers Marcantelli, Cerusico, Martini, paying a visit to his brother, and I know that Abbate Vanneschi, Abbate Buonducci, Chancellor Pomi, Crudeli, Corsi, and others I can't remember all visited there, knowing this only from hearsay evidence.

<sup>1</sup> Rucellai uses here the term *Frimasson* instead of *Libero Muratore* as elsewhere in the statement. I think the former must be taken in a derogatory sense, and that in this instance the underlining means that he is quoting Corsini's exact words.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is written in French.

<sup>3</sup> I take the meaning of this obscure missive to be, that a watch should be kept on Stosch to catch him tripping and expel him, if possible. But the astute Baron gave the government no chance.

Do you know what the persons just mentioned were doing at the gathering (*Conversazione*) in Stosch's house?

I do not know, because in fact I never was there, but I suppose they would be talking or reading, and some of them such as Abbate Buonaccorsi and the Marcantellis had meals there at times.

Do you know what took place at these gatherings, and what subjects were discussed?

I do not know precisely, never having been there, but have heard it said, that they discussed various questions such as, whether the earth moves, if the soul is mortal or immortal, if the world is directed by God or Chance, whether or not there is a Purgatory, about the authority of the Pope, about the existence of God, that religion is nothing else than to live like a civilized being, and other similar propositions, which I do not recall: all this having been told me by Abbate Buonaccorsi yesterday evening. . . .

Do you know if at these gatherings in that house there is any formal assembly and what particular rites it has?

I do not know, only I thought that these people might be Freemasons.

Apropos of Freemasonry, do you know if in those gatherings there was any discussion about the Bull which excommunicated Freemasonry?

I do not know, but in Abbate Buonaccorsi's house it was discussed, and he told me that he had advised His Excellency the Prince de Craon not to allow it to be published here, as it was a folly.

Do you know how the room is arranged in which the gathering takes place?

I have never seen it, but Abbate Buonaccorsi told me it is a library with little tables for reading, etc. . . .

Have you ever talked with anyone about these gatherings at Stosch's, if so, with whom, and what was said?

As the whole of Florence was saying that the Freemasons held their meetings at those gatherings, I dare say that I too joined in similar gossiping with people I don't recall, because I too believed that Freemasons met there; and it was said and believed of me that I was a Freemason, and I was told that they discussed religious matters, that they were atheists, and worse, all of which I contradicted at times.

Did anyone ever inquire of you, if you knew what was going on in Stosch's house?

Several people told me, as already stated, viz. that it was a Freemasons' meeting and they were sure I also went there, but no one ever questioned me on any specific point . . . . When I made my confession to Fra Giovanni of the Holy Office, he asked me, if I had ever said or heard others say that . . . . Religion is an invention of the priests, that God gave authority to Saint Peter only, and that the Pope has none, that the Bull against the Freemasons should not be accepted and was humbug; and then asked me if I was a Freemason, which I denied.

(15)

*State Archives of Florence.*

*Indictment of Crudeli by the Holy Office.*<sup>1</sup>

Articulos infrascriptos dat, exhibet, atque producit Dominus Oratius Bassi Procurator Fiscalis Sanctae Inquisitionis Civitatis Florentiae in Causa, quem habet contra et adversus Doctorem Thomam Crudeli Careratum in Carceribus dictae S. Inquisitionis ex adverso principalem, quos ad probandum recipi, et admitti juxta stilum Sanctii Officii, et super illis infrascriptos testes diligenter examinari petiit, et instat, ad superfluam tamen probationem nullatenus se adstringens, de quo solemniter et expresse protextat: omni meliori modo etc.

<sup>1</sup> Latin left untranslated; Italian given in English.

In primis dictus Procurator Fiscalis, quo supra nomine hoc loco articulorum repetit, et reproducit omnia, et singula in processu, causa hac tenus deducta praesertim confessiones dicti Inquisiti in parte tamen, et partibus in favorem Fisci, et contra dictum Doctorem Thomam Crudeli facientibus et non alias, nec alio modo, de quo expresse protextatur omni meliori modo. Ex quibus sic repetitis clarissime constare dicit de bono Jure Fisci, et malo Jure dicti Thomae Crudeli, et quatenus non plane constaret praefatus Dominus Fiscalis, et probere vult, et intendit. Primo qualiter praedictus Thomas Crudeli male sentiens de Sacra Theologia Scolastica, de Sacramento Confessionis, et de S. Officio locis, temporibus et occasionibus prout in Actis asseruit.

That Scholastic Philosophy was useless, superfluous, chimerical, and contained falsehoods.

That the Guardian Angels stand at a little window (*Finestrino*) to observe the impulses (*moti*) of the heart on occasions when Scholastic Theology is being discussed.<sup>1</sup> That he would have liked to go to Confession and make a fool of the confessor, and after confession say to him, You are an ass. That the Holy Office was unjust, accepting the accusations and not allowing the accused to defend themselves, and praising France where there is no Holy Office.

Secundo Item qualiter praedictus Thomas Crudeli animo prorsus hereticali dixit, et affirmavit occasione discursus, That a person wished to make a pilgrimage to the Madonna dell' Impruneta, that the Madonna ought to be done away with (*bucerala*).

Tertio Item qualiter praedictus Thomas Crudeli intervenivit in a house, wherein were many rare books, and where discussions took place on Philosophy and Religion and the conversations took a contemptuous and agnostic trend, demonstrating that he was an unbeliever. Quarto Item qualiter dictus Thomas Crudeli took part in an assembly and meeting in a House in Florence at which, when everyone was accepted, at his first entrance someone would say, embracing him: Welcome, friend, by the grace of God and of good people you have embraced this Rite, after which the newly accepted lay down on the floor, and someone else *manneando ad esso il membro virile usque ad seminis effusionem col detto seme scriveva poi in certa carta cosi*: I, So-and-so, swear in the presence of the Associates that I will be faithful in doing everything that the others do, and in default of so doing I promise to submit myself to every possible ill-treatment of my body.

That the said new Associate then seated himself in a chair without arms, raising one leg in the air, and ratifying the oath.

The discussions that take place there are about Philosophy and Theology with many errors against our Holy Faith, such as, no carnal act is sinful except sodomy. That there is no Purgatory, nor Indulgences, etc. That the Pope has no power, since Jesus Christ gave it to Saint Peter and not to his successors. That the Three Divine Persons are Three Gods. That in the Sacrament of the Eucharist the true body of Jesus Christ is not present. That God is the author of evil, since he permits it to exist. That God is untruthful. That the real rule of faith is to believe that which reason shows to be true. That Saint John the Evangelist was an ass. That it is the usual custom not to go to Mass, except now and then for the sake of appearances, and to kneel at times to the Holy Sacrament, and for the same reason to go to Confession only occasionally. That everything is lawful that seems so to a man of generous education (*Civile*), and unlawful everything which does not suit him. That it is lawful to rebel against the King when he imposes heavy burdens.

That when the Bull of Clement XII in which the Society of Freemasons was condemned was published, the Pope was blamed for having banned a thing without

<sup>1</sup> I do not understand this count in the indictment nor what implication of heresy it may convey.



having any knowledge of its fundamental principles. That the framers of the said document were senseless, foolish, rash, etc.

Quinto Item qualiter supra dicta omnia et singula fuerunt, et sunt vera, publica, notoria et manifesta.

Hoc autem etc. salvo jure etc. non se abstringens etc. protestat, etc. omni meliori, etc.

## (16)

*State Archives in Florence.*

*Extracts from the retraction of Andrea Minerbetti. Sworn 4th July 1740.*

I swear and declare, that some time ago having heard much talk about the Company of Freemasons, otherwise known as *Frimeasons*, and I wishing to be admitted to the same, and on that account having addressed myself to divers people who, as I thought, might help me to gain my object, they gave me to understand and imposed on me many things about the said Company, whereby for some time, as is well known in this city, I was completely fooled; and having at last applied to a Personage of birth and position, a Protestant, who was then in this city, he also told me many imaginary details about the said Company. And because, notwithstanding this, I never could obtain what I desired, and since I wished at least to appear as if I belonged to the Company, even if I didn't in fact, as I had been told among other things that the said Company met in the House of Baron von Stosch, that many obscenities were committed there, that impious and heretical opinions were voiced, and that the respect due to the sovereign was attacked; thus, for my own purposes, wherever I happened to be, I went about recounting these supposititious doings, as if I had been present in person to see, hear, and practise them. These remarks of mine must have been carried to the Father Inquisitor. . . .

He began by questioning me about the things I had been saying concerning the Freemasons, particularly about their obscene rites, impious and heretical doctrines, and subversive talk against the sovereign.

I knowing it was not true that I had been personally present to see, hear or practise such things, as first denied them, but when the Father Inquisitor rejoined that he was informed I had said them, I who knew I had indeed said them feared to be kept in custody if I denied them, and I decided to repeat my fabrications at the trial just as I had spread them outside; and further, when I heard the Father Inquisitor name many persons as being involved in these things, whom I had certainly never mentioned, I admitted that they were in fact involved, and having told a made-up story which was fictitious from beginning to end, based on nothing more than what I had been led to believe, . . . I was dismissed for the time being.

## APPENDIX III

*Translation of a passage from GRUNDLICHE NACHRICHT*

Since this paper was written and delivered I have been fortunate enough to obtain for the Grand Lodge Library a copy of a rare book in its second and enlarged edition. The title-page runs in the original German: *Gründliche Nachricht von den Frey-Maurern nebst beygefügtter historischen Schutz-Schrift. Zweyte vermehrte Auflage. Franckfurt am Main | In der Andreäischen Buchhandlung. MDCCXL.* The title-page also contains a representation of the Sackville medal. The most interesting part of the "News of the Freemasons" is the information the compiler had scraped together about the fortunes of the Craft in the Europe of his day. I append a translation of the portion that refers to Italy. (Chapter x, pp. 135 et seq.)

Since in the former chapters we have related the fates of the Masonic Order in England, Holland, and France, it remains that we should make a short mention, according to some news to hand, that not long since in Italy a society emerged with the name of *La Cucchiara*, which word means a mason's trowel. It is further stated that the Congregation of the Holy Office discovered this society in Rome, and arrested members from families that were connected with it, in order to learn more about its objects, but the investigations were fruitless.

Similarly it was reported from Florence, that Lord Charles Sackville, Duke of Middlesex, a son of the English Duke of Dorset, had founded there a Lodge and fellowship (*Gesellschaft*) of Freemasons, and had caused a medal to be struck on the occasion. On one side was his bust in the Roman style, with the inscription: CAROLUS SACKVILLE, MAGISTER FLORENTINUS. On the other side was shown Harpocrates, the heathen god of Silence, as a nude male figure, with a flower on his head, one finger of the right hand laid on his lips, and in his left hand a horn of abundance filled with flowers and fruit. Near him to one side were all manner of Masons' implements; but on the other, the secret casket with the snake.

Shortly before the death of the last Grand Duke of the Medicean House a determined attempt was made to open an inquiry directed against the Freemasons. After that nothing more was heard about the matter until the year 1737, when the following news arrived from Italy:

"In the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, both in the capital Florence and in Livorno, the Freemasons began to increase again, after having been prohibited by the late Grand Duke. But they had scarcely reopened their Lodges before the matter was reported to Rome. On 25th June, 1737, in accordance with a resolution of the Holy Office, the Pope held a special conference about this matter with the Cardinals Ottoboni, Spinola, and Zondedari, and the Chief Inquisitor had to go thither from Rome in consequence. In Florence the Inquisition surmised, that a secret Molinism or Quietism was concealed in it. But in Rome the opinion was, that since this sect seemed to wish to divorce itself from the ideas of ordinary people, it could be no other than an artfully disguised form of Epicurism, and as such no law would be too harsh to invoke against it. As well as the secrecy which was so strictly observed by this society, it was also charged with recruiting members from all sorts and conditions of men without distinction of religion, even Mohammedans. Meanwhile a start was made towards criminal proceedings against these Brethren, and various persons were arrested. However, the heat of persecution soon died down, the Lodges were reopened, and the Inquisition was no longer feared. People assigned as cause of this, that a great Prince belonged to this society, and he had too much wisdom and virtue to belong to any society which had no regard for religion, the proprieties (*Wohlstand*) and good morals."

Nevertheless the perpetuation of this so-called sect seemed highly dangerous to the Papal Curia, and the more so because it had found protection from the new government in Florence. Therefore after

various weighty consultations in Rome, it was deemed necessary to crush the growing evil in the most emphatic way, and the following bull of excommunication against the Freemasons was issued.

*(Text of Bull of 1738 follows. Not translated.)*

After the government in Florence had received this papal bull from Rome, they considered it advisable, for special reasons known to not a few people, to send it to Vienna to the now ruling Grand Duke of Tuscany, in order to find out: how they were to act in this matter? What orders they received about it have not become known to the general public; but soon afterwards the following communication was received from Florence:

“Although the Freemasons, who can be met here in no small numbers, counted on having more security and freedom in this State than in Rome, because they have the honour to reckon several great princes among their numbers, nevertheless they are suddenly in the greatest alarm because the Inquisition in this city has attacked them fiercely. Doctor Crudeli, on the mere suspicion that he might be a member of this society, shrouded in vagueness and mystery, was arrested last week and flung in the prison of the Holy Office, by virtue of an order by this dreadful tribunal. The Vicar General of the tribunal shortly afterwards went to his house, in order to search every cranny in it, to see if anything could be found to serve as evidence in the cause. By good luck a person of rank, who had wind of what was afoot, went there shortly before him and took into safekeeping certain documents which, if discovered, might have prejudiced the prisoner. All this doctor's friends are in the utmost despondency; they are many in number, and look upon one another as so many Freemasons. It is asserted on the best authority, that the Papal Curia through its resident Nuncio has brought things so far with the Grand Duke as to receive a decree, by which the Inquisitor is permitted, within the limits of his jurisdiction, to proceed criminally against all those who are Freemasons, or even against all who are merely suspected of being such.”

Thus far the communication. And if the danger is so great as it is here said to be, then the good Freemasons are in an evil situation. Moreover, since the publication of the aforementioned bull, the Papal Court by means of stern proclamations has been even more zealous in pursuit of the Freemasons. A reward of 100 scudi is offered to any person who will discover the members of such a society or their place of meeting; and even if the informer is a Freemason himself, if he betrays the others, he is given high hopes of pardon and absolution.

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Lepper for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. F. M. Rickard, seconded by Bro. F. R. Radice; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, W. W. Covey-Crump, G. Y. Johnson, J. R. Rylands, G. W. Bullamore, J. Johnstone and R. E. Parkinson.

Bro. F. M. RICKARD said:—

Once again we are indebted to Bro. Heron Lepper for bringing to light information which had escaped scrutiny, and for giving us the benefit of his special gift in elucidating this particular record.

This Masonic Lodge in Florence appears to have been the first of its kind in Italy. Bro. Lepper has called it an English Lodge, but has told us that there is no record in our Grand Lodge Minutes. Therefore, though its roll contained so many purely English names, it would be interesting to speculate, giving weight to Dr. Begemann's opinion, whether the Lodge in its working was Irish rather than English. This Lodge in Florence brings to mind the "Jacobite" Lodge in Rome in 1735, concerning which Bro. Hughan has given us all obtainable particulars, and which undoubtedly was Scotch. And the thought arises—was Freemasonry carried abroad in a promiscuous manner by other than English Freemasons in much the same way as was done by Military Lodges of jurisdiction other than English?

One is apt to wonder whether there was any communication Masonically between these two Lodges—in Florence and in Rome—and, being composed largely of British Masons, whether they were actuated by similar influences—for we learn that they both disappeared at about the same time, probably affected by the Pope's Bull, *In Eminenti*.

As regards the founding by the Earl of Middlesex of the Lodge in Florence, Dr. Begemann and Dr. Chetwode Crawley differ on the point whether it was the first Lodge in Florence or whether it was founded by the Earl; so it would be useful to have a discussion of the arguments *pro* and *con*.

At present we have no definite information about "Monsieur Fox", who was the first Master of the Lodge—which is a pity, for it would be interesting to know why he became master before the Earl of Middlesex, who is spoken of as *the* founder.

Lord Middlesex seems to have been an unfortunate character—but perhaps he was very largely a product of the times.

Baron Philip von Stosch appears to have been undoubtedly an undesirable person. In view of the bad odour in which he was in Florence, and his unpopularity with the English residents, and taking into account the reputed personal boast regarding his character, it seems extraordinary that he was accepted as a member of the Lodge.

Also surprise is roused as to how, among so many renowned Italians who were members of the Lodge, anyone not above suspicion as regards honesty and unblemished reputation could have been admitted as a member, as appears to have happened in several cases.

I am wondering whether, among so many cliques which kept to themselves, there may not have been introduced by the English Masonic gatherings apart from organised Lodges, not only before the time of this particular Lodge but also after its extinction. The former seems to be indicated by the date given for the initiation of Antonio Cocchi—a year before the Founding of the Lodge; and the latter by the desire which Reid set himself to satisfy. And this prompts the question—who first took Freemasonry to Italy? We must live in hope that the contemporary account suggested by Bro. Lepper will come to light.

The invention shown in the ridiculous descriptions of the ceremonies of Freemasons, as mentioned in this paper, do not appear to have been restricted to the Italian mind, but perhaps was an indication of the kind of humour prevalent in those days, for we find even in England caricatures of similar character.

Bro. Lepper's description of the distorted story of the episode of Crudeli's arrest, as given by Rebold and by Findel, is illuminating, and at the same time accentuates the warning against accepting without corroboration statements made by even professed historians of Freemasonry.

The connection of the Duke of Newcastle with the case of Crudeli is interesting, as only a few years later it was due to the influence exerted by the Duke of Newcastle that rescued John Coustos from the Spanish Inquisition which had imprisoned and tortured him for the crime of being a Freemason. Perhaps some day we may have a note on the Duke of Newcastle's connection with Freemasonry.

In a note Bro. Lepper suggests that the name "Frolik" may refer to "Foulkes". Bro. J. T. Thorp has told us that Martin Folkes went to Italy in 1733 and stayed there for two years, but on his return to England seems to have taken no further interest in Freemasonry. Here is a point on which we want information.

We are fortunate in having before us such a summing-up regarding Freemasonry in Italy in those early days. Also, I think, Bro. Lepper has given indication of points upon which further research could be made by Brethren who are minded to do so in order to complete the picture.

I have very great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Lepper for his paper.

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Bro. F. R. RADICE writes:—

It has been impossible for me so far to get at any of the authorities except Bacci, and as a result my comments can add but little really pertinent to the paper. I must content myself, therefore, with trying to fill in the background so as to place the picture in its proper setting.

The catastrophe which overtook Italy in the sixteenth century, known as the second Barbaric Invasions, when most of her neighbours invaded and pillaged her, left her at the mercy of Spain. By the beginning of the eighteenth century she had travelled far on the road to decay. All her States, with one exception, were moribund. Spanish domination had exploited large parts of the country ruthlessly. The only State that was progressing under its able but unscrupulous rulers was Piedmont, and it does not come into this story. The great wars of the early eighteenth century resulted in substituting Austrian for Spanish predominance, and Austria, willing enough to exploit her Italian subjects, had no intention of killing any of the geese which laid the golden eggs, and her later rulers were "Enlightened Despots" *par excellence*. While South Italy was still ruled by a Spanish Prince, he was now one of the House of Bourbon, not a direct descendant of the bigoted Philipp II, and even there reform was in the air. In fact by 1730, when public life in Italy was decaying rapidly, the intellectual movement begun in the second half of the previous century had begun to spread over the Peninsula. The Italian upper classes, unable to take any considerable part in public affairs, were giving themselves up to the pursuit of science, philosophy and the study of government institutions. You will have gathered from Bro. Lepper's sketches of the Italian members of the Lodge in Florence that they almost all belonged to this category. Another point to note is that at this early stage members of the Roman Catholic Church did not consider it contrary to their status to belong to the Brotherhood.

In Tuscany Mediæval democracy, which we would regard as a very narrow oligarchy, had endured longer than anywhere else in Italy. In the end Florence succumbed to one of her own merchant princes, Cosimo dei Medici, who founded a line of autocrats distinguished by their ability and artistic accomplishments. During the "Barbaric Invasions" Florence, after two attempts to re-establish the republic, fell into the hands of another Cosimo, who became the first Grand Duke and acquired most of Tuscany. He also set up the first Government in Europe run in accordance with modern methods. Under him Tuscany became reasonably prosperous and contented, but national vigour decayed. One of

Cosimo's successors, another of that name, was a gloomy bigot and introduced the Inquisition, the milder Roman, not the Spanish, brand, the Jesuits reigned supreme and Tuscany became priestridden. It is not surprising therefore that even that focal centre of all the arts lost its brilliance and grew dim. Cosimo, by his bigotry, provided the instruments by means of which the early Italian Freemasons were persecuted.

By this time the Medicean family was worn out, and in Cosimo III's two sons it reached its nadir. Gian Gastone, the last Grand Duke of his race, was, as you can see from his portraits, a thorough degenerate with the appearance and the morals of a pig. He married a wife by proxy, but his wife, after one look at her husband, refused to go nearer to him than the proverbial barge-pole, and the illustrious Medicean line thus came to an ignominious end. Gian Gastone's only merit was that he abjured his father's clericalism and intellectual activity resumed its progress in Florence. Conditions therefore, both in Italy in general and Florence in particular, were favourable to the introduction of Freemasonry, which, with its ideas of brotherhood and equality, attracted the cultured classes. The enlightened Despots of the Age took an interest in the Brotherhood and did not disdain on occasion to exchange the sceptre for the trowel. Francis of Lorraine, Gian Gastone's successor, had been initiated by Dr. Desaguliers.

The chief influence hostile to our Society was that of the Church, and the Papal State was that of all others most closely connected with Florence. The Florentines had long been the Pope's bankers, and the election of two Medici to St. Peter's Chair, Leo X, the Pope, of the Reformation, and Clement VII, the Pope of the Sack of Rome, made those relations closer. By the eighteenth century the days of the Renaissance Popes with their hedonism and Paganism were over. The nepotism of their successors had passed away with the seventeenth century and the Papacy was again respectable. But its influence had greatly diminished: it was confronted on all sides by hostile Princes who questioned its authority over the national Churches, and in accordance with the intellectual progress of the times Jansenists questioned even its doctrine. Moreover, though the Curia had given up its territorial ambitions, it was proving less and less able to rule its possessions. Priestly rule in fact was becoming a byword. The Pope who ruled at the time the Lodge was set up in Florence was a worthy man, but narrow, with the result that, as we have seen, Freemasonry was excommunicated.

The situation, therefore, when Lord Sackville set the first Italian Lodge was that the ground was ready for the Masonic seed, the Ruler was indifferent and, when Francis of Lorraine became Grand Duke, even favourable, but the religious authorities were hostile. Bro. Heron Lepper has shown how things were likely to go hard with the Florentine Freemasons, largely owing to political circumstances; in fact the Lodge had to be closed. But by the time that matters came to a head Benedict XIV had been elected to the Papal Chair. He was a good, wise and courteous man, religious without pedantry and liberal in his views without licentiousness. He boldly modernised the Curia's ideas and conciliated Jansenist opinion. In his character we find the explanation for the mild sentence inflicted on Crudeli, despite Jesuit fanaticism and the decision, enlightened for the times, of the 5th June, 1753, to which Bro. Lepper has referred.

We have been given by Bro. Lepper an account of the beginning of Freemasonry in Italy, and I hope that we shall have in due course an account of the growth of the Masonic plant there until circumstances proved too much for it and the Italian Brotherhood began to follow those courses which led to the breach with the Brethren in this country.

Now for a few points on the narrative. Hitherto there has been some doubt whether the Lodge in Florence had as a matter of fact been founded by

Lord Sackville. Does Bro. Lepper regard Sbigoli's statement on this point as conclusive? As regards "Bro. Fox", I came across the name the other day of George Lane Fox, Baron Bingley an M.P. in 1731, who was prominent in Masonic circles in the North of England under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge at York. Is there any possibility that he was the Bro. Fox of Florence?

I understand from Bro. Heron Lepper that he has not read Ulisse Bacci's *Il Massone Italiano*, and I should like to supplement some of the information he has given us in this paper by a few statements culled from Bacci's book. Bacci, I might explain, was acquainted with Sbigoli's work and gives a very short account—it covers about a page—of the Lodge in question, which in fact is a summary of what Sbigoli tells us.

Bacci gives us another reason why English visitors frequented Florence, additional to those stated by Bro. Lepper. Two notable institutions had been founded in Florence not very long before, the Accademia del Cimento and the Botanical Academy, which was founded by Micheli. These two institutions became famous and foreigners came to regard it an honour to become members. Voltaire was one of them, and Bacci says a number of English travellers similarly united study with lighter pleasures.

Bro. Lepper suggests that Frolik may have been Martin Foulkes, President of the Royal Society. Bacci says that Foulkes introduced Freemasonry, though not necessarily a Lodge, in Rome in 1724, and in 1742 Freemasons in Rome had a medal struck in his honour and presented it to him.

Bacci also has something to say as to the actual incident which drew the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities to Freemasonry. According to him, a Lodge was founded at Leghorn and joined by Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews. This got to the ears of the Curia, and as this *mélange* seemed to it to portend the dissemination of heretical opinions and the corruption of good Roman Catholics, it began to make enquiries. It is not clear whether this information about the existence of a Lodge in Tuscany's principal seaport reached Rome direct or through Florence.

As regards the Papal Bull, Bacci states that Duke Francis, when consulted, ordered that it should be accepted but not acted on, and further that the Freemasons should be left in peace so long as they went their own way quietly. This sign of Ducal favour, according to Bacci, greatly encouraged Freemasons in Italy and Lodges were founded in Leghorn—it is not clear whether this is a second Lodge or merely a second reference to the Lodge which caused the original trouble, in Milan, now under Austrian domination, in Venice, Verona, Padua and Vicenza, all Venetian towns, and in Naples. I don't know whether Bro. Lepper can confirm any of this information.

Bacci tells us also that the Jesuit to whom Pupilianni made his confession was Benoffi, Vicar of the Grand Inquisitor.

To conclude these few disjointed remarks, I wish to associate myself heartily with the expressions of gratitude to Bro. Lepper on his paper.

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BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Our dear Bro. John Heron Lepper has favoured us with another of his delightful contributions to our Masonic knowledge; this time his efforts have been directed to the fascinating subject of the Lodge at Florence, truly a city of romance. As our author points out when dealing with Cardinal Corcini's letter, English Freemasonry is a diversion of harmless recreation, whereas, unfortunately, its Italian counterpart has degenerated into a school of irreligion and moral perversion. There can be no doubt about the authenticity of the Sackville medal. It is illustrated and described in *The Medals of British Freemasonry*, by Bro. Geo. L. Shackles (Hamburg G.L., Hamburg C.C. and Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 1901).

After perusing the proofs of Bro. Lepper's essay I re-read *The Jacobite Lodge at Rome*, by Bro. W. J. Hughan (Leicester Lodge of Research, 1910), and got a *Tale of Two Cities* from an eighteenth century point of view. What a contrast in style the two works present! Bro. Hughan's is an unvarnished picture without frills or trimmings. Bro. Lepper's, on the other hand, is so fully developed and so interestingly portrayed as to make it a work of high finish and a real literary treat. The way in which he handles the character of the Baron von Stosch gives us an idea of a pretty considerable blackguard by no means dissimilar to many another of his compatriots of the present day. I need not labour the many other points of interest which the paper now before us presents. It is quite sufficient to say I have enjoyed a real treat, and it would be ungrateful for me not to wish to be associated with the vote of thanks which I know will be cordially accorded to Bro. Lepper.

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BRO. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

We are all grateful to Bro. Heron Lepper for surrounding the hitherto shadowy origin of the Sackville Medal with a group of life-like figures; even though his picture discloses a Lodge more given to drinking than thinking, to political intrigues rather than to Masonic ideals. This picture must, however, be regarded as substantially true of most Continental Freemasonry at that period—the infancy of its importation. Even here in England the Masonic impulse was then almost exclusively convivial; its ritual was simple—generally restricted to a single ceremony—and devoid of those concomitants which nowadays add dignity and impressiveness to initiations. In France the Chev. Ramsay had not yet put forth his theory connecting the Craft with mediæval chivalry—a theory which (whether historically true or not) did at all events give a higher tone to the fraternity, proving in this respect an influence more potent than mere aristocratic patronage. In Germany the very earliest Lodge seems to have been constituted in that same year (1733), though its records do not commence till four years later and Schmettau and Von Hund were still in the future. We therefore gratefully welcome Bro. Lepper's additional information this afternoon concerning contemporary affairs at Florence.

If I may presume to offer one criticism it is to regret that our Brother has allowed his presentment of Lord Middlesex to be discoloured by the diatribes of Horace Walpole. Middlesex was a Mason, whereas Walpole was not. Many other details concerning the former can be gathered from notes by previous members of our Lodge (especially Dr. Chetwode Crawley), more interesting and impartial than Walpole's caustic comments about the Duke of Dorset's operative disasters ten or twenty years afterwards. I am therefore sorry that Bro. Lepper devoted so much space to Walpole, and (may I also add?) to Crudeli and other Florentines long after our Englishmen had left the city. That the Lodge soon collapsed was doubtless well for all concerned.

But let us not forget that the visit of Lord Middlesex was only from October, 1732, to June, 1733, and he was but 22 at the time. Raymond—his alleged successor as Master—was only 16; and he too must have left Florence directly afterwards, as his father had died in March of that year and he then succeeded to the paternal title and estates. Thus the influence of both on the Lodge was ephemeral, and the episode was little more than an escapade by two Oxford undergraduates. Seven years then elapsed before Walpole came on the scene, and whatever he may have learned about Middlesex and Raymond was only local gossip. Like Bro. Lepper, I prefer to think of "Carolus Sackville" as "young, handsome, daring, attractive, of great possessions which he spent



in furthering one of the greatest of arts, and in bringing pleasure to thousands without seeking any recompense in money or in adulation."

May I cordially support the vote of thanks?

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Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON writes:—

Bro. Lepper has given a most interesting account of the Lodge in Florence, and its members, and is to be congratulated on finding so much information in the Grand Lodge Library.

The events in Italy at the period under review were considered of sufficient importance to find a place in the English newspapers, and I find that the *Leeds Mercury* published various extracts dealing with the matter.

These extracts most likely appeared in the London Press and were copied by Provincial newspapers; it would be interesting to know the name of the correspondent in Florence who supplied the information.

The *Leeds Mercury*. No. 683. Tuesday, 13 March, 1738/9.  
London, March 8th.

Our Letters from Rome being an Account that a new Bull, dated Jan. 14, N.S. was publish'd against the Free-Mafons, in which All Admissions into the Society or Lodges were prohibited, upon Pain of Death, in any Part of the Ecclesiastical States: But the Pope has not thought fit to usurp on the Regale of the neighbouring Princes or more distant Countries where Lodges are establish'd, as he is very sensible of the little Regard paid to his Thunder so near as Florence, since under the Government of the Lorrain Family.

The *Leeds Mercury*. No. 644. Tuesday 13 June, 1738.

Extract of a Letter from Florence, May 14.

"The Free Mafons Lodges which had been  
"interdicted here, during the Life of the late  
"Great Duke, are now held again with all the  
"Liberty and Freedom imaginable; and without  
"any Dread of the Inquisition, which has  
"no Right to attack a Society of which the new  
"Sovereign is a Member." (This is false Logick;  
a Sovereign may be a Member of a very illegal and  
evil Society: But the Stress lies in this Point; the  
Inquisition has Power over the Sovereign himself in  
Matters of Religion, &c.) "The free Mafons of  
"Leghorn have also re-opened their Lodges;  
"and we hear from Constantinople, that the  
"Lodges at Smyrna and Aleppo are greatly increased,  
"and that several Turks of Distinction  
"have been admitted into them!" This is false  
again; the Free Mafons here are Men of too much  
Honour, Religion, and Good-Sense, to receive the  
declared Enemies of Jesus Christ into their Society.

London June 29.

We learn from private Letters from Rome, that the Pope, upon his having a Sum of Money collected from the feveral Lodges of Mafons in London to be difpos'd of in Charity in his Way has iffued Orders to have his Bull recalled, and has fent feveral Meffengers to ftop its appearing before the Grand Duke; 'tis further faid, that he and feveral of the Cardinals have been propofed in different Lodges in Europe, according to their Jefuitical Defire, and are in a manner accepted of; fo that 'tis not doubted, but he'll foon iffue an Order to excommunicate thofe, who are not of the ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons.

The *Leeds Mercury*. No. 647. Tuesday 4 July, 1738.

Florence, June 1, O.S. The Pope judging the Fraternity of Free Mafons to be highly deferving of the Ecclefiaftical Cenfures, his Holinefs has iffued out a Bull of Excommunication againft that Society, the Subftance of which is as follows:

In the midft of the Cares of the Apoftlefhhip, and the continual Attention we have to extirpate Herefies, and maintain the Lord's Vineyard in all its Purity; we have heard with Grief and Bitternefs of Soul, that a certain Society, who ftile themfelves the Fraternity of Free Mafons, after making Progrefs in feveral States in Europe, have likewife fpread into Italy, and even had fome Increafe. We have confider'd that the impenetrable Secret of this fo myfterious Society is the effential Part, and as it were the Bafis of its Inftitution; and that being thereby become fufpicious to the Temporal Powers, feveral of them proferibed it in their Dominions. We have likewife confidered, that by much ftronger Reafons it ought to be fufpicious to the Spiritual Power, whofe Charge is to have an ever watchful Eye to every Thing that may concern the Salvation of Souls. For thefe Reafons, and animated by our Paftoral Care, we have condemn'd and do condemn by the prefent Bull, the Society of Free Mafons, as perverfe, contrary to public Order and have incurr'd the Major Excommunication in its utmoft Extent, forbidding all Perfons of what Rank, Quality, or Condition foever, who profefs the Catholic, Apoftolick, and Roman Religion, to caufe themfelves to be written down, or received into that Society, to frequent any of its Members or hold Correſpondence with them, or to fuffer or tolerate any Affemblies of Free Mafons in their Houfes, under Penalty to the Contraveners of incurring

likewise the said Excommunication; reserving  
to ourselves alone the Right of taking it off, ex-  
cept in case of Death, &c.

Given at Rome the 18th of May 1738.

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Bro. J. R. RYLANDS writes:—

Bro. Lepper's interesting account of the Lodge at Florence encourages us to hope for further excellent contributions of this kind based on his examination of the Grand Lodge Library.

There is a reference to the Lodge at Florence, and an illustration of the medal, in *Numotheca: Numismatica Latomorum*, a work published in parts in Dresden from 1840 onwards. It consists of a series of descriptions of Masonic Medals, and the first of these selected by the author, Ernst Zacharias, is that issued by the Lodge at Florence in 1733.

A free translation of the description runs as follows:

“Lord Charles Sackville, Duke of Middlesex, son of Lionel Cranfield, Duke of Dorset, and grandson of Thomas Sackville, who was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge at York in 1561—founded a Lodge in Florence in 1733 during the Grand Mastership of James Lyon, Earl of Strathmore.

There was no authorisation for this foundation, since there is neither an entry in the English register to this effect, nor is there any recognition on the part of the Grand Lodge of England.

Whether the Lodge went under the name of *Harpocrates*—who is depicted on the reverse along with masonic emblems, the Eleusinian casket and snake, the thyrsus, and the superscription ‘*Ab Origine*’, or, as some would have it, under the name of *Truth*—it is difficult to say. The obverse of the medal is adorned with the bust of the founder of the Lodge, as is indicated by the inscription ‘*Carolus Sackville, Magister, Fl*’. The name of the maker, Lorenz Natter, also appears on the medal.

Professor Köhler, in his *Muenzbelustigen*, Part 8, p. 129, and Bode in his *Taschenbuch* for 1777, No. 1, have already given illustrations of this, the oldest masonic memorial medal. There is an example of it in the excellent collection of masonic medals of the Lodge *Minerva zu den drei Palmen im Osten* at Leipzig.”

One may perhaps be permitted to wonder what has happened to this example of what must be a very rare medal.

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Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

Although Freemasonry has no politics or political bias, this cannot be said of Freemasons. In his account of the Carbonari Bro. Radice has shown that a Society favouring mild governmental changes could shelter and finance a group whose object was the assassination of Royal persons and Government officials. The Freemasons of Florence, although actually a secret banqueting society, might therefore legitimately attract the curiosity of the English Government. It is perhaps worth noting that the Rose Croix petitioned the Duke of Cumberland, after Culloden, to become their Head and Patron in place of the Stuart claimant to the throne. It has suggested itself to me that the regularisation of the Florence Lodge was a method of finding out what was happening there. It is possible that the Duke of Middlesex was armed with a copy of the Constitutions on which candidates could be admitted, a survival of the old gild practice.

The account of Mr. Reid suggests that he was quite capable of augmenting his income by making masons, and perhaps this is the explanation of the reference to him. It may be remembered that Anthony Sayer did the same thing. Whether either of them was in possession of the secrets of the Freemason is another thing. At this date the distinction between masons and Freemasons had not been lost.

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Bro. J. JOHNSTONE writes:—

From *The Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, by the 7th Duke of Atholl, privately printed at the Ballantyne Press, Edinb., 1908. Vol. ii, p. 404.

*Lord John Murray to Lord George Murray.*

London, Feby. 4, 1735

Dear Brother,— . . . An affair has happened here within these few days which has occasioned much talk, and gives me a great deal of unhapyness, as I was unluckely one of the Company.

I shall give you a particular account of the whole affair, & hope you'll represent it so if spoke of in Perthshire.

L<sup>d</sup>. Middlesex, L<sup>d</sup>. Harcourt, L<sup>d</sup>. Boyne, Mr. Sherley, L<sup>d</sup>. Feirer's brother and three other gentlemen and myself happned to dine together accidentally at the Golden Eagle in Suffolk St, on Thursday last, the 30<sup>th</sup>. Jan: & as there was no publick Diversion, happned to drink freely. One of the Company on seeing some Chips Burning in the street, & Boys about, said he would have a bonfire also, & gave orders accordingly for one; without our having the least thought what day it was.<sup>1</sup> There was presently a mobb gathered about it, on which some of the Company went to the window, & drank healths to the King, Queen, and Royail Family, Liberty & Property, and to the administration, and no other as I shall answer upon my honour. Some of the Mobb began to hiss, throw sticks up at the windows, & stones, & broke all the glass, & began to be very utrageous. Upon which somebody went & brought a party of the Guards, & then the mobb immediately dispersed, without any one of them or us being in the least hurt.

I am far from Vindicating the bone fire, which was certainly very Ridiculous, and silley on such a day, but as all the company, & myself in particular, have a just detestation of the horrid fact committed on that day, & never shewed any such principals. I hope the thinking part of the world, when they know the truth, will imagine as it really was only the effects of Liquor, without the least intention to solemnise the day.

The affair has been most unaccountably Represented as if we had Revived the Calves head clubb, & that we should have thrown a calves head out of window into the fire, & dipped napkins into Claret in imitation of blood Etc, which is notoriously false, nor neither directly or inderectly mentioned anything of King Charles or Oliver Cromuel.

I have related this just as it happned, & aver upon my honour to be the truth; I hope you'll put a favourable construction upon the whole. It gives me the greater uneasyness least the Gentlemen of the shire should entertain a bad opinion of me upon that acct.

Yr most aff<sup>t</sup>. Brother and most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JOHN MURRAY

<sup>1</sup> The anniversary of Charles I's execution.

The King and Queen have been informed of this affair, & says they are sensible it was not intended in ridicule of the day. John Drummond has wrote of this affair to Perthshire; If you hear my name mentioned in it, I beg you'll be so good as to represent the truth as I have told it.

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Bro. R. E. PARKINSON writes:—

Bro. Heron Lepper is to be congratulated on his discovery, and I hasten to add my voice to the many who will undoubtedly be raised in gratitude to him for his essay. It would have been gratifying to an Irish Mason to have tracked down one of those elusive early Irish Warrants whose original habitat remains unknown.

I am not qualified to offer any criticism, whether of his matter or conclusions, but as an illustration of the attitude of the Roman Hierarchy to the Craft in Ireland at a somewhat later period, I submit the following note.

St. Nicholas' Church, Galway, was erected into a Collegiate Church, with a Warden and eight Vicars, in the year 1484, and removed from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Annaghdown, a diocese subsequently merged in Tuam. The Wardenship remained, to a large extent, an "Exempt Jurisdiction" in the Roman Church till early in the nineteenth century.

Although the Papal Bulls against Freemasonry were not officially promulgated in Ireland till after 1798, some at least of the Roman Hierarchy frowned upon the Craft.

1763, February 22: Marcus Skerrett, (R.C.) Archbishop of Tuam,  
to Dr. Francis Kirwan, Galway, Warden.

"Annexed you have the long expected faculties communicate to you, together with what Father Lynch writes relating to the freemasons."

(On the other side) "the following Father John Lynch writes—  
"Others, I am told, recur for faculties to absolve freemasons, at which I admire, whereas in the ordinary faculties, all have faculties for heresy, which is more, for freemasonry is only reductive such, and as it is not excepted in the common grants, it is deemed as granted according to the common rule, *exceptio firmat legem in contrarium*."

1790, January 17: Boethius Egan (R.C.) Archbishop of Tuam,  
to Warden Kirwan.

"No account from Rome relative to the freemasons. ."

N.d. (but circa 1800) ————— to Cardinal —————

Relating the state of religion in Galway since the (visit and) departure of Dr. Teahan, Bishop of Kerry. "The cause of God has increased in a greater degree than could be expected from our late unhappy dimensions\*; some of the other persuasions daily present themselves to be instructed and received into the Church; some people of large (?lands and) properties have openly embraced the Catholic Faith, and what is yet (more) pleasing that some of the Freemasons have quitted their sect, and obey the precepts of our Holy Church."

\*i.e., discussion relative to the authority of the Archbishop in the Wardenship.

The foregoing are quoted from *Analecta Hibernica*, No. 14 (December, 1944).

Bro. LEPPER writes in reply:—

I must return my grateful thanks to all those Brethren who have offered comments on my essay. As often happens in this Lodge, information supplied by the collective knowledge of the audience has helped to improve the original text, either by filling in gaps in the story or by drawing attention to parts of it that still remain incomplete.

Our W.M. began his illuminating remarks by a reference to Dr. Begemann, who in his *Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Freimaurerei in Irland* (Berlin, 1911) expressed the opinion that Middlesex must have been an Irish Freemason, and has asked for more information about this. Since Begemann's book is not only rare, but has never been translated into English, it seems fitting that I should give a brief account of what he has to say on the matter, if only as a necessary prelude to stating my own reasons for not agreeing with his deductions.

Begemann tells us (*op. cit.*, p. 126 *et seq.*), following the account given previously by Chetwode Crawley, that Middlesex went on his continental travels in 1732, reached Florence early in October, and stayed there till at least as late as June, 1733. He returned home later in the year, and on 22nd November, 1733, attended a meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in Dublin. The Herr Doktor proceeds to argue that because Middlesex was only 22 years old in 1733, and because his name is not found in the lists of Lodge members preserved in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, he could not have been an English Mason, since 25 was the statutory age for initiation prescribed in Anderson's *Constitutions*: further, the statutory age in Ireland, as prescribed by Pennell, was but 21; therefore, Middlesex must have been an Irish Mason and was initiated in that country any convenient date after the 6th February, 1731-2. Thus far Bro. Begemann.

I find this reasoning impossible to accept, because in point of fact Anderson's statutory age of 25 seems never to have been strictly observed in England, and most certainly not in the case of an initiate of high social rank. The following list, compiled for me by the fraternal kindness of Bro. C. D. Rotch, displays the ages of some of the early Grand Masters of England at the period of their election, and can be left to speak for itself.

Lord Wharton	born 1698-9	elected Grand Master	1722
Duke of Richmond	„ 1701	„ „	1724
Viscount Weymouth	„ 1710	„ „	1735
Earl of Darnley	„ 1715	„ „	1737
Lord Byron	„ 1722	„ „	1747
Marquis of Carnarvon	„ 1731	„ „	1754
Lord Aberdour	„ 1732	„ „	1757
Duke of Beaufort	„ 1745	„ „	1767

Now if age were an unfailing touchstone, we should have to assume that all these Grand Masters were either Scottish or Irish Masons, and therefore I am unable to accept the argument of age as proving anything about the jurisdiction in which Middlesex was made a Mason. All the same, remembering the society with which Middlesex was likely to have been mixing in Dublin before setting out on his travels, there was every possibility of his initiation there, still there is no proof from the facts as discovered hitherto.

Begemann is just as dogmatic about claiming Middlesex as the founder of the Lodge in Florence. He quotes the letter of June, 1736, to Köhler from the unnamed correspondent in Florence (whom I assume to be Stosch, because he writes in German, and is interested in medals), the relevant portion of which has been printed in my text, and takes it as proof positive that Middlesex founded the Lodge in Florence, and did so as an Irish Mason, because it was never dependent on the Grand Lodge of England. This verdict seems to me

to rest on insecure foundations. He has assumed the complete trustworthiness of Köhler's correspondent; and he has not taken into account, of course, the newly discovered facts that Cocchi was initiated in a Lodge in Florence before Middlesex ever set foot in that city, and that this Lodge had at least one Master before the "Founder" filled its Chair. I have alluded in the essay to the difficulty of weaving these various statements into a coherent story; and the new evidence I have produced is not of much help, though I venture to think less questionable than the *ipse dixit* of an anonymous correspondent, particularly if that correspondent was a Stosch.

There is, however, an alternative explanation of everything, which is just as likely to be correct as Begemann's theory: Middlesex might well have been initiated in the Florence Lodge under the Mastership of "Monsieur Fox", and the medal struck in his honour when he was elected to fill the Chair in 1733 soon after his making, such rapid promotion being a common enough occurrence in those days and till much later.

Readers will note that this possible solution is at variance with the one I made in the text of the essay, that Middlesex might have gone to Italy provided with an itinerant Irish Warrant. Where everything is uncertain, every theory has a right to its place in the sun; and no doubt others will present themselves to my ingenious Brethren. I content myself with entering an emphatic protest against accepting the letter to Köhler as indisputably true in all its details; for since that letter winds up with a statement that Francis of Lorraine established a Lodge in Vienna under the authority of the Grand Lodge of England, though our records contain no evidence of such a Lodge, and Francis, as I have shown, was not in a position to support the Order openly, I am justified in maintaining a position of philosophic doubt about the complete reliability of Köhler's correspondent as a Masonic reporter. That at the time he wrote he was a member of the Lodge in Florence and that Middlesex was a leading light in it, we can accept as true; but his statement about its method of foundation requires confirmation.

I agree with Bro. Rickard's idea, that British Freemasons when about to assemble as a Lodge abroad can seldom have had a thought about any prerequisite, except collecting a competent quorum, though what number was needed to form such a quorum is quite another question. Such probably was the origin of the Jacobite Lodge in Rome. That there was much, if any, fraternal communication between it and Middlesex's Lodge I greatly doubt; for the English members of the latter were in the main Whigs, and Horace Mann's correspondence, quoted in Appendix I, shows how Jacobites were regarded by those who upheld King George. I regret that some ingenious commentator has not hazarded the guess that Stosch's membership of the Florence Lodge may have been a reward for his services in the Hanoverian cause; though if that were indeed so, his fellow-members discovered when too late that something more than soundness in loyalty is desirable in a candidate for Freemasonry.

Bro. Rickard has done well to point out certain gaps in my story which will perhaps be filled in time by future students. My structure has left a considerable amount of dentellation, to which other bricklayers can add their work to make the design complete. They will not be impeded by any lath-and-plaster work of theory in my erection.

We are fortunate in having from Bro. Radice a delightful thumbnail sketch of social conditions in Italy of the period. I have also thankfully to acknowledge his help in checking the translations of documents contained in Appendix II, and suggestions for changes of phrase to suit nuances in the Italian tongue. He has also raised a "chaseable beast" in George Lane Fox, Baron Bingley. Good sport to those prepared to follow the chase!

I am grateful to Bro. Radice for having drawn my attention to *Il Massone Italiano* by Ulisse Bacci, many of whose statements about Lodges in Leghorn

and elsewhere in Italy demand further investigation. The striking of a medal in honour of Martin Foulkes in Rome in 1742 was known to me and suggested the query about "Frolik"; I have, however, up to the moment of writing obtained no evidence that Foulkes ever visited Florence during his travels in Italy, though he must almost certainly have done so. As Bro. Radice has pointed out, that city had peculiar attractions for any stranger interested in the sciences as well as the arts.

Bro. Baxter's comments could not fail to give me intense pleasure, and, as he was one of my sponsors into the Lodge, this is not the first occasion by a long chalk that I have been in his debt for kindness and encouragement; be it enough to say, that now as a veteran I am as gratified by his commendations as when he first bestowed them on a mere novice.

I thank Bro. Covey-Crump, another very old friend, for his summing up of the Masonic life of the period, illustrating the maxim, "Other times, other manners". We certainly must not judge our forerunners by the high standard of conduct prevalent in the British Lodges of to-day. Still, I am frankly unrepentant at having quoted the gossip of Strawberry Hill so freely; having issued a warning that the witness was biased, I was justified in showing that a continuity of malice ran through all his references to the man he hated; and in this case, as always, I have been content to give the evidence as fully as possible, and leave the jury to make its own deductions about the motives of the principal deponent.

Incidentally, the question is raised: was Horace Walpole a Mason? I cannot at the moment trace the reference, but think I have met a statement that he was initiated "somewhere in Norfolk".

As regards Bro. Covey-Crump's reference to Lord Raymond, I might point out that while he succeeded to the title in 1733, there is no evidence to show that he was in Florence prior to 1737.

The extracts from the northern newspapers supplied by Bro. G. Y. Johnson are a happy contribution. They show how dreadfully unreliable Foreign Correspondents could be in those days. To sum up the misstatements of fact contained in them:--

(a) No new Bull against the Freemasons was issued on 14th January, 1739. The next was the Bull *Providas* of 17th May, 1751.

(b) The letter from Florence dated 14th May, 1738, is completely at odds with the contemporary documents quoted in the essay. I think it was probably copied from the *St. James's Evening Post*, which quotes under date 24th May from Florence:—

"The Freemasons' lodges, which had been interdicted here during the life of the Great Duke, are now held again with all the liberty and freedom imaginable, and without any dread of the Inquisition, which has no right to attack a society of which the new Sovereign is a member. The Freemasons of Leghorn have also reopened their Lodge, and we hear from Constantinople that the lodges of Smyrna and Aleppo are greatly increased, and that several Turks of distinction have been admitted into them."

(Quoted in Begemann, *op. cit.*, p. 129.)

(c) The report of the Pope's having received money from the London Lodges as an inducement to recall the Bull is, shall we say? much exaggerated.

(d) The text of the Bull as given in the *Leeds Mercury* is accurate enough, but for the date, which should be April instead of May.

These extracts of letters from Italy help us to understand what a difficult task Diodati had in 1737, when he was trying to do his best for his government and to sift a few grains of truth from the mountains of rumour encumbering Florence; so Bro. Johnson's contributions are a welcome addition to our knowledge.

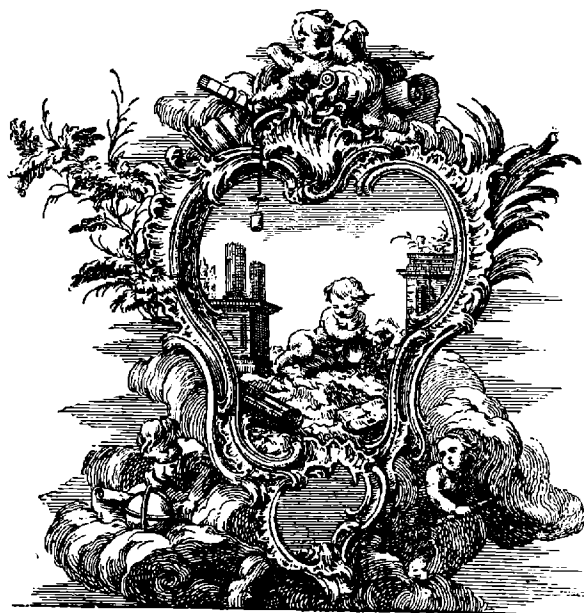


Bro. J. Johnstone has delighted me by supplying evidence that the Mr. Shirley "who happened to drink freely" at the Golden Eagle was indeed a member of the famous Masonic family whose head is Earl Ferrers. It still remains to be discovered if the Mr. Shirley of Florence was the same person.

I thank Bro. Rylands for his references to German descriptions of the Sackville medal; and would add the hope that the time is not far distant when the specimen owned by Grand Lodge will once again appear in its proper place in our Museum for public inspection.

Bro. Bullamore, according to ancient custom, has come to the meet provided with a red herring. Were the initiates in the Florence Lodge obligated on the *V.S.L.* or the *Book of Constitutions*? To which the only answer is another question: Under which *Book of Constitutions*, Bezonian? While thanking this old friend for his contribution, I add the sincere wish that his shadow, like his stock of red herrings, may never grow less.

Finally, to one and all of those good Brethren who have gone to so much trouble to illumine my essay in the light of their special knowledge, I return once again my hearty and grateful thanks.



FRIDAY, 2nd MARCH, 1945.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. *Ccl.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., S.W., F. R. Radice, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treasurer; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., Secretary; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., S.D.; *Wg. Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, P.M.; *Col.* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., P.M.; J. Johnstone, P.A.G.D.C.; and C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. S. H. Love; N. Rogers; C. R. Walker; L. G. Wearing, W. Casasola; A. F. Hatten; H. B. Q. Evans; S. J. Bradford, P.G.St.B.; H. Johnson; B. L. May; T. L. Bullock; F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.S.B.; A. T. Cannon; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; H. Attwooll; H. Bladon, P.G.D.; E. Eyles; J. D. Daymond; T. H. Robinson; G. H. H. Townsend; A. F. Cross; E. Alven; A. E. Bean; F. W. Harris; and B. G. Stewart.

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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.; 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.; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., P.M.; H. C. Bristowe, M.D., P.A.G.D.C.; R. E. Parkinson, B.Sc.; G. S. Knocker, M.B.E., P.A.G.Supt.W.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., J.D.; *Cmdr.* S. N. Smith, R.N., P.Pr.G.D., Cambs., I.G.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. B. Wilson, P.G.D.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; J. R. Rylands; and S. Pope.

Three Lodges, one Masonic Library and twenty-eight Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The Congratulations of the Brethren were unanimously accorded to the W Master, on his completing fifty years of distinguished membership of the Craft.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to Exhibits referred to in illustration of his paper, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. N. Rogers who kindly lent the objects for exhibition.

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Bro. NORMAN ROGERS read the following paper:—

## 200 YEARS OF FREEMASONRY IN BURY

BY BRO. NORMAN ROGERS



T is an axiom that History has its uses and its lessons, for all our communal life has gradually evolved from the usages and customs of our forefathers. This is particularly true of Freemasonry, the evolution of which is, in large measure, due to the work of generations of our antient brethren, and a study of which cannot altogether be dis-associated from a study of contemporary social conditions. When, therefore, we are considering the history of Freemasonry in any district, we should have regard for events in the profane world. It is for this reason that the following short account is inserted.

Bury is a flourishing manufacturing town in South-East Lancashire, 10 miles NNW of Manchester, its population at the last census being 56,200.

The manufacture of woollens, introduced by Flemish workers in the fourteenth century, reached its zenith under Elizabeth, but had greatly declined by 1730, when Bury was merely a "little market town"; woollen manufacture has long been eclipsed by cotton, and the town now boasts both cotton-spinning and weaving, as well as paper, print, bleach and dye works, and engineering.

Daniel Defoe, in his *Tour through England*, wrote in 1690:—

"We came to Bury, a small market town on the River Roch, where we observed the manufacture of cotton, which are so great at Manchester, Bolton, &c., was ended, and woollen manufacture of coarse sorts, called half-thicks and kersies, began, on which the whole town seemed busy and hard at work; and so in all the villages about it."

When our story commences, in the year 1733, sixteen years after the inauguration of the Grand Lodge of England, Bury was an agricultural community of some 2,000 souls, whole families occupying themselves during the long winter evenings in spinning; this was a purely domestic industry carried on in the homes of the workers to augment what was obtained from the land.

At this time, the father of a family would earn from 8/- to 10/6 a week at his loom, and his son 6/- to 8/-. Wages in the country generally were 5/- to 6/- for the labourer and 6/- to 7/- for the artisan, so that the spinner and weaver were comparatively rich. Food was cheap, the staple article of diet being Jannock and oatmeal loaves; beef, mutton and veal were 2d. and 2½d. per lb., pork 3d.; a goose could be bought for 1s. 6d., a duck for 8d.; eggs were 40 for 1s. 0d., and milk ½d. a quart; bread was 1½d. a lb., ale was 2d. a quart, and clogs were in general use. The people paid little over 6d. a week for a cottage with land adjoining, or alternatively a rent of 1 to 2 guineas per annum when residing in a house owned by the employer.

The principal manufactures were fustians, for which Bury was long famous; they were a mixture of cotton and linen or wool and linen; when finished, they would be taken to the Manchester market for distribution over the country.

The means of transport in the 1730's were very imperfect, if judged by modern standards. We should remember that Brindley's canal between Worsley and Manchester was opened only in 1761, and railways (1830's) were not even thought of; the chief mode of travelling was by means of the sedan chair, the

stage coach and horseback, the average pace of the stage coach on the main roads, for example, not exceeding 6 miles per hour. Goods were conveyed mainly by the pack-horse or by the mule, and also the long wagon.

Moll's Map of Lancashire, 1724, shows a road from Manchester to Rochdale, but none to either Bury or Bolton. Hutchinson's Map of 1748 shows a road through Clifton and Bradshaw to Blackburn, with a branch through Bury to Haslingden and Clitheroe. Cary's Map of 1789 shows the same roads, with another direct from Bury to Bolton. But all these roads were merely earthen country lanes, rutted and deep in mud during rainy weather, providing uncomfortable conditions for wheeled vehicles.

In Aikin's *Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles round Manchester* (London, 1795) we find the following notes on Bury:—

“The cotton manufacture, originally brought from Bolton, is here carried on very extensively in most of its branches. A great number of factories are erected upon the rivers and upon many brooks within the parish, for carding and spinning both cotton and sheep's wool. also for fulling woollen cloth. . . . There are the manufacturing and printing works of Robert Peel, Esq. The principal of these works are situated on the side of the Irwell, from which they have large reservoirs of water. . . . The turnpike road from Bury northwards to Haslingden is an excellent one.”

As a matter of fact, this turnpike road from Manchester, through Bury and Haslingden to Blackburn, had been opened just previously to 1795. Also, according to this account, the population of Bury in 1773 was 2,090.

Politically also, the year 1733 was a difficult one, for it lay between the Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745, between the Wars with Spain of 1727 and 1739, and long before the Declaration of American Independence in 1775.

With this knowledge of the conditions of both town and people, we shall better be enabled to appreciate what happened in the masonic world of Bury in the year 1733, that being the year in which a Lodge of Freemasons was constituted there as No. 118 on the list of the Grand Lodge of 1717.

Fortunately, by the Grace of God and the efforts of an old member who saved some of them from being cast to the flames, most of the Minute Books and other records of this Lodge, now named the Lodge of Relief No. 42, have been preserved.

The First Minute Book is in the form of an old-fashioned long Cash Book. Apart from the first few pages, for many years the entries are purely a record of attendances at some of the meetings, along with the cash transactions of the Lodge. The first pages of this book are historically interesting from the fact that they contain copies of the Petition and Certificate prior to the issue of the “Deputation”, and they are reproduced here as interesting examples of early Grand Lodge usage.

#### A COPY OF THE PETITION TO THE GRAND MASTER.

To the right Honourable Earl of Strathmore Grand Master Thos. Batson Esq. D. Grand, James Smith & John Ward Esq<sup>rs</sup>. Grand Wardens for the year 1733.

We whose Names are here unto subscribed (free & accepted Masons) convened at the House of Bro. John Hey's the Red Lyon in Bury in the County Palatine of Lancaster having nothing more at Heart than the virtuous Principals of Masonry & Propagation of the Craft in all its parts being desirous of being formed into a regular Lodge. Humbly pray that a Deputation may be granted by Yo<sup>r</sup>. Lordship to our right Worshipfull Bro<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Edward Entwisle for

constituting us into a regular Lodge, and that we may be under Yo<sup>r</sup>. Lordships Care and Patronage, our Names enter'd in the Grand Book of Lodges and enjoy such other Priviledges as all other regular Lodges do, and as in Duty bound we will ever pray.

Lau: Plant	M.	George Leigh
John Hey	S.W.	Rog <sup>r</sup> . Booth
W <sup>m</sup> . Loe	J.W.	Ed: Clark

The Bro. Edward Entwisle mentioned in this Petition was the 1st Master of Lodge No. 105, held in a "Private Room" at Bolton-le-Moors, now Anchor and Hope Lodge No. 37, Bolton. He was a Mercer, unmarried, who died in 1744 and was interred within the old Parish Church of Bolton. He was the 1st Prov. G. Master for Lancashire (1734-42) and probably constituted the following Lodges:—

New King's Arms, Leigh	1732	(Erased 1768.)
Anchor & Hope, Bolton	1732	
Lodge of Relief, Bury	1733	
St. George & Dragon, Liverpool	1736	(Erased 1775.)
(The Lodge from which the next Prov. G.M. came—Bro. Wm. Ratchdale, R.W.Prov.G.M. for Lancashire, 1743-60.)		
Lodge of Fortitude, Salford	1739.	

There is good reason for believing that the petitioners were members of the Bolton Lodge, residing in or near Bury. Definite proof, however, cannot be cited, as the books of Anchor & Hope Lodge from 1732 to 1765 are missing, presumably destroyed by fire by a careless clerk, who was prevented from burning all only by the intervention of a member of the Lodge.

The next record in the First Minute Book is:—

#### COPY OF CERTIFICATE TO GRAND MASTER.

These are to Certify the right Honourable the Earl of Strathmore Grand Master, Thos. Batson Esq. Deputy Grand, & James Smith & John Ward Esq<sup>rs</sup>. Grand Wardens, y<sup>r</sup>. Bro<sup>r</sup>. Lau: Plant John Hey &c. who are Subscribers to the Petition are regularly made Masons thorowly as the Constitutions direct as Witness our Hands the sixth Day of June in the Year of Our Lord 1733.

Ed. Entwisle	M.
John Fishwick,	S.W.
Robert Brown,	J.W.

(Note: Bros. Fishwick and Brown were most likely the Wardens of Anchor & Hope Lodge, Bolton, later used as a Provincial Grand Lodge, as appeared to be the custom in Lancashire, *e.g.* Unanimity, No. 89 (1760-1806) and Integrity, No. 163 (1807—at least 1825.)

In answer to the Petition, the Lodge was duly warranted, the following being a copy of what is now known as a "Deputation", of which only seven appear to have survived, viz.:—

Anchor & Hope, No. 37	Bolton	(Lancs.)
Royal Cumberland, No. 41	Bath	(Somerset)
St. John the Baptist, No. 39	Exeter	(Devon.)
Relief, No. 42	Bury	(Lancs.)
Felicity, No. 58	London	
Faithful, No. 85	Harleston	(Norfolk)
Loyalty, No. 86	Prescot	(Lancs.)

## COPY OF DEPUTATION.

Strathmore

G. M<sup>r</sup>.

Whereas a Petition has been presented unto us and signed by several Brethren residing at present in or about the Town of Bury in the County Palatine of Lancaster humbly praying that they may be Constituted into a regular Lodge.

These are therefore to Impower and authorize our Worshipfull and most beloved Brother M<sup>r</sup>. Edward Entwisle to convene our Brethren at Bury aforesaid who have signed the said Petition and that he do in our place and stead Constitute them into a regular Lodge in due form (He the said M<sup>r</sup>. Edward Entwisle taking special care that they and every of them have been regularly made Masons) with like Priviledges as all other regular Lodges do enjoy, and that they be required to conform themselves to all and every the Regulations contained in the printed Book of Constitutions, and observe such other Rules and Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted to them by us, or Thomas Batson Esq<sup>r</sup>. our Deputy Grand Master or the Grand Master or his Deputy for the time being; And that they do send to us or our Deputy a List of the Members of their Lodge together with the Rules agreed on to be by them observed to the end they may be entred in the Grand Lodge Books. And upon the due Execution of this our Deputation the said M<sup>r</sup>. Edward Entwisle is hereby required to transmitt to us or our Deputy a Certificate under his hand of the time and place of such Constitution In Order that the same may be entred in the Book of regular Lodges.

Given under our hand and Seal of Office at London the third day of July 1733 and of Masonry 5733.

By the Grand Master's Command

Tho: Batson	D.G.M.
Ja. Smythe	S.G.W.
J. Ward	J.G.W.

This Warrant or Deputation is 11½ in. high by 8½ in. broad, and is apparently the only one in existence issued and signed by the Earl of Strathmore during his term of office as Grand Master. Further comments on the difference between a Charter or Warrant and a Deputation are to be found in *A.Q.C.*, vol. viii, p. 193, and vol. xli, p. 47 *et seq.*

The seal is perfect, though cracked, and contains the official arms of the "Moderns" Grand Lodge, the shield containing the following emblems:—

A Chevron, charged with a pair of compasses open chevronwise,  
between Three Towers embattled.

Crest—Upon the Helmet of Nobility, a Dove with wings close.

Supporters—Two Beavers.

Motto—In Greek characters:—

ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ

(Meaning "In the beginning was the word.")

This motto in Greek is also to be found on the "Deputations" of St. John the Baptist and Royal Cumberland Lodges, the seal of Anchor & Hope being illegible, but presumably the same. In his *Origin of the English Rite*, the late Bro. W. J. Hughan stated that the usual motto was "Relief and Truth"

(page 115); he also pointed out that Bro. W. T. R. Marvin, of Boston, in an exhaustive report to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, describing the variations in Arms, Seals and Mottoes of the Grand Lodge of England, is silent as to this suggestive sentence. He continues:—

“Obviously, such a motto could not well be used by the present Grand Lodge of England, neither was it suggestive of the cosmopolitan and unsectarian constitution of the Premier Grand Lodge.”

In a communication to the Lodge he stated that the motto is unique and clearly refers to the 3rd degree before the R.A. was adopted.

A further note by him in *Origin of the English Rite* (page 109) is that on a piece of gold plate given to the “Father of the Society” by the Companions of the Grand and Royal Chapter in 1770, there was inscribed in Latin:—

“In the beginning was the word—We have found.”

#### EARLIER CERTIFICATES AND DEPUTATIONS.

According to the Grand Lodge minutes of 11th July, 1729, it appears that the practice was not to enter a Lodge in the list until a Certificate of Constitution had been registered; there does not seem to be a record in Bury of such a certificate, other than that in which the Petitioners are certified as being Masons.

Again, from the Grand Lodge minutes, the first mention of a Petition for a new Lodge is on 27th December, 1728, for a new Lodge at Fort William, Bengal, which was apparently constituted in 1730 and entered in the list as No. 72 (erased 1756). A copy of the Deputation for this Lodge is to be found on page 119 of the 1st Minute Book, with another on page 120 for a Lodge at Gibraltar in March, 1729, afterwards called St. John of Jerusalem, No. 51 (lapsed between 1800 and 1813).

With the exception of the last sentence in the Bury Deputation, “And upon the due Execution . . . Book of regular Lodges”, those entered in the 1st Minute Book appear to be substantially the same and to have served as a pattern for subsequent Deputations.

The Deputation states that the Rules shall be forwarded to Grand Lodge; they have been preserved at Bury, and no excuse is made for reproducing them here, particularly as they appear to be the earliest set of Lodge Rules now extant in Lancashire.

#### LODGE BY LAWS, 1734.

The by Laws of the Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, who meet at the House of Mr. John Hey's, being ye Sign of the Red Lyon, in Bury, in the County of Lancaster.

1. That we will hold a Quarterly Communication at the House of the sd. John Hey's (viz.) upon the usual Feast Days, or Times, of St. John the Evangelist, The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John Baptist, and St. Michael the Arch Angell, by two o'clock in the afternoon of the same Days, unless any of the said Days happen to fall upon a Sunday, then upon the following day, upon pain of forfeiting twelve pence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These Quarterly Communications were evidently in accordance with the general rules of Grand Lodge, which, on 25th November, 1723, passed the following resolution:—  
“Q. 1st. Whether the Ma<sup>rs</sup>. and Wardens of the Sev<sup>l</sup>. Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at their Quarterly meetings. One of which must be on St. John Baptist Day. Agreed Nem. Con.”

2. That we also hold a Monthly meeting at the place aforesaid upon the Thursday next to ev'ry full Moon in the Year, by the Hour of Seven in the evening, on pain of forfeiting, if at Home, three pence. If abroad about unavoidable business, Sick, or otherwise out of Order, nothing at all.
3. That all the Brotherhood at such meetings shall behave themselves decently and with good manners to the Master and Wardens when they command silence, upon pain of paying four pence for disobedience without any further appeall.
4. That no Member shall swear an Oath or presume to come in to the Society when Drunk, or Drink to that excess among the Brotherhood at such Communications whereby to make himself so, neither shall behave himself Ludicrously or Jestingly, nor Vilify or abuse another by undecent Language, or any ways disturb the Peace of the Society upon pain of paying for each offence Six pence.
5. That no Candidate shall be admitted a Member of this Society without giving the Notice the Constitutions direct, and at the time of admitting first pay, half a Guinea, and when he is admitted Master pay further the sum of Five Shillings and Three pence.  
(Note: "admitted Master" here means 3° for, in the revision of the rules in 1751, the term "raised master" is substituted under similar conditions.)
6. That none be admitted a Member but by the consent of all the Brothers then present.
7. That every Member of the Society at all and ev'ry the Quarterly Meetings aforesaid shall pay the sum of twelve pence; wch. sd. Sum of twelve pence together with the Admissions, and Forfeitures shall be log'd in a Box for that purpose and an Acct. of 'em kept in this Book, in order to the raising a Stock for support and releive of decay'd Brothers and such other uses as the Lodge shall agree to.
8. That all Forfeitures be collected and put into the Box at the next meeting after such forfeitures made or the first time they appear in the Lodge.
9. That no Bror. be entitled to any of the aforesd. Money till he has been a regular subscriber three years and paid all his forfeitures, nor even then unless he Absolutely want a weekly Allowance, which shall all ways be Appointed by a Majority of Brothers what shall be thought sufficient.
10. That if any difference should happen to arise abt. the explication of any of the Articles, or otherwise, such differences shall be decided by a Majority of the Brotherhood then present. And if any of the Members do not comply with these Articles, after three admonitions of the Master, then present (or in his absence the Deputy or Senior Warden) he shall be excluded.
11. That after nine in the Evening the Lodge hours are out.

We whose names are Subscribed, do agree to the Foregoing Rules  
and that we will not recede or Derogate from 'em but by Consent of a  
Majority of ye Members then present as Witness our Hands, St. John's  
Day, 1734 }  
5734 }



Signatures & dates attached		(Date when W.M.)
Lau: Plant	Founder	1733-4, 1738 & 1752
John Hey (mort)	"	1735
William Low	"	
Edw <sup>d</sup> . Clark (mort)	"	1737
George Leigh	"	
Roger Booth	"	
James Stock	Previous to 1735	1736, 1755 & 1761
Edward E. Mills (mort)	" 1735	
Oliver Nabb (mort)	6 April, 1738	1748
Robert Siddall	17 April, 1738	1739
Joseph Bolton	4 Aug., 1738	1741
Adam Scholes	16 Nov., 1738	1740
Thos. Jenkinson	27 Dec., 1739	
John Rigby	30 April, 1740	
Richard Hoult	28 Aug., 1740	1743-7, 1753, 1756, 1760 & 1766
Thomas Hilten	19 Dec., 1740	
George Hardman	27 Dec., 1740	1742, 1747 & 1758
Thomas Hylton	6 June, 1741	
John Fallow	6 June, 1741	
James Hilton	6 June, 1741	1765
James Holt	24 June, 1742	
Jeffry Battersby	28 July, 1743	
William Hoult	27 Dec., 1743	1747
John Hallon	27 Dec., 1745	
Robert Ward	15 Jan., 1746	
William Heywood	15 Jan., 1746	1757 & 1782
Thomas Briggs	15 Jan., 1746	
Assheton Tonge	15 Jan., 1746	1754 & 1759
Ralph Crompton	18 Sep., 1746	
Abram Booth	5 Dec., 1748	
Lawr: Whitaker	29 Sep., 1757	Signature marked
James Ellis	29 Sep., 1757	" "Coulne."
John Hargreaves	29 Sep., 1757	" "
John Walton	29 Sep., 1757	" "
William Ellis	27 Dec., 1758	" marked "Colne."
James Ogden	26 March, 1759	1762 & 1768
James Wood	29 Sep., 1760	1763
Thomas Barber	19 Feb., 1761	
Jonathan Hargreaves	19 Feb., 1761	
Elijah Lomax	19 Feb., 1761	1764
James Hardman	29 Sep., 1761	
Ralph Holt	9 Aug., 1764	1767 & 1790
John Brooks	24 June, 1767	
James Millett	28 April, 1768	1769
North West	2 June, 1768	
Richard Walker	2 June, 1768	1770
John Openshaw	29 Sep., 1768	
John Clegg	29 Dec., 1768	
Joseph Clegg	29 Dec., 1768	
Joseph Tootell	29 Dec., 1768	1773
Thos. Openshaw	19 Jan., 1769	
Jas. Kay	11 May, 1769	1771
George Booth	11 May, 1769	1772
Thos. Bramell	11 May, 1769	1771
Thos. Booth	23 May, 1769	
Richd. Bentley	24 June, 1769	
Jeffry Lomax	24 June, 1769	

The By Laws are signed by these 57 Brethren, the Initiation dates attached being also in their handwriting; other names of Brethren mentioned in the Cash Book and Minutes, but who did not sign the By Laws of 1734, are:—

Thomas Livsey	17 Dec., 1740	
William Tickle	Previous to 1738	Acted as W.M. 1738/9
William Baron	Previous to 1764.	

The last two may have been joining members.

The following is the typical copy of the Minutes of a meeting:—

“We the majority of Free and Accepted Masons met on St. John’s Day 1734/5 do Constitute and Nominate

Mr. Laur: Plant	M <sup>r</sup> .
Mr. Jam <sup>s</sup> . Stock	D:M:
Mr. Jno. Hey	S W:
Mr. Wm. Low	J W:”

One observation on the foregoing list should be made. On 4th February, 1762, Bro. John Smith, Provincial Grand Master of Lancashire, signed “given at Manchester” a warrant for a Lodge No. 276, to meet at the Hole i’ th’ Wall, Market Street, Colne; it was granted to J. Ellis, Laurence Whittaker and John Hargreaves, who were initiated in the Lodge of Relief, Bury, on 29th Sept., 1757, and it is now known as the Royal Lancashire Lodge, No. 116, Colne.

The first record of any existing Lancashire Lodge in the Grand Lodge minutes occurs on 24th Feb., 1735, as follows:—

Bolton Lee Moores in Lancashire for Constitution	2/2/-
Bury Lodge in Lancashire for Constitution	2/2/-

Beyond the entries referring to the half-yearly Elections of Officers, no account of the proceedings of the Lodge (other than Cash Accounts) appears in the Minute Book until 18th January, 1752.

*Inception of the Lodge.*—Pine’s *Engraved List of 1734* states that the Lodge was constituted on 26th July, 1733 (the Warrant is dated 3rd July, 1733), at the “House of Mr. John Hey’s, being ye sign of the Red Lion”, Bury, and it is interesting to record that it has never had any other home than that town, where it has met continuously.

The Red Lion was formerly in Silver Street, where it occupied the site on which Messrs. Webster and Peacock’s shop stands to-day; the Hare and Hounds, where the Lodge met for two terms (14 and 65 years) is still in Bolton Street. The meeting places of the Lodge are:—

Red Lion, Fleet Street, Bury	1733
Old Hare and Hounds, Bolton Street	1770
Boar’s Head, Moorside	1784
Swan with Two Necks, Moorside	1790
Hare and Hounds, Bolton Street	1809
Albion Hotel	1874
Grey Mare	1881
Royal Hotel	1901 (6 mos.)
Derby Hotel	1901 to date

According to Gould’s *Four Old Lodges*, it was named the “Lodge of Relief” in 1788, having previously been known by its number or meeting place, as was the case with most Lodges until about 1780; its various numbers have been:—

1733	118
1740	103

1755	61
1770	51
1780	40
1792	37
1814	57
1832	50
1863	42

It is obvious from the 7th By Law of 1734 that the "support and reliefe of decay'd Brothers" was one of the first principles of the Lodge, and that a fund of relief was established for this purpose from the beginning; "Lodge of Relief" was an apt name.

The development of this idea of a Sick and Burial Fund is quite gradual, but persists throughout the By Laws for over 100 years, as is shown by the following extracts:—

24 June, 1771 A revision of the By Laws, from which it appears that the Lodge met every Thursday next to the full moon, as well as on the Four Festival Days, as before.

The quarterly subscription was raised to 3/6 with a subscription of 6d. per month, of which 3d. went to the fund and 3d. to the expenses of the meeting.

"The sum of 4/- per week to be allowed to any sick member of 3 years' standing, instead of as before leaving the amount to be fixed by the majority of the brethren. In the event of death, a Shroud and Sheet to be provided in addition to an Oak Coffin."

This was revised as follows:—

27 Dec., 1773 "Agreed that every Quarterly Communication, 6d. a piece should be paid by every present Member, and 1/- by each absent Member, and at the Monthly meeting, 3d. a piece by every present Member and 6d. by every absent Member, except the Quarterly Communication be in the same week, the whole to go into the box."

17 April, 1783 "We whose names are hereunto subscribed, do agree to meet four times in a year, viz.: on the 25 March, 24 June, 29 Sept., and 27 Decr., and to pay 1/- per Quarter to the Fund, and spend 6d. in ale, but if any member absent himself to pay 1/6 to the Fund."

The Quarterly Communications were evidently dropped in 1784, when the By Laws were again altered, specifying:—

"two Half Yearly Communications upon ye usual feast Days or times of S<sup>t</sup>. John ye Evangelist and S<sup>t</sup>. John ye Baptice by foure o'clock in ye afternoon of ye same Day. . . ."

as well as a Monthly meeting; non-attenders were

"each S<sup>t</sup>. John Day to pay the sum of 12<sup>d</sup>. and each Member at the Monthly meeting attending or not attending to pay the sum of sixpence, half where off is to be spent by the presant Members and the other half to be Collet'd by the Master's orders and an account of em kept in ye Book, in order to the raising a Stock for the Support and reliefe of Decay'd Brethren of Lodge and such other Usces as the Lodge shall agree to."

In 1803 the By Laws were again revised and couched in much better language, the word "Society" being altered to "Lodge" and the subscriptions fixed as:—

At the monthly meetings, Members present, 1/6 each; absent members, 6d. each.

At the half-yearly meetings, Members present 1/- to the Fund and 4/- for expenses; absent members 1/6 to the Fund and 1/6 towards the expenses.

Initiation Fee at this time was £4 10s. instead of £1 11s. 6d., plus 10s. 6d. when rais'd Master—fixed in 1784. The Joining fee remained the same, *i.e.*, 10s. 6d. and the registering fee.

These fees continued until March, 1832, when they were reduced to 1/- per month and 4/6 at the half-yearly meetings, with Initiation Fee £4 and Joining fee 13/-. In 1869 the monthly subscription was again raised to 1/6, and in 1878 it became £2 2s. per annum, with Initiation fee £5 5s. and Joining fee £2 2s.

Some of the reasons for these changes may have been financial, as was the regulation limiting the age of initiation to 40, with the idea of conserving the funds for the relief of distressed members, but other reasons were the gradual development of an organised Sick and Burial Society, a feature not confined to this Lodge, but typical of many old Lancashire Lodges up to the middle of last century; it was also indicative of the members' general distrust of Friendly Societies, as is also shown by the records of the Oldham, Rochdale and Bolton Lodges. One of the books still in the possession of the Lodge of Relief is entitled:—

"Friendly Society Instituted January, 1821 in the Free  
Masons Lodge, No. 37."

This book shows contributions of 1/- per month from January, 1821, to the end of 1828, but there are later books showing that a Sick and Burial Society was attached to the Lodge as late as 1860. The Rules, Orders and Regulations provided that a member:

"rendred incapable of buisness, by sickness, lameness, blindness (not bringing it upon himselfe by fighting except it can be prov'd by one or more creditable witness, that such fighting was in his own defence) he shal upon demand receive eight shillings per week . . ."

Death of a member provided for "Five Guineas to be laid out in the Funeral," and a "Member's wife Three Guineas to defray the expence of her funeral."

Fines were also a feature of the regulations from the inception, thus helping the funds from which grants were made for the relief of deserving brethren; typical entries are:—

24 June, 1745 "Whereas it is the Ancient custom of all the Brotherhood of Free and Accepted Masons to Meet on St. John's Day, to converse together, and settle the affairs of the Lodge, and the several members hereinafter mentioned have neglected or refused to appear and perform their Duty as usual, We therefore do hereby mulct them in the following sums:—  
(5 Brethren fined 1/- each.)

11 Aug., 1791 "It was unanimously agreed to send Bro. John Harriott at Rochford in Essex 10s. 6d. for the losses he had received by Warter, February 2nd, 1791."

(In the Cash Book this transaction is entered as "towards his loss from an inundation of the sea.")

- 22 Mar., 1810 "Bros. Wm. Parkinson, Thos. Agar, Josh. Bentley and Saml. Healey fined 3d. each for leaving the Lodge Room during open Lodge without the leave of the R.W.M."
- 13 Aug., 1818 "A motion was made by the presiding Master against our W.M., James Kershaw, for withholding the Masters jewel, he having it in his possession and at the same time for not attending; the Members present thought proper to fine him with an Extra fine of 1/- besides his regular fine."
- 2 Mar., 1820 A Bro. was "allowed to borrow £2 from the Lodge fund, he having lost a cow."  
(The previous custom of this Lodge was to give a brother this sum whenever he had the misfortune to lose a cow.)
- 18 Jan., 1821 The W.M. was fined 3d. for non-attendance.
- 15 Mar., 1821 "Bro. John Brierley for being drunk fined 3d."
- 10 Sep., 1835 Two Brn. were appointed to enquire into the cause of Bro. Magrove's mysterious disappearance.  
(Bro. Magrove was out of employment on the 11th Feb. and £2 was granted him by the Lodge. The two Brn. appointed made two journeys to Manchester and also advertised for him, but there was evidently no result, as, on the 4th Feb., 1836, Mrs. Magrove was allowed his funeral money on the understanding that, if he should at any time be traced, the money was to be refunded.)
- 23 Mar., 1837 £3 was allowed Bro. James Pilkington towards defraying the expenses incurred by his unjust imprisonment, and a deputation was appointed to wait on the other two Bury Lodges to see if they would contribute.

There are many other entries in the minutes indicating that the members of this Lodge showed public spiritedness and patriotism and a warm regard for those who might be unfortunate in their journey through life.

The Lodge also possesses a copy of the "Rules, Ordinances and Regulations of the Masonic Society," established in 1804, under the Presidency of the Earl of Moira, Dep. G.M. of the "Modern" G.L. for the purpose of relieving members of the Society, their Widows and Children.

Even to-day the Charity Fund is kept distinct from the Lodge Fund, and there are numerous records of efforts on behalf of Charity, notably:—

Masonic Benefit performances at the Theatre Royal, Bury, such as that of 1st Feb., 1888, which realised £49 as the share of each of the Bury Lodges, as well as others in 1889, 1891, 1894 and 1895, which realised from £50 to £70 as each Lodge's share.

A selection of minutes and Cash Book entries is now given to show the customs in this old "Modern" Lodge, comments thereon being reserved until later:—

27 Dec., 1740	St. John's Day,	s.	d.
	By two aprons and gloves	3	5
	„ Musick	1	0
	„ Candles		3
	Expenses that night	13	3
	By George Hardman, dinner		6
	(Tyler)		
		18	5

21 May, 1741	Paid for a Sword	2s. 6d.
22 Oct., 1743	Expended on Stretford Bros. on a visit	6s. 0d.
29 Sep., 1757	Three Brn. were initiated, who, on 4 Feb., 1762, obtained a warrant for the Hole i' th' Wall Lodge, Colne, now known as the Royal Lancashire Lodge, No. 116.	
27 Dec., 1766	"Spent at a visit paid us by the following members of the Fox Lodge (8 brethren, including the W.M. and the 2 W's.)"	10s. 0d.
	(The Fox Lodge is now Fortitude, No. 64.)	
24 June, 1767	"By the 12th Article, composed by Bro. James Wood he is himself excluded."	
	(12 months in arrear.)	
2 June, 1768	Paid for dinners when the brethren from Bolton Lodge came	5 0
	Paid for drink	8 8
27 Dec., 1768	Paid for meat	4 8
	Paid for Ale	12 0
19 Jan., 1769	Paid for six skins of Leather	6 0
25 Mar., 1769	Paid for 1 gross of pipes and 2 letters	4 10
24 June, 1769	Paid for 18 dinners	12 0
	Paid for ale	18 6
27 Dec., 1769	To a chair	3 10 6
	(This is believed to be the chair now used by the W.M.)	
31 Jan., 1771	"Bro. Gregson raised in the Red Lion Lodge Fellow Craft and admitted in our Lodge as such by the Right Worshipful and Fellows."	
	(This would be the Lodge of Temperance, No. 403, afterwards amalgamated with the Lodge of Relief.)	
24 June, 1771	An Inventory of this date shows the following items:— R.W.M.'s Chair, £3 3s.; 6 Officers' Chairs, £7 4s.; 7 Jewels, viz.: R.W.M., P.M., S.W., J.W., Treas. and Secretary; 3 Candlesticks, viz.; W.S.B., £3 3s. Also "a painted Square Pavement", "indented Tassel", and "two large mahogany Pillars with Balls."	
14 July, 1771	To Blue line'g & tape With a No.	9s. 9d.
6 Aug., 1778	To rent at Old Hare and Hounds	10s. 0d.
	Expences of removing Lodge	3s. 11½d.
25 June, 1782	To a sermon	1s. 3d.
27 Dec., 1783	To a pair of compasses	3½d.
	John Ackerley Was this day Admitted a Member of this Society paid 10s. 6d.	
5 July, 1784	The Master, Bro. Robert Haworth, Bookseller, laid the corner stone of the first building in Union Square, and the "Mallit" used then is still in the possession of Relief Lodge.	
27 Dec., 1784	To a Master's jewel	17s. 8d.
	By Bro. Millett's Guinea sold by weight at £3 16s. per ounce for forfeits	18s. 8d.
3 July, 1787	Bro. John Barns, Philip Jobson and Edward Henry Bouville admitted to the 5th degree of Masonry. (Hughan in <i>Origin of the English Rite</i> , p. 81, says this was likely to be the Super Excellent Master.)	
20 Sep., 1788	Jewel Furniture	6s. 5½d.

- 3 Sep., 1789 "In consequence of Bro. Schofield having not only desired but even insisted on having a Supper given to the Members as an annual custom of Beans and Bacon which no other Brother desired, and whereas the said Brother has not honoured the meeting with his company, it is looked upon as an affront to the Lodge and an injury to the House, he is therefore by the unanimous consent of the meeting fined One Shilling for the offence.  
(Bro. Schofield was at this time S.W.; he became W.M. on 28th Dec. following.)
- 4 Mar., 1790 The first entry of Brethren being "entered, passed and Raised" on the same evening.
- 3 May, 1791 To 2 Wardens Chairs per bill 6 14 0  
 „ Lewis (still in use) 1 16 0  
 „ 2 Stones for — do. — 18 0  
 „ gilding sun and moon 4 6
- 23 June, 1792 Expence at St. John Day Sermon and Singers, £1 4s.
- 25 June, 1792 "Bros. John Shay, Joseph Wood and James Ogden of the Arch, visited the Lodge."
- 27 Dec., 1797 "Bro. George Lomax was this day appointed Lecture Master and it was unanimously resolv'd that he upon that account should be set free from the expenses of the night."  
(Bro. Lomax appears to have fulfilled the duties of this important office until 1806.)
- 10 Mar., 1803 The By Laws were again revised, the principal alterations being:—  
 R.W.M. is altered to W.M.  
 "forfeit" is changed to "fined."  
 Instead of having two elections of W.M. each year, there is to be an annual election by ballot.  
 (Although these corrections were accepted and passed, the term R.W.M. was, in fact, used until December, 1815, and the Master was elected half-yearly until December, 1820.)
- 24 June, 1807 Bro. Samuel Clough was chosen "perpetual Secretary" for which services "he is to be free from paying any expenses in the Lodge."
- 9 June, 1808 "It was agreed to Patronize a Play and Farce, on the ensuing Monday, to be performed by Bro. Goldfinch's Company of Comedians then in Bury and performing in the old assembly room at the Hare and Hounds."  
(The Lodge had removed from the Hare and Hounds to the Boar's Head in 1784.)
- 23 Nov., 1809 Bror. Robert Haworth died and was interred the Sunday following, when the Ancient Lodge from Bury Bridge attended and several Brethren from Middleton who joined us in a Procession under the direction of Joseph Heap. The procession was preceded by a Band of Music.
- 18 April, 1810 "Bro. Wm. Lees was expelled from this Lodge for 6 months after receiving a severe reprimand for a flagrant violation of the most sacred part of Masonry."

- 27 Dec., 1810 Saml. Fox was expelled this Society for dishonest and scandalous behaviour. Peter Holt expelled and John Horrox expelled for non-attendance."
- 4 July, 1811 Several brethren "Passed the Chair."  
(This is apparently the first entry of "Passing the Chair.")
- 20 Aug., 1812 Paid for 6 dozen Skins £2 9s. 0d.
- 24 Nov., 1814 Expenses to Manchester to meet that Gentleman from London 2 13 5
- 24 June, 1816 To one-third expence of the Lodge of Reconciliation 3 4  
To one-third expense of obtaining the New Mode of Working 6 14 8
- 7 Nov., 1816 Williams' Book of Constitutions, 1815, purchased at a cost of 1 1 0
- 24 June, 1817 Lamp for Transparency 1 0
- 23 Oct., 1817 Letter from perjured Finch 11½
- 10 Dec., 1818 "A charge was brought by Samuel Openshaw against Michl. Howarth for scandalously charging him with defrauding the Lodge of Liquor, &c., for which he is suspended for six months and if either of them shall bring any railing accusation against either of them they are to be expelled."
- 5 Aug., 1819 Snuff Horn (still in use) 11 3
- 26 June, 1820 "A motion was made for new jewels for the in and out guard; and a coat for the Tyler, which was carried unanimously."
- 24 June, 1823 "It was unanimously the opinion of the members present that John Coop be suspended for a certain time that is in consequence of his insanity and not again admitted until the opinion of the members should think him a sensible man."
- 23 Oct., 1828 "It was decided that W. G<sup>h</sup>. is to leave off Odfellowship."  
(He was initiated 20 Nov., 1828.)
- 6 July, 1830 "Bros. John Brierley and John Warburton were appointed to manage a procession to take place on Friday next to proclaim our present Majesty King William the Fourth."  
This procession, with the members of Prince Edwin Lodge, took place, the cost being given as:—  
Dinners 1/- each  
One-half the Band 21s. 0d.  
Torch bearers and half the torches 6s. 6d.  
Singers at St. John's Chapel 2s. 6d.
- 26 May, 1831 The Colour Standard of the Lodge was altered from G. IV to W. IV at a cost of 1/-.
- 23 May, 1830 Entries of Brethren (including several from Prince Edwin Lodge) "passing the Chair and Mark Link."
- 2 Mar., 1834 An emergency meeting was called for "passing the Chair and taking the Mark, Ark and Link."  
(This practice was continued until the 1st December, 1850.)



- 20 Feb., 1832 By two Tobacco boxes (still in use) 5s. 0d.
- 28 June, 1837 Joined a town procession in Masonic clothing for the Proclamation of Queen Victoria. The same procedure was observed on 28th June, 1838, when Queen Victoria was crowned.
- 16 Mar., 1843 "Resolved and Carried that four Brothers of the Lodge be appointed to attend on Mr. Pitt to learn the Proper Mode of working the Craft and that One Shilling each be allowed from the fund for their expences and bear a proportion of Mr. Pitt's expences."
- 30 May, 1844 An ornament for Ark, Mark and Link was purchased, price 3s. 0d.
- 18 May, 1848 "A letter was read from the Anchor & Hope Lodge, No. 44 to the effect that Bro. J. A . . . is excluded from their Lodge for non-payment of arrears and for unmasonic conduct."
- 8 Sep., 1852 In Masonic clothing, the Lodge joined in a town procession to unveil the statue of Sir Robert Peel, opposite the Parish Church. (Sir Robert Peel was born at Bury, 1788; died 1850.)
- 27 May, 1857 The floor cloth of the Lodge was repainted by Bro. Binns.
- 27 Dec., 1859 Bro. Edward Barlow presented the Lodge with the W. T's now in use.
- 8 Feb., 1863 A List of Members who were unable in consequence of the distress prevailing in the manufacturing districts to pay their Lodge dues was forwarded to the Prov. G. Secy., as requested by him.
- 6 July, 1865 "In consequence of excitement attending the general election, there were not sufficient members to open the Lodge."
- 25 June, 1866 The festival of St. John the Baptist was celebrated in the Lodge for the last time.  
(But, in place of it, there is still held an Annual Meeting of the members—not a Lodge—to celebrate the Constitution of the Lodge; it usually takes the form of a High Tea, followed by papers on Masonic subjects.)

From the Minute Books of this old "Modern" Lodge may be gathered many curious and interesting facts; some of them are conclusive, but others, viewed from the standpoint of the Lodge from which "Relief" sprang (Anchor & Hope, No. 37, Bolton—the neighbouring town) do not appear so convincing.

First let us take the form of the Lodge; both Lodges appear to have installed their Masters half-yearly at the two St. John's Festivals from about 1765 (or earlier) to 1815, but the Officers in the Bolton Lodge from 1765 (or earlier) were:—

W.M.  
S.W.  
J.W.  
S.D.  
J.D.  
Treas.  
Secy.  
Tyler

} There were jewels for all these officers in 1788.

On the other hand, an I.G. was appointed only in 1799, and a Chaplain from 1786-1799. In 1790 the custom was to nominate the W.M., Ws. and 2 Ds. from the Chair, opponents being nominated by the Lodge; a ballot was then taken, usually in favour of the Lodge's nominees. The Officers were installed half yearly from at least 1765 to 1815, the W.M. and the two Ws. being installed separately on the "3rd stepe of Masonry."

In the Lodge of Relief, however, the Officers were:—

R.W.M.	}	From 1765, when full minutes were kept, to 27 December, 1808. The first record of the title R.W.M. is at the half-yearly meeting on 24 June, 1770.
S.W.		
J.W.		
Treas.		
Secy.		
P.M.		

In June, 1809, the officers of Relief Lodge were changed to:—

R.W.M.	}	No. I.G. until the Union
S.W.		
J.W.		
S.D.		
J.D.		
2 Stewards		
Treas.	}	
Secy.		
P.M.		

Evidently, the Lodge of Promulgation had some effect, resulting in the appointment of Deacons, for whom Jewels must have been purchased between 1809 (when these Officers first appear) and the Union; the collar jewels of both Deacons in this Lodge to-day are "Mercury bearing the Caduceus," although their wands (dating from January, 1896) bear the "Dove with Olive Branch."

From 1735 to 27 December, 1784, it was the custom in this Lodge to appoint a "Deputy Master," and the old "Antient" custom of proposing and seconding in open Lodge candidates for the office of Master, and subject to an open vote, was persisted in until 1851. Even in 1842 there were 4 candidates proposed and seconded, in 1846 three, and the system was abandoned in favour of the ballot only after 1851. Yearly elections of the Worshipful Master on 27 December took place from 1733 to June, 1747, when half-yearly elections commenced; yet it appears that the Master and Officers served for one year from 27 December to 27 December, up to 24 June, 1771; on this date half-yearly installations of the Master and Officers were substituted to 1818, though the half-yearly elections went on to December, 1820. From 1818 to 1895 the annual installation was held on St. John the Evangelist's Day, 27 December, but from 1896 it has been held on the usual meeting day, *i.e.*, the 3rd Thursday in December.

Certain other conclusions may be drawn from the records; the first of these is that, from an entry in the Cash Book, it appears that the Lodge was not "drawn" so early as 24 June, 1771; others throw some light on the ceremonies in this "Modern" Lodge.

In a later section on the Royal Arch, a minute is quoted, under date 18th December, 1768, showing that 3 Bury Brethren from Relief Lodge went to the Bolton Lodge to be initiated, passed, raised and exalted, "they being before Modern Masons." This is the only record in Anchor and Hope books of any particular type of ceremony being performed, the terms used from 1769 being:

Made Entered Apprentice  
 Made Fellow Craft  
 Raised Master (and at a later period "Raised the 3rd stepe.")

At this period the Bolton Lodge was negotiating with Lau: Dermott, though nothing came of it, and *Ahiman Rezon* was used by them from 1771-1787.

There is much better proof in the Bury Lodge books of the different ceremonies then prevailing; inferentially, the type of ceremony should have been changed when the Bury brethren went to Bolton in 1768, but it is not until 1790 that pertinent entries are to be found, viz.:—

- 28 Aug., 1776 "To Cash for James Entwistle Raising M. 10/6.
- 4 Mar., 1790 "Brother Hansfield, Brother Joseph Wood, Brother George Wood and Brother James Wood were entered Passed and Raised in the Ancient."
- 24 June, 1790 "Brother's Robt. Wood & Thos. Longworth each of them took the first step in Ancient Masonry."
- 14 July, 1791 "Alexd. Nicholson, Raised Master. John Randle Raised Modern Craft."
- 15 Sep., 1791 "Bror. John Randle and Bror. Wm. Hopkinson Rais'd the 3rd stepe of Modern Masonry."
- 12 Jan., 1792 "Bro: John Robert's rais'd Master."
- 9 Feb., 1792 "Brothers John Randle, Michael Haworth and Thos. Beardwood Raised Master Mason Antient."
- 8 Mar., 1792 "Brother's Roberts Smith and Hopkinson Raised Mr. Masons Antient."
- 5 April, 1792 "Brother Thos. Longworth Rais'd Master Mason Antient."

Every entry from 1790 to 1792 shows that Brethren in this Bury Lodge were "entered, passed or raised in the Antient," after which the 3rd degree becomes "raised Master." From 1794 to 1812 the terms used were "Raised Entered Apprentice, Raised Fellow Craft," and "Raised Master," and there is no mention of either "Modern" or "Antient" ceremonies. The raising of Bros. Randle, Hopkinson and Roberts as "Antient" and "Modern" is interesting history.

Other interesting deductions may be made regarding ritual in South-East Lancashire at this time, viz.:—

1. A Lecture was part of the proceedings in the Bolton Lodge, and a Lecture Master was appointed as an Officer in 1790; a Lecture Master was appointed regularly in the Bury Lodge from 1797 to 1806.
2. From a Cash Book entry it appears that a Zodiac was "painted and re-gilded" on 3rd May, 1792.

This Zodiac was apparently in use at a time when this "Modern" Lodge was practising "Antient" ceremonies, and it is still in use in the 3° to-day, no explanation of it being given in the actual working. It is a transparency painted on linen, about 30 in. square, and fitted in a frame fixed only in the 3° behind the M's chair, with a cloth canopy projecting at right angles over the M's head. The Zodiac itself occupies the centre; above on left and right are 2 female figures, apparently representing "Relief" and "Hope", with the all-seeing eye between them; in the two bottom corners are the Sq. and Comp. and the L. and Plumb-rule; a light behind (formerly a lamp, purchased in 1817) gives a f. g——g ray in the E., and the effect is extremely impressive. Its use certainly dates back beyond living memory.

3. The ceremony of "Passing the Chair" appears in Bolton from 1769 to 1846, and in Bury to 6th June, 1847, when it was generally worked at "Lodges of Emergency" and called the 4th D.; here is a typical example:—

1 Dec., 1835 Lodge called for Passing the Chair. Lodge Opened in form and Solemn Prayer at 5 o'clock to the 4th Degree.

Brothers William Moon, Joseph Handley, Edmund Gibson, William Redfern, James Dutson, & William Haslam Passed the Chair.

Visitor Bro. James Riley No. 150.

Lodge Closed in due form and with Solemn Prayer at  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 6 o'clock.

John Smith, W.M."

The degree was not confined to members of the Lodge of Relief, for, in 1837, there is a minute showing that 4 members of the Lodge of Naphtali, No. 333, then meeting in Bury, "Passed the Chair." There are also various records of Excellent, Super Excellent, K. Ts., Royal Arch Knight Templar Priests (Bolton only) and Ark, Mark, Link and Wrestle degrees.

Possibly the members were, like those of Anchor and Hope Lodge, relying on the clause in their "Deputation" stating "with like Privileges as all other regular Lodges do enjoy," and interpreting this as meaning that they could work any other degree in the Lodge, without any other warrant.

4. Members of "Antient" Lodges visited both the Bolton and Bury Lodges from 1768 onwards, and the only difference appeared in Bolton in 1786, when there was a quarrel regarding the disclosure of the proceedings of an "Antient" Lodge to the members of the "Modern" Lodge.

It might be pertinent, at this stage, to observe that the South-East Lancashire Lodges generally had more than one working during the latter half of the eighteenth century; whether this was due to inherent tendencies among the members, or to competition from the "Antient" Lodges, who were particularly strong in Lancashire, it is difficult at this time to determine.

There are no minutes of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire before 1814, because from 1734 to at least that year the Prov. G. Masters used various Lodges as Provincial Lodges, appointing the Provincial Officers from the Lodge favoured at the time. Records of Provincial meetings in Lancashire before 1814 are, therefore, to be obtained only from newspapers or old Minute Books, such as those belonging to the Lodge of Relief, from which the following extracts are taken:—

- 29 Sep., 1760 "At a meeting of the Provincial Grand, 17/11."  
(Bro. John Smith, "Gent.", of Unanimity Lodge, had been appointed 3rd Prov. G. Master for Lancs. on 23rd June of that year; it is possible that this Provincial meeting had some connection with his appointment.)
- 6 Aug., 1778 "Expenses going to Manchester visiting Provincial, 24/-."
- 28 Oct., 1783 "Expenses to 5 members for attending Provincial at Manchester, £1."
- 27 Sep., 1788 "Attending the Provincial, £1 2s. 6d."  
(3 members at 5/- each, and 3 at 2/6 each. This was the great Provincial meeting at which the Prov. G. Master, John Allen, a Bury man, attended; it was reported in Harrop's *Manchester Mercury* of 14th October, 1788.)
- 20 Oct., 1791 "Expenses attending the Provincial, £1 10s. 8d."
- 24 June, 1797 "Allowance of 1/6 to each Member who attend at Rochdale on Thursday next in open Lodge."

- 15 Mar., 1827 "W.M.'s Expences to Manchester. Requested to attend a provincial Grand Meeting respecting the Duke of York, 9s. 0d."
- 10 Sep., 1829 "Agreed all brethren attending Provincial should have 2s. 6d. each allowed them and the W.M. the whole of his expenses."

One of the books belonging to this Lodge contains the following:—

1. Articles of Union, 1813.
2. Proceedings of the Two Grand Lodges of England in Ratification of the Union.
3. Grand Assembly of Freemasons on 27th December, 1813.  
(Proceedings.)
4. Grand Assembly of Freemasons (Odes, Anthems, Songs & Glees performed at the Ceremony and subsequent Banquet.)
5. Reports of Quarterly Communications of 2nd March and 2nd May, 1814.

From these it is gathered that, when the M.W.G.M. (the Duke of Sussex) appointed the Grand Officers on 27th December, 1813, no Deacons were appointed, the first mention of them being in the Quarterly Communication of 2nd March, 1814; also, at the Installation of the Grand Master on 2nd May, 1814, no Inner Guard is mentioned.

The Quarterly Communication of 2nd March, 1814, authorized certain clothing and jewels, the chief differences being:—

Tassels—Grand Stewards "with Silver Tassels as heretofore."

No mention is made of them on any other Aprons.

Grand Deacons—The Dove with Olive Branch.

Deacons—The Dove.

Past Masters—The Square, with a Quadrant.

Masters and P. M.'s to wear in lieu of the Three Rosettes on the Apron what are now called "Levels"; these to be "of Ribband of the same colour as the lining and edging of the Apron."

Another of the books contains a list of Brethren from different Lodges who were expelled for various offences; also a list of Lodges erased by Grand Lodge on 22nd February and 5th March, 1828. Among the entries are the following:—

1. James Openshaw, Cotton Spinner, St. John's 607, Chowbent, expelled 30th Jan., 1823, for 999 years:—  
"For an attempt to seduce a Brothers child under 12 Years of Age."
2. Samuel Edge, Joiner, of the same Lodge, also expelled for 999 years, for:—  
"Attempting to have criminal Conversation with a Brothers wife."  
(Chowbent Lodge is now St. John's, No. 348, Bolton, and the minute book of that Lodge shows that such resolutions were passed on the date named.)
3. Nine from Liverpool, 16 from Wigan and 1 from Colne, a total of 26, are listed as having been expelled on 10th March, 1823, by Grand Lodge. The names include that of Michl. Alexr. Gage, and are of those who took part in the so-called "Liverpool Rebellion" or "Wigan Grand Lodge."

The Centenary of the Lodge was celebrated on 3rd July, 1833, when all old members, as well as those of the Prince Edwin and Naphtali Lodges, were invited. Divine Service was held at the Parish Church, and the Cash Book shows the following expenses:—

“ Sociable ” to fetch and take back Bro. the Rev.		
Birkett Dawson (P. Prov. G. Chap. of Anchor		
& Hope, No. 37, Bolton) including toll bars and		
glass to driver		14 2
Organ Blower		1 0
Musicians (The Bury Old Band)		3 0 0
Ringers and Apparitor		12 0
Sundries		3 3 3
Expenses		17 16 6
		<hr/>
		£25 6 11

The Celebration lasted from 1-0 to 11-0 p.m. and each Visitor paid 3/6 for liquor after dinner. The records, which are very detailed, show that 15 toasts were proposed and 15 songs given. The Sesqui-Centenary was celebrated similarly on 3rd July, 1883, and the Bi-Centenary on 17th October, 1933.

It was only in 1883 that a warrant for a Centenary Jewel was obtained, long after the time when a special design could be approved, so that the members now wear the Bi-Centenary jewel of conventional design.

The minute books contain evidence of the fact that they were always mindful of the wants of others, church and civic processions being often mentioned. Old traditions, ancient landmarks and beneficent work have been handed on, and have gradually become part of that universal system on which the sun never sets. The present members of the Lodge of Relief should be proud of the part played by their old members in the formation of the greatest and most widespread charitable organisation in the world.

#### THE LODGE OF TEMPERANCE, No. 403

For a period of 70 years (1733-1803) “Modern” Masons held sway in Bury, a period which, for a time, was interspersed with the formation of another Lodge, the Lodge of Temperance, on 23rd October, 1770, at the Red Lion Inn, Bury—probably constituted by R.W. Bro. John Allen, Prov. G. Master for Lancashire (1769-1806), a Bury man. He is recorded as being present on 28th October, 1778.

The Lodge was never strong numerically, and most of its members were also members of the Lodge of Relief, as were all its Masters. After a brief life of just over 15 years, it amalgamated with the Lodge of Relief on 22nd January, 1786, though it was kept on the Grand Lodge list until 1788, and erased 11th February, 1789. Its minute book is still in the possession of the Lodge of Relief, but its Warrant has not been preserved.

From the accounts of the Lodge of Unity, No. 267, Macclesfield, it appears that this Lodge, then meeting at the “Dog,” in Deansgate, Manchester, in 1788 purchased some furniture from Bury. It would seem as if this furniture (which is still used by the Lodge of Unity) is that which was purchased by the Lodge of Temperance in 1770.

#### “THE ANTIENTS”

Although South-East Lancashire was a stronghold of the “Antient” Grand Lodge, it was not until 1803 that an “Antient” Lodge began in Bury, where it still works under the title of “The Prince Edwin Lodge, No. 128.”

A Lodge of this name was warranted by the "Antient" Grand Lodge on 11th November, 1771, as No. 171, to meet at the Prince George, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, but it actually removed to the Spread Eagle, Chapel Street, Salford, in the same year.

The minutes of the Lodge of Friendship, No. 44 (then No. 39 on the "Antient" Grand Lodge Register, and the senior Lodge in the district), have the following entry:—

A Grand Lodge opened at 5 o'clock in the afternoon at the St. Anne Church & Mitre Hydes Cross in the Town of Manchester (Lancaster) Dec. 24, 1771.

No. 39 in the Chair by Authority (for 3 hours only) from Lau Dermott, Esq., D.G.M.

Installed	Mr. Alex Bremmyrre,	Master
	Richd. Hunt,	Sen. Warden
	Laurence Bryn,	Junr. Warden

Prest—The Officers and members of Lodge 39.

All matters relative to this Constitution being completed Bro. (blank) by the Authority aforesaid, proclaimed the Lodge duly constituted No. 171, Registered in the Grand Lodge Vol. 7, Letter G, to be held at the Prince George, Hanging Ditch (or elsewhere) in the Town of Manchester upon the 2nd & 4th Monday in each Calendar Month.

Closed at 8 o'clock, adjourned to the Grand Lodge in London.

Alexander Brymmyrre, the 1st Master of this Lodge, had been Master of the "Antient" Lodge No. 39 in 1758 and 1766; he was a well-known Mason and his name appears in quite a number of the South-East Lancashire "Antient" Lodge minutes.

The Lodge again transferred from Salford to Manchester in 1775, but ceased working and making returns in 1787, the consequence being that the Warrant was re-called by Grand Lodge on 5th June, 1793.

Under the Act for the more effectual Suppression of Societies established for Seditious and Treasonable Purposes (39 Year, George III) it was decided in 1799 that new Warrants could not be issued, and the alternative of re-issuing old ones was adopted. Accordingly, this warrant was re-issued, and the Lodge was re-constituted on 11th November, 1803, at the Bridge Inn, Bury, where it met continuously for over 100 years before removing to the present Masonic Hall.

There do not appear to be any minute books or records in the possession of the Lodge prior to 1803, apart from the warrant. From those which are in existence, however, one gathers that the working of this "Antient" Lodge did not differ very much from that of other "Antient" Lodges in Lancashire. Probably a quotation of interesting minutes will throw some light on "Antient" methods, *e.g.*:

- 4 June, 1807 The Worshipful Master & other Officers paid the fine (5/-) for not serving the office of Master.
- 28 Dec., 1807 The St. John's Festival and appointed Lodge day was opened at 3 o'clock p.m. and closed at 9. The Lodge was re-opened at 12 (Midnight) in the 1st D. and closed at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past one of the morning.
- 2 Feb., 1809 when Bro. Handley declared off the Body.
- 17 Dec., 1809 Thomas Hill passed the degree of a Fellow Craft, the Lodge was closed in the second degree and opened in the third, when he was raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason.

- 18 Oct., 1815 Determined by the body to send a person to Halifax to get the new method of working, when J. Whitehead, Junr. was appointed to go and have £1 per week for expenses.

This would be a reference to the Lodge of Reconciliation which met at Halifax in June, 1815, and was conducted by Bro. Philip Broadfoot.<sup>1</sup>

- 24 Sep., 1817 It was agreed unanimously to oppose paying either fees or anything to the Provincial Lodge.
- 14 Feb., 1808 Resolved that no man above the age of 40 years shall be admitted in this Society of Free and Accepted Masons.
- 12 June, 1825 It was resolved that the Lodge be closed in the new system. Bro. Johnson most elegantly went through the old system of making and closed after a day of hard labor at 5 o'clock in the most profound Harmony.
- 27 Aug., 1828 The Lodge closed in good harmony at 10 o'clock and re-opened at 5 minutes past, and in the first degree when Robert Cheadle and Thomas Schofield were reported by William Higson.
- 30 Nov., 1828 When Barlow, Rayby, Cheadle and Schofield were installed to the degree of past Masters.
- 27 July, 1831 Resolved, that this Lodge do make enquiry concerning the report that Isaac Jones has committed to writing certain ceremonies connected with Masonry contrary to the laws on Masonry, and that the Members be earnestly entreated to attend on Sunday, Aug. 7, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.  
(Note: It appears from the minutes that the charge was proved, for Bro. Jones's name does not afterwards appear in the minutes.)
- 11 Mar., 1835 It was resolved that the brethren shall not be fined who appears in colored neckerchiefs provided they appear clean and decent.
- 12 Aug., 1840 Bros. John and R. Maudsley took the degree of Past Masters.
- 25 June, 1866 On this day the Festival of St. John the Baptist was celebrated for the last time.

The ceremony of "Passing the Chair" is recorded on many occasions between 1807 and 1840; in 1828 two members took the degree two months after initiation. It was also no unusual proceeding for the W.M. to conduct the ceremony in a silk hat.

There are many instances of the "Antient" practice of conferring two degrees on a candidate on the same night, and many emergencies were held on Sundays. From 1807 to 1815 the W.Ms. were elected for periods of six months only.

In addition to the Royal Arch, the "Ark, Mark and Link" degrees, as well as the "Knights Templar" and "Red Cross Encampment" are mentioned.

But perhaps the principal theme running through the whole of the records is the Sick and Benevolent Fund, for it appears as if the members looked upon the Craft as a Benevolent Institution, rather than as a Masonic Society. As early as 1808 the age limit for admission, both to the fund and the Lodge, was fixed at 40, and the moneys of the fund appear to have been mixed up with those of the Lodge; certainly, in 1816, 13 years after commencing at Bury, the Lodge fund amounted to £227, a large sum for those days. This deep-rooted interest of a Friendly Society nature lasted until March, 1897, when the total

<sup>1</sup> See *History of Lodge of Probity*, No. 61, Halifax.



of £613 was calculated as belonging to the Fund and was divided among 61 members, the amounts paid out ranging from 5s. 10d. to £42 14s. 0d.

One of the most interesting items in connection with this, the only "Antient" Lodge in Bury, is that, in 1818, there was published *The Free-Masons' Melody*. Its title page states that it is a general collection of 170 Masonic Songs, &c., published by "the Brethren of Prince Edwin Lodge, No. 209, Bridge Inn, Bury, Lancashire." An account, dated 7 July, 1819, states:

"To printing, binding &c. &c. of 500 vols. of Songs, Copy  
12mo. £85-16-8."

In the *Transactions* of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research, vol. xviii, p. 41, there is a paper dealing with this book, and it is apparent that the author must have had access to the 1st Minute Book, from 1803, some time in 1927. It is regrettable that this 1st Minute Book has been missing for some years, and that fuller particulars of this "Antient" Lodge cannot, at present, be given.

#### THE LODGE OF ST. JOHN, No. 191.

This Lodge was originally warranted by the "Modern" Grand Lodge to meet at the "Woolpack," Deansgate, Manchester, on 4th June, 1769, when its number was 458. Apparently, it was named in 1781, when it was No. 305.

The "Woolpack" was at 7 Deansgate, and it stood on part of the site of the Victoria Hotel, which was destroyed by enemy action in December, 1940. In the next 48 years this Lodge met at no less than 7 different places in Manchester, all being public-houses used by the "Watch" Constables as lock-ups, according to the Court Leet records. Probably the most famous one of these was the Black a' Moor Head, Old Church Yard, where the Lodge of St. John met from 1812-1816. *Salford Fair*, by Thomas Wilson, one of the earliest Manchester dialect poets (*circa* 1810) has the following reference:—

At th' Black a Moor aw stopped o'reet, in th' morn aw coom away,  
But if th' brass had not been done, aw'd stopped another day.  
An now aw tell yo plain, yo women and yo men,  
If aw be wick and hearty too, next year aw'll goo again.

In 1817 the Lodge appeared to be declining; for the purpose of removing it, several new members were admitted, and they obtained a Dispensation on 28th September, 1817, from the Dep. Prov. G.M., Bro. Daniel Lynch, to remove to a private room at Warrington; this private room was at the Dispensary, Warrington, and, from the minutes, it appears that the 1st meeting took place there on 10th November, 1817, and not 1818, as stated in Lane's *Masonic Records*. At that time, it should be noted, the whole of Lancashire was one Province.

It is very unfortunate that the Lodge does not now possess any minute books or other records for the first 48 years of its Manchester existence; those now extant commence with the 1st meeting at Warrington in 1817.

It is evident from these records that the Lodge was not very prosperous at Warrington, as at many meetings the attendance was from 5 to 7, and in December, 1829, there were only 9 subscribing members. Correspondence shows that there had been no initiations or other increase in numbers for 3 years; further, many of the members were also members of the Lodge of Lights, then No. 246, Warrington.

Some of the most important minutes of the Warrington period are as follows:—

5 Jan., 1818 A Communication was read and received from Prov. Lodge stating Bro. Charles Pidgeon, Accountant, had been expelled for Defalcation in his Accounts as Treasurer.

The Charges from the Book of Constitutions were then read.

(Bro. Chas. Pidgeon was, from 1816-1819, the Prov. G. Secretary for Lancashire.)

A reading of the "Antient" Charges appears to have been the usual practice of the Lodge until about 1850, when it was dropped; it is still the custom of many of the old Lancashire Lodges to "read one or a portion of our Antient Charges before we close the Lodge," particularly in the Bolton District.

2 Nov., 1818 Bros. James Lowe, John Smith, John Charnock and Edward Bradshaw were made Past Masters.

There are many other records of this ceremony of "Passing the Chair," down to June, 1846, in spite of the fact that there is no recorded evidence of a Chapter. This date of 1846 is interesting, as it corresponds with the date of cessation in Bolton, where a note in May, 1846, by one of the candidates—Bro. Geo. P. Brockbank—states:—

"These were the last persons to go through this Ceremony, the New Authorities having prohibited the practice.."

Apparently, therefore, the Grand Lodge or Grand Chapter must have given some instruction regarding the practice.

Other interesting Warrington minutes are:—

- 7 June, 1819 "It was unanimously agreed that in consequence of the great care and attention of Wm. Bullough, the Tyler, that he should be presented with One Pound yearly, to commence from St. John's day, 24 June."
- 7 Feb., 1820 "The Lodge not opened in Memory of the King." (Geo. III died 29th January.)
- 2 Sep., 1822 "An unpleasantnes having arrisen respecting Bror. McClelands conduct it is unanimously agreed that if Bror. McCleland acknowledges he his sorry for what as unpleasantly transpired it shall be a sufficient appology on that head."
- 31 Mar., 1823 "A Communication from the Grand Lodge was read by the Secretary stating that twenty six individuals had been expelled from the Craft, being thought after due consideration unworthy longer to be called Free Masons and rendered ineligible to be admitted into any Lodge, or other Masonic Meeting whatever."  
(This minute obviously refers to the expulsion of certain Brn. and Lodges by Grand Lodge, resulting in the formation of the so-called "Wigan Grand Lodge.")
- 23 Feb., 1824 "The Lodge took into consideration the case of brother Bratt, and it proved to the Brethren that he had been repeatedly summoned to attend the Lodge, and had treated those summonse with contemptuous neglect & that he had behaved in a manner to Brethren (out of the Lodge) unbecoming the character of a Mason, and that he is also in arrears of subscription, it is therefore resolved unanimously that he be expelled this Lodge, and that notice be given to Grand Lodge & also to all the other Lodges in the County as is usual in such cases."
- 7 Nov., 1825 "The W. Master reported that he had attended the Pro. Grand Meeting at Manchester on the 31st Octr & that he had paid sixteen shillings for the four years subscriptions from this Lodge to the Grand Lodge.  
Brothers Josiah Perrin & Eskrigg passed the Chair."

One interesting letter from the Grand Secretary to the Lodge, during its Warrington period, shows the date on which the Prov. G. Master for Lancashire (Francis Dukinfield Astley) was suspended, a suspension which remained in force until his death on 25th July, 1825, in his 44th year; the following is a copy:—



(Signed)

Augustus Frederick, G.M.  
Kensington Palace,  
7 March, 1822.

Very Worshipful Brother

In consequence of the Irregularities which have taken place in the management of the Interests of the Masonic Fraternity of the Province of Lancashire on which Subject an Investigation must take place, I think it most proper that the Functions of the Provincial Grand Master and his Deputy, should for that period be placed in other Hands: With this view I request of you to take the immediate Charge of the Concerns of that Province, appointing a Brother whom you may think duly qualified to assist in this Investigation as your Deputy, taking his Instructions from you until these important matters shall have been explained, and the Grand Lodge shall have come to a final decision thereon.

For this purpose you will be so kind to adopt the most prompt measures, for informing the Provincial Grand Master for Lancashire of my Pleasure on this Subject, explaining to him most distinctly, that he is to consider this step as one of Prudence and Justice, and not as conveying either censure or any opinion relative to the transactions which have taken place, and which can only be decided, when the whole case has been examined into and reported to the United Grand Lodge.

You will further put yourself into immediate communication with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire, as well as with the several Craft Lodges, transmitting to them a Copy of this Letter of mine to you, which they are to consider as the Warrant of the Grand Master, authorizing you to assume the Command, over them.

By Command of His Royal Highness  
The Duke of Sussex, M.W.G.M.,  
William H. White, G.S.

To the V. Worshipful William Meyrick,  
Grand Registrar or Chancellor of the  
United Grand Lodge of England.

Another letter from the Grand Secretary, Bro. Edw. Harper, shows that, in July, 1825, three years' Quarterage and a subscription of "Three Guineas" to the School, were paid; another printed communication gives a copy of the address by Provincial Grand Lodge to Mrs. Susan Astley, widow of the late Prov. Grand Master.

It is obvious that, about this time, the Lodge was declining; hence, in December, 1829, the Lodge of Lights (now No. 148), the only other Lodge in Warrington, invited the Brethren of the Lodge of St. John to attend the next Regular Meeting for a conference. At this meeting it was proposed by the W.M.:—

"that the Lodge of St. John No. 322 with the whole of the furniture, Warrant &c. should be joined to this Lodge of Lights, No. 246. This was agreed."

This resolution, passed in January, 1830, was carried out, the members of Lodge 322 being admitted and entered as members of the Lodge of Lights,

as some of them already were. Evidence of this is shown in the Lodge of Lights' Cash Book, where there is the following entry:—

28 June, 1830 Cash paid J. Cowman, being sundry expenses in alterations and removing Lodge 322, 10s. 8d.

Between 1829 and 1834 there are no minutes recorded in the books of the Lodge of St. John, presumably because of the amalgamation with the Lodge of Lights. In 1832 the Lodge was still on the Register, for its number was changed from 322 to 226, and the Lodge of Lights must have kept the Warrant alive by paying all Grand and Provincial Lodge dues, until they could find a buyer. At all events, they disposed of some of the furniture, for there is an entry in the Cash Book:—

4 July, 1831 Cash received from Brother Robinson, of Over, for sundry furniture, etc., belonging to Lodge 322, £14 10s.

It is most probable that this furniture was purchased for the Lodge of Love and Harmony, No. 852, of Winsford, Cheshire, which was constituted in 1830 and erased in 1851.

There are some further interesting entries in the Cash Book of the Lodge of Lights, throwing light on what really happened:—

28 July, 1834—Amount received for the Warrant of St. John, £6 6s.; and Paid Wm. Evans Expenses to Liverpool with the Warrant of St. John's, 20s.

26 Novr., 1834—Paid John Smith for St. John's Lodge, £5.

The 2nd Minute Book now in the possession of the Lodge of St. John commences with a record of its transfer to St. Helens, and mentions that several Brethren of that Lodge:

“were desirous to transfer their rights in the Lodge with the consent of the R.W. Prov. G.M., provided their successors would defray certain debts incurred by the Lodge; and the R.W. D. Prov. G.M. was willing to allow the Lodge so to be transferred, if nine regular Master Masons were desirous so to receive it.”

Twelve members agreed to join if the R.W. Prov. G.M. would permit the Lodge to remove to St. Helens. A petition was then forwarded to him. A further record reads:—

“It was arranged that the Lodge should meet once a month on the Thursday nearest the Full Moon; that it should be a Supper Lodge; that the subscription should be Two Guineas pr. ann., payable in moities at the meetings in January and July; and that the initiation fee should be Five Guineas.”

Fifteen candidates were proposed for Initiation, the first record of a meeting at St. Helens being:—

24 July, 1834 “First regular Lodge night. Permission having been granted to remove the Lodge from the Talbot Inn, Warrington, to the Fleece Inn, St. Helens, and the W.M. having had dispensation granted to enable him to be the Master of this Lodge as well as the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 368, and on this occasion to make more than 5 Masons, he opened the Lodge on the 1st Degree, and 14 brethren were duly proposed and initiated.

N.B.—It was agreed at this meeting that the dress in which the members shall attend the Lodge is to be black, with black silk stockings.”

That the Lodge, for the first two or three years, flourished, but afterwards declined, is shown by the following minutes:—

- 27 Dec., 1834 "Resolved That Bro. Geo. Jones be buried with Funeral Honors & the P.G.L. be applied to for a dispensation."  
 "Resolved, That an inscription be put on Bro. Geo. Jones Tomb Stone at the expense of the Lodge, recording the loss that the Brethren sustained by his decease."  
 11 June, 1835 "The names of the members absent at the last meeting were called over and Bros. P. Greenall G. S. Jackson W. Watson & J. Glover only answered the first three of whom were excused by reason of absence on business and without the distance of a Cable tow and the last named fined 1/-.

*Removal to Bury.* There is an undated minute (probably early 1845) entitled "Bury Preparatory Meeting," from which we find that the St. Helens members:

"were desirous to transfer their right of the warrant . . . provided the successors would pay the dues to the Grand Lodge (about 9 years) and would purchase the Jewels, Furniture and Clothing, etc., which were all of the best quality and workmanship, at a price hereafter to be agreed upon . . ."

Three Brethren from Bury went to St. Helens and were duly proposed and admitted as Joining members, and they agreed to pay £32 for the Furniture and Jewels. They then proposed that the Lodge should be removed to Bury, provided a Dispensation could be obtained. At this time the Province of Lancashire had been divided into Eastern and Western Divisions (1825-6) and the removal from St. Helens (Western) to Bury (Eastern) had to be approved by both Prov. G. Ms. The Dispensation was duly obtained, and the first meeting of the Lodge of St. John (in Bury) took place at the Albion Hotel on 29th July, 1845.

Since that time it has met continuously at Bury, under a "Warrant of Confirmation," dated 4th July, 1846, signed by Zetland, Grand Master, embodying a clause that it was granted on account of the illegibility of the original (which is presumably in Grand Lodge Library).

In spite of the various breaks, the Centenary Festival was held on 24th July, 1869, and, although there was no grant of any Warrant authorizing the members of the Lodge to wear a Centenary Jewel, such a Jewel, dated 1869, has, in fact, been worn by the members.

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From the appended list it will be seen that, from 1733 to 1803, the only Lodge in the town was the Lodge of Relief (apart from the Lodge of Temperance, which sprang from and afterwards amalgamated with it).

From 1803 to 1830 there were two (Prince Edwin) and from 1830 to 1839, three. The addition was a "Modern" Lodge, constituted on 22nd Sept., 1788, by Bro. John Allen, Provincial Grand Master for Lancashire, who signed the warrant for it to meet at the Spread Eagle, Salford; this Lodge removed to Manchester in 1792, and to Bury in 1830, remaining there until 1839, when it removed to Whitefield; in 1842 it was back at Bury, and finally removed 3 miles to Heywood in 1858; it now meets there as the Naphtali Lodge, No. 266.

In 1845, with Naphtali and St. John, there were four until 1858, when Naphtali finally removed. Since that year five other Lodges have been formed, making a total of eight Lodges now meeting in the town at 5 different places. May our Bury Brethren soon decide to come together in a Masonic Hall more in keeping with the glorious traditions of this home of Masonry.

These eight Lodges use a ritual common to all of them, and known as the "Bury Ritual"; it is printed locally, and the costs are shared. One old copy certainly dates back to the 1870s, but its origin is a matter for conjecture, various alterations and additions being discernible. In 1816 we find that there was a Lodge of Reconciliation in Bury, but the new and the old systems were being worked in Prince Edwin Lodge in 1825. In 1843 both Relief and Prince Edwin Lodges appointed delegates to wait on:—

"Bro. Pitt from Manchester, to learn from him the proper mode of working the Craft, for this purpose the above brethren to be allowed to visit Prince Edwin Lodge No. 150 free of expense, and in return the brethren from 150 to be allowed to visit us with the same privilege."

Claret's Ritual had been purchased by Prince Edwin Lodge in 1839, and a comparison of the "Bury Ritual" with those in use in other old Lancashire Lodges seems to suggest a common basis, probably either *A Series of Masonic Illustrations* . . ., by Geo. Claret, 1838, or *The Ceremonies of Opening and Closing, Initiation, Passing and Raising, Installation &c.*, by G. Bradshaw, London, 1847, in any case with local variations.

A further note might be of interest. In both Relief and Prince Edwin, and in these two Lodges only, there is a Choral Service at the Annual Festival, a custom which is old-established and appears to have sprung from *The Free-Masons' Melody*.

#### THE HOLY ROYAL ARCH

The records of the Royal Arch in Bury are among the earliest in the country. In the minutes of the Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, Bolton, are to be found the following:—

- 24 Nov., 1768 "Our Lodge Assimbled in Ample Form, when Ralph Holt, Elijah Lomax and James Wood, were Enter'd and paid for the same (being Members of Bury Lodge) only each 2/6."
- 18 Dec., 1768 "A Lodge of Emergency when Ralph Holt, Elijah Lomax and Jas. Wood were Crafted and raised Master Masons they being before Modern Masons."
- 29 Jan., 1769 "Our R.A.L. Lodge Assembled in due form when Elijah Lomax, Ralph Holt and Jam<sup>s</sup>. Wood was made R:L, A-M & paid £1 11s. 6d."

(Note: James Wood, Weaver, age 38, of Tottington, was R.W.M. of Relief Lodge in 1764, 1768 and 1790. Elijah Lomax, Cordwainer, age 37, of Tottington, was R.W.M. in 1765.

Ralph Holt, Weaver, age 42, was R.W.M. in 1768 and 1790, and 1st Master of the Lodge of Temperance in 1770.

All three were present at the Provincial Lodge procession in Manchester, September, 1788.—*Vide Harrop's Manchester Mercury*, 14th October 1788.)

The first two of these Brethren were actually Past Masters, and the last was the Right Worshipful Master of Lodge 42 when all three were re-initiated, passed, raised and exalted in Anchor and Hope Lodge, Bolton.

At this time, as shown in the *Transactions* of the Manchester Research Association for 1941, Anchor and Hope Lodge was practising "Antient" ceremonies, and this statement comes with greater force when we consider that there is definite evidence in the 1790s that Relief Lodge was performing both "Antient" and "Modern" ceremonies, as shown previously.

In 1767 the Grand and Royal Chapter ("Modern") had been formed, but warrants were not issued until 1769, *i.e.*, some months after the various Brethren in Bolton, Bury, Colne and Burnley had been exalted in Craft Lodges.

The members of Anchor and Hope Lodge would not apply for an Arch Warrant until 1785, holding that they were entitled to work what ceremonies they liked, under their "Deputation" of 1732, whereas the three Bury Brethren mentioned lost no time in applying for one. The following is an extract from Grand Chapter minutes:—

10 Nov., 1769 (at the Turk's Head) "It was moved by Bro. Allen (Grand Superintendent of Lancashire) and duly Seconded that a Constitution be granted to the following Companions:—Jas. Wood, Elijah Lomax and Ralph Holt to hold a Chapter in a Private Room at Bury."  
(Note: At this time the Lodge had removed to the Old Hare and Hounds.)

Later, there is an entry without date:—

"Bury—Swan with Two Necks, the last day of Oct. and the last of every second month."  
(Note. The Lodge met here from 1790 to 1809.)

R.W. Bro. John Allen, Prov. G.M. for Lancashire, as Scribe N., was one of the eight who signed the "Compact" to form the "Grand and Royal Chapter" in 1767; when warrants were issued by the Grand Chapter, in 1769, he obtained four for Lancashire out of the first six.

Warrant No. 6 was granted by the Grand and Royal Chapter on 11th October, 1769, to Most Sacred, or Universality, London, but apparently it was not taken up, for, on 11th November, 1769, this No. 6 was granted to Lodge of Intercourse Or Chapter of Unanimity, Bury; in 1793 the No. was 7, as was also its number in 1813, the No. 6 being taken up by Euphrates or Chapter of the Garden of Eden, Manchester, which had been No. 2 in 1769 (probably through being dormant.)

Unanimity Chapter was responsible for bringing into being the Chapter of Trinity, No. 63, Manchester, in 1788 (now erased), by exalting 3 Companions and giving them a recommendation for a Warrant, which the Bolton Chapter also supported; other Chapters have also sprung from Unanimity.

In a circular calling a meeting of Grand Chapter for 28th March, 1793, the Chapter is mentioned as No. 7, meeting at "The Swan with Two Necks." Another mention is as follows:—

30 April, 1803 "Companion Scott of the Chapter of Unanimity No. 6 (7) and another asked permission to visit Grand Chapter, which was granted and the Companions were introduced in due form."  
(Richard Scott was an attorney, exalted in the Chapter in 1792.)

On 21st March, 1820, a list of names had been sent up and recorded at Grand Chapter, but it was obvious that "Unanimity" had not applied for a renewal warrant from the United Grand Chapter, nor had they attached the Chapter to some Craft Lodge, as was required by the Regulations of 1817. On 22nd November, 1821, they were told that "Not having conformed to the new Rules and Regulations you must conform by May next."

On 5th June, 1824, they were told that the Chapter was declared extinct, but they pleaded that the correspondence had been lost or mislaid through the

Lodge room being pulled down. This excuse must have been accepted, for, in April, 1825, the original Warrant was returned to Grand Chapter in return for a Warrant of Confirmation, which is dated 4th May, 1825. A Centenary R.A. Warrant was granted in 1883.

#### PRINCE EDWIN CHAPTER, No. 128.

The "Antient" Lodge of this name has no records available before 1803; in addition, the minutes of 1771-1807 are missing. No doubt, in accordance with "Antient" practice, the R.A. would be worked during the Manchester period, along with other degrees, but there was a complete break between the Manchester and Bury periods.

After the Union of Chapters in 1817, a R.A. Warrant of Confirmation was taken out on 4th February, 1818, and this is the Warrant under which the Chapter now works.

The 1st Minute Book of the Chapter has minutes from 16th August, 1811, to 15th August, 1830, previous records being in the Lodge Minute Book.

The 1st meeting is recorded as follows:—

Aug. 18, 1811. Royal Arch Chapter open'd at 4 o'Clock in the Evening When the Said Companions where present Jas. Wood, And. Barrit, Jos. Broadley, John Henshall, Jas. Lomax, Thos. Lucas, Wm. Snape, Wm. Livesey, John Whitehead Senior, John Whitehead Junior, Thos. Hill, Jas. Nuttall, Richd. Heyworth, Wm. Johnson, Henry Ainsworth. Visiting Companions of Loge Chapters was present Phineas Elton, Charnock, Powel, Yearsley, Bradley, War of Lodge 196, Major North of 220 Royl. Lanca. Malitia, Mathew MacCabe of 239 Manchester. When the Said Companions John Astley, Daniel Astley, Thos. Redfern was Exalted to the Sublime Degree of E.S.E.R.A. Closed Chapter in good Harmony.

James Wood	Z.
Andrew Barrett	H.
Joseph Broadley	J.
Jas. Lomax	N. Scribe
John Henshall	E. ,,

Similar minutes are to be found in the 1st Chapter Minute Book up to 1830, with the addition of "Closed Chapter in good Harmony, Brotherly Love and Companionship."

The 3 Ps. were, from 1813 to 1828, entitled the "3 Grand Chiefs," though they signed the minutes with the same initials as above; similarly, there was no differential nomenclature for the 3 Ss. until May, 1827.

From 1807-11 there is plenty of evidence in the Lodge Minute Book of "Passing the Chair," and there are two notes in February, 1820, and September, 1828, regarding the K. Ts., but no minutes, *e.g.*,

The following Comps. agreed to take Kn<sup>t</sup>. Templars Ralph Greenalch Jas. Whitehead John Prestwich J. Rogers Hulme, Henry Walker to be held Sept. 14, 1828 at 2 O'clock.

Visitors were frequent, mainly from the other "Antient" Lodges until 1815, when Comps. appear from the "Modern" Lodge of Relief, No. 42.

One interesting minute is as follows:—

17 Nov., 1816 "It was agreed by a majority of the Companions present that any Companion present may bring his wife up into the Room except on Arch night once but not more."



Another is:—

16 Feb., 1829 "It was unanimously agreed that Bro. Crompton be put off till next Arch meeting and in the mean time to write to the provincial Grand Master to know whether it is proper that a mason should be allowed to join any other secret society."

Bro. Crompton was exalted on 17th August, 1829, but it might be well to explain that South-East Lancashire was, at this period, a stronghold of quasi-masonic societies, notably the Oddfellows, Druids and Free Gardeners.

From a letter in the possession of Grand Chapter it appears that the members of this Chapter were not in the habit of paying for Grand Chapter certificates; indeed, certificates were applied for in 1829 for Companions who had been exalted 14 years before. The fees for registering in 1829 appear to have been 7/6 each and also 7/6 for certificates. "Raised to the D. of E.S.E.H.R.A. mason" occurs in 1830.

The Chapter has always been flourishing and it possesses a Centenary Warrant.

#### CHAPTER OF ST. JOHN

There is evidence of some R.A. activity in the "Modern" Lodge now known as the Lodge of St. John, No. 191, Bury, before it was removed to that town in 1845, but there is no evidence of a Warrant or return of members to Grand Chapter.

On 10th May, 1784, the Chapter of Unanimity, No. 42, Bury, supported a petition to Grand and Royal Chapter for a Royal Arch Chapter for the Rt. Wor. Master, P.Ms. and Wardens of the Fleece Lodge, No. 305, Manchester, who had been exalted in Unanimity Chapter; this is the same Lodge.

It is quite evident that a Warrant was not issued, because all the Warrants issued from 1783 to 1788 are numbered from 29 to 63, and all have been identified.

Later evidence shows that, in 1820, R.A. certificates were paid for, indicating that the Lodge or Chapter had been working the ceremony without a warrant—not an unusual proceeding at this time. The authorities accepted the money, but, when they found that the St. John's Companions had not taken out a warrant, they required a petition for a new warrant; the Lodge could not conform with this requirement, for it was in financial difficulties at the time, and the scheme was allowed to lapse. At no time had this "Modern" Lodge any authority to work the Royal Arch.

#### KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

The 1st minute book of the Lodge of Relief, No. 42, dating from 1733, contains in its back pages some interesting minutes of a Knights Templar Conclave, formerly held in Bury. The first record is as follows:—

13 Mar., 1808 This Day the Meeting of the St. Mich<sup>l</sup>. Conclave No. 23. The Conclave was open'd & Consecrated in Due Form at 3 O'Clock.

Present S <sup>r</sup> . Knights	Joseph Heap	R.G.C.
	James Hamer	S.G.C.
	Mich <sup>l</sup> . Haworth	I.G.C.
	Francis Berry	S. Ex.
	David Torr	J. Ex.

Will<sup>m</sup>. Parkinson  
 Henry Whitehead  
 Joseph Bentley  
 Mich<sup>l</sup>. Clare  
 John Brierley  
 Peter Baron

The Conclave was Clos'd in Peace & Harmony at 5 O'Clock.

There are 18 other similar minutes of meetings held between 1808 and 1821, and the list of members for 1812 shows a total of 25.

The David Torr mentioned as a member of the Conclave would probably be the Bro. Torr of the Lodge of Union, who was a frequent visitor to the Lodge of Fortitude, No. 64; in June, 1810, when he visited that Lodge, he admonished the Junior Deacon for communicating information concerning the Masonic Mysteries. The Junior Deacon said in defence: ". . . probably the slander arose from the malignity of those that envy him." This excuse was accepted, but he was nevertheless "seriously admonished to be ever in future strictly on his guard to abstain from all appearance of evil, nor give the most distant innuendo of our sacred science."

There is no doubt that this Conclave was very well known, for there are many records of visitors from Manchester, including the Deputy Prov. G. M. for Lancashire (Daniel Lynch). The Warrant was received on 2nd April, 1809, and cost £3 3s. The Encampment is still working at Rawtenstall, where it was removed from Bury, as the St. Michael K.T. Preceptory, No. 12.

The K.T. Preceptory which now meets at Bury is the St. Bernard, No. 123, the date of its Warrant being 1st November, 1872.

It is also interesting to know that the "Antient" Lodge of Prince Edwin must have been working the K.T. degree in that Lodge, for there are several entries in the minute books, such as the following:—

14 Sep., 1828 at 2 o'clock the following took the Knt. Templars Ralph Greenalch, Jno. Whitehead, John Prestwich, J. Rogers, S. Hulme and Henry Walker.

There is also a certificate in existence (*circa* 1810) showing that the degree was given in the Royal Arch Lodge, No. 171, "Antient," which was the number of the Prince Edwin Lodge, No. 128, at that time.

## THE MARK DEGREE

In the minute books of the Prince Edwin Lodge are to be found references to meetings at which were conferred the Ark, Mark and Link degrees, as well as the "Red Cross Encampment." It was not until 18th July, 1871, however, that the Brethren obtained a Warrant to establish the "Alfred Mark Lodge, No. 136," to which was attached on 31st May, 1884, the "Lathom Lodge of Royal Ark Mariners."

In the minute books of the "Modern" Lodge of Relief, No. 42, there are 11 meetings recorded between 1834 and 1847, of brethren "Passing the Chair," 6 of these meetings also recording the Ark, Mark and Link degrees; two of these meetings (1838 and 1841) were held in conjunction with the Prince Edwin Lodge. Here are typical entries:—

22 Aug., 1841 "Two Brethren took the degree of M.A.L. & W<sup>r</sup>. Mason."

10 Nov., 1844 "Lodge of Emergency for Passing the Chair and the Degree of Mark, Ark and Link and Wrestle Masons."

9 members Passed the Chair & were Saluted in due form.

11 "Took the Ark Mark Link & Wrestle Mason."

(Note: Of these 11, 9 were those who had previously Passed the Chair.)

In the "Modern" Lodge of St. John, No. 191, the only record appears to be:—

11 June, 1846 "Lodge then opened to P.M. Degree at 7 p.m. & the follg. Brethren passed the Chair.

Thomas Crompton

Jas. Barlow

Henry Henshall

Lodge then opened in Mark Masonry & same brethren reed. Mark Masonry at 8.5. The Lodge was then closed to the Second Degree & Brother Wm. Pitfield passed to the Degree of Fellow Craft.

A 2nd Mark Lodge, the Callender Mark Lodge, No. 123, was warranted on 6th December, 1870; there are, therefore, two Mark Lodges and one Royal Ark Mariners Lodge in Bury.

*Treasures of the Lodge of Relief, No. 42, Bury:—*

Warrant: Dated 3rd July, 1733, issued by the Earl of Strathmore, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England.

Furniture: Old Chippendale chair, purchased 27th December, 1769, at a cost of £3 10s. 6d. Now used by the W.M.

Two old Chippendale chairs, used by S.W. and J.W., purchased 3rd May, 1791, for £6 14s. 0d.

Pillars or Columns for W.M., S.W. and J.W., purchased 25th March, 1761; cost £2 2s. 0d.

Eagle and Stand.

Emblem of Father Time (Height 58 in.).

Emblem, in wood, gilded, of an Ear of Corn.

Three footstools for W.M., S.W. and J.W. in use since 1771.

Transparency "Zodiac," painted and re-gilded 3rd May, 1792.

"Lewis," with rough and perfect ashlar, purchased 3rd May, 1792, at a cost of £2 14s. 0d.

Lamp for Transparency, purchased 24th June, 1817.

Maul used in laying the first stone of Union Square, Bury, on 5th July, 1784.

Oil Painting by Bro. Wm. Murray, of Prince Edwin Lodge, Bury; portrays "Old Molly" falling through the ceiling to Lodge room where Brethren are meeting.

Old Oil Painting, "Masonic duties towards Brethren." Exhortation concludes with Charge:—"Masons, children of the same God; ye who are already Brethren through the universal faith build closer the ties of brotherly love and Vanish for ever all prejudices that might disturb our brotherly union."

General: Certificate of Membership of the Lodge, in use 1800-13.

Lodge Seal, in brass, No. 57, in use 1814-32.

Tyler's Hat; this is generally understood to go with the Tyler's coat now in the possession of Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, Bolton; each jokingly claims the other.

Pair of Iron Compasses, purchased 27th December, 1783.

Brass emblems, B., J. and G., in use since 1771. No record of purchase.

Two Lead Tobacco boxes, embossed with Masonic emblems, purchased 20th February, 1832.

Snuff Horn, presented to the Lodge in 1819.

Jugs, which date from 1792.

Deacons' Jewels—"Mercury bearing the Caduceus"—date about 1809.

*Prince Edwin Lodge:—*

This Lodge also possesses two "Mercury" jewels, along with what is described as the I.P.M's. jewel, viz., Compasses, Sun and Quadrant. All these were discarded in 1912 for the more modern ones.

*Lodges &c. meeting in Bury, Lancashire*

	No.	Date of Warrant	Now meets at:—
<i>Craft:—</i>			
Relief	42	3.7.1733	Derby Hotel
Prince Edwin	128	11.11.1771	Masonic Hall
St. John	191	4.6.1769	Knowsley Hotel
		4.7.1846	
		(Confirmatory)	
Prince of Wales	1012	14.4.1864	Derby Hotel
Egerton	1392	20.2.1872	Boar's Head Hotel
Earl of Lathom	2560	18.10.1895	Royal Hotel
Knowsley	4661	1.7.1924	Masonic Hall
Bury	5119	1.5.1929	Royal Hotel
Temperance	403	23.10.1770	Red Lion (Erased 1789)
Naphtali	266	2.9.1788	Met at Bury 1830-9 and also 1842-58 Now at Heywood, Lancs.
<i>Arch:—</i>			
Unanimity	42	11.11.1769	Knowsley Hotel
Prince Edwin	128	About 1806	Royal Hotel
		18.2.1818	
		(Confirmatory)	
<i>Mark:—</i>			
Callender	123	6.12.1870	Derby Hotel
Alfred	136	18.7.1871	Masonic Hall
<i>Ark Mariners:—</i>			
Lathom	136	31.5.1884	Masonic Hall
<i>Secret Monitor:—</i>			
Bury	80	15.3.1937	Derby Hotel
<i>Knights Templar:—</i>			
St. Bernard	123	1.11.1872	Derby Hotel
St. Michael	12	10.4.1808	Formerly met at Bury; now meets at Masonic Hall, Rossendale

*L'Envoi*

It is extremely unfortunate that the following records now appear to be missing:—

Unanimity Chapter, No. 42.

Prince Edwin Lodge, No. 128 (the Manchester period 1771-1787 and first Minute Book from 1803).

Lodge of St. John, No. 191 (the Manchester period 1769-1817).

For this paper all available records have been consulted, including those of many old Lancashire Lodges, as well as the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire.

Grand Lodge records are not at present available, owing to the exigencies of War, though some incomplete evidence has been abstracted therefrom.

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Rogers for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. F. M. Rickard, seconded by Bro. G. Y. Johnson; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, W. W. Covey-Crump, W. I. Grantham, F. R. Radice, W. E. Heaton, H. C. Booth, S. Pope and G. W. Bullamore.

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Bro. F. M. RICKARD said:—

In research into the origins of the Craft, the principal guiding lights are historical facts; on which account the importance of the histories of Lodges cannot be over-rated. So we must be grateful to Bro. Rogers for giving us this story of Freemasonry in Bury.

It is always interesting to speculate on what could have been the causes of the founding of early Lodges, and, in connection with this particular Lodge of Relief, there are some points which rise to one's mind.

The small community of weavers would hardly have had any connection with operative masonry; so it would seem that the idea of Freemasonry would have been imported from without. If one may deduce ideas from the rules and the name of the first Lodge, it may be surmised that there had existed, before the Lodge's foundation, some sort of benevolent society in Bury, and that the founders of the Relief Lodge would thus find the ground suitably prepared for establishing a Lodge. It would be interesting to have more information about these founders. Were they in their civic capacities connected with Bolton, and where did they become Freemasons?

The petition to the Grand Master suggests that the petitioners had been practising Masonry for a while previous to their petition. But in what connection? And where? In Bury—perhaps to make sure that the effort to establish a Lodge would not be in vain. That 59 Brethren became members of the Lodge during its first 35 years shows that the Lodge was planted in fruitful ground; but it would be of interest to know some details concerning these Brethren.

The election of Master after 1818 does not seem quite clear—as we are told that the half-yearly elections continued until 1820, though the installation of two Masters per year ceased in 1818.

I do not think that the design of the jewel worn by the Deacons necessarily indicates the date at which the Deacons were appointed, as the jewels procured might have been of an earlier date than the appointment.

It is deduced from the cash book that the drawing of the Lodge was not so early as 1771; might it not be that the drawing of the Lodge before

the tape was procured was such an ordinary regular practice as not to require mention in the minutes?

The limiting of age for initiation to 40 strikes one as curious, as it seems to indicate that before the limit was imposed there must have been many instances of elderly men joining. Does this corroborate the idea that the benevolent purpose was uppermost? Was there any Friendly Society in the town?

Another curiosity is the length of time prescribed for expulsion—999 years seems a peculiar period.

Apparently, Freemasonry in Bury to a large extent recruited by the migration of Lodges from other places—and one wonders what was the attraction to Bury when these Lodges had failed to carry on in more populous towns like Manchester and Warrington. Perhaps we may get more information about them when fuller histories of these Lodges are written.

Bro. Rogers has given us a list of the Treasures belonging to the Lodge of Relief. It would be interesting to have the story of, and an explanation of, the use made of any unusual items, *e.g.*, eagle and stand. Bro. Rogers has told us of the Bury Ritual. This indicates a special and perhaps old working. We should like to have an enlargement on any peculiar ceremonial customs and their origin.

Lancashire is the home of so many distinctive Masonic practices that a Lodge history from Lancashire is always welcome—and I propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Rogers for his paper.

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Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON said:—

In these days of difficulty in travel, I count myself fortunate in being present to-day to listen to such an excellent paper. The history of old country Lodges is always a fascinating study and Bro. Rogers is to be congratulated on the care and pains he has taken. I particularly liked his opening remarks about the history and conditions in Bury in the early eighteenth century.

The custom of a private Lodge acting as the Provincial Grand Lodge appears to have been fairly widespread; in Yorkshire, the Apollo Lodge of York assumed control of the Province for a number of years, but in Lancashire I note that various private Lodges governed the Province on occasion. I take it that a change took place on the appointment of each new Provincial Grand Master. The by-laws of 1734 state that the Lodge held Quarterly communications in addition to the monthly meetings. Was this the general custom in Lancashire at this time? The Initiation Fee in 1803 of £4/10/- strikes me as being high for a country Lodge.

There is much humour to be found in the minutes of old Lodges, and the Lodge of Relief is no exception. The Secretary must have had his tongue in his cheek when he wrote the minutes of 24th June, 1767: "By the 12th Article composed by Bro. James Wood he is himself excluded". The payment of 1/3d for a sermon on 25th June, 1782, seems a very reasonable charge. The Lodges in Yorkshire have something to learn from Lancashire in the purchase of sermons. On 24th June, 1807, Bro. Clough was chosen "perpetual Secretary", a description new to me, but one that would receive the approval of most Provincial Grand Secretaries.

One of the most striking points in the paper is the influence of the "Antients". The Lodge of Relief wished to cater for all tastes, and the three Brethren who were raised in 1791 and 1792 in three different ways, as Bro. Rogers says, is "interesting history". In 1809 the Lodge of Relief appointed Deacons, thereby following the example of the Prince Edwin Lodge, which was also meeting in Bury at this time.

Laurence Dermott seems to have been jealous of delegating his authority, as I find that, when Lodge No. 176 was constituted at Sheffield in October, 1772, by the Grand Lodge of the "Antients", the time specified was also "for three hours only."

In conclusion, I congratulate Bro. Norman Rogers on his paper, and have pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to him.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Bro. Norman Rogers's paper on "Two Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Bury" is hardly an inspiring effort. There is an entire lack of high lights in it.

My own experience of Freemasonry in that town extends to nearly forty-eight years, in the earlier part of which I knew quite well several old Brethren whose careers had covered fifty years or more. Thus, Bro. James Kenyon, a draper and undertaker, was stated to have been initiated before Queen Victoria was crowned, and he lived well into the twentieth century. He was active during all that time, especially with his knife and fork, in spite of his lean and hungry look. Then Bro. John Redfern claimed that he and his father had worked the extended ceremony of Installation in the Lodge of Relief for over eighty years. Efforts by the authorities to stop it were not altogether successful. The Deputy Provincial Grand Master (Bro. Clement Robert Nuttall Beswicke-Royds), the Provincial Grand Registrar (Bro. William Self Weeks), and the Provincial Grand Secretary (Bro. James Newton), tried to persuade the P.Ms. of the Lodge to desist without getting a favourable reply. An ultimatum was then issued, that, failing compliance, no further Provincial honours would be granted to the Lodge. That brought the so-called recalcitrants to heel, but it did not fail to have repercussions, and I have seen amusing episodes in the Lodge owing to the illogicality of the proceedings. The strange thing about all those people who try to alter old-established customs is that they know little or nothing about the historic importance of our ceremonies. Psychology, I am told, always causes a man to condemn in others the faults of which he is guilty himself.

These few incidents only serve to show how much Bro. Rogers has missed. I suggest he might add an appendix to his paper to include the names of bygone stalwarts and of their doings and idiosyncrasies.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

I should like first of all to congratulate Bro. Rogers on the method he has adopted in presenting the new Masonic facts he has disinterred for our instruction and edification. By giving a vivid and arresting sketch of the district generally in the eighteenth century, he provided the proper background against which to display the activities of our Order in those parts. He has done this so successfully that the whole story is much more enthralling than if he had confined himself to extracts from contemporary Masonic documents, which, as all of us know only too well, are often arid as well as curt.

Bro. Rogers has made such a careful gleaning of everything affecting his subject that few of us can hope to add any fresh information. Certainly, I am not in a position to do so, and my comments will, therefore, merely aim at emphasizing one or two points of general interest.

First of all, just a word about Deputations and Warrants. Years ago Chetwode Crawley explained the differences between these two methods of constituting a Lodge, and, stated in very simple terms, here is the kernel of the matter. In the early years of the Grand Lodge of England the Grand Master or some Brother deputed to act in his stead (whence "Deputation")

visited the group of Masons who wished to be recognised as a regular Lodge, installed the Master and Wardens, and authorized them to meet at a particular place; whereupon the new Lodge was inscribed in the official list and became regular. The record of these proceedings might be preserved or not, more often the latter, but in cases where it has been preserved, some Lodges still in existence, as Bro. Rogers has pointed out, use it as their certificate of regularity, and have every right to do so. Nor let it be forgotten that, until the seventeen-fifties, this was the only written document that could have been shown by any English Lodge to prove that it was not a clandestine body. However, in the year 1732, the Grand Lodge of Ireland devised the Masonic Warrant, a document made for as much exhibition as possible, no labours in Lodge being considered regular unless the Warrant was exposed to view. In fact, from 1732 the Warrant became an essential part of the furniture of a regular Irish Lodge. This custom was introduced to England by the Irish element which helped to form the Grand Lodge of the Antients in 1752. My own idea is that it helped the "Antients" not a little in securing adherents. Be that as it may, the original Grand Lodge of England copied the idea within a very few years of its introduction to this country, and from that day to this, all over the world, the possession of a Warrant from some recognised Grand Lodge is the hall mark of Masonic respectability. My main reason in going over such a well-beaten path is simply to point out that the great bulk of the English private Lodges preserved no documentary evidence of their constitution, and were retained on the list by giving contributions to the Charity, or by correspondence long since destroyed. Some of course took out Warrants of confirmation after 1760, but not one of these documents which I have seen differs in its terminology from an entirely new Warrant, thus showing that the idea was a novel one to the authorities of the original Grand Lodge of England. It is needless in this place to discuss why the Grand Lodge of Ireland devised the idea of Warrants as a test of regularity; but let it not be forgotten that it was the originator of them, and has imposed the custom on the whole Masonic world.

The mention of Quarterly Communications in the by-laws of 1734 and the dates whereon they were to be held is worthy of notice. Till well into the nineteenth century the country Lodges in County Antrim were also holding Quarterly Communications, on which days it was usual to confer the Degrees of Royal Arch or Knight Templar, to say not a word of "Passing the Chair". The mention of the feasts of the Annunciation and St. Michael in the Lancashire document, however, carries us much further back than the date of the entry. How far back? Here, indeed, is matter for speculation.

The fifth Degree in Masonry mentioned in 1787 would have been the Royal Arch, if we reckon the three Craft Degrees followed by the Past Master's as preliminaries. In Freemasons' Hall we preserve some R.A. certificates of contemporary date showing five "steps" of red ribbon in the margin of the paper, with seal attached. I have been accustomed to meet the Excellent and Super-Excellent Degrees as preliminary steps to the Royal Arch, and seldom, if ever, as superior to it. In any case, the secrets and legends of the Excellent and Super-Excellent Degrees are now comprised in the ceremony of "Passing the Veils" as still practised in some Constitutions. So, on this occasion, I beg to differ from Bro. Hughan.

Another series of Degrees is worth a comment: that of the Ark, Mark, Link, and Wrestle, almost always conferred in a bunch. The first two were different from those we now know by these names. Our actual English Mark Degree has, however, been with us from as least as early as 1769. The Degree in vogue in Ireland is a different version both in legend and details.

I shall not refer to the many other extracts, which add to our knowledge, given by Bro. Rogers from the Minute Books; and, in conclusion, will merely register my thanks for his labours and my admiration for the result.



BRO. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

May I be kindly associated with the vote of thanks to Bro. Rogers for his welcome contribution to our annals?

His subject does not provide much scope for criticism—especially from one under the disadvantage (for which he frankly apologizes) of being devoid of a personal acquaintance with Bury. To such a one, the important interest of the paper has been the new and curious evidence of fraternal inter-communion in S.E. Lancashire between “Moderns” and “Antients” twenty years before any steps towards *rapprochement* were taken in London. It was doubtless with a view to promote mutual visitation that the Lodge of Relief was willing to work “Antients’” ceremonies (when occasion required) for some of its members.

That, in Lancashire, as elsewhere, Masonic principles and tenets should be mentally associated with the objects of a Sick and Benefit Club is readily understandable, when we bear in mind the rapid and experimental transition in such districts from agricultural to industrial circumstances.

Finally, the expression “Rochdale in Essex” (at bottom of page 88) is presumably an error for “Rochford”, which, being near the coast, would be liable to “an inundation of the sea”.

BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

Bro. Norman Rogers has made good use of the material at his disposal and is to be congratulated upon the orderly arrangement of this paper. But, apart from a passing reference to the *Manchester Mercury* in relation to a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire in the year 1788, the author appears not to have drawn for his material upon any of the local newspapers of the period in question. Contemporary Press references frequently throw an interesting side light upon the activities of early masonic lodges, and deserve consideration when the history of such lodges is being compiled. The lack of Press references in the present paper may well be due to the difficulty of consulting such records in time of war.

As this paper deals very largely with the activities of a “Modern” lodge which was already firmly established by the time that attempts were made to incorporate the Society between 1767 and 1772, I would venture to ask Bro. Rogers whether in the course of his researches he alighted upon any reference to the manner in which the members of the Lodge of Relief recorded their vote on receipt of the letter addressed to all “Modern” lodges early in the year 1769. This question is asked because it is desired to extend the list of lodges which voted for or against incorporation printed in the paper on that subject in volume xlv of our *Transactions*.

If the south-eastern corner of Lancashire was one of the strongholds of the “Antient” Grand Lodge in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it is certainly surprising to find no trace of any “Antient” lodge at Bury until the year 1803—only ten years before the Union of the rival Grand Lodges in 1813. But, from the evidence laid before us in this paper, it is apparent that “Antient” influences were at work in Bury well before the Union, in spite of the non-existence of any “Antient” lodge in the town. Among the examples of “Antient” tendencies quoted in this paper are those minutes of the Lodge of Relief which record that certain members of this “Modern” lodge were, at various times, “Passed and Raised in the Antient”. One of the brethren stated to have been raised in the “Antient” as well as in the “Modern” manner was Bro. John Randle. The author goes so far as to suggest that Bro. Randle went through the ceremony of the third degree on no less than three separate occasions. But this suggestion is, I think, due to a misapprehension. The relevant entries are these:—

- 14 July, 1791 John Randle Raised Modern Crafte.  
 15 Sep., 1791 John Randle Rais'd the 3rd stepe of Modern Masonry.  
 9 Feb., 1792 John Randle Raised Master Mason Antient.

I would suggest that the word "Craft" in the expression "Raised Modern Craft" is an abbreviation for the word "Fellow-Craft", and that on the occasion in question Bro. Randle merely took the second degree. If the third degree was intended, it would have been more natural for the Secretary to have coupled the name of John Randle with that of Alexander Nicholson, who was "Raised Master" on the same evening.

Abbreviations of a puzzling nature are frequently met with when transcribing the early records of a masonic lodge. Several instances of these abbreviations are to be found in this paper. One in particular has somewhat puzzled me. I refer to the third entry in the section of this paper which deals with the Royal Arch, namely:—

29 Jan., 1769 Our R.A.L. Lodge Assembled in due form when  
 was made R:L, A-M.

Can the author of this paper, or any other Brother, interpret the abbreviations which occur in this quotation?

I would also ask Bro. Rogers if, from his study of the minute book in question, he can tell us what the members of the Prince Edwin Lodge were doing between midnight and half past one in the morning of December 28th, 1807, bearing in mind the fact that the Brethren had already been in session for no less than six hours between 3 and 9 p.m. on the previous day in celebration of the Festival of St. John in Winter?

The author has given us the names of the 57 members of the Lodge of Relief who signed the Lodge By-laws between 1734 and 1769. Is it too much to hope that, before this paper is finally printed in our *Transactions*, it will be found possible for an appendix to be added, setting out the names of all Brethren who visited this lodge from the date of its constitution in 1733 until a few years after the Union of 1813, with the names or numbers of the lodges to which the visiting Brethren belonged, if these details are recorded in the minutes?

In the course of this paper the author records with regret that the first minute book of the Prince Edwin Lodge, dating from the year 1803, has been missing for some years, although known to have been consulted by a masonic student as recently as 1927. The loss of old minute books when that loss is due to enemy action is much to be deplored; but the loss of such records for reasons unconnected with the war is quite inexcusable. I would urge, if I may, that the time is now ripe for concerted action to be taken by all Provincial Grand Lodges with a view to ascertaining the precise nature of the early records still in the possession of private lodges within their jurisdiction, in order that carefully compiled lists of all such records may be available for reference by students at the headquarters of each Province.

Let me conclude these observations by expressing the hope that the history of Freemasonry in other parts of Lancashire will receive attention at the worthy hands of Bro. Norman Rogers, to whom we are much indebted for this paper.

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Bro. F. R. RADICE said:—

I am glad to associate myself with the tribute of appreciation to Bro. Rogers. This paper gives us a plain unvarnished tale, plainly told. It gives information and facts, and leaves speculation and discussion of theories to others, and I am sure that many Brethren will find in Bro. Rogers's facts the means of filling up several *lacunæ* in their own subjects. For instance, it is remarkable

that, since Bro. Lepper gave us his essay on *The Traditioners*, many of the papers read since then have added little bits of evidence to support his contention. Here we have a Lodge actually working both the "Modern" and the "Ancient" Ritual; and I wonder whether there are any other instances of such amphibious, or, perhaps, I should say amphihieratic characteristics.

Bro. Rogers's paper contains many points of interest. I particularly appreciate his sketch of life in Bury in the past; and what has struck me particularly is the vitality of Bury Freemasonry. There is only one erasure to chronicle, and that was due to amalgamation, not decess. Moreover, other Lodges which did not flourish in other localities tended to gravitate to Bury to gain a fresh lease of life.

Our attention has been drawn to the question how far were any steps taken to spread knowledge of our ceremonies among Brethren and to improve the working in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We see here that the Lodge of Relief was sufficiently interested in the matter to appoint a Lecture Master, and to remunerate him, for that is what the remission of fees amounts to. I should be interested to know how far Bro. Lomax was successful in activities, *e.g.*, was the remission continued for long? Nearly fifty years later we have further evidence of the Lodge's keenness and its readiness to spend money to improve its work. Yet it is interesting to note with what horror Lodges of those days regarded the fact that one of its members had written down a ceremony, probably only with the laudable object of improving his own working. See also the reference to "Perjured Finch". The path of the Masonic investigator and ritualist in those days was truly beset with difficulties.

I see that Bro. Rogers thinks that the tape purchased on the 14th July, 1771, was for marking out the Lodge, but does not the connection with the blue lining indicate that this tape may have been required for aprons, which, I believe, were often Lodge property in those days?

The question of the patronising of a play by "Antient" Lodges was raised by our I.P.M. in *Misc. Lat.*, xxviii; here we have an instance of this being done by a "Modern" Lodge. Was this practice at all frequent?

As regards the entry in the minutes referring to the painting of the Zodiac, I have recently come across a reference in *Misc. Lat.*, xxvii, p. 118, to a statement by Carlile that "the Keystone of the R.A. of Freemasonry is The Ancient Science of the Zodiac." It may be that the Lodge of Relief's Zodiac was used in connection with R.A. working.

One of our P.Ms. (I believe it was Bro. Daynes) pleaded for research to be made into the history of our Provincial Grand Lodges. No doubt Bro. Rogers's references to this subject on page 96 will be useful to the future investigator.

Lastly, as regards the working of the Mark, Link and Wrestle, a certain amount of information is given in the last volume of *Misc. Lat.* (xxviii). Bro. Crowe suggested that the Link and Wrestle were worked in Scotland as a side degree to the Early Grand Royal Arch Chapter. The Rocksavage Lodge, No. 325, at Gibraltar (I.C.) worked in 1820-1830 the Ark and Link, which was a cruder edition of the Royal Ark Mariners' degree, and the Link and Wrestle, the chief incident of which was Jacob's tussle with the Angel at Bethel. The *Freemasons' Magazine* of July, 1864, suggested that these three degrees, and the Ark, formed part of the "Diluvian Order" of which Dunckerley was Grand Master. I should be glad of some enlightenment on the subject.

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Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I have been much interested in reading Bro. Norman Rogers's paper, "200 Years of Freemasonry in Bury", which once more shows how, at any

rate in the North country, the two systems of the "Antients" and the "Moderns" fraternised long before the Union. The Brethren realised that the "Antients" could give them something which the "Moderns" could not, or rather that the "Moderns" had lost, through years of neglect.

It is difficult to comment on a paper like this, but there is one point that might be emphasised. In the middle of page 94 we have the statement "The Officers were installed half yearly from at least 1765 to 1815, the W.M. and the two Ws. being installed separately on the 3rd step of Masonry".

This statement of being installed on the "3rd step of masonry" at once calls to my mind that old MS. ritual in Grand Lodge Library wherein they refer to "a Great, Grand & Glorious Oblong Square whose proportion in length is three times its breadth", on the 1st step of which the C. is proved and obligated in the 1st degree, on the 2nd step in the 2nd degree, and on the 3rd step in the 3rd degree, and now we find that the W.M. and the Wardens are installed separately on this same 3rd step.

This ritual originally came from Lancashire, for there is a note in the front saying "This MS. was given to Bro. James Newton of Bolton in 1879 by the family of the late Bro. John Tunnah, Prov. G. Secretary of East Lancashire". The watermark is 1794, and there is an actual date in MS. of 1797.

May I add my thanks to Bro. Norman Rogers for his interesting paper?

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Bro. S. POPE writes:—

I have much enjoyed reading Bro. Rogers's paper "200 Years of Freemasonry in Bury". There can be very few places which have such a complete documentary record.

On page 97 we read "The Quarterly Communication of 2nd March, 1814, authorized certain clothing and jewels, the chief differences being:—

"Tassels—Grand Stewards 'with Silver Tassels as heretofore'."

Does the Quarterly Communication mention that these "Tassels" are to be worn on Aprons, I wonder?

The Prov. Grand Lodge Museum of Kent have three silver tassels about 3½-4 inches long. Unfortunately, they are not now accessible, as the contents of the Museum are stored for safety for the duration of the war. They are given on the Stock Cards as:—

Grand Steward R.M.I.G. 1870

Grand Steward R.M.B.I. 1871

Grand Steward R.M.B.I. 1875

The Jewels as used at present started in 1879, I believe, and we have always considered that the silver tassels were in use prior to that date and were worn in the same manner.

It would be interesting to know if the Quarterly Communication actually states that the tassels mentioned were worn on Aprons.

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Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The Grand Lodge of the "Moderns", which constituted the Bury Lodge in 1733, was a Fellowcraft Lodge seeking to control subordinate first degree lodges through their masters. The masters of such lodges must be fellowcrafts, and by O.R. XIII. masters or fellows were to be made only in the governing lodge. It was the principle by which the London Companies sought to govern. The masters of the journeymen's guilds were either chosen from the fellowship, or the fellowship was conferred on them when elected.

I find it difficult, therefore, to believe that the "Master" of Rule 5 of the Bury Lodge was of the third degree. The fact that at a later date the same charge was made for raising (Hughan, in his *English Rite*, states that it was threepence more) is not very convincing evidence that both or either refer to the 3°. And it raises the difficulty that Grand Lodge sanctions a charge for a degree that they did not recognise officially.

Additional degrees worked by the "Moderns" were not part of the Grand Lodge structure. Like the Mark and other degrees of the present day, they were worked by Brethren recognised as loyal masons. This did not render them official, and the barrier, although removed, has left its mark. We meet as an Entered Apprentice Lodge to transact business, and the Worshipful Master wears a square denoting that he is a fellow and authorised to govern. The first mention of Fellows in the Bury Lodge given by Bro. Rogers is dated 1771, after Bros. Holt, Lomax and Wood had become joining members of the Bolton Lodge, and had been granted a charter for a Royal Arch Chapter. The Bolton Lodge apparently regarded these three Brethren as of Entered Apprentice status, and after being entered as such, they were crafted, raised and exalted. If there is any evidence that they had been crafted and raised before elevation to the Chair, I have never seen it put forward. My opinion, based on the present evidence, is that the Bury Lodge remained loyal to the "Modern" ideal. Their masters were never made fellows, but received the necessary secrets as chair secrets, and not until the "Modern" Grand Chapter was formed, and they could obtain sanction from Brethren they recognised as entitled to govern, did they depart from their constitution as an apprentice lodge.

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Bro. ROGERS *writes* in reply:—

That a paper on Freemasonry in this part of Lancashire should have been received so well by the members of Q.C. was a matter of particular gratification.

The comments by the members enable me to frame what I hope will be an adequate reply as well as a further explanation of the peculiarities of the district, which was a strong force in propagating Speculative Freemasonry in Lancashire and particularly in many of the additional degrees.

First, in reply to the W.M., who raises points also stressed by other members, may I point out that there was a Lodge at the Kings' Head in Salford (No. 48) at least as early as 1727, when its petition to be placed on the List of Lodges was accepted (*Q.C.A.*, vol x, p. 82). This hostelry was within two or three hundred yards of the business centre of Manchester and its many public-houses, where the manufacturers of surrounding towns were wont to meet their friends and transact their business. The first real constitutions of Lodges in Lancashire were:—

1. At Leigh (1,200 inhabitants) No. 87, 1732
2. At Bolton (5,300       ,,       ) No. 105, 1732
3. At Bury (2,000       ,,       ) No. 118, 1733

There are no records at Leigh, and those at Bolton prior to 1768 were, unfortunately, burnt by a careless clerk about 40 years ago. There is now no definite information as to the first members of either the Bolton or Bury Lodges, apart from the Bury list already quoted, nor are the civil lists any more informative regarding those who were, after all, merely engaged in "sordid trade". The only deduction it is feasible to make is that the idea of a "secret-cum-benevolent" society would attract those who wished to provide for dependents or declining years; men who visited the cotton market in Manchester for the purpose of trade would naturally become aware of the possibilities, for none was really rich in terms of the landed gentry.

Many of the old Lancashire Lodges, both "Antient" and "Modern", had a half-yearly election of officers in readiness for the two St. John's Festivals, and some Lodges celebrated these two Festivals with banquets up to the 1840s; yet the half-yearly installation of the Master appears to have ceased in all of them between 1815 and 1818, probably because of some ruling by the United Grand Lodge.

The limiting of the age of initiation to 40 was quite natural; "too old at 40" was a common saying in the 1880s! In the early part of the nineteenth century, therefore, the expectation of life would be little more than 45, largely due to medical and sanitary reasons. An examination of the lists of members of several old Lodges discloses the fact that very few members over 40 were admitted, and these were generally special cases. Of 21 members of the Lodge of Relief in 1790, only 2 had been admitted after the age of 40. Nine hundred and ninety-nine years is a common term in the district for a lease of land, and this might be the reason for its being applied to the expulsion of a member.

The migration of Lodges from Manchester and Warrington to Bury is more difficult to explain. That of the "Antient" Lodge of Prince Edwin from Manchester in 1803 was quite naturally the outcome of the Act 39, Geo. III, c. 79, "for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes", resulting in surrendered warrants being re-issued. Both Manchester and Liverpool had quite a number of these "Antient" Lodges erased through lack of returns.

The use of the eagle and stand is difficult to explain, for there do not appear to be any records of the "Royal Arch Knight Templar Priest" Order in Bury, as there are in Bolton; but the writer has a copy of the ritual of that degree, printed in Bury in 1826; this was used in Bolton, along with three other hand-written rituals. The inference is that, as the ritual was printed in Bury, it is likely that the degree was worked there, and the eagle and stand would be suitable for the passages of scripture in that degree.

Bro. Johnson is quite correct in his assumption that private lodges acted as the Provincial Grand Lodge for Lancashire up to 1814, in which year the minute book commences; these lodges were those of the Provincial Grand Masters, namely:—

Anchor & Hope, No. 37, Bolton	Edward Entwisle (1734-42)
St. George & Dragon, Liverpool	Dr. Wm. Ratchdale (1743-60)
Lodge of Unanimity, No. 89, Dukinfield	John Smith (1760-69)
" " " "	John Allen (1769-1806)
Lodge of Integrity, No. 163, Manchester	Francis Dukinfield Astley (1807-25)

In the Grand Lodge Register of Members returned for 1768 and 1775 are two lists of members of Unanimity Lodge, designating certain members as Provincial Grand Officers. In addition to the Apollo at York, a certain measure of Provincial control was exercised by the Phoenix in Hampshire, the South Saxon in Sussex, the Royal Cumberland at Bath, the Tyrian in Derby and the Lodge of Industry in Durham; also, the Royal Chester Lodge acted as the Provincial Grand Lodge for Cheshire for about 100 years. The period of 3 hours to open a Grand Lodge for the purpose of a Constitution was a common one with the "Antients", and there are several instances in Lancashire.

Bro. Baxter's interpretation of "high lights" in Masonic history is certainly not mine, though I could also relate tales of queer happenings and gargantuan happenings within my own purview. Has Bro. Baxter ever been told the detailed story of how a T.I. Mark Lodge attached to the Grand Chapter of Scotland visited the Grand Mark Lodge of England and Wales in 1872, to receive the gavel from the Grand Mark Master, before they would consent to become attached to the latter? Such stories virtually compel the neoauthentic to discard oral evidence, unless it is well authenticated. In Bro. Baxter's case,

his story has some germ of truth, for the 3rd (1872), the 4th (1886) and the present 5th edition of the "Bury Ritual" include the "extended" ceremony of installation, now disused. Incidentally, Bolton dropped the extended ceremony about the same time, but then, the Provincial Grand Secretary was a Bolton man!

Bro. Heron Lepper has been extremely generous in his comments and also in his suggestion that there may be a 7th Deputation to add to the list on page 81, viz., that of the Lodge of Felicity, No. 58, London, whose only Charter or Warrant is a copy of the Petition, the Grand Master's assent, and the Grand Master's Certificate of Constitution written in the Lodge minute book (*vide A.Q.C.*, viii, 197). Although this has been included in the list of pre-Warrant documents, it is not a "Deputation" in the strict sense of the others, as the Lodge of Felicity was constituted in London by the Grand Master himself, and not by some Brother deputed to perform the ceremony because of the difficulty in travelling. His remarks about Warrants are extremely valuable, for the first true English Warrant is understood to be that of the Lodge of Unanimity, No. 89, originally meeting in Manchester. Regarding Quarterly Communications, may I add that the old Lodge at Swalwell had the following clause in its General Orders of 1735:—

2. That the Chief Meeting day be June 24th each year, the 29th of September, the 27th of December and 25th of March Quarterly Meeting days.

It may be that Bro. Lepper is correct in saying that the fifth degree "mentioned in 1787 would have been the Royal Arch", because, in the records of Concord Chapter, No. 37 (the mother Chapter), there is a minute under date 31st March, 1786, showing that five "Brethren from Bury were Properly Instructed in Royal Arch Super Excellent masonry, then the following Brethren were initiated into the High Order (5 others from Bury) and were afterwards present at the Instalment of the Officers. . . ." But we must not forget that this part of Lancashire had a curious mixture of ceremonies, one "Antient" Lodge giving M.M., Passing the Chair and R.A. in the 3°, while its daughter "Antient" Lodge worked the R.A. as the 4° and the Mark as 5° from at least 1805. It must also be borne in mind that the Lodge of Relief had no real tie with Unanimity Chapter, No. 42 (then No. 6), and, indeed, a few Visitors to the Lodge were marked as "from the Chapter". Would both the Lodge and the Chapter be conferring the R.A.? The Wrestle degree is now defunct, though there are records in Bolton from 1818 to 1832, and for the Link up to 1855, the latter being stated to be incorporated in the Mark. From an old note in the minute book of St. John's No. 221, it appears that the following passages (among others) were read at the Ark, Mark, Link and Wrestle meetings:—

*Genesis*, viii (Ark)

*Genesis*, xxxii, 24 *et seq.* (Wrestle)

Bro. Covey-Crump's suggestion that "Rochdale in Essex" is an error for "Rochford" is perfectly correct, as the minute book (and, indeed, the original paper) states it as "Rochford". It has now been corrected.

Bro. Ivor Grantham, in his comments, has raised several queries, the full answers to which would require another paper. As stated earlier, the Provincial Grand Master used his own Lodge officers as Provincial officers, and there were very few formal meetings; consequently, Press references in the eighteenth century are extremely few, the one quoted being outstanding. Strangely enough, this is the meeting which caused the old "Antient" Lodge, No. 39 (the premier Manchester "Antient" Lodge), to apply for a new constitution from the "Moderns" so that the members might take part in the Procession. The new Lodge so formed is now the Lodge of Union, No. 268, and the old "Antient", No. 39, was revived in 1795, again cancelled, and re-issued

in 1803, since when it has met as the Lodge of Friendship, No. 44, Manchester. Regarding the matter of Incorporation, there is no record as to how the Lodge voted, if, indeed, they did vote. On the other hand, Bro. Grantham's suggestion that the item dated 14th July, 1791, meant that John Randle was "crafted" is perfectly correct, for, on a review of the old minute book, I find that there is no other record of his taking the 2°. The entry relating to his being "raised" three times has now been corrected, but the minutes still testify that three Brethren were raised on two distinct occasions, *i.e.*, as "Antients" and "Moderns". All kinds of abbreviations are to be met with in the old minutes, and all kinds of simple devices to conceal the meaning—a hyphen, colon or period mark generally signifying a missing letter, *e.g.*, R-y-l A— M—, or R—I—A, or R-l A-h Mason. It is to be regretted that the minute book of Prince Edwin Lodge is now missing, so that I cannot supply him with particulars of the lodge business between midnight and 1.30 a.m. on December 28th 1807; it was, however, no uncommon occurrence about this time for any Lancashire Lodge to close at 10 p.m. and re-open at 11.0 for the purpose of proposing or initiating a candidate or investigating a complaint; the members would live within a short distance of the meeting place, which would serve them as a club. Nor could one compile a complete list of visitors to the Lodge of Relief, for the first designated by name appears in June, 1765, though several earlier visits of lodges are recorded in the cash items. In 1792, when "Antient" ceremonies were being given in this "Modern" lodge, there were many visitors from "Antient" lodges in the Manchester and Bolton districts.

Bro. Radice's comments about the tape purchased in 1771 for marking out the lodge cannot be refuted, as there are no other records of either tape or ribbon, and a "painted square pavement" is in the Inventory for the previous June. But, in the records of the Bolton Lodge (now No. 37) there are many, such as:—

4 May, 1765. 10 yds. of Ferritting at 2d. yd. 1 8  
 (Ferret is defined in Webster's Dictionary  
 as "A kind of narrow tape, usually made of  
 woollen; sometimes of cotton or silk; called  
 also ferreting.")

14 Jan., 1773. Pd. for half a pice of Ribbon, 18 yds. 12 6

Both the Bolton and Bury Lodges bought plain skins by the dozen, and it is quite plain from the many Bolton records that the lodge aprons were decorated with ribbon.

I am grateful to Bro. Booth for drawing attention to the old ritual in Grand Lodge Library, for both Bros. Newton (1896-1908) and Tunnah (1854-79) were Provincial Grand Secretaries; both were members of my own Lodge, Anchor & Hope, No. 37, Bolton, and the "Newton Library" was purchased by the Manchester Association for Masonic Research; it contained many valuable MSS., including "Pine's Engraved List" for 1734. Several minutes of this Lodge in the 1790s confirm that the W.M. and Wardens were all installed separately "on the 3rd stepe of Masonry".

Bro. Pope's attention is drawn to Williams' *Constitutions* of 1815, p. 123, where similar regulations will be found; it should be noted that the M.M. apron had rosettes only, tassels, apparently, being restricted to the Grand Stewards.

With such an expert as Bro. Bullamore I am not disposed to "cross swords"; rather would I give him more details, especially with regard to the Master being of the 3°. A closer scrutiny of the old Minute book (Cash) of 1733-1770 discloses the following additional by-laws on an undated page between cash entries of 1738 and 1741, and, apparently, in the same handwriting as records for 1738. The same three by-laws were included in a revision of 1751, when much better English was used. They are as follows:—



12. That if any Member Absent himself and doth not bring or send his Quarterly contributions or shall pass or go above Twelve months in arears shall be excluded any benifit from this Socitivity. That any Member so excludid may be allowed to visit this Lodge once gratice but if any more shall pay six-pence for drink. That if any Member be excluded from this Society he shall not be readmitted unless he first pay the full of the charge which each Member has been at during his absence and the Mony so paid shall go into the Box.
13. Every Member that makes a report for the Adoption of a new Brother shall upon such report pay to the Master Five Shillings, which Five Shillings, if the person proposed be allowed by the consent of the Lodge to be admitted into the Fraternity shall be as part of his entrance if allowed admittance, and he refuse the Five Shillings be forfeited for the use of the Lodge, but if not allowed admittance the Five Shillings to be returned to the Person who payed it.
14. That every Candidate who offers to enter into this sasiaty shall pay the Sum of 5<sup>s</sup>. as in the 13th Article, and at the time of his Admittance shall pay the further sum of half a Guinea and when he his Rais'd Master shall pay the further sum of Five Shillings and Sixpence.

This Rule 14 was probably the source of Hughan's reference to 5s. 6d., but it was evidently a mistake, for in no case is this sum charged, the amount being quarter of a guinea. Among the entries appear the following:—

27 April, 1738	Mr. Robt. Siddall	8/1½
4 Aug., 1738	Mr. Jos. Bolton	6/0
16 Nov., 1738	Mr. Adam Scholes	8/2
	Mr. Bolton & Mr. Siddall M <sup>rs</sup> .	10/6
	„ Scholes Admittance to M <sup>rs</sup> .	
	order after Mr. Plants	
	deduction of 2s.	3/3
3 April, 1739	Bro: Thos. Jenkinson pay'd for	
	being Admitted Master	5/3

There are many entries similar to the last-named for some years, until we come to a change of term with the following:—

24 June, 1762	Elijah Lomax was "Rais'd Master"	5/3
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In no case do we find that this fee was for being installed in the Chair, as Elijah Lomax, for example, occupied the Master's Chair for the first time on 29th December, 1764. In the 1760s, and subsequently, there are many entries of "Admitted 10/6" and "Raised Master, 5/3". It may also be remarked that many Lancashire Lodges conferred the 1° and 2° on the same night, but others gave the 2° and 3°, thus rendering it difficult to generalise. In the case of the Lodge of Relief, there is no record before 1771 of the Fellowcraft degree, as Bro. Bullamore suggests, but this does not seem true of the MM. degree.

My grateful thanks are tendered to Bros. Colonel Rickard and J. Heron Lepper for their help and encouragement.

FRIDAY, 4th MAY, 1945

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.15 p.m. Present:—Bros. Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., W.M.; *Wg.-Commandr.* W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., Dep.G.S.B., P.M., as S.W.; F. R. Radice, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., Secretary; Wallace Heaton, P.G.D., S.D.; Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D.; and J. Johnstone, F.R.C.S., P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. L. G. Wearing; S. G. Bailey; A. S. Carter; R. W. Goff; A. E. Evans; L. Pressman; A. L. Bridgett; S. J. Bradford, P.A.G.St.B.; G. H. H. Townsend; J. D. Daymond; B. G. Stewart; B. O. Jones; E. Alven; F. E. Gould; M. Goldberg; A. F. Cannon; H. Bladon, P.G.D.; H. Attwooll; T. L. Bullock; A. F. Cross; A. T. Hill; F. V. Hazell; F. H. Wilson; A. F. Hatten; and E. V. Kayley.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. J. Evans, P.G.St.B.; W. A. Evans, P.G.St.B.; E. O. Lewis, Caveac Lodge No. 176; and W. W. A. Couzens, P.G.St.B.

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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.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Prov.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby.; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; R. E. Parkinson, B.Sc.; G. S. Knocker M.B.E., P.A.G.Sup.W.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., J.D.; *Commandr.* S. N. Smith, R.N., P.Pr.G.D., Cambs. I.G.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; J. R. Rylands; and S. Pope.

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The Worshipful Master read the following

#### IN MEMORIAM

HUBERT CARPENTER BRISTOWE, M.D.

It is with sorrow I have to report the loss by death of a member of the Lodge—Bro. Hubert Carpenter Bristowe.

Bro. Bristowe was 81 years of age. For a long time past he had been an invalid, and consequently we had not seen him at our meetings for some years.

Bro. Bristowe was an eminent member of the Medical profession, and was on the Council of the British Medical Association.

He was a very enthusiastic Mason, particularly in Bristol, where he was a prominent member of the Baldwin Rite.

In all the various branches of Freemasonry he held high rank.

He was a Past Master of the Somerset Masters' Lodge, and a Past President of the Bristol Masonic Society, before which he read several papers. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923, and became a full member of Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1936.

In 1933 he was appointed P.A.G.D.C. in the Craft, and P.G.St.B. in the Royal Arch. In other degrees he held Grand Rank—

in Great Priory, P.G.St.B. (V.B.)

in A. & A.R., 32°

in the Cryptic Degrees, P.G.Cond. of C.

in Red Cross of Constantine, P.G.Swd.B.

We take leave of our Brother and mourn his loss.

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One Lodge of Instruction, one Masonic Association and thirty-four 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 appointment and promotion at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bro. *Wg.-Commandr.* W. Ivor Grantham, P.M., Deputy Grand Sword Bearer; Bros. Rupert Hulme and A. Leonard Jupp, Senior Grand Deacons; R. B. Wycherley and F. Coston Taylor, Junior Grand Deacons; J. R. Dashwood, *Major* Chas. Duly and J. M. A. Ilott, Past Grand Deacons; Lancelot E. Hall, Past Assistant Grand Registrar; L. F. Hemmans, H. W. Stephens and H. O. Preater, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; Wm. Casasola, Albert Frost, J. H. Parsons and J. W. Sharples, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; R. J. Harris, Past Deputy Grand Sword Bearer; F. W. Torrens, Grand Standard Bearer; H. Attwooll, W. R. Curry, Lawrence Levy, J. E. Messenger and A. Grafton Sprague, Past Grand Standard Bearers; Robert Blake and H. J. West, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Royal Arch Certificate, dated 1800.

Royal Arch Apron, which belonged to the holder of above Certificate.

Photographs of:—

Inscription on the *Holywell* MS.

The Well.

Copies of letters written by Wessel de Linden.

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

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Bro. A. E. EVANS read the following paper:—

## WESSEL LINDEN AND THE HOLYWELL MS.

BY BRO. A. E. EVANS

Tho<sup>s</sup> Humphreys  
Who was made a Free Mazon  
Att ye Grand Lodge  
att ye Sign of Star in Holywell  
In ye presence of Wm. Wessel de Linden  
Who was ye Grand Master of the Lodge

This Book was finishd ye 14th day  
of Feby in ye year of our Lord  
1748/9



UCH is the inscription on the first page, inside the parchment binding, of the *Holywell* MS. Old Charge fully quoted by Bro. H. Poole in his work *The Old Charges*. The MS. is classified as belonging to the *Embleton* Branch of the *Sloane* Family of Old Charges.

In approaching the problem of this unrecorded Lodge, I propose to discuss the following points—

- I. the Inscription and the adventitious notes in the "Book".
- II. the "Grand Lodge at Sign of Star"; the visit of Edward, Duke of Norfolk, to the Star or the Cross Keys and the period of the Grand Mastership of William, Lord Byron.
- III. D. W. de Linden; his works and Masonic contacts; residence in London, Holywell and elsewhere.  
Linden's criticism of Lead mining in North Wales and the reaction thereto in the letters of the Morris brothers.
- IV. Linden's correspondence; the Gwydir Letters and the Duke of Ancaster's mining interests.
- V. the association of the Morris family with the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and Linden's acquaintance with its Secretary.
- VI. upshot.

I. The *Holywell* MS. was brought to notice in 1922, when it was in the possession of Bro. John Moorhouse of Nelson. It had, however, been offered at £25 in 1917 to the Basingwerk Lodge in Holywell, founded in 1915, and its Master, Bro. Col. J. R. Williams, took the opportunity of photographing the inscription. Recently, hearing of my interest in it, he was kind enough to provide me with the print here shown. It displays, in apparently less faded ink than does the original, a money addition totalling £1697-10-0 as well as a faint impression of an oval rubber stamp. Other entries, beside the Old Charge and the Inscription, relate to—

- (i) a private statement of accounts dated 15th March, 1749/50, mentioning a sum of £1-7-6 due to Robert Blundell at May Day and one of 15/- to Johnson for his meadow.

- (ii) Mr. Hy. Whiteside, Collr., "who paid Nature's debt" on 4th June, 1759.
- (iii) notes of Scene I, Act 1, of "Sino and Sosia".
- (iv) a song, "Leading Star".
- (v) a hymn in 11 stanzas on approaching death.
- (vi) a formula for the treatment of dog-bite, the principal ingredients being cinnebar, musk and brandy or rum; it is attributed to Sir Geo. Cobb, Bart. There is a reference in the British Museum to a work, *de Rabei Canina*, by Fredk. Cobb, 1822, in the library of the Surgeon-General's Office of the U.S. Army. The same writer submitted a Report to the Chairman of the London Hospital in 1832 on an epidemic prevailing "at Manchester and its neighbourhood".

I have not identified Mr. Whiteside or Sir Geo. Cobb, but it would appear that the MS. had found its way into the county of the Blundells within 13 months after it was finished.

Before proceeding further, I would record my indebtedness to Wor. Bro. Eustace Beesley, P.G.D., for his indulgence in allowing me to examine the original MS. and to Wor. Bro. Poole, P.A.G. Chaplain, for the loan of his complete typescript of the MS.

II. The name of the newly-made brother, Thomas Humphreys, has not reached the index in the Grand Lodge Library, save by this Inscription; nor, indeed, did the names of very many brethren of Lodges in North Wales in that century achieve a recording in London. Bro. W. J. Songhurst, writing to Bro. Wonnacott, 9th July, 1918, stated that he had been unable to trace either Thos. Humphreys or Wessel Linden.

Reference, however, to the Christening Register of the Parish of Holywell, kindly shown me by the Vicar, the Rev. D. Thomas, reveals that Thomas Humphreys was at least made a father early in the year of the Inscription, and the Burial Register records the interment of 2 men of that name, one in December, 1762, and the other, dignified by the prefix, "Mr.", on the 12th of January, 1763. In the Parish Church is a mural tablet to "Hugh Humphreys, Pen y Pylle, Esq., died 14th February, 1820", and to his sister, who died 6 years later. Thomas Pennant, in his *History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell*, published in 1796, refers to Hugh Humphreys as "having large shares of the mineral wealth". In the same work Pennant writes of The Star, the meeting place of the alleged Grand Lodge, in the following paragraph:—

In the town (i.e. Holywell) are 3 places of worship besides the Church, 2 for the Roman Catholics and one for the Dissenters. This last was built on my ground by lease dated April 16 1788 and is maintained by voluntary contributions. Of the former, one supports a secular or parish priest; the other a gentleman of the late Order of Jesuits. (The Order had been suppressed by the Holy See in 1773.) Both of their cures are endowed with lands vested in Trustees. Each of their houses had been a species of hotel, probably designed for the occupation of pilgrims of better rank. One was called the Cross Keys and the other the Star. I remember at one or other of them Edward, Duke of Norfolk and other visitants of distinction.

This Edward succeeded to the Dukedom in 1732 and died in 1777 at the age of 91. His predecessor, Thomas Howard, 8th holder of the Title, was Grand Master 1729-30. The significance of this recollection by Pennant will be appreciated when we hear Linden's opinion of the accommodation in the town as sufficient for personages of the first distinction, an estimate which surprised me not a little.

The recorded history of Freemasonry in North Wales begins with the issue of the "Deputation" by the Grand Master, Lord Inchiquin, to Hugh

Warburton as Provincial Grand Master for North Wales at Chester, dated 10th May, 1727. The first Lodge founded in the new Province was that at Dolgelly in 1743 and the second at Holywell in 1761. What explanation, therefore, may be offered for the alleged existence of a Lodge in this town at the time of the Inscription, 13 years earlier? Perhaps 4 suggestions may be made.

First: that, meeting by Time Immemorial right, a Lodge existed previously to the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717, as did the Lodge at Warrington in which Elias Ashmole notes in his diary that he was made a mason at 4.30 p.m. on the 16th of October, 1646, and that the Lodge remained independent after 1717.

Second: that the Lodge had a Travelling Warrant under the Irish Constitution and had beached itself in Holywell, which was on the highway between the Port of Holyhead and the H.Q. of the Western Command at Chester; but I cannot support this suggestion with any claim of Holywell being a garrison town except that some members of the 5th Battalion of the R.W.F. lived there about 30 years ago.

Bro. Lepper has been so kind as to give this suggestion his valuable consideration and to quote these instances of a kindred happening—

Regular Irish Warrants were granted

24th July, 1745, No. 148 for Norwich. Eight names were then registered.

No further communication was received by the Grand Lodge in Ireland and no trace of the Lodge has been so far found in contemporary records in England. It was struck off the Irish Roll in 1813.

8th May, 1754, No. 247 for the Middle Temple, London. Fourteen names were registered, mostly law students of good Irish families. No further communication was made to the G.L. Ireland and the Lodge probably became extinct within a few years of its founding.

10th December, 1754, No. 252 for Paisley, Scotland. This Lodge registered 47 members with the G.L. up to 20th June, 1771. It must have become extinct before the end of the century and was struck off the Roll in 1813.

Bro. Lepper adds the instance of the irregular establishment of an Irish Warrant in England—

No. 85 I.C. was granted on 30th May, 1738, to Colonel Harward's, later known as the 30th Regiment of Foot. No names of members were registered . . . the Minute Book from 1757 to 1769 is in the possession of the Iowa Masonic Library. The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Ireland for 1793 continue the story of the Warrant—

4th July—Read a Lettr. from No. 20, 25, 53, 132 and 276—held in Liverpool & under the Sanction of the G.L. of England, stating that No. 85 under this G.L. and held in the sd. town had done and continue to make Masons for small and paltry considerations—Ordered that the said Lodges do call No. 85 before them & enquire more fully into the said charges and report thereon.

1st August—Read a Letter from sundry Lodges in Liverpool containing the Warrt. No. 85 (see last transaction)—Ordered that the thanks of this R.W. Lodge be conveyed to the said Lodges for their exertions & attention to the Masonic Order.

Apart from the question of a Travelling Warrant, the Lodge at the Star might have possessed one of the missing Irish Warrants. There were some strong connections between Cheshire Operative Masons and Dublin. We find a Cheshire Lodge appointing Deacons as Lodge Officers at a time when England did not but Ireland did.

Third: The Grand Master of the "Moderns" for 1747 to 1751, the period which covers the incident of the Lodge at the Star, was William, the fifth Lord Byron. The present Peer has been kind enough to inform me that all family records disappeared last century, when Newstead Abbey was sold. So far, I have not been able to trace any property or other interests of that Grand Master in North Wales calling for his visiting Flintshire, but a predecessor, the first Lord Byron of Rochdale, was very active in North Wales, Cheshire and South Lancashire, a century earlier, in the Royalist cause, and many persons were called to account before Cromwell's Courts for aiding Lord Byron in those parts. This General's second wife was a Cheshire Dutton, the young widow of Peter Warburton of Arley.

Rule 13 of the *Book of Constitutions* recites the authority of the Grand Master to summon an Especial Grand Lodge, which, I am told, is the procedure on the occasion of the Consecration of a new Lodge. With the requisite number of brethren present, it is held that the Grand Master can hold a Lodge for a specific purpose anywhere and at any time. If William, Lord Byron, did hold such a Lodge in Holywell in 1748 there was some ground for the writer of the Inscription styling it a Grand Lodge. It is conceivable that he also may have confounded, especially were he the Initiate, the names of the Grand Master and de Linden, giving the latter the Christian name and Masonic rank of Lord Byron.

One might observe here that Hugan notes that the Grand Lodge of England constituted Lodges abroad as early as 1728-9 at Gibraltar, in 1732 in Paris, in 1733 in Germany and in 1735 in Holland and Portugal. Linden came to England in 1742 and may have been initiated in Germany earlier and lacked acquaintance with English prefixes to Masonic rank. On the Continent, at this time a private Lodge tended to become a "Mother Lodge" establishing subordinate Lodges whenever the members found an opportunity for doing so.

Instances of Occasional Lodges are indicated on the three following occasions—

- (i) that related by Bro. Gilbert Daynes in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 107, from the Minute Book of the Lodge constituted at the Maid's Head, Magdalen Street, Norwich, in 1724. In 1731

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Lovel, present Earl of Leicester, when he was Grand Master summoned ye Master and Brethren to hold a Lodge at Houghton Hall (6 miles E. of Sandringham). There were present the Grand Master, H.R.H. the Duke of Lorrain and many other notable Brethren and when all was put into due form Ye Grand Master presented his Grace ye Duke of Newcastle, ye Rt. Hon. ye Earl of Essex, Major-General Churchill and his own Chaplain who were unanimously accepted of and made Masons by the R.W. Thos Johnson the then Master of this Lodge.

The occasion is referred to by Dr. James Anderson in the 2nd edn. of the *Book of Constitutions*, published in 1738, and again by Bro. Hamon le Strange in his *History of Freemasonry in Norfolk*.

- (ii) in 1737, when Frederick, Prince of Wales, was initiated.
- (iii) about 1769, when the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master 1767-71, visiting Oxford in the winter for the hunting, initiated Viscount Dunluce, then an undergraduate and later the Earl of Antrim. The "Antient" forms were used, though the Duke was a "Modern". No trace remains of the existence of a Modern Lodge in Oxford at the time.

A Fourth suggestion for the existence of the Lodge at the Star is that it was non-regular and consisted of a knot of Freemasons who met as such when they felt inclined but owed no allegiance to any governing body.

The Regular Lodge in Holywell, which was founded in 1761, was erased in 1787, and the next, St. Winifred's, founded in 1795, came to a like end in 1829. The Basingwerk Lodge, whose Warrant is dated May 18th, 1915, happily survives.

III. Let us now consider Linden himself. The Inscription on the Old Charge introduces him as Wm. Wessel de Linden, the first word being apparently the usual abbreviation for "William"! Of the residence of Deiderich Wessel Linden, or de Linden, in Holywell in the mid-eighteenth century we shall see evidence, but I have found no trace of a namesake in the town in those days. Several of his small works or essays were written from Holywell, and the brothers Lewis and William Morris refer to him in their letters in terms of ill feeling, as living in Holywell and visiting parts of South Wales.

We shall see photostat copies of Linden's letters to the third Duke of Ancaster's Agent at Gwydir in the Conway valley, under the signature "D. W. Linden" and note references to his other letters, articles and misfortunes under the same signature. One does not therefore feel justified in disregarding the information about Deiderich on the ground of the difference of Christian name.

In the Public Record Office we learn that he was born in Unna in the Circle of Westphalia and that he was a Doctor of Physic. His attempt to acquire naturalization as a British Subject in 1746, 4 years after his arrival in England, failed to get beyond a first reading in the House, nor was it until 1762 that, by a Special Act, he secured that privilege.

My interest in the subject before us was provoked by chancing upon Linden's name in a short article on Llandrindod in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* at a time when the Holywell Inscription was fresh in my mind. Dr. de Linden, having made a quick recovery from what he termed scurvy, through drinking certain waters at Llandrindod, published an account of them, in which he states—

My acquaintance with the Llandrindod waters is of no longer duration than August 1754, when I went thither, invited by their fame, in order to reap the Benefits of those good qualities and medicinal virtues with which Report had so liberally and (as I have found by experience) so deservedly furnished them.

His complaint, he added, was an "inveterate scurvy" and was cured in 4 weeks at the saline pump; he continues—

Their good effects are so conspicuous that they give place to none in Europe. I made the experiments (*i.e.* analysis) on the 30th August 1754 on a clear serene day when the sun was in its lustre and the wind blew directly east.

He calls the Rock spring "Salino-Sulphureo-Chalybeate". The title of the work is—

"A Treatise on the Three medicinal waters at Llandrindod in Radnorshire, South Wales, with some remarks on the mineral and fossil mixtures", by Deiderich Wessel Linden, M.D. Printed by J. Everingham & T. Reynolds for the Author; sold by W. Owen at the Homer's Head, Temple Bar, 1756.

In the book is printed a list of 134 subscribers to its publication, headed by the 3rd Duke of Ancaster, a member of the Lodge at the Rainbow Coffee House, now No. 33, the Britannic.

Other Freemasons identifiable among the subscribers are—

Thos. Davis of Alban Street, purveyor of mineral waters, a member of No. 5, then the Corner Stone Lodge, but he was not "Made" until 1772.

Rogers Holland, a member of the Lodge at the Horn Tavern, 1730, now No. 4; he was Judge of the Great Sessions for the counties of Anglesey,



Caernarvon and Merioneth. He acted as Jun. G.W. in 1732 and was later one of the Trustees for the new fund for sending distressed brethren to Georgia.

William Holland of Lincoln's Inn; member of the Atholl Lodge at the King's Head, Little Suffolk Street, 1768, a Lodge which lapsed in 1775.

John Maddocks, Benchler of Lincoln's Inn and of the Middle Temple; member of the Lodge at the Feathers in Cheapside, now the Lodge of Emulation No. 21. He died on the 24th September, 1794.

Other names, Wm. Bridges, James Briscoe, Thos. Bowen, are associated with Lodges at the Half Moon & Rose in Cheapside, the Sash & Cocoa Tree, and the Prince of Wales Head, Batchelor Row. Several other names are common to the Grand Library Index and to the list of subscribers, but, in the absence of particulars, one cannot identify them.

The minutes recorded in the published histories of several of these Lodges make no mention of Linden as a visitor or member. Some minutes, however, are missing for the period which most concerns our search, *e.g.*, No. 4, of which the Secretary, Bro. Dentith, P.G.D., tells me no minutes are extant for the years before 1783.

Another of Linden's subscribers was John Thornhill, Sergt. Painter to King George II. His name is not in the G.L. Index, but his father, Sir James Thornhill, was a Grand Warden in 1728 and his brother-in-law, William Hogarth, was a Grand Steward in 1735 and designed the Grand Steward's Jewel, which was in use for a century and is still the Jewel attached to the Master's collarette.

The names of many notables in the Church, the Law and Parliament also figure in this list of subscribers to the Llandrindod book.

The history of St. George's and Corner Stone Lodge, No. 5, has not been published, but the Secretary, Bro. T. F. Anderson, P.D.G.D.C., generously afforded me the privilege of reading with him the Minutes of that Lodge for the seventeen seventies. It had occurred to me that one or other of Linden's subscribers might have invited him to a Lodge, and that Thos. Davies of Alban Street, the purveyor of mineral waters, might prove to have been such a host. The Minutes of No. 5 for 24th March, 1772, tell us that Thos. Davis passed the 3 Degrees of Masonry and paid £1-13-6. He was one of the 2 brethren, according to the Minutes of 28th June, 1774, that "was wrote to this night" regarding his dues, as he had not attended after the night of his raising. There is no record of any visit by Linden, but a Bro. Lindeneburgh became a member on 26th May, 1772, and "paid 4 shillings to mid-summer". In later Minutes the name is spelt variously, Lindeneburg, Lindeneberg, Lindeneburgh, Linneneburg, Lineneburg. He occupied several offices in the Lodge and, finally, in 1777, was S.W., but he did not proceed beyond that office, and his name then disappears from these Minutes.

On June 8th, 1773, "Bro. Linten was proposed by Bro. Wild to become a member of this Lodge". On July 9th Bro. Landen attends as a member and again on the 26th or 27th of November, 1776. And that is as near as one gets to the presence of Dr. de Linden at a London Lodge Meeting. Nebulous orthography can hardly be invoked to clear the mist.

Before adjourning the quest for his Masonic contacts, it may be well to relate something of his publications and, mainly, in their chronological order.

(1) A Letter to Dr. Shaw concerning the Black Epileptical Powder. It was dated 10th March, 1745-6, place not named, and printed for Mr. Cooper at the Globe in Paternoster Row, 1746—price one shilling. It contains what, to-day, we may call a long-winded preface against quacks and maintains that his prescription for this malady was approved by the late eminent Dr. Stahl and Dr. Neuman. Its ingredients numbered 18, one being the partially calcined bones from within the skull of the hog. He has pleasure in submitting his sentiments to Dr. Shaw's candid and impartial judgment, but the response has eluded my search. Dr. Peter Shaw practised in Scarborough, and, in 1731, had written a

work on *Artificial Philosophy or Universal Chemistry*; it described a portable furnace for the assay of ores. A similar device was described by Dr. Linden in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1761. In 1772 Dr. Shaw wrote a series of Essays on morals and manners under the title *The Tablet*, published by T. Longman. His book on Medicine was a valued possession of Lewis Morris, of whom we hear presently. Dr. Shaw and Dr. Hampa, Physician for 30 years to the Princess of Wales, collaborated in a book on mining and smelting, *An experimental system of Metallurgy*, printed for J. Nourse, Bookseller. Dr. Shaw became Physician Extraordinary to King George II. He died in 1763. The critical Lewis Morris, praising his volume on Physic, adds "a thoroughly honest man".

(2) A Letter to W. Hooson, a Derbyshire Miner, showing the mistakes and errors committed in his lately published *Miner's Dictionary*; the latter was published at Wrexham in Denbighshire in 1747. Linden's letter was translated from the German MS. of D. Wessel Linden by T. Cotham and printed in Chester. The Preface is dated in April, 1747, from Holywell; in it he writes—

Even here in this little place where I have taken all the pains imaginable, without fee or reward, to serve both Rich and Poor, I find I am under the lash and censure of some idle People who have nothing else to do but vent their spleen and malice in Letters sent to London concerning me.

The British Museum copy of the letter to Hooson is inscribed "Lewis Morris's Book", and his annotations commence with his identification of himself as an "Anti-Jesuit, August, 1747". Later, he adds "Mr. Cotham's style, not yours". Where Linden refers to his private friends, Morris calls them the Jesuits. Morris's part in this story is not unimportant, and, being a Mine Manager, he was, doubtless, stung by Linden's criticisms of Lead Mining in North Wales, of which these are samples—

"The mines were managed by a parcel of imposters—as they are in Wales.

"The method of mining in this country is yet in its infancy."

Referring to Sir George Wynne's mine at Halkyn, near Holywell, he writes—

"Where they have not got 1/20th of this great trunk of ore and you see it is for want of a due knowledge of mining.

"The ores bearing Silver were not regarded as worth refining in Wales, but, in spite of their freitage to Holland, these ores were profitably smelted in that country.

"A great quantity of metal is lost in their chimneys: there was got out of one chimney, and that of no long standing, as much Silver as made a pint mug.

"As often as I go from Bagillt to Flint I am so often surprised to see what vast quantities of metal is thrown away along with the slack out of the smelting houses."

Bearing on this criticism of Linden's are figures quoted from Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, vol. i (London, 1849, S. Lewis & Co., 13, Finsbury Place).

From 1773 to 1795 the Adventurers of the Holywell Level lost over £5,000, but from 1800 to 1825 there was an average yearly profit of £5,300.

Milwr Lead Mine in 1829 and 1830 made each year a clear profit of £17,000 with 3,000 tons of Lead ore.

In 1781 the Copper Mills made large vessels for the granulating process in the sugar manufactories of the West Indies.

On page 44 of the letter to Hooson Morris's annotation hints that Linden borrowed money from all the Roman Catholics about Holywell and that he will repay them when he discovers his magnet (for non-ferrous metals) and his gold mine, Linden having expressed his opinion that other metals besides iron had their peculiar lodestones. Calling himself a "practical miner", Linden referred to the schools of mining in Germany, in which the pupils were obliged to go underground and make themselves acquainted with the "Practical part".

Among his measures against mine damp he includes

- (i) gunpowder 1 lb., Venetian Oil of Turps 1 oz., Camphor 2 drams, Borax  $\frac{1}{2}$  dram, with the direction to mix well in a marble mortar.
- (ii) Oleum Cardui Benedict., Rut Chamomile, of each a scruple, Extr. Succin. 2 spoonfuls. Mix. Dose— $1\frac{1}{2}$  teaspoonfuls in melted fresh butter 1 hour before entering the damp pit.
- (iii) To remove damp in the pit he recommended 2 quarts of volatile spirit of urine poured into the pit and then vacating it for 12 hours.

As a "preservative"—meaning prophylactic—against lead poisoning, he suggests large draughts of some proper diluting liquor 2 or 3 times a year. His prescription includes leaves of Pellitory of the wall and of mint, Daisy Speedwell, Sage, Chamomile, Foxglove and Carduus. After mixing in a stone mortar, he advises infusing these herbs 8 to 10 hours by the fireside in 2 gallons of boiling water in a well stoppered vessel, not allowing steam to evaporate. The affected patient was required to take  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint morning and evening on an empty stomach. As a preventive, the dose was  $\frac{1}{4}$  pint twice daily for 3 weeks.

He recognized the danger of giving mercurials to a lead-poisoned person.

On page 68 Linden praises the pharmaceutical integrity of Messrs. Taylor, Totty and Conway of Holywell, and of Mr. Blount of Golden Grove, some 8 miles distant, "who" he adds "closely stick to my Receipts which make my great practice a pleasure to me . . .", "but, as to the rest of the neighbouring apothecaries, I cannot say so much. Numbers of burials under the names Taylor, Conway and especially Totty are to be seen in the Holywell Registers for this period.

Linden had disregarded the advice of a friend in Chester urging him not to publish anything against Hoosen's *Mining Dictionary*, as its author was a leading light in the Lead Mining Industry of North Wales.

(3) The third book was a *Treatise on the Origin and Virtues of Chalybeate Waters and Natural Hot Baths*, with a physico-chemical analysis and medicinal description of the Mineral Waters at Tunbridge . . . Islington and Shadwell . . . with others in England and the waters at Cleves in Germany. It was published in London, 1748, and was quoted among the month's issues in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 18, "with cuts 6 shillings". There was a second edition in 1752 or 1756, printed for T. Osborne in Gray's Inn. The work was dedicated to Frederick II, King of Prussia, and contained a Preface to British Readers. It is Chapter iv which is of interest to our Holywell problem, for, after describing the chemical reactions of the chalybeate waters at Islington, Linden deals with the well of St. Winifred at Holywell and some chalybeate springs he discovered in the neighbourhood. He had visited the New Tunbridge Wells at Islington on the 27th of June, 1748, arriving there "in company with 4 worthy friends at 5 o'clock in the morning which was misty and hazy". Some pages onwards he writes—

of the many religious wells in England which still retain their antient names of the Saints to whom they were held peculiarly consecrated, one of the most famous is, without doubt, that of St. Winifred at Holywell in Flintshire.

He proceeds to recount the legend of its origin, which is related also by Thomas Pennant. Linden considered the salutary qualities of the Water deserved to be more widely known and to be a very great natural curiosity.

A volume of 240 tuns at least filled the well within 2 minutes. The basin was above 4 feet deep yet a pin was easily perceived lying at the bottom. There was a green moss on the sides and stones, giving off a grateful and fragrant smell; the moss was vulgarly called St. Winifred's Hair.

He states it was frequently applied to ulcerated wounds with signal success

in the way of contracting, cohering and healing them, the moss collected from the water a more than ordinary portion of Spiritus Rector, Sp. Mundi or Sp. Universalis by which is to be understood that vegetating Power imbibed by the air which maintains and furnishes the Principles of Growth and Life to the whole vegetable and animal kingdoms.

It is void and clear of all gross earths or mineral contents which is so much more remarkable as this spring arises in the midst of hills and mountains plentifully abounding in minerals and fossils.

It is preferable to the Bristol Water that is sold here in Town.

He adds that it was used for cold baths only and never, to his knowledge, as an internal medicine, but he urges its use in cases of obstruction "occasioned by Hysterics". He likens the water to those of Schlenfingen in the county of Herneberg, of Bebra in Thuringen and of Osterode in the Hartz mountains which contain no other than a simple light water, and, like this of Holywell, "plentifully supplied with Sp. Rector

and with which alone they have signalized their efficiency against the Stone and Gravel, Rheumatism, Scurvy, Phlogistic seizures of the Blood, Obstructions of the Menses, Hæmorrhoids etc. and are to this day the resort of nations on that account.

Linden mentions among diseases successfully treated at Holywell, leprosy and weakness of nerves. He surprises one by claiming the commodious buildings in Holywell would suffice to accommodate Personages of the first distinction, an estimate, however, which was confirmed by Pennant half a century later. He proceeds—

Among the many collateral advantages towards restoring health pertaining to this place, the sea is not above 1 measured mile. It is likewise a mineral country all round and, in the time I resided there I discovered 2 or 3 springs of excellent chalybeate waters which, if compassed and collected into proper reservoirs, would more universalize this greatest gift of Nature towards the Public Health which so well deserves a grateful cultivation and attention of the Country they are found in to render the Blessing as diffuse, as easy and commodious as possible to which the remarkable healthiness of the air of that place is another inviting encouragement.

Bro. Colonel Williams, long resident in Holywell, tells me that the water of the well was lost on the 5th January, 1917, through mine workings. He thereupon took the opportunity of examining its walls, on whose stones he found some half dozen Masons' marks fashioned like 2 brassies in saltire. The thick moss may have concealed others. We learn more of these mosses from Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, already quoted, which describes 3 varieties—

(i) a violet scented moss—*Junger mannia asplenioides*.

- (ii) one like fine velvet—*Musculus subrubeus* and *Byssius eolithos* of Linneus.
- (iii) *conferva gelatinosa*.

(4) In 1749 appeared *Directions for the use of that . . . mineral water commonly called Berry's Shadwell Spaw, in Sun Tavern Fields, Shadwell*, published in London and printed for the Proprietor and Fairley Jones mineral water purveyor to H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland in Tavistock Street, Covent Garden.

(5) In the following year came "Three Letters on Mining and Smelting in which a method is laid down whereby these sciences may be greatly improved"; to which is appended a fourth Letter setting forth a discovery of an easy method to secure Ships' bottoms from worms etc.

This is inscribed to the Earl of Halifax. It was printed for George Keith, Bookseller at Mercer's Chapel, Cheapside. The Earl had become President of the Board of Trade in 1748. The first Letter was written from Holywell, dated 18th April, 1749, and dealt with "the present state of Mining in North Wales." He excuses his delay in answering "the Questions you have raised concerning the Art of Mining" on the ground of "constant hurry of business before this instant". He addresses himself to 3 questions—

- (A) my sentiments on the state of mining and whether I had observed any improvements of late years to be made therein.
- (B) to give you a definition of the Art itself and of a mining Steward. What extent of knowledge a mining Professor ought to be possessed with before he undertakes the practical part of the Art.
- (C) whether any stress or dependence is to be put on the *Virgula Divinatoria*.
- (A) It is not above 50 years since the Art of Smelting was revived in Flintshire. (It had been introduced in 1283.) Nor do I find any works erected here before that time. According to Schletter's Account, Dr. Wright, an eminent physician, and 2 other gentlemen well versed in the Art of Chemistry, were the first contrivors and inventors of the smelting furnaces now used in Flintshire which were not completed till the year 1698.

A great quantity of metal is lost in their chimneys.

He blames the Proprietors for making no advance in the Art here, unlike Norway, "where also the mineral is soft". He criticizes the use of water in smelting and points out the usefulness of fluxes or lies. He recommends—

- (i) offering a proportionate reward to every new discovery which . . . , they should happen to make for the improvement of the work.
- (ii) perusal of certain books, a study of Swedish organization. Mining Commissioners just as the current Board of Trade and Plantations and a Survey of Mines.

The differences in the Nature of Ores should be carefully considered; in Flintshire it is soft, in Montgomery hard, in Cardiganshire in no respect like those of either place. Perhaps other difficulties may attend the establishment of a Science of Mining. . . . However I sincerely wish it may be happily accomplished for the good of the Country of which I am now (1749) a member.

Mining in this part of the Globe is in such perfect decay that it is greatly to be feared it will, in a few years, become totally extinct.

He expresses his reluctance to expose his neighbours' insufficiency, in part because of the prospect of retaliation. He reviews early Roman methods, *i.e.*,

surface working, because "they knew nothing of sinking shafts through hard rock."

The ignorant, like the blemished in character, are ever seeking out for an Asylum, which if they can nowhere else meet with, they shelter themselves under the merit of their ancestors which, I am afraid, is too much the case here in Wales.

- (B) the mine Steward—He should be a master miner, must be acquainted with that part of natural philosophy called Chemistry: he must repair to the mountains, visit the mines and daily go under ground . . . make himself familiar with the different strata of earth, stone, rocks, minerals, fossils and metallic veins, passing over nothing that bears the least analogy or affinity to minerals or that can give him the least insight into the Art of Mining and he must examine the miners strictly as to what different things they meet with in their way, hear what they like best and what they look upon as the most promising symptoms of coming into ore, its duration or the contrary. He must know of mineralogy the first rudiment—

- (i) natural origin of ore, its appearance and by magnifying glasses.
- (ii) with the help of Chemistry.

and how each mineral affects its neighbouring adjacent rock; the exhalations arising from mineral bodies tinge the whole seam even to the very surface so that it is not surprising that a skilful mineralogist by a bare survey of the outward soil, can determine what mineral or fossil is contained underneath.

- (iii) subterraneous geography and relation to slopes, valleys etc.

Points iv and v must have slipped down a shaft, for the next is

- (vi) a Mine Director must be well acquainted with the different machines used to drain off the water with which the mine may be overwhelmed—in which North Wales is backward.
- (vii) be acquainted with the methods of dialling—to measure shafts, continue levels—This Art is pretty well known here.
- (viii) Ventilation; he should be master of the removing and expelling the stagnation vitiated air—not well done in this District.
- (x) he should know the nature of iron and steel—to make necessary tools which must be differently adapted to different kinds of ground through which they are to cut.
- (xi) he must be on the watch for unexpected ores. He should be both a mineralogist and a metalurgist.

(C) The Hazel Fork: Linden claimed an analogy or affinity between minerals and vegetables because metals had been recovered from various woods. and he suggested a method for making a lodestone for detecting the presence of Lead, promising to instruct suitable students; but he does not appear to have published a method of handling the instrument.

Thomas Pennant, in his *Tour of Wales*, published in 1778, refers to the *Virgula Divinatoria* described in Hooson's *Miner's Dictionary* in these terms—

Within my memory recourse was had to the virgula divinatoria. A foreign adventurer, half knave, half enthusiast, made the trial, but it proved as unfortunately unsuccessful to himself as to his admirers.

The instrument of the attempt was no more than a rod forked at one end, to be cut in a planetary hour on Saturn's day and hour.

Pennant was born in 1726 at Downing, a seat 4 miles N.W. of Holywell. He collected much information on subjects of Natural History, including minerals, and had been elected to the Royal Society in 1767. Possibly after a quarter of a century, Linden's name had slipped his memory; maybe, Linden's comments on the owner's neglect of the mines had left a lasting lesion in the local minds.

The second of the three letters, also from Holywell, is dated 23rd October, 1749, and deals with smelting. The third, on 28th November, discussed the means by which the Art of Mining and Smelting "may be brought into a rational system, with some observations on the difficulties that will necessarily attend it".

The fourth letter has the earliest date, January 6th, 1749. Linden had experimented with the talc of fossils and pitch, using controls, and found that his mixture resisted the action of sea-water over 12 months without the least alteration, whereas the protective paint based on the old formulæ had all been dissolved in 3 months.

(6) In 1751 Linden published in London *An experimental Dissertation on the . . . Hyde Saline Purging Water, commonly called the Hyde Spaw. near Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire.*

(7) After an interval of 5 years his work on the Llandrindod Springs, already mentioned, was printed by subscription.

(8) Contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which I consulted on the suggestion of Bro. Lennard Forsyth.

June, 1761; a Description of a Portable Furnace for trying ore etc., on the spot. It consisted of a double pair of bellows, 30in. x 12in., a lamp, a box made of crucible or Stourbridge clay.

August, 1761; a Letter to Mr. Urban, from Spring Gardens. On visiting the Bristol Hot Wells Linden had observed a Lead Smelting house on the opposite side of the river, emitting clouds of Flores Saturninii or "Corrosive sublimate of Lead, known also as "succession powder by which a certain great prince was poisoned about 20 years ago." He considered the substance a public danger.

These letters appeared also in the *Annual Register*, vol. iv, 5, as well as a further letter, "Hints for making Borax"; he regarded it as a salt that deserved the consideration of "chemical enquirers because it is of much use, particularly in soldering". It was then brought from the East Indies.

May, 1762; a letter to Dr. Sutherland at the Hot Wells, Bristol, concerning a remarkable phenomenon of the Bath Waters.

Dear Sir,

In compliance with your request, I send you a brief account of my last examination of the Bath Waters. The phenomenon which most struck me was certain cakes of a blackish colour which at this time of the year are found floating upon the surface of these waters and which I had never seen before, having been at Bath only in the winter months, when they do not appear. I had indeed heard much of them and was told they were a vegetable substance, the *conferva gelatinosa*; but upon examination, I found this to be a mistake and that the black cakes were mineral. That they are not the *conferva gelatinosa* is manifest, from their appearing so early as the beginning of May; for the *conferva* does not appear till July and it does not flower till August. Besides, the *conferva* is only found in stagnant waters and it is absurd to suppose that a mineral hot springs should have any communication with a standing pool whence it could receive this plant, as it could not receive the plant without such a mixture

of the water as would render it cold and annihilate its virtue. That the Bath water cannot originally produce the plant is certain for it is continually in a state of agitation, which renders the growth of it impossible.

Upon a close examination of these cakes, some of which have a greenish hue, I found that those which had lain near the wall for some time undisturbed had caused a natural chrystalization of the salts in the Bath water; and these salts, on some of the walls in the Abbey-house spring, were more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch thick; such a chrystalization cannot be caused by a vegetable substance.

Having now shown what these cakes are not, I will tell you what they are; for, upon applying the common vitrioline solvent, I found them to be neither more nor less than the mucilagium ferri, or slimy substance that is always a concomitant of ironstone, iron-earth or iron ore; if there is any medical virtue in iron, it ought to be sought in this slimy substance. And I shall shew in a Treatise on the Bath Waters, which I am now preparing for the Press, that the Bath Water derives great medical efficacy from these cakes, especially in external applications.

Those persons who have supposed these cakes to be vegetable have been deceived into that opinion by the solid fibrous parts which they have discovered in them, after having washed them from the mud and other extraneous bodies that have been found mixed with them. But those who are acquainted with practical minerology, a science which is essentially necessary to those who undertake the analysis of mineral waters, know that the slimy substance in ironore, when agitated in waters that contain salt, will form itself into fibres and branches, resembling those of vegetables, and upon this principle it is that, in curious chemistry, small branches and fibres are formed in liquids by the solution of metals and minerals and have obtained the name of 'philosophical trees'. Some experiments indeed have been made upon these cakes by distillation and it has been presumed that they are vegetables because they yield only an insipid water without any metallic or mineral particles; but this is wholly falacious and inconclusive for the mucilagium ferri, or any other metal or mineral, mixed with common or saline water, will, in distillation, yield only an insipid water without mineral particles, because these particles are prevented from rising in the steam by their own weight.

I am Sir, Yours Etc.

D. W. Linden.

- 19 July, 1766; a Letter to Dr. Schutte from Park Gate in Cheshire (across the Dee estuary from Holywell).

Sir, I am indebted to you on account of my mineral transactions for these 2 last months past—know then, that all the months of May and June I have been taken up with examining the Llangyba mineral water. Don't think that I wantonly employed myself to multiply medical mineral waters. I perfectly agree with you that, in some respects, there are already too many palmed upon the public; but, as this possesses particular virtues of which all other waters now known in Great Britain are destitute, common humanity bids me make it as public as possible.

The peculiar qualities of this water are, a sure remedy in all disorders of the eyes: and, in this respect, it has, for these 20 years past, performed most wonderful cures. It has for time immemorial, by the people of the neighbourhood in eye and other disorders, been successfully used: but in these last 20 years we have had a long



well attested register of successful cures it has performed; and to this we are indebted to a worthy clergyman who resides in that neighbourhood. Llangyba is a village in the western parts of Carnarvonshire about two computed miles from the sea shore, which is called the Bay of Cardigan, about 3 miles from Pwllheli and 12 from Carnarvon. There are good roads to this place; and I can heartily wish that it may be accommodated with proper habitations for those that have occasion to resort to it.

This water (i) is heavier than common and lighter than sea water;

(ii) it is mixed with a great share of mineral spirits

(iii) a mineral alkaline salt and

(iv) a fine white metallic earth which last I do not as yet know in what class to place. But as I intend to make further experiments with it, you shall be informed with the result of them and I hope that I shall have an opportunity to lay a full account of it before the public.

I am, Sir, &c.

D. W. Linden.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, in various issues from 1746 to 1751, contains several references to Linden's works in its Monthly Lists of New Books.

In March, 1763, Linden wrote, from Shrewsbury, an account of the Hanlys Spa. It was printed by John Everingham and sold by W. Owen at Homer's Head, Temple Bar, and J. Eddowes and J. Williams, Booksellers in Shrewsbury. Price 2/6. The volume was dedicated to Thos. Powys, Esq., of Beswick in the County of Salop. The Well was in the Parish of Meole Brace and Township of Pulley, 2½ miles S.W. by W. of Shrewsbury. The spring was discovered in 1741 during boring for coal by Mr. Francis Boothby; there occurred a sudden issue of saline water under pressure, as well as of chalybeate water.

The last volume of Linden's of which the British Museum has record was printed in Welsh at Caermarthen in 1771. Its title, translated, runs—

A short Account of the medicinal properties of the Llangybi Waters, commonly called Cybi's Well near to Pwllheli in the County of Caernarvon, from various experiments made with them in 1766, together with a brief relation of the diseases thereby healed.

One of the afflictions he mentions was loss of sight after small-pox, of which there were 12 cases. In addition were other affections of the eye, 10 cases labelled cancer, 4 of rheumatism, various skin eruptions, the king's evil and rickets. It is not suggested that Linden certified these cures from personal observation, but the stories were collected by him. In fairness to him, one must add also that, for almost all these complaints, he suggested parallel or alternative treatments. Of this book the *Journal of the National Library of Wales*, 1939, states—

This Volume is part of "An Experimental and Practical Enquiry into the Ophthalmic, Anti-Scrophulous and Nervous Properties of the Mineral Water of Llangybi in Caernarvonshire."

To which is attached an Essay on the Prize Question, proposed by the Royal Academy of Bordeaux for the year 1767, on the subject of Analysing Mineral Waters (London 1767).

The chemistry of Linden's time was that of the Middle Ages. Lavoisier, who gave oxygen its name, was not born until after Linden's arrival in England, when the Phlogiston Theory was still the basis of chemical ideas and the obstacle to its progress. It was not until 1st March, 1775, that the experiments of

Priestly found "dephlogisticated air" to be respirable and led to the distinction between oxygen and "fixed air" which Lavoisier made 2 years later. His attack on the Phlogiston Theory was published in 1786, and it was long before it was generally discarded.

It seems, therefore, that Linden was abreast of his own times, and we see that his method of attacking a technical problem and of analysing waters was at least systematic, as is shown in his detailed accounts of the examination of the waters at Islington and elsewhere.

#### IV. Linden's Letters.

Among the Duke of Newcastle's Papers for January, 1760 (Folio 3872, 553, Brit. Mus.) are letters from Linden during Newcastle's second Premiership, but Dr. Idris Bell tells me they are at present beyond reach. The Duke was made a Mason in 1731 at an Occasional Lodge, Lord Lovell, G.M., being present.

Other letters are preserved in the National Library of Wales, and of these photostat copies are here exhibited. One is addressed, from London, to Mr. Royle, schoolmaster in Bala, Merionethshire, 21st July, 1763. In it he explains the delay in effecting a promised favour owing to the absence of the Duke of Ancaster in Paris and of the Duke of Northumberland in the North. He asks for news and gives direction for a reply at the house of Mr. Prosser, Middle Park Street, Grosvenor Square.

Nine letters are written to Mr. John Williams, the Agent of the Duke of Ancaster at Gwydir, between Llanrwst and Trefriw. The first letter, 10th December, 1756, was written from Brecon, the remaining 8 from London in 1763 on the dates 8th and 30th July, 9th, 13th, 16th, 27th, and 30th August and 8th October.

Concerning these letters the *Journal of the National Library of Wales* for 1939 tells us that John Williams, agent to the Gwydir Estate, was the father of the Rev. John Williams (1760-1826), who, by means of a communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1789, first brought the Wynn of Gwydir papers to the attention of historians (*N.L.W. Calendar of Wynn of Gwydir papers*, pp. ix-x). This cleric also preserved letters written by Goronwy Owen to Richard Morris of the Navy Office.

Quoting this issue of the Journal—

During the eighteenth Century, Lead Mining was developed in the Conway Valley and there were mines of importance at Llanrwst, Bettws-y-Coed and Trefriw. The Conway was navigable by vessels of 60 tons as far as Trefriw, where the Lead Ore was transported together with slates and some Copper. (See A. H. Dodd, *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales*. Cardiff, 1933, pp. 122, 309.) In this district Linden was employed as an Adviser and "Mine Adventurer" by Peregrine Bertie (1714-78), 3rd Duke of Ancaster, whose ancestor R. Bertie (1660-1732), the first Duke, had married, in July, 1678, Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Richard Wynn, 4th Baronet of Gwydir.

Lewis Morris was very pessimistic about the Duke's choice of adviser. "Well done, Duke of Ancaster", he declared. "Linden will make a goose of him". But this was apparently mere professional jealousy, for Linden's correspondence reveals him as a conscientious servant and a loyal friend. His letters to John Williams are worthy of detailed study since they contain a good deal of information about mining, communications and agricultural prices in Wales and some reference to current affairs in London. Other letters from Linden are preserved in the Archives of the Royal Society of Arts and at the British Museum.

Letter to Mr. Royle—

London July. 21. 1763

Dear Sir

I hope you are not angry with me, for Leaving you so long in Suspense. When I left the Country, I was told you where with Mr. Price in Darbyshire; when I came here Mylord Duke of Ancaster, was gone to Paris and the German Spa, and Mylord Northumberland<sup>1</sup> was in the North, So that I could do nothing for a long time, However Mylord Northumberland is returned and the Duke of Ancaster is daily expected, then, And not till then, I shall be able to do business: And you may relie on what I have promised, I'll do to the utmost of my power Endeavour to serve you, and I hope successfully. I shall be glad to Heare from you, with such news as the Country affords.

I am with esteem

Sir your

very Humble Servant

D. W. Linden.

Letter to Mr. John Williams

Agent to his Grace The Duke of Ancaster at Gwedder  
Denbigh Bag North Wales  
X post by Shrewsbury  
a Chester

Dear Sir

Brecon December 10. 1756

I received your kind letter from Grims Thorpe of November 29 in this place for when it was known here that I was in Worcester-shire, I was sent for post haste, and So Mr. Vernon sent the letter after me.

In the first place I return you my hearty and sincere thanks for the Servis you have done me, and as soon as we meet, I will showe you my most greateful thanks in a more effectuall manner in about three or four weeks, I propose to be at Llanrwst with some gentlemen, that will examine places for adventuring Of the exact time I will inform you in a few posts, So that you may be in the way when we come.

I will likewise not omit Setling Voldre affaire and I doubt not, it will appear in every shape that I shall be more Servisable than I have hitherto been. I have good business and I am much in the way to promote mine adventuring.

Isaac Bowns, is a man where I looke upon as honest and Sober and a very good miner, he is a person we want much in his Grace's Estate, I intend to recommend him to the new adventurers for you know he may direct more than one worke, and as he has a great many fine children, I think it is true Charity to help him as much as possible. Therefore I beg it as a favour to assist him as soone as you receive this with one guinea on my account, So that he may have some comfortable Holy day's, and also one guinea to my old friend Griffith Roberts, when I see you I shall repay you, as I shall do the rest of what I owe at Llanrwst and for god be thanked, it seems in all appearance, I shall do once more, and come once upon my leggs again. be so good as to give my Servis to Isaac Bowns and tell him that he writes to me what is doing about Voldre, for which purposse you'll give my direction as underneath.

<sup>1</sup> Algernon, 7th Duke, confidential adviser to King George III, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1763-5.

The Graine in most part of South Wales and in particular Cardiganshire is thus

Wheat	6 Shill.	3 pence a Bushel
Barley	3.....	10.....
Oates	1.....	6.....
old malt	5.....	6.....
new malt	4.....	6.....

particulere in Cardiganshire malt is much wanted. a Gentleman from Cardiganshire told me last night that if a Ship Load of malt where Brought to Cardigan Shire that it would Sell immediately.

On Monday last I was at Hereford where I did see a riote conducted by women in the most regular manner, the stopped two waggon Loads of Corne, Escorted by Farmers and Servants but they got the better of the Farmers, they delivered the two waggons of Corne into the custody of the Magistrates who intend to sell it in a Lawful manner, but one Farmer was used very roughly by these women, for he was deeped and diked so Longe in the river till he was almost drowned it seems he was a papist and hath been heard to say that he would rather sell to the french for 5 shill than to his own Country for 7 shy 6 pence. I think there was a just provocation for resentment.

pray give my complts to my friend Edwards and tell him that I have received his last dated November. 30. with two letters inclosed and that I will write to him by next post. also give my Servis to Mr. Kelly and tell him that Howel Gwynne is gone up and that I am in very great Hopes that his order for his being admitted into the Excise will come down very soone because by this day's post old Mrs Gwynne, Howel's mother, writes this day to my friend Howel in a most pressing manner, that he may do Kelly's Business without delay. I told the old lady last night at Supper how things were Circumstances, viz. that *Love*, sweet *Love* only hath joined these couple together; on which she Generously offered to lend a helping hand.

My complts to Mrs. Williams John Hughes and his famili, Sr. Robert Roberts and his familie, Mr. Lloyd of Llan Dogel and all my Friend and believe that I am with Sincer Esteem Dear Sir your much obliged Humble Servant D. W. Linden.

please To direct for Dr. Linden  
at Brecon South Wales

X post at Chester by Shrewsbury a. Worcester

London July. 8. 1763

Dear Sir

Your kind and obliging Letter of the 4 instant I received, for which I return you my Hearty thanks;

Mr. Cox will advance to Mrs Thomas 5 guineas, to keep his man in play till he hears from his Grace, which we expect will be very soone; and he would have paid yesterday the 5 guineas to your Banker, would I have told him the name of your present Banker, So I must beg of you to informe me by return of the post and sent also a note or Card, Desiring that he may receive the 5 guineas, because they do not like to receive small sums, the mony shall be punctually paid her and I must beg of you to assist Mr. Thomas with some part of it to pay Subsistence to the men he employs at Coedmore near Llynepencraig.

You may assure yourself that your Brother will be very soon restored, Mr. Bromfield is aiding and assisting me in it and if I could have seen Mr. Bromfield today I should be able to inform you more, he has been about yesterday and the day before but he is this morning gone to Brighthelmstone, returns on Tuesday and by that days post I hope I shall be able to give you a better account. Mylord Duke will be much sooner in Town that he intended when he left it, if I understand Mr. Bromfield right, I believe he told me that the King has just sent for him, which I dare say is truth because the King has reason to have at this time his noble friends about him.

in regard to the News and political affairs of this Metropolis, one does not know what to believe, all the Coalition and agreements between the great contending parties, which so longe and So confidently has been reported is intire without foundation and it is also false that Mr. W.....s has been or is forsaken by his friends.

You have seen in the papers that the journeymen Printers have got a verdict against the Kings Messengers which has caused a universal joy in the City; never was there a greater Blow at the prerogative of the Crown, than this because in all reigns, the Kings Messengers made forcible entries in printing offices, Bookshops &c. &c. upon suspicion only, but by this verdict they have established that no Messenger can make such forcible entries but upon certain informations of criminal affairs, in the manner as a common Justice of the peace can do and no more. Many people are still afraid of Bad consequences. I Heartily wish they may all soone agree.

pray give my best compfts to Mrs Williams, our good friend Mr. Jones the Rector, his good wife and familie, and Mrs & Mr Hughes and I am with sincer esteem

good Sir your most Humble Servant D. W. Linden

Pray deliver the inclosed.

To Mr. Williams of Gwydir.

London July. 30. 1763.

Dear Sir

my Last of the 28 instant I suppose you'il receive in the same hour you receive this; and now I have the pleasure to inform you, that Mr. Hugh Williams restoration order will goe from the Office for certain next week, I believe by Tuesdays post next.

Mr. Rice Williams of Dollydellen must have another certificate than what sent when in the Country, I'll send you the format by this day sevenights post, with full directions he is to have an order in September next.

My best complts to Mrs. Williams and your good children and I am Dear Sir Your most Humble Servant D. W. Linden.

London Aug. 9. 1763.

Dear Sir

Your kind and obliging Letter of the 1 and 4 I received, and in regard to your Brother you may assure yourself that he will be very soon restored, and the order would have gone down as I wrote in my Last, But Mr. Coyley (who will restore him) has not been at the Board for these 10 days past, Mr. Stephens is my particular friend and in all my affairs concerning at that office, I consult him, and just now I receive a penny post Letter from him to meet him tomorrow at 11 o'clock at the Office, you may assure yourself he shall be restored.

In regard to Tyn Twll I have informed Mr. Thomas, that I am very sure that they may work this Bargain without the Level, and that his Grace never will be at any such Expense and therefore as soone as such a Level becomes necessary it might be sette to adventurers to be at that expence, but in the meantime to work in a good condition, and rise as much Oare upon the time as possible. NB. if a Level is drove it shall be first well consulted and considered upon, and not to proceed in an undigested manner, as in former Times. I hate priest-Craft, but qua. may there not be minecraft, equal fexatious:

his grace is not yet arrived, no one can Longe more for him than I doe, as I have engaged my friends in such a manner to work his grace's mines at all Times, and if Mr. Thomas goes on with that care and fidelity, as he promises, I am sure he will have a Happy Life of it, I have the best opinion of him, and if he disappoints me, he will be very Wronge.

The Smelting House at Trefriw will never do for Lead nor Copper Oare because it would poison the verdurer and the catel of all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and that you know will not doe; the place fitt for it must be in rocks where there are no fields Herbage or trees, if there is such a place in his graces' Estate on the Lower part of the River Conway pray inform me, I am in hopes we shall have a Copper Smelting-house as well as a Coppeross Manufactory, in that neighbourhood, and by that means the Coal Duty free.

I heare great encomions on the cause at Conway, I am glad the Colonel is such a worthy man of Spirits I am Heartily glad young mother Gwynne is delieved. pray be so good and give my best Complts to her, and her Husband, and I heartily congratulate her.

I am sorry I cannot informe you any good news, there is a fleet fitting out Said for the East Indies, but it is generally Thought, to be a fleet of observation, to see what the french are doing, and the people in the City are of opinion we are at the eve of a fresh war, which I pray god may prevent there has been Blood enough shed?

the forme for a certificate for Mr. Rice Williams, I cannot get till tomorrow, when I come to the office, but will send it for certain next post. pray present my complts to Mrs. Williams all your good familie and all inquirring friends and I am with great respect  
good Sir

Your most Humble Servant

D. W. Linden.

p.s. I hope I shall bring down a good Stoke of Franks

London August. 13. 1763.

Dear Sir.

your kind Letter of the 8 instant I received for which I Heartily thank you, and in regard to your Brother The order will be send into the Country as soone as Mr. Coyley comes to the Board, he has been these two weeks in the Country, but is expected next week, and it shall not be further delayed, the inclosed is a modell for a Certificate for Mr. Rice Williams of Dollydellen, it must be upon one sheet, in the manner as the inclosed, the Minister of Dollydellen must sign the first and no one with him, and the second underneath, by Two Justices of the County, pray let me have it as soone as possible, and I'll gette his order by Michaelmas.

We expect his grace this evening with all his noble familie, it is now 6. o'Cloke, in the Evening but not come yet, So shall not be able to informe you till in my next if they are come.

good Catle fetch a great pric in Smithfield, Beef sells from 4½ to 5 pence per pound, and it is expaected that on Monday next the Price will be higher on account of the fleet that is fitting out, a gentleman that knows the particulars of the Catle markets will give me a full account which I'll send you.

pray gette a pétition drawn up to the post masters General in which please sette properly forth how far we are at Llanrwst from a post Town and as Trade begins to flourish to pray that they may allow 25 per annum So as to have the Post three Times a week from Denbigh with a Horseman at Llanrwst, and let it be signed by as many Gentlemen of the neighbourhood as you can, and also the inhabitants of Llanrwst and sent it to me, and I'll do all I can to make it Take place, I have some hopes of success, but pray send it as soone as possible, pray give my respectful complts to our friend Mr Jones the Rector and consult him on the occasion.

Mr. Thomas account concerning the mines is very agreeable, I have sent him directions to proceed with vigour and prudence.

No news but the old affaire; pray my complts to Mrs. Williams all your good familie mother Gwynne and her familie, and all my friends and I am with sincer Esteem

Dear Sir Your most Humble Servant D. W. Linden

London August. 16. 1763

Dear Sir.

I have the pleasure to informe that yesterday evening our most noble prince, his grace the Duke of Ancaster, together with his Noble familie arrived sound and Safe at his house in Berkly Square; And this morning at 10 o'Cloke her Majesty was delivered of a young prince, it is now 9 o'Cloke in the Evening when I write this, and I have but now had a walk as far as Bloomsbury, but I am sorry to tell you that the rejoicing on this joyful occasion, is next to nothing. O God, how are the Mighty fallen!

as his Grace is arrived we shall not omitt any thing to compleat Business and therefore I beg send me the petition for Llanrwst post office as soone as possible, and also Mr. Rice Williams Certificate, I am in hops to finish everything successfully. pray give my best complts. to Mrs. Williams, all your good familie Mr. Hughes, Mr. Roberts and all my friends and I am Sincerely yours

D. W. Linden

pray excuse haste

pray give my complts to Mr. Thomas and tell him he may relay on the remittance by next Saturday's post, I expected a Letter from him yesterday but had none.

London Aug. 27. 1763

Dear Sir.

by yesterdays post I received your favour of the 22 instant, and all I have been able to do his grace has not as yet seen Mr. Cox, tho' he has approved of the Take Note or Agreement for Coytmore, and Voldre, and on Thursday Last he went to Grimsthorp but told me on the morning before he went that he should return here in about 10 days, because he must be at the Christening of the prince, and then he would execute the same, Mr. Cox has not been

well pleased with this delay, yet I may venture to promise a Bill by next post, the above is the cause of the delay.

I am glad Mr. Thomas discharged the Cardiganshire miner, I desired it Some Time agoe, on informing me, at their Extravagant demands, and as to Tyn Twll his grace will not be at any Expense and therefore you must not meddle with it that way, and therefore Shall recommend it to some adventurers, pray informe me in your next in what Parrish it Lies, perhaps it may be let before I leave London.

Mr. Commissioner Coyle is yet in the Country, and on Thursday next he will be the first Time at the Board, and then I expect your Brother's Business will be done.

I'll gette a draft for a petition to the post office and send it you by next post, I have spoke to his grace of it, and he will recomende it, if we should Succeede I hope you approve of Mr. Griffith Davies, young mother Gwynns Husband to be post-master; I will make particular inquiry what there is doing, with regard to the Multing trade what I hitherto have heard concerning this affaire, is, that they are not likely to succede in their application, but I will goe to the meeting and informe myself in the best manner which I'll communicate to you.

the catle fetch a good price here, I believe English dealers might be prevailed upon to goe into Wales, but then they would be opposed by the Welsh Dealers. pray give my best compfts. to Mrs. Williams and all your good Familie. and I am Dear Sir your

very Humble Servant

D. W. Linden

ps. pray give my compfts. to Mr. Thomas and I will write to him by next post.

London August. 30. 1763

Dear Sir

a friend of mine attended yesterday at the Corne Exchange Coffee house, and as he is acquainted with several of the Chiefe Cornfactors he was able to come at the truth, and he assures me, that there was no meeting of these Gentlemen, no do they intend to petition the parliament in any respect whatever, and the advertisement you have seen concerning this meeting, was put in by a Broken attorney, that wanted to be employed, in this petition, and for weeks or days past has been about the Chiefe Corndealers, to engage them in this affaire but as he found no manner of encouragement, he did not appear yesterday, it seems the Norfolk address to the Members of that County putt this man upon this project, because the Norfolk freeholders desire in their address, that when the Cyder Bill comes on in the House of Commons, to move about lowering the Taxes on malt, and this is the whole affaire, as I am credibly informed, my friend tells me that the Corn yesterday, was at a very high price, all the graine or corn that was there was very bad, and there has not as yet been any new Corn at that market: also the price for the Catle was yesterday very high in Smithfield.

inclosed comes a draft for the petition to the post office drawn up by a Gentleman, in the post office, you may improve it as you see cause, and ascertain the miles if I am wronge, give my best compfts. to Mr. Jones and all the Gentlemen, let it be signed by as many Gentlemen as possible; it must be wrote upon a large Sheet in the manner Counsellors Briefs are wrote: pray let me have it as soone as you can.



give my compfts to Mr. Thomas tell him that I could not meet with Mr. Cox today, but he may assure himself that Mr. Cox will send him a Sufficient remittance by next post altho' the Take Note is not seigned. his grace will be in Town in a few days, on account of the great Change, that we expect here, the newspapers give us the names of the Greatman that are to be appointed, but I believe all is yet premature, because as much as I can Learne they have not aggred yet, but they are about it but theire is no doubt a Change theire will be. it is now 10 o'Cloke in the evening so excuse that I can write no more, My compfts to Mrs. Williams and all your good familie and I am with Sincer Esteem Dear Sir yours most Humble Servant

D. W. Linden

London Octor 8. 1763.

Dear Sir

I hope you received my Last, yesterday I had the Honour to receive yours of the 4 instant, with the inclosed of Mr. Thomas and yourself to Mr. Cox, which this morning I send to Mr. Cox and he sent me in answeare, that he would by this days post answeare you and Mr. Thomas—and I hope he sends you a Bill, But I assure you all is owing, that his grace our most Noble Lord has neglected to treat with the adventures we are about; he has delayed it in such a manner that it has brought distress and reflection upon me, therefore good Sir, whatever Mr. Cox writes to you or Mr. Thomas I beg of you, informe his grace of it, with the affairs So as they realy are, because it Chagrins me in the manner affairs goe on. give my Compfts. to Mr. Thomas, and I hope by next post I shall be able to write to him, but I beg not to neglect the works, but to procede, mony will be found some where or other, But yet I cannot write to him or the rest of my friends, till I have completed all I have undertaken, I am with true sincerity good Sir  
your most Humble Servant

D. W. Linden

ps. you may assure yourself  
that the two affaires in the  
Excise shall be carried  
my compfts to your good wife  
Mrs. Williams:

And, on that sad note of frustration, these Gwydir Letters end.

The contrast in spelling and phrasing between the Letters and his printed works shows that the latter had received some competent vetting which the letters had escaped.

V. The Morris Letters (the *Morrisiad*) and the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

Mention has already been made of the British Museum copy of Linden's published letter to W. Hooson on the defects of his *Miner's Dictionary*. That copy is inscribed "Lewis Morris's Book" and is liberally annotated with caustic comments. Lewis and his brothers, William and Richard, regularly corresponded with each other and took a practical interest in Natural History. William lived at Holyhead and Richard in London, where he sat on the stool of Pepys.

The Letters were penned in English or Welsh as fancy or need directed. Lewis, in 1729, was appointed searcher in the Customs at Beaumaris and Holyhead. Later he conducted a survey of the coast of Wales for the Admiralty, extending over the years 1737 to 1748, and presently became Crown Agent in charge of Lead Mines in Cardiganshire. Richard Morris, of the Navy Office,

with some support from Lewis, was the founder, in 1751, of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, of which William Vaughan, Provincial Grand Master for North Wales, was the first President. He consecrated the first of that Province's private Lodges at Dolgelly in 1743 and was a subscriber to Linden's *Treatise on the Waters at Llandrindod*. Something more than a footnote about the Cymmrodorion will be profitable to our story. The terms of its constitution will not be strange to us—

As members of this Society it will be our constant care strictly to observe a just Order and Decorum at our several meetings; to conduct ourselves unblameably and inoffensively; to discourage all vice and immorality; to promote every private and public virtue; to testify our firm attachment to his Majesty, King George, and his mild and auspicious Government; to cultivate a good understanding among ourselves and to extend our Charity and Benevolence to all mankind.

At the outset, the Society had a secret form of Obligation to be taken by applicants for membership. Its motto, translated, was, and is, "Unity and Brotherly Love". The objects were to further the interests of Welsh Literature. A large proportion of the original members had subscribed to the Welsh Charity School, founded in 1718 for the benefit of Welsh children who were not entitled to any Parochial settlement. Among these supporters were the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master 1767-71, and his brother-in-law, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, two bearers of which name have been Provincial Grand Masters for North Wales. The baronet, just named, obtained a Warrant from the Duke for a Lodge at his house, Wynnystay, in 1771. Of the Honorary Secretaries, Daniel Venables, soon succeeded by William Parry, Deputy Controller of the Mint, I have, so far, found no Masonic trace, though there was a contemporary George Venables, a member in 1780 of the Modern's "Well Disposed" Lodge, to which also belonged, then or earlier, one of four members of the Cymmrodorion who bore the elusive name of David Jones; one was a tailor in Bishopsgate Street. I gather the descendant of that Lodge has entirely lost its tailor brethren. David Jones of Vine Street, Marylebone, of the same occupation, joined the Lodge at the Old King's Arms on January 14th, 1783. The third, David, was a member of the Mount Moriah Lodge, and the fourth, of the Mourning Bush, about 1768. Neither the Index in the Grand Lodge Library nor Sadler's *History of No. 21 Lodge* throw light on his further identity, nor can I say which of the bearers of this name was the third Secretary of the Honorable Society.

Another of its members was John Madocks, a supporter also of the Welsh Charity School. This member of Lincoln's Inn and of the Middle Temple appears in the January, 1769, list of No. 13 Lodge at the Feathers in Cheapside. He helped to re-establish the Caveac Lodge and was a subscriber to Linden's book on Llandrindod Waters.

The name Richard Morris is to be seen in a list of members of No. 8, British Lodge, but, being a shoemaker, was not the Morris of the Navy Office. Lewis Morris is described in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, not as a mining expert, but as a minor Welsh poet and, in the light of his own times, as a scholar and antiquary. His great grandson and namesake figured as a prominent poet of that nation.

Some of the letters of the Morris brothers have been collected by J. Humphry Davies in two volumes. In his capacity as Agent for mines Lewis Morris had much to do with the disturbed relations between local persons interested in the Esgair Mwyn Lead mine in Cardiganshire and the Prime Minister, Henry Pelham, who was made a Mason in 1732 by Dr. Desaguiliers of the Golden Spikes in Hampstead. Writing on August 31st, 1747, from "my hermitage", Gallt Vadog, to Richard, Lewis mentions Linden in these unfriendly lines—

If we send shoemakers to propagate the Gospel in Germany, the Germans send us chemysts, or pretended ones, to teach us mining. There is one at Holywell who hath wrote something lately on Mines on which I have wrote notes. He is as great a mountebank in philosophy as the shoemaker can be in religion.

William Morris, writing from Holyhead, 26th July, 1750, to Richard in London, tells of Dr. de Linden billeting himself on Dr. Lloyd, of Monachdy, an estate in Cardiganshire, 3 miles east of Aberayron, adding—

a most impudent fellow. He has been living in Flintshire for many years having bolted from his native country—Prussia—to escape hanging most likely. He was in the King's Bench or one of your prisons not a long ago. He knew you and Lewis better than do I of the two though he never saw either of you.

This gossip proved to have only too sound a foundation, for, through the kindness of Mr. D. L. Evans of the Public Record Office, I was enabled to see, in a Register of Admissions to the Fleet Prison (PRIS. 1/10), an entry of 20th January, 1747, of the committal by Sir Thomas Birch, Kt., of—

Van Linden Diederick, otherwise Wessel Linden, Diederick in execution and also for want of bail.

Joseph Riddon, debt and damages 60/-, discharged by Plaintiff Wm. Myddleton, plea of trespass £50. Whiteside. Bail for £25 suit of John Ball £40 discharged by writ. remains undetermined

Windham Beaves                      supersedeas

23 Feb. 1748 Discharged by writ of Supersedeas

£118-11-10

undetermined

debt to Joseph Riddon

Continuing our perusal of the *Morrisiad* we read in a letter of 11th May, 1752, by Lewis to Richard—

Well done, Duke of Ancaster. Linden will make a goose of him.

The Gwydir Letters have told us already of Linden's association with the Duke's mines.

A letter of May, 1753, from William of Holyhead to Richard, refers to his "honest friend Wm. Vaughan M.P." A footnote states that Vaughan was the first President of the Cymmrodorion.

The same year Lewis was in London during one of his law actions, and on August 18th he writes to William—

Old Dr. Hampa, a German Physician to ye Princess of Wales, was at my lodging this morning. He is a mineralogist and he and Dr. Shaw are about publishing a book on mining and smelting and neither of them know anything of the first.

Then, turning to Welsh—

Here's a brave book. The Duke of Cumberland is antagonistic to Pelham with all his might in elections and every other direction, failing to send the military to preserve the Cardiganshire mines and so, very likely rendering it necessary to approach the old King who is a heavy hammer and will drive in the nail. Say nothing of this to Folk who carry tales, for the Duke says it is fitter that the son of the King should have the lease of the Esgair Mine than the son of Pelham.

Old Dr. Hampa advises me to send a fragment of mineral to the King. He will be glad to get out of his Welsh mines but it is likely to be better to refrain lest Harry be offended.

And, seemingly, Henry Pelham went to his grave seven months later without being subjected to that irritation.

Lewis and William were both collectors of fossils, and the former fitted up a cabinet of them for Lord Powys. Writing to William from London, 6th September, 1756, he remarked "The Cymmrodorion shall have what is to spare."

In the course of 1760 Lewis's health became somewhat of a burden and he sought the benefit of the medicinal waters of Llandrindod. Their effect was such that within a week he felt constrained to write to the Secretary of the Cymmrodorion Society acknowledging the improvement in his chest symptoms. The letter bears the date August 13th, and, without giving the name of the Secretary of that time, begins "Dear Sir"—

My business now is to give you an account of these waters and of the place which will throw some light on the mineral waters of other countries that may happen to be discovered or taken notice of.

Your acquaintance, Dr. Deiderich Wessel Linden hath wrote a pompous book on these waters but after we have read it we are never the wiser or know how to use the waters more than if he had not wrote.

One of these springs which issue out of a rock in a small valley on the common, called Cwm y Gof, is called the Rock Water and was drank time out of mind to cure agues &c., but the other noted springs were discovered about 30 years ago by Mrs. Jenkins, the wife of the tenant on whose lands they are and who Dr. de Linden in his book calls the conductress of the waters. . . .

About 50 yards below this in the same valley is a spring of sulphureous water. I am much better in health and even my asthma and coughing is easier. I can put on my shoes and stockings which I had not been able to do this 6 months and have mounted my horse without even a horse block which I have not been able to do this 2 years. These are surprising effects.

Congratulating Lewis on his improved health after taking these waters, his brother, William, wrote—

I was afraid, awfully so, that no good attached to the place on account of Dr. Linden. There, in the King's Bench, is his old pal Gittens, says the other brother (Richard of the Navy Office).

Gittens was the bookseller in Holywell who sold Linden's "Letter to W. Hooson".

Fragments from two letters indicate the temperament of Lewis Morris. Writing to Richard on 21st September, 1761, he advised the founder of the Cymmrodorion when he printed the new register of its members—

not to say So and So weaver, So and So tinker, So and So cooper. Let their titles be distinguished as much as possible, that every English fool may not have the room to laugh in his sleeve and say "Such a Society, indeed!"

For all that, the early register records a considerable proportion of names of notabilities and of people of standing in "The Professions"! Richard had had occasion, two months earlier, to reprove Lewis on several scores, and, writing on St. James's day, he expressed this hope—

I could wish you were more sparing of your reflexions, being very disagreeable to me who wish well to all mankind.

The Morris Letters contain no direct reference to the Craft, but one from Richard to Lewis, of 12th April, 1761, runs—

Poor brother Abel Johnson, son of Dr. Johnson, burst a blood vessel in a fit of coughing in the night, found dead last Monday morning in his room at the Victory Office Coffee House. God preserve us both from a like misfortune. Also, poor brother Howell, with a hole in his belly, died next morning after him.

Another of Richard's letters, on the Sunday after Trinity, 1760, had made use of a similar expression—

Brother O. Davies has sent me an authority to settle Will Owen's affairs. (£69-10-11½ from Capt. Edwards)

Richard's letter on St. Nicholas' day, 6th December, 1761, informs Lewis Morris of his

particular wish to visit the dear old Dr. Stukeley and see him I shall before long if possible, to obtain Pegge's book from him.

On 18th of that month he corrects the reference—

It is Nennius's book not Pegge's which Dr. Stukeley has: it was printed in Copenhagen.

Possibly *Historia Britonum*, at the end of the eighteenth century.

Lewis to Richard, 16th April, 1762, writes—

A delightful book, that of Stukeley's, nevertheless the man is like a horse that takes the iron curb in his teeth and bolts where he will: he is very ingenious and very whimsical.

The confusion between curb and bit may be attributable to the Dictionaries.

On 27th July Richard tells Lewis—

Now Dr. Stukeley has sent me a message that if I cannot visit him he will visit me to eat a bit of mutton and to see the remarkable collection in my cabinet—and the coins &c. Mr. Campbell, a neighbour of Stukeley, is the author of "Lives of the Admirals," &c.

In 1765, Lewis, William and their father died, and the last letters in this collection are concerned with a financial disappointment on the part of Lewis's widow and a rejoinder by Richard. William Stukeley also died during the same year, 1765.

What is the upshot of these notes?

1. Confirmation by unfriendly critics of the residence of Dr. de Linden in Holywell in the seventeen forties and elsewhere.
2. Linden had contact with prominent persons of his time and with men known to be Freemasons who subscribed to his book on Llandrindod.
3. I have been unable to learn that his detractors or Thomas Pennant belonged to the Craft.
4. The Star in Holywell, at which the alleged Grand Lodge was held, and the Cross Keys provided accommodation for notables who visited St. Winifred's Well, one of whom was the brother of a Grand Master, the Duke of Norfolk.

If William, the 5th Lord Byron, visited Holywell at the time of the Inscription, 1748, that is, while he was Grand Master, he could have held a Grand Lodge there. His ancestors were Lancashire people, and the first Lord Byron, of Rochdale, had been very active a century earlier in the Royalist Cause in North Wales and Cheshire.

5. I suggest there is ground for continuing to enquire if the 5th Lord Byron had occasion to visit Flintshire in 1748, and as to Linden's association with the Craft.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Evans for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. F. M. Rickard, seconded by Bro. W. I. Grantham, comments being made by or on behalf of Bros. J. H. Lepper, R. H. Baxter, F. L. Pick and G. W. Bullamore.

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Bro. F. M. RICKARD said:—

In the paper we have just heard read Bro. Evans has given us information about one of the principal characters connected with the *Holywell* MS.; and we must be grateful to him for giving us this information. The puzzle about this MS. is that it relates to a Lodge that has not been identified. Bro. Evans offers four suggestions regarding the existence of this Lodge; but I am wondering whether there is any need to go beyond the first of these suggestions. Is it not very probable that this unidentified Lodge was merely one of many Lodges that existed independently of the Grand Lodge of 1717, and perhaps for some while before that time? Lodges about which unfortunately we cannot expect ever to learn anything. The use of the word "Grand" does not seem to me to be of much importance; it appears to have been used in other places not in the sense we now lay upon it—perhaps it was used merely as a "set-off" against the application of "Grand" in London.

The "other entries" to be found in the *Holywell* MS. are peculiar; they seem to be personal notes and to indicate that "This Book" was treated as private property—but of whom does not emerge.

All the transcriptions of the inscription on the front page give—

W<sup>m</sup> Wessel de Linden.

This seems very strange, for, in every case mentioned by Bro. Evans, de Linden gives his name as Diederich.

I have not seen the original MS., only a photograph, but am wondering whether the "W" with small letters after it may not be intended for "Worshipful".

We have not before now had any knowledge of the personality of de Linden. He seems to have been an elusive character, and we may be quite sure that the search made by Bro. Songhurst was careful and exhaustive. Though Bro. Evans has given us many particulars regarding D. W. Linden, I think he himself is not quite sure of the identity. Certainly it would be of importance if the "Linten" or "Landen" mentioned in the records of Lodge No. 5 could be ascertained to refer to Wessel de Linden.

In searching out biographical details of individual Freemasons, particularly with reference to their connection with Freemasonry, we may obtain clues to follow in investigating the existence of Lodges and the practice of Masonry in different parts of the country. And in this respect Bro. Evans has opened a door for further research, in several directions.

I have pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Bro. Evans for his paper.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Our Bro. Dr. A. E. Evans has favoured us with an interesting paper on the *Holywell* MS. and the alleged Grand Master of the Lodge at that place in 1749. The author is sure to receive the sincere thanks of the members of our Lodge for his efforts.

When the MS. first came to our notice it was in the possession of Bro. John Moorhouse, of Nelson. Its subsequent history ought to be noted. By some means it passed into the hands of Bro. T. Driver, of the Roses Lodge, No. 5140, Colne, who in 1932 presented it to the library of the East Lancashire Provincial Grand Lodge, where it now reposes.

I am not at all sure that W<sup>m</sup>. Wessel de Linden has been identified with the D. W. Linden whose activities have been so clearly traced. Nor indeed am I anxious that it should be so. In the present time of stress our passions are aroused against all Germans, and from the evidence adduced D. W. Linden does not appear to have been exactly an estimable character. But that does not in any way detract from the pleasure I have had in perusing the paper.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

We are all agreed that we have just listened to a piece of work that has taken great erudition and industry to complete, and for it Bro. Evans may count on our thanks and gratitude. I must congratulate him on having built such an interesting paper on what seemed at the outset an unpromising site; thanks to his energy we now know quite a good deal about a Freemason of the eighteenth century who hitherto was only a name, and, as often happens, further paths of investigation have been opened which, if followed successfully, will add still more to our knowledge of an obscure period in Freemasonry.

For the moment we are left in a state of uncertainty about the kind of Lodge in which Thomas Humphreys was initiated at Holywell. In deciding which is the most likely of the several alternatives presented by Bro. Evans, I must fall back on speculation, and what follows is only a personal reaction, merely worth some consideration pending the discovery of further facts.

I hesitate to accept the phrase "Grand Master" in its present meaning. Lord Byron *may*, of course, have held an "Occasional Lodge" at Holywell, or he *may* have provided de Linden with a Deputation to act as his representative in forming a new Lodge at Holywell; but against this possibility we must set the record in Grand Lodge Minutes that he was "abroad" most of his term of office, and only attended Grand Lodge once during that time, and also the lack of any reference in our archives to the formation of any such Lodge. Such negative evidence is by no means conclusive, but is of weight. Wessel de Linden, in perfect good faith, might have described himself as "Grand Master" of the Lodge over which he presided, for the chances are in favour of his having been initiated in Germany, and English was not his mother tongue; while if the title "Grand Master" is dependent on Humphreys's recollection of the ceremony, his memory might well have been at fault; and most likely English was not his mother tongue either. Masonic titles are often undeservedly bestowed by the uninstructed: I have come across an instance in print of about a century back in which the Master of a private Lodge was referred to as the "Grand Master", when of course he had no right to any such designation.

Nor am I much enamoured with the Irish theory of the Lodge's origin, for the following reasons. The Irish operatives who migrated to England in swarms from the seventeen-thirties on were mostly weavers, and as Holywell was not a centre of that industry I should not expect to find a colony of them there sufficiently numerous to establish a Warrant. Nor was it a military centre, which rules out the other great Irish industry of soldiering. However, far be it from me to be dogmatic on this head, for, as Bro. Evans has pointed out, the district was within hail of Chester and Liverpool, and in those days at any rate the wandering Irish were a law unto themselves and the finer distinctions of "Exclusive Territorial Jurisdiction" did not exist, even in name.

In short, the weight of probability seems to incline, in my view, to a non-regular time-immemorial Lodge, or in the alternative, to a completely irregular body assembled by Wessel de Linden under what authority beyond his own will we can only conjecture. However, the fact that a copy of the Old Charges was produced on the occasion of Humhreys's initiation, as we may assume from his having later made a copy of it, is in favour of an English rather than a German tradition.

There, pending further discoveries, I must let the matter rest; but cannot conclude these highly speculative comments without paying a sincere testimony of admiration to the way in which this paper has been composed by Bro. Evans. It is a notable contribution to our annals, and all of us will look forward to hearing others bearing the same hall mark of scholarship, erudition, and charm. I for one look forward to Bro. Evans's further researches into the Masonic lore of Wild Wales, a country evidently containing unsuspected mines of information to which he has to-day staked a claim and made us all his debtor.

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BRO. FRED L. PICK *writes*:—

For some years the *Holywell* MS. has been in the possession of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire (Eastern Division), of whose Museum W.Bro. Eustace B. Beesley, P.G.D., is the enthusiastic curator. It would appear probable that William Wessel de Linden was a relative of the better known Dr. Deiderich Wessel de Linden, but I do not see that Bro. Evans has identified the one with the other. Does he suggest that there is an error in the inscription?

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BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The Grand Lodge at the Star has always been somewhat of a mystery, and I am glad that Bro. Evans has made an attempt to clear up the matter.

The chief obstacle to research in connection with such lodges is the postulate that Grand Lodge was started by Bro. Antony Sayers in 1717 and that after that date the lodges that met either belonged to it or were irregular.

My own view is that when the Freemasons' Company of London accepted the solemn League and Covenant to eschew popery, paganism, etc., and changed their name to the Masons' Company, they officially jettisoned their ceremonies. These were henceforth transmitted by followers and sympathisers of the Stuart and eventually passed to the Jacobites and Tories. The Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" was a fellowcraft Lodge which attempted the control of the derelict journeymen masons of London after the fire and rebuilding. They were without politics and became a parallel organisation. "Immemorial right" probably originated with the irregular meetings of these journeymen, which brought forth the "Old Regulations" as an attempt at control. These regulations had to be abandoned and the right of lodges to meet and appoint their masters became established.

Before this, no "immemorial right" was in existence. The lodges were called together by the Master by virtue of the possession of a copy of the *Constitutions* on which candidates could be admitted. I suggest that Bro. Wessel de Linden was in possession of such a copy and called a lodge together of known Freemasons in order to admit Bro. Humphreys. The copy of the *Constitutions* was possibly made to confer a similar power of enrolment on Bro. Humphreys.



The fact that the lodge was held at the Star, a Roman Catholic hostel and place of worship, suggests that its members' sympathies were more likely to have been with the Stuart than with the House of Hanover.

As regards politics and Freemasonry we have incontrovertible evidence of the existence of a Stuart Grand Lodge for the craft degrees and of the original allegiance of the higher degrees to the young Pretender. Their chief value was probably the ease with which attendance, if only as a visitor, at a "Moderns" lodge enabled a member of the higher degrees to get in touch without arousing suspicion.

Bro. A. E. EVANS *writes* in reply:—

Bro. Colonel F. M. Rickard, W.M.

Thinking it well to provide some grounds for the use, in the *Holywell* Inscription, of the term "Grand", I have submitted the Third explanation.

Submitting the abbreviation of the name William in the Inscription to enlargement on the epidiascope, one sees that the first of the four down strokes in the little "m" of "Wm" is in line with the final up stroke of the "W" and that little likelihood of the "Wm" standing for anything but "William" remains.

The handwriting is not that of the writer of the Linden letters to the Agent of the Duke of Ancaster, of which photostat copies have been submitted with this paper.

Bro. R. H. Baxter and Bro. F. L. Pick.

As to the identity of de Linden of the *Holywell* Inscription with Deiderich Wessel Linden, we know that Holywell was their common location and that the several references by the Morris Brothers to him omit any allusion to a namesake in Holywell or elsewhere. If William and Deiderich were not one and the same man, both must have lived at the same time in Holywell, and while there is ample evidence of the residence there of Deiderich, I have, so far, discovered no other trace of "Wm" than this abbreviation in the Inscription.

It may be well to refer to the uncommon name of Whiteside, of which there are only 14 instances in the new London Telephone Directory. It occurs in one of the adventitious entries in the spare pages of the *Holywell* MS., relating to Mr. Hy. Whiteside, Collr., "who paid Nature's debt on the 4th of June, 1759". This surname also appears, without initials, among the list of Linden's creditors on his committal to the Fleet Prison on 20th January, 1747.

It was an age of looseness in the spelling of names, even in the Minute Books of Lodges, and if the Inscription had been written by the Initiate, he may readily have confused some Christian names.

On the question of Linden's personality and character, the Journal of the National Library of Wales, which I quoted in introducing the Gwydir Letters, regards him as a conscientious servant and a loyal friend. It was by his pointing out the wasteful mining methods in North Wales that he gained the animosity of the responsible owners and of Lewis Morris, the mine manager. Linden may have been endowed with a larger measure of Prussian pomposity than he was able to discard after reaching England in 1742, but I am inclined to think that the Journal, just quoted, does not over-rate his good intentions.

Bro. G. W. Bullamore.

In connection with the interesting claims of the influence of the Jacobites among the Freemasons of the period, I would refer to the militant activities

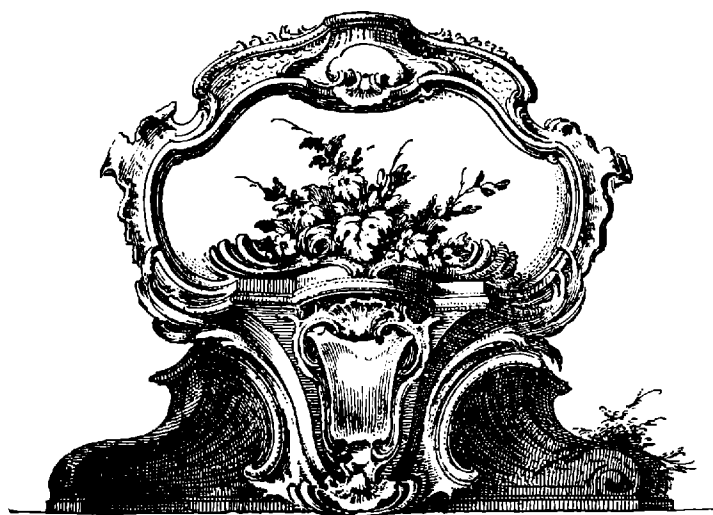
of the First Lord Byron in North Wales in the cause of King Charles I, a century before the date of our Inscription. Although hailing from Unna, Linden's admiration for the reigning Hanoverian was not unbounded, as one observes in the Gwydir Letters.

*Bro. Heron Lepper.*

The reference to the language difficulty, whether German or Welsh, is very appropriate. Sixty years ago, once the traveller had advanced some 5 or 6 miles west of the English border, he heard little in the streets of the English tongue; in the seventeen-forties he probably heard even less. Saint Winifred's Well, however, was a place of pilgrimage, and so the local English vocabulary would not be meagre.

Before disposing of the question of an especial or "Occasional" Grand Lodge in Holywell in 1747-8, I am awaiting the result of further enquiries as to the movements of the Grand Master of that period.

I deeply appreciate the generous and encouraging comments of Bro. Lepper; they provide a stimulus to further exertion in the dust, if not the mud, of the eighteenth century.



**ADDITIONAL NOTES**  
**ON**  
**THE YORK GRAND CHAPTER, ETC.**  
*BY BRO. G. F. JOHNSON.*

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Bro. R. J. MEEKREN *writes*:—

Bro. Johnson's paper has carried our knowledge of the beginnings of the Royal Arch in York much further than any previous investigation. The biographical details of the members and initiates of the York Royal Arch "Lodge" are not only most interesting in themselves, but are very valuable in giving us a picture of the men and circumstances of the period. It must have taken an immense amount of time and patient labour to have collected so much information.

The fact that the Punch Bowl Lodge, and its offshoot, the Royal Arch Lodge, were founded by a group of actors is an especially interesting piece of information. We can infer that they must have been very well acquainted with each other, and in touring their circuit they must have found Freemasonry a very useful "open Sesame" into the social circle of many of the places where they performed. From what Bro. Johnson has brought forward in the way of evidence we must accept, provisionally at least, the suggestion that the founders of Royal Arch Masonry in York were, as we would say, exalted in Hull.

We must accept also the conclusion that the Royal Arch was not worked in York before 1762, for were there any intimation at all of an earlier date, such a painstaking investigation must surely have discovered it. The argument from silence can rarely, if ever, be conclusive in itself, but it may, as in this instance, yield a degree of probability so high as practically to amount to certainty.

I do not, however, feel that we should reject the statements made by Dassigny. He did not say that the Royal Arch was known in York when he wrote, but that he was "informed" that it was; quite a different thing. What he does assert as a fact is that it was known in Dublin, and by inference that it was known in London, when he says that the imposter who claimed to have received that excellent part of Masonry in York had been detected by a "brother of probity and wisdom who had some small space before attained" it in London. It seems to me that we must accept this, for even the most unreliable author would hardly misrepresent occurrences of recent date in the place where his book was published, and which must have been well known to many of his readers.

From Dassigny's statements we may draw the following conclusions: first, that some rite additional to the three degrees of Craft Masonry (then presumably known, and possibly worked everywhere) had been adopted in Ireland a few years before the year 1744 under the designation of Royal Arch. Secondly, that this rite, as a higher degree, was known also in London, and, thirdly, that it was rumoured to be known also in York. That such a rumour should

have existed seems very natural in view of the prominence of York in the legendary history of the propagation of the Craft in Britain. It was as much a name to conjure with by the founders or inventors of a new rite in the British Isles as Kilwinning was on the Continent.

The reference brought to light by the late Chetwode Crawley in the description of a Masonic procession at Youghal in 1743, to the Royal Arch carried by two excellent Masons, need not refer to a degree or order of that name at all. We have a number of early references to an arch, besides the allusion in the *Book of Constitutions* in 1723. This last seems to be something more than a mere metaphor; that is, it seems as if it might refer to some such traditional formula as that found in the *Mystery of Freemasons* and the *Mason's Examination* (which are of course variant versions of one original, and which was probably current in the London area in the beginning of the eighteenth century), in which the arch is said to be derived from the rainbow. The Floorcloth of Lodge No. 205, I.C., reproduced by Bros. Lepper and Crossle in their *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland* (Vol. I, p. 248) (and earlier published by Chetwode Crawley, A.Q.C., xxvi, p. 148, 1913), shows an arch of two members, upon the uppermost of which is the legend, "Our wondrous Arch is yonder vaulted sky"; would seem to be a further development, or a parallel one, of the idea suggested in the older documents. In this design, dated 1749, six years later than the Youghal reference, there are other symbols that certainly point to an additional rite that can hardly be anything else than an early form of what we know as the Royal Arch. Such a floorcloth carried as a banner (as the craft floorcloth is shown in the engravings of the processions of the Scald Miserable Masons) might well have been what was referred to in the description of the procession at Youghal. In this design also is a feature that ties it up with the change of the titles of the three principal officers at York in 1781. On a kind of achitrave joining the flanks of the arch are the names, defaced but quite unmistakeable, "Solomon Rex Israel, Hiram R . . . Tyre, Hiram Abiaf."

The Dromore Medallion (found in the chimney of an old house) has on one side an equilateral triangle, beneath which is an arch, flanked by two half arches. In the lower angles of the triangle are the initials "I" and "H", and between them and under the base of the triangle is the letter "Z". From the general appearance of the designs on this relic I should take it to be work of the end of the eighteenth century. Bro. Songhurst told me that he would, on the same grounds, put it later still. And this is quite possible. However, it shows that the names Jeshua, Haggai and Zerubbabel were at one time significant in the working of the Royal Arch in Ireland, a conclusion not without other support.

When Bro. Johnson remarks that this change of titles "appears to denote a complete change of Ritual", I should like to know more exactly what is implied. So often in discussions on questions of ritual the terms used are vague and imprecise. A ritual may be changed, or some change may be made in a ritual. The first may imply something entirely different from start to finish, the other may be no more than a substitution for, or an expansion of, a small part. To change the titles of certain officers, or the personages they are supposed to represent, could very possibly mean no more than the addition or substitution of a relatively brief instruction, leaving everything else exactly as it was before. On the other hand, to change from the ritual type followed generally throughout the British Empire to that current in the United States would involve great difficulties for those concerned with its conduct. The order of proceedings, the adjuncts, and above all the phraseology, would be all so different (though equivalent) that it would take years to establish, and then could hardly be done without a great deal of contamination, so that a hybrid form would be likely to emerge.

The American Royal Arch is "Ancient" in origin, and the "Ancient" ritual was derived from Ireland. A comparison of present day rituals shows, allowing for certain large developments of the dramatic side which is generally characteristic of the Masonry of the United States, that the two ritual forms are obviously based on a common original. They are the same in basic structure, the officers have the same titles, with one or two unimportant exceptions, the *aporrheta* are the same and the phraseology is markedly similar. In each, the three principal officers have the same titles, King, High Priest and Scribe, who is called Chief Scribe in the Irish form. There is a difference in that the King is president of the Council in Ireland, while in America it is the High Priest, but this is due to a relatively recent innovation in Ireland.

Now in the "work" the titles are alone used, the ascriptions to the historical personages they are supposed to represent do not appear, except that in the catechetical lecture in America it is said that the High Priest represents Jeshua, the King, Zerubbabel, and the Scribe, Haggai. In the Irish form there is an instruction at the end of the ceremony in which it is said that the Most Excellent King represents Josiah, the successor of Manasseh on the throne of Judah. I should be strongly inclined to think that the change of titles at York in 1772 involved little more than something of this sort; or for that matter the attempt in Ireland to change the ascriptions to Z., H., and J. that Chetwode Crawley says (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxviii, p. 145) was abandoned in 1864.

In reference to the interpretation of the letters, P.H., Z.L., and J.A., it is to be remembered that there has never been any consistent principle in selecting such abbreviations. The familiar K.S., H.T. and H.A.B. are each arrived at in a different way. There is no reason at all for assuming that because Z.L. and J.A. are naturally to be interpreted as Zerubbabel and Jeshua in P.H. we have to look for a name beginning with P. and ending with H. Freemasons in the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries were generally much more familiar with the Bible than they are to-day, and it can hardly have escaped them how curiously Haggai is always referred to as "the Prophet", even when mentioned in conjunction with others, as in *Ezra* (chap. v, 1), "Then the prophets, Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo prophesied unto the Jews that were in Judah and Jerusalem." This peculiarity is so marked that it seems quite sufficient to account for the selection of the letters P.H. in this connection.

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Bro. J. R. DASHWOOD writes:—

With reference to Bro. G. Y. Johnson's paper on the York Grand Chapter, and the precedence of the Principals, it seems possible that comparison with the Minutes of our own Grand Chapter, only three years later, may be useful.

It is, no doubt, certain that Bro. Johnson cannot have been deceived in thinking that P.H. is the presiding Officer, and either the practice differed in the two Chapters, or it had been changed between the years 1762 and 1765, for in our own Minutes it is clear from the start that Z. is the presiding Officer.

I think that too much ingenuity has been expended in explaining the letter "P." Why not merely "Principal"? In view of the fact that, in this case, H. was the *First* Principal, there seems all the more reason for the appellation. I read them as "Principal Haggai, Zerubbabel, and Joshua", and in support I draw attention to the following from our own Minutes:—

In the Declaration which begins our Minute Book, under date 12th June, 1765, on folio 2 there is a series of Resolutions, the first of which deals with the arrangements for opening the Chapter, in which the Principals are referred

to as "The P.H., Z.L. & I.", which is, I think, clearly "The Principals Haggai, Zerubbabel & Joshua", and it is clear that the Scribe visualises them as entering the Chapter, with Z. in the middle.

In the Minutes of the same day, 12th June, the election of Office bearers is thus recorded:—

Bro <sup>r</sup> . Keek Senr.	P.H.	} Excellent Grands
Bro <sup>r</sup> . Maclean	P.Z.	
Bro <sup>r</sup> . Aynson	P.I.	
Bro <sup>r</sup> . Galloway	Principal Sojourner	
Bro <sup>r</sup> . Flower	E.	} Secretaries
Bro <sup>r</sup> . Jno. Hughes	N.	

Here the first initials can stand for nothing but "Principal". Again Haggai comes first, but Maclean is quite definitely the presiding Officer.

From 12/3/66 the initials of Office appear as "P.Z., P.H., and J.P." I do not know what the reason is for the inversion of the initials in the case of the Third Principal.

Frequently I believe that the initials are deliberately made difficult, either from love of mystification or in actual fact to prevent the profane understanding them; on 26th December, 1766, Dunckerley was elected and invested as "Z. in the absence of the M.E.G.M. [Lord Blayney] and M.E.D.G.M. in his Lordship's presence", and was given the privilege of appointing his own Officers, which are entered as follows:—Our R.H. Bro<sup>r</sup>. Earl of Anglesey P.T.H.I., Bro<sup>r</sup>. Brooks P.T.I.A., Bro<sup>r</sup>. Flower pISE, Bro<sup>r</sup>. Allen IRSN, Bro<sup>r</sup>. Taylor 1st SNR, Bro<sup>r</sup>. Heseltine 2nd SNR, and Bro<sup>r</sup>. Guest 3rd SNR. Here Principal will not fill the bill, and I think we have PropheT Haggai, PriesT Joshua, PrincipaL Scribe E., JunioR Scribe N., and SojourNeRs.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON *writes in reply*:—

Bro. R. J. Meekren's comments on my paper "The York Grand Chapter" are most interesting, and I should like to thank him for the trouble that he has taken.

When I commenced my researches I had no idea where the York Brethren had obtained the Royal Arch Degree, but as the evidence accumulated I was driven to the conclusion that it must have come from Hull. Where the Hull Brethren obtained the Degree is an interesting speculation.

There are no records at York to suggest that the Royal Arch was worked there before 1762; but I have an open mind on the subject, and nothing would delight me more than to come across some minute or newspaper paragraph bearing on the subject that has so far escaped notice.

Since writing the paper I have re-read Dr. Dassigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry*. Like many other Masons, I had the impression that Dassigny was not a reliable authority, but I have modified my view and now realise that he gives us much valuable information.

Bro. Meekren's remarks on the change of titles of the Principals in the York Grand Chapter in 1772 are of particular interest to me. I confess that I jumped to the conclusion that the alteration of the titles would denote a complete change of Ritual. There are no notes or information of any kind concerning the Ritual used in the York Grand Chapter, and so we are left to form our own conclusions.

I am glad to note that Bro. Meekren agrees that the initials P.H. stand for Prophet Haggai; I think this is the best solution of the problem.

Bro. J. R. Dashwood's notes on the titles of the three Principals or Masters are particularly interesting, and I should like to thank him for drawing attention to the Minutes of the Grand Chapter.

The title of Principal was never used in the York Grand Chapter, the presiding Officers being called the Three Masters, and as late as 1780 in the Rotherham Chapter Warrant of Constitution the presiding Officers are called "the Right Worshipful Masters".

I must admit that Bro. Dashwood makes out a very good case, and it seems clear from his notes that in London as early as 1765 the initial P. stood for Principal or Principals; but we have no evidence of the Ritual used at York and there is no trace of any connection between the Grand Chapter in London and the York Grand Chapter.



## REVIEW

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### HISTORY OF LODGE OF FRIENDSHIP No. 6

*By Bro. C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.*



LODGE of Friendship is the oldest constituted lodge under the English Obedience, and ranks next to the three Time Immemorial lodges still in existence after having taken part in forming the Grand Lodge of England in 1717. The Lodge is particularly fortunate in having preserved most of its Minutes intact from the seventeen-thirties, and is equally fortunate in having found a historian who has made full use of them and enabled us to see not only the progress of the Lodge itself, but also the development of Freemasonry in England during the eighteenth century.

Any Lodge which could boast of having among its members such Freemasons as Martin Clare, Thomas Dunckerley and the Duke of Sussex would have a right to claim distinction from these names alone; but the story as told here makes a higher claim to honour; for, according to Bro. Rotch, Lodge of Friendship in the year 1767 formed the centre of the effort which raised English Freemasonry out of the state of apathy into which it had declined in the year 1740. It is not for the present reviewer to give a verdict on the facts as set out by Bro. Rotch. It will be quite sufficient to say that he has presented a very plausible case.

The great value of this book consists in the general picture it gives of Freemasonry in the eighteenth century. Lodge of Friendship had many changes of fortune and many different meeting places. One year we find it composed of members of a humble station in life; and, not so long after, it was the favourite meeting place of the Grand Master of the period and his friends. Indeed, during the closing years of the eighteenth century the Lodge seems to have formed a kind of preparatory school for Grand Officers. To explain these strange changes of fortune Bro. Rotch has had to delve deeply into the history of the times as they affected Freemasonry; as a result he has given us a book which will be read with pleasure both by masonic antiquarians and those in search of a lighter form of entertainment. I venture to say that anyone who reads this history with attention will gain a very just idea of the early history of Freemasonry in England.

The fact that Lodge of Friendship is a Red Apron Lodge naturally leads to a chapter about the Grand Stewards and their functions. The further fact that while the Lodge was up to 1813 "Modern", though in 1767 we have evidence that it followed the "Antient" ritual, leads to a lengthy disquisition on the vexed question of the actual differences between the "Antients" and the "Moderns". Bro. Rotch can claim the distinction of being the first Lodge historian to approach his subject with a knowledge of what has come to be known as the "Traditioner" Theory. His conclusions are that the records of this Lodge are further evidence in support of that Theory, and the reader can safely be referred to the book itself for the details of his arguments.



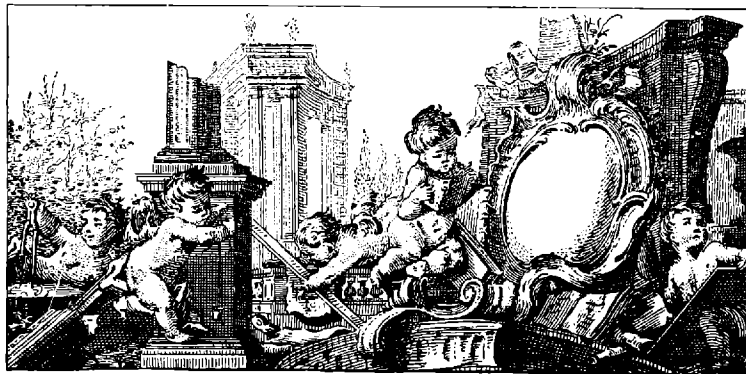
Bro. Rotch must be given high praise for the biographical information he has supplied about the membership of Lodge of Friendship. He has not confined himself to the nobility and gentry, but has made the meshes of his net of research small enough to include some of the minnows, a task involving an immense amount of labour and disappointment. He will have his reward in the admiration of every fellow-student who has ploughed in simliar barren soil.

About the Supreme Order of Royal Arch in connection with Lodge of Friendship, Bro. Rotch has also something to say, and students will find it worthy of their attention.

It only remains to note that the volume is well printed, has a complete index and list of members, together with the most pleasing portrait of Thomas Dunckerley as frontispiece.

The present reviewer cannot close this short notice of a notable book without offering his congratulations to the author as Brother, fellow member of Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and close personal friend, on having written one that will be outstanding among Lodge histories. In the words of the dedication on the title-page, it will be a worthy memorial to "all the Good Masons and Fellows, who for more than two centuries have upheld the prestige and dignity of Freemasonry in the Lodge of Friendship."

JOHN HERON LEPPER.



## OBITUARY

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It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**William John Bennett**, of Sao Paulo, Brazil, on 3rd August, 1944. Bro. Bennett was a member of Citadel Lodge No. 1897. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1929.

**Hubert Carpenter Bristowe**, *M.D.*, of Bristol, on 18th April, 1945, aged 81. Bro. Bristowe held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1923, and admitted to full membership of the Lodge in November, 1937.

**William Robert Bond**, of Norwich, on 5th December, 1944. Bro. Bond held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1912.

**John Wesley Brown**, of Middlesborough, on 8th November, 1944. Bro. Brown held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and was A.Pr.G.M. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1927.

**Henry John Clifford**, of Morrinsville, New Zealand, on 10th March, 1942. Bro. Clifford was a member of Lodge No. 52, and a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1898.

**James John Cooper**, of Forest Gate, London E., on 31st January, 1945. Bro. Cooper held L.G.R. and L.G.C.R. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1934.

**Thomas Abraham Curran-Sharp**, of Sumatra, on 5th February, 1945, as P.O.W. Bro. Curran-Sharp was P.M. of Klang Lodge No. 3369, and a member of Selangor Chapter No. 2337. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1939.

**Robert Dawson**, of Hastings, on 21st February, 1945, aged 75. Bro. Dawson held the rank of P.Pr.G.D. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1934.

**Charles Kingston Everitt**, of Sheffield, on 6th February, 1945, aged 78. Bro. Everitt was P.M. of Britannia Lodge No. 139 and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1929.

**Arthur Gilbert**, of London, W.C., on 16th November, 1944. Bro. Gilbert held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had for many years been a member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in January, 1900.

*Ven. Archdeacon* **Henry Richard Butler Gillespie, M.A., B.D.**, of Morrinsville, New Zealand. Bro. Gillespie held the rank of P.Pr.G.D. and P.Pr.Dis.G.S. Midland Counties, Ireland. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in March, 1907.

**Sidney Jacob Goldberg**, of London, W., on 18th April, 1945. Bro. Goldberg held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1939.

*Major* **Maurice Colton Haines, T.D.**, of Benton, Northumberland, on 5th January, 1945. Bro. Haines held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was a member of Addison Potter Chapter No. 2571. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1934.

**Percy William Howard**, of Buenos Aires, on 9th August, 1944. Bro. Howard held the rank of P.Dis.G.D. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1909.

*Capt.* **Olenthus William King, D.S.O.**, of Camberley, Surrey, in November, 1944. Bro. King was P.M. of Morning Star No. 552 and P.H. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1904.

**Jacob Charles Klinck**, of Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A., on 17th October, 1944. Bro. Klinck had held the office of Grand Treasurer. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1907, and for some years acted as Local Secretary for the State of New York.

**Arthur Reginald Lambert, F.R.S.A., M.Inst.Met.**, of Sevenoaks, Kent, on 24th October, 1944. Bro. Lambert held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1917.

**Reginald Frederick Lawton**, of Sheffield, on 7th February, 1945, aged 86. Bro. Lawton held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1913.

**Nicholas John Luke**, of Bloemfontein, S. Africa, on 20th April, 1945, aged 65. Bro. Luke held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. (N.C.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1923.

**John George Macdonald**, of Yea, Victoria, on 12th March, 1944. Bro. Macdonald held the rank of Past Grand Warden. He was a member of Chapter No. 66, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1929.

**John William Morton**, of Bradford, on 30th January, 1945. Bro. Morton was a member of Lodge of Faith No. 4223, and of Moravia Chapter No. 387. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

**Thomas H. Palmer**, of London, E.C., on 27th February, 1945. Bro. Palmer held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1928.

**Arthur Leslie Pugh**, of Esher, Surrey, in 1944. Bro. Pugh was a member of Kingston Aero Lodge No. 3860, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1929.

**Conrad Christian Silberbauer**, of Cape Town, on 22nd July, 1944, aged 80 years. Bro. Silberbauer had held the office of Deputy Grand Master (N.C.) for 40 years. He was one of the senior members of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in March, 1889.

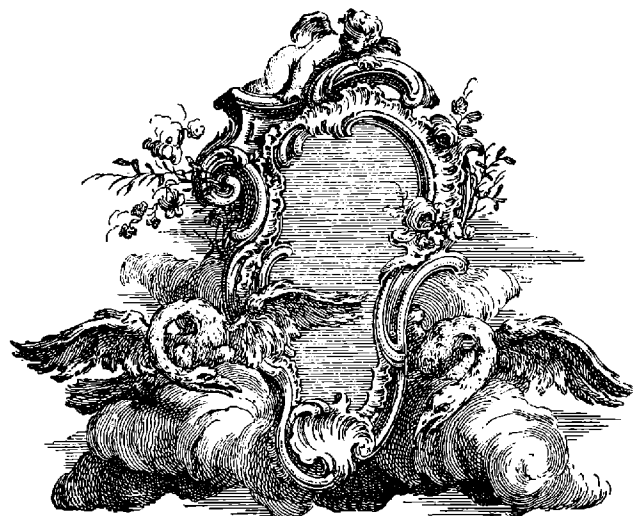
**William Story**, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on 8th February, 1945. Bro. Story held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.R. (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1933.

**John Arnold Taylor**, of Leigh-on-Sea, Essex, on 1st April, 1945, aged 82. Bro. Taylor was a member of Victoria Lodge No. 1056. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in January, 1905.

**Thomas Townend**, *F.R.I.B.A.*, of Rochdale, Lancs., on 9th April, 1945. Bro. Townend held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1910.

**Arthur John Watkin**, of London, N.W., on 5th April, 1945. Bro. Watkin was P.M. of Guy's Lodge No. 395 and of Malden Chapter No. 2875. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

**Alexander Wild**, of Hebden Bridge, Yorks., on 25th March, 1945. Bro. Wild held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C. (E. Lancs.), and P.Pr.G.St.B. (R.A.) (E. Lancs.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1938.



# Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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FACSIMILES OF THE OLD CHARGES.—Three Rolls, viz., Grand Lodge No. 2 MS., Scarborough MS., and the Buchanan MS. Lithographed on vegetable vellum, in the original Roll form. Price Two Guineas each.

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### BINDING.

Members returning their parts of the *Transactions* to the Secretary, can have them bound in dark blue Canvas, lettered gold. Cases can be supplied; date or number of volume should be specified.

### MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only; gilt, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel—not at present available.

# Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

No. 2076, LONDON.



*SECRETARY:*

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.D.

*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.D.

### VOLUME LVIII. PART 2.

#### CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Proceedings. 23rd June, 1945 ..	169	Proceedings. 8th November. 1945 ..	242
Exhibits .. .. .	170	Inaugural Address .. .. .	244
An Outline of the Usage of Marks of Medieval Men .. .. .	171	Review — History of the Lodge of Friendship, No. 6 .. .. .	289
Proceedings. 5th October. 1945 ..	225	Obituary .. .. .	292
Three Early Grand Masters .. ..	226	St. John's Card .. .. .	294

W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate  
1947

## THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Library has been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, 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 November 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 and a subscribing member of a regular Lodge 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

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SATURDAY, 23rd JUNE, 1945.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.15 p.m. Present:—Bros. Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; F. R. Radice, 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., Treasurer; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., Secretary; Wg.-Commr. W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., Dep.G.S.B., P.M.; and S. Pope.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Wm. Waples; G. W. Bullamore; L. G. Wearing; H. Bladon, P.G.D.; C. R. Walker; W. E. Edwards; L. O. Jones; H. Thrower; F. A. Greene, P.A.G.S.Wks.; S. J. Bradford, P.G.St.B.; S. C. Renny; E. M. Baxter; H. A. V. Everett; J. D. Daymond; C. K. Hughes; F. E. Gould; F. Coston-Taylor, J.G.D.; M. Goldberg, H. T. Perry; J. C. Vidler; E. W. Barton; H. H. C. Prestige; W. H. Arber; J. F. H. Gilbard; F. E. Marr; A. F. Cross; S. J. H. Prynn; F. M. Shaw; C. M. Givven; and J. Green.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. Wanford, Queen Alexandra Lodge No. 2932; J. H. Hack, P.G.St.B.; H. Dunning, Anglo-Colonial Lodge No. 3175; J. L. Lloyd, P.M., Royal Crown Lodge No. 3133; L. H. Barton, St. John's Wood Lodge No. 4806; W. Broad, P.M., Cholmeley Lodge No. 1731; J. Pope, Bee Hive Lodge No. 2809; and F. H. Pite, P.A.G.St.B.

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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. 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.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; 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., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, B.Sc.; G. S. Knocker, M.B.E., P.A.G.Sup.W.; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., S.D.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., J.D.; Cmr. S. N. Smith, B.N., P.Pr.G.D., Cambs.; and Lt.-Col. H. C. B. Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D.

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One Masonic Association, one Lodge of Instruction, one Study Circle, one K.T. Preceptory and 29 Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

From Q.C. Lodge Museum.

Apron and collar—formerly property of J. M. Ragon—G. Orient of France—middle of 19th century.

By Bro. J. R. RYLANDS.

French *vade-in-cum* on *Maçonnerie symbolique suivant le régime du G.O.U. de France* 5808 (1808).

By Bro. S. POPE.

Linen Cloth with Masonic emblems—Scotch—middle 19th century (? 1845).

Apron—Irish—belonged to a member of Lodge 898, which was a Lodge in Meath's Militia (1801-1848), which afterwards settled at Kells in Co. Meath. The militia was stationed on the South coast of Kent for watch duty during Napoleonic times.

By Bro. W. I. GRANTHAM.

Copy of "*Rye Engagements*"—(1649) shewing signatures.

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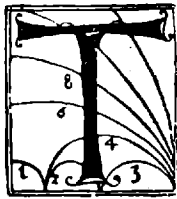
A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition.

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Bro. WILLIAM WAPLES read the following paper:—

## AN OUTLINE OF THE USAGE OF MARKS OF MEDIEVAL MEN

BY BRO. WILLIAM WAPLES



THE study of "Marks of Men" has been a constant theme in Britain since Dr. William Stukeley introduced the subject in the early eighteenth century. Many contributions have been made to the early *Transactions* of the A.Q.C., probably the most notable being those of the late Bro. W. H. Rylands and Bro. Prof. Hayter Lewis.

The collecting of Marks, generally Mason Marks, has been popular among members of Antiquarian Societies throughout Great Britain and Ireland. The subject does not, however, appear to have been extensive on the Continent, the Briquet collection of Provençal Paper Marks excepted. M. Briquet's work is comprehensive and shows that the Provençals used their Marks to denote "ownership" and further to carry a symbolic interpretation.

Among the Marks to be found in Christian Countries, in more or less degree, are those of the

Masons.	Paper Makers.	Cutlers.
Carpenters.	Yeomen.	Smiths.
Armourers.	Bakers.	P. Painters.
Coopers.	Merchants.	China Makers.
Tilers.	Ecclesiastics.	Goldsmiths.
Scriveners.	Knights Templar.	Silversmiths.

A few marks of various Crafts are shown on Plate No. 1 of the Appendix to show the similarity of Marks in general.

There are also Marks used for Marking

Cattle.	Sheep.	Swans.
Horses.	Pigs.	Geese.

and in addition:—

Manorial Marks.

Village and Town Marks.

Medieval Documents, Wills and Inquisitions generally include Marks accompanying signatures.

The general field of research falls under three main headings:—

- (1) Egyptian
- (2) Indian
- (3) Christian

The following notes however are restricted principally to a summary of the results achieved by a study of Marks in Christian countries, although a few pre-Christian Marks are included for the sake of comparison. (See Plates Nos. 2 and 23.)

Though the suggestions may appear revolutionary, they are the result of extensive study over a period of 25 years; nevertheless, these theories are tentative and are subject to modification as new information comes to light.

It is the author's intention that this work shall be considered as an introduction only to a study of the much wider subject of Marks in general, and at the same time form a basis upon which the reader may test a series of Marks from his own collection.

The religious meaning (or other interpretation) given to the several Mark shapes is only tentative in every case, and should not be construed as a statement of fact, but the numerical pre-dominance of religious symbols appears to demand some such explanation.

It will also be obvious, upon examination of several "Mark" examples, that more than one interpretation is possible; at the same time it should be recognised that space does not permit of an exhaustive explanation of religious, symbolical, or other significance of any particular shape.

#### THE OBJECT OF THE PAPER

- (1) To establish, if possible, whether the marks of man in Medieval ages were intended in general to serve a double purpose.
  - (a) As marks of identity.
  - (b) To have, for their owner, some moral, spiritual, or other significance.
- (2) To show that Marks, in Christian countries, were adopted by all free men, on a common basis.
- (3) To show that Marks in all Crafts and Professions in Medieval ages exhibit considerable similarity. (See Plate No. 1.)
- (4) To suggest that the "distribution" shows that there may have been a common basis in choosing a Mark. (See Plates Nos. 3, 4, and 4a for examples.)
- (5) To indicate that the method of analysis clearly shows that practically all Marks in the Medieval period were replicas of religious emblems, or some part of them.
- (6) To induce a wider circle of people to collect Marks of every description.

It should be made clear that the subject of the "Paper" is *Marks in general* and not only the Marks of Masons.

Masons' Marks are chiefly in evidence because

- (a) stone buildings have survived other more perishable things.
- (b) partly because evidence of Marks in other Crafts and Professions is not so readily available or so conspicuous.
- (c) and partly because Masons' Marks have been the subject, since *circa* 1850, of Masonic writers, whereas other Crafts, which have no modern counterpart to the Medieval system, have been neglected by their trade historians.

Despite the fact that Masons' Marks predominate in the illustrations, the writer would emphasise that, in his opinion, Masons' Marks were only a part of a much wider usage common to all "Free" peoples. By "Free" is meant those people who were not in servitude for life, as Bondsmen, or Slaves, to some individual. Apprentices were, of course, in temporary servitude for a period of years to their Masters, within the limits of their Indenture, and were made "Free" Craftsmen after they had fulfilled the indentured stipulations. In the language of the times they were "Freemen".

- (a) Free to work at their trade or occupation.
- (b) Free to travel.

- (c) Free for election within their Company or Guild.
- (d) The Freedom was subject to the limits of the authority which gave them their freedom.
- (e) The Freedom entitled them to certain local and Company privileges, sometimes monetary.

#### NOTES ON COMPANIES AND GUILDS

The system of Government of the Early and Medieval ages was, generally speaking, in the hands of the ruling Monarchy.

In England the King appointed a Lord Lieutenant, or Sheriff, over every shire and county, and vested in him the authority of law. This officer acted directly in the King's interest and used the existing machinery of local government to carry out the King's commands. In business, commerce, and in crafts the *medium* of the Government was the Company and Guild system, an age-old institution even in those days. Even to conjecture where the Guild idea originated is difficult in these far-off days, but there is still evidence of its continuance and antiquity. That it may have been an adaptation of a pre-Christian idea is more than likely; in any case it was fully established before A.D. 1000 in Britain and the Continent of Europe.

It is strange that in practically every country there appears to have been no central authority of the Companies and Guilds, each apparently acted locally. They were separately constituted with full power to act and control within their jurisdiction, which, in practically every case, was restricted to a City or Town and five miles beyond, and for sparsely habited areas up to fifty miles. They were responsible to the Mayor only, who in turn was subject to the Lord Lieutenant. In Durham and Lancaster they were subject to the authority of the Prince Bishops, who invariably issued the Charters. That there was a universal tradition in Company and Guild organisation cannot be doubted, because they all appear to be modelled upon an original, and this applies to every Christian country. Likewise they functioned similarly everywhere.

Individuals, *i.e.*, Yeomen, etc., were directly responsible to the Lord Lieutenant or Sheriff. Merchants and Craftsmen were subject to the Companies and Guilds.

The duties of the latter were to regulate the conditions of trade; to ensure the performance of standards set by statutory law, and to punish offenders. They also regulated the intake of apprentices and controlled the domestic arrangements of the trade; but their powers were confined to the limits of their own Charter, which was strictly local, such as a City or Town, even a Parish, and in the case of a thinly populated area, the "Cable Tow" sometimes covered a district of fifty miles.

The Companies and Guilds met as a rule quarterly, one of which days was appointed as a Head Meeting Day, or Assembly, attendance at which was compulsory upon every member, illness and a considerable travelling distance giving exemption. The business at the assembly was to consider cases of infraction of Trade rules, misdemeanours between masters and men, illegal selling, etc. It was also the day on which a new Warden (or Wardens), was appointed. Sometimes the Warden was termed a Deacon; but, whatever the title, the object was to appoint someone in charge of the Company or Guild for the ensuing year. At this head meeting Searchers (sometimes called Deacons or Wardens) also were appointed. These men were responsible for the proper conduct of the Trade and Workmen. In the Companies it was their duty to ensure that Merchants made and sold merchandise to the standard set by the law; among the Crafts they had to inspect work done, and ensure that lord and master received a standard of work acknowledged by state and trade alike. They also overlooked the workmen to ensure that only qualified Craftsmen were employed, and that no "cowans" were allowed to work, or produce anything which should

be done by men who had served their indentures. Perhaps the most important part of Company and Guild organisations was the privilege extended to them of local government. Each institution elected from its own members representatives to the local city or town authority. From the elected representatives Aldermen were chosen, and from them in turn the Mayor was elected. Thus the local Government of Cities and Towns was in the hands of the Companies and Guilds. It is true that access to representation could be obtained by individuals who had not been indentured; the *modus operandi* was to secure honorary membership of a Company or Guild by a substantial subscription.

### THE LEGAL USE OF MARKS

The legal history of Marks had received little or no attention until W. F. Schester, Esq., a learned American Barrister, gave to the world his exhaustive treatise, *The Historical Foundations of Trade Mark Law* (New York, 1926). Mr. Schester says:—

“Medieval trade was largely conducted through the Guilds (or ‘Mysteries’) and an integral part of the whole scheme of organisation into Guilds or Mysteries was the prevention of litigation amongst Guildsmen in any tribunal, save the court held by the Guild Officials, or Guild members themselves, and the punishment of all efforts to seek re-dress ‘at law’ for wrongs perpetrated by a Guildsman against his fellow Guildsmen without the consent of his Guild.”

Mr. Schester, writing of Craftsmen, says:—

“As a Craftsman such a person would be required to affix his Mark to his goods or work (by statute Law of Guild Regulations). Craftsmen’s Marks in the Middle Ages were compulsory, not optional. The purpose of the Mark was to keep maintain the Guild standard, which was high and jealously protected. Thus the Mark in those days was a ‘liability’ upon the Craftsman”.

The adoption of, use of and registration and transfer of Marks over a period of 400 years has been dealt with so ably by Mr. Schester that it is unnecessary to quote further; suffice it to say that the archives of our ancient Cities and Towns contain innumerable records to prove that Marks were compulsory by Statute Law for all persons who were “Free” of bondage and that their control was for centuries undertaken by the Guild and Companies.

There is hardly a phrase of medieval industry in which ordinances do not occur and in which the basis of these ordinances is not recited in the law itself. Every court hand-writer (or scrivener) of the city of London was required (1373) to “put his name on the deeds which he makes; that it may be made known who has made the same.” (C. F. Jackson.)

The same writer, Mr. Schester, says:—“Every Master Bladesmith of London (1408) shall put his own Mark upon his work, such as heads of lances, knives and axes . . . that it may be known who made the same, if default be found therein.” The Northampton Wax-chandlers Ordinances (1466) required that, “after the seal of the Wardens had been affixed to torches and torchettes, the owner of the Torchets or Torchettes shall have Another seall of his owne, that he may sett upon Torchets or Torchettes in witnessing of his owne deede”. (W. L. W. Adkins.)

The Worcester Tilers Ordinances (1467) provide that “every Tyller makynge and sellynge it into the Citie sett his propre Mark yppon his tyle, to that ende, yf it be defectif or smalle that men may have remedy of the seid partie a(s) lawe and resonne requirith. And he that refusith to marke his tyle as it is aforn reherced, shall lose to the comyn tresor XXs as ofte tyme as it apperith to be areryd.” (Toulmin Smith.)

A statute (19. Hen. VIII, C6 Clause III, 1503-4) required pewterers and braziers to mark all hollow wares of pewter ley mettall "with severall marks of their own".

Many similar references may be quoted—the following statutory law may however be quoted in full:—

11 Edward 3rd 1336-7

"ordained that Artificers, handicraft people, hold them every one to one mystery, which he will choose betwixt this and the said feast of Candlemas and two of every Craft shall be chosen to survey, that none other use the Craft, than the same which he hath chosen."

The Statute of Labourers 23 Edward.

3.c.5 was confirmed in the 11. Richard 2.c.8 and all Sheriffs throughout England were commanded to proclaim the same.

This Statute of 11 Edward shows us that Wardens were appointed to supervise the Craftsmen. They could by the aid of the Mark identify the work of individual Craftsmen.

At a much later date, Manor of Alston 1690, an old rule states:—

That no man shall Marke any other Man's Marke upon pain of VI<sup>s</sup>. VIII<sup>d</sup>. (6/8) and not to Marke two house Markes.

This appears to refer to the marking of cattle.

#### THE LAW RELATING TO TRADE MARKS

(Schester, New York, 1926). The order of 1365 reads as follows:

"To the Mayor and Sheriff of London. Order to cause  
"proclamation to be made *that smiths who make swords, knives and  
"other weapons in the city of London shall put particular marks  
"upon their handiwork* (certa signa sua super omnibus operacionibus  
"suis ponant), that the same being so marked (dictis signis signate)  
"shall be shown before the Mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of London  
"in the Gildehall of the city so that every man's work may be known  
"by his mark (per ejus signum), and that they shall forfeit any  
"works sold without such mark (dictis signis suis non consignatas)  
"or the price thereof, causing the premises to be observed and any  
"works found to have been sold or exposed for sale in the city and  
"suburbs of London without marks (dictis signis suis non consignatas)  
"to be seized as forfeit into the king's hand and answer to be made  
"to him for them."

In the *Articles of the Heaumers* (Makers of Helmets), dated 1347, already cited above, it was provided that

"each one of the makers aforesaid shall have his own sign and  
"mark, and that no one of them shall counterfeit the sign or mark  
"of another; on pain of losing his freedom, until he shall have  
"bought the same back again, and made satisfaction to him whose  
"sign he shall have so counterfeited; and further, he shall pay to  
"the Chamber 40 shillings."

(H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 238) Cf. statute of 7 Hen. IV, c. 7, concerning Arrow-Heads:

"Because the Arrow-smiths do make faulty Heads for Arrows and  
"Quarels, defective, not well, nor lawful, nor defensible, to the  
"great Jeopardy and Deceit of the People, and of the whole Realm;  
"It is ordained and established, That all the Heads for Arrows and

"Quarels after this Time to be made shall be well boiled . . . ;  
 "And that every Arrowhead and Quarel be marked with the Mark  
 "of him that made the same; and that the Justices of Peace in  
 "every County of England . . . shall have the power to enquire  
 "of all such deceitful Makers of Heads and Quarels, and to punish  
 "them as afore is said." (Stat. of the Realm, ii, p. 153).

In Lambard's *Eirenarcha*, published 1581, a treatise on the duties of Justices of the Peace, among "Articles of the Charge Given by Justices of the Peace" are

"If any Arrowhead Smith have not wel boiled boiled, brased and  
 "hardened at the appoint with steel, and marked with his mark,  
 "such heads of Arrowes and quarels, as he hath made.

7 Hen. IV. cap 7." (See W. S. Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 561.)

Cal. Close Rolls, Edw. III, 1364-8, p. 182, 39 Edw. III, June 26, 1365. This order was enrolled in Letter Book G of the City of London and is reprinted in the Latin original from that source in Welch, *Cutlers*, i, pp. 248-9. Cf. the statute of Parma, 1262, prohibiting the counterfeiting of marks upon knives and swords and further providing:

". . . if any person in such guild has continuously used a mark  
 "upon knives, swords or other steel or iron articles for ten years,  
 "and any other person is found to have used, within one or two  
 "years, the same mark or an imitation thereof, whether stamped or  
 "formed in any other way, the latter shall not in the future be  
 "allowed to use such marks upon knives, swords, or other steel or  
 "iron articles, under penalty of ten pounds of Parma for each and  
 "every offence and that regardless of any compromise or award of  
 "arbitrators which may have been made." (Quoted by E. S. Rogers.)

#### HOW THE MARKS WERE MADE

The two following extracts are typical of many and are self-explanatory.

Bro. W. H. Wood, Master Mason in charge of Peterborough Cathedral, 1921-1937, says:—

"Masons' Marks are called Bankers' Marks and are for the purpose of identification—They are distinct from Positional Marks.. The Bankers' Marks are put on the stone while it is on the bed or banker, by the Operative, Positional Marks are put upon the stone by, or upon, the order of the Foreman (or Overseer).

The stones are then ready for the 'Fixers' whose instructions are to receive only such stones as are properly 'Marked' and 'numbered'."

The second extract is by Mr. P. Hutchinson and is quoted from the *Freemasons' Magazine and Masonic Mirror* of 7 Dec., 1867, pp. 445-8.

In medieval times the Mark was placed anywhere upon the Stone in the place most convenient to the operative. Since the eighteenth century Marks have been placed on the bed of the Stone.

Marks were made by a Scriber tool, such as a Mason uses to make a line round the templet or mould, to work to. Present day Masons use a one inch chisel and always cut their Mark upon a bed or joint and never upon the face.

Owing to present intensive methods, individuals seldom cut their own Marks, it is done for him by his Shop foreman, or by one man who is in charge of the moulds and templets.



Mr. Hutchinson states:—

“In November, 1864, I was in Lichfield Cathedral,” and mentions an interesting talk with a Mason at work, who said:

“It is plain that every man must work his different pieces of stone so as to make them fit well together when they are placed in the building, and to know those which he himself has worked, he will put his own mark upon them. . . . The foreman or clerk of works will sometimes require to know what work was executed by a certain man; for where a block of stone has been sent up to the building (among others), badly shaped or carelessly worked, the foreman would require to know who did it, in order to reprimand the bad workman. The use of such Marks, therefore, nails every bit of work upon its Author.”

The foregoing refers to Masons' Marks. In the Wood Craft trades Marks were cut with a small “V” shaped chisel. Plasterers made their marks with a scribe. Armourers, Helmet Makers, and indeed all metal trade workers, stamped their Marks by heat. Weavers and Cloth Workers generally used Ingrain Cotton on the selvedge, and occasionally used lead seals attached to the cloth; Merchants invariably used stencils for their packings, and for their documents; metal or silver seals. Tilers pressed in their Marks with a die while the tile was still moist. Scriveners used elaborate designs in the form of a Cross, whilst for less important documents they made a simple reproduction of their Mark.

Yeomen generally burnt in the Marks on the hooves of their cattle, etc., whilst Pigs, Swans, etc., usually had the Mark “cut out” on the ear and web of foot respectively.

#### MEDIEVAL MARKS

The Marks of Medieval Craftsmen, Professional Men, Yeomen, Merchants, etc., in Christian countries, have much in common; they are similar in design and the often slight variations were caused by the limitation of tool and material used, *i.e.*:—

Chisel on Stone  
Scibawl on Wood  
Graver on Metal  
Seals on Wax  
Ingrain Cotton on Fabrics  
Stamps on Pottery  
Transfers on Pottery  
Stamps on Tiles  
Quill on Parchment  
Dies on Silver and Gold  
etc., etc.

The history of the origin of European Marks has received scant attention where the chief evidence of their general use remains.

Opinions upon the use of Marks differ, as does their origin. That they were used as a means of identification of work done is accepted by all scholars.

There is a school of the opinion that Marks were chosen by individuals merely as a design. Others contend that they were selected from a Master Key or mystic formula. A small circle of students assert that they had a symbolical basis, not necessarily religious.

Even after a quarter of a century of collecting Marks from many sources, and after a study of the views expressed by the British and Continental authorities, the writer found the subject obscure and difficult. Eventually he subjected his personal collection of 869 sets of Marks of several Crafts and professions to various forms of statistical analysis.

The following is *one* of a series of analysis:—

SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS OF  
232 SETS OF MASONS' MARKS.

Sets	A	M	N	V	Crosses	Tri.	Arr.	Dia.	Msc.	Ttls.
30 Abbeys.	319	169	91		356	46	108	5	181	1275
5 Bridges.	15	9			23	4	2		6	59
33 Castles.	293	372	31	11	400	34	60		111	1312
20 Cathedrals.	367	204	69	5	344	82	93	6	226	1396
77 Churches.	259	172	93	6	409	83	72	5	270	1369
6 Crafts (Msc.)	9	2			37	5			17	70
39 Foreign.	132	65	37	5	216	51	23	4	179	712
4 Halls.	13	4	4		17	2	1		3	44
1 House.	3	4			3	1	1	2		14
1 Merchants.	11				101	5	1		7	125
9 Priories.	45	37	6	5	87	13	38	1	31	263
4 Towers.	3	2	1		12	1	5		8	32
3 Walls.	33	8	8		29	5	1	2	16	102
<b>TOTAL.</b>	1502	1048	340	32	2034	332	405	25	1055	
	22·17 %	15·47 %	5·00 %	1·05 %	30·00 %	5·00 %	6·00 %	1·05 %	15·6 %	

= 11%

The results of the analysis in part, viz.:—232 Sets are summarised together with selected examples to illustrate the method adopted. They appear to demonstrate that the Marks of Medieval Christendom were based on religious symbolism, adopted either intentionally, or from slavishly following established custom.

Results may be classified as follows:—

1. Letters A. to Z.

A large number of apparently complex Marks, on careful analysis of their shape, are resolved into elaborations of the letters of the alphabet. The meanings of these letters are primarily religious, as statistical analysis reveals that the most common letters are just those which have a religious significance; a few examples are given herewith.

A.M.N.I.J.V.R.S.T.

2. Obvious shapes, such as Triangles, Circles, Squares, Crosses, Arrows, etc., which have well-known religious meanings.

3. A comparatively small class of residual cases of complex shape, for which no solution can be found at present.

Study further reveals that with the known development of the Christian Faith in Europe generally, and particularly with the spread of the Christian Gospel, and the enormous demands for Churches, Monastic, and other Ecclesiastical Buildings, during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the need for a wider choice of Marks became inevitable. Consequently one finds much elaboration of the hitherto plain crosses, the ever increasing use of the "Blessed

Virgin Mary" symbols, and the introduction of the various forms of Templar Crosses.

That the object of the Marks was a means of identity, and that their use was universal in Christendom is borne out by the many statute laws enacted from Edward II to Elizabeth, in England, and by similar laws in France, Germany, etc., some of which were of an earlier date.

The act, *i.e.*, *The Statutes of Labourers, Craftsmen, etc.*, introduced by Edward II, made the use of Marks compulsory by all persons who were "Free". Each person was required to Mark his work, chattels, cattle, etc., etc.

Every Craftsman and Professional was compelled to Mark his work in order that the responsibility might be fixed upon the individual, thus ensuring that offences such as the non-performance of the standards set by the Companies and Guilds could be traced.

One reference shows that 23.2% of 6,773 Marks of several Crafts, etc., were "A" shapes; such a high percentage surely demands special investigation. Many of the "A" shapes are shown in duplicate (see Plate No. 5); others are triplicated (Plate No. 6). This duplication and triplication is also common to other shapes, and it may be probable that as such, the Mark in question had a special significance. Considerable reverence was attached to the duplicated "V" in medieval times (see Plate No. 7). Of the triplicated examples there are many (see Plate No. 8). The triplication is obvious, as having reference to the Holy and Undivided Trinity.

It is agreed that Marks in every Craft and Profession were personal and merely signatures:

- Symbols (a) of work done
- (b) of a standard of merchandise
- (c) of ownership
- (d) of approval

The writer fully accepts the view that the purpose of the Marks was for identification of individuals, there is no other view to take; but the facts revealed by the classification and analysis:—*that a very large majority of Marks of all Crafts and Professions exhibit a close affinity to well known and easily understood religious symbols of the times*, is certainly significant and demands a thorough investigation.

The predominating Marks found in the Sets are shown in Plate No. 9.

## VARIETIES OF MARKS

At first sight Marks exhibit an almost endless variety. Careful study will reveal that actually this is not the case. It has been proved that the apparently large variety of shapes resolve themselves into a few basic symbols. Practically every Mark may be classified under one of the above headings. There are exceptions

- (1) Duplication of a symbol
- (2) Triplication of a symbol
- (3) A combination of two or more symbols
- (4) The uncompleted symbol or symbols
- (5) The basic symbol "Differenced".

Once these differences are recognised, the work of classification becomes easy. Methods of "Differencing" are dealt with later.

It is interesting to note that several sets of Masons' Marks show 50% and over of varieties of the Cross, and combinations of the Cross with other symbols. Merchants' Marks show an even higher percentage.

The views now put forward were not arrived at by a preconceived plan but by a series of simple analysis, each of which suggested further research.

The opinion arose in the first place through an effort to produce a "Dictionary of Marks"—dealing with every possible shape (or design) of Mark, irrespective of Craft or Profession.

After having classified thousands of shapes (or designs), it was found that their apparent multiplicity actually resolved itself into seven well known and easily recognizable symbols.

For the purpose of the analysis a symbol may include a number of figures expressing the same idea, *i.e.*, The Trinity, which includes several Shapes (see Plate No. 10), and all other shapes expressive of the same symbolism.

With known symbols as a basis, it was appreciated how far the less recognized Marks fitted into the general scheme, and incidentally how frequently considerable ingenuity was exercised in the production of an original Mark. See later examples as "As" and "Ms", etc. (See Plate No. 11.)

This idea was tested on several sets of Marks, including Masons', Carvers', Blacksmiths', Merchants', Personal, Professional, etc., and the results were found to be consistent throughout.

The next step was to test the theory on a very large series of Marks.

For this purpose, a series from the Author's general collection of Marks, representing many Crafts, but in which Masons' Marks predominated, was selected, the total being 6,773 Marks.

These Marks were classified into the seven basic shapes and a column provided for "miscellaneous and unidentified" Marks. It was later found that Arrow Shapes might be placed under "Trinities".

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the classification followed was purely arbitrary, tentative and for personal convenience in classifying several thousands of Mark Shapes. It appeared to be the simplest method of tackling a big job.

The original index, in MS. form, has the following classification:—

- (1) Alphabetical—A to Z.
- (2) Geometrical Shapes.
- (3) Trinities—so called because they are replicas of 12 common emblems of the Trinity much used in medieval times.
- (4) Crosses.
- (5) Miscellaneous shapes.
- (6) Unidentified shapes.

Provision is made under 1 and 2 for Duplicated and Triplicated shapes, and lastly

- (7) Combination shapes:—a cross-indexed section of considerable size and variety.

A point worthy of mention is that sometimes a shape may be classified under one or more headings, and, because one has no idea of the owner's intention, the shape must be placed under its most obvious classification, *i.e.*—if a Trinity, a Cross and letter "A" are in combination, then classify the Mark as a Cross, and sub-index it under "Trinities", the "A" in this case can be ignored.

For the purpose of my own analysis such a Mark was classified only once, *viz.*: as "a cross".

This is a catalogue only, in which all shapes are according to their arbitrary classification; a further volume is an amplification of this catalogue and deals with collected views both for and against symbolic or other meanings for the shapes; still another two volumes record illustrations of symbolic emblems, with typed matter and comprehensive extracts by many authors, ancient and modern. An additional volume shows the "Distribution" of Mark Shapes.

Although reference is made to religious emblems, the author is anxious, at this stage, that it should not be inferred that he attributes to every Mark

a Symbolic or other meaning, because there is no doubt that some men would in all probability choose a "shape" as one of identity only, just as men do to-day.

It is recognised that the subject of "Marks" is one which calls for much healthy and useful criticism. The object of this paper, which is only an "Introduction" to a much bigger task, is to secure such criticism, based on a considered reading of the subject as a whole, with special emphasis on the fact *that the Marks of all Crafts and peoples exhibit a close affinity to medieval religious symbols and therefore demand a thorough investigation.*

#### CLASSIFYING THE MARKS

Even after years of practice some shapes present problems which are not elucidated until a clue is offered. Sometimes one clue leads to another, which eventually enables one to dispose of a number of previously undetermined shapes. As an example, see the Shape on Plate No. 12, which shape is recognisable as the "B.V. Mary" symbol of the medieval ages.

As some readers may wish to test their own collection of Marks, the Author suggests, as a beginning, the following method:—

(a) Classify the obvious shapes as the shapes and all their variations shown in Plate No. 9.

(b) Legs, Arms, Foot, Axes, Bows, Domes, etc. In the case of "Combination" Marks give preference to the predominating basic symbols as Plate No. 13.

(c) The next step would be to deal with the simple basic shapes as Plate No. 14.

(d) Then take the basic symbols minus one or more lines, as Plate No. 15.

(e) A combination of shapes may be dealt with as shown on Plate No. 16.

Further difficulties in readily recognising simple basic shapes are:—

(1) Complex Marks which appear as a conglomeration of strokes.

(2) The ingenuity of the originator of a complex Mark in endeavouring to produce a Mark which probably, in his opinion, would never require to be substituted or "differenced", which from a practical point of view was useful to the craftsman.

The extra time in making a complex Mark did not present a serious difficulty, as most Masons' Marks were made with any sharp instrument, not as in modern practice with a chisel.

(f) The shapes, mostly "As" (see Plate No. 17), are given to demonstrate complex and ingenious Marks.

#### UNUSUAL AND ELABORATE MARKS

The term "Unusual" is applied to those Marks which look like

SHIPS. ARMS. LEGS. AXES. SPEARS. KNIVES, etc.

Such shapes are in every respect similar to the emblems of Saints. "Elaborate" shapes are basic symbols made complex by additional emblems or lines added.

The explanation for the use of such Marks may have been due to necessity.

A survey of hundreds of sets of Marks from many types of buildings shows that—

In small buildings the Marks are invariably simple, and consequently easily made, the exception being where a Craftsman tried to be ingenious in originating a Mark out of a simple basic Mark (or emblem), as shown in Plate No. 18.

"Elaborate" Marks other than the combination A and M, as Plate No. 19, appear to the Author to have been the result of necessity, because in the greater Churches, Castles, Cathedrals, Monastic buildings, etc., the oldest parts show simple Marks on the stones, whereas the later parts of the building, in particular the fourteenth and fifteenth century work, exhibit a wide range of shapes, as for example, at Canterbury Cathedral, York Minster, St. Nicholas' Church, Yarmouth, Boston Parish Church, Lincolnshire. These are big works and the number of men employed was considerable, particularly at Canterbury and York.

It is probable that at one time the Master Mason would have to suggest a good deal of "Differencing".

The Marks of the Masons of the later periods of the works, probably several generations later, were more complex and varied. This may have been due to

- (1) The Master Mason insisting upon a wider variety of Marks.
- (2) An effort of the individual Craftsman to produce a Mark which would not require to be substituted or "Differenced", thereby avoiding any change of Mark on his tools.
- (3) Owing to the large numbers of men employed at one period of the work, the difficulty of producing a distinctive Mark would be very real, hence the recourse to such shapes as resemble emblems of the Saints, as at Canterbury, St. Nicholas', Yarmouth, Scarboro Parish Church, etc.

It is assumed that the "Elaborate" Marks were used temporarily, while the owners were employed on a job where a large number of men were employed, and when their original Mark was already in use by some other Craftsman, or bore too close a resemblance to the Mark of another person. There is no doubt that the owner of a temporary Mark would return to the use of his own Mark when employed elsewhere, provided, of course, that his own Mark did not conflict with Marks of the men already on a job.

It may be observed that most of the "Unusual" Marks are seldom to be traced outside of the large buildings in which they are found, whereas the "Elaborated" (and ingenious) simple basic emblems are, in several instances, traceable in districts, and occasionally far afield.

There is a very small number of Marks (or shapes) which have so far baffled elucidation; maybe some of them will never be classified, because the ingenuity or intention of the owner cannot be estimated.

#### MARKING STONES—I.

Examination of numerous buildings shows that until *circa* 1550-1600 Stones were marked in a haphazard manner.

Very often the same Mark appears in a building in various positions (see Plates No. 20 and 21).

A large number of other examples could be cited. It is interesting to note that many people, when quoting lists of Masons' Marks, record the same Mark in different positions, and assume that each is different in character, thus arriving at a total in excess of the actual number.

#### MARKING THE STONES—II.

Marks are found on squared stones and carved work, but not usually on walling stones put in by Roughwallers.

In operative practice Squared and Carved work was done by Freemasons, walling and other rough work was done by Roughwallers who were not "Free" of the Lodge, and who had no Mark.

Most of the Marks on moulded and carved work are to be found on the "beds"; those that are visible often require careful search in a good light; they are generally found in a mould of a window or doorway, as at St. Peter's, Monkwearmouth, and other places.

On walling one frequently finds large expanses of Roughwallers' work, but careful search will often reveal a squared stone or stones upon which the Freemason in charge cut his "Mark". Examples are to be seen in village Churches in Lincolnshire and elsewhere. These are generally binding-stones.

Marks on pillars are generally limited to one, two or three, according to the size of the pillar, suggesting that one or more Masons worked on that particular part of the fabric. Examples are to be seen at Boston, Linlithgow, Kirton, Lincolnshire, and many other places.

At Boston a well-defined Mark on two pillars is the Trinity in various positions, suggesting that both pillars were the work of one Craftsman plus his labourer. At Linlithgow Parish Church, and other places (see Plate No. 22), each Mark obviously was by the same workman.

It is also noticeable in buildings that certain parts were completed by one or two men. For example, windows, doors, pillars, etc., usually show but two or three Marks at the most. This observation refers to original work only, for the writer has traced additional Marks on restored work and additions.

#### VARIED SIZE OF MARKS IN BUILDINGS

It has often been remarked that the size of Marks varies considerably in many buildings. This appears to be due to three reasons, viz.:—

1. The height of the stone above ground level.
2. The quality (or fineness) of the stone.
3. Whether inside or outside of a building.

It is noticeable in many buildings, particularly Norman and early English, that the size of the Marks increased from ground level upward. The average Mark in many structures at eye level may be increased to 14 to 18 inches at the top course, as in Mount Grace Priory, Yorkshire, and as at Chichester Cathedral.

In some Churches, as at Leake in Lincolnshire, where the stone used is exceedingly fine, the Marks are most difficult to detect, being only  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in height and executed with a very fine point, nevertheless they are very clearly made. Common sense appears to have determined the size of the Mark. On ancient woodwork and other artistic material the Mark is usually to be found in such places as will not detract from the artistic value of the article. In every case they had to be legible and unmistakable Marks of identity.

Tilers' Marks were invariably placed on the "Stop", whilst Plasterers' Marks were usually placed in a corner of a ceiling, as at Betty Surtees' house on the Sandhills at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

#### DID APPRENTICES HAVE MARKS?

It is doubtful whether apprentices had Marks. In any case it does not assist the purpose of this paper to pursue the subject, other than to state that towards the end of an apprenticeship the apprentice would have undoubtedly chosen a Mark for himself wherewith to Mark his tools, etc.; but it definitely appears that his Mark was not legalised and was of little import until he was made "Free" of his Guild or Company.

The writer has not seen anything to suggest that apprentices used Marks, neither has any documentary evidence been produced to show that they did so.

It may be said here that the boy's Master would no doubt exercise some influence on him when choosing a Mark. Elsewhere it is stated that certain forms of Marks appear to be common to certain trades, and it may be in this direction that expert advice would be useful and necessary.

Tradition may, however, have been the ruling factor and there appears little doubt that Masters would inform their apprentices of any tradition, if any, in the designing or adoption of a Mark.

### SIMILARITY OF MARKS IN DISTRICTS

This is a big subject and can be dealt with only briefly. Suffice it to say that at various times certain types of Marks appear to predominate. For example, at Fair Rosamund Castle, Hawick, the Triangle in many forms is found. At Hylton Castle, Sunderland, an eleventh century Castle, the wheeled cross predominates. Coopers' Marks invariably include a circle, Merchants' Marks often include a reversed "Four". In Dorset and Devon Churches considerable ingenuity was exercised in producing a Mark from the letters A and M separately and in combination. German Marks occasionally show a family likeness; Modern German House Marks are frequently designed from a basic Mark.

Family Marks may have had some influence in this direction, especially when a big family of boys followed in their father's footsteps, each using the father's Mark "Differenced". (See under "Family Marks").

The prevalence of certain types of Marks in a given locality may be due to:

- (1) Family Marks.
- (2) Influence of the Master Mason, who used a simple traditional basic Mark.
- (3) A Master who used a complex Mark and passed parts of it to his apprentices.

There is no evidence to show that a Guild or Company set any standard, but there is evidence to show that tradition was occasionally followed by members of certain Craft Guilds, as Coopers, Plasterers, Merchants, etc., etc.

### WAS THERE A TRADITION IN FORMS AND SHAPES?

It is unfortunate that no person of the Medieval ages appears to have mentioned whether there was a tradition in choosing a Mark. Perusal of hundreds of documents and old works has not given such a clue. The writer is of the opinion that Marks were formed upon a common basis easily understood by all peoples of one faith, and that the absence of documentary evidence probably shows that the matter was so commonplace as to be unworthy of special note.

Since Mr. Godwin produced his first article on Marks in 1844 much ink has flowed for and against a tradition in construction.

Other writers have contributed many theories. The present writer's view is that commonplace symbols were used, sometimes the simple emblem itself, sometimes in part and occasionally two or more in combination.

No documentary evidence is available to make a decision. One thing, however, is certain, that men of every Craft and Profession did use Marks by Statutory Law from the thirteenth to the late seventeenth century, and that the greater number of the Marks, over the whole gamut of trades and professions, bore a strong resemblance to religious symbols.

### WERE THE MARKS SYMBOLIC?

The earliest recorded Marks are those of Egypt, which are said by Scholars to be recognised religious symbols.



The Marks of the Romans also indicate forms of symbolism connected with the worship of Mithras. The Marks on Indian buildings show the symbols of Brahmin, Hindu, Buddhist and Mohammedan faiths respectively.

A probable explanation of the similarity of the Marks down the ages is that the symbols used by the several ancient Faiths were adopted and adapted by the later Churches and peoples generally. This acknowledged that the central idea of the great religious bodies of all times has been identified with the worship of the Deity. Forms and ceremonials have, and do, differ, but the object remains, often expressive of a similar principle, though modified.

Marks showing a continuity of usage down the centuries are shown in Plate No. 23.

The subject of symbolism is involved and requires years of study. Literature is abundant, some of it helpful and some otherwise. Much reading and research, however, do give one a reasonable perspective of the development of the simple basic symbols and show how they have been handed down through the generations with the same or similar meaning.

#### TRAVELLING MASONS

Many writers have endeavoured to show that Masons travelling from place to place have left their Marks upon the stones, and thus may be traced upon their journeyings. Surely here one is on difficult ground, for it is almost impossible, in the writer's opinion, to state that any well known or unusual Mark found in a number of local buildings, or even far afield, is the Mark of one individual. For example, take a group of Churches in any district; it is possible to find such Marks as those shown in Plate No. 24 repeated in each building, yet the Churches in question may have been erected in different generations.

Reference to the Author's Charts, showing the distribution of several Marks, should dispel the idea that a particular workman can be traced from place to place. The only possible way in which it could be done (and then it is more or less guess-work) would be to take a series of buildings in one district all built in the life-time of one working Mason and trace such a Mark. If found the assumption might be correct.

An added difficulty would be the inclusion of the same Mark put on restoration work, or additions by a workman of several generations later.

#### NO SECRET IN THE MARKS

Quite a number of people hold the view that there was a secret meaning to the Mark. Among operatives there was no secret, the Mark was purely for purposes of identification of work done and of ownership. It is probable that in the Middle Ages the men who were compelled by law to adopt a Mark did choose a shape (or design) which had some special significance to them personally.

Clerks of works and architects of our great Cathedrals as well as Master Masons have all described to the Author the procedure adopted in accepting a Mark from a new workman. A new man upon engagement produced his Mark, and, provided that it differed from the Marks of other men on the work, it was accepted. If, however, such a presented Mark was already in use, the new man was required to "difference" his Mark, or choose a new one.

Mr. Robt. S. Godfrey, Architect to Lincoln Cathedral, told me that young Masons were guided by the older Masons in the adoption of their Marks, and that a simple Mark from some old building was generally suggested. Practical men are familiar with the many Marks seen on stones. It was only in rare cases in medieval times that a man may have used his initials.

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## REVERSED MARKS

It is noticeable that a large number of Marks are reversed, but whether they were "reversed" as "Differenced" Marks or whether they had a special significance cannot be decided. Many writers on symbols have stated that reversed symbols, etc., are reflections of the original, and it may be in this sense that Medieval Craftsmen mirrored (or reflected) the attributes of the original. Examples of such Marks are shown in Plate No. 25. The Marks depicted are taken from Selby, Furness and Fountains Abbeys.

It would appear from the examples quoted in paired stones in the same buildings that "Reverse" Marks are actually a form of "Differencing".

## MARKS "DIFFERENCED"

"Differencing" is a term borrowed from Heraldry and consists of a slight alteration of the original Mark by adding to, or subtracting from the original.

The need for "Differencing" arises when a new man is given employment where a Mason is already using the same Mark. In this case the new man must alter his Mark.

Family Marks are often "differenced", as are House Marks. Examples of "Differenced" Marks are given in Plate No. 26.

Actual specimens from various buildings, showing that they may have been of one family, or of Masons altering their Marks from the original, are quoted in Plate No. 27.

## FAMILY MARKS

The principal reason why sons adopt their father's Mark appears to be one of practicability as well as sentiment, for in the event of the death of the father, the eldest son took the father's tools, and the Mark thereon required little, if any, adaptation. The writer can give a practical example of the handing down of tools in his own family. Three generations of the family built sailing boats as practical men. A fourth generation was part sailor and part boat builder. My father inherited many of the tools used by his forbears, and, on his death in 1939, they were shared by my brother and myself. My brother is a metal worker and designer, and uses the family Mark on his productions. The Mark is shown on Plate No. 28. It is also retained by the writer for purely sentimental reasons.

The examination of modern Craftsmen's Marks also revealed a tendency to use Initials as Marks. This became apparent after the Reformation and has certainly increased as the years have progressed, thus emphasising that the post-Reformation adoption of a Mark was, and is, practical and without any religious influence.

It was also found that Masons of the last few generations (and of to-day) invariably adopted and still adopt Marks because of sentiment, but it is not clear why the ancient Craftsmen kept their Marks in the family. The probability is that they did it for the same reason as to-day.

Examples are shown in Plate No. 29.

## INITIALS AS MARKS

Prior to the Reformation in England it was not customary to find Initials as Marks on Crafts. Merchants did however sometimes include their Initials, but only in a secondary manner.

It is probable that the emancipation of the artisan class in the eighteenth century saw their introduction, maybe as a distinction from the traditional religious symbols. In modern days their use is increasing, of which there is evidence in modern building, *e.g.*, Liverpool Cathedral. Their use is also in

evidence at Peterborough Cathedral, from which five are quoted by Mr. W. H. Wood (late Master Mason), (see Plate No. 30), belonging to modern Masons. A list of Marks of Masons at York *circa* 1890-1900 is shown on Plate No. 31. Those at Liverpool Cathedral on Plate No. 30a. That Initials were used as Marks in Medieval days is, in the opinion of the Author, highly improbable. There appear to be too many shapes (other than letters), and these are just those which at the period had a religious signification. Further, the absence of certain letter shapes also supports this view.

It may be of interest to quote the occurrences of certain letter shapes. Out of a total of the 6,773 Marks previously alluded to in the 232 Sets of Marks there were:

The Letters	B—7.	D—12.	F—5.	H—19.	Q—2.
	C—5.	E—26.	G—1.	L—12,	

making 1% of the total summary quoted.

#### POSITIONAL MARKS

These are not Masons' Marks in an "identity" sense; they were and are used to indicate the position stones occupied or must occupy in a building. For example, when the Scott Memorial Monument was erected in Edinburgh, the four sides were denominated "A, B, C, D" respectively. This was the diagrammatic Mark to show to which side the Stone belonged.

The "Course" Mark showed to which course the Stones belonged.

The "Direction" Mark indicated the position from the corner.

The "Joint" Mark indicated the number of each joint.

The "Basis" Mark gave the proper bed or basis upon which the Stone had to rest.

The "Head" stone Mark showed the very top row of the Stones.

All the above Marks were to enable the fixers to place the stones in the correct positions; and they are necessary when stones are prepared at a distance from the actual site.

Joint and basis Marks are generally indicated by simple Marks reversed; Course and Direction Marks by numbers. Marks found at Winchcombe and St. Gyan, Wales, are shown on Plate No. 32.

#### MARKS "OFF-THE-SQUARE"

Among modern Masons, probably the only Craftsmen who still use Marks regularly (Goldsmiths and Silversmiths excepted), the general rule is that a Mark should have at least one acute angle. It has often been said by some writers on "Speculative" Masonry that Marks were always angular and never rounded in any way. There are several examples which do not accord with such a statement (see Plate No. 33).

#### EXAMPLES AND NOTES ON "SHAPES" OF MARKS

The Author's original illustrations have been reduced too small to show the sites where the Marks are to be found, and moreover are too numerous to illustrate. Three examples of variations of Mark Shapes are shown in the Appendix, Plate No. 11.

#### THE "A" SHAPES

These are quoted to show the ingenuity expressed in making this Mark. That "A" may have stood for something full of meaning cannot be doubted, for it is found everywhere and at all periods in Christian countries.

It may have been like all other letter shapes, Latin or Hebrew in origin. The suggestions, amongst others, are:—

AGLA.  
AVE.  
ADONAI.

The frequency with which it is shown with the Cross is not given here, as the list is far too long to reproduce.

There is a large number of "J" Shapes, both as "J" and in combination with the Cross.

Ms, like As, are prolific everywhere and at all periods during the eleventh to sixteenth centuries. The ingenuity with which the letter is used is often remarkable.

The "M" is one of the shapes which may point to a common origin, *i.e.*, Latin. The suggestion is that it may have been, amongst others:—

Millennium  
Maria  
Magister, etc., etc.

#### COMBINATION SHAPES

The number and variety of combination Shapes is amazing. There can be no doubt that the A and M stood for some important idea of religious life. The suggestion is that it was

Ave Maria.

Francis Bond, in *English Church Dedications*, says that the Medieval peoples were wont to pray twice daily, and to repeat the *Ave Maria* as a matter of duty.

#### "N" SHAPES

This shape is to be found in almost every building erected from the eleventh century in Christian countries. It is, of course, found ranging from B.C. 5000, but the pre-Christian Marks are not considered here—and this remark applies to all the shapes under review.

The examples can be extended, likewise the distribution. Space, however, does not permit of further additions.

#### SQUARES

The Squares, plain and elaborate, take many forms and are fairly numerous. That there may have been some significance attached to this shape is undoubted. Judging by a general survey of the "Squares" it would appear that most are intended to represent a "cube". St. Michael's Church, Melrose, Westminster Abbey and Boston Parish Church exhibit definite examples of the "cube" idea.

#### THE SACRED HEART

There are a good many examples of this Mark throughout Europe and in all periods.

The Winchester example of the "pierced heart of Jesus" probably points to the origin of some of the others.

#### SPEARS

Owing to the large number of "Arrow like" shapes amongst Marks of every Craft, it has been found difficult to classify them successfully. A suggestion

is to take out the broad arrow shapes and put them amongst the "Trinities". Sometimes the "Spear" shape is distinctive, as at Scarboro Parish Church, at Conisboro Castle and Hylton Castle.

Burscough Priory and Canterbury Cathedral afford examples of the combination Spear and letter "A" Shape.

At Hugill Church there is the most definite example of what the Mark infers, *i.e.*, the Spear and Sword. The suggestion in this case is that this combination was intended for two instruments of the Passion.

#### FLAGS—AGNUS DEI

Flags, whilst not numerous, are distinctive and unmistakable, and, when used in conjunction with the Cross, become the emblem known as the Agnus Dei.

Merchants down the centuries were fond of this device, as is well shown by the numerous church brasses, etc., in Britain and on the Continent.

#### CIRCLES

The Author's collection of Marks shows a large usage of Marks "off the Square", particularly Circles, elaborated with other devices (see Plate Nos. 3 and 4.)

It would therefore appear that there is little or no foundation for the view held by many, that Marks must be straight lines and have at least an acute angle.

Probably the "straight line" was common in those cases where there was a limitation of tools and amongst workers of very coarse stones. This aspect has not been fully examined by the Author.

#### AXES

It is admitted that for a number of years the identity of "Axe" shapes was difficult and uncertain. Here the limitation of a Mason's chisel had apparently reduced the shape to something very crude. With an ever increasing collection of Marks, the "Axe" began to take shape and was particularly emphasised when the Marks were taken at Gosberton Church in Lincolnshire, and in which Church 27 different Axe Shapes were found. Here the shape was indisputable. Furness and Peterboro also afford excellent examples.

The suggestion is that they were emblems of beheaded Saints, probably a favoured Saint of the holder of the Mark.

#### THE TRINITIES

It is probably true to say that any Triplicated device was a "Trinity" and used as such by Medieval people who sought originality in their Marks.

The Triangle, Trefoil, "T" and "Y", Triskele, etc., etc., were the popular shapes, and that they were much in evidence is proved by their continued use in Church symbolism (see Plate No. 10.)

The examples quoted cover but a very small portion of the Author's own collection, but are considered sufficient to draw attention to their style and importance.

#### THE CROSS

This is so numerous among all classes of Marks that it is deemed unnecessary to dwell upon this "shape" at length.

If there be any doubt in anyone's mind that Marks ever had any other significance than as signatures for work done, or ownership, then here is undoubted proof that most men at least chose a shape which was a well-known religious

symbol. Just under a third of the total Marks examined by the Author were either one of the basic Cross Shapes or a variation of the Cross with another symbol (see Plate No. 34 for basic forms of the Cross.)

#### FEN MARKS

The un-enclosed and uncultivated land, especially in the Great Fen of Lincolnshire previous to the nineteenth century, on enclosure was depastured by cattle, horses, sheep, donkeys and geese during the summer; and the towns which had the right of common, were ordered in 1551 to adopt certain Marks with which to brand their own live stock. The horses and asses were branded on the hoof, the sheep and cattle on the body, and the ducks and geese on the web of a foot.

The Commoners had a private Mark in addition to the Town Mark. Marks used by villages near Boston (Thompson's *History of Boston*) are given in Plate No. 35. These are illustrated to show their similarity to all other Craft marks.

Marks from the Solemn Covenant (Edinburgh Corporation Museum) Inquisitions, German Masons' Marks, German House Marks, Ecclesiastical Marks and Japanese Family Marks are shown on Plate No. 36a.

MARKS FROM ICELANDIC SEALS are shown on Plate No. 36 of the Appendix, to show the close similarity to English, Scottish, German and other European Medieval Marks. These are from seals of private people, yet note the strong resemblance to Marks of several Crafts, particularly Masons.

#### MARKS NOT TO SCALE

The reproductions of the Mark shapes are taken from actual Marks in the Author's collection and are not to scale. The view is held that whilst size may be a matter of interest, the large amount of expert labour required in drawing to scale achieves no special purpose and is of secondary importance. The "shape", irrespective of size, appears to be of first importance.

It is noticeable that, after various classes of Marks have been reproduced by pen or brush, a striking similarity is achieved, for example. Printers' Marks, which are frequently elaborate and of good design, when reduced to simple lines, approximate to something like Masons' Marks. The same may be said of other Marks.

#### LOCATION OF MASONS' AND OTHER MARKS

This aspect has been dealt with very fully by the Author in a volume entitled *Distributions of Marks*. The volume is indexed under

Letter Shapes. Crosses. Trinities.  
Geometrical Shapes. Miscellaneous Shapes.  
Combinations.

These in turn are sub-indexed and in some cases cross-indexed. This cataloguing refers to the 232 Sets of Marks indicated in the Analysis. It is hoped in due course to extend the work to 1,000 Sets complete with an analysis.

Every Mark Shape, whether it be greatly or slightly "Differenced" from its basic symbol, is given a sub-index and under the Shape is shown where such Mark may be found.

#### ON MAKING UP SETS

For several years an attempt was made to ascertain the number of individual "Mark Shapes" found in buildings; for example, one Mark Shape

was found on no less than 217 stones at Belsay Castle, Northumberland. Experience showed that many Marks could be traced each to only a small number of stones, yet it was obvious that certain craftsmen known to have been employed for a considerable period on one site must have contributed considerably to the work in hand. This fact satisfied the Author that to continue this work would involve hundreds of hours extra to little useful purpose, hence the idea was dropped, and the search for Mark Shapes only was continued; in consequence the revised volumes of the work show one each of every Mark Shape.

## RECORDS OF MARKS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

The Author's complete series of Marks have been drawn to one inch for reproduction, and the majority of the sets photographed as a safeguard against loss of the originals by unforeseen circumstances. Despite the huge collection, much remains to be done in collecting and recording additional sets. Incidentally it is worthy of mention that much co-operation is essential and many helpers required if the remaining sources of Marks are to be recorded for the benefit of posterity. Three centuries have passed since men used Marks of identity, and in that time much damage and often total destruction has been caused to many sources. The World War II has been responsible for the loss of ancient buildings, documents, and other treasures, and consequently the loss in many cases of the Marks they contained.

## MARKS OF MEDIEVAL MERCHANTS, ETC.

The introduction in this paper of examples of Marks, outside those of the Crafts, appears desirable owing to their similarity to the compulsory Marks used by Craftsmen, and the probability that their adoption was derived from a common basis, easily understood by all Christian peoples, whatever their race, colour, or station in life.

The 216 Marks shown on Plate No. 37 have been taken from the Author's collection—as fairly and proportionately representative of the whole, two extreme cases excepted, *i.e.*: (1) Those which contain as much fine detail as

an Ecclesiastical Seal and

(2) Those in which letters only appear.

It will no doubt be agreed that for the most part the designs shown approximate to medieval religious emblems more than anything else. The Cross, in some form, figures in most of them. The predominant shapes are:—

Crosses	The Double "V"	The Agnus Dei
Triangles	Crescent Moon	Fleur-de-lys
Hearts	Circles	The letters A.M. and W.
The "A" and "A" inverted and superimposed.		

Other shapes include:—Catherine wheels, Knots, Axes, Fish, Doves, Pelicans, Anchors, Keys, Suns, Ships, Stars, Swastikas, Vesica Piscis, Bows and Arrows, etc., etc.

The above are sometimes shown singly, and sometimes in combination with other shapes, letters and dates.

The sketches presented are the simplest form of expression, *i.e.*, single brush strokes; the originals, especially in glass, windows, on seals, signets, Church Brasses, etc., are frequently designed in detail and express the intention of the owner better than those shown in the Plate.

The inclusion of women's Marks may appear strange; nevertheless it is a fact that memorials do show that some women either possessed marks of their own, or used their husbands' marks. The usage is not extensive but of sufficient quantity to take into consideration when making research.

As it is not usually appreciated where Marks, other than Craft Marks, may be found, the Author suggests sources which may be profitably searched, but it is not usual to find them in general use after *circa* 1630-50.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. on Tombstones  | 9. on Pictures                             |
| 2. on Sepulchral Monuments in stone<br>or brass             | 10. on Woodwork                            |
| 3. on Signet Rings  | 11. on Mantel pieces                       |
| 4. on stained glass Windows                                 | 12. on Houses                              |
| 5. in Printed books of the 16th, 17th<br>and 18th centuries | 13. on gifts to Churches                   |
| 6. on Paper made by the Provincials                         | 14. on Inquisitions                        |
| 7. on Silver Plate generally gifts to<br>Associations, etc. | 15. on legal documents                     |
| 8. on Pottery   | 16. on Wills                               |
|   | 17. on the Solemn Covenants,<br>etc., etc. |

Dallaway in his *Enquiries into the origin, etc., of Heraldry*, 1793, says:

“About the middle centuries after the Conquest, the legitimate bearers  
“of arms were jealous of their ‘Escoccheon’.”

He also says:—

“it was customary for many who were not entitled to Coat Armour  
“to invent and use certain symbols or marks of no heraldic adaptations,  
“as every man was the fabricator of his own conceit.”

He further says:—

“they appeared to answer as a secondary design of Arms.”

The Author holds the view that Coats of Arms and Marks were at all times officially distinct, and that whilst there were periods when users of Marks placed them on Shields and Circles, out of conceit, and without lawful permission, the Marks were in general used according to Statutory requirements, *i.e.*: as Marks of Identity and ownership. The use of Marks on Shields appears to have been more prevalent on the Continent than in England!

Whether there was a law for the compulsory use of Marks outside the Crafts is not certain; so far no one appears to have traced such a reference. The law for a compulsory mark for Craftsmen is established and is recorded 13 Edward I, 1285, and confirmed 11 Edward III, 1336-7, and followed by other confirmations down to the early seventeenth century.

The Marks of towns and villages in the Great Fen of Lincolnshire are confirmed in the records of the Soke of Bolingbroke, 2nd Edward VI, 1548, and probably the Marks of other Sokes and Manors may be traced through similar documents—there is scope for much research in this direction.

The option of adopting a Mark, whatever its design, apparently rested with the individual. The Statutes do not lay down any direction, or that there was a central body for the issue or approval of Marks.

It is clear, however, from many medieval documents of Guilds and Companies, that Marks were presented by owners to the local Companies and Guilds for approval, and it is equally clear that such Marks were approved, providing such presented Mark, or a colourable likeness, was not already in use by another member of the fraternity.

With regard to the origin of the Designs of Marks and the Designers, little is known, and in view of the lack of such information the Author ventures the view that the original drafting would probably be done by the Silversmith who made the Matrix and Seal; all subsequent adaptations for use on Stone, Glass, Wood, Fabric, etc., would be copies from the original seal or an impression of it.



The writer has found it difficult to determine the trade or calling of many owners of Marks; for example the figure "four" and reversed "four" which frequently appear as Marks, either alone or in combination with another symbol, or symbols, is said by some people to be the Mark of the Wool-Staplers. The Agnus Dei is said to be the Mark of Overseas Merchants, and so on *ad lib.* Research, however, shows that many people of varied occupations have used the figure "four" as a Mark, and others who probably never saw the sea and who were certainly not overseas traders used the Agnus Dei.

Indeed, careful scrutiny shows that no particular trade appeared to claim any particular emblem, although it is true that certain types were more or less common to certain trades; for example, the Coopers used the Cross and Circle perhaps more than any other form; the Mason trade in general kept fairly close to straight lines and angles, but this was apparently due to limitation of tool and material.

Further evidence of difficulty in allocating types of Marks to trades and callings is probably best illustrated by an example or two. Take Boyle's list of seventeenth century tokens and cover up the title, or take a series of English, Dutch, German or Scandinavian Merchants' Marks and place them side by side, cover up their titles and ask your friends to identify the origin of each plate.

In the former case it is quite likely that Boyle's *Tokens* would be accepted as Merchants' Marks because the similarity is almost identical; and in the case of English and Continental Merchants' Marks the designs are so much alike that even experts would be confused. This similarity in Marks of all Christian peoples is so definite that one is prompted to look for a common origin, and the probability is that the basis was religious emblems. All the emblems are not obvious at once and require no little research; but time and patience spent in looking up a wide range of books on Symbolism, ancient Calendars, Clog Almanacks, etc., etc., reveal much that is helpful.

#### THE DECLINE IN THE USE OF MARKS IN BRITAIN

The general disuse of Marks may be said to be *circa* 1590-1650. Those of private persons showed a gradual decline in use, whilst those of the Crafts appear to have been placed in less conspicuous positions, later hidden from view, and finally discarded, except in the Mason Trade, which, as if by general arrangement, somewhere between 1630-1690, placed the Marks on the bed of the Stone, instead of on the face as formerly. Scotland appears to have followed suit a generation later.

The probable explanation is that the drastic change during the Reformation period necessitated such action. That the Reformation period did see a complete re-organisation of Companies and Guilds cannot be denied. These reasons, however, are insufficient to account for the decline of something which had been ingrafted into the peoples for centuries. The cause was undoubtedly deep-seated and may probably be due to the Reformation movement and the years leading up to it. Picture for a few moments the pre-Reformation life of the masses. The Church was the centre of the life of the people; it was the dominant note from the cradle to the grave. Education was in the hands of the clerics. The Guilds and Companies were saturated with religious influence. Meetings were opened and closed with prayer. The documents of most organisations, if not all, generally opened with an Invocation to Almighty God—the Father in Heaven. Oaths were as much of a religious character as they were secular. The members of the Companies and Guilds up and down the country kept the festival of their patron Saint, many maintained Chapels and all supplied "Lights" in their own particular Church. Without exception they kept the Feast of Corpus Christi and took part in the great processions and Mystery Plays. And to almost everyone else in all walks of life religion

was uppermost in every-day life, as well as Sundays and Holy Days. The services of the Church were varied and colourful. The Festivals were kept with grandiose ritual and ceremonial; Epiphany with the "Feast of the Star"; Eastertide, solemn and magnificent; Corpus Christi with its unforgettable ceremonial; mystery plays and processions. During Lent the images of the Saints were covered up, the rich hangings taken down and the High Altar veiled. Christmas was a time of goodwill and rejoicing. The Church beautiful was a sermon in stone and emblem, Pictures and Banners, enhanced by the "dim religious light" emitted through windows of stained glass, a deep sense of religious feeling. In the aisles were side Chapels, each having its altar and a light burning to its patron saint. Often a symbolical ship was suspended from the roof and considered a type of the Church. Images of Saints, Crucifixes and emblems abounded and were intended to remind the faithful of some great truth or memory.

At the Reformation all this was changed, the side chapels were demolished. Altars, Images, Pictures, Paintings, Emblems, Devices and Inscriptions removed. Almost every trace of pre-Reformation practice was eliminated. Everything which "smelt of religious superstition" was *taboo* by statute law and no man dare display a symbol which savoured the ancient faith of the people.

The attitude of the masses swung like a pendulum, and people, like the then new Church interiors, became sombre and unsuggestive. It is noticeable that during the Reformation period, which was spread over about three decades, the "Mark" shapes formerly associated with the "B.V.M." and the Saints in particular fell into disuse. The "Cross" and Triangle Shapes continued in use until towards the close of the seventeenth century, Scotland excepted, where their use was spasmodic until the first decade of the eighteenth century.

Scriveners, whose work was formerly embellished with beautiful examples of pen-work Crosses, began to sign their names, ornamented with expert flourishes, and finally, with a plain signature only. It is obvious that there was some difficulty for and against the continued use of personal Marks, because the period of 1630-60, in particular, shows that several Crafts actually ceased the practice of using identity Marks, as the Registers show.

The change from Marking Stones on the face to marking on the bed may be said to have been due to a practical agreement among Masons not to disfigure the face. The answer to this suggestion is that the practice of so-called defacement had continued down the centuries and that it was not until the Reformation in Germany and Britain that the change-over was made.

Examination of a number of stone buildings erected just prior to and during the Reformation period supports the view that such a change was made in the seventeenth century. This, coupled with the fact that Marks in all the Crafts, Professions, etc., rapidly declined in usage, suggests that the Reformation presented a problem to owners of Marks in every walk of life, simply because practically every Mark was a representation of some religious emblem, and that the continued use of such an emblem as a Mark would in all probability lay the owner under suspicion of continuing what the Reformers fondly called "religious superstition". There is no doubt that, so soon as the first generation of "Reformers" and "Reformed" died out, there was an anti-symbolic outlook among the people—in part sincere, partly from fear of reprisals, and, among the faithful to the old regime, a discreet desire to await with hope the day of revival.

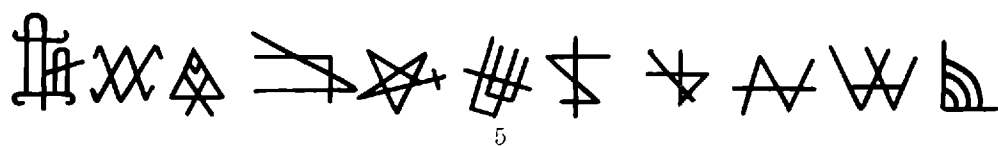
Please do not think for a moment that the author suggests that the church controlled, or in any way influenced the adaptation of symbols as Marks; on the contrary the onus was placed upon the individual; but the evidence extracted from a large collection of Marks of every Craft, etc., does show that religious emblems were predominant. The State in the first place made the "Mark" laws, and continued to enforce them for centuries, and made it compulsory

for all "free" men to use a Mark of Identity for the reasons outlined in the "Introduction" to this Paper, and that religious emblems figured largely up to the time of the Reformers. Further, supporting evidence to show how ruthlessly the wishes of the Reformers of the seventeenth century had been carried out, and the probable predicament of peoples with Marks bearing religious emblems, is quoted from the *History of Yarmouth and Gorleston*, and, if more evidence be required, it may be found in many Church Registers.

Nearly a century later, the Earl of Manchester, when commanding the associated counties for the parliament, issued a commission under which Francis Jessope, of Beccles, removed from Lowestoft church, all inscriptions in brass, commencing with the usual *Ora pro anima*, &c. It does not appear that this worthy, or his coadjutor, Dowsing, ever visited Yarmouth; but the former has thus recorded his doings at GORLESTON CHURCH:—"In the chancel, as it is called, we took up twenty brazen superstitious inscriptions, *Ora pro nobis*, &c.; broke twelve apostles, carved in wood, and cherubims, and a lamb with a cross; and took up four superstitious inscriptions in brass, in the north chancel, *Jesu filii Dei miserere mei*, &c.; broke in pieces the rails, and broke down twenty-two popish pictures of angels and saints. We did deface the font and a cross on the font; and took up a brass inscription there, with *Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus*, and 'Pray for y<sup>e</sup> soul,' &c., in English. We took up thirteen superstitious brasses. Ordered Moses with his rod and Aaron with his mitre, to be taken down. Ordered eighteen angels off the roof, and cherubims to be taken down, and nineteen pictures on the windows. The organ I brake; and we brake seven popish pictures in the chancel window,—one of Christ, another of St. Andrew, another of St. James, &c. We ordered the steps to be levelled by the parson of the town; and brake the popish inscription, *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed*. I gave orders to break in pieces the carved work, which I have seen done. There were six superstitious pictures, one crucifix, and the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms, and Christ lying in a manger, and the three kings coming to Christ with presents, and three bishops with their mitres and crosier staffs, and eighteen Jesuses written in capital letters, which we gave orders to do out. A picture of St. George, and many others which I remember not, with divers pictures in the windows, which we could not reach, neither would they help us to raise ladders; so we left a warrant with the constable to do it in fourteen days. We brake down a pot of holy water, St. Andrew with his cross, and St. Catharine with her wheel; and we took down the cover of the font, and the four evangelists, and a triangle for the Trinity, a superstitious picture of St. Peter and his keys, an eagle, and a lion with wings. In Bacon's isle was a friar with a shaven crown, praying to God in these words, *Miserere mei Deus*,—Which we brake down. We brake a holy water font in the chancel. We rent to pieces a hood and surplices. In the chancel was Peter pictured on the windows, with his heels upwards, and John Baptist, and twenty more superstitious pictures, which we brake; and **IHS** the Jesuit's badge, in the chancel window. In Bacon's isle, twelve superstitious pictures of angels and crosses, and a holy water font, and brasses with superstitious inscriptions. And in the cross alley we took up brazen figures and inscriptions, *Ora pro nobis*. We brake down a cross on the steeple, and three stone crosses in the chancel, and a stone cross in the porch."

\* At the Reformation all altars, except the high altar, were removed,—bringing back the church, as it was alleged, to the primitive





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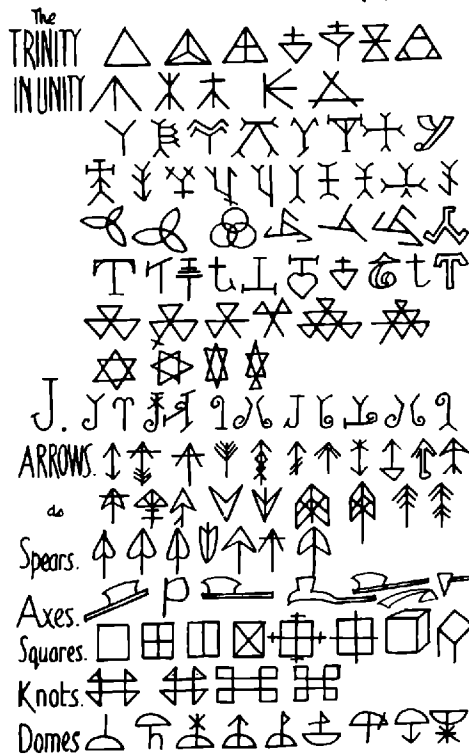
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# MASONS VARIATIONS IN MARK SHAPES

The upright shape only is shown

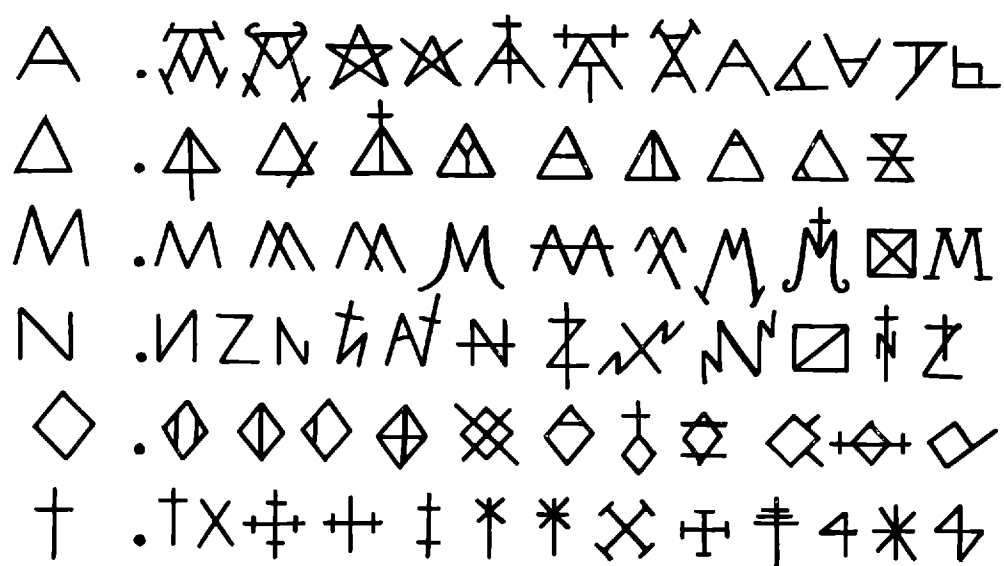




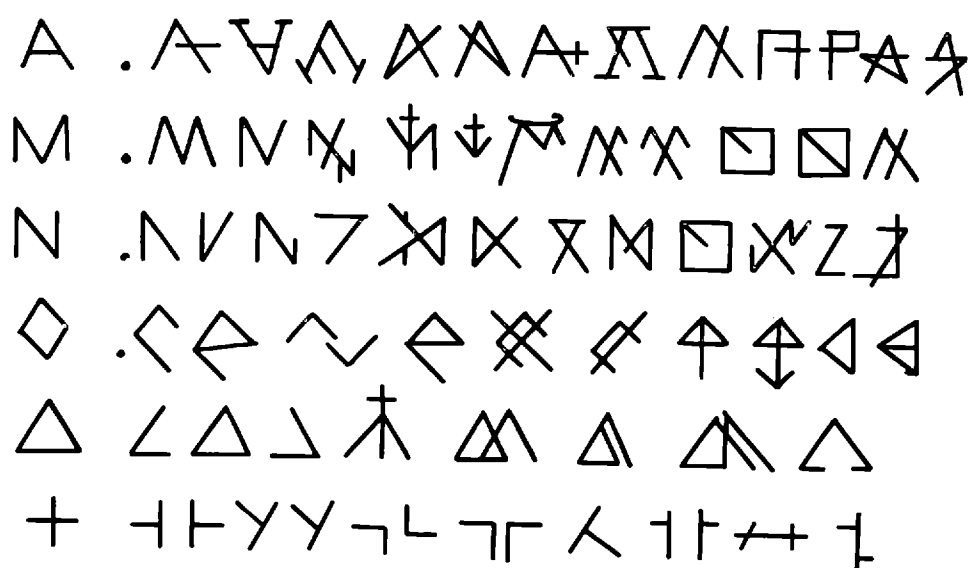
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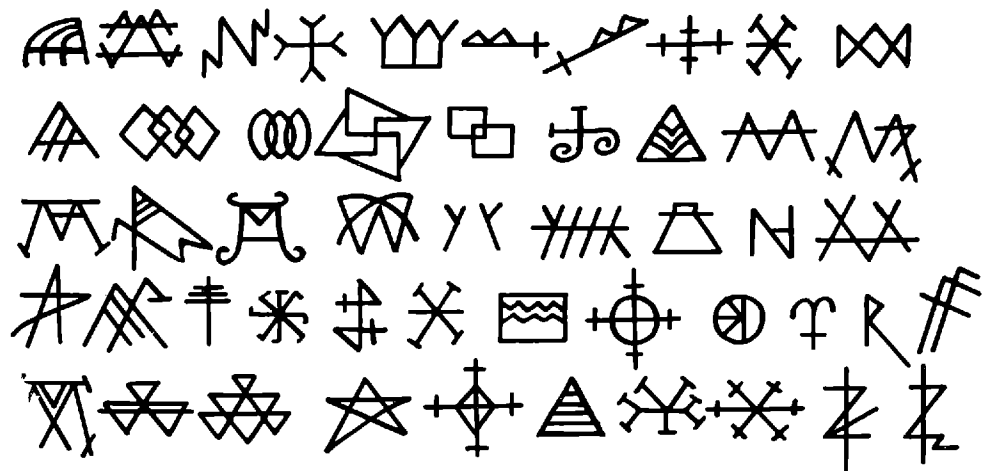
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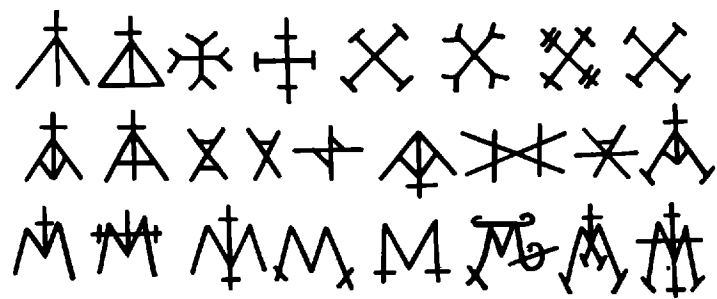
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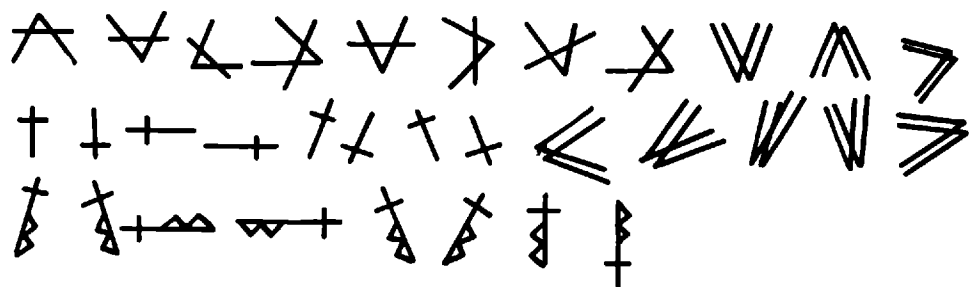




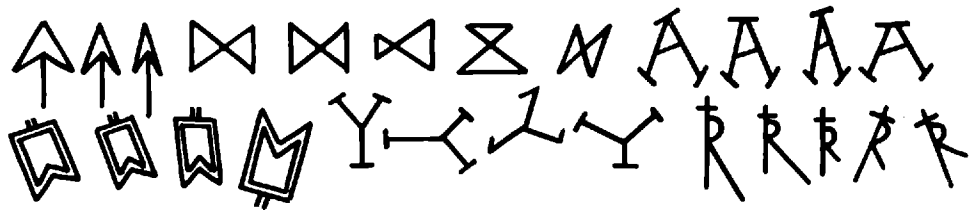
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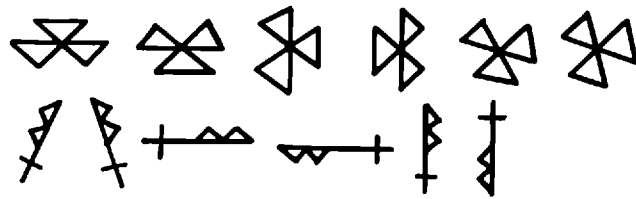
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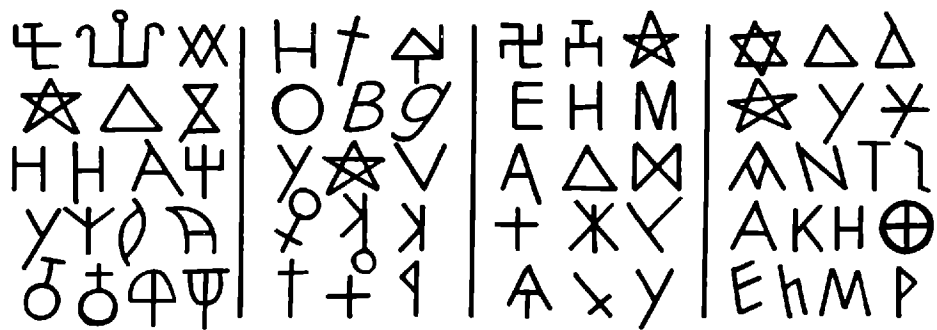
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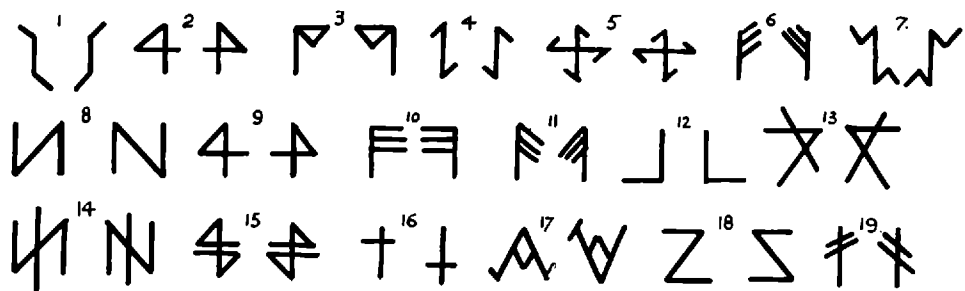
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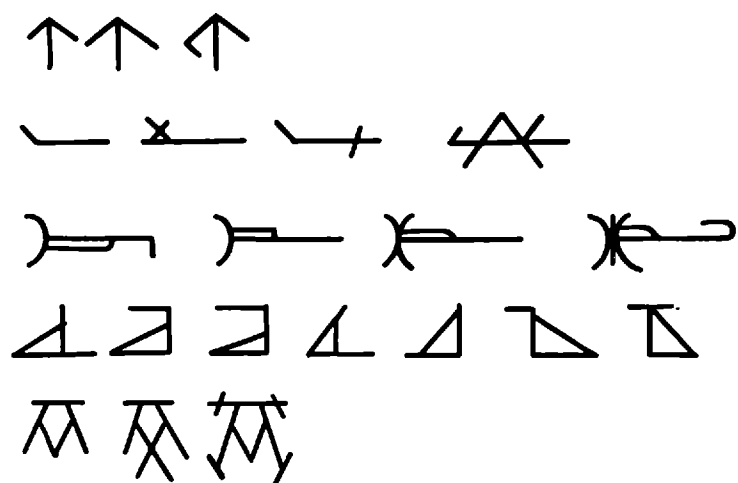
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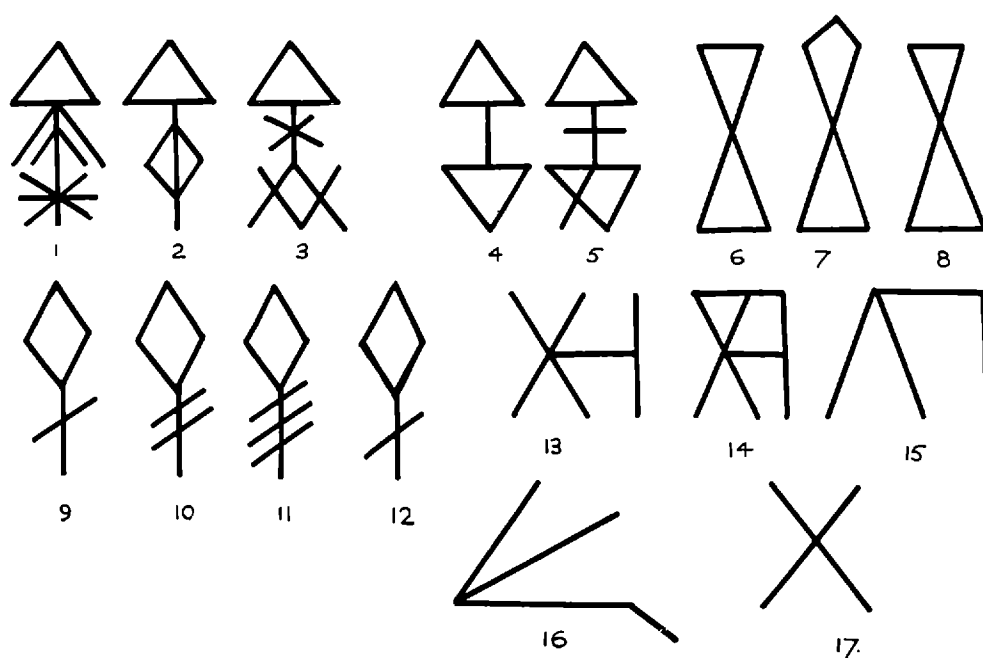
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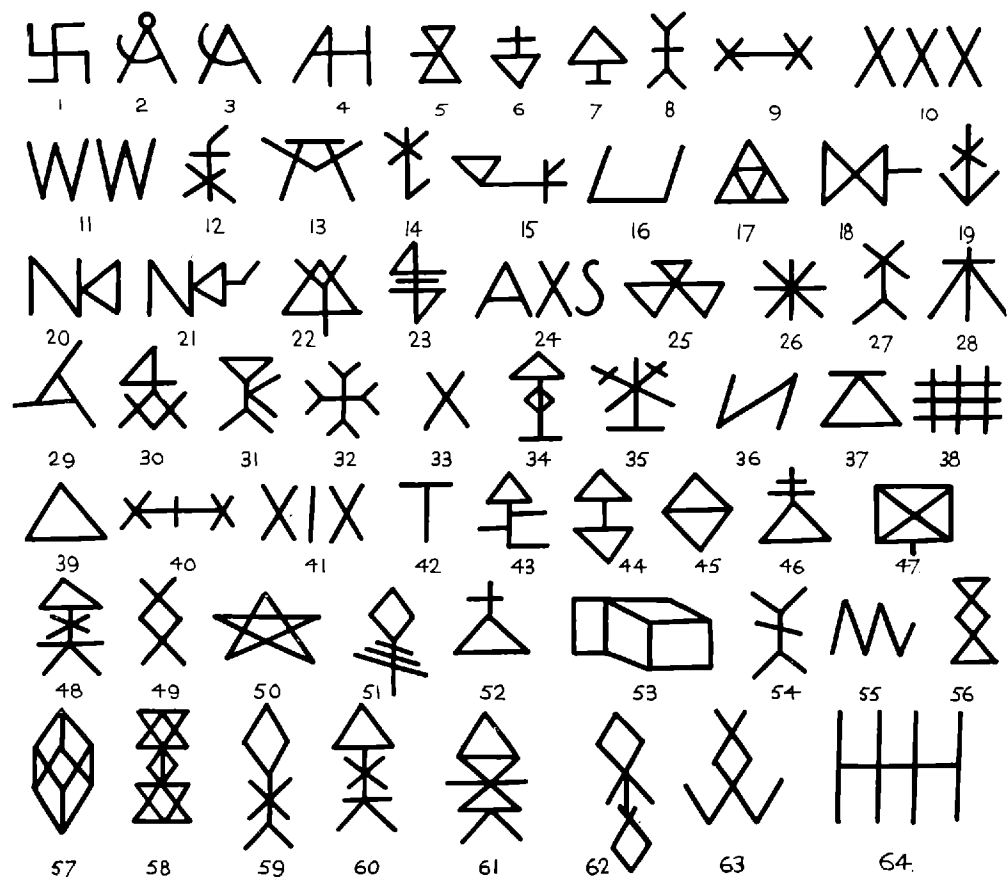
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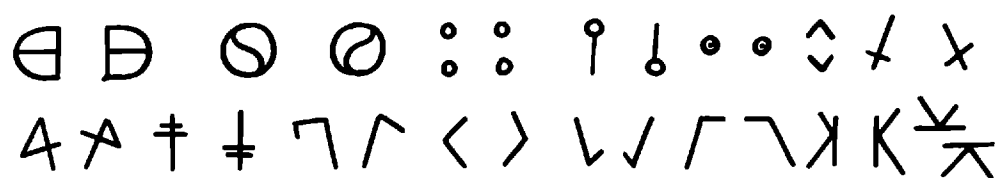
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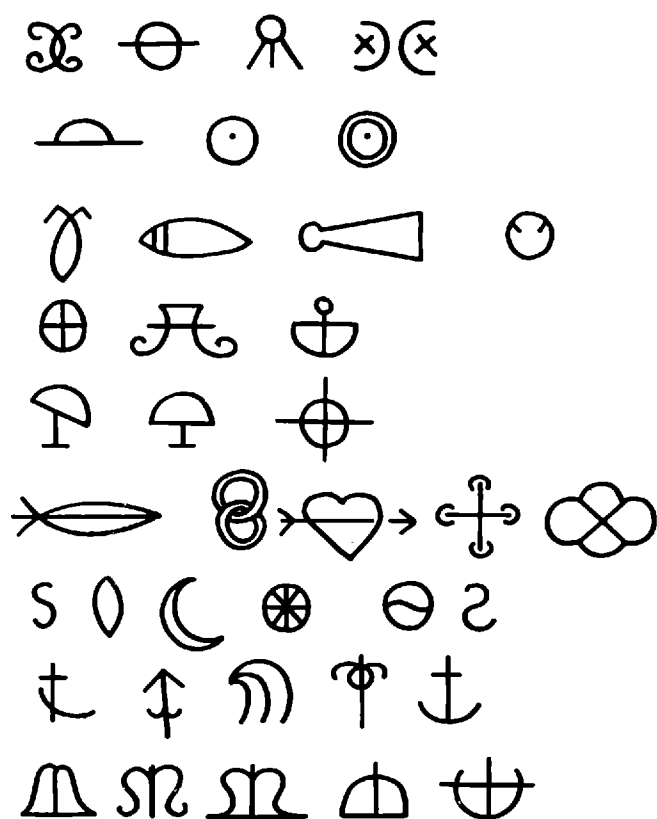
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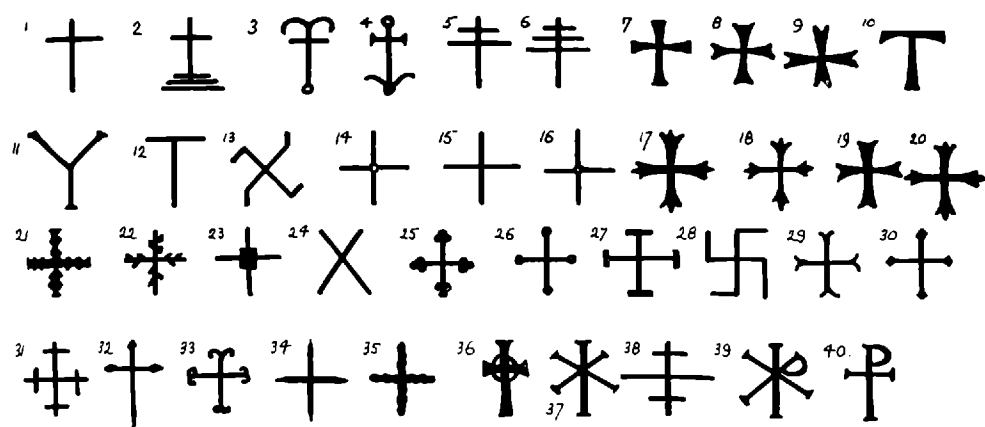
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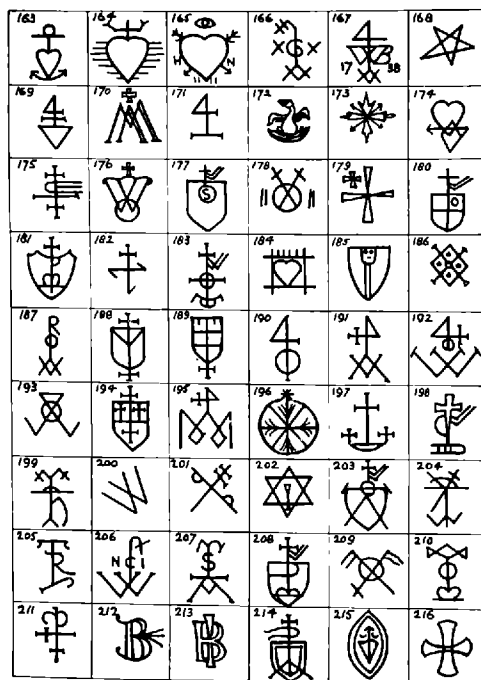


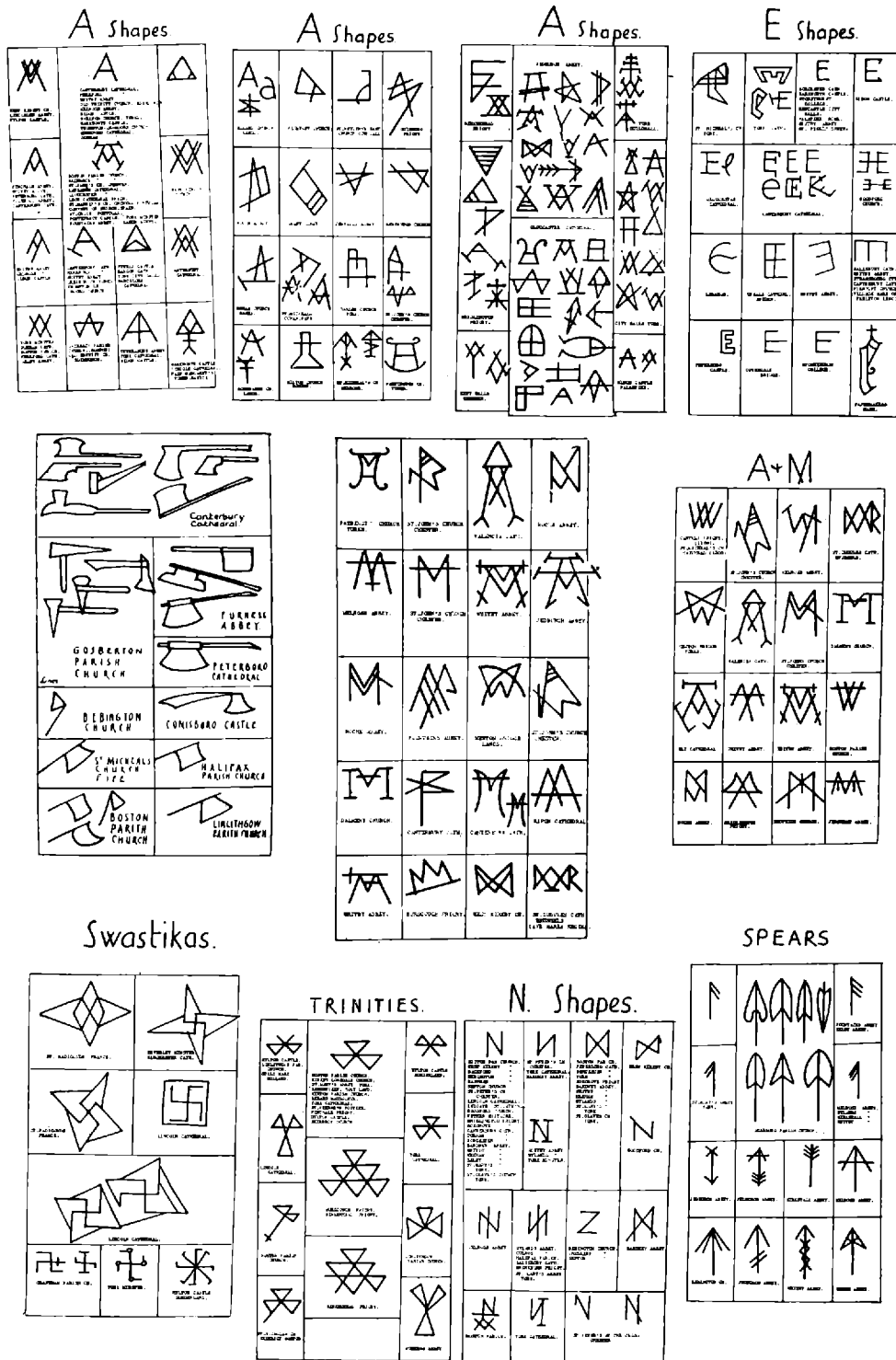
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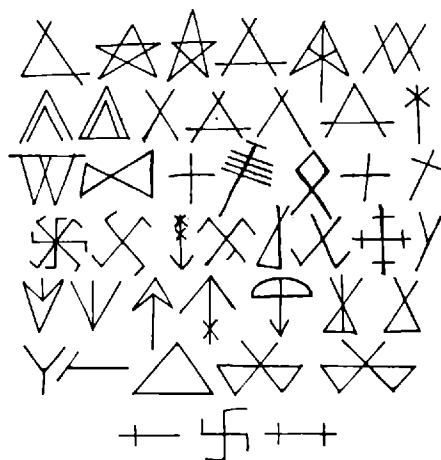




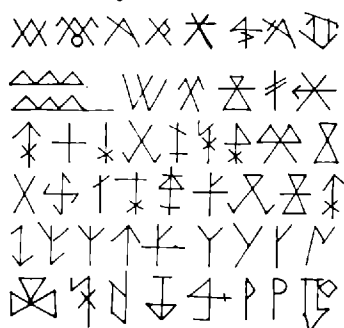




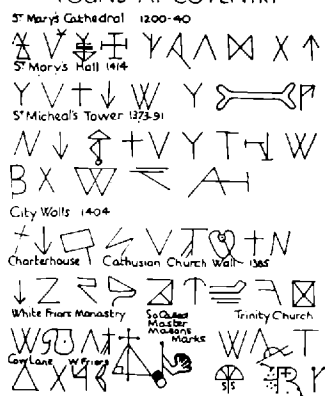
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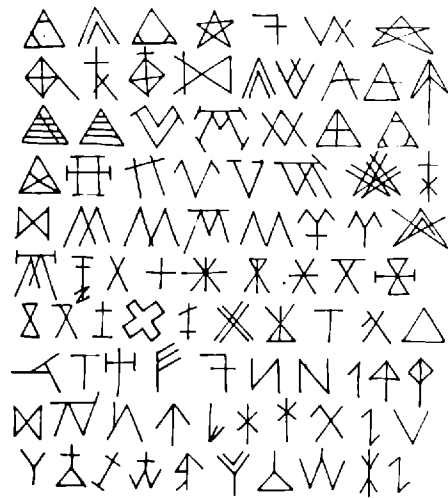
Linlithgow Parish Church



FOUND AT COVENTRY

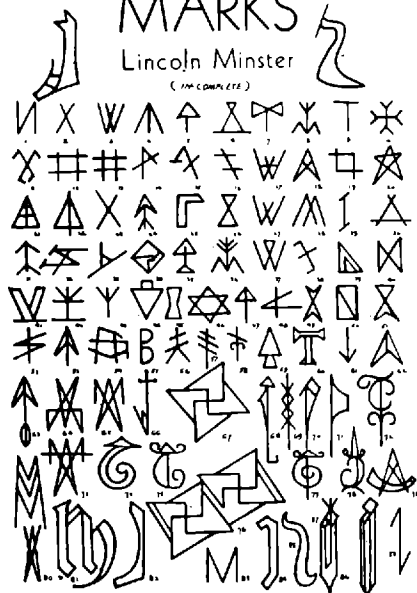


St Marys Abbey York

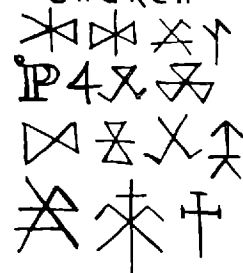


MASON'S MARKS

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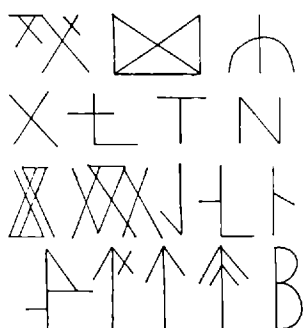


WYBERTON CHURCH

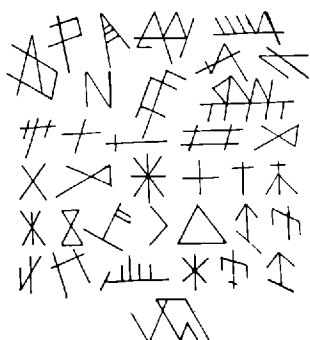




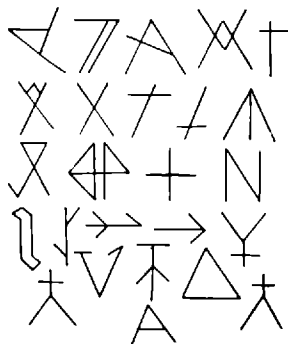
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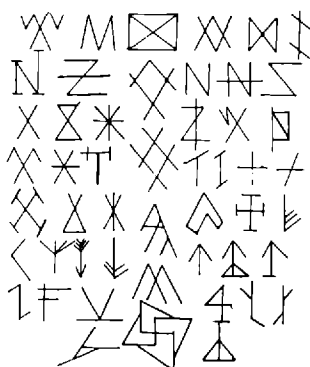
Kirkstall Abbey



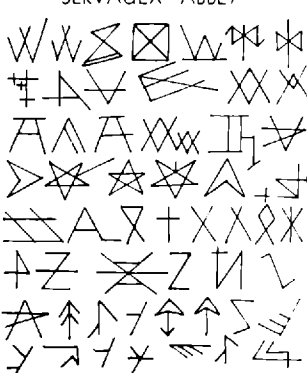
Cartington Castle



Bylands Abbey



# MASONS MARKS



## BOSTON & DISTRICT



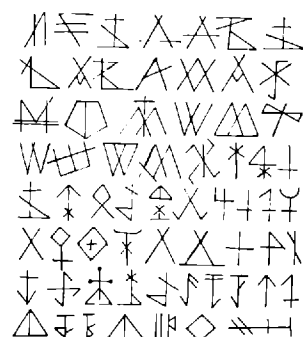
## DURHAM & DISTRICT



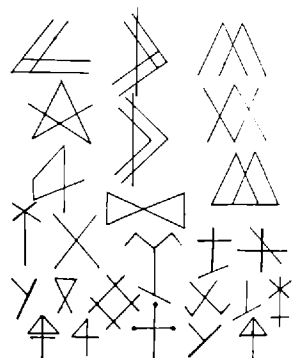
## Norham Castle



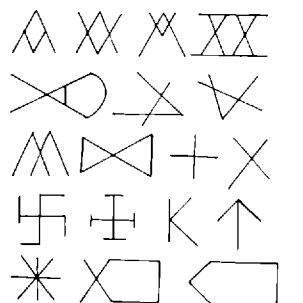
Linlithgow Palace



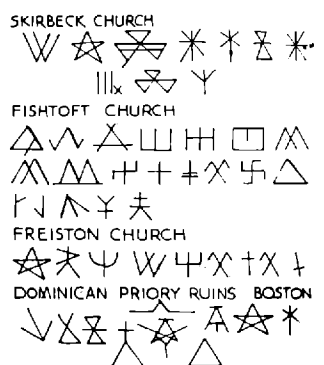
Lincluden Abbey



St. Cuthberts Parish Church Darlington



## Boston & District



*Tentative*  
**ANALYSIS OF MARKS**

	MERCHANTS				TRADERS				PERSONAL				Total %	
	NORWICH				BRISTOL				YARMOUTH-W. WAPLES					
	376				488				28				125	
†	10	2.66	3	.61	1	3.57	10	8.0					24	2.36%
†	5	1.33	32	6.55									37	3.63%
†	16	4.25	4	.82									20	1.17%
†	45	12.0	19	4.0	1	3.57	8	6.4					73	7.17%
†	2	.532	17	3.48									19	1.86%
†	32	8.51	13	2.66									45	4.42%
†	25	6.65	2	.40									27	2.65%
Initials	11	2.65	34	7.0	1	3.57	5	4.0					51	5.01%
††	66	17.5	30	6.14	6	21.42	39	31.2					141	13.88%
Triangles	5	1.33	11	2.25			2	1.6					18	1.77%
Axes	1	.26	2	.42									3	.29%
Anchors			5	1.02									5	.45%
Knots	6	1.6	19	4.0									25	2.46%
Hearts	8	2.17	14	2.86									22	2.16%
Sun			4	.82									4	.39%
Moons			2	.4									2	.19%
Stars			13	2.66									13	1.27%
Ships	8	2.127	28	5.7	2	7.14	3	2.4					41	4.06%
Fish	1	.26											1	.009%
Birds	4	.06	3	.61									7	.68%
Animals	2	.532	49	10.0	3	10.71							54	5.31%
A	19	5.0	1	.2			2	1.6					22	2.16%
Grosses	65	17.2	96	19.87	8	28.57	34	27.2					203	19.96%
× Misses	30	8.0	67	13.72	3	10.71	11	8.8					105	10.32%
× Unidentified	15	4.0	20	4.1	3	10.71	11	8.8					49	4.84%
Totals	376	100.978%	488	100.29%	28	99.97%	125	100.2%					1017	99.51%

× Miscellaneous. \* Un-identified.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Waples for his interesting paper on the proposition of Bro. Rickard, seconded by Bro. Johnson; comments being made by or on behalf of Bros. F. R. Radice, F. L. Pick, R. H. Baxter, H. Poole, D. Knoop, W. I. Grantham, J. R. Rylands, J. F. Nichols and G. W. Bullamore.

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Bro. F. M. RICKARD said:—

The subject of Marks is one that presents a deal of attraction, and is one that has given rise to an amount of conjecture, and also controversy, perhaps more than any other.

Bro. Waples has given an immense amount of time to a patient investigation of the subject, and we must be grateful to him for giving us the benefit of his researches, even though it may be that his conclusions do not appeal to all of us.

For myself I have not given much study to "Marks," and others will be better able to deal with the details mentioned in this paper;—I leave to them to analyse the conclusions.

The necessity for the marking of any goods or property seems quite obvious; the need for some means of identification was important.

Speaking generally I am not persuaded that there is any religious symbolism to be connected with a mark; and I find difficulty in allowing that a mark had any esoteric significance to the owner.

I think it must be acknowledged that the operative was essentially a practical man, and that to him an identifying mark would be a practical and elementary method of denoting ownership, whether of work or of property. I think also that it must be agreed that the average workman of by-gone days was an uneducated man, and therefore that, even if his mark bore a resemblance to some figure that elsewhere had some symbolic or religious significance, that symbol would not convey to him any such meaning.

As Freemasons we are more closely interested in Masons' Marks, and it must be borne in mind that with building operations there was more than one distinguishing mark necessarily applied to the stone. Bro. Waples has given us details concerning this point, and in any investigation it is very important that a "positional" mark should not be confused with a "banker" mark. A positional mark was of purely temporary and essentially practical value; it was not a personal mark, and the choice of it could not be on other than some simple but clear arrangement.

But the banker mark—the mark for identification of the workman—makes a much more attractive call on our attention; and it is here that research is invited. What the configuration of this mark meant to the individual concerned has excited great difference of opinion. The contention that there was an underlying mystical or symbolical significance may be only the outcome of imagination. It seems to me that the choice of a mark would be influenced by the conditions under which the choice was made, which would be greatly dependent on the tools with which the mark was cut, and the shape of the mark upon the kind of stone, whether hard or soft.

The figure of the mark might perhaps be copied from some object prominently noticeable; but, even if it were a symbol, esoteric in some other connection, would it follow that to the workman it would be more than something most easily identifiable by him? Was his choice anything more than arbitrary? And would it not be without distinction of any particular country and period of time? As hinted at in this paper, more influence might perhaps be allotted to sentiment and practical utility.

From his knowledge, gained by experience in that connection, Bro. Waples has indicated how and where to look for marks; and this will be greatly to the

advantage of anyone interested in pursuing the subject. This subject is awaiting further investigation, but all the points put forward by Bro. Waples demand consideration; and I propose a hearty vote of thanks to him for his paper.

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Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON *writes*:—

In the first place I should like to congratulate Bro. Waples on his paper; he has obviously spent many years in study and research and now puts forward his theories. These I see are stated to be tentative and are to form an introduction to the study.

Unfortunately for me I have never collected Masons' Marks and therefore am not in a position to test Bro. Waples' theories, but I can quite understand that, in forming a collection, classification is necessary.

It is interesting to note that the earliest known Trade Marks appear to have been those used by Paper Makers, which are called Water-Marks; according to the Century Dictionary the first recorded example bears the date of 1351.

I have pleasure in seconding a vote of thanks to Bro. Waples and I look forward to hearing him give further Masonic Papers before the *Quatuor Coronati Lodge*.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

Bro. Waples has not spared himself in his efforts to produce an essay of outstanding interest relating to marks in general, but more particularly to those of the Mason craft. True he has had the valuable papers of Bros. T. Hayter Lewis and W. Harry Rylands as finger posts to guide him and these should be read in conjunction with the present production.

Just as two previous attempts had been made to form a basis for the classification of our Old Charges before Dr. Begemann propounded his system, which was seized on and developed by Bro. W. J. Hughan and ultimately brought to full fruition by Bro. Herbert Poole, so now Bro. Waples has produced a working hypothesis for the classification of marks, which I sincerely hope will be followed up and reduced to an exact science. I am convinced it would be of immense value to Masonic students. I well remember reading that the late Mr. E. W. Godwin, editor of *The Builder*, had never noticed the banker marks on mediæval stones till they were pointed out to him and that he never afterwards visited a cathedral, abbey or church without the things crying out at him. A real case of not being able to see the wood for the trees! Our own Bro. David Flather has produced a handy booklet on silver marks which is most useful and enables one to date each piece of old silver he is fortunate enough to possess. The books of old Scottish Lodges are worth consulting. The well-known Mark Book of the Lodge of Aberdeen and the sixteenth century marks in the minutes of the Lodges of Edinburgh and Aitchison's Haven deserve consideration for the marks appended to the signatures of the members, some of whom could not be classified as operatives. Imagination has not been lacking on the part of the selectors. I like best of all, perhaps, the Mark of David Salmon, who chose as his cryptogram a Greek D (delta) with a jod for an eye as a head and the body of a fish. Incidentally, my own mark is a representation of a drawing board and a T-square.

Carry on the good work Bro. Waples, and please accept my grateful thanks for your efforts so far.

Bro. H. POOLE writes:—

I fear I am going to put forward views which are directly opposed to those of Bro. Waples, but I do so with considerable reluctance. It is always easier to destroy than to construct or create; and Bro. Waples has built up his statistical analysis with such well-nigh inexhaustible patience and labour, that nothing but a desire for truth above all would justify one who has not travelled along the same path in such destructive criticism as I feel can, and should be, applied to his results—and this when *no* constructive theory is offered in place of his: because my belief has for many years been, *and still is*, that (so far at any rate as Masons' Marks are concerned) there was no special significance, no symbolism, and no system in their selection.

May I, however, first congratulate him on his industry, and on the very valuable work which he has done, not only in the accumulation of so many series, but also in the impetus which he will, I am sure, give to the study and, I hope, collection of (especially) Masons' Marks. I fear that I shall not live long enough to see the publication on any adequate scale of County or regional series in a form available for the student of mediæval buildings; but I have no doubt whatever that the value of such publication will some day be found to be very high indeed; and to me it is astonishing that, so late as this, practically no such published series exist—I know of none except in the case of two Counties dealt with by the Hist. Mon. Comm., Essex, and I think Herefordshire. I may add that I have myself collected all that I could find (except modern examples, *e.g.*, on the L.M.S. viaducts) in Westmorland; and I hope that they will be published after the war by the Cumb. and Westm. Archaeological and Antiquarian Society, as a separate pamphlet available to the widest possible circle of students.

Now, still confining my attention to the Masons' Mark, let me state a case for the opposition. As it seems to me, when the mark is to be placed stroke by stroke, and not by a punch or a brand, there will naturally be a tendency towards simplicity and few strokes. A mark may be made with two or more. Let us consider first the mark made with two strokes. There are only six possible forms, according as they meet at right angles or obliquely, and as one or both are extended beyond the intersection. In each of these six cases, the mark falls into one of Bro. Waples' "religious" categories—as a cross, a part of a cross, a letter N, or a letter T. Bro. Waples has, in fact, adopted a classification by which *every* two-stroke mark must fall into the "religious" group.

Let us consider the three-stroke possibilities, of which there are many more: but, if they are not triangles, they are in almost every case either A's, trinities, crosses or N's. Again, it seems that the three-stroke mark also almost automatically falls into the same group. I have not my own collection of marks beside me; but I have spent some time trying to make a four-stroke mark which does not come under one of the "religious" headings, and it is not easy.

Looking again at it from a rather different angle, I cannot accept some of Bro. Waples' identifications. I have spent much time studying the forms of Masons' marks, with the object of finding a basis for indexing them, so that the provenance of a particular mark can be looked up quickly. At first sight Bro. Waples' groupings would seem to be suitable: but on further study, it becomes obvious that they fail as an indexing method, the object of which would be, within limits, to find as *many*, not as few, bases of classification as possible. The moment we attempt this, we realise how (if I may be allowed the phrase) far-fetched some of the identifications are. Bro. Waples very kindly sent me a copy of his "Summary" a few years ago, and I have spent many hours over it. If I may quote from it (for the same array does not appear among the Plates for this Paper), he has on p. 26 a series of 72 marks "based on the letter A": but for not more than about 8 of them would I regard "A-forms" as a suitable index-heading; while I am not inclined to agree that the "A-idea" could have

luin at the back of more than 5, if as many. To take a similar series from this paper: in the top row of 12 marks in Plate 15, I see no reason whatever to connect any but the first, second and perhaps the sixth with the letter A. In the third row in the same plate, only the third and the eleventh seem to me to have *perhaps*, and only perhaps, any connection with the letter N. If I am right about these letter identifications—in supposing, that is, that a good deal fewer than a quarter of Bro. Waples' identifications are valid—then, instead of, *e.g.*, 22.17% for letter A, we should have something more like 4%: and similar drastic reductions would have to be made throughout his table on page (four).

As to the significance of the marks, there seems to me to be a somewhat arbitrary appropriation of letters, at any rate in the case of letter N: for, so far as I know, we have no evidence that N or NOMEN (I think that is the idea) was ever specially used to indicate God.

There is yet another fact which makes me very suspicious of Bro. Waples' main contention. I have before me the last six pages of plates in his "Summary", to which nothing exactly corresponds among the Plates for this Paper (though many appear in Plate 2)—marks from pre-Christian Rome, Roman Britain, Ancient Greece, Egypt and pre-Christian Asia. They are only a sample, and I have not made a statistical analysis of them; but, if we rule out the few curved marks, chiefly of Persia and India, I suspect that they might yield even higher percentages in the "religious" categories than the tables on page (four). Are we to suppose that the religions of all these countries abounded in significant words beginning with A and M, or in trinities and crosses?

It is, I think, too easy. At the risk of seeming facetious, which I certainly do not intend, let me put this case. Draw four parallel lines, and another four perpendicular to them and crossing them. Can you find a religious significance for this? If it does not occur to you that, strictly in accordance with Bro. Waples' method, it is a "trinity of A's", you can fall back upon the Gridiron of St. Laurence, and still claim it among the marks of religious significance. The notion can be tested further by anyone. Select, say, five strokes, and sketch as many different combinations as you can with that number: then analyse them in the light of Bro. Waples' Plates; and I venture to predict that you will obtain similarly high percentages in the religious and symbolic groups.

These are the principal reasons why I find Bro. Waples' thesis very difficult indeed to accept. But I have no doubt that the percentage was high: I think we might reasonably expect it to be; for "religion" was a very real thing to medieval man, and, apart from more or less specialised interests such as agriculture, shipping, war, or the household and domestic life, "religion" must have been almost the only common interest, and the only one with a language and symbolism of its own, offering itself to be dipped into for suggestions by the Craftsman who had to choose a mark. But that anything approaching a majority had any such significance as Bro. Waples maintains, I find difficult to believe—indeed, even accepting all the headings which he does, I consider the *bona fide* percentages prove the very opposite.

I have no idea if my arguments, which appear convincing to me, will be found so by others: but, whichever way opinion goes, no one can deny to Bro. Waples the credit for the patience with which he has pursued his study and presented his case, nor its value, whether or not he is considered to have established his contention. May I, however, conclude by saying that, from the point of view of our Craft, the real problems of the Masons' Mark are very different. When we can say why some buildings exhibit no marks at all, while other contemporary works display them freely; why, even where they appear freely, so many stones bear none; and perhaps most interesting of all, when, as I believe to be possible, we can trace the travels of a group of Masons from building to building: then we may be able to recover something of the



organisation of the Craft in its pre-Historic period. Only when we have exhaustive series collected (and published) and not mere samples, shall we really begin to know what is the story they have to tell.

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Bro. KNOOP writes on behalf of G. P. Jones and himself:—

Bro. Waples' remarks under the heading "Notes on Companies and Guilds" constitute the only part of the paper which lies within our field of study. It may be that his exposition suffers from "telescoping": county government, town government and guild organisation are handled altogether in one paragraph, without clear indication of any periods or phrases of development. Thus he speaks of the King appointing a Lord Lieutenant or Sheriff over every county or shire; but these were distinct offices, that of Lord Lieutenant being developed only in the sixteenth century, by which time the functions of the Sheriff had greatly decreased in importance. The county governors who really superseded the Sheriffs were the Justices of the Peace, about whom Bro. Waples says nothing. Further, it may be questioned whether the town authorities were really subject to the Lord Lieutenant; town charters had commonly excluded his more powerful predecessor, the Sheriff. Moreover, we know of no evidence to prove that guilds were subject to the mayor *only*. Bro. Waples, we believe, seriously misconceives guild history. We cannot agree that guild and company organisation was all upon one model; and we think it quite inaccurate to say that guilds, or the guild idea (whatever that may be) was fully established in Britain before 1000 A.D., though guilds, of some kind, were indeed known (though rare) before 1066.

We fail entirely to understand Bro. Waples' statement that "yeomen, etc." were directly responsible to the Lord Lieutenant or Sheriff. We may remark that *yeoman* is a term used in different senses, *e.g.*, the substantial rustic (40/- freeholder, perhaps, in the main) and the member of the yeomanry of a London company. The latter is a term by no means easy to define. We believe, further, that Bro. Waples is wrong in assuming continuity and connection between institutions existing at different times, and more or less similar to one another, *e.g.*, the Roman *collegia*, mediæval guilds, and modern burial clubs.

Finally, with reference to a much later section of the paper, we may remind Bro. Waples that Entered Apprentices had marks in Scotland. This can clearly be seen from the page of the Mark Book of the Lodge of Aberdeen reproduced in Miller, *The Lodge of Aberdeen 1<sup>st</sup>*, facing page 28. Further, a Regulation of the Lodge of Dumfries, approved 2 June, 1687, providing for entered apprentices' marks, is printed in Smith, *History of the Old Lodge of Dumfries*, page 9.

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Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

In the course of this paper Bro. Waples has emphasised that the subject of Masons' marks should be studied in relation to the marks of medieval men in other walks of life instead of as an isolated subject confined to the trade of stonemason.

As an example of the prevalence of the use of marks in the later medieval days, I have brought with me for exhibition at this meeting an illustration from Volume XXXIX of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* shewing 168 signatures to a document known as the Rye Engagement. This document, dated 6th March, 1649, contains a declaration of loyalty and is signed by the Mayor and other residents of Rye. Ignoring half a dozen illiterate crosses, more than seventy distinctive marks may be counted. In the descriptive article accompanying this

illustration in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* the profession or trade of each signatory is given, if known. More than a dozen different trades are represented, but no mention is made of any stonemason. In one case in which a distinctive mark is used the person concerned appears to have been a woman. Perhaps Bro. Waples will tell us whether, in the course of his researches, he has come across many medieval instances of women making use of distinctive marks.

Although far from satisfied with the author's suggestion that the basis of medieval marks may be found in religious symbolism, I join most heartily in the vote of thanks which has been proposed from the chair.

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Bro. FRED L. PICK writes:—

Bro. Waples is to be congratulated on the concise manner in which he has introduced his involved but important subject. His illustrations are valuable, and I hope that when the paper is published in *A.Q.C.* it will be possible to subjoin to each plate a short description of its contents.

Our lecturer states that in Durham and Lancaster the guilds were "subject to the authority of the Prince Bishops, who invariably issued the Charters". This is true of Durham but does not apply to the County Palatine of Lancaster where the guilds were probably originally recognised by the Norman overlords but later by Royal Charter.

The variation in size of marks according to height above ground level was commented upon by our late Bro. W. H. Rylands in his paper on *Masons' Marks* (*Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vols. 7 and 8).

The view of Dallaway in his work of 1793 bears out the observations of an earlier writer referred to by another of our Founders, Bro. J. P. Rylands, in his *Merchants' Marks and other Medieval Personal Marks* (*Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 26). The following extract is taken from the copy of Favine in the Rylands Library, Manchester:—

#### THE THEATER OF HONOUR AND KNIGHTHOOD

*Andrew Favine*, Parisian, 1620. London. Printed by William Iaggard, dwelling in Barbican, and there to be sold. 1623. p. 16.  
 "The Honour of bearing Shieldes, that is to say Armes, belongeth to none but Noblemen by extraction, or by calling and creation. And it is not yet an hundred yeares, since such as were not of noble condition, were punished with great fines and amercements, if they but attempted to beare any.

It was permitted to them, to have only Markes, or notes, of those Trades and Professions which they vsed: As a Tailor to have his Sheares, a Cutter a Knife, a Shearman his Cloth-sheares, a Mason his Trowell, and the Compasse or Squire, and so if other Merchants (for their more honour) might beare the first Letters of their names and surnames, enterlaced with a Crosse: as is to be seene in many ancient Epitaphes, and as yet to this day, upon their packes or burthens of Merchandices. All these were called but Markes, they were not permitted to have Shieldes, but onlly Targets, hollow at the chiefe and flanks: like them which are given to Villages, at the Feast of the Saint their Patron, to manifest that they were not Shieldes.

But now adayes, the very meanest Merchant and Artizane, will counterfeyte to be Noble, and to give Armes, for the most part falsely made, and worse emblazoned, and their cheefest excellencie, when they rime and make answer to their Names, &c. &c."

Bro. RADICE said:—

This paper brings us back again to the very early days of *A.Q.C.*, the first reference to this having appeared as long ago as Vol. II. On the other hand the most recent reference has been in Vol. XXIII despite Bro. Schnitger's appeal in Vol. III that a systematic collection and collation of Masons' marks be made. The time therefore is opportune for a review of the whole subject, and this Bro. Waple has given us to some extent in what he rightly calls an introduction to the study of marks. For this the thanks of the Lodge are due to him, and I wish to associate myself with our expressions of appreciation for his labours.

I am afraid that the brief remarks on medieval government and the guilds need considerable qualification. I am not clear as to what is meant by "system of government", in any case, it would be far truer to say that the King had a dominating influence over the administration, that is the machinery of government, a factor which gave him a considerable advantage in his struggles with the Church and the Baronage over the actual forms of Government. Further, the statement that the Sheriff "was invested with the authority of the law" seems to leave out of count the various baronial jurisdictions, the justices in eyre, the central tribunals and the Curia Regis

As regards the guild system, the Merchant Guilds regulated the local trade and the Craft guilds local industries, but it is hardly correct to say that they were "media of government", they were only given certain privileges by Charter. Their power to act and control was by no means full, in fact, local government was by no means synonymous with even the Merchant Guilds, much less with the Craft guilds. Of the old English Palatinates, Durham, and Chester, to which the Duchy of Lancaster was added in the 14th Century only in Durham was the Bishop Palatine. Also the statement that the individual, *e.g.*, a yeoman was directly responsible to the Sheriff, is meaningless without considerable explanation. The whole subject is in fact so complicated that it does not lend itself to a brief general summary in which it is almost impossible to avoid misleading the reader.

Those who are members of the Mark degree will be inevitably reminded by the quotations from the Statutes 11, Ed. III, 1336-7, of the Ritual of that degree in this part of the paper.

Bro. Waples' theory that most marks had a religious origin is interesting, but I feel inclined to agree with the warning he himself gives on p. 178. It is easy to base theories on resemblances of symbols and conclude that a symbol is chosen because of what it represents. I remember Bro. Songhurst disposing of a contention that the silver snake at the end of the belt of our aprons had a symbolical significance by remarking: "It was merely an outfitter's whim". There is also the story by G. K. Chesterton in his "The ball and the Cross", which deals with the point from a different angle, that of the atheist who loathed crosses and destroyed them whenever he could, who suddenly discovered one day that the paling he was walking along was but one long row of the hated emblem, and that the cross in some form appeared in almost everything around him. In the Middle Ages religion was more constantly present on men's minds than now and religious objects therefore loomed larger in the mind. When a workman had to choose a mark he would tend unconsciously to select a design already familiar to him, but I doubt whether the fact that most of the designs he would think of would be chosen because of their connection with religion or because he wanted to express some religious idea. Bro. Rylands, whose book is reviewed in Vol. VIII, had some pertinent remarks to make on this point.

As regards the persistence of certain marks down the ages, Bro. Hayter Lewis has given us a very useful table in *A.Q.C.*, Vol. III, p. 68.

As regards the clear distinction between escutcheons and marks, as Bro. Bilson reminded us in *A.Q.C.*, Vol. IV, the bearing of arms by those not legally entitled to them was made illegal by law.

Lastly, I doubt whether the decline in the use of marks was due to the Reformation, a movement which lasted more like 150 years than the three decades Bro. Waples assigns to it, but this question I must leave to those who are familiar with the development of trade marks and the law governing them for discussion, and I should like to end with thanking the author once again for all the interesting information he has given us, the points he has raised and his immense labours and the lines of investigation he suggests.

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Bro. RYLANDS writes:—

Bro. Waples' paper is a monument of industry and application, and the extensive collection he has so carefully made will be of the greatest interest to students of the wider subject of marks in general.

Bro. Waples is also to be congratulated on his endeavour to reduce the multiplicity of types to a small number of classifications. Although the system adopted is, as he says, quite arbitrary and chosen for his personal convenience, it should form a useful basis for further collection and comparison.

With many of Bro. Waples' comments there will be general agreement, but on his suggestion that marks of the kind he illustrates have in general a moral and spiritual significance for their owners there will, I imagine, be some difference of opinion. It does not by any means follow that, because the cross has been used as a religious symbol, and a craftsman uses some form of cross as a mark, he necessarily attaches to it a religious or symbolic meaning.

In my younger days as an engineer apprentice it was the custom to mark tools in some distinctive way to indicate ownership. The mark selected was preferably clearly defined, and had obviously not to resemble too closely the mark chosen by another workman or apprentice in the same shop. Outside these limitations the choice was reasonably free. The character of the material to be marked usually influenced the design. A cold chisel of tough steel did not lend itself to ornate marking, nor was there extensive choice in respect of instruments with which to mark such a tool. The edge of a half-round file was generally used, and the mark would be a combination of straight lines. After discussion with other apprentices some form of cross or combination of crosses would emerge, but I am quite sure that no thought of moral or spiritual significance ever entered the heads of any of us. Nor do I see any reason to imagine that our operative ancestors had a very different outlook. They may have been more superstitious (though I sometimes wonder) but I question if they were more or less moral or spiritual in their outlook.

In regard to marking the work as distinct from the tools, I imagine much the same would be true. Nowadays work in an engineering shop is still "marked" for various reasons. It may be marked for identification of workmanship, or as a unit or an assembly (as in an "engine number"). It may be marked by an inspector ("overseer") to show that it has been examined and approved. A chalked cross is often used to show that a casting, for example, has been rejected. It would be easy to erect a superstructure of symbolic meaning on this latter example, but I should query the soundness of the reasoning.

There are many methods of marking, but usually a combination of letters or figures is stamped into the material by a steel punch. These letters or figures may often be enclosed in a circle, triangle, square or rectangle, but here again no one would dream of attributing symbolic significance to such a mark. The method of marking is adapted to the material; etching, engraving, stamping, rolling and even casting *in situ* are all methods in common use, and I should say that

"Masons' marks" would to a great extent be determined as regards form by the material to be marked and the marking tools available.

In most materials the Cross is bound to appear in one form or another as an easily-made mark. I think the ease with which variations on the cross could be carved, cut, scraped or otherwise generated tends to explain the frequency with which this theme is encountered. I very much doubt if the owners of cross-marks in general regarded them as having any religious significance. It is so easy to forget that the cross is at once a mark and a symbol of very ancient date, and that in both these aspects it probably antedates all known religions. There are certainly few, if any, mythologies in which the cross, in one form or another, does not occur.

Quite apart from its convenience as a mark, its significance as a symbol has varied widely throughout the ages. Leaving out of account a host of phallic interpretations, it need only be mentioned that it is very probable that the cross was, from the earliest times, associated with the fire-sticks. So universal has been the distribution and use of the cross as a symbol that, to my way of thinking, its use in any age as a mark justifies no inference that it had a general moral or spiritual significance.

I think the same argument applies to other forms of mark; I see no special significance in the various other "shapes" illustrated by Bro. Waples. With quite a small assortment of chisels the workman could produce a variety of "shapes"; forms like "A", "M" and "N" would emerge quite naturally. Squares would present little difficulty, although circles, "hearts" and forms involving curves would require a little more time and perhaps skill, and a material capable of being marked in this way. "Spear" formations were and are common enough in the engineering workshops of modern times, but I see no reason to attach any spiritual significance to them.

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Bro. J. F. NICHOLS writes:—

Although I cannot claim to have any special knowledge of this subject, there are one or two observations of a more general character I should like to make.

I very much doubt whether we have any evidence to suggest that "marks" were in common usage by *all* free men. And I am not sure that Bro. Waples really appreciates the difficulty of determining what was connoted by the word "free" in the Middle Ages. As you will remember, "libertas" in Medieval Latin means a franchise and not liberty in our abstract sense; and whatever meaning is to be ascribed in Magna Carta to "liber homo", it is not that understood by the term "free man" to-day. Men who were free sometimes held land by an unfree tenure and there were both free and unfree villeins, as well as many varying types of villeinage. It is all very difficult, but I feel confident that there was no clear-cut distinction between the free and the unfree such as we think there ought to have been.

I am quite sure no medievalist would suggest that "the system of government of the early and Middle Ages . . . was in the hands of the ruling Monarchy". I take it Bro. Waples knows that Lords Lieutenant were not appointed until the time of Henry VIII, but his text does not show this.

Surely it is not at all "strange" that there should have been no central authority of the guilds. They were essentially local in their origin, growth and activities—with, of course, an exception in the case of Masons. Bro. Waples ought to make it clear that the palatine authority rested, in the case of Durham, with the Bishop; and for Lancaster with the Duke. There was no Prince Bishop for Lancaster. And it is, of course, quite untrue that individuals were "directly responsible" to the Lord Lieutenant or Sheriff.

I feel sure that Bro. Waples over stresses the importance of a possible religious significance in these marks, and I cannot believe that their disuse is to be regarded as a consequence of the Reformation. Indeed the introduction of printing, the more wide-spread knowledge of writing, and the change in the character and organisation of industry seem to me to provide quite adequate explanation. I had always thought of the 16th and 17th Centuries, in fact, as the "golden age" of Merchants' Marks! Certainly this is true of use of the most interesting and artistic groups of such marks—those of the printers and publishers, and manufacturers of paper.

Bro. Waples has certainly drawn our attention to interesting possibilities for further study. I wonder, for example, whether anyone has yet made a systematical study of the ordinary signature marks subscribed by the illiterate. I expect you remember the famous mark of the Black Prince, something like this—

p m̃ Ich Dien

Hoult Mout
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I don't think he could write.

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BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

I have read Bro. Waples' paper with great interest. His statement that in practically every case the authority of a company was restricted to a town or city and its environs is far too sweeping. The Company of Shipwrights of London originally supervised the building of ships all round the English coast. The Company of Pewterers made extensive search and confiscated base metal throughout the kingdom. The Goldsmiths' Company supervised the sale of manufactured gold and silver at all fairs, marts or markets, cities, towns and boroughs and all other places throughout England.

As to religious marks, if we define religious as denoting the power to give supernatural protection, then I think that the mark had a religious origin. A study of savage art shows that decoration commenced as religion in the sense that it invoked supernatural protective powers. The multiplication of protective marks produced patterns, and among primitive people these patterns till retain their original significance. Professor Haddon says "that it is only by making careful inquiries from the natives themselves that the meaning of most of the devices of savages can be elucidated. What we are apt to consider as mere decoration may have a very definite magical or symbolical significance." He quotes Maspero on the decorative art of ancient Egypt. "The object of decoration was not merely to delight the eye. Applied to a piece of furniture, a coffin, a house, a temple, decoration possessed a certain magical property of which the power or nature was determined by each word inscribed or spoken at the moment of consecration. Every object, therefore, was an amulet as well as an ornament."

According to Herbert, Gervase of Canterbury speaks of both French and English, skilled in stone and woodwork, travelling in guilds or societies for the purpose of building. Such guilds might have worked communally, each group using their own religious mark as an amulet. A religious basis for the Freemasons would explain the survival of the symbol for the five wounds of Christ as the five points of fellowship, and of the fellowship signs which direct attention to these wounds.

The protective mark could develop into an identification mark without losing its qualities as a talisman. D'Alviella says that the peasants of Flemish

Brabant trace a cross in whitewash on their houses to preserve them from lightning. He continues, "the sign of the Cross, in fact, is reputed to drive away evil spirits and to call in divine protection. As for Crosses painted on the outer walls, they seem to be held of use not only against lightning, but also against fires, epidemics among cattle, and generally, against all the unforeseen accidents which threaten the dwelling-place."

The text, "I am Alpha and Omega . . . said the Lord", may be regarded as sufficient reason for using the letter A as a synonym of the great name known to the Jews as the Shem-Hammephorash and to the Mohammedans as the Ism-el-Aasan. By merely uttering it a person can raise the dead to life, kill the living, transport himself instantly wherever he pleases, and perform any other miracle. Its talismanic virtues were therefore very high. Sir John Cockburn has suggested that the value of Abracadabra as a charm was largely due to the frequency of the letter A.

The pentalpha may have been a guild mark and talisman. Launton church was erected in the thirteenth century by a body of workmen from Westminster. They quarried the stone locally and marked the church tower with a pentalpha in stone consisting of lines 7ft. 8in. in length. An old engraving of Ambroseden, the next church that they built, shows the double triangle or hexalpha, but the mark has disappeared. Toulmin Smith says that the device was frequently used by mediæval masons on their seals.

The arrangement of marks under trades might be expected to show a fair percentage indicative of the patron saint of the trade. The individual's choice would offset this. His initial, when he was named after a saint, would serve a double purpose. Surnames were not very important. John Smalwood is known to us as Jack of Newbury from his dwelling-place. His descendants bore the name of Winchcombe, where he was born. One trade, one saint, may have been a late growth. The fraternity of St. Mary of the Skinners amalgamated with the fraternity of Corpus Christi of the Skinners about 1380. There were also guilds within guilds.

Among the marks reproduced by Bro. Waples on plate 33 are examples of the Crescent and Cross. This may be a variant or a simplification of the Crescent and Star, which is of some interest as a masonic problem.

In A.D. 1254, Hawisia, the wife of a mason, Peter of Worcester, put her seal to a document. The shape of the seal is a pointed ellipse and the device, presumably her husband's, is a Crescent and Star. In A.D. 1277, Walter le Masun conveyed certain lands to his son. The device on his seal is a mallet, crescent and star. An inlaid funereal brass (the Creke brass) at Westley Waterless, *circa* 1325, has for a mark a mallet, crescent and star and letter N reversed. Part of a palimpsest brass from Trunch, Norfolk, has for a mark a small shield. In base is the letter W, and in the two upper corners are the crescent and star. The device might be interpreted as the Queen of Heaven and her Son, "that bright morning star", but it was a badge of the Plantagenets. Richard I used it on his seal and Portsmouth used it as a borough mark after receiving a charter from him. His brother, King John, placed it on some of the Irish coins and Drogheda used it after he had granted a charter. It is difficult to understand its use without royal permission, but this may have been granted to King's workmen. Does its use in other trades throw any light on the subject?

I do not think it possible to say when the mark lost its protective value. But such an idea would become secondary after its use became compulsory. A percentage would then ignore or avoid this aspect. With the triumph of Puritanism and the abolition of "superstitious" marks, it could only survive secretly. A mark such as the personal mark of Bro. Waples would be recorded as a duplication of W, but at the time of making could be thought of as a multiplication of M or V or St. Andrew's Cross. And even at the present day, marks when made voluntarily may be thought of by the maker as "lucky".

Bro. WAPLES writes in reply:—

The commentators have certainly covered a good deal of ground. Some of the points raised appear, however, to be beyond the scope of my paper.

Firstly, I must thank Bro. H. Poole for the points he has put forward; they will be used to good account. We have both collected Marks for many years. In many respects we have thought along similar lines.

After trying out preliminary classifications for indexing purposes, it appeared that a very large majority of Marks of all Crafts, professions, and personal exhibited a close affinity to well-known and easily recognisable religious symbols of mediæval times; and because of this I felt justified in suggesting that a thorough investigation should be made. Bro. Poole and others do not agree that the majority of Marks had any such origin.

Identification of many Marks is not easy, and in order to assist in the elucidation of the less obvious and more complicated shapes, I propose to prepare sets of demonstration charts, showing, side by side, the Mark reduced to its crudest form, and a sketch of the completed symbol as was regularly used in mediæval times. These charts will be included in a volume, now in preparation, viz., *Merchants', Traders' and Personal Marks*. Such charts would afford a ready answer to the query of the 72 "A" shapes raised by Bro. Poole. With regard to the non-appearance of the Marks on the last six pages of the "Summary of Marks", which was examined by Bro. Poole, I would point out that my paper is intended to cover the Christian era only, and that the few Marks of pre-Christian times were inserted only as a matter of interest. As the question of pre-Christian Marks is difficult and involved, I have thought it desirable to deal with the subject separately. This is being done in two MS. volumes, *Egyptian Marks* and *Indian Marks*, both of which will, in due course, be obtainable on loan from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Durham on payment of postal charges.

In reply to Bro. Knoop and Mr. Jones, I hold that a simple form of organised trade practice was in use prior to the Conquest, and that it was considerably extended and improved upon by the Normans. With regard to Apprentice Marks, I have seen the examples of Aberdeen and Dumfries, and have formed the opinion that they were not operative until the owner was made "Free" of his Lodge.

Bro. Ivor Grantham's illustration of the *Rye Agreement*, produced during the discussion, reminded me of many similar documents, viz.: *The Scottish Covenant*, now in Edinburgh Corporation Museum; *The Solemn Covenant*, at Easington Parish Church, Co. Durham, and *Inquisitions, Wills*, etc., etc. On these several documents there are the Marks of men in many walks of life, and all bear a close affinity to many of the commonplace Craft Marks.

In conclusion I do most sincerely thank all the commentators for their views, which, I am sure, will considerably enhance the value of and afford interest in the subject. They are appreciated and duly noted by me.





FRIDAY, 5th OCTOBER, 1945.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4 p.m. Present:—Bros. Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; F. R. Radice, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.; L. Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., Secretary; Wallace Heaton, P.G.D., S.D.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; and J. Johnstone, F.R.C.S., P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. J. Clarke, F. E. Gould, B. L. May, A. E. Evans, A. L. Bridgett, H. Johnson, S. J. Bradford, P.G.St.B., Capt. F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.S.B., Capt. W. F. Spalding, A. F. Hatten, C. B. Webster, H. Bladon, P.G.D., F. M. Shaw, H. E. Nicholls, B. E. Jones, A. F. Cross, L. J. Humphries, C. F. Sykes, H. E. Elliott, B. Foskett, G. H. H. Townsend, P.Dep., G.Org., W. R. Edwards, J. D. Daymond, E. R. Moore, Sir H. Kenyon, P.A.G.D.C., and O. A. Blyth, P.G.D.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. H. F. D. Chilton, J.W. Lodge No. 646 (I.C.); F. E. Ward, P.M. Zetland Lodge No. 511; and T. Connell, Concordia Lodge No. 3102.

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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.; Wg. Commdr. W. Ivor Grantham, O.B.E., M.A., LL.B., Dep. G.S.B., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Prov.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derbys.; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, B.Sc.; G. S. Knocker, M.B.E., P.A.G.Sup.W.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., J.D.; Cmdr. S. N. Smith, R.N., P.Pr.G.D., Cambs., I.G.; Lt.-Col. H. C. B. Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; J. R. Rylands; and S. Pope.

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Bro. Gilbert Yorke Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., S.W., was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. J. Heron Lepper, P.A.G.R., was re-elected Treasurer, and Bro. G. H. Ruddle was elected as Tyler.

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One Lodge, One Rose Croix Chapter and Twenty-three Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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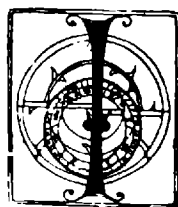
Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS read the following paper:—

## THREE EARLY GRAND MASTERS

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BY *BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS, P.A.G.R.*

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SUPPOSE that many others have had my experience of gazing at the list of Grand Masters printed in the *Masonic Year Book* and wondering whether it was due to the ignorance of the observer or to the insignificance of the subject that so many of the names were unknown. Except a few well-known instances, very little in the way of biographies of our early Grand Masters has appeared in masonic books and periodicals, and it has seemed to me that it is possible to render some

small service to our history by undertaking a little research into the lives and masonic careers of the three who are dealt with herein. The amount of definite masonic fact gleaned has admittedly been very small, but the obtaining of this has not been the primary object, which has rather been to find out what manner of men these were in their general public lives and in their private capacities, and so to gain some idea of the place in which Freemasonry stood in relation to the life of the nation as evidenced by the public standing and private character of its leaders. Certain broad inferences may, I think, be drawn. Most of the men, conspicuous by birth and station as they were, were not in the front rank of national affairs; probably a full public life would have left little time for even the far from arduous labours of a Grand Mastership. Their interest in the Craft was not generally long sustained, attendance during their year of office and on a few occasions thereafter being apparently considered sufficient. The class of man attracted was generally that of the dilettante, of, so to speak, the West End Club man with a taste for polite letters, for mathematics, or for art, occasionally also for foreign travel, one loving his fellow-men in their most civilized aspect, a citizen of the world.

### 1. FRANCIS, SECOND DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH

The lady who, in Sir Walter Scott's words, "had wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb" was Lady Anna Scott, third and youngest daughter of Francis, second Earl of Buccleuch. She was born in 1651, less than a year before his death, and succeeded her sister, the Countess Mary, in the earldom on the latter's death in 1661. In 1663 she married James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of King Charles II, and after sundry resignations, surrenders and regrants, the titles of Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth, Earl of Dalkeith, and Lord Scott of Whitchester and Eskdaill were vested in her husband and the title of Duchess of Buccleuch, Countess of Dalkeith, etc., and the older title of Countess of Buccleuch, etc., in the Lady Anna. The Duke was executed in 1685, and his English peerages of Monmouth, Doncaster and Tynedale were forfeited by Act of the English Parliament in that year, and in 1686, by sentence of the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, his Scottish peerages of Buccleuch, Dalkeith, etc., were also forfeited. In order to protect her own rights and those of her children, the Duchess resigned her honours and estates into the hands of the Crown in return for a regrant (ratified in the Scottish Parliament in 1693) of the title, honour and dignity of Duchess of Buccleuch

and Countess of Dalkeith, Lady Scott of Whitchester, Eskdail, etc., and the earldom and lordship of Buccleuch. The Duchess married again in 1688 and her second husband was Charles, third Lord Cornwallis. She died in 1732.

The Duchess' eldest son died in infancy and the next son, James Earl of Dalkeith, was born in 1674, but died in London in 1705, predeceasing his mother. He had married in 1693 Lady Henrietta Hyde, second daughter of Laurence, first Earl of Rochester, not the least notorious of Charles II's courtiers. Their eldest son, born on the 11th January, 1695, in the parish of St. James's, Westminster, was Francis, who was to become the second Duke of Buccleuch, and it is noted that he was only the second of the family who for two hundred and sixty years was of age at the time of succeeding to the title. During his father's lifetime he was known as Lord Whitchester at his grandmother's request, she preferring this title to that of Lord Scott. After his father's death he assumed the latter's title of Earl of Dalkeith.

An alliance had been contemplated between the young heir and Lady Jane Douglas, only sister of Archibald, Duke of Douglas, which would probably have led to the junction of the two dukedoms, but the project proved abortive by reason, according to one suggestion, of the objection of the Duchess of Queensberry, or, according to another, of the lady's own reluctance. Dalkeith did in fact become engaged to, and on the 5th April, 1720, married, Lady Jane Douglas of Queensberry, second daughter of the second Duke of Queensberry. Lady Dalkeith died of smallpox in August, 1729, at Langley. The old Duchess wrote of her that "she was as good a young woman as ever I knew in all my life. I never saw any one thing in her that I could wish were otherwise. She had two sons and three daughters, all living, and fine children."<sup>1</sup>

In February, 1725, Dalkeith was made a Knight of the Thistle and in 1734 chosen as one of the Scottish Representative Peers. Negotiations were opened by Sir Robert Walpole some years afterwards for the restoration of the forfeited English titles, with the result that in March, 1743, by an Act of the English Parliament the titles of Earl of Doncaster and Baron Scot of Tindal were restored to Francis, with the rights and precedencies of the patent granted to his grandfather, and thenceforward until his death he sat by right of these English titles. Despite their Stuart blood, the Duchess Anne and her descendants held fast to the House of Hanover, and when, at the time of the Forty-Five, the Scottish capital was threatened by the forces of the Young Pretender, it is recorded that the second Duke called out his tenantry and undertook with their assistance and that of the trained bands and volunteers to defend the walls of Edinburgh against the rebels. The followers of the Duke, however, proved to have but a lukewarm enthusiasm and the Jacobites entered the city without much opposition, though, as is generally known, the Castle held out for King George throughout the whole rebellion. Prince Charles made his headquarters at Holyrood and then decided to march into England. In preparation for this march the army was quartered near Dalkeith, and for two nights its leader stayed as the guest of Duke Francis at the Palace,<sup>2</sup> but such was the latter's reputation for loyalty to the Hanoverian Government that his hospitality was readily regarded as the result of "force majeure" and he escaped any such penalty as that imposed on the Duchess of Gordon, who, for a less extensive but less reluctant act of hospitality, forfeited a pension of £1,000 a year from the Government.

One of the consequences of the failure of the Forty-Five and of the desire of the authorities to prevent a recrudescence of Jacobite insurgence was the passing of an Act of Parliament for the abolition (with monetary compensation)

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Fraser: *Scotts of Buccleuch* (1878), vol. i, p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 486.

of the heritable jurisdiction of the Scottish nobles and chiefs, as a result of which Buccleuch received the sum of £3,400, including £400 for giving up his rights of jurisdiction as Lord of the Regality in Hawick and its neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> The Duke had shown that he had maintained the family interest in that town when a few years before a project was launched for building a bridge over the Teviot and he had guaranteed the sum of £250 out of the estimated cost of £450. Even then the necessity for finding the rest of the money from the rates and taxes was a serious drain on the resources of Hawick, and the consequent retrenchment included the discontinuance of the town piper's allowance and of the drinking of the King's health at the public expense.<sup>2</sup> In 1748 the freedom of the town was presented to the Duke's heir, Francis, Earl of Dalkeith. The latter in 1742 had married Lady Caroline Campbell, eldest daughter of John, Duke of Argyle, and through that marriage the Buccleuchs, on her father's death, inherited the lands of Granton, but the Argyle dukedom went to another branch of the Campbells as heirs male. The Earl predeceased his father, dying in 1750 of the smallpox—which had carried off his mother many years before. Henry, grandson of Duke Francis, inherited the dukedom on the latter's death, and had as his tutor and companion on a three years' continental tour, Dr. Adam Smith.<sup>3</sup>

Duke Francis was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society about the time he became Grand Master (1723/4) and was made D.C.L. in 1745. In 1744 he took as his second wife, at St. George's Church, Mayfair, Alice Powell, daughter of Joseph Powell, of St. James's, Westminster, who was said to have been a washerwoman at Windsor.

So far, save for the last suggestion, there has been nothing to mar a portrait of a typical British grand seigneur as depicted, with perhaps a touch of pomposity, in the portrait shown herein, but there may have been another side of the picture. In 1757 was born to the third Earl of Bath, later the famous Prime Minister of George III, a daughter, Lady Louisa Stuart, who lived until the year 1851 and who became known to many of the famous men of the period, in particular to Sir Walter Scott, as a person of charm, sensibility and literary talent. Some time after Lady Louisa's death there appeared in 1863 in a privately printed edition (reprinted with other of her works in 1899—Edinburgh, David Douglas) an account of John, Duke of Argyle, and his family, which she had written for the information of Caroline Lucy, Lady Scott, daughter of her "very dear friend", Lady Frances Scott. The latter was the sister of Henry, the third Duke, and posthumous daughter of Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, by Lady Caroline Campbell, eldest daughter of John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich.

In this volume Lady Louisa says:<sup>4</sup>

"The Buccleuch family had rested in comparative obscurity for two or three generations past. However inclined King William had appeared to favour the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, yet a direct attempt to claim the Crown was a fact to be jealously remembered by its successive wearers: and, so far from reversing his attainder and restoring his favours, as was done in other cases (for instance to the Argyles themselves), William hastened to bestow the title elsewhere, creating Lord Mordaunt Earl of Monmouth. The Duchess presently married a second husband, Lord Cornwallis, who had his

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xviii, p. 147

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Oliver: *Upper Teviotdale and the Scotts of Buccleuch* (Hawick, 1887), pp. 360-1.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>4</sup> Lady Louisa Stuart: *Selections from her Manuscripts*, edited by Hon. James A. Home (Edinburgh, 1899), pp. 28-9.

own interests to mind. Lord Dalkeith, the eldest son, died in her lifetime, at thirty years old; and her grandson, now Duke of Buccleuch, a man of mean understanding and meaner habits, did no credit to his ancestry. In his youth a match was settled between him and your grandmother, Lady Jane Douglas,<sup>1</sup> but broken off, and her brother, the Duke of Douglas, fought a duel with him in consequence. Supposing a story true which was current at the time, that she had owed to the Duke of Buccleuch her repugnance, and, throwing herself on his honour, desired to be screened from the anger of her relations, this duel would seem to denote something chivalrous on his part, auguring better things than ensued. He married another Lady Jane Douglas, the Duke of Queensbury's sister; but, after her death, which happened in a few years, plunged into such low amours, and lived so entirely with the lowest company, that, although he resided constantly in the neighbourhood of London, his person was scarcely known to his equals, and his character fell into utter contempt."<sup>2</sup>

Such is Lady Louisa's account, and the reader must form his own opinion of its credibility. On the one hand it does seem rather strange for a full-blooded eighteenth century nobleman of good estate to have remained unmarried for some fifteen years. On the other hand, Buccleuch, whatever his private life may have been, seems, as the dates and details already given prove, not to have altogether neglected his public and territorial duties, and his presence in Edinburgh in 1745 certainly acquits him of complete absenteeism. Moreover, even Lady Louisa, to her credit be it said, can entertain the idea of a very chivalrous explanation of the termination of his first matrimonial engagement.

Duke Francis made his last will on the 25th March, 1751, at Hall Place, Berkshire, and died on the 22nd April of that year. By his first wife he had two sons and three daughters; by his second marriage he had no issue.

The name of the Earl of Dalkeith appears in a list of lodges delivered at the Quarterly Communication of the 27th November, 1725, as that of a member of the lodge held at the Rummer Tavern, Charing Cross. His brother-in-law, the Duke of "Queensborough", as well on that date as Easter, 1723, was a member of the famous and aristocratic lodge held at the Horn Tavern, Westminster, so that it is possible at once to hazard a guess at the reason for Buccleuch's joining the craft and to wonder at his not joining Queenberry's lodge. Bro. Songhurst has noted that the Lodge at the Rummer appears in the MS. Lists of 1723 and 1725, but that it was evidently "discontinued" before 1729, that it was composed of men in good social position, and that more than forty members are registered in each of the lists. He suggests that the membership may have been drawn from officials at the Court, and that, if so, the death of George I and the Accession of George II in 1727 may supply the reason for the lapse.

Dalkeith was nominated as Grand Master on the 24th June, 1723, during his absence in Scotland, and his nomination being accepted, his appointment of his officers was declared. This was the meeting which the outgoing Grand Master, the Duke of Wharton, left "without any ceremony", the Minutes being signed at that meeting by the Deputy, Dr. Desaguliers. At the next communication on the 25th November, Dalkeith presided, and various matters relating to the authority of the Grand Lodge were resolved in its favour, and the appointment

<sup>1</sup> The Lady Jane of the "Douglas Case".—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> "It was believed that not long before his death he married a Windsor washer-woman. Your uncle, Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, told me that when he was a boy at Eton, a middle-aged woman of decent appearance one day insisted on seeing him. She gazed at him earnestly, kissed and blessed him, and, without saying anything more, went away. He had afterwards reason to think that this was his grandfather's widow, who received an annuity from his guardians on condition of not assuming the title."

of the Deputy and the Grand Wardens confirmed. Grand Master Dalkeith presided at the meeting on the 19th February, 1724, and, following his recommendation given at the November meeting, Bro. Henry Prichard was relieved with £28. 17. 6., Dalkeith having contributed two guineas towards this amount. At the February meeting resolutions were agreed to forbidding membership of more than one London lodge at a time, ordering the Master or Warden of every lodge to bring with him to the next meeting a list of members, and laying down more stringent rules for the admission of visitors. On the 28th April Dalkeith again presided and the Duke of Richmond was declared Grand Master for the ensuing year and orders given regarding the Grand Feast. Dalkeith took the chair at the meeting of the 24th June, at which Richmond's election was confirmed in his absence, the outgoing Grand Master signing the Minutes.

In November, 1724, Richmond presided at what, according to Bro. Songhurst, was the first Quarterly Communication at which Past Grand Masters were allowed to attend, and Dalkeith proposed the establishment of a General Charity of the Committee, of which at the next meeting, in March, 1725, he was elected a member, in his absence through illness. Dalkeith took part in Lord Kingston's Procession at the Grand Feast of the latter's Grand Mastership in January, 1730, and again attended Grand Lodge in February, 1735, when the Earl of Crawford was on the Throne. At the latter meeting he handed over the sum of £27. 10. 0., the contents of the charity box of his now lapsed lodge at The Rummer, for the purposes of the General Charity, recommending that assistance be given to a member of the lodge, which assistance, on the proposition of Dr. Desaguliers, was given to the extent of twenty guineas.

The information given above is naturally for the most part taken from Bro. Songhurst's edition of the Minutes of Grand Lodge, in regard to which two small points may be worth noting. The name of Duke Francis given at the end of the volume one of the Minutes among the list of Grand Officers was apparently not entered contemporaneously, since he is called the Earl of Dalkeith and is given as a Knight of the Thistle. Although he had only the courtesy title until 1730, he was not made K.T. until 1725. And, rather curious, our most learned and most revered Bro. Songhurst seems to have overlooked the fact that the Earl of Dalkeith became the Duke of Buccleuch, since both titles are separately indexed and are without a cross-reference.

## 2. JAMES, SEVENTH EARL OF ABERCORN.

James Hamilton, who until his father's death bore the courtesy title of Lord Paisley, was born on March 22nd, 1686/7. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1715. In 1734 he succeeded as the seventh Earl of Abercorn, and in 1738 became a Lord of the Bedchamber and was sworn of the English Privy Council and in 1739 of that of Ireland. In 1711 he married by licence Anne, daughter of Colonel John Plumer of Blakesmore, Herts., and by her had six sons and two daughters, his wife surviving until 1776. He died in Cavendish Square in 1744 and was buried in the Duke of Ormonde's vault in Westminster Abbey. Such is the brief sketch of his life as given in the books of reference.

He seems to have been a man of some literary and scientific attainments, since in addition to his Fellowship of the Royal Society—which in those days in the case of a nobleman did not in itself imply great attainments—he wrote a treatise entitled "Calculations and Tables Relating to the Attractive Virtue of Loadstones. This was serving to the Finding out the Comparative Degrees of Goodness between Some of Them also to Know how much any Loadstone being of any proposed weight would sustain and also for to know the Value in Money of any Loadstone, published in the year 1729". It was apparently written anonymously. The principle of the pamphlet, which was founded on

experiments, as expressed by the author, was to prove "that if Two Loadstones perfectly homogeneous, that is, if their Matter be of the same specifick gravity, and if the same Virtue in all parts of one Stone as in the other, and that Like Parts of these surfaces are Cap'd or Arm'd with Iron, then the weights they sustain will be as the Squares of the cube parts of the weights of the Loadstones: that is, as their surfaces".

He also translated a book on harmony which was published in London by J. Watts in 1730, which contained the statement of truly masonic feeling expressed in the rhythm of eighteenth century ritual that, "Composition is the Part of Musick which teaches how to make use of the Concorde, and of the Discords in a proper Manner; so or that the Union of the Parts, shall make Good Harmony", the feeling being no doubt accidental but to me, at any rate, sufficiently curious to deserve mention. Paisley was also concerned under the Duke of Richmond as President, with the formation in 1736 of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning. The Society seems to have been formed for the protection of authors as much as for the encouragement of learning, to protect them against making bad bargains with the booksellers. The project however was not a success. As Nichols says,<sup>1</sup> it was a direct attack on the booksellers, who are "no bad rewarders of literary merit", in other words, their necessity as middlemen soon demonstrates itself. After the Society had been driven to making contracts with some of the booksellers, in 1742 it became its own bookseller—but to no better purpose. Finally, after once more having recourse to the trade, the Society seems to have died of its own incapacity.

Paisley was a member of the famous and aristocratic lodge held at the Horn Tavern, Westminster (now the Royal Somerset House and Inverness), of which men like the Grand Masters Richmond, Desaguliers and Payne, as well as a large number of other officers of Grand Lodge, had been also members, and he appears as such in the returns of November 25th, 1723, and November 27th, 1725. In March, 1725, he was one of a committee (with among others Montagne, Dalkeith and Desaguliers) appointed to consider the best methods to regulate the General Charity and to report their opinions. In November of that year the Grand Master, the Duke of Richmond, recommended him as his successor and in the following month he was elected unanimously, accepted his election and appointed Dr. Desaguliers as his Deputy, and Col. Daniel Houghton and Sir Thomas Prendergast as his Wardens.

Paisley presided over the communication of Grand Lodge in February, 1726. There does not appear to have been another meeting until December, when the Grand Master presided and proposed Lord Inchiquin as his successor. Arrangements were discussed and made for the holding of the Grand Feast on St. John's Day (in Winter), but it does not appear to have been held on that day, and Grand Lodge did not again meet until February, 1727 (with Paisley in the Chair), when Inchiquin was elected and installed. The last recorded appearance of Paisley in Grand Lodge was in January, 1730, when, in company with other Past Grand Masters, he walked in the procession at the installation of the Duke of Norfolk.

### 3. HENRY, THIRD LORD COLERAINE

Nicholas Hare of Homersfield in Suffolk had two sons, John and Thomas, the latter of whom became Rector of Massingham Magna and Chancellor of Norwich. John had two sons—Sir Nicholas, Speaker of the House of Commons and later Lord Keeper on the accession of Queen Mary, and John the younger, Citizen and Mercer of London. Sir Nicholas's descendants expired with the next generation, but the younger son had eight sons, of whom his youngest, another John, had two sons, Nicholas and Hugh. The elder died without issue,

<sup>1</sup> *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 95.

and Hugh, who was much in favour with Charles I, whom he served both with his person and his fortune, was by him created Baron Coleraine in the peerage of Ireland, refusing an English peerage at the Restoration. Lord Coleraine wrote, and his wife published after his death, a book called *Ascents of the Soul: or David's Mount towards God's House. Being Paraphrases in the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, translated from the Italian of Loredano*, and published in 1681. The second Part was called *La Scala Santa: or a Scale of Devotions, musical and gradual: being Descants on the fifteen Psalms of Degrees in Metre . . .*, and was published in the same year. The Dictionary of National Biography says that "Each part has an emblematical frontispiece as unintelligible as the contents of the books, designed by Coleraine himself." It was this first lord who brought the Tottenham estates into the family.

Lysons points out that "the history of the manor of Tottenham affords a very striking instance of the instability of honours and property, in the early period of our annals".<sup>1</sup> Under Edward the Confessor it was the property of Earl Waltheof, as it was under William the Conqueror until Waltheof's execution, when it went to his widow Judith, the Conqueror's niece. Through the second husband of her eldest daughter, Maud, David, Earl of Huntingdon, it passed to the Scottish royal house and in particular to Robert Bruce, Earl of Annandale, who is said to have retired there after his return from the Crusade and whose family name still survives in local place-names. On the breach with his more famous son, the English king seized the manor. After being in the possession of the English Crown for about thirty years, it was granted to Richard Spigurnell. Later Henry VIII granted it to Sir William Compton in 1514, who replaced the old and dilapidated mansion of the Bruces by a new structure, some part of which still remains. It afterwards passed into the possession of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, the legendary Grand Master of Anderson's list and of his equally legendary anecdote of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In 1623 the manor was conveyed by Dorset to Hugh and Thomas Audley and in 1624 these conveyed it to the first Lord Coleraine.

The exact history of the building after Compton's acquisition is not altogether clear. The well-informed local guide-book<sup>2</sup> (7/Edition ? 1939) states that he "pulled down the then dilapidated mansion of the Bruces, and built the earliest part of the present Bruce Castle in its place. This took place between 1514 and 1516, for in the latter year Henry VIII visited his sister Margaret, Queen of Scots, at 'Maister Compton's house, beside Tottenham.'" In 1578 Queen Elizabeth also visited Tottenham. The Historical Monuments Commission volume on Middlesex<sup>3</sup> notes that "a late seventeenth century view of the building seems to indicate that the house was a structure of late sixteenth century date." Perhaps the explanation is that there was a gradual and long-continuous process of re-building. The latter authority then continues the history by relating that the porch was heightened and largely rebuilt by the second Lord Coleraine about 1684 and that other alterations were made. About 1720 a large addition was made on the North side of the main block by the third lord, who replaced the stone staircases in the tower by the existing wooden ones, and built on the North front a cornice and pediment with the achievement-of-arms of the Hares. Later in the eighteenth century, under the Townsend family, the two wings were rebuilt, the former gables of the South front replaced by a plain parapet and all the windows renewed.

Some time after the sale by Henry Hare Townsend the brothers Hill bought Bruce Castle for use as a branch of their Birmingham School and made alterations in the building for their convenience and obviously not for æsthetic satisfaction, and it is said that here one of them, afterwards Sir Rowland,

<sup>1</sup> Lysons: *Environs of London* (1811), vol. ii, part 2, p. 746.

<sup>2</sup> p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> p. 121.



planned his Penny Post. The Hills were succeeded in their school by the Rev. William Almack, who carried it on until 1891, shortly after which the Castle and grounds were acquired for public use. The Castle is now used for a Postal Museum and also for the local collection. The grounds are now public gardens.

As will appear hereafter, the third Lord Coleraine was Master of the Lodge meeting at the Swan Inn, which, according to Robinson's *History of Tottenham* (1840),<sup>1</sup> was the place of resort of Izack Walton, who used it on his fishing visits to the River Lea. In front of the house was a favourite arbour of Walton's which is mentioned in *The Compleat Angler*, where Venator thus addresses the author: "And pray let's now seat ourselves in this sweet shady arbour, which Nature herself has woven with her own fingers: 'tis such a contexture of woodbines, sweet-briar, jessamine and myrtle, and so interwoven, as will secure us both from the sun's violent heat and from the approaching shower; and being sat down, I will requite a part of your courtesies with a bottle of sack, milk, oranges, and sugar, which, all put together, make a drink like nectar, too good for any but us anglers." In the 1815 edition of *The Compleat Angler* is a picture of Walton and Piscator sitting in the arbour at the Swan, with a bowl of the tempting liquid before them.

The history of "The Swan" goes back a long way. In the parish register under date of the eighth of November, 1610, it is recorded that there was a meeting of neighbours "to warme Mr John Syms his house, the seigne of the Swanne at High-crosse among whom came John Nelham and John Whiston, whoe having some grudge or quarrell betwene them, diner being done, they two did use som private speches within themselves, taking leave of the companie, went to their houses, either of them taking his pickstafe in their handes, mett in a felde behinde Mr Edward Barkam's house, comonly caulld or known by the name of Baldwin's: theare they two fought till John Nelham receyved a wound by John Whiston in his throtle, fell downe dead, and never spake word after; so the coroner, upon the Saturdaie next, sate upon him: was buried the same daie, being the 10 of Nov. 1610."<sup>2</sup>

To turn to the Lords Coleraine from their properties, Henry, the second Baron, succeeded his father in 1667, and according to Nichols was an eminent antiquary and medalist who wrote a history of Tottenham High Cross which was published in Oldfield and Dyson's *History of Tottenham* (1790), where it is wrongly attributed to the "last" lord. In Osborne's catalogue of the third Lord Coleraine's library, which he purchased, there was mention of this MS. history, which he afterwards sold to Rawlinson, who exhibited it at the Society of Antiquaries in 1753, and which is now in the Bodleian.<sup>3</sup> Henry's elder son Hugh died in 1706/7, but not before having given some evidence of literary taste by writing *A Charge to the Quarter Sessions for Surrey* and by translating "from the French or Italian" *The History of the Conspiracy of Count Fieschi at Genoa*. The literary and artistic tendencies, even if they were of a somewhat dilettanti nature, of the third baron are therefore easily traceable.

He, called Henry after his grandfather, was born at Bletchingley in Surrey on May 10th, 1693, and was educated at Enfield under Dr. Woodale, who, according to Nichols, had "the honour of educating, among other eminent men, Francis Earl of Huntingdon and Sir Jeremy Sambroke, bart."

Succeeding to his grandfather's title in 1708, he became a gentleman commoner at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, his tutor being the Rev. John

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, pp. 94-5.

<sup>2</sup> Lyson: *Environs of London* (1811), vol. ii, part 2, p. 762.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols in his *Literary Anecdotes* (vol. v., p. 348, and note 1) seems rather to have fallen into some confusion with regard to the names and titles of the family, writing of "Hugh the second Lord Coleraine" and of "Hugh" the third lord. The last two of the three holders of the title were named Henry. Nevertheless Nichols, on pages 347 to 352, gives a very good biography of Coleraine, and there are also, both in his *Literary Anecdotes* and his *Literary Illustrations*, several other references. I have used Nichols and Oldfield and Dyson as my main sources.

Rogers, who in 1716 married his sister Lydia. To the *Academical Oxoniensis Comita Philologica, in Honorem Annæ Pacificæ*, published in 1713 on the occasion of the Treaty of Utrecht, he contributed some Latin verses under the title "Musarum Oblatio ad Reginam," which were also published in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*; and Dr. Basil Kennet, President of Corpus, inscribed to Lord Coleraine an epistolary poem on the death of his predecessor, Dr. Tanner. Coleraine made a tour of Italy on three occasions, and these visits appear to have been something more than the usual English nobleman's perfunctory performance. His second visit made about 1723-4 was in the company of Dr. Conyers Middleton, on which occasion he formed a collection of prints and drawings of the antiquities, buildings and pictures in Italy, which after his death were given to his Oxford college, as will be told hereafter. He was elected a member of the *Repubblica Litteraria di Arcadia*, a society for the correction, increase and beautification of Italian poetry, and gained the friendship of the Marquis Scipio Maffei, whom he later entertained at Bruce Castle, Tottenham. He also appears to have made some additions to the architecture of this Middlesex seat.

But his interest in letters and in the arts and in what may be termed learned conviviality was far from being confined to his student days. He was a member of the Spalding Society, with which several early Freemasons were associated, and on the decline of the Stamford Society, which had been founded on the rules of the Spalding, when Dr. Stukeley in 1745 founded the Brazen Nose Society, consisting of his associates in the older body, Coleraine became one of its members.

He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a Vice-President in 1727, during the somewhat *roi fainéant* presidency (1724-1750) of the Duke of Somerset, of whom it is recorded that "he seldom occupied the chair at meetings, Roger Gale or Martin Folkes usually deputizing for him",<sup>1</sup> so that Coleraine must have seen presiding over the Society figures familiar to him at other gatherings, since both these were members of the provincial Societies and Folkes was Deputy Grand Master in 1724. On November 18th, 1731, Coleraine exhibited before the Society a gold medal struck in honour of Captain Peacock, the commander of the "Triumph", showing on the obverse a sea-fight and the inscription "For eminent service in saving the Triumph, fired in fight with the Dutch in July, 1651", and on the reverse an anchor and the ensigns of St. George and St. Andrew and the Harp for Ireland, of about five guineas weight.

He was a friend and patron of the Engraver, George Vertue, who refers to him on several occasions in his Note-Books.<sup>2</sup> In May, 1739, they made an artistic pilgrimage together through East Anglia, and Vertue stayed at the house of his patron at Walpole, where he records that the latter has fitted up a small apartment for himself and a friend which adjoins the farm-house and which the Rev. Dr. Colborne, the Vicar of St. Peter's, lived in in his absence. On another occasion Vertue mentions a picture of the Duke of Buckingham and the head of a lady at the Tottenham house. Nichols prints a statement of Vertue's under date September 26th, 1749 (an obvious misdating: probably for 1739, since Coleraine died on August 4th, 1749), that "Last night about seven, I received a billet from Lord Coleraine, to meet him at the (Spalding) Society, where he was the evening and looked mighty well after his travels, and invites me to Tottenham as soon as conveniency permits (at least before long)."

Coleraine showed his patronage of the arts and his family piety by having a portrait of his grandfather's engraved by Vertue with the following letter-

<sup>1</sup> *Presidents of Society of Antiquaries of London* (Occasional Papers II, 1945), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See Vertue's Note Books, vols. iv and v (Walpole Society, vols. 24 and 26).

press: "Effigiem hanc prænobilis Henrici Heri Baronis de Colerane divinis humanisque inter primos dum vixit, Literis ornati, Henricus Ex Eruditissimo Ejus Filio Hugone Nepos et Haeres, Pietate erga Avum, Studio erga Literas motus, in aere cælatam Posteris commendavit." Apart from public dedications and effusions, the esteem in which his taste and learning were held is shown in a private letter given by Nichols, in which the correspondent says, speaking of a copy of Woodward's *The Examples of Mr. Wren's Antiquities*, "I sent another copy of my Lord Coleraine, who has great understanding in these things, and indeed set Mr. Wren to rights in some things, wherein he was overseen there."<sup>1</sup> And Vertue in his autobiography speaks of the East Anglian tour with pride in his patron's favour. "To add all other favours and honours due to his merit would be tedious and needless unless he added the favour and friendship of Lord Coleraine, who took him in company to visit several noble-men's seats among the rest to Salisbury and Wilton."<sup>2</sup> Coleraine appears to have taken little interest in politics, and according to the *Complete Peerage* never to have voted in the Irish House of Lords, although in the English House of Commons he voted with the Tories and the anti-Walpolean Whigs for the Repeal of the Septennial Act. He died at Bath August,<sup>3</sup> 1794, and was buried in the family vault of the parish church of All Saints, Tottenham.

The third lord in 1717 married Anne, only daughter of John Hanger, sometime governor of the Bank of England, who brought him a fortune of nearly £100,000. The marriage was not a happy one. He tells in his will<sup>4</sup> in words which seem to be his rather than the conveyancing draftsman's that "it has been my heavy affliction that Anne, Lady Coleraine, whom I married with an affectionate and upright heart, did, in third year of our marriage, about October 1720, without any just cause or provocation by me given, but with the encouragement of selfish, misinformed, and ill-disposed persons, in violation of her part of the solemn and mutual covenant which we entered into on our marriage, utterly forsake my bed and house; and . . . from thenceforward unto the year 1740, I did by letters and messages, at sundry times, and on all the most proper occasions, solicit my said wife to return to her duty and cohabit with me again, according to the solemn engagements made between us at our marriage, which on my part I was ever disposed to keep and perform, and for that end for so many years denied myself all the comforts of a married life, though very agreeable to my temper and constitution: and in my said overtures I solemnly and precisely offered to cancel all past offences, and receive, entertain and support her in a proper and ample manner, according to my fortune: and lastly, about the beginning of April, 1740, I employed James West, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn (who seemed to think her not averse to a reconciliation) to offer the like ample and honourable terms to the said Lady Anne Coleraine, in order to prevail on her (if not determined to persist in a constant violation of her marriage vow) to come and live with me, govern my family, and partake in the enjoyment of my income: and to this I was not led by the lucre of the ample provision her father left her, nor deterred from it by the obvious apprehensions of the evils or inconveniences that might follow, on taking into my bosom a person that for so many years had encouraged and habituated herself to a most obstinate, though undeserved, hatred and contempt of me: but when the said James Watt, Esq (as I have it under his hand), sent to ask leave to offer ample terms of reconciliation from me, she returned him word that she had no answer to give to such proposals, or to that effect." Then he goes on: "all which proceedings of the said Lady Coleraine being well known, and

<sup>1</sup> Nichols: *Literary Illustrations*, vol. v, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Vertue's Note Books: vol. i, p. 17 (Walpole Society, vol. 16).

<sup>3</sup> Nichols says on the 4th; Oldfield and Dyson on the 10th.

<sup>4</sup> An Abstract of the Will (from which these quotations are taken) will be found on page 48 and following pages of the History of Tottenham by the second Lord Coleraine, annexed to Oldfield and Dyson's History (1790).

maturely weighted to and by Mrs Rose Duplessis, spinster, and myself, we two did, on the 29th of April, in the year above-mentioned, in the presence of God, enter into a solemn, mutual engagement to take each other for husband and wife, and perform to each other the negative and positive duties of that relationship (endeavouring to give as little offence as we may by our living together in the life-time of the said Lady Coleraine); in consequence thereof she, the said Rose Duplessis whom I esteem as my only true and virtuous wife, brought me a daughter, on the 12th of September, 1745, whom I have named Henrietta Rosa Peregrine." Rose Duplessis, his partner in this extra-legal contract, obviously far different from an ordinary amorous connection, was apparently a respectable lady of respectable parentage and was born in Neuchatel in 1710, the daughter of Francis Duplessis, a French clergyman, born in Paris. She had come from Switzerland with her father and mother and her cousin. Some months before the birth of her daughter she left England with Lord Coleraine for a long sojourn on the Continent, and Henrietta was born at Crema in Lombardy in September, 1745, being baptized more than three years later at St. Mary's, Colchester.

By his will, as detailed later, Coleraine left annuities to Rose Duplessis and his estates to their daughter. But litigation, an Act of Parliament and various agreements followed the testator's death. In the carrying out of the provisions of the will, the Lords of the Treasury intervened, and the Attorney-General having filed an information, the Courts held that as the two ladies had been born out of the King's allegiance they were incapable of taking or enjoying the annuities or estates. The Crown in its legislative capacity, however, took a more generous view than it was bound to take in its judicial. As a result of an Act of Parliament and certain legal settlements considerable benefits were secured to the mother and daughter and also to Alderman James Townsend who had married the latter. Townsend seems to have got into low financial water, and he and his son, Henry Hare Townsend, sold the Middlesex estates.

It is interesting to note that after Lady Coleraine's death (she survived her husband) a new creation of the Coleraine Barony was made, in 1762, in favour of her cousin, Sir Gabriel Hanger. This creation in its turn became extinct in 1824 on the death of the Fourth holder, a notorious Regency beau and a target for many of the contemporary caricaturists.

Lord Coleraine's will, executed in Rotterdam on September 17th, 1746, is of sufficient interest to justify further lengthy quotation and reference. He gives the long and somewhat pathetic account of his conjugal relations which has already been quoted, and proceeds to leave his estates, subject to certain provisions for the benefit of Lady Coleraine and Mrs. Duplessis, to his daughter, with remainder on the latter's dying under age or unmarried to certain relatives. Mrs. Duplessis in addition is to have "all his goods, chattels, and personal estate" and certain articles of jewellery. He names George Payne, of the Exchequer, Westminster (who was Grand Master in 1718 and 1720), as his daughter's guardian, and also leaves him 50 guineas as a legacy. Among the other legacies are 10 guineas to the Rev. Thomas Colborne and £20 to George Vertue, for mourning. Further, a debt due from Colborne he leaves to the latter's wife for life and after to her daughter Mary. Bequests are also made to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and the Society of Antiquaries of London. Three codicils made in February, 1746, December, 1747, and July, 1749, are annexed to the will.

The codicil of December, 1747, recites the former bequest to the College and to the Society from a cancelled will made about 1740. To the Society he gives, to be kept in its presses, drawers, or archives for its joint and general use, "so long as it shall subsist and continue to meet, and not any directors or members separately, the MS. history of Hispello by Ferd. Passarini, in 4to. bound in red leather, and augmented with one or more printed tract or tracts,

and some MS. notes of Roger Gale, Esq., now in some of his libraries in Tottenham; and all drawings and prints, or loose sheets representing any buildings or antiquities in Great Britain (but not duplicates of any of them, or any prints engraved by their order or his) now lying in drawers in his new chamber or closet by the chimney."

In the bequest to Corpus Christi still speaks the eighteenth century connoisseur and bibliophile: "All his Italian books now in his great lower library at the West end of the house (except out of this present bequest all such volumes as are partly Italian, and partly in some other languages, and such as they have already duplicates of) and all in the lower library over the little parlour: and all prints and drawings in volumes, bundles, or loose sheets, pasted or unpasted, collected and intended to be bound, representing ancient and modern Rome, and other parts of Italy, in 10 drawers in the closet within the new bed chamber, and in 9 drawers on the right hand entering the said bedchamber from the dining-room, to be first bound up in sizable volumes, and sorted according to the numbers and letters marked on most of them, and a print of his arms and name well pasted on the back of the title-page of every such printed book or volume of prints and drawings given to the College, on condition that the said printed books be placed, chained, and fixed on shelves in the library, or some room, closet, or archives adjoining, and the volumes of prints and drawings to be laid in some such room as their most valuable MSS. or coins are or lately were: the said prints and drawings to be carefully and substantially bound in a proper number of volumes of equal size, in good pasteboards, covered with calves leather in the order in which he had begun to place them, each volume to be lettered on the back with the name of the city, country, or province to which the prints or drawings belong, and each volume relating to Rome, with the name of ROMA at the top, and under it the region or ward; to be done within 6 months after his death, that they may be placed within a month after they come to the hands of the college, as a testimony of his affection; and a sum not exceeding 20£. to be paid to the college for the expence of so fixing them, and fitting up the place. To prevent all disputes, he constitutes his executors absolute judges of what book, print and drawings are so left to the said college and society, and to determine the meaning of any contradiction which appears between will and codicil."

The litigation which followed the attempt to prove the will has already been referred to so far as the estates were concerned. In the course of the proceedings all the codicils except the last (which dealt only with executors and trustees) were set aside. Mrs. Duplessis therefore refused to surrender the goods bequeathed to the college, but after a Bill in Chancery had been filed, the proceedings were compromised, the college receiving the bequest, but paying the costs of the action and defraying the expenses of binding. Finally it is recorded in the Corpus records that on February 8th, 1753, it received "the last Parcel of Lord Coleraine's Legacy."<sup>1</sup> With regard to the bequest to the Society of Antiquaries, the beneficiaries were unwilling to prosecute this claim, but Mrs. Duplessis was induced by Henry Baker to present the objects bequeathed, and subsequently the Society's Minutes under date of the 24th May, 1770, record the gift from the same donor and through the same agent of "an original portrait of Lord Coleraine, sometime Fellow", painted in the twenty-first year of his age by Richardson; and thanks were returned to Mrs. Duplessis and to Henry Baker.

Lord Coleraine's masonic career can be traced in the Minutes of Grand Lodge. On December 19th, 1727, at a Communication held at the Devil's Tavern, Temple Bar, he being Master of the Lodge at the Swan at Tottenham High Cross was proposed by the Deputy Grand Master, Cowper, to be Grand

<sup>1</sup> Fowler: *History of Corpus Christi College* (Oxford Historical Society, 1893), p. 287.

Master for the ensuing year, the latter declaring his Lordship's "good will and Intentions to serve the Society." It was agreed that he should be put in nomination on St. John's day, and Cowper proposed his health. On the 27th at Mercer's Hall, the D.G.M. in the chair, the question being put that Coleraine be G.M., it was carried. The brethren then adjourned to dinner, after which Cowper installed Coleraine, who was congratulated by the Grand Lodge, and nominated and invested his officers. On April 17th, 1728, the Grand Master presided over a Grand Lodge at the Crown behind the Royal Exchange, at which a letter was read from the Lodge at Madrid. On June 25th at the King's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Churchyard Coleraine again presided, when the roll was called and the aspersion of a woman servant at a lodge in Noble Street was considered. Other matters relating to the well-governing of the Society in general were proposed and agreed to; "but it is not judged proper to committ the same to writing." From the Grand Lodge held at the Queen's Head in Great Queen Street on November 26th, the Grand Master was absent, but sent a message that care should be taken that a person of honour and ability should be provided as G.M. on the next St. John's Day; and this was done when Lord Kingston was elected on December 27th. In 1730 Coleraine attended on three occasions, on the last proposing that £10 be given to North Stainer, but only 5 guineas were given, as there was but £43 in the Treasurer's hands.

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A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Edwards for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. F. M. Rickard, seconded by Bro. G. Y. Johnson; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. D. Knoop, F. R. Radice and G. W. Bullamore.

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Bro. F. M. RICKARD said:—

The opening words of Bro. Edwards' paper strike a note that is somewhat disconcerting, for it is greatly to be regretted that we have not on record more information regarding all the illustrious men who have presided as Grand Masters over our Fraternity. All the more must we be grateful to Bro. Edwards for giving us the benefit of his work in this direction; and, I would add, it is to be hoped that we may have further sketches from the pen of one who is so eminently capable in biographical research.

I think it must be acknowledged that if we could understand the motive which attracted men to join the Fraternity in early days, and the incentive which prompted them to play an important part, we should probably learn a good deal regarding the influence which actuated the growth of speculative Freemasonry. These biographical sketches, especially of important members, are therefore of great value.

As regards the subjects of these particular *memoirs*, their characteristics seem to have been so very diverse that one is induced to wonder what in each case was the factor which drew them into Masonry. Unfortunately Bro. Edwards has not been able to give us more than a few details respecting their Masonic careers, and our appetite in this connection is hardly more than whetted.

Let us hope that time and opportunity will permit of further collection of information. Meanwhile I propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Edwards for this paper.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON said:—

On reading through Bro. Edwards' paper I see that he states that the three early Grand Masters with whom he deals were not in the front rank of national affairs. Like many others, I knew the names of our early Grand Masters, but little more; however, I was under the impression that more was known about them. I have tried to glean some new facts, and so I searched *A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, published in 1761, but their names were conspicuous by their absence. The title of this work continues "Of the most eminent persons in every Nation", and one can only draw the conclusion that these three noblemen were not considered the most eminent. Of the three, Lord Coleraine appears to be the most interesting; he must have been a man of some charm and appears to have been a collector of importance, but one is sorry to note that he had his matrimonial difficulties which he seems to have overcome in his own way.

I feel that Bro. Edwards is to be congratulated on collecting so much material and producing such an interesting paper, and I have much pleasure in seconding a vote of thanks to him.

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Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP writes:—

I should like warmly to support the hearty vote of thanks which I feel sure will be accorded to Bro. Edwards for his biographical studies of three of our early Grand Masters. There are just two small details concerning their masonic activities which may be added. From Dr. Wm. Stukeley's *Diary* it is known that Lord Dalkeith was made a mason at some date before 3rd November, 1722, on which day, in company with the Duke of Wharton, he visited Stukeley's Lodge at The Fountain Tavern in the Strand. The other item concerns Lord Coleraine, for whom a version of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*, now known as the *Supreme Council MS.*, was probably transcribed in 1728 by Wm. Reid, Secretary to Grand Lodge. It is a very accurate and beautifully written copy of the *Cooke MS.*, contained in a small red leather-bound book, tooled in gold, and in the same handwriting as, and almost identical in style with, the *Woodford MS.* That *MS.*, also a copy of the *Cooke MS.*, was certainly transcribed by Reid in 1728, probably for William Cowper, Clerk of the Parliaments, Deputy Grand Master in 1726-27; and the chances are that the two copies were made about the same time. The reason for associating the *Supreme Council MS.* with Lord Coleraine is as follows: A former owner, whose autograph, "S. Bailey, 1825", is on the flyleaf, noted in pencil, "This MS. was advertised in y<sup>e</sup> Catalogue as a Treatise on Geometry. It is a Treatise on free-masonry. | Lord Coleraine MS. | a Lord Coleraine mentioned in y<sup>e</sup> Times of Oct. 1, 1825, as living in 1745". (For other details, see *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, pp. 56-7).

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Bro. F. R. RADICE said:—

Something has gone wrong in galley 1. The first Rochester (I think he was an Earl) was son of a faithful and rather drunken cavalier general called Wilmot, who followed Charles II into exile. This (the son) was the notorious Restoration Rake who late in life repented of his sins with the same vigour with which he had committed them. He died without issue.

Laurence Hyde, made Earl of Rochester after Wilmot, was a very respectable son of Lord Clarendon, Charles II's first Chancellor, and brother to Ann Hyde, wife of James, Duke of York, later James II, and therefore uncle to Queen Mary and Queen Anne. He was most reputable, and in Queen Anne's reign an obstinate High Church Tory.

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BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The history of the Craft as well as that of its Grand Masters is far from clear for the period with which Bro. Edwards is dealing. This may be due to an attempt to construct our history on an insecure foundation. I have doubts as to the Grand Mastership of Bro. Antony Sayer. I think it probable that he was an honorary member of an operative lodge of accepted masons and that he very possibly took the chair at an irregular meeting that had not been called by any member of the Company of Masons. The Old Regulations of Bro. Payne were an attempt to regain control of these irregular meetings. Shortly afterwards the Company seem to have sent the acception adrift after spending the money in hand on banners for them.

The Grand Masters seem to have been chosen from noblemen with Stuart or Jacobite leanings not sufficiently pronounced to invite prosecution or banishment, while at the same time preventing them from being promoted to public office.

I think that proof is entirely lacking that an accepted mason was a freemason. The Company of Freemasons renounced their ceremonies and their name when they accepted the solemn League and Covenant under Cromwell. An emasculated version for practical purposes survived as the acception and the Freemasons and their ceremonies passed to non-operatives with a Stuart bias.

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BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS said in reply:—

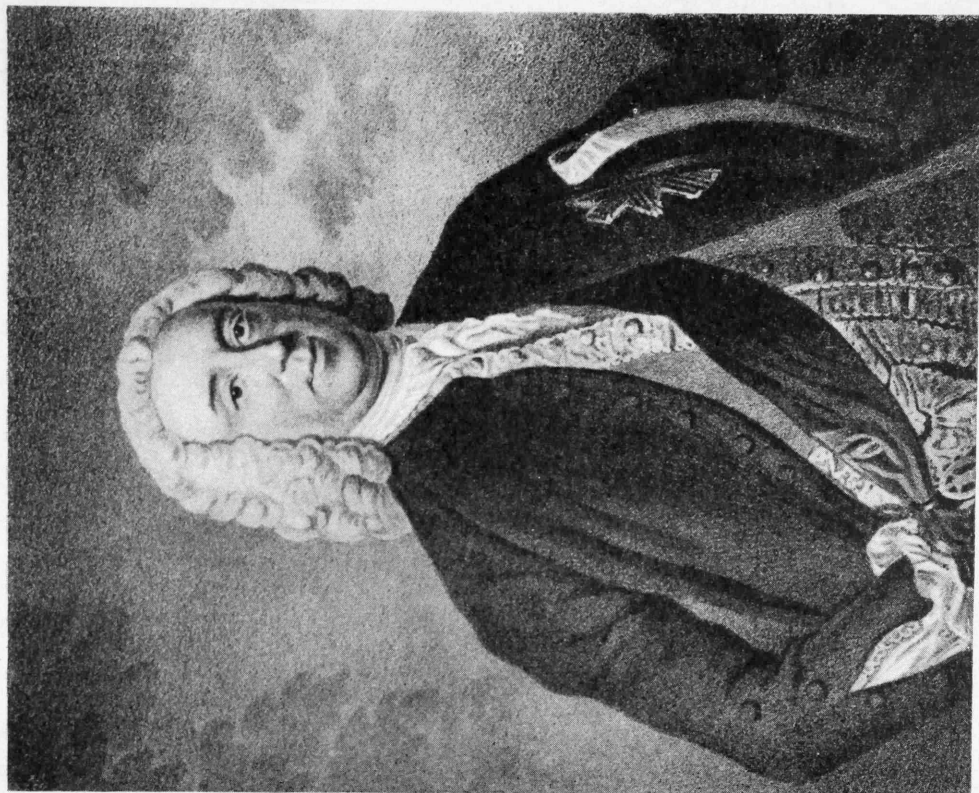
Conscious as I am of how little of direct masonic interest there is in the paper, I much appreciate the kindness with which it has been received, and in particular the request from the W.M. for further sketches. I doubt whether any of our early Grand Masters achieved greatness, and as a rule such activities as they pursued were not abundantly chronicled; but as research into their history is apparently approved, I am heartened to continue. Bro. Knoop has made two valuable points, which by some trick of memory had escaped my recollection, and has added to the somewhat meagre store of facts. In answer to Bro. Bullamore, the political affiliations of these early masonic figures do need consideration; but I am rather doubtful whether any definite general conclusion can be drawn, although I did at one time think it might.

BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS adds—

Since the paper was read I have succeeded, by the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London, in having a photograph taken of the portrait of Lord Coleraine, which is reproduced here, which portrait, I believe, has not been reproduced before. As references to any of the three Grand Masters are not very common, I append these which I have since found in the *Diary of the first Lord Egmont*, published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.







SECOND DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH  
(from Sir William Fraser's "The Scotts of Buccleuch")



THIRD LORD COLERAINE  
(By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London)

Duke of Buccleuch.

The Lords considered a petition complaining of corrupt practices in the election of Scottish Representative Peers and

“the Duke of Buccleuch got up and desired to know whether the aim of the petitioners was to dispute his seat . . . to which the Duke of Bedford, who delivered the petition, replied that he had authority in writing from the petitioning Lords to declare that they did not mean to dispute the sitting of these Lords or any other of the sixteen, but to set forth the evil practices used in the choosing them.”

Hardwick, Lord Chief Justice, pointing out that there were three ways of taking petitioners' meaning, it was resolved to ask them to specify their views. February, 1734/5 (vol. ii, page 152).

Earl of Abercorn.

“After dinner I went to the Royal Society and then to the Thursday Vocal Academy at the Crown Tavern, where we had 19 voices, 12 violins and 5 basses. The famous *Miserere* of Allegri, forbid to be copied out or communicated to any under pain of excommunication, being reserved solely for the use of his chapel, was sung, being brought to us by the Earl of Abercorn, whose brother contrived to obtain it.” 27th February, 1734/5 (vol. ii, page 155).

Lord Coleraine.

Coleraine and others object to some word in the Address to the King's Speech but withdraw their objection on assurance from Sir Robert Walpole. 17th January, 1733/4 (vol. ii, page 8).

Coleraine attends meeting of Irish peers to discuss question of their precedence. 7th March, 1733/4 (vol. ii, page 46).

Coleraine opposes Walpole in House of Commons. 28th March, 1734 (vol. ii, page 71).

Attends anniversary dinner of S.P.C.K. 21st March, 1737/8 (vol. ii, page 472).

Again attends. April, 1740 (vol. iii, page 129).



## Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

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THURSDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1945.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 12 o'clock noon. Present:—  
Bros. *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; F. R. Radice, J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treasurer; L. Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., Secretary; Wallace Heaton, P.G.D., S.D.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. B. Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D.; S. Pope; and J. Johnstone, F.R.C.S., P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—  
Bros. C. J. May; M. Goldberg; J. Stroud; H. Attwooll, P.G.St.B.; *Capt.* W. F. Spalding; S. J. Bradford, P.G.St.B.; *Col.* A. T. Cannon, O.B.E.; H. Bladen, P.G.D.; C. F. C. Wells; W. Casasola, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Smalley; G. R. Eland; A. E. Evans; F. Mercer; C. E. Campbell, P.A.G.D.C.; J. D. Daymond; J. F. H. Gilbard; F. V. Hazell; E. H. Webb; J. E. S. Milligan; G. H. H. Townsend, P.Dep.G.Org.; H. Johnson; H. J. Harvey; A. S. Carter; B. E. Jones; H. G. Russell; F. A. Greene, P.A.G.Sup.W.; E. Mackie; A. F. Cross; J. H. French; F. Durham; *Capt.* F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.S.B.; and J. M. Oakley.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. K. G. Lagerfelt, G.L. Sweden; *Capt.* H. W. Beall, Authors' Lodge No. 3456; H. S. Seymour, P.M., Old Emanuel Lodge No. 5399; J. E. Suter, P.M., Panmure Lodge No. 715; W. E. Ames, Guild of Freeman Lodge No. 3525; and R. G. Bradley, P.M., Richmond Lodge No. 2032.

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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.; *Wg.-Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, O.B.E., M.A., LL.B., Dep.G.S.B., P.M.; S. J.

Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; 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.*, P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; G. S. Knockner, *M.B.E.*, P.A.G.Sup.W.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., J.D.; *Cmdr.* S. N. Smith, *R.N.*, P.Pr.G.D., Cambs., I.G.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; J. R. Rylands; and C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.

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Ten Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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W.Bro. Gilbert Yorke Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation, and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge.

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The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. F. R. Radice	S.W.
„ W. E. Heaton	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ J. Heron Lepper	Treasurer
„ F. M. Rickard	Secretary
„ W. I. Grantham	D.C.
„ H. H. Hallett	S.D.
„ S. N. Smith	J.D.
„ H. C. B. Wilson	I.G.
„ G. H. Ruddle	Tyler

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The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“That W.Bro. Colonel Frank Martyn Rickard, Past Grand Sword Bearer, 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”.

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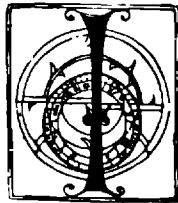
The W.M. delivered the following:—

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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BY BRO. G. Y. JOHNSON

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IN the first place I should like to express my gratitude to the members of the Lodge for the honour they have done me in electing me to the office of Master for the ensuing year. It is an honour which I greatly appreciate and a position that I approach with a good deal of trepidation, particularly when I look back on the long line of eminent Masons who have held the office.

Every Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge gives an inaugural address at his Instalation and many Masters find it increasingly difficult to choose a subject; fortunately my choice has been simple, as I have, for a number of years, been collecting Masonic References in the early Northern Newspapers. The late Bro. Makins searched through many of the local newspapers, and since then I have discovered others; so to-night I am taking for my subject—"Masonic References in North Eastern Newspapers published before 1751".

Let me state at the outset that my list is by no means complete, there are newspapers still to be searched, there are many missing numbers, and in numerous cases it is doubtful whether copies exist.

The Masonic References are given in an Appendix; these I do not propose to read now, but I hope that they may be of some help to Masonic Historians and to the Craft in general.

The ground that I have tried to cover may be termed the North-East of England. The only places where newspapers were published in this area before 1751 were Leeds, Newcastle and York; but, as there happen to be short runs of two old Nottingham Papers and also of the Lancashire Journal in one of the York Libraries, I have included these in the list.

The period "before 1751" is taken to conform to Bro. Dring's "Tentative List of English References to, and Works on, Freemasonry, published before 1751". This List, I may say, has been of great use to me, as for many years I have been a collector of Masonic Books, and I venture to hope that some member of our Lodge will bring the List up-to-date, as a number of items have been discovered since the List was printed.

The early Provincial Newspapers were composed almost exclusively of extracts from London Papers, or News-Letters, none of which was less than four days old. Very little effort was made to introduce articles of a local character. The first editors were also the printers, and so had little time available for gathering news.

### LEEDS NEWSPAPERS

The first Leeds Newspaper was published in May (some authorities state July) 1718, and was called the "*Leeds Mercury*". John Hirst was the printer and he seems to have considered that the local affairs of his own town and neighbourhood were too well-known to require notice. The full title of the paper was "*The Leeds Mercury, being the freshest advice, foreign and domestick, together with an account of trade*". John Hirst continued to print his paper

for some years, but in 1735 James Lister took over the publication. The paper was discontinued in June 1755, but was later re-established in 1769. The "*Leeds Mercury*" was the only newspaper published in Leeds prior to 1751.

### NEWCASTLE NEWSPAPERS

There were a number of Newspapers published in Newcastle during the first half of the 18th Century, but most of them were only short-lived. The first in the field was called the *Newcastle Gazette or Northern Courant*, and was printed at "Gateside" in 1710 by J. Saywell, but ceased publication within a year. Up to that time Newcastle had been without a printer for a period of nearly fifty years. In 1711 John White the younger came to Newcastle from York and commenced the publication of the *Newcastle Courant*; whether he took over Saywell's venture or was in opposition to him is not known. The *Newcastle Courant* was a success and ran for many years, ceasing publication in 1902. Two other newspapers, the *Newcastle Mercury*, published in 1722, and the *North Country Journal*, in 1734, had only short lives; but in 1739 the *Newcastle Journal* first made its appearance and ran for about fifty years; fortunately files are preserved shewing it to have been a very well-printed paper. Two further papers were published: the *Newcastle Gazette*, in 1744 and the *Newcastle General Magazine*, in 1747, but these papers ran for only a little more than ten years each.

### YORK NEWSPAPERS

The citizens of York are indebted to the energy and ability of a woman for their first Newspaper. This was called "*York Mercury: or a General View of the Affairs of Europe*", and was first published by Grace White on 23rd February, 1718. Grace White was the widow of John White, who set up his press in York "over against the Star in Stonegate" in 1680, and continued in business till his death early in 1716. In November, 1688, soon after the landing of William of Orange at Torbay, John White was bold enough to print the Prince's famous Manifesto, which had been refused by all the London printers. For this courageous act John White is said to have been imprisoned at Hull. He was afterwards rewarded by King William III with the appointment of "Their Majesties' printer for the city of York and the five Northern counties". Grace White died in January, 1721, and the business was carried on for a short time by Charles Bourne, her stepson; he, however, died in August, 1724, and his widow married Thomas Gent in December of the same year.

Thomas Gent became one of York's most celebrated printers. He was a man of many parts, as he was not only a printer but also an author and artist, his labours extended over more than half a century. His works are, for the most part, below mediocrity, yet they possess a certain quaintness and eccentricity of character which are not without their charm. One of Gent's first acts was to change the title of the York Newspaper to—"The Original York Journal, or Weekly Courant", and later, in 1728, to "The Original Mercury, York Journal: or Weekly Courant". Gent ceased to publish his newspaper in 1740, or shortly afterwards; he states that "having printed the news for several years, for want of encouragement I was obliged to give it up about this time".

Gent's marriage to the widow of Charles Bourne annoyed the latter's relations, and John White the younger, a well-known Newcastle printer and the son of John White of York, decided to set up a printing press at York in opposition to Gent. In August or September, 1725, John White younger commenced the publication of a rival weekly newspaper which he called "*The York Courant*". This newspaper gradually ousted Gent's "*York Journal*", and "*The York Courant*" became the leading newspaper of the city. John

White, the founder, still carried on his printing business at Newcastle, but in 1735 he found it more convenient to sell his York venture to Alexander Staples, who continued to publish the *York Courant* until 1739, when the business was taken over by the firm of Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler. The *York Courant* was, however, published by Mr. Ward alone, and under his management it became a journal of a class superior to that of any York newspaper that preceded or attempted to compete with it. About the time that Gent ceased to publish his newspaper, another printer, John Jackson the younger, commenced the publication of a newspaper which he called "*The York Gazetteer*". How long this paper was in existence has not been ascertained. "*The York Journal, or The Protestant Courant*" was published by a John Gilfillan in 1746 in the Whig interest. Most probably the journal enjoyed but a short existence.

#### AN APPEAL

And now I should like to make an appeal to Masonic Students to search through old newspapers, particularly in the Provinces, where I feel sure a fund of Masonic information is still unexplored. The Librarians of the Public Libraries will be found most helpful; there are also the many Private Libraries and the local Newspaper Offices—the latter often possess files of the old newspapers. Local Societies and Private Collectors are another source of information. The work will be found far more interesting than might be expected, and gives a wonderful picture of the life and times of the period. Before commencing a search it is advisable to prepare a contemporary list of the names of the Masons in the neighbouring Lodges, as it will be found that the newspapers contain many references to these men in their civic capacities, and much useful information can be obtained.

#### COMMENTARY

And now I give you a short account of some of the Masonic References that have been traced. There are one hundred and thirty-six in all, and some of them appeared in more than one newspaper. They may be analysed under the following headings:—

Grand Lodge ...	38
York Grand Lodge	5
Lodges in London	20
Lodges in the Provinces ...	21
Scotland and Ireland	12
The Continent ...	17
Book Advertisements	8
Sundry ...	15
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	136

As previously pointed out, those referring to the Grand Lodge and to the London Lodges, were copied from the London Newspapers, and thirty-eight of these are included in Bro. Dring's Tentative List. The first Masonic Reference traced so far appeared in the *Leeds Mercury*, of April, 1721. In a letter to the editor the writer states that he lives within a distance of twenty miles, and is a Freemason. He attended a meeting of Freemasons in a Public House in his town, and in going out of the room dressed in his apron, he was accosted in a very agreeable manner by a Stranger, who asked whether he might be admitted to the Company, which the writer states, "we were very ready to comply with". The stranger then told the members that he possessed one or two manuscripts relating to Masonry. The writer of the letter asks whether the editor can say



when these manuscripts were first printed; and the editor, in a note, states that the said MSS. still remain *in statu quo*. There seems little doubt that the manuscripts were versions of the Old Charges, but it is difficult to name the place; "within a distance of twenty miles" of Leeds includes a number of towns where Lodges may have been held.

In 1722, the *Leeds Mercury* mentions a Lodge held at Leeds on New Year's Day, and an interesting account is given of a Lodge at Pontefract where the Brethren "walked to several of their Brothers' Houses, having on white gloves and aprons, music before them", and money was thrown to the Crowd by Handfulls. Nothing further is known of either of these two Lodges, and this is the only evidence of a Masonic Lodge being held at either place at this early date.

There is an account in 1725 of a meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, when the Earl of Ross was chosen Grand Master, and there was a splendid entertainment of one hundred and twenty Dishes.

In 1726, a Lodge held at Darlington is mentioned, and the names of the officers are given. This is the first known reference to a Masonic Lodge held at that place.

The only item traced in 1727 is an account of a meeting of Grand Lodge at Mercers' Hall. There was a great gathering of nobility—three Dukes, three Earls, four Barons and four Baronets.

The first references in the newspapers to the York Grand Lodge appear in 1728; the list of officers at the Feast of St. John the Baptist is given. Sir William Milner, Bart., is stated to be the new Grand Master of all England, being the 798th Successor from Edwin the Great. There is an amusing account of a Lodge held at a Tavern near the Royal Exchange, London, where one of the candidates, on being prepared, was so frightened that he ran into the street to the great terror of a poor oyster woman. There is an account of "the Feast of St. Baptist" held by the York Grand Lodge in 1729, when Edward Thompson, M.P. for the City of York, was chosen Grand Master. In the same year, at a Chesterfield race meeting, Sir Charles Sedley ran his horse called "Free Mason", but I regret to state that it was beaten; as there were only four runners, we can express the hope that the horse was at least placed.

A number of Masonic items have been traced for the year 1730. In January, a short account is given of a Lodge held at the George Inn at Northampton. Sir Arthur Haslerig, Bart., was chosen Master in the presence of the Duke of Richmond and several other gentlemen.

In February, the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master, and the rest of the Society of Freemasons took the whole Pit and Boxes at Drury Lane Theatre to see "the Play of King Henry IV, whose son was a Freemason". This statement will come as a surprise to many of us.

In April, a Lodge was constituted at the "Red Lyon", Canterbury.

Two newspapers mention the Lodge formed upon the top of a hill near the Duke of Richmond's seat at Goodwood. This is a well-known incident in Masonic history.

In May, the members of the Lodge at Lynn went to the local theatre in their aprons and gloves to see the Play of Henry IV, acted by the Duke of Grafton's servants. An interesting account of a Lodge held at Mr. Pratt's in the Flesh-Market, Newcastle, is given in the *Original Mercury* in June; the members, wearing white leathern aprons and gloves, went to witness the play called "the Committee, or the faithful Irishman". The Freemason's Song was given. Accounts of further meetings of this Newcastle Lodge appear in 1738 and 1739.

The *Original Mercury* in November, 1730, printed in full "The Continuation of the History of Free-Masonry, from the Enter'd 'Prentices Degree to the

Master's Degree". This is Prichard's "*Masonry Dissected*," almost word for word. The issue of the paper containing the first part is unfortunately, missing. During 1730 the country seems to have been disturbed by "vile Incendiaries". The form taken was the usual blackmail, and two newspapers give a copy of a letter threatening to burn down a house with the occupants at Clarfield, in Gloucestershire, unless £12 is placed in the Dairy window. This letter was signed "From our Company of Free Masons", which is obviously a scandalous libel on the Fraternity. Many people were threatened; the epidemic commenced at Bristol, but quickly spread over the country, as many seem to have thought that this was a good method of obtaining easy money.

One amusing incident is recorded: A lady received the usual threatening letter, stating that her son would be murdered unless £50 was deposited at a certain place; a watch was kept, and much to everyone's surprise it was the lady's own son who tried to collect the money.

In 1731, Lord Lovell, the Grand Master, attended by his Grand Lodge Officers, visited the Lodge held at the Golden Spikes, Hampstead, when Viscount Montacute was chosen Master of the Lodge.

The *York Courant* in October, 1731, contains an advertisement of the Assembly Rooms in Ogleforth, York. This is addressed, "To the Ladies and Gentlemen of this City and County of York; and to all other Ladies and Gentlemen being Free-Masons, on this side of the Trent", and closes "The Projector therefore hopes for your favourable Encouragement; and by an ancient Order made at St. John's Lodge, all our said loving Brothers and Sisters of that honourable Society, (duly qualified) are desired to take Notice hereof".

The proprietor of the rooms was a member of the York Grand Lodge. His name was Edward Gale Boldero, and he later set up an Intelligence Office where property was sold and loans negotiated. This advertisement suggests that Boldero had obtained the patronage of the York Grand Lodge; unfortunately, there are no minutes of this period to confirm this.

In 1732, the *York Courant* states that a new Society had been formed called the Free Sawyers. This Society claimed priority over the Freemasons, the Gormogons and the Antient Hums.

The *Leeds Mercury* in April, 1736, gives a long account of the Grand Cavalcade at the installation of the Earl of Loudon, which must have been impressive. In the Evening there was a grand Ball for the ladies.

In 1737, the *Leeds Mercury* contains a number of references to Free Masonry in Paris, where, it is stated, there are now five Lodges, but that "tis thought this Society will meet here with the same fate as it did in Holland". The next account states that Masonry increases so fast that there are now nine Lodges in Paris, and that the ladies design to set up an Order of their own, but as only those who can keep a Secret are to be admitted, it is thought that their Society will be very thin.

Many Masonic items appeared in the Press during 1738. In February, an account is given of the Lodge constituted at the Sign of the Bacchus, in Little Bush Lane. The Grand Master, the Earl of Darnley, and many of his Grand Officers were present. The Furniture of the Lodge was thought to be the most beautiful in England.

The *York Courant* of May gives an account of a meeting of the York Grand Lodge at the White Horse, in Coppergate, when a new Lodge, to be held at the Talbot, in Halifax, was constituted. This was the first Subordinate Lodge of the York Grand Lodge. Later in the year a meeting of this Halifax Lodge was held, when a new Master was chosen.

A letter from Florence states that the Lodges there are now held with all the Liberty and Freedom imaginable, and without any Dread of the Inquisition, which has no right to attack a Society of which the new Sovereign is a

Member. A few weeks later there is the further news from Florence that the Pope has issued a Bull of Excommunication against the Freemasons. A further letter, this time from Rome, states that the Pope has recalled the Bull against the Freemasons on money being collected from several Lodges in London and disposed of in Charity "in his Way". It was further rumoured that the Pope and several Cardinals are to become Masons.

In October it is stated that the Lodge meeting at the Rummer Tavern, near Lincoln's Inn-Fields, has moved to the Dog Tavern in Richmond, when the Brethren walked in Procession through the Town to the admiration and pleasure of the inhabitants, who never before saw such a sight.

In 1739, the *Lancashire Journal* gives an account of a new Society, calling themselves Modern Masons, which has lately been founded in Cold Bath Fields. There are already nine hundred members. Women as well as men are admitted. This Society must not be confused with the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns". The *Newcastle Journal*, in June, mentions Dr. Anderson's funeral. Dr. Desaguliers was one of the six pall-bearers—all Dissenting Teachers. The corpse was followed by about a dozen Freemasons who, in a most solemn, dismal posture, struck their Aprons three times in honour of the deceased.

In 1740, there is an interesting account of a Lodge at Durham held at the House of Mr. John Horseman, where an elegant entertainment was provided. After the new officers were elected, the Brethren went in procession to the Cross, where they drank the Healths of his Majesty, the Prince of Wales, and the Grand Master of England; likewise that of the Earl of Morton, Grand Master of Scotland. This Lodge is the present Marquis of Granby No. 124. Further accounts of the Lodge are given in 1742 and 1743.

In March, 1741, the *Newcastle Journal* gives an amusing account of the mock procession of the Scald Miserable Masons. Longer accounts are given the next year in both the *Leeds Mercury* and *Newcastle Journal*.

Edward Alport, Provincial Grand Master of the County of Durham, died in 1742, and the funeral was attended by the two Constituted Lodges of the Province—Gateshead and Swalwell. The Brethren walked in procession from the Lodge in Swalwell to Mr. Alport's House and from thence to Wickham Church.

In 1743, the *Newcastle Journal* mentions a meeting of the Lodge held at the Fountain in Pipewellgate, Gateshead, when the Brethren made a grand procession preceded by a band of music and the banners of the proper Order displayed, under a treble discharge of guns and ringing of bells.

In the same year there is an account of a raid made by an armed force on a Lodge held in a private house in Vienna, where about thirty Masons were found sitting round a table covered with a black cloth. Amongst those taken were several persons of distinction, who were soon released. There is also news from Brussels that two Masonic Lodges have been closed, but as the King of Prussia is the protector of the Craft, two new Lodges have lately been opened in Berlin. One of the last paragraphs traced is a short account of a Lodge of the Scots Order of Masonry held at Durham on St. Andrew's Day, 1743.

It is of interest to note that so far no Masonic References have been found in the local Newspapers during the seven years 1744 to 1750 inclusive. This will cause the Masonic student little surprise, as this period is known to be one of Masonic inaction; but another cause may be the fact that there are few copies of the newspapers in existence.

In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to all those Brethren who have attended the meetings of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge during the weary war years, thereby helping the Lodge to continue its work; these Brethren attended at great inconvenience and some danger to themselves and we owe them a debt of gratitude.

## APPENDIX.

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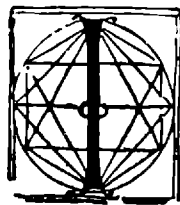
MASONIC REFERENCES IN THE NORTH EASTERN NEWSPAPERS  
PUBLISHED BEFORE 1751.

(For Bro. Dring's Tentative List see *A.Q.C.* Vol. XXV., 1912, pp. 345).

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*The Leeds Mercury* Vol. III, No. 51. 18 April to 25 April, 1721.

Mr. Hirft.



Live in a Town within the Distance of 20 Miles from you, & profess my self a Member of an Ancient and honourable society (which Kings, Priests, & persons of the greatest quality have not disdain'd to be admitted into) I mean that of Free Mason. We lately held a Lodge at a publick house in our town where, without mentioning what occasion call'd me to the door, I met with

certain learn'd Gentleman, who, upon sight of my leather apron a necessary and distinguishing badge upon such an occasion, Accepted me after a friendly manner, and with a very agreeable air ask'd me what that leathern conveniency about me meant. I gave no direct answer to him, but was rather willing to avoid any conference upon that Account; however, he told me, he supposed I was a Free-Mason, and that we was holding a lodge in that house. He was pleas'd to intimate so far, that he had some thoughts of being made a Member of that Society, and begg'd the favour of being admitted into our company at that time, which we was very ready to comply with. Therefore, to give a specimen of his knowledge of ancient learning, according to his usual civility he had a mind to let us know that Free-masonry was a very ancient constitution, and that he had one or more MSS. by him relating thereunto.

Afterwards one of our Society told him, he had Seen in the Kings Library at L——n a great many large and very ancient MSS. relating to free masonry, which was a plain demonstration of its antiquity, and among the rest, a most curious Manuscript Bible. The learn'd Gentleman immediately ask'd the Question is it printed? And turning to one in the company says, ay, ay, come, come, You, to be Sure, are well vers'd in those matters, and can inform me, how long 'tis since those MSS. were first printed. To which he reply'd, Sir they are Manuscripts not prints; then he Smartly answer'd, ay, ay, I know they are so, and to be sure, 'tis a long time Since they were first publish'd, ay, possibly in the very infancy of printing; whereupon the Gentleman left us, and went away as wise as he came. Now, Sir, my request to you or any of your numerous Readers, is, that

you wou'd, if you can, inform this worthy Gentleman, when the aforefaid MSS. were firft printed, and herein you'll oblige all our Society, but in a more particular manner,

Your Friend and constant Reader,  
Timothy Lapidie.

For the Satisfaction of the Society of Free-mafons, and of the above-named Gentleman, Mr. Hirst answers directly that the faid MSS. ftill remain in *ftatu Quo*.

Bro. W. R. Makins quotes this letter in "Notes on the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Yorkshire, 1771-1821"—Transactions of the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge, Vol. VIII, 136.

*The Nottingham Mercury. Thursday, 29 June, 1721.*

There was a Meeting on Saturday laft at Stationers Hall of between two and three Hundred of the ancient Fraternity of Free-Mafons who had a fplendid Dinner, and Mufick. Several Noblemen and Gentlemen were prefent at this Meeting, and His Grace the Duke of Montague was unanimoufly chofen Mafter for the enfuing Year, and Dr. Beale Sub Mafter. The Reverend Dr. Defaguliers made a Speech fuitable to the Occafion.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 16.

*The Nottingham Mercury. Thursday, 3 August, 1721.*

*Laft Week his Grace the Duke of Wharton was admitted into the Society of free Mafons; the Ceremonies were perform'd at the King's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Church Yard, and his Grace came home to his Houfe in Pall Mall in a White Leathern Apron.*

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 17 and 18.

The Lodge held at the King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard, is not mentioned in the Engraved Lists after 1725.

*The Leeds Mercury. Vol. IV, No. 37. Tuesday, 9 December, to Tuesday, 16 January, 1721 (1722).*

On New Years Day laft at *Leedes* was a meeting of the Antient and Honourable Society of Freemafons; and at *Pontefract* that Day 7 Night was another, where feveral neighbouring Gentlemen were admitted; the *Lodge* confifting of about thirty Perfons in Number walk'd to feveral of their Brothers Houfes, having on white Gloves and Aprons, Mufick before them, &c. Afterwards returning to the Gallery of the Lodge Room, they drank the *King, Prince, &c.* with the Earl of *Pontefract* and other Loyal Healths, Money was thrown to the Croud by Handfuls, and the Night concluded with Illuminations, &c.

This is the earliest known reference to a Masonic Lodge at either Leeds or Pontefract; nothing further is known of either Lodge. Bro. W. R. Makins quotes this paragraph in "Notes on the Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorkshire 1771-1821"—Transactions of the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge, Vol. VIII, 137.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham). Vol. X, No. 48. Thursday, 28 June, 1722.*

From Miller's Letter, June 26. \* \* \* \* \*

Yefterday the ancient Society of Free Mafons, held their annual Meeting at Stationers Hall, and chofe his Grace the Duke of Wharton their Governour.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 26.

*The Leeds Mercury. Vol. V, No. 41. Tuesday, 5 February, to Tuesday, 12 February, 1722 (1723)*

BOOKS, published since our last.

LOVE in a Forest. As it was Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, Dedicated to the Worshipful and Ancient Society of FREE-MASONS.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 32.

*The Leeds Mercury. Vol. V, No. 45. Tuesday, 5 March, to Tuesday, 12 March, 1722 (1723).*

BOOKS, published since our last.

The Free Mafons; An Hudibrafftick Poem. Illustrating the whole History of the Ancient Free Mafons, from the Building of the Tower of Babel to this Time. With their Laws, Ordinances, Signs, Marks, Meffages, &c so long kept a Secret, Faithfully discovered and made known, and the Manner of their Inftallation particularly described. *By a Free Mafon.*

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 34.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham). Vol. XI, No. 37. Thursday, 11 April, 1723.*

The Society of free Mafons are determined, we hear, to use all the Methods in their power to raise their Reputation among the People; and, we are told, they gave Orders for prosecuting a Gentleman with the utmost Severity, who reflected upon their Management in their private Meetings.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 39.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham). Vol. XI, No. 43. Thursday, 23 May, 1723.*

On Thursday last at the Court of Common Pleas, came on a Tryal between Mr. Abraham Barrett, Plaintiff, and Henry Pritchard, Defendant, the latter being indicted for an Affault upon the former, whose Head he had broken in several places, for abusing the ancient Society of Free Mafons in a very indecent Manner mentioning the Names of some noble Persons of that Fraternity. The Jury brought in a Verdict for the Plaintiff: But considering the Provocation given gave only twenty Shillings Damage.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 41.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham). Vol. XI, No. 46. Thursday, 13 June, 1723.*

*Catalogue of BOOKS publish'd at London since our last.*

*Love's last Shift: Or, Mafon disappointed, To which is added several curious Pieces, the Contents of some of them are as follows; The Crab, or the amorous Transformation; Jupiter and Europa; the Country Justice, or Female Secrefie; the faithful Mariner, by Mr. Leveridge; A Song on the free Mafons.*

Not mentioned in Bro. Dring's Tentative List.

I have not been able to trace a copy of this work, but there is a note at the Q.C. Office stating that it is an obscene poem.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham).* Vol. XII, No. 23. Thursday, 16 January, 1723 (1724).

*BOOKS Published in London since our last Catalogue.*

The Grand Myftery of Free Mafons difcovered. Wherein are the feveral Queftions put to them at their Meetings and Inftallations as alfo their Oath, Health, Signs, and Points, to know each other by, as they were found in the Cuftody of a Free Mafon, who died fuddenly. And now published for the Information of the Publick.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 49.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham).* Vol. XII, No. 27. Thursday, 13 February, 1723 (1724).

On Saturday laft died Mr. Edward Strong, fen. of New Barnes near St. Albans in Hertfordshire, one of the ancienteft Mafons in England, and formerly Mafon of St. Paul's Cathedral. It is remarkable of that Church, that it was begun and finifh'd under the Direction of One and the fame Architect Sir Chriftopher Wren; that One and the Same Mafon (Mr. Strong above mentioned) laid the Firft and Laft Stone; and that it was begun and finished under the See of One and the Same Bifhop, Dr. Henry Compton.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 51.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham).* Vol. XII, No. 28. Thursday, 20 February, 1723 (1724).

LONDON, February 18. \* \* \* \* \*

We hear that on Friday laft his Grace the Duke of Richmond, was chofen grand Mafter of the Society of Free Mafons for the Year enfuing, in the Room of the Lord Dalkeith.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham).* Vol. XII, No. 33. Thursday, 26 March, 1723 (1724).

From Jone's Letter, March 26. \* \* \* \* \*

We hear there was a great Lodge of the ancient Society of the Free Mafons held laft week at the Horn Tavern in Palace Yard; at which were prefent the Earl of Dalkeith there Grand Mafter, his Grace the Duke of Richmond, and feveral other Perfons of Quality; at which Time the Lord Carmichaell, Col. Carpenter, Sir Thomas Pendigrafs, Col. Paget, and Col. Saunderfon, were accepted Free Mafons, and went Home in their Leather Aprons and Gloves.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 52.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham).* Vol. XII, No. 41. Thursday, 21 May, 1724.

A Letter from the Bath, . . . This Night, at the Queen's head, Dr. Defagulier, is to receive into the Society of ecepted Free Mafons, feveral frefh Members, among them are the Lord Cobham, Lord Harvey, Mr. Nafh, and Mr. Mee, with many others.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 53. This Bath Lodge, No. 28, was erased in 1736.

*The Weekly Courant (Nottingham). Vol. XIII, No. 11. Thursday, 15 October, 1724.*

*BOOKS, &c Publish'd in London since our laft.*

The Secret History of the Free-mafons: Being an accidental Difcovery of the Ceremonies made ufe of in the feveral Lodges, upon the Admittance of a Brother as a Free and Accepted Mafon; with the charge, Oath, and private Articles, given to him at the Time of admittance. Printed from the old Original Record of the Society, with fome Obfervations, Reflections and critical Remarks upon the new conftitution Book of the Free-mafons, written by James Anderfon, *M.A.* and dedicated to the Duke of Montague, by J.T. Defaguliers *L.L.D.* Deputy Grand Mafter. With a fhort Dictionary of private Signs or Signals.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 55.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 12. Tuesday, 6 July, to Tuesday, 13 July, 1725.*

*They write from Dublin, That . . . . .*

*The 24th paf, being St. John's Baptift Day, the anti-ent and honourable Company of Free Mafons met and chofe the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Rofs Grand Mafter, and Sir Thomas Pendergrafs and Mark Morgan, Efq; Grand Wardens for the enfuing Year, after which there was a very fplendid Entertainment of 120 Difhes.*

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 35. Tuesday, 14 December, to Tuesday, 21 December, 1725.*

On Tuefday laft there was a Meeting of the Lodge of Free-Mafons at the Fleece Tavern, at Temple Bar, where they chofe Thomas Batfon of Grey's Inn, Efq; their Mafter, and Mr. Geering, a Tobacconift in Friday-ftreet, their Senior Warden, and Mr. Jackfon, Attorney at Law, their Junior Warden for the Year enfuing.

The Lodge held at the Fleece Tavern is not mentioned in the Engraved Lists after 1725.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 37. Tuesday, 28 December to Wednesday, 5 January, 1725 (1726).*

*Yesterday was held at Merchant Taylors Hall the annual Feaft of the ancients Society of Free-Mafons. After Dinner the grand Officers for the enfuing Year were declared, and entered upon their Offices accordingly, viz. the Rt. Hon. Lord Paisley Grand Mafter, Dr. Delagaliars Deputy Mafter, Coll. Daniel Haughton and Sir Phillip Pendergrafs Grand Wardens.*

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 63.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 39. Wednesday, 12 January to Tuesday, 18 January, 1725-6.*

Darlington, Dec. 27. This Day was held at the Poft Houfe here the Anniverfary Meeting of the Society of Free Mafons, where was a numerous Appearance of Gentlemen, and a fplendid Entertainment on the Occafion, and Robert Bowes, Efq; of Thornton, was chofen their Mafter, Henry Forth, Efq; Senior Warden, and John Pemberton, Efq; Junior Warden for the Year enfuing.



This is the first known reference to a Masonic Lodge held at Darlington; it is important, as the names of the Officers are given. Bro. W. R. Makins quotes this paragraph in "Notes on the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Yorkshire 1771-1821"—Transactions of the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge Vol. VIII, 138.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 97. Tuesday, 28 February to Tuesday, 7 March, 1726-7.*

On Monday last the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons met at Mercer's Hall in Cheapside, where there was a great Appearance of Nobility and Gentry. Three Dukes, three Earls, four Barons, four Baronets, and several other Gentlemen of Distinction. The Right Honourable the Lord Inchequin was chosen Grand Master for the ensuing Year. His Lordship made choice of Wm. Cowper, Esq; for Deputy Grand Master, and Alexander Chocke, and William Burdon, Esqrs; for his Grand Wardens.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 140. Tuesday, 2 January, 1727-8.*

Yesterday the free and accepted Mafons held their Annual grand Meeting and chose the Right Hon. the Lord Colrain, Grand Master, and Alexander Chocke, Esq; Deputy Grand Master.

*The Original Mercury, York Journal: or, Weekly Courant. No. CLI. Tuesday, 2 January, 1728.*

Yesterday being St. John's Day, the ancient Society of Free and Accepted MASONS held their Annual Grand Meeting at Mercer's Hall in Cheapfide; where they had a splendid Entertainment, and a very handsome Appearance. They chose the following Persons for the Year ensuing, viz. The Rt. Hon. the Lord Colerane, Grand-Master; Alexander Chocke, Esq; Deputy Grand-Master; Nathaniel Blackerby, Esq; and Mr. Joseph Higmore, Grand-Wardens.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 166. Tuesday, 2 July, 1728.*

At a Grand Lodge of Free-Mafons held at York on St. John Baptist's Day 1728, Sir William Milner, Bart. was chose Grand Master of all England, being the 798th Successor from Edwin the Great; Mr. Drake Deputy Master, Mr. Wilmer, Mr. Marsden Grand-Wardens.

This and the following extract are the first references in the Press to the York Grand Lodge. They are of importance, as the name of Sir William Milner, Bart., is given as the Grand Master.

*The Original Mercury, York Journal: or, Weekly Courant. No. 151. Tuesday, July, 1728.*

York, June 24. This being the Feast of St. John the Baptist, a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Mafons was held in this City, in which

Sir WILLIAM MILNER, Bart. was chose Grand-Master of all England.

Mr. DRAKE, Deputy Grand-Master.

Mr. JOHN WILMER, } Grand-Wardens.  
Mr. JOHN MARSDEN, }

For the Year ensuing.

Bro. W. R. Makins quoted this paragraph in "The Masonic Treasures in the possession of the York Lodge No. 236".

*The Original Mercury, York Journal; or, Weekly Courant. No. 177. Tuesday, 31 December, 1728.*

LONDON, *December 24.*

Laft Friday Night, at a certain Tavern not far from the Royal Exchange, there was a Lodge of Free Mafons for accepting fome new Members, when an unlucky Accident happen'd, which had like to have difcovered the Grand Secret; for one of the Probationers was fo furprized when they pull'd off his Hat and Perriwig, unbutton'd his Coller and Sleeves, took out his Shoes Buckles, and ftript him to his Shirt that he thought they were going to castrate or circumcife him, and fearing to be made either a Eunuch or a Jew, he watch'd his Opportunity, upon feeing the Door of the Room half open, he ran out into the Street, to the great Terror of a poor Oyfter Woman, but was purfued by his Fraternity, who perfuaded him with good Words to return back to the Lodge, and comply with the reft of the Ceremonies of his Inftallation.

*The York Courant. No. 179. Tuesday, 11 February, 1728-9.*

On Thurfdays Night laft his Grace The Duke of Norfolk the Rt. Hon. the Lord Delvin, and feveral other Perfons of Diftinction, were received into the moft ancient Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, at the Lodge held at the Hord (*sic*) Tavern in Weftminfter; of which his Grace the Duke of Richmond is Mafter, and upon that Occafion there were prefent, the Right Hon. the Lord Kingfton, Grand Mafter, with his General Officers, the Right Hon. the Earl of Inchiquin, the Lord Paifly, Lord Kinfale, and many other Perfons of Note.

*The York Courant. No. 174. Tuesday, 7 January, 1728-9.*

Friday laft being St. John's day, there was a great Apperance of Free Mafons at Stationers Hall; where a handfome Entertainment was provided, by twelve Stewards chofen for that Purpose: After which, the following Officers were chofen for the Year enfuing, viz. The Right Hon. the Lord Kingfton, Grand Mafter, in room of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Colrain: Nathaniel Blackerby, Efq, Deputy Grand Mafter,

in the room of Alexander Chock, Esq; and Sir James Thornhill and Martin O'Connor Grand Wardens, in the room of the said Mr. Blackerby and Mr. Joseph Highmore.

'Tis remarkable that there were present the Master of the Lodge at Madrid in Spain, and the Wardens belonging to the Lodge at Caermarthen in South Wales.

A Commiffion was sign'd by the Grand Master, to constitute a Lodge in the East Indies. And

At the same Time the Grand Master and Wardens, and most of the Gentlemen present, took Tickets to appear in White Gloves at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane last Night, where the Play of Henry IV. Part II. was acted for their Entertainment; and a Prologue and Epilogue were spoken suitable to the Occasion, and in Honour of that Society.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 75.

The foregoing also appeared in the Leeds Mercury of 7 January, 1729, and in the Original Mercury, etc., of 7 January, 1729.

*The Original Mercury, York Journal: or, Weekly Courant. No. 203. Tuesday, 1 July, 1729.*

At a  
Lodge of the Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, held on the Feast of St. Baptift, at the Star in Stonegate, Edward Thompson, Esq; Member of Parliament for this Honourable City, was unanimously chose Grand-Master OF ALL ENGLAND, (in the Room of Sir William Milner, Bart.) John Wilmer, Gent. Deputy-Master; Mr. George Rhodes and Mr. John Reynoldson, Grand-Wardens, for the Year ensuing.

Edward Thompson was M.P. for the City of York from 1722 to 1742. He was appointed a Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland in 1725 and died 25th July, 1742.

*The Original Mercury, York Journal: or, Weekly Courant. No. 207. Tuesday, 29 July, 1729.*

*Chesterfield, July 19. Our 40 1.*

Plate on Wednesday last was won by Sir Michael Newton's Quiet, beating Mr. Sinclair's Mifs Fanny, Sir Charles Sedley's Free Mafon, and Mr. Bruce's Sloven.

*The York Courant. No. 226. Tuesday, 6 January, 1729-10 (sic).*

On Friday last the Right Hon. the Earl of Sunderland was admitted into the Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accep-

ted Mafons, at the Horn Tavern in Palace-Yard, Westminster; where the Lord Kingfton, Grand Mafter, with his Deputy, and other Grand Officers, were prefent; as alfo the Dukes of Norfolk, Richmond, and Montagu, the Lords Dalkeith, Delvin and Inchiquin, and feveral other Perfons of Diftinction.

On Saturday they met again at the Devil Tavern within Temple-Bar, where the Mafters and Wardens of the feveral Lodges were affembled to chufe a Grand Mafter for the enfuing Year, and his Grace the Duke of Norfolk was accordingly elected into that Great Office.

At the fame time a Charity Bank was erected for the Relief of poor Brethren, their Widows and Orphans; and a confiderable Sum was collected, and paid to Nath. Blackerby, Efq; (prefent Deputy Grand Mafter) who was chofen Treafurer of the faid Charity.

Many People are in great Hopes that this myfterious Society, that is honour'd with feveral Perfons of high Rank, as Members thereof, having made a very laudable Beginning, will foon vie with thofe Societies that are at prefent the moft famous for charitable Deeds.

First paragraph—See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 79.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 245. Tuesday, 20 January to Tuesday, 27 January, 1729-30.*

From the London Evening Poft, January 24.

A Lodge of the antient and honourable Society of free and accepted Mafons was held laft Night at the Horn Tavern, Westminster, where were prefent the Duke of Kingfton Grand Mafter, Thomas Blackerby, Efq; Deputy Mafter, Duke of Richmond, Earl of Sunderland, Lord Inchiquin, and many more Lords and Gentlemen, and five Mafons were made, viz. the Earl of Portmore, Stephen Fox and Roger Holland Efqrs. the Hon. Mr. Forbes and Mr. Martin. Dr. Defaguiliers officiated Part of the Ceremonies on this Occafion.

The Lodge held at the Horn Tavern, Westminster, was No. 4 of the Four Old Lodges and is now Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge No. 4.

*The Original Mercury, York Journal: or, Weekly Courant. No. 233. Tuesday, 27 January, 1730.*

LONDON, January 22.

We hear that laft Night at a Meeting of the Stewards for the Annual Feaft of Free and Accepted Mafons, the Time and Place mentioned in the Tickets was thought proper to be altered at the Defire of

several Persons of Quality and Distinction who have taken Tickets. The Feast, we hear will be on Wednesday the 28th Instant; and that Notice will be given in Saturday's or Monday's News-Papers of the Hall, Stationers-Hall being too small to entertain so numerous an Appearance as we hear will be on that Occasion; and we are told that all the Masons who have Coaches intend to meet in St. James'-Square that Morning at Eleven o'Clock, to attend the Lord Kingston the present Grand Master, and his Grace the Duke of Norfolk the Grand Master, Elect, to the Hall where they Dine.

\* \* \* \* \*

NORTHAMPTON, *January 17.* Last

Night there was a great Assembly of Free Masons at the George Inn in this Town, when the said Inn was constituted a Lodge, of which Sir Arthur Haflerig, Bart. was chosen Master in Presence of the Duke of Richmond, and several other Gentlemen of that ancient Fraternity.

This was the first Lodge constituted in Northampton. In 1730 it was No. 62 and was erased in 1754.

*The Original Mercury, York Journal: or, Weekly Courant. No. 234. Tuesday, 3 February, 1730.*

LONDON, January 29.

This Day at Noon his Grace the Duke of Norfolk set out with a very magnificent Retinue, attended by great Numbers of Persons of Quality and others, from his House in St. James'-Square to Merchant Taylor's Hall in Threadneedle-street, to dine with the Society of free and accepted Masons, and to be chosen grand Master of that Society for the ensuing Year.

\* \* \* \* \*

From Written Letters.

*This Day his Grace the Duke of Norfolk was chosen Grand Master of the Hon. and Ancient Society of free Masons, who on this Occasion all wore white Leather Aprons, the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry of the said Society, as well as others.*

*The York Courant. No. 231. Tuesday, 10 February, 1729-30.*

Last Week the Earl of Portmore was admitted a Member of the Society of Free and Accepted Mafons.

\* \* \* \* \*

There was last Night at the Horn Tavern in Westminster, a Lodge of the Free and accepted Mafons, the Duke of Richmond presiding as Master of the said Lodge, when the Duke of Grafton was admitted and sworn a Member of that ancient and honourable Society.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Duke of Norfolk Grand Master, and the rest of the Society of Free-Mafons, have taken up the whole Pit and Boxes of the Theatre in Drury-Lane for next Thursday, when the Play of King Henry IV. whose Son was a Free-Mafon, is to be acted, and all the Members are to appear in white Gloves and white Leather Aprons.

The first paragraph also appeared in the Original Mercury, etc., of 10 February, 1730.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 247. Tuesday, 3 February to Tuesday, 10 February, 1729-30.*

On Sunday the 29th past, the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons attended the Right Hon. the Lord Kingfton, their late Grand Master, to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk's (their Grand Master elect) in St. James Square, from whence they went in Procession in their Coaches, with their white Aprons and Gloves, to Merchant Taylor's Hall in the City, where they had a very elegant Dinner provided by the twelve Stewards appointed for that Purpose. After Dinner his Grace was confirmed Grand Master for the Year ensuing, with the usual Ceremonies; who afterwards chose Nathaniel Blackerby, his Deputy Master, and the Hon. Col. Carpenter, and Thomas Batfon, Esq; his Grand Wardens. There was a grand Appearance of Nobility and Persons of Distinction, and the whole was conducted with the greatest Order and Regularity.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Society of Free and Accepted Mafons have appointed a Committee to enquire into the State of their distressed Brethren, in Order to their Relief.

The last paragraph also appeared in the Original Mercury, etc., of 10 February, 1730.

*The York Courant. No. 236. Tuesday, 17 March, 1729-30.*

Latter End of last Week a new Lodge was set up at the Bear and Harrow Tavern in Butcher-Row, near Temple Bar, when several Gentlemen of Fortune were admitted Free and Accepted Mafons. There were present on that Occasion his Grace the Duke of

Norfolk, Grand Master; Lord Kingfton, late  
Grand Master; Nathaniel Blackerby, Efq;  
Dep. Grand Master; and all the other Grand  
Officers of the Society.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 80. The foregoing also appeared in the Original Mercury, etc., of 17 March, 1730. The Lodge constituted at the Bear and Harrow united with St. George's and Corner Stone Lodge No. 5. Lane gives the date of Constitution as 26 February or 25 March, 1730. The above paragraph suggests the former.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 254. Tuesday, 7 April, to Tuesday, 14 April, 1730.*

We hear that on Friday laft Nathaniel Blackerby, Efq; Deputy-Grand Master, affifted by Dr. Defaguliers, formerly Grand Master, and other Grand Officers, conftituted a Lodge of Free and Accepted Mafons at the Red Lyon at Canterbury, at which Time feveral Gentlemen of that City and Neighbourhood were admitted Members of that moft Antient and Honourable Society.

\* \* \* \* \*

*A few Days fince, their Graces the Dukes of Richmond and Montagu, accompanied by feveral Gentlemen, who were all Free and Accepted Mafons, according to Antient Cuftom, form'd a Lodge upon the Top of a Hill near the Duke of Richmond's Seat, at Goodwood in Suffex, and made the Right Hon. the Lord Baltimore a Free and Accepted Mafon.*

The Lodge constituted at the Red Lyon, Canterbury, was No. 66, and was erased in 1754.

The Lodge formed on the Top of a Hill near Goodwood is well-known in Masonic history, and appears to have been thought of general interest to the public, as the account was also printed in the Original Mercury, etc., of 14 April, 1730.

*The Original Mercury, York Journal: or Weekly Courant. No. 245. Tuesday, 21 April, 1730.*

LONDON, APRIL 14.

On Saturday Fight (*sic*) laft at the Prince William Tavern at Charing-Crofs, Mr. Dennis the famous Poet and Critick was admitted a Free and Accepted Mafon at a Lodge then held there, having renounced the Society of the Gormogans, of which he had been a Member for many Years.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 82. The Lodge held at the Prince William Tavern was No. 64. It was constituted on 6 March, 1730, and erased in 1736.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 256. Tuesday, 21 April, to Tuesday, 28 April, 1730.*

On Tuesday laft there was a quarterly Communication of the Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Mafons held at the Devil's Tavern within Temple Bar, where were prefent the moft Noble his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master, with his General Officers, the moft Noble his Grace the Duke of Richmond, the Right Hon. the Earl of Inchequin, the Lord Kingfton, the Lord Colerain, and many other Perfons of Worth and Quality; when feveral large Sums were brought in, and ordered to be diftributed accordingly.

On Monday Night at a Lodge at the Bear and Harrow Tavern in Butcher-Row without Temple Bar, feveral Gentlemen were

admitted into the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons; of which Number were Sir Thomas Twifden, Bart. the Hon Mr. Chichefter, Brother to the Earl of Donegal, and Dr. Hollins an eminent Phyfician.

First paragraph—See Bro Dring's Tentative List No. 84.

Second paragraph—The Lodge held at the Bear and Harrow Tavern is mentioned previously in the York Courant of 17 March, 1730.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 259. Tuesday, 12 May, to Tuesday, 19 May, 1730.*

Norwich, May 9. On Tuefday was a Lodge of Free Mafons at Lynn, when Capt. Turner, Mafter, the Right Worfhipful the Mayor, Juftice Coney, Alderman Harwick, Mr. Underwood, Town Clerk, and about eight or ten more Free Mafons, all in their Aprons and Gloves, went to fee the Play of Henry the IVth, which was acted by his Grace the Duke of Grafton's Servants, before a numerous Audience, and with great Applaufe.

The Lodge held at Lynn, No. 70, was constituted on 1 October, 1729 and erased in 1786.

*The Original Mercury, York Journal: or, Weekly Courant. No. 252. Tuesday, 9 June, 1730.*

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE,  
MAY 29. \* \* \* \* \*

On Wednefday laft was held at Mr. Bartho. Pratt's in the Flefh-Market, a Lodge of the Hon. Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, at which abundance of Gentlemen affitted, wearing white Leathern Aprons and Gloves, after an Admiffion of fome Perfons there into that Hon. Order, they proceeded to the Moor-Hall, where was acted by their Command, the Play call'd the Committee, or the Faithful Irifhman, and a Prologue and Epilogue was fpoke futiable to Occafion, and likewife the Free Mafon's Song, to which was added Hob's Opera, and the Song of Molly Mog, for their Entertainment.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 83. This Newcastle Lodge is also mentioned in the Leeds Mercury of 17 January, 1738 and the Newcastle Journal of 29 December, 1739. There is no mention of this Lodge in Lane's Masonic Records.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 263. Tuesday, 9 June, to Tuesday, 16 June, 1730.*

#### LONDON.

On Monday laft the celebrated Mr. Orator Henley was admitted a Free and Accepted Mafon at the Prince William Lodge, Charing-Crofs, feveral Noblemen and Perfons of Difftinction being prefent at the Ceremony.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 90. The Lodge held at the Prince William, Charing Cross, No. 64, was constituted on 6 March, 1730 and erased in 1736.



*The Leeds Mercury.* No. 272. Tuesday, 18 August, to Tuesday, 25 August, 1730.

*We hear some Gentlemen lately returned from France, among other Things, say that his most Christian Majesty had been made a Free-Mason, in the usual Forms, by the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master of the Company, &c. that his Majesty hardly ever shewed himself more merry than he was at that Piece of Ceremony.*

*The Original Mercury, York Journal. or, Weekly Courant.* No. 273. Tuesday, 2 November, 1730.

*The Continuation of  
The History of Free-Masonry from the Enter'd  
'Prentice's Degree to the Master's Degree.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Here follows Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* almost word for word.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 95.

*The Leeds Mercury.* No. 284. Tuesday, 17 November, to Tuesday, 24 November, 1730.

*His Majesty's Proclamation is not yet published, but daily expected, for discovering and apprehending the vile Incendiaries. Who, since or last, have sent threatening Letters to several other Persons in this City, containing still nothing less than Death and Fire if their Demands are not comply'd with. And the like we hear from most Parts of the Country, particularly one to Mr. Ithel of Clarfield in Gloucestershire, as followeth,*

*Mr. Ithel,*

*November, 13.*

*We understand you are a Man of no Estate, yet as you are worth Money, we think you can spare a small Sum, and therefore we demand, that you put 12 l up in a brown Paper, under the uppermost Plank without your Dairy House Window, next Saturday by six o' Clock in the Evening; see you keep no Watch, for if you do we shall certainly know; if you comply both you and your Houses shall be saved, but if not, we solemnly protest and swear by our G—ds, Selves, and our whole Society, that both you and your Houses shall be burnt to Ashes, and so we leave you to your own Choice.—From our Company of Free Masons.*

The foregoing also appeared in the York Curant of 24 November, 1730; the word Dairy being spelt correctly. At this period the newspapers contained numerous accounts of the vile incendiaries. The epidemic started at Bristol but quickly spread over the country. This letter was obviously a libel on the Craft and appears to have been ignored by the public.

1731

*The Leeds Mercury.* No. 290. Tuesday, 29 December, to Tuesday, 5 January, 1730 (1731).

LONDON,

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master of the Antient and Honourable Order of Free Masons, has presented to the Brotherhood upwards of a hundred Pounds, in order to buy a handsome sword of State, (which is to cost about 40 l. and to be used at the Head Lodge at their Making) a large Folio Book for entering the Names of all the Brothers belonging to the several Lodges, and for other Uses.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 303. Tuesday, 30 March, to Tuesday, 6 April, 1731.*

LONDON,

On Saturday laft, at Mercers-Hall in Cheapfide, was held a Grand Lodge of the Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mofons, when the Right Hon. Thomas Lord Lovell, Baron of Minfter-Lovell, Knight of the moft Hon. Order of the Bath, was chofen Grand-Mafter, who was pleafed to appoint Thomas Batfon, Efq; to be his Deputy Grand-Mafter, George Douglas, M.D. and James Chambers, Efq; to be his Grand-Wardens for the Year enfuing: There were prefent, the Duke of Montague, Duke of Richmond, Earl of Inchiquin, Lord Coleraine, Dr. Defaguliers, and George Payne, Efq; (formerly Grand-Mafters) the Right Hon. the Lord Brudenell, the Marquefs du Quefne, the Hon. Col. George Carpenter, Sir Cecil Wray, and Sir Thomas Prendergaft, Barts. Sir James Thornhill, and feveral other Perfons of Quality and Diftinction, where every Thing was conducted with the greateft Decency, Unanimity and Order, above four hundred Brethren being prefent.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List Nos. 105 and 106.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 310. Tuesday, 18 May, to Tuesday, 25 May, 1731.*

On Friday laft the Right Hon. the Lord Lovel, Grand Mafter of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, late Grand Mafter, the Lord Inchiquin, Lord Colerain, and feveral Gentlemen of Diftinction, Members of the faid Society, dined at the Rose Tavern at Marybone: After Dinner there was a handfome Collection, as ufual, for the Relief of decay'd Perfons, Members of the faid Society.

The Lodge held at the Rose Tavern, Marylebone, is now the Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28. It was constituted 25 May, 1725.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 314. Tuesday, 15 June, to Tuesday, 22 June, 1731.*

We hear that on Saturday laft the Right Hon. the Lord Lovell, Grand Mafter of the Free and Accepted Mafons, vifited the Lodge at the Golden Spikes at Hampftead, attended by his Grand Officers, when the Right Hon. Anthony Lord Vifcount Montacute, was chofen Mafter of the Lodge in the Room of George Rooke, Efq: There was a good Appearance of Perfons of Quality and Diftinction.

The Lodge held at the Golden Spikes, Hampstead, No. 68, was constituted on 28 April, 1730 and erased in 1742.

*The York Courant. No. 318. Tuesday, 12 October, 1731.*

*To the Ladies and Gentlemen of this City, and County of YORK; and, To all other Ladies and Gentlemen being Free-Mafons, on this side of Trent,*

CITY of      **W**HEREAS for the better Entertainment of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the laft Horfe-Races, Three large Rooms in *Ogleforth* upon the fame Floor (lying contiguous to each, and with three Communications to the Long Room, which

is 25 Yards long, and the whole Floor 13 Yards broad, being 2925 Feet or 325 Yards Square,) were prepared and made convenient with proper Furniture, and where moſt of the Perſons of Quality and Diſtinction met every Day, and much approved of the ſaid Project; when and where the Criticks in Muſick were then pleaſed to ſay, It was the only proper Place at preſent in *York* for a Comfort of Muſick, thro' the great Advantage of a lofty Stair-Cafe plac'd in the Centre of the Rooms, which will, without Crowding, contain above 300 Perſons; and has therein Five Fire-Steeds, two different Entrances for Coaches and Chairs, three Stair-Cafes, and a large Kitchen and Hall for Servants.

And whereas for the better and further Diversion of the Ladies and Gentlemen, during the Winter Seafon, there is at this Place every *Wednesday* Night an Affembly; and are likewise now ready prepared every Day in the ſaid Long-Room Nine various Kinds of faſhionable, healthful, or profitable Diversions, upon ſo moderate a Subscription as 5s. per Quarter, or 2s. 6d. for the Affembly only: The Projector therefore hopes for your favourable Encouragement; and by an antient Order made at *St. John's* Lodge, all our ſaid loving Brothers and Siſters of that honourable Society, (duly qualified) are deſired to take Notice hereof.

The Projector, who owned the rooms in Ogleforth and inserted this advertisement, was Edward Gale Boldero, a member of the York Grand Lodge.

1732

*The York Courant.* No. 331. Tuesday, 11 January, 1731-2.

There is lately erected a Society who call themſelves FREE SAWYERS, who claim a Priority to the Free Maſons, the Order of Gormogon, and Antient Hums; for as the Free Maſons pretend to date their Standing from the Building of Babel, ſo theſe FREE SAWYERS ſay, they cut the Stones for theſe mad Builders; and what is very remarkable among them, they have a fine Silver Saw laid on their Table at their Meetings, with this Motto, LET IT WORK.

1735

*The Leeds Mercury.* No. 505. Tuesday, 25 February, to Tuesday, 4 March, 1734-5.

On Monday Night was held a Quarterly Communication of the moſt antient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Maſons, at the Devil Tavern, Temple-bar, moſt of the Grand Officers, and upwards of three Hundred Maſters and Wardens of

Lodges, properly cloathed, were present; particularly the Right Hon. the Earl of Crawford, Grand Master; Sir Cecil Wray, Bart. Deputy Grand Master; Sir Edward Manfell, Bart. and John Ward, Esq; Grand Wardens. His Grace the Duke of Richmond, his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, the Right Hon. the Lord Balbarras, Dr. Defaguliers, and several other Persons of the first Quality and Distinction. A handsome Sum was disposed of towards the Relief of several poor Brethren. They unanimously chose the Lord Viscount Weymouth, Grand Master for the Year ensuing; Sir Cecil Wray, Bart. and Sir Edward Manfell, Bart. Grand Wardens.

1736

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 549. Tuesday, 20 April, 1736.*

LONDON, April 15. . . .

This Day about 2 o'Clock the Grand Cavalcade of the most Ancient and Honourable Society of the Free and Accepted Masters, set forward from the Earl of Loudon's House in Privy-Garden to Fishmonger's Hall in Thames-street, The Procession was as follows: A Pair of Kettle-Drums, two Trumpets, two French Horns, four Hautboys, two Bassoons, the twelve present Stewards in twelve Chariots, the Master and Wardens of the Stewards Lodge in one Coach, the Brethren in their respective Coaches, the twelve Representatives of the Stewards Lodge, the Noblemen and Gentlemen who have served in the Grand Offices, the two Grand Wardens in one Coach, the Deputy Grand Master alone, the Secretary and Sword Bearer in one Coach; the Right Hon the Lord Viscount Weymouth, the present Grand Master, and the Right Hon. the Earl of Loudon, the Grand Master elect, together, in the Lord Weymouth's Coach; the Earl of Loudon's Coach and six Horses empty, closes the Procession. The Cavalcade proceeded thro' the Strand, Fleet-street, Cheapside, Cornhill, and Gracechurch-street, to Fishmongers-Hall, where a very elegant Entertainment was provided by the present Stewards, whose Names are as follows.

Francis Blythe, Esq;	Mr. Swale
Dr. Hody	Mr. Champion
Dr. Wolden	Mr. Pringle
Dr Schamberg, jun.	Capt. Scot
Benjamin Gascoign, Esq;	Mr. ———
James Rufh, Esq;	Mr. Gowland

In the Evening there will be a grand Ball for the Ladies, and the whole will be concluded with the usual Magnificence and Grandeur.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 157.

1737

*The Leeds Mercury.* No. 584. Tuesday, 15 March, 1736-7.*Extract of a private Letter from Paris, dated  
March 16th, N.S. \* \* \* \* \**

*The Order of the free Mafons which is of so long a standing in England, grows very Modish amongst us, almost every one strives to become a Member of it, paying 10 Louis d'Ors Entrance Money.*

*Last Sunday there was a grand Dinner prepared at which 72 Brethren of Distinction were present, but before they sat at Table the Duke of Luxemburg won 700 Louis d'Ors of an English Lord at Picket: Ten Members were that Day admitted, and fix the next; there are now five Lodges of that Order in Paris; but as all great Affociations, how innocent soever they be, may grow dangerous in Time; and as all Affsemblies are forbid without the King's Order, 'tis thought this Society will meet here with the same fate as it did in Holland, the evil Consequences of it having been already represented to the Privy Council.*

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 167.

*The Leeds Mercury.* No. 585. Tuesday, 22 March, 1736-7.*Extract of two private Letters from Paris, dated  
the 20th Instant, N.S. \* \* \* \* \**

*The Order of the Free Mafons encreases so fast, that it now takes up nine Lodges, amongst the new Members are the Prince of Cantù, all our young Dukes, and even the Count of Maurepas, Secretary of State. The Ladies we hear design to set up a new Order in imitation of it; but as none but those who can keep a Secret are to be admitted, 'tis thought their Society will be very thin.*

*The Leeds Mercury.* No. 589. Tuesday, 29 March, 1737.*Extract of two private Letters from Paris, dated  
the 30th Instant, N.S. \* \* \* \* \**

*All the Taverns and Eating Houses are forbid, by an Order of the Lieut. de Police, to entertain the Free-Mafons, which has baulked a great Feast that was lately bespoke, but the Gentlemen generously paid the Charges of it; however they meet in private Houses without the least disguise or secrecy, and as the high Rank of several of 'em puts them above minding the ordinary Magistrates, 'tis thought the King will exert his whole Authority to stop their further Meetings in any Place or Shape whatsoever.*

*The Leeds Mercury.* No. 592. Tuesday, 19 April, 1737.

LONDON, April 16.

Last Wednesday Night there was held a  
Grand Lodge of the antient and honourable So-

ciety of Free and accepted Mafons at the Devil Tavern, Temple-bar, where was present the Right Hon. the Earl of Loudoun, the present Grand Master, Lord Crawford, late Grand Master, Lord Weims, Lord Hume, John Ward, Esq; Deputy Grand Master; Sir Robert Lawley and Dr. George Grame, Grand Wardens; with several other Persons of Distinction; with the Masters and Wardens of 75 Lodges, and the Stewards for the ensuing Feast; when the Grand Master present declared the Right Hon. the Earl of Darnley to be Grand Master for the Year ensuing.

We are inform'd, that there will be an elegant Entertainment prepared for the Reception of the Brethren at the Grand Feast, which is to be held at Fifhmonger's-Hall the 28th Instant; and that several Lodges have sent in their Contributions to Augment the Bands of Mufick, which are to precede in the Cavalcade.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 594. Tuesday, 3 May, 1737.*

LONDON, April 28. \* \* \*

There are spread about at Paris Copies of an apologising Letter, wrote by a Free Mafon: He says amongst other Particulars, 'That the Things imputed to the Disadvantage of the Brotherhood, obliges him publickly to undertake its Defence. That the Views the Free-Mafons propose to themselves, are the most pure and inoffensive, and tend only to promote such Qualities in them as may from good Citizens, and zealous Subjects; faithful to their Prince, to their Country, and to their Friends: That the Name of Free Mafons is far from being an insignificant Title: That the Duty which it Prescribes to those that bear it, is to endeavour to erect Temples for Virtue, and Dungeons for Vice. He adds, that he is by no Means afraid of violating the Secret impos'd on them, in publishing that their principal Design is to restore to the Earth the Reign of Aftrea, and to revive the Time of Rhea. He assures the Fair, that the whole Brotherhood is full of Respect and Veneration for them; but that these Sentiments are not exempt from Fear; and that even this same Fear obliges the Free Mafons to exclude their Sex from their Assemblies. He concludes in this Manner: This Exclusion ought by no Means to provoke the Indignation of those who are the Objects of it: To prevent such an Effect, they need only recollect from whom Adam receiv'd the Apple: Sad Present! Since

had it not been for that fatal Apple, Adam  
would have remain'd the frst Free Mafon.

\* \* \* \* \*

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List Nos. 163 and 164.

This Day at Noon the Grand Cavalcade of  
the Free-Mafons was made from the Earl of  
Darnley's Houfe in Pall Mall (his Lordfhip be-  
ing the Grand Mafter) to Fifhmonger's-Hall in  
Thames-Street where an elegant Entertainment  
was provided: Several Noblemen and other  
Perfons of Diftnction and Members of the  
Society din'd there with their Brethern (*sic*)

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 608. Tuesday, 9 August, 1737.*

LONDON, August 4. \* \* \*

We hear that a Deputation from the Society  
of Free and accepted Mafons of this Kingdom  
is to be fent to Germany, to congratulate (a  
Royal Brother) the Duke of Lorain, on his  
Acceffion to the Dutchy of Tufcany.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 614. Tuesday, 15 November, 1737.*

LONDON, November 8. \* \* \*

We hear that on Saturday laft was held at  
Kew a Lodge of Free Mafons, where Dr. De-  
faguliers prefided, when there were admitted  
feveral Perfons of high Diftnction as Brethren  
by that Order.

This Lodge at Kew is not mentioned in Lane's Masonic Records.

1738

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 623. Tuesday, 17 January, 1737 (1738).*

#### COUNTRY NEWS.

Newcastle, Dec. 31. \* \* \*

On Tuefday the 27th of December, being St.  
John's Day, was held the Anniverfary Meeting  
of the moft Ancient and Honourable Society of  
Free and Accepted Mafons, at Mr. Baxter's on  
the Key. The Society confifted of the Principal  
Inhabitants of the Town and Country. In the  
Afternoon they were faluted with the Difcharge  
of Guns, and other Demonftrations of Joy. In  
the Evening they had an elegant Entertainment,  
and unanimoufly nominated Walter Blackett,  
Efq; their Mafter; Mr. Thoresby, their De-  
puty-Mafter; and Mr. Newton and Mr. Graham,  
their Wardens, for the Year enfuing.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 198. Bro. Dring places this item in  
the year 1739. This Newcastle Lodge is also mentioned in the Original Mercury, etc.,  
of 9 June, 1730 and the Newcastle Journal of 29 December, 1739. The only member  
present that I have traced is Walter Blackett, "a gentleman of very great property"  
(York Courant, 14 November, 1769). He had previously changed his name from Walter  
Calverly (Leeds Mercury, 4 February, 1729); later he became Sir Walter Blackett,  
Bart., and was as Alderman and M.P. for Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He died in 1777 "in  
the 70th year of his age".

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 626. Tuesday, 7 February, 1737 (1738).*

We hear that the principal Members of the Society of Free and Accepted Mafons intend to wait on the Prince of Wales, with an humble Requeft to his Royal Highnefs, to accept of the Grand Mafterfhip of that Ancient and Honourable Body for the Year enfuing.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 628. Tuesday, 21 February, 1737 (1738).*

London, February 16. \* \* \*

We hear that the Earl of Anglefea will be chosen Grand Mafter of the Society of Free-Mafons for the current year.

This prophesy was not fulfilled.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 629. Tuesday, 28 February, 1737 (1738).*

London, February 21. \* \* \*

Laft Friday Night was constituted a Lodge of the antient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, at Paul Brown's, at the Sign of the Bacchus in Little Bufh-Lane, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Darnley, prefent Grand Mafter, Dr. Defaguliers, Deputy Grand Mafter, pro tempore, the Hon. Lord George Graham, fenior Grand Warden, pro tempore, William Græme, M.D. junior Grand Warden, there being prefent the Right Hon. the Earl of London, with feveral other Gentlemen of Diftinction, an elegant Entertainment was provided, and the whole concluded with the utmoft Decency and Decorum. The Furniture of the faid Lodge may be faid to excel for Beauty, moft in England.

\* \* \* \* \*

Laft Night Sir Maltus Royal was admitted a free and accepted Mafon, at a Lodge at the Fountain Tavern in Bartholomew-Lane.

The Lodge, held at the Sign of the Bacchus, No. 169, was constituted on 17 February, 1738 and erased in 1745.

The Lodge, held at the Fountain Tavern, No. 168, was constituted on 27 January, 1738 and erased in 1746.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 633. Tuesday, 28 March, 1738.*

LONDON, March 23.

The Earl of Darnley, prefent Grand Mafter of the Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, has appointed the 6th of April next, at the Devil Tavern, Temple-Bar, for a General Communication, in order to elect the Right Hon. the Marquis of Carnarvon, Grand Mafter for the enfuing Year.



*The Leeds Mercury. No. 635. Tuesday, 11 April, 1738.*

LONDON, April 8.

On Thursday Night at a Lodge of the Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, held at the Devil Tavern in Fleet-ftreet, the Right Hon. the Marquifs of Cavernon (*sic*), firft Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, was elected Grand Mafter for the Year enfuing; and his Lordfhip has appointed the Feaft for the 27th of this Month, at Fifhmonger's-Hall.

At the fame time Nathaniel Blackerby, Efq; refign'd his Place of Treasurer to the Society.

Fifty Pounds were Collected in Charity, for the diftreff'd Brethren.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 638. Tuesday, 2 May, 1738.*

LONDON, April 27.

This Day the Society of Free and accepted Mafons with the Marquifs of Carnarvon, their Grand Mafter at their Head, made their Cavalcade thro' this City to Fifhmonger's-Hall, where a grand Entertainment was provided for them.

*The York Courant. No. 662. Tuesday, 30 May, 1738.*

York, May 29. \* \* \* \*

On the 22d Inft. a Lodge of the antient Society of Free Mafons, was held at the White Horfe in Coppergate, when the Grand Mafter was pleas'd to conftitute a new Lodge, to be held at the Talbot in Hallifax; and appointed Mr. James Hamilton Mafter of the fame, and Mr. Francis Benton, and Mr. John Mellin Wardens.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 189. This Halifax Lodge was the firft Subordinate Lodge conftituted by the York Grand Lodge. The above paragraph is evidence that the York Grand Lodge was working as late as 1738.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 644. Tuesday, 13 June, 1738.*

*Extract of a Letter from Florence, May 14.*

'The Free Mafons Lodges which had been  
'interdicted here, during the Life of the late  
'Great Duke, are now held again with all the  
'Liberty and Freedom imaginable; and with-  
'out any Dread of the Inquifition, which has  
'no Right to attack a Society of which the new  
'Sovereign is a Member.' (*This is falfe Logick;*  
*a Sovereign may be a Member of a very illegal and*  
*evil Society: But the Streffs lies in this Point; the*  
*Inquifition has Power over the Sovereign himfelf in*  
*Matters of Religion, &c.*) 'The free Mafons of  
'Leghorn have alfo re-opened their Lodges;  
'and we hear from Conftantinople, that the

'Lodges at Smyrna and Aleppo are greatly en-  
 'creas'd, and that several Turks of Distinction  
 'have been admitted into them! *This is false*  
*again; the Free Mafons fure are Men of too much*  
*Honour, Religion, and Good-Sense, to receive the*  
*declar'd Enemies of Jefus Christ into their Society.*

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 190.

*The York Courant. No. 667. 4 July, 1738.*

*Florence, June 11.* The Pope judging the  
 Fraternity of the Free Mafons to be highly  
 deferving of the Ecclefiaftical Cenfures, his  
 Holinefs has iffued out a Bull of Excomuni-  
 cation againft that Society, the Subftance of  
 which is as folows:

'In the Midft of the Cares of the Apoftle-  
 'fhip, and the continual Attention we have to  
 'extirpate Herefies and maintain the Lord's  
 'Vineyard in all its Purity; we have heard  
 'with Grief and Bitternefs of Soul, that a  
 'certain Society, who ftile themselves the Fra-  
 'ternity of Free Mafons, after making Pro-  
 'greffs in feveral States in Europe, have like-  
 'wife fspread into Itay, and even had fome  
 'Increafe. We have confider'd that the im-  
 'penetrable Secret of this fo myfterious Society  
 'is the effential Part, and as it were the Bafis  
 'of its Inftitution; and that being thereby be-  
 'come fufpiciouss to the Temporal Powers, fe-  
 'veral of them have proferibed it in their Do-  
 'minions. We have likewife confider'd, that  
 'by much ftronger Reafons it ought to be fu-  
 'fpicious to the Spiritual Power, whose Charge  
 'it is to have an ever-watchful Eye to every  
 'Thing that may concern the Salvation of  
 'Souls. For thefe Reafons, and animated by  
 'our Pafforal Care, we have condemn'd, and  
 'do condemn by the prefent Bill, the Societies  
 'of Free-Mafons, as perverfe, contrary to  
 'publick Order, and having incurr'd the Ma-  
 'jor Excommunication in its utmoft Extent  
 'forbidding all Perfons of what Rank, Quali-  
 'ty, or Condition foever, who profefs the Ca-  
 'tholick, Apoftolick, and Roman Religion,  
 'to caufe themselves to be written down, or  
 'received into that Society, to frequent any of  
 'its Members or hold Correſpondence with  
 'them, or to fuffer or tolerate any Affemblies  
 'of Free-Mafons in their Houfes, under Penal-  
 'ty to the Contraveners of incurring likewife  
 'the faid Excommunication; referving to  
 'ourſelves alone the Right of taking it off,  
 'except in Cafe of Death, &c.'

Given at Rome the 29th of May, 1738.

The Government has acquainted the Great

Duke with the Publication of this Bull, and wait his Royal Highness's Orders, to know whether it is to be put in Execution. *But with their Leave, it is an absolute Excommunication (sic) to such as own the Pope's Supremacy, whether that Government accept the Bull or not.*

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 191. This also appeared in the Leeds Mercury of 4 July, 1738 with the exception of the last paragraph.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 647. Tuesday, 4 July, 1738.*

LONDON, June 29.

We learn from private Letters from Rome, that the Pope, upon his having a Sum of Money collected from the several Lodges of Mafons in London, to be dispos'd of in Charity in *his Way* has issued Orders to have his Bull recalled, and has sent several Messengers to stop its appearing before the Grand Duke; 'tis further said, that he and several of the Cardinals have been proposed in different Lodges in Europe, according to their *Jesuitical* Desire, and are in a manner accepted of; so that 'tis not doubted, but he'll soon issue an Order to excommunicate those, who are not of the ancient and Honourable Society of *Free and Accepted Mafons*.

\* \* \* \* \*

Last Saturday being St. John's Day, there was a Grand Meeting of Free and Accepted Mafons, at the Talbot in Halifax, when Mr. Francis Benton was chosen Grand Master; Mr. James Hamilton Deputy Grand Master, and Mr. Mellin and Mr. Lupton Wardens.

First paragraph—See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 192. This also appeared in the York Courant of 4 July, 1738.

Last paragraph—This is the Subordinate Lodge of the York Grand Lodge constituted at York earlier in the year and is the last known reference to this Lodge.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 649. Tuesday, 18 July, 1738.*

LONDON, July 13.

On Monday Night last the Right Hon. the Marquis of Caernarvon, Grand Master of the Free and Accepted Mafons, attended by the Hon. George Graham, and the rest of the Grand Officers, with several Persons of Distinction, constituted a Lodge of Free and Accepted Mafons at Mr. White's, at the Swan Tavern on Fift-street Hill, where an elegant Entertainment was provided, with good Economy.

This Lodge, No. 175, held at the Swan Tavern was constituted on 10 July, 1738 and erased in 1742.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 653. Tuesday, 15 August, 1738.*

Edinburgh, Aug. 3. Yesterday between Three and Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, the first Stone of the New Royal Infirmary of this City

was laid with great Pomp and Ceremony, on which was this Infcription, viz. *The Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, founded Auguft 2, 1738, Earl Cromarey G.M. 1738.* And fo much Money is already by voluntary Contribution to carry on this fo ufeul and neceffary a Work, and there appears fuch a Spirit in Perfons of all Ranks to encourage it, that it is not doubted but the Building may be finifh'd without the leaft Encroachment upon the Capital Stock.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 193.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 662. Tuesday, 17 October, 1738.*

We hear that a Lodge of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, was regularly removed from the Rummer Tavern, near Lincoln's Inn-Fields, to Mr. Daniel's at the Dog Tavern in Richmond; feveral Brethern from London, with white Gloves and Aprons, and the proper Enfigns of their Order, walked in Poffeffion thro' the Town; there were feveral Mafters and Wardens amongft them; and the whole was conveyed with Decency and Order, to the Admiration and Pleafure of the Town, who never faw fuch a Sight before.

This Lodge, No. 89, was constituted on 11 April, 1732. Lane's Masonic Records suggest that the Lodge moved from the Rummer and Horse Shoe in Drury Lane to the Dog at Richmond in 1739. The Lodge returned to the King's Head, St. Paul's Churchyard, in 1740 and was erased in 1745.

*The Lancashire Journal. No. XX. Monday, 13 November, 1738.*

*Extract of a Letter from Bath, October 30.*

\* \* \* \* \*

The Right Hon. the Earl of Darnley, late Grand-Mafter, John Ward, Efq; Deputy Grand-Mafter, Sir Edward Manfel, Bart. Dr. Defaguliers, and feveral other Brethren of the Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, held an extraordinary Lodge at the Bear Tavern, in Honour of the Day, and in Refpect to his Royal Highnefs, who is a Brother Mafon.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 194. This Bath Lodge is also mentioned in the York Courant of 30 January, 1739. It was Lodge No. 113, constituted on 18 May, 1733, and held meetings at the White Bear, Stall Street, Bath. It is now the Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41.

1739

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 676. Tuesday, 23 January, 1738/9.*

LONDON, January 18.

Yefterday the Right Hon. the Marquis of Caernarvon, Grand Mafter of the Free and accepted Mafons, introduc'd Dr. James Anderfon, at a private Audience, to his Royal Highnefs the

Prince of Wales, who in the Name of the whole Fraternity, humbly presented the new Book of Constitutions, dedicated to his Royal Highness, and it was graciously received.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 199. The foregoing also appeared in the York Courant of 23 January, 1739.

*The York Courant. No. 694. Tuesday, 30 January, 1739.*

Tuesday

*Bath, Jan. 20.* This being the Birth-Day of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the same was celebrated with great Demonstrations of Joy in this City, \* \* \*  
\* \* \* The Society of Free-Masons met in the Evening to drink many long and glorious Days to their Royal Brother.

This Bath Lodge is also mentioned in the Lancashire Journal of 13 November, 1738.

*The York Courant. No. 694. Tuesday, 30 January, 1739.*

*This Day is published,*

(In large and small Quarto)

*Dedicated to his Royal Highness FREDERICK Prince of Wales, and presented by the Right Hon- the Marquis of Carnarvon, present GRAND MASTER, in the Name of the whole Fraternity,*

THE new Book of CONSTITUTIONS of the

Antient and Honourable Fraternity of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS. Containing their History, Charges, Regulations, &c. collected and digested by Order of the Grand Lodge, from their old Records, faithful Traditions, and Lodge Books. For the Use of the Lodges.

*By JAMES ANDERSON, D.D.*

N.B. This new Book is about twice as large as the Former, having many proper Additions, especially the principal Transactions of the Grand Lodge ever since.

Printed for WARD and CHANDLER, Bookfellers, in *Coney-Street, York*, and at *Scarborough*,

Price of the large Paper bound for the Use of the Lodges 10s. 6d. Small Paper bound for private Hands 5s.

The second edition of the Book of Constitutions.

This advertisement appeared only in the York Courant on one other occasion, in No. 740 of 18 December, 1739, when "in Turkey extraordinary one Guinea" was added.

*The Lancashire Journal. No. XXXIII. Monday, 12 February, 1738-9.*

*Rome, January 24.*

THE Chevalier de St. George had lately an Audience of, and a long Conversation with the Pope. A Decree has been published renewing the Condemnation of

the Fraternity of Free Mafons, with a Promise of a Reward of a hundred Crowns of Gold to any one that fhall difcover any or (*sic*) the Heads or Members of that Society, and the fame for thofe who fhall point out the Place where they affemble in this City.

LONDON, February 8.

A new Society, who call themselves Modern Mafons, has lately been founded in Cold Bath Fields; their Number is already increafed to nine Hundred, and they admit Women as well as Men, who they call Sifters. They hold a Lodge every Night, but Sunday Evenings is the greateft Meeting. They are govern'd by a Grand Mafter and Warden; and the prefent Grand Mafter is an eminent Attorney in Alderfgate-ftreet, who is cloath'd in a rich Habit, purchafed by the faid Grand Mafter, and to be worn by all fucceeding Mafters; he being the firft in that Office fince their Inftitution.

*The York Courant. No. 700. Tuesday, 13 March, 1739.*

Our Letters from Rome bring an Account, that a new Bull, dated Jan. 14, N.S. was publifh'd againft the *Free-Mafons*, in which all Admiffions into the Society or Lodges were prohibited, upon Pain of *Death*, in any Part of the Ecclefiaftical States: But the Pope has not thought fit to ufurp on the *Regale* of the neighbouring Princes or more diftant Countries where Lodges are eftablifh'd, as he is very fenfible of the little Regard paid to his Thunder fo near as Florence, fince under the Government of the Duke of Lorrain, who is a Brother.

The foregoing also appeared in the Leeds Mercury of 13 March, 1739.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 1. Saturday, 7 April, 1739.*

*From the EDINBURGH PAPERS.*

The Managers of the ROYAL INFIRMARY have refolved to begin the Building for this Seafon on Thurfday the 5th of April at 3 Afternoon; and the Mafons to be employed are to meet at Mary's Chapel, to attend on the Grand Lodge, who are to make fuch a Proceffion in their proper Clothing and Jewels, as they did when they witneffed the Foundation-ftone laying, and fetting the Work of that Building.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 687. Tuesday, 10 April, 1739.*

London, April 7.

We hear the Right Hon. the Marquefs of Carnarvon, Grand Mafter of England, hath appointed William Horton, of Halifax, Efq;

Provincial Grand Mafter, over all the West  
Riding of the County of York.

At this time there was only one Masonic Lodge in the West Riding of Yorkshire; this was the Lodge at Halifax constituted on 1 August, 1738 and now called the Lodge of Proberty No. 61. Bro. W. R. Makins quotes this paragraph in "Notes on the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Yorkshire, 1771-1821"—Transactions of the Humber Installed Masters' Lodge Vol. VIII.

*The Lancashire Journal. No. XLII. Monday, 16 April, 1739.*

WE hear from Rome, that about a Month since, by Order of the Inquisition, was burnt there, in the open Place before the Church of Santa Maria fupra Minerva, with great Solemnity, a Piece wrote by the Chevalier Ramfay (Author of the Lives of Cyrus, Fenelon Archbishop of Cambray, &c) in Defence of Free-Mafonry. (of which he was a Member) entitled, *Relation Apologique et Hiftorique de la Secrete des Frances-Mafons*, par J.G.D.M.F.M. A Dublin chez

*Patriæ Odonoko*, 1738. This was publifh'd at Paris in Anfwer to a pretended Catechifm printed there by Order of the Lieutenant de Police, much of the fame Nature and Authority of that printed there in Englifh by one Pritchard, and paraded into the World by the fame folemn Oaths; though the one is as little credited as the other.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 204.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 688. Tuesday, 17 April, 1739.*

We hear that the Right Hon. Robert Lord Raymond is appointed Grand Mafter for the Year enfuing, of the Ancient and Hon. Society of Free and Accepted Mafons.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 203.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 691. Tuesday, 8 May, 1739.*

London, May 3. \* \* \* \*

This Day the Right Hon. the Marquefs of Caernarvon, the prefent Grand Mafter, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Raymond, the Grand Mafter elect, of the Ancient and Honourable Society of free and accepted Mafons, attended by feveral Noblemen, and many Perfons of Difinction, together with the Mafons and Wardens of the feveral Lodges, and others of that venerable Order, went in a grand Proceffion from the Braund's-Head in New Bond-ftreet, to Fifh-mongers Hall, in Chariots and Coaches, preceded by Mufick, &c. where a moft fplendid and elegant Entertainment was provided for the faid Brotherhood.

*The Lancashire Journal. No. XLVI. Monday, 14 May, 1739.*

LONDON, May 5.

On Thursday laft \* \* \* \* \*

The fame Day the Right Hon. the Marquis of Carnarvon, Grand Mafter, the Right Hon. the Lord Raymond Grand Mafter elect, of the Free and Accepted Mafons, attended by feveral Noblemen, and many other Perfons of Difinction, together with the Mafters and Wardens of the feveral Lodges of that venerable Order, went from the Braund's Head in New Bond-ftreet, in 85 Coaches and Chariots, thro' the City in Grand Proceffion to Fifthmongers Hall, preceeded by Mufick, where a moft fplendid Entertainment was provided for the Brotherhood.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 202.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 9. Saturday, 2 June, 1739.*

Friday's Poft, May 29.

Yesterday died, at his Houfe in Exeter-Court, Dr. James Anderfon, a Diffenting Teacher.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 201.

*The York Courant. No. 712. 29 May to 5 June, 1739.*

## DEATHS.

The Rev. and Learned Dr. James Anderfon, at his Houfe in Exeter-Court, a noted Diffenting Minifter. Author of the Royal Genealogical Tables, and of feveral Theological and Hiftorical Works, and the Conftitutions of the Ancient and Hon. Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, lately publifh'd. He was a Perfon of great Learning and Abilities, and reckoned a very facetious Companion.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 10. Saturday, 9 June, 1739.**From the LONDON PRINTS.*

Laft Night was interr'd in Bunhill Fields the Corpfe of Dr. Anderfon, a Diffenting Teacher, in a very remarkable deep Grave. His Pall was fupported by five Diffenting Teachers, and the Rev. Dr. Defagu-liers: It was followed by about a Dozen of Free-Mafons, who encircled the Grave; and after Dr. Earle had harangued on the Uncertainty of Life, &c. without one Word of the Deceafed, the Brethren, in a moft folemn difmal Pofture, lifted up their Hands, figh'd and ftruck their Aprons three Times in Honour of the Deceafed.



*The York Courant. No. 726. Tuesday, 11 September, 1739.*

LONDON, Sept. 6. \* \* \* \*

Yesterday in the Afternoon, the Master Maſon laid the firſt Stone in the Foundation of the Manſion Houſe, in the Prefence of a great Number of Gentlemen belonging to this City, when a Collection was made for the Workmen on that Occaſion.

This paragraph alſo appeared in the Newcastle Journal of 15 September, 1739.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 34. Saturday, 24 November, 1739.*

*From the EDINBURGH PAPERS.*

Yeſternight at a quarterly Communication of the Free and Accepted Maſons, held at the Grand Lodge, the Right Hon. the Earl of Morton was nominated to ſucceed the Right Hon. the Earl of Kintore as Grand Maſter for Scotland.

*The York Courant. No. 738. Tuesday, 4 December, 1739.*

This Day is Published,  
(Price bound 2s.)

*Finely printed in a ſmall Pocket Volume, and is truly the cheapeſt Book of the Kind ever published, as may plainly appear on the leaſt Examination.*

THE MERRY COMPANION: Or Universal Songſter.

Conſiſting of a new Collection of about 450 celebrated Songs, \* \* \* \*

One Hundred Miſcellaneous Songs including \* \* \*  
the Free-Maſons, \* \* \* \*

Printed for Meſſ. Hazard, againſt Stationer's Hall; Ward and Chandler, at the ſhip without Temple-Bar, London; and at their Shops in York and Scarborough.

The Merry Companion is not mentioned in Bro. Dring's Tentative Liſt. This advertisement was repeated frequently. The Second Edition was advertised in the York Courant of 30 March, 1742.

*The York Courant. No. 740. Tuesday, 18 December, 1739.*

*From Mr TOMPKINS'S Letter. \* \* \**

*A Letter has been received by the Duke of Richmond, from the King of Pruffia, ſignifying his Maſteſty's Deſire of being admitted a Member of the ancient and honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Maſons; for which Purpoſe the Grand Lodge fixed on the Reverend Dr Defaguliers, formerly Grand Maſter, to go over and aſſiſt at the Ceremony; but the Doctor's Indiſpoſition not permitting him, 'tis ſaid the Provincial Grand Maſter of Hamburgh is gone over to initiate His Pruffian Maſteſty, and a certain Number of his Officers into that Society—Much more might be ſaid, but content with the Rules of Maſonry, It is good to know what NOT to ſay.*

*Vide Preface to Conſtitutions.*

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 39. Saturday, 29 December, 1739.*

NEWCASTLE, \* \* On Thursday last \* \* \*

The fame Day, being St. John's, a Lodge of the Ancient and Worfhipful Society of Free and Accepted Mafons was held at Mrs. Baxter's on the Key, when Hylton Lawfon of Chirton Esq; was chofen Mafter, Mr. George Blenkinfop Deputy-Mafter, and Mr. Jofeph Smith and Mr. John Rofe, Wardens, for the Year enfuing.

This Newcastle Lodge is also mentioned in the Original Mercury, etc., of 9 June, 1730 and the Leeds Mercury, 17 January, 1738. Hilton Lawson of Chirton was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1767 and died in December of the same year whilst in office. George Blenkinsop died in February, 1768 and is described as of the Iron Works, Newcastle, aged 90 (York Courant) and a person of considerable fortune (Newcastle Journal).

1740.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 726. Tuesday, 1 January, to Tuesday, 8 January, 1739-40.*

On Saturday laft Mr. Edward Godfrey paid into the Hands of Mr. Drummond the Banker, 21 l. the Contribution of the Mafter, Wardens, and Brothers of the Lodge of Honorary Free Mafons, held at the Prince of Orange's Head in Jermyn ftree for the Ufe of deferted young children.

This Lodge is not mentioned in Lane's Masonic Records.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 44. Saturday, 2 February, 1740.*

EDINBURGH, Jan. 24. \* \* \* \*

The great Societies have generoufly contributed for Relief of the Poor at this Time of Affliction; particularly that of the Free-Mafons, who have extended a very liberal Hand.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 46. Saturday, 16 February, 1740.*

*From the EDINBURGH PAPERS.*

Yesterday the Grand Lodge of Free Mafons held their quarterly Communication (the Right Hon. Henry-David Lord Cardrofs in the Chair) the whole Diet was fpent in ordering proper Charities to be diftributed to the Poor at this calamitous Seafon.

*The York Courant. No. 759. Tuesday, 29 April, 1740.*

LONDON, April 24.

Tuefday being the Annual Feaft of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, the Brethren attended the Grand Mafter Elect, the Earl of Kintore, in New Bond-ftreet, and proceeded from thence in Coaches to Haberdafhers Hall, where a magnificent and elegant Entertainment was provided for them, which was conducted with the greateft Elegance, and the Evening fpent with that Harmony peculiar to the Society.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 57. Saturday, 3 May, 1740.*

*From the LONDON PRINTS.*

Tuesday being the Annual Feaft of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, the Brethren attended the Grand Mafter Elect in New Bond-ftreet, and proceeded from thence in Coaches to Haberdaffer's Hall, where a magnificent and elegant Entertainment was provided them, which was conducted with the greatest Elegance, and the Evening fpent with that Harmony peculiar to the Society.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 60. Saturday, 24 May, 1740.*

EDINBURGH, May 15. The Proceffion Yefterday of the Renowned Body of Free and Accepted Mafons from Mary's Chapel to the Royal Infirmary, was every way fplendid. The Right Hon. the Grand Mafter, attended by the Grand Wardens, Grand Stewards, Secretary, Clerks, &c. the Mafters, Wardens, Stewards, Secretaries, and other Servants of all the Lodges in their proper rich Habits, laid the firft Stone of the new Work with the ufual Solemnities. The Contributions were very confiderable, as the exquisite Workmanfhip and grand Taft of what is finifhed of that magnificent Edifice, gave the utmoft Pleafure and Satiffaction.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 66. Saturday, 5 July, 1740.*

NEWCASTLE, July 5. We hear from Durham, that on the 24th of June laft, being Midfummer-Day, the Hon. Society of Free and Accepted Mafons met at the Houfe of Mr. John Horfeman, where an elegant Entertainment was provided for them. After Dinner, they proceeded to the Election of proper Officers for the Year enfuing, when Mr. John Thompson was chofe Mafter, and Mr. Cuthbert Smith fen. and Mr. Francis Davifon jun. Wardens: Then they went in Proceffion to the Crofs, where they drank the Healths of his Majefty, the Prince of Wales, and the Grand Mafter for England; likewise that of the Earl of Morton, Grand Mafter for Scotland.

This Durham Lodge is also mentioned in the Newcastle Journal of 3 July, 1742 and 1 January, 1743. This is the present Marquis of Granby Lodge No. 124, which was constituted on 8 September, 1763, but met without warrant as early as 1738.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 74. Saturday, 30 August, 1740.*

EDINBURGH, Aug. 25. \* \* \* \*

We hear from Dumfries, that laft Week his Grace the Duke of Queenfberry prefented the Lodge of Mafons there with 20 Guineas for their poor Brethren; and that his Grace, accompanied by all the Free-Mafons of that Place, went in Mafon-Proceffion to witnefs the laying the firft Stone of a Steeple to be erected; to which End, his Grace gave above 100 Guineas. The Inhabitants were afterwards entertain'd with Liquors in the Market-place, where the Healths of all true Lovers of Liberty and our Conftitution, were plentifully drank.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 763. Tuesday, 16 September, to Tuesday, 23 September, 1740.*

SCOTLAND.

*Edinburgh, Sept. 8.* His Grace the Duke of Queensberry, and the Hon. the Marquess of Annendale have made frequent Visits to the several Burroughs in the South of Scotland, where they were very joyfully receiv'd. They honour'd the Society of Free and Accepted Mafons at Dumfries, by walking in Proceffion at their Head, when the Foundation of the Old Church Steeple was laid, and gave very handfomely towards carrying it on.

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thought they will have no small Influence in promoting the Country Intereft at the next Elections.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 88. Saturday, 6 December, 1740.*

EDINBURGH, Dec. 2. The Most Noble and Puissant Thomas Earl of Stathmore (*sic*) being indisposed at his Seat of Glamis, was yesterday instilled Grand Master Mafon of Scotland by his Lordship's Proxy, the Ever Worshipful Captain John Young, Capt. Arthur Forbes of Pittencrief and David Kennedy, Esq; were elected Grand Wardens. The Grand Lodge, with a very numerous Meeting of the Brethren, had their annual Grand Feaft at the Royal Infirmary, where they spent the Night in laudable and inoffensive Mafon Mirth and Jollity.

1741

*The York Courant. No. 803. Tuesday, 3 March, 1741.*

On Tuesday Night at the Devil Tavern, Temple-Bar, was held a Quarterly Communication of the most Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, when a handsome Contribution was made for the Relief of decay'd Brethren, and the Right Hon. the Earl of Morton was chose Grand Master Elect for the Year ensuing, who re-elected the former Deputy Grand Master and Warden. There were near 300 Brethren present, and among them the Count De Trufches the Prussian Minister, the Earl of Hyndford, the Earl of Loudon, the Lord Ward, the Lord Raymond, George Payne, Esq; Fotherby Baker, Esq; John Jeffe, Esq; James Cofins, Esq; Jacob Robinson, Esq; and other Persons of Distinction.

This paragraph also appeared in the Newcastle Journal of 7 March, 1741.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 104. Saturday, 28 March, 1741.*

*From the LONDON PRINTS.*

On Thursday the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons had their Grand Annual Feaft at Haberdasher's-hall. The Cavalcade was very grand (more Noblemen and Gentlemen attending than has been known for many Years) the Entertainment in the most elegant Taste, manag'd with the nicest Decorum, and the Evening spent as became the Brothers of that Society.

The same Day the Mock Free-Mafons march'd thro' Pall-mall and the Strand, as far as Temple-bar, in Proceffion; first went Fellows on Jack-Affes, with Cows-Horns in their Hands; then a Kettle-Drummer on a Jack-Afs, having two Butter-Firkins for Kettle-Drums; then follow'd two Carts drawn by Jack-Affes, having in them the Stewards, with several Badges of the Order; then came a Mourning Coach, drawn by fix Horses, each of a different Colour and Size, in which were the Grand Master and Wardens, the whole attended by a vast Mob; they staid without Temple-bar till the Mafons came by, and paid their Compliments to them, who return'd the same with an agreeable Humour, that possibly disappointed the Willy Contriver of this Mock Scene.

This gives a description of the well-known Scould Miserable Masons. The procession in 1742 is described in the Leeds Mercury of 4 May, 1742.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 140. Saturday, 5 December, 1741.*

EDINBURGH, Dec. 1. Yesterday being the Festival of St. Andrew, Patron of Scotland, the Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, unanimously Elected and Installed Alexander Earl of Leven their Grand Master. The annual Feast was every way elegant; and the Sons of Love and Liberty spent the Evening with the usual significant Mafon Mirth and Ceremony.

1742.

*The York Courant. No. 859. Tuesday, 30 March, 1742.*

This Day is Published, Printed for, and Sold by C. Ward and R. Chandler, . . . The SECOND EDITION of THE MERRY COMPANION: Or, The Universal Songster: Consisting of about Five Hundred celebrated Songs, . . . Including those of the FREE-MASONS, . . .

The first edition was advertised in the York Courant of 4 December, 1739. This advertisement was repeated frequently.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 848. Tuesday, 4 May, 1742.*

Tuesday being the Annual Feast of the Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, they made a grand Proceffion from Brook-street to Haberdashers-Hall, where an elegant Entertainment was provided for them; and the Evening was concluded with that Harmony and Decency peculiar to the Society.

Some time before the Society began their Cavalcade, a Mock one, of a very extraordinary Nature, appear'd: It consisted of *Linkmen, Black-shoe Fellows, Chimney-sweepers*, &c. &c. &c. who, in Burlesque Pomp, all ridiculously drefs'd, with the *Insignia* of *Masonry*, ridicul'd the Proceffion of the Grand Master. They acted the Farce with great *Solemnity* and *Decorum*; the *Wardens, Stewards*, and other *Officers* with Staffs, being drawn in *Sand-Carts* by *Affes*; their Mufick were *Cows-Horns, Salt-Boxes Keys* and *Gridirons*, and their Kettle-Drummers, mounted on *Affes*, beat, with great Dignity, on

two *Butter-Firkins* with *Marrow-Bones*. Many Hieroglyphical Depictments were carry'd to explain certain Myste-rious Secrets of the Brotherhood. There preceded the Grand Master in a Duft-Cart, drawn by Horses adorn'd with Escutcheons, on which were delineated Crofs Bones and the Letters *M.B.* the Cart was hung round with the fame, and in it eight *Difmal Mourners*, weeping in Tragick Guife over *Deceas'd Mafonry*.—This had the Effect of our Modern Tragick Scenes, it fet all the Spectators a *laughing*.—The *Mimick Grand Master*, accompany'd with a Human Figure with an *Afs's Head*, and the *Deputy Grand Master* pair'd to another Creature with a *Monkey's*, rode in a old, open *Laudau*, drawn by fix lame and blind Horses of *different Colours* and *Sizes*.—In this manner they came from *Hyde-Park-Corner* to *Temple-Bar*; then return'd and rang'd themselves in the broad Part of the *Strand*, near *Katherine-Street*, to wait for the *Serious Cavalcade*,

When the Proceffion of *Free Mafons* came to that Place, their Mock Brethren faluted them with proper Myftical Signs, and Sound of their rough Infruments, and, Your TAA, Your TAA.—After which one Society proceeded to *Haberdashers-Hall* to Dinner; and the other to regale themselves at whatever *Gin Shops* and *Night-Cellars* they pleas'd.

This gives an account of the well-known Scauld Miserable Masons. The procession in 1741 is described in the Newcastle Journal of 28 March, 1741.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 162. Saturday, 8 May, 1742.*

The same lengthy account of the Mock Cavalcade which appeared in the Leeds Mercury of 4th May was also printed in the above, with the following addition:—

This *Mock Spectacle* drew together an innumerable Concourfe of People, and it is faid to have coft a *Hundred Pounds*—This is reputed to be done by fome *eminent Wits*; but a ftaunch Brother Mafon fays, *If they are Wits,*  
*Madnefs to Wit is furely near ally'd,*  
*And thin Partitions do the Bounds divide.*

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 170. Saturday, 3 July, 1742.*

*Durham, July 1.* Thurfdays laft being St. John's Day, the Lodge of Free and Accepted Mafons met at Mr. John Horfe- man's in their new Lodge-Room, where a handfome Entertain- ment was provided for them; and after Bufinefs was over, the Healths of the King, Prince, and Royal Family, and other loyal Healths were drank: The Master and the new Officers then enter'd into their refpective Offices, and afterwards went in Proceffion, adorn'd with their proper Jewels, and at the Crofs drank a Health to the King and the Craft, and Univerfal Lodge, in Bumpers of Wine; and the whole was conducted with the utmoft Unanimity.

A Lodge will be held at the faid Mr. Horfeman's, on Tuef- day in the Race-Week, immediately after the Race is over.

This Durham Lodge is also mentioned in the Newcastle Journal of 5 July, 1740 and 3 July, 1742. This is the present Marquis of Granby Lodge No. 124.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 181. Saturday, 18 September, 1742.*

On Thursday was interr'd, at Whickham, Mr. Edward Alport, Provincial Grand Master of the Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons for the County of Durham. He was attended by the Brethren of the two Constituted Lodges, Gatehead and Swalwell, who walk'd in Proceffion from the Lodge in Swalwell to Mr. Alport's House, in white Aprons, white Gloves, and Hatbands, two by two, the Sword of State carry'd before in Mourning, from thence to Whickham Church, where he was decently interr'd.

The Lodge at Gateshead, No. 143, was constituted on 8 March, 1736, erased in 1760, reinstated, and finally erased in 1768. This Gateshead Lodge is also mentioned in the Newcastle Journal of 15 and 29 January, 1743. The Lodge at Swalwell was constituted on 24 June, 1735 at Winlaton and moved to Swalwell in 1735; it is now known as the Lodge of Industry No. 48 of Gateshead.

1743.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 196. Saturday, 1 January, 1743.*

NEWCASTLE, January 1.

They write from Durham, that on Monday laft, being St. John's Day, there was a grand Meeting of the Right Worshipful Fraternity of Free and Accepted Mafons, at Mr. John Horsfeman's in that City, where was an elegant Entertainment; after which was drank his Majesty's Health, the Prince's, and General Grand Master for England: Then they proceeded to an Election of Officers for the following Year, when Mr. John Brabant was chosen Master, Mr. Thomas Craggs and Mr. Thomas Bocket, Wardens, Mr. Joseph Smith, Secretary, and Mr. John Horsfeman, Treafurer; after which they made a handsome Proceffion thro' the Town. The Prisoners of the County Jail presented a Petition to the Lodge, who order'd them some Relief.

This Durham Lodge is also mentioned in the Newcastle Journal of 5 July, 1740 and 3 July, 1742. This is the present Marquis of Granby Lodge No. 124.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 198. Saturday, 15 January, 1743.*

NEWCASTLE, January 15.

We hear that on Wednesday the 19th inst. will be a general Meeting of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, at the Constituted Lodge, held at the House of Mr. Thomas Swift, at the Fountain in Pipewellgate, Gateshead, in the County of Durham, at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, where the Company of all regular Brethren of the said Society is desired, and will be gratefully accepted.

This Gateshead Lodge is also mentioned in the Newcastle Journal of 29 January, 1743. This Lodge at Gateshead was constituted in March, 1736 and erased in November, 1760, but was reinstated and finally erased in January, 1768.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 200. Saturday, 29 January, 1743.*

NEWCASTLE, January 29.

On the 19th inst. there was a general Meeting of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, at their

Lodge at the Fountain in Pipewelgate, Gatehead, where an elegant Entertainment was provided for them. After Dinner several loyal Healths, the Grand Master's, &c. &c. were drank, and the Brethren made a grand Procession, preceded by a Band of Mufick, and the Banners of the proper Orders display'd, under a treble Discharge of Guns, and ringing of Bells; which being clofed, Mr. Thomas Doubleday was elected Master, Mr. George Saint Clare and Mr. Thomas Parker, Wardens. Mr. George Liddel, Secretary, and Mr. Thomas Swift, Treafurer, for the enfuing Year, and the Evening concluded with that Harmony peculiar to Mafons.

This Gateshead Lodge is also mentioned in the Newcastle Journal of 15 January, 1743.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 208. Saturday, 26 March, 1743.*

LONDON, March 22.

The Party sent to apprehend the Free Mafons in Vienna, found them fitting round a Table, which was covered with a black Cloth or Carpet, whereon were drawn divers odd Characters. On the Table stood two black Candles lighted, a Death's Head, a large naked Sabre, and a Register, containing the Names of 400 Brethren. Among those taken up there were several Persons of Distinction, who were soon releas'd.

*The Leeds Mercury. No. 895. Tuesday, 29 March, 1743.*

*Vienna, in Germany, March 13.* The 7th Instant at Night a Detachment of 30 Cuirassiers and 30 Grenadiers went to a private House where (*sic*) a Free Mason Lodge was kept, and took up about 30 Free Mafons, who were then assembled there. They found them fitting round a Table, which was cover'd with a black Cloth or Carpet, whereon were drawn divers odd Characters. On the Table stood two Black Candles lighted, a Death's Head, a large naked Sabre, and a Register, containing the Names of 400 Brethren. Among those taken up there were several Persons of Distinction, who were soon releas'd.

See Bro. Dring's Tentative List No. 220.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 211. Saturday, 16 April, 1743.*

*From the LONDON EVENING POST.*

*Louvain, in Flanders, April 7.* Letters from Bruffels inform us, that two Lodges of Free Mafons that were form'd there, have had the same Fate with that at Vienna. It seems that Court is determined to permit no Assemblies of that sort in its Dominions; but, for what Reason, remains as great a Secret as that of which the Free Mafons boast. In the mean time the Brethren may retire, if they think fit, to the Court of the King of Prussia, who is their great Protector, a German and a French Lodge being lately open'd at Berlin with unusual Solemnities.



*The Newcastle Journal. No. 212. Saturday, 23 April, 1743.*

LONDON, April 19.

They write from Lifbon, that the Inquifition being informed that there were Free Mafons in that City, made a fhift to get about 18 of them into their Clutches, whom they examined concerning the Secrets of the Order; but the Free Mafons having abfolutely refufed to reveal it, the Inquifitors told them that they fhould remain in their Prifons 'till they gave proper Eclairciflements on that Head.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 216. Saturday, 21 May, 1743.*

EDINBURGH, May 17.

We are affured that Tomorrow, at three in the Afternoon the Society of Mafons are to meet in their Hall in Nidrey's Wynd, to concert Meafures to preferve their amiable Conftitution, of late caufelefsly encroach'd upon by certain Potentates on the Continent.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 242. Saturday, 26 November, 1743.*

EDINBURGH, November 22.

At the quarterly Communication on the 6th inft. of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Mafons, the Rt. Hon. James Lord Weemyfs was unanimoufly nominated Grand Mafter Mafon of Scotland Elect, in order to the Infalment of his Lordfhip into that Moft Honourable Office on St. Andrew's Day next in Mary's Chapel.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 243. Saturday, 3 December, 1743.*

NEWCASTLE, December 3.

We hear from Durham, that on Wednefdays laft, being St Andrew's Day, the fame was obferv'd with becoming Decency by the Free Mafons of the Scots Order of Mafonry in that City, at their Lodge; where the proper Healths were drank, and the Evening was concluded with that Harmony and Order becoming fo celebrated a Fraternity.

*The Newcastle Journal. No. 244. Saturday, 10 December, 1743.*

EDINBURGH, December 6.

Yefternight the Rt. Hon. James Earl of Wemyfs was inftalled Grand Mafter Mafon of Scotland, with magnificent Ceremony; when the Right Worfhipful William Nifbet of Dirleton, and John Murray of Broughton, Efqrs. were appointed Grand Wardens.

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At the subsequent luncheon, W.Bro. Col. F. M. RICKARD, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

Brethren,

I give you a toast—that of the health of the Worshipful Master.

Bro. Johnson comes from York, the place that the late Bro. Hughan called "the Mecca of Freemasonry".

Bro. Johnson is not only an ardent student of Freemasonry, but also he has achieved distinction in civic life.

He was educated at Sedburgh; and early in his career joined his brother in the family business of Ben Johnson and Co.—incidentally, a name which has associations in more than one direction. In the interests of his firm Bro. Johnson has twice visited the U.S.A. In 1919 he purchased the Freedom of the Merchant Venturers' Company, and in 1933/34 became a Governor. He is a Director and Vice-Chairman of the York Waterworks Company; and in 1942 was appointed a J.P. for the City of York.

Besides being an important figure in civic life, Bro. Johnson has given service in a military capacity. At the beginning of the Great War in 1914/18 he joined the Royal Fusiliers and went to France in 1915; in 1916 he received a Commission in the Special Brigade of Royal Engineers, and remained in France till the end of the War. In this last War he joined the Home Guard and became Second-in-Command of the local Battalion.

Bro. Johnson's Masonic career has been extensive.

He was initiated in the York Lodge No. 236 in 1907, became W.M. in 1921, and was appointed Librarian in 1926; he became Provincial Senior Grand Warden in 1921, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1938.

In the Royal Arch he was exalted in Zetland Chapter No. 236 in 1907; became First Principal in 1930; Provincial Grand Second Principal in 1933, and Past Grand Standard Bearer in 1938.

In the Mark Degree he was advanced in the York Lodge T.I. in 1908; became Master in 1920, Provincial Senior Grand Warden in 1921, and Past Grand Deacon in 1939.

He has passed the Chair in the Royal Ark Mariners.

As a Knight Templar he was installed in the Ancient Ebor Preceptory No. 101 in 1934; passed the Chair in 1945, and is Provincial Prelate.

In the Ancient and Accepted Rite he was perfected in the Hilda Chapter No. 23 in 1922, and passed the Chair in 1936.

He is also a member of the Red Cross of Constantine, and of the Order of the Secret Monitor—in both of which he holds high rank.

In connection with Quatuor Coronati Lodge—Bro. Johnson joined the Correspondence Circle in 1923, and became a full member in 1939.

Bro. Johnson's literary work in connection with Freemasonry includes:—

A paper on The Merchant Adventurers' Hall and its connection with Freemasonry, given to the Leeds Installed Masters Lodge.

A paper on The Masonic Lodges in the Yorkshire Militia, given to the Humber Installed Masters Lodge.

A Short Account of the Grand Lodge of All England.

and in Quatuor Coronati Lodge:—

The Subordinate Lodges constituted by the York Grand Lodge.

The York Grand Chapter or Chapter of All England.

By those who are acquainted with research work in Freemasonry it will be fully appreciated what an important position Bro. Johnson holds as Librarian of the York Lodge; and Bro. Johnson has well deserved the confidence reposed in him in appointing him to that very responsible office.

We welcome him as Master of Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and wish him all good fortune.

Brethren, here's to our Worshipful Master.

## REVIEW

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### HISTORY OF THE LODGE OF FRIENDSHIP, No. 6.

*By Bro. C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.*

Since I first read the late Bro. Hieron's *Old Dundee Lodge*, now some twenty-five years ago, I do not think I have come across a lodge history so interesting as this by Bro. Rotch—and I have read a great many in the interval. In the main, naturally and necessarily, a lodge history is primarily a family affair, but the records of any really old lodge, and especially one that is more than two and a quarter centuries old, are always of general interest. One may well agree with the author on this account that the history of Friendship Lodge is long overdue.

In England, Friendship Lodge, of those now existing, is the third oldest; its two seniors being the survivors of the four lodges whose members assembled on St. John's day in 1716 at the Apple Tree Tavern and there initiated the movement that led to a new form of government in the Craft.

Bro. Rotch has traced, in a period of confusing fluidity of organization the identity of the Lodge that met at the "Lord Cardigan's Head", Charing Cross, and removed to the "Shakespear's Head" either before or after a sojourn at the "King's Head", Ivy Lane, where it had its habitat apparently in 1723. It is not quite clear which of the alternatives is correct. The lodge then removed to the "Swan", Hampstead, where it later amalgamated with the "Castle" Lodge of Highgate. It is here that Martin Clare appears upon the scene. It must be confessed that some form of tabulation of these various moves either according to date, or at least in order of succession, would have been of very great assistance to the reader in following the thread of this confused period of the Lodge's history.

The first mention of the Lodge as "constituted" appears in the Engraved List of 1734, and the date there given is 17th January, 1722, but this in the later lists was corrected to 1721. A question arises just what the term "constituted" then implied; and more precisely, what it implied when used of a lodge dating from 1721. According to Bro. Rotch, the Castle Lodge which amalgamated with Friendship Lodge was constituted in form on 27th June, 1731. But the petitioning Brethren met on 19th June, and having "formed themselves into a just and perfect lodge" proceeded to make one, Thomas Clypperton, "a free and accepted Mason". Bro. Rotch suggests that probably some dispensation or special leave was obtained for this, to us, very irregular proceeding. But why necessarily? In what he has said earlier it would seem that he has inferentially answered the question, as also the "Masonic enigma" spoken of on page 17. If the officers of the Lodge appeared at Quarterly Communications, or its members attended the Annual "General" Lodge, it would be accepted as a matter of course as adhering to the new experimental organization. It is quite certain, when it is considered, that the idea of constituting a lodge from above—by a higher authority—could not have sprung into existence all at once, merely as a logical consequence of a decision on the part of four "old lodges" some four years before to revive "the Annual Assembly and Feast". It is doubtless very far from safe to use Anderson's account of these proceedings as a foundation for any massive inferential superstructure, but we may accept as

a fact that something happened *circa* 1717 out of which the Grand Lodge as a representative body later emerged. Both Anderson's rehash of the Charges, and the edited version of Payne's Regulations, in spite of an air of definiteness and finality, when read with attention, show not a little haziness about the Grand Lodge, its constitution and the powers it was supposed to wield. To-day we almost inevitably read the *Book of Constitutions* in the light of the customary interpretations and precedents that have come into existence in the two centuries and more that have elapsed since its publication, and it is very difficult to keep in mind that then it was all tentative, that there was much in the regulations that was not workable, and much that was a dead letter from the very beginning. Also, it is exceedingly easy to forget, or not to give due weight to, the fact that the Masons of the time had a complete set of usages and customs which—until they slowly died out, or were repressed—would constantly affect and interrupt the new machinery. Collective habit dies very hard.

Gould, in his biographical sketch of Martin Clare, long since brought the connection of this prominent Mason with Friendship Lodge to the notice of students, and the late Bro. Wonnacott carried our knowledge still further, but in the present work we are indebted to Bro. Rotch for further extracts from the records, filling out the picture that his predecessors here merely sketched in. But Minutes, like old Diaries, have a way of being provokingly silent about what we would particularly like to know, even if they do not break off entirely at the critical point. Possibly, the old tradition that a lodge was a temporary organization of "brothers and fellows well met" may have obscurely reinforced the apparent lack of *esprit de corps*, or perhaps sentiment, that with us so powerfully operates to maintain continued existence in our lodges. But, however it was, the lodge went into a coma. And though the independent lodge at the "George", Grafton Street, is taken as continuing its existence, yet the *nexus* apparently being no more than the purchase of the furniture and belongings of the "Shakespeare's Head" lodge makes the link a rather weak one. However, if the continuity was allowed at the time we can hardly quarrel with it now, for we must not project our rules and ideas back to a time when they did not exist.

Perhaps the most important part of the work is that which refers to Thomas Dunckerley. This was read as a paper by the author and has already appeared in the Proceedings (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lvi, p. 59), together with a full discussion on it. For this reason it is hardly necessary, or appropriate, to make much comment upon it here. One doubt might be expressed, however, and that is whether in the rescue of Friendship Lodge from another period of decline Dunckerley and his intimate associates really had so much prevision of the future, and laid such farseeing plans, as Bro. Rotch would have us believe. It is certainly not typically English to look so far ahead; and it so often happens in life that those who, with common sense and practical judgment in affairs, take some action that the circumstances of the moment call for are found later to have builded not only better than they knew, but far more extensively than they ever dreamed of. The actual results Bro. Rotch has demonstrated beyond question, and that is, after all, the practically important thing.

Dunckerley's name should be a household word among Masons in the Province of Quebec, but I am much afraid that not one in a hundred could tell who was responsible for the first "regular" organization of the Craft in Lower Canada; or, on the other hand, if Dunckerley's name were mentioned, it most probably would not even be recognised. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

As an introductory section the author gives a sketch of the developments in the new Grand Lodge organization between 1717 and 1740. In this there are points either suggested or positively stated that are at least open to question. One cannot object to Bro. Rotch's right to have his own

opinion and to express it, but it might have been better, in matters that are so to speak still *sub judice*, to have indicated the fact in some way. It is hard to believe, for instance, that in the earliest days of the new form of organization there was any felt need to "stabilize some sort of ritual", as is suggested on page 7. The pressing need of the time was a stronger organization and administration to prevent the ancient fraternity from wholly running to seed. It was not the independent or "St. John's" lodges that were regarded as irregular or clandestine at first, but the petty commercialization of the craft, the making of Masons for "unworthy considerations". I can see no indication anywhere that any action was taken by the governing body about ritual matters. But here we meet the uncertainty due to indefinite and vague terminology. I am not sure that I know exactly what Bro. Rotch means in his references to ritual, and I am sure that there is often much confusion of thought in what has been written on the subject by many writers from this same cause.

In a succeeding paragraph Bro. Rotch seems to envisage as our Third Degree the additional grade that came into use in London *circa* 1723. A third degree was apparently invented, or introduced from somewhere else, at that time, but it was inserted between the original two steps, making the old "superiour" grade of Fellow the third in the system.

The casual remark on page 61 that in the U.S.A. a Mason cannot belong to more than one lodge at the same time is true only of some Grand Jurisdictions. A considerable number permit dual membership, and in some no restriction is put on the individual in this regard. But it is true that very few Masons in America do belong to more than one lodge.

On page 138 it is said that Preston "set forth revised versions of the Lectures" in his *Illustrations of Masonry*. This is surely an error, if by Lectures the reference is to the catechisms, as it is elsewhere in the work. And on page 140 the opinion is expressed that Antiquity Lodge followed the ritual of the "Antients". As here again, owing to the imprecision in our terms, it is not clear just how much this is intended to imply, it is impossible to offer a judgment. In a very limited sense it can be admitted that it is possibly true; but, if we are to understand the term in any extended sense, it can hardly be accurate. But there is no doubt that this lodge had, as it still has, its own forms and usages, as indeed many other old lodges and groups of lodges. If, however, more than the order of two significant words is referred to, and possibly the introduction of passwords, there is neither proof nor probability that the Antiquity forms as a whole were those of the "Ancient York Masons". If the *Syllabus*, first published not long after Preston's death, really reflects his system of catechisms, it is certain that, while peculiar, they are manifestly of the "Modern" type.

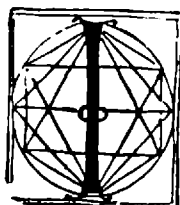
But this is not the place to enter on questions still so much a matter of acute disagreement, but I cannot refrain from a comment on the action of Lord Blayney on his visit to Old Dundee Lodge. I am strongly inclined to believe that the usage objected to by the youthful Grand Master was in reality the retention of a very old alternative tradition that changing circumstances had made to appear inappropriate, both to the "Moderns" and to the "Ancients". And, as in many other cases, logic backed by authority led to the elimination of an old custom, antedating the Grand Lodge by an indefinite period.

But these points, after all, are only subordinate to the work as a whole, and in this Bro. Rotch is to be congratulated on having achieved a very interesting and readable history, and one particularly valuable in the copious and, as one must judge, well-chosen extracts from the old records of the Lodge that, after many vicissitudes, and under various designations, has been known now for many years as Friendship Lodge. For this all Masonic students must be grateful to him.

R. J. MEEKREN

## OBITUARY

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It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**Walter Morris Bradley**, of London, E.C., in 1945. Bro. Bradley was a member of Plucknett Lodge No. 1708 and of the Britannic Chapter No. 33. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1938.

**George Clark**, of Troon, Ayrshire, in 1945. Bro. Clark was a member of Lodge No. 0, and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in May, 1928.

**George Thomas Devonshire**, of Brook Green, London, W., on 12th May, 1945, aged 76. Bro. Devonshire held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was one of the senior members of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1905.

**Colonel A. J. V. Durell**, C.B., C.B.E., of Cambridge, on 1st July, 1945. Bro. Durell held the rank of Past Deputy Grand Sword Bearer. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1901.

**John Errington**, of Kenton, Northumberland, on 4th August, 1945. Bro. Errington was P.M. of St. Nicholas Lodge No. 1676 and J. of De Sussex Chapter No. 406. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1920.

**George Frederick Hewitt**, of Sydney, N.S.W., in 1945. Bro. Hewitt was a member of Hotspur Lodge No. 1626 (E.C.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1912.

**Bernard Marr Johnson**, of London, S.W., on 28th October, 1945, aged 74. Bro. Johnson held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1911.

**Joseph Charles Ross le Manquais**, of Swindon, in 1945. Bro. le Manquais held the rank of P.Pr.G.D. and P.Pr.A.G.So. (R.A.), W. Yorks. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1928.

**Albert Mond**, D.Sc., of Pulborough, Sussex, on 15th November, 1945. Bro. Mond held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was a member of La France Chapter No. 2060. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1933.

**James Wilson Saunders**, J.P., F.L.A.A., of Alloa, on 17th October, 1945. Bro. Saunders was P.M. of Lodge No. 69, and Sc.E. of Chapter No. 92. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in March, 1937.

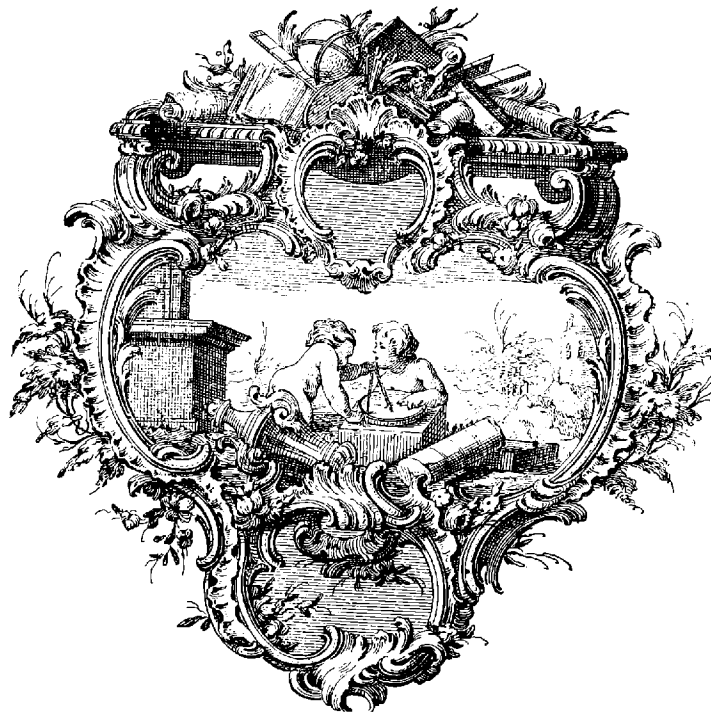
**John Sworder**, of Leighton Buzzard, Beds., on 8th November, 1945. Bro. Sworder held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

**Herbert Watkins Thomas**, of Carmarthen, in 1945. Bro. Thomas held the office of Prov. Grand Master, S. Wales, W.D., and Grand Superintendent, S. Wales, W.D. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1924.

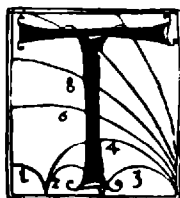
**Douglas Bruce Tinker**, of Manley, N.S.W., in 1945. Bro. Tinker was a member of St. James's Lodge No. 448 and of Regularity Chapter No. 448 (E.C.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in March, 1917.

**George Thomas Tristram**, of Bristol, in 1945. Bro. Tristram was a member of Peace Lodge No. 3992. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1937.

**Lewis George Wearing**, of London, N., on 18th October, 1945, aged 75. Bro. Wearing was a member of Hygeia Lodge No. 2664, and of Islington Chapter No. 1471. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1915.



## ST. JOHN'S CARD



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1945:—

*LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.*:—Lodge of Prosperity No. 65, London, W.C.; Ranelagh Lodge No. 834, London, S.W.; St. Andrew's Lodge No. 1046, Farnham, Surrey; Earl Spencer Lodge No. 1420, London, W.C.; Paynters Stainers Lodge No. 4256, London, W.C.; Old Bedfordian Lodge No. 4732, London, W.C.; Sir Joshua Reynolds Lodge No. 4782, Plympton, Devon.; Trades House of Glasgow Lodge No. 1241, Glasgow; Shalden Lodge of Instruction No. 2016, Alton, Hants.; Sir Walter St. John Lodge of Instruction No. 2513, London, S.W.; Weston-super-Mare Masonic Library and Museum, Weston-super-Mare; Uganda Masonic Library, Kampala, Uganda; Sunderland and District Worshipful Masters Council, Sunderland; St. Michael's Masonic Study Circle No. 2487, Stone, Staffs.; Western District Masonic Association, Plymouth; Studholme Rose Croix Chapter No. 67, London; Studholme Preceptory (K.T.) No. 140, London.

*BRETHREN*:—Olufemi Babatunde Adedoyin, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1356 (S.C.); Col. Mark Fryar Allan, Ashford, Middlesex, P.M. 2000, 2000; Thomas Richard Allerton, Stoke, Plymouth, P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; Montie Phillip Arnold, London, W.C., P.M. 34, *P.Z.* 34; John Auld, Tauranga, New Zealand, 125, 1515 (S.C.); Arnold Halsbury Yorke Avison, of Banstead, Surrey, P.Pr.G.Treas., 2422; Capt. Amos Lowrey Ayre, R.E., Sentul, Malaya, 813 (S.C.), 632 (S.C.); Edward Victor Bacon, Stanford Bridge, Worcs., 5583, 3643; Arthur Campbell Baker, Bristol, P.Pr.G.St.B., 326; Ernest Douglas Montague Barlas, Beckenham, Kent, L.G.R., *P.Z.* 1635; Albert Edward Bean, Hendon, London, N.W., W.M. 2956, 3175; George Frederick Handel Beard, Wellington, Salop., P.Pr.A.G.D.C. E. Lancs., 1055; John Percy Bidgood, Saltash, Cornwall, 1164; Charlie Blackburn, Wakefield, Yorks., 1019, 1019; Tom Bland, Workington, Cumberland, 962, 962; Ormond Alfred Blyth, London, S.W., P.G.D.; Marshall Graham Brash, Bombay, India, P.Dis.G.D.C., *P.Dis.G.D.C.*; Major Reginald Arthur Braysher, Hillingdon, Middlesex, 3238, 1242; Leslie William Charles Hartop Bremner, Plymouth, 223; Henry Skinner Brown, M.D., Choppington, Northumberland, P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.J.*; Leonard Roy Brown, Bristol, 2943, 103; John George Brown-Grant, Elgin, P.M. 45, *P.Z.* 263; Thomas Leslie Bullock, Birmingham, 3185; William Laurence Cameron, Malvern, Worcs., 751; Cecil Edward Campbell, London, W., P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; John Alexander Campbell, Reigate, Surrey, P.G.D., *P.A.G.So.*; Col. Alexander Thomas Cannon, O.B.E., Potters Bar, Middlesex, L.G.R.; Marcus Richard Cheadle, Rainham, Kent, 4189; Percy John Cheal, Plymouth, 189; Alfred Ernest Cole, Canterbury, P.M. 972, 31; Albert Henry Cole, Plymouth, W.M. 1550; Robert James Coley, Esher, Surrey, Pr.G.S.W., 2473; Hugh Roy Colley, Jamberoo, N.S.W., 35; Maurice Erwin Constable, Horley, Surrey, 1891, 1891; Frank Alfred Cooper, F.B.A.A., Edgware, Middlesex, P.M., 1261; Rev. James Arthur Crofts, Worcester, 3308; Cecil Claude Darlington, Plymouth, 189; Frederick Henry Deakin, Plymouth, 202; Ronald Doidge, Plymouth, 3925; Charles William Elliott Drew,



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# Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

No. 2076, LONDON.



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