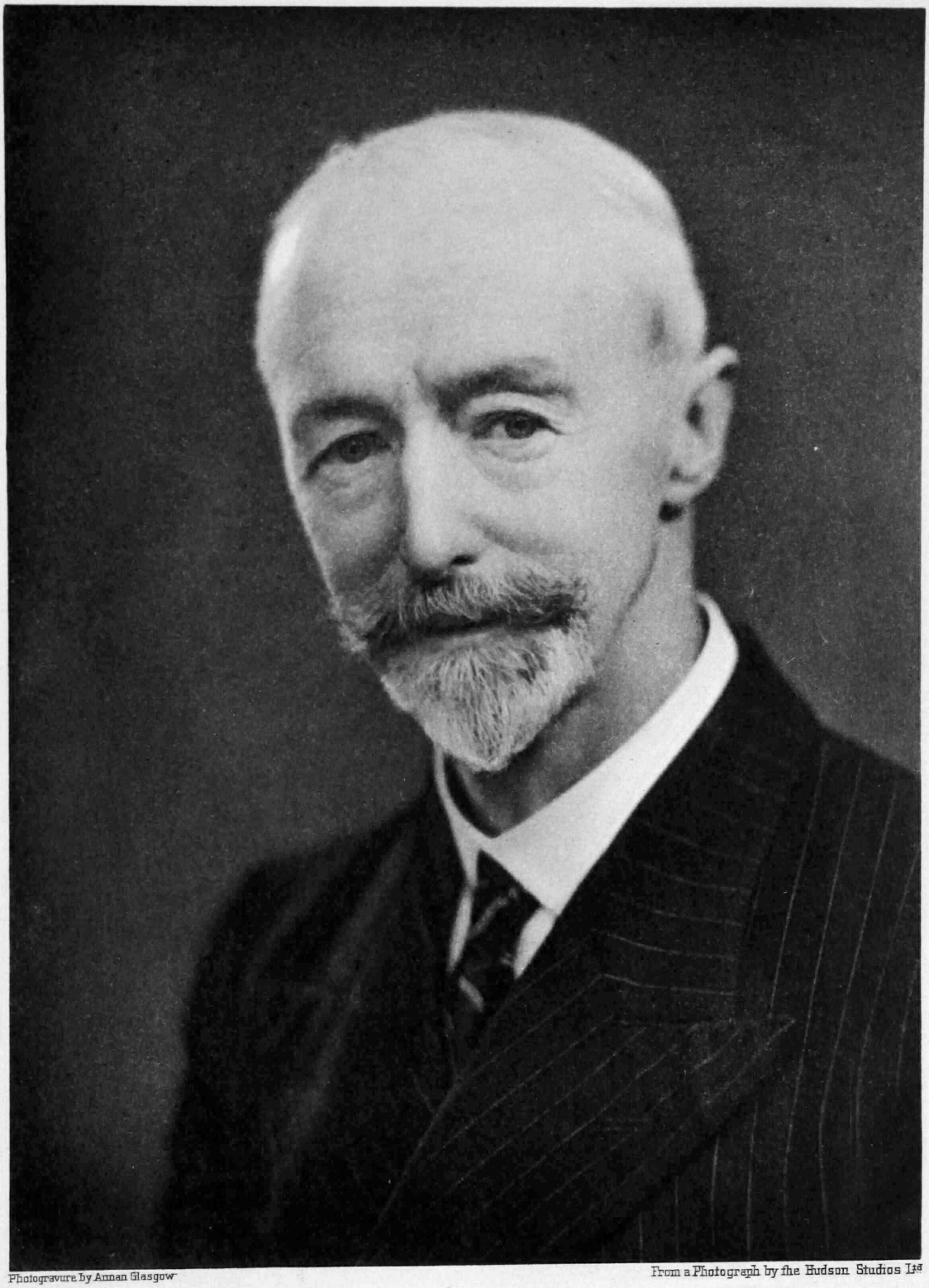

Photogravure by Annan Glasgow

From a Photograph by the Hudson Studios Ltd

S. J. Fenton

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.

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

VOLUME LI.

W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
1940.

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Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

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

No. 2076.

VOLUME LI.

FRIDAY, 7th JANUARY, 1938.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M., as W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M., as I.P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., S.W.; *Major* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., J.W.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Reg., J.D.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., I.G.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Love, P.A.G.Purst.; A. F. G. Warrington; R. Dawson; C. J. Blyh; A. L. Blank; J. Johnstone, P.A.G.D.C.; C. A. Newman; T. W. Phillips; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; G. D. Elvidge; W. Morgan Day; G. H. W. Green; E. Eyles; F. Addington Hall; L. G. Wearing; Robt. A. Card; *Comdr.* S. N. Smith; J. C. da Costa; Jas. J. Cooper; A. F. Hatten; G. C. Williams; R. W. Strickland; H. W. Heath; H. W. Chetwin; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Davison; W. H. Tiffany; A. F. Cross; H. C. Towers; John Struthers; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; A. L. Mond, P.A.G.D.C.; H. G. Ridge; A. F. Ford; D. L. Oliver; J. R. Culler; S. Hazeldine; E. W. Mason; Bernard W. Harvey, P.A.G.Ch.; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.D.C.; W. J. Mean; Wm. Smalley; F. A. Greene; G. K. Barnes; S. R. Clarke; J. H. Greenwood; H. S. Bell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. B. Garside, Harmony Lodge No. 255; J. G. Lawrence, Sec., Lodge of Endeavour No. 5506; Wm. J. Hervet, P.M., Mill Hill Lodge No. 3574; G. H. Ranson, P.M., Forbes Lodge No. 67 (S.C.); Albert Haddock, W.M., Catford Lodge No. 3649; H. Willis, Mount Edgcombe Lodge No. 1446; E. A. A. Cooke, P.M., Kingswood Lodge No. 2278; and H. M. Ridge, P.M., Prometheus Lodge No. 4209.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; F. L. Pick; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Elkington, P.G.D., I.P.M.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby.

The W.M. read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

BRO. HENRY THOMAS CART DE LAFONTAINE.

Since our last meeting another of our Past Masters has died, Bro. Henry Thomas Cart de Lafontaine, who occupied this Chair in 1930.

Bro. de Lafontaine was born in 1857, and took degrees at London and Oxford. He took Holy Orders and was for a short time Vicar of St. Luke's, Kentish Town, and then of Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair. During this period he edited the *Banner*, a Church magazine. On the demolition of the Chapel he availed himself of the provisions of the Clerical Disabilities Act.

A man of many and varied intellectual interests, he was a talented musician and edited *The King's Musick*, a record of musicians of the Chapel Royal and the Royal Household. He had made a special study of Spanish music. For some time he was Secretary of the Society of English Composers, and also of the Benevolent Fund of the Incorporated Society of Musicians, besides being a Fellow of the Royal Philharmonic Society and Vice President of the Trnity College of Music and the Royal College of Organists, which still presents an annual prize in his name.

He was also dramatic critic and subsequently Editor and proprietor of the *London Figaro*, and was connected with the *Weekly Comedy*, another paper associated with the drama.

Another of his interests was Archæology. He was on the Council of the British Archæological Association, and attended as a delegate at international congresses at Rome, Cairo and Athens. A widely read man and a good linguist, he was in particular a keen 'Dante' student. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. He also held an important position in the City, being Sheriff in 1914, and could, if he had desired it, have proceeded to still greater civic distinctions. He belonged to no less than eleven City Companies, and had been Master of seven. He was a President of the Farringdon Ward Club.

Besides these manifold activities, he devoted much of his time to charitable work, being a Governor of the Foundling Hospital, and a member of the Committees of the Normal College for the Blind, the London Blind Association and the National Benevolent Society, as well as being a Director of the French Hospital at Victoria Park.

His masonic career began in 1898 when he was initiated in the Playgoers' Lodge. He was a Founder and first Master of the Dante Lodge, No. 3707, which devotes much of its time to the study of the great Italian poet. He was also a Founder of the City of London National Guard Lodge, No 3757. He served as Deputy Master of Antiquity Lodge in 1919, and also as First Principal of St. James' Chapter. He was also one of the Founders of the Grande Loge Nationale of France. He was Master of the Mid Kent Masters Lodge in 1934. He was given Grand Rank as Deacon in 1908, and was made P.G. Sojourner in Grand Chapter in the following year. He had attained to correspondingly high rank in the Mark, K.T., Rose Croix and Secret Monitor. He was Prestonian Lecturer in 1930, the year in which he occupied the Chair of this Lodge, in which he delivered the Lecture at the March meeting. It dealt with the seven Liberal Arts and Sciences.

He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1900, becoming a full member of the Lodge in June, 1925. He had previously contributed numerous papers to the *Transactions* of the Leicester Lodge of Research, and the Associations at Hull, Manchester, Leeds and elsewhere. To our own *Transactions* he contributed papers on The Unknown Philosopher (xxxvii.), Benjamin Franklin (xli.) and Paul Jones (xliv.), while his Inaugural Address dealt with the history of Freemasonry in Portugal (xlii.) In addition he contributed comments to papers and reviews from time to time.

At his last appearance in the Lodge, when he was already in failing health, he made a special appeal to the Brethren present, that more of them should stay to dinner, and so have an opportunity to get to know one another in a way the mere meeting in Lodge could not provide.

After a long illness he died on 22 November, 1937. The funeral was private, and it was specially desired that no flowers be sent. But a Memorial Service was held at St. Lawrence Jewry on Tuesday, November 30, when the Lodge was represented by the Secretary and several other members.

One Provincial Grand Lodge, one Lodge, one Society, and twenty-four Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, January 7th, 1938.

Present:—Bro. W. J. Songhurst in the Chair, with Bros. Cecil Powell, W. J. Williams, *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *Rev.* H. Poole, *Rev. Canon* Covey-Crump, *Major* C. C. Adams, S. J. Fenton, *Col.* F. M. Rickard, Lionel Vibert, Secretary, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

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

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1937.

BRETHREN,

During the year we have had to mourn the loss of two members of the Lodge, Bro. Gordon P. G. Hills, Master in 1919, and Bro. H. T. Cart de Lafontaine, Master in 1930. We welcome as full members Bros. *Col.* F. M. Rickard, F. L. Pick, J. A. Grantham, and *Dr.* H. C. Bristowe. The total Lodge membership is now 26.

During the year it was decided, after very careful consideration, to raise the rate of subscription for the Correspondence Circle to one guinea, commencing from December, 1937, and every member of the Correspondence Circle was duly advised of the alteration. This has had its influence on the membership. But the figures subsequently received enable us to say that the response generally to our action has been very encouraging.

On the 30th November, 1936, we had a total of 3,072. Sixty-seven were removed from the list for non-payment of subscription, 242 resigned, and we lost 73 by death. On the other hand, the number added during the year was 161, a loss on balance of 221, bringing the total to carry forward 2,851. We may, under the new conditions, look forward to bringing our publications once more up to date. Mainly as a result of our letters to the Life Members, the Publication Fund has already benefited to the extent of over £200.

During the year we issued Part ii. of Vol. xlvi., which completed the volume. Vol. xlvii., part i., is well in hand. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge approximately £1,200 has been reserved for each of Vols. xlvii., xlviii., xlix., and l. Subscriptions amounting to £449 16s. 8d. are still owing. It has been decided to bring

home the money to our credit in Australasia, notwithstanding the loss on exchange that this course involves; and some of it has already been received. Our members there have now been desired to pay their subcsriptions for the future in English currency.

A brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the year has again been drawn up and circulated to all members; it also includes a complete list of Local Secretaries.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to these Brethren who continue to do much good work. The vacancy in Notts. has been filled by Bro. T. C. Thorpe, and in Glasgow Bro. J. Stirling Brown has now replaced *Dr.* R. T. Halliday, who had represented us most efficiently for many years. In Victoria, Bro. C. T. Summers has found himself unable to continue, owing to increasing age, and we have accepted his resignation with much regret; Bro. J. G. Naismith has now taken over the district. The Senekal district, formerly looked after by Bro. Moyses, has now been included in the area controlled by Bro. John Reid. At Wellington, N.Z., where we have not had a Local Secretary for a long time, Bro. C. O. Mazengarb has now taken up the duties; and a new district has been made of Yorks., North Riding, of which Bro. E. W. Jackson has taken charge. At the end of the year Bro. Starcke Devey, Worcestershire, and Bro. J. Hill, Birmingham, found themselves unable to continue our work, and we have had to accept their resignations with great regret; but they are being immediately replaced in these two important centres. As the printed list shows, there are still many areas where we are still without a representative.

For the Committee,

W. J. SONGHURST,

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the Year ending 30th November, 1937.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
To Cash in hand	67	8	11
,, Lodge ...	78	15	0
,, Joining Fees	76	2	11
,, Subscriptions: 1937 ...	1059	8	6
,, do. 1936	159	14	2
,, do. 1935	61	19	11
,, do. 1934	32	2	0
,, do. 1933	20	9	6
,, do. 1932	16	18	0
,, do. 1931	11	0	6
,, do. 1930 ...		10	6
,, Cash in Advance for Subscriptions, and unappropriated	224	4	9
,, Medals	17	17	0
,, Binding	72	11	10
,, Sundry Publications	137	1	6
,, Interest and Discounts ...	35	16	4
,, Publication Fund ...	274	19	11
	£2347	1	3

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d
By Lodge	48	10	9
,, Salaries, Rent, Rates and Taxes	723	17	8
,, Lighting, Heating, Cleaning, Telephone, Insurance, Carriage and Sundries ...	125	18	5
,, Printing, Stationery, etc.	747	9	9
,, Medals	12	2	6
,, Binding	33	13	0
,, Sundry Publications	33	19	10
,, Library	20	16	10
,, Postages ...	166	15	2
,, Local Expenses	4	8	4
,, Loss on Exchange	21	14	2
,, Cash at Bank	407	14	10
	£2347	1	3

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. F. B. BROOK.

Prints of the Peterborough Boss.

By Bro. H. POOLE.

Photographs. The Gloucester Pillar.
The Hitchin Tile.
The Aldborough Roman Soldier.

From the Lodge Collection.

Tombstone from ancient Carthage.

By Bro. H. W. Mace, of Newark.

Photographs of a goblet with masonic emblems. (Probably made about thirty years ago at Stourport.)

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Oeuvres Mêlées du Sieur . . . [Travenol] . . Amsterdam 1775. Wolfstieg. 29994. Contains various masonic items, including the *Brêvet de Calotte.*

From the Lodge Collection.

Certificates:—

Universis; issued to William Hockaday, No. 193. 2 May, 1788.

Three Graces; first type. The Hon. J. T. Dillon, St. Alban's Lodge, No. 23. 13 Decr., 1775.

First Angel. Thomas Bridges. No. 193. Raised 6 March, 1796. Cert. issued 13 Jan., 1798.

Three Graces; second type. William Henry Dillon. Nine Muses, No. 330. 22 Jan., 1803.

Variant of Three Graces. In French. F. J. T. Dillon. Loge Anglais, Bordeaux. 10 Jan., 1788.

Lodge Certificate. T. W. Henry Dillon. Lodge Het Vrie Geweiten, Breda. 7 Aug., 5803.

Lau. Dermott, "Antients" R.A. Captain Edmund Barber. 6 May, 1792.

Lodge Certificates.

Union, 338 in first battalion, 14th Regt. of Foot. 8 Jan., 1810. T. Jones. Smoke seal; MS. on parchment. Red seal. St. James, Brechin, 162, G.L. Scot. 3 Oct., 1812. Charles Hunter, MS. on parchment. Seal in box attached. Perpetual Friendship. 210. Francis Crew. 5.2.1825. Printed on paper; blanks in MS. read seal.

All these from the collection of the late Bro. Gordon P. G. Hills.

Photographs of a Dutch MS. On one side, text of an Obligation of 1730, closely similar to Prichard. On the other, drawing and description of a Lodge room of 1735. The actual Lodge was Le Veritable Zêle, the second founded in Holland. *Vide* Gould, iii., p. 202.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

Bro. H. POOLE read the following paper:—

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CRAFT.

BY W.BRO. THE REV. H. POOLE, P.A.G.Ch.

HERE is a strong and very sound tendency in this Lodge to look with considerable suspicion at much of the highly imaginative so-called Masonic history which has been offered to the Fraternity during the last two hundred years. Some of our great students may, perhaps, have been too ruthless in their rejection of anything which cannot be proved; yet it may safely be said that it is almost entirely due to the activities of this 'school' that we have any sort of basis of solid fact for our history—that we do know what we know, and what we do not—that we are able, on the whole, to say just where certainty ends and imagination begins.

But a case can be made [1] for imaginative theorising at times and within due bounds; and I propose in this paper to indulge in it to some considerable extent. Because, instead of insisting on how very brief is the authentic history of the Craft (in the full modern sense of the term), I want to throw out some suggestions as to how long it may very well be, and how far back we ought to look for origins, even without unduly straining historical probabilities. A result of this should be to draw attention to localities, persons or periods claiming careful study, as being perhaps capable of yielding positive evidence. One thing seems clear—that (of course in the absence of any quite unique revelation, in the shape of some definitely 'speculative' document of early date) we have to rely entirely on indirect evidence. Apart from the Old Charges—probably by no means exhausted, even in these days—our evidence must come from operative documents, the actual buildings of our forefathers, and from 'secular' history.

As to the first of these, thanks a great deal to Bro. Knoop, a wealth of material is being brought within reach of the investigator; and the secrets of the Craft, if they are to be found, may well be sought for in such works as *The Mediæval Mason* or Coulton's *Art and the Reformation*. But I have long believed that the actual mediæval buildings have hardly begun to yield the story which they could tell; nor do I believe that secular history has been adequately tapped; and this must be my excuse for considerable reference to each.

The work of the Mason has three peculiarities which distinguish it from most other crafts; in mediæval times it had two more.

(*a*) In the first place it is 'mass-art'—art in which many Craftsmen, of various degrees of skill, are co-operating under (normally) a single chief to produce a work of art to which all in a measure contribute. This is perhaps not greatly different from the work of a modern orchestra; but it is certainly different from any of the arts of old, such as that of the painter, or the musician, or the goldsmith, where the unity of creative insight must be of the very essence of the art.

(*b*) Again, not only is the scale vastly greater than that of any other work, but the time spent on a single architectural work must normally have been far longer than that spent in any other work of art. It is true that one is sometimes told

[1] See J. H. Lepper, *Famous Secret Societies*, p. ix.

of a piece of lace or tapestry, or a carved ivory, that it has taken several generations to complete; and there may be other works of the same kind. But even to-day, on such a great work as Liverpool Cathedral, a good proportion of one Mason's working life may be spent in a subordinate position on the single job: on the mediæval cathedral, whether building or in upkeep, Master succeeded Master, and man replaced man, for some hundreds of years.

(*c*) Thirdly, unlike almost all other works of art, the work of the Mason remains for many ages conspicuous and open at any time to casual or critical inspection by high or low, rich or poor. This must certainly have had the effect of keeping a high standard of honest work, as well as of stimulating the ability and originality of designer and carver; but also, perhaps still more, it can hardly have failed to give to the Mason a greater sense of tradition and continuity than any other craftsman can have possessed.

(*d*) Fourthly, not only must the Mason have been usually a stranger, wherever he was working; but also it must often have happened that he was employed in an area in which there was no other population. This is not to say that he could have no family or home ties; no doubt [1] a Mason might often carry on a business as a farmer or some other occupation at times when there was no building for him to do: but while he had a job, he must often have found himself for eight or nine months on end practically isolated—his only society the rather exclusive trades and crafts of the town, or the more homely villagers, still strangers, or even at times no one but his brother Masons. And even when on a 'town job' he may well have become more intimate with his ecclesiastical or aristocratic employers than he ever was with the tradesmen or craftsmen who would be his own 'class'.

(*e*) Lastly, the Mason's employment made him 'mobile' in a way known to but one other craft or 'mistery' of mediæval times—that of the Minstrel.[2] This is well illustrated in the Old Charges, in the injunction to pay honestly for food and lodging, which implies that the Mason might expect at times to be living away from home; and this is perhaps even further emphasised by the charge to "receive and cherish" the travelling Mason, and to give him a fortnight's work with pay, or at least to speed him with food or money to the next Lodge. While crafts and trades in towns were building up their monopolies and privileges, it was a long time before any town, even the largest, could find sufficient employment for a town Gild of Masons; and so the Mason moved from place to place, alone or in gangs, freely or at the King's pleasure.

I do not think that there is anything wildly imaginative in these five 'postulates'. But there are five peculiarities to be observed in the Craft, which I think one may presume to be more or less direct results of the five postulates: and I must admit that there is an element of imagination in some of these. These five peculiarities, which (supposing that they all existed in early times) distinguished the Masons' Craft from almost every other mediæval English Gild, are the following:—

(*a*) An organisation bounded not by town or even shire, but extending over the whole country.

(*b*) Secret modes of recognition.

(*c*) A 'traditional' history'.

(*d*) A speculative element, and a habit of 'moralising on the Working Tools'.

(*e*) The admission of non-operative members from among the aristocracy, whether of Church or State.

[1] *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 99 and *passim*.
[2] *A.Q.C.*, xlii., p. 268.

As to the first—the wide-spread organisation—we have, as a matter of fact, no detailed knowledge at all. I propose to return to this subject shortly. As to the second—the secret modes of recognition—on which, again, we have no early evidence, all one can say is that *if* the Craft had any ambition or authority to secure for itself the same privilege and monopoly which were growing features of much less important crafts and trades in the towns, then they could do it, in the case of such a mobile body of men, only by some such means. We have no evidence earlier than 1638 [1] as to 'words'; but as regards signs, it is difficult to controvert the evidence of the Gloucester Mason or the Peterborough boss—both, I believe, of the fifteenth century; while the Roman soldier of Aldborough E. Yorks., probably of the fourteenth century, is at least suggestive; and the Hitchin tile, probably more than a century earlier, seems to me conclusive, with its threefold allusion.

A strong argument for the probability that the peculiarities of the Craft were more or less direct results of the conditions under which the Mason worked may perhaps be afforded by the existence from very early times of somewhat parallel fraternities in Germany and France, in the Steinmetzen and the Compagnonnage respectively. I do not propose to discuss the relationship, if any, between these two bodies and ourselves: this has been done at great length. But the tendency on the whole seems to be to deny the probability of any connection [2]; and, if this be the correct view, we have a very striking illustration of 'like causes' producing 'like results'; for, although the French body later came to include many other crafts, all three bodies of a similar character originally sprang from the building trades. On the other hand, if they really had a common ancestry, it seems clear that it must have lain very far back in history. I have more to say on this subject later.

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Before considering the possibility of speculative elements in the early days of the Craft, something must be said about its organisation, and the date at which this probably came into existence. The Craft takes essentially the form of a Gild; and so it would seem unwise to maintain its probable existence any earlier than Gilds are known to have existed, and that is late seventh or early eighth century, though *Craft* Gilds do not appear for some two centuries later. Still, as Bro. Vibert has pointed out,[3] our origin "may perfectly well antedate by some considerable period the earliest evidence we have of town Craft Gilds"

The earliest evidence of organisation is to be seen in the buildings themselves; and from this one is inclined to suppose that the Craft was very highly organised at the time of the Norman Conquest. We still possess a considerable number of churches dating from Saxon times; and if there had been no organised inter-communication between Masons we would expect to find a large variety of types. Instead, we see a remarkable uniformity, coupled with an orderly progressive development—the details of plan, technique, ornament, and so on, and even wall-thickness, being sufficiently distinctive to enable the student with a fair measure of certainty to determine the dates of the buildings and to draw the line between the Saxon and Norman styles.

During the Norman period (*i.e.*, late eleventh to twelfth centuries) the evidence is even more striking. There can, of course, be little doubt that large bodies of foreign Masons were introduced into this country to build or rebuild cathedrals and other major works; but during the century which immediately followed the Conquest there can hardly have been fewer than some 5,000 parish

1 *A.Q.C.*, xliii., p. 216.
2 Vibert, *Freemasonry before the Existence of Grand Lodges*, pp. 100 ff.
3 *Ib.*, p. 35.

churches and chapels built, mostly of stone; and the evidence seems to me to point to a great deal, if not all, of this work having been done by the native craftsman.

I have reached this conclusion for several reasons. In the first place, it is noticeable in what a large majority of cases the post-Conquest building of cathedrals involved the 'apse', which was definitely an imported Norman feature; while throughout the century this feature was incorporated in probably a bare two per cent. of the parish churches built, the traditional square form maintaining its predominance, even in the eastern counties, where the comparative simplicity and appropriateness of the circular form for flint building were sufficiently realised to produce a very large number of round towers.

In the second place, I seem to see altogether different standards of both originality and execution in the carved work of the cathedral on the one hand and the parish church on the other. On the whole (but one cannot say more) the sculpture and ornament of the cathedral displays a certain want of spontaneity, coupled with rather more precise execution, than are found in the parish church. There are, of course, many exceptions; but one cannot fail to notice numerous examples of highly enriched work in small churches which are practically unparalleled in the cathedrals. On the other hand, examples of Anglo-Saxon 'motives' in carving of post-Conquest date are not common, though A. W. Clapham expressly refers[1] to an "art which seems to owe its origins to the native carving of the previous age. It is", he goes on, "largely confined to village churches and can thus be hardly ever exactly dated, but is often found in juxtaposition to purely Norman architectural forms". Such examples, in fact, come under the heading of what Baldwin Brown has called the "Saxo-Norman Overlap"; and he quotes many examples of features of both Saxon and Norman styles side by side in work of one date. A passage from his chapter[2] on the subject is worth quoting:—

> The organism from overseas was far more advanced and better equipped and had at its back the prestige of a conquering and militant race; while the more modest apparatus of the native builders derived its strength from local traditions of some antiquity, was actually on the land and in working order, and was equipped for carrying out effectively on the old lines tasks of a well understood and simple kind. The outcome is what might have been expected. For work of a more ambitious and imposing order the Normans from the first occupied the field almost entirely, carrying out their own architectural ideas in a lordly and masterful fashion in monuments which in general scheme though not always in details are purely Norman, while on the other side in more homely undertakings the relations between the local and the exotic styles were rather different. Here the Normans seem to have taken over from Saxon architecture some of its characteristic features, and they reproduced them not only in their new island seats but also in later work in their own Duchy. Hence there came about what might almost be called a Saxonising to an appreciable degree of the Norman forms and methods.

One hesitates to disagree with such a high authority; but the very phrases used almost drive one to the conclusion that the writer is wilfully blinding himself to the true explanation—that the effect was due, not to Norman Masons borrowing from the Saxon tradition, but to the native craftsman adapting, only by degrees, the Norman technique to the vernacular tradition—that it is a Normanising of the Saxon, not a Saxonising of the Norman, which we see.

[1] *English Romanesque Architecture*, II., p. 127.
[2] *The Arts in Early England*, II., chap. xiii.

One further indication that the parish churches were built by other hands than the cathedrals is, I believe, afforded by the growth and extension of the system of Masons' Marks. These are found on work as early as the eleventh century, though they were far from general until well on into the following century; but I think it is safe to say that they appear much earlier in the cathedral than in the parish church. This seems to point to the probability that the idea was an importation from Normandy, and that it was only by degrees that it took root in the native Craft.

This somewhat lengthy digression has been necessary in order to emphasise the continuity of personnel, so to speak, in the Craft over the Conquest period. Because, if my view be correct, the rapidity with which the new technique spread over the whole country seems to demand a high degree of organisation, and frequent opportunities for meeting and discussion. The same, by the way, may be said for the even more rapid spread of the "Early English" or thirteenth century style, and also of the "Perpendicular" or fifteenth century, neither of which seems adequately accounted for by the mere mobility of the craftsman.

Now our Traditional History, as embodied in the very earliest copies of the Old Charges, refers to what we may shortly describe as a re-organisation of the Craft during the reign of King Athelstan, that is, in the early part of the tenth century (though the 926 date is purely a fiction of Anderson's). And the more I consider the evidence, the more I am inclined to believe that such a re-organisation, in one form or another, did actually take place. Let me try to state the evidence in its most convincing form.

In the first place, the reference to Athelstan is found in the very earliest of these documents—the *Regius* MS., of c. 1390. Moreover, both here and in its later developments, the traditional history breaks off at that point. There can, I think, be no question that the Charges as we see them in all stages of revision profess, though modified and amended, to be the lineal descendants of a code promulgated by a Royal Patron at an Assembly held during the reign of Athelstan.

Now we know of two occasions during the fifteenth century which might have led to the 'working-up' of the traditional history into a more ample and systematic form: the "writ for returns" of Richard II., and the Act of Henry VI. which banned the 'chapters and congregations' held by Masons; and the traditional history was, as a matter of fact, worked up during that century into the form in which we find it in the *Plot* Family. If the reference to Athelstan had made its first appearance then, one would be inclined to suspect it as a plausible attempt to claim the authority of King Athelstan, who, as we know, was very free with his Charters. But the mention of Athelstan was already in the history; and, so far as we know, there had hitherto been no reason for making such a claim unless it was a genuine one.

On these grounds I am strongly inclined to accept as historical fact that there was some definite organisation or re-organisation of the Craft during the first half of the tenth century, at which our Charges were first codified; though the reference (found only in the later versions) to Athelstan's son Edwin must be recognised as suspect. The fact that the Alban story cannot be proved to have existed in the earliest forms of our legend saves me from having to commit myself to a similar profession of faith in the historicity of the earlier incident.

We are not, however, entirely dependent on our own documents for evidence as to the likelihood (or the reverse) of any such movement during the reign of Athelstan. I have already called as evidence the pre-Conquest architectural remains still standing, and I have now to return to them. Baldwin Brown has classified these into three periods, each of which is to some extent divisible; and it will be simplest if I exhibit the relevant results in a table. The first column of figures shows the numbers of specimens which he allots to

each period or sub-division of a period; the second shows the numbers of specimens which he could allot to their periods, but could not sub-divide; and in the third column I have added to the first totals obtained by sub-dividing those in the second in proportion to the frequencies shown in the first—an entirely unscientific proceeding, but one which should not give an unfair impression:—

	Century.	Number.	Unallotted	Suggested total
A.	7th—8th (*a*)	19		19
B.	8th (*b*)—10th (*a*)—early	6	5	9
	late	4		6
C.	10th (*b*)	15	69	23
	11th (*a*)	15		23
	11th (b)	100		153

I ought to add that, in each case where Baldwin Brown indicates a doubt, I have selected the earlier date.

We cannot, of course, be at all certain either that we have any sort of indication of the original numbers, or even a representative sample of types. But it is worthy of notice that, when plotted on a map, the distribution of existing remains is uniform enough to suggest that it is representative of the original distribution; while, as to numbers, it is remarkable how many of the buildings mentioned by Bede and other chroniclers have left recognisable traces. Undue weight must not, however, be allowed to the detailed figures above.

Bearing this in mind, the figures still rather strikingly suggest that, far from having been a period of special building activity, the half-century during which Athelstan reigned (the first half of the tenth) must have been one of the leanest periods of all: indeed, that King's whole time must have been too full of military activity to have allowed him much opportunity of interesting himself personally in building. On the other hand, the figures do seem to bear out the accounts given by the chroniclers of the peaceful reign of Edgar (959-975) and the era of church-building which he inaugurated.

Results, no more positive, are obtained when we go to the chroniclers for information as to secular building—town-building and fortification. In this sphere, a great period, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Henry of Huntingdon, ended, curiously enough, just when Athelstan came to the throne. During the seventeen years which terminated in 924, when Athelstan began to reign, we have a record of no less than 28 towns 'repaired' or fortified; while during Athelstan's reign we have the solitary record of a single town, Exeter, which, after defeating the men of Cornwall, William of Malmesbury tells us he "fortified with towers and surrounded it with a wall of squared stone"[1] (an interesting reference which is the earliest of its kind). This evidence is a great deal more helpful; because, although little may have been done during Athelstan's reign, it does point to considerable very recent activity, as well as to the probable existence of a large body of men capable of good class work in stone.

One chronicler, William of Malmesbury, makes the unsupported statement that Athelstan himself was responsible for a good deal of new building. "I forbear", he says, "relating how many new and magnificent monasteries he founded; but I will not conceal that there was scarcely an old one in England that he did not embellish, either with buildings or ornaments, or books, or possessions'[2]—an interesting passage, as it was 'lifted' bodily from William of Malmesbury by the compilers of the *Spencer* family of the Old Charges.[3]

[1] *Hist*: Book II., chap. vi.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] "there were but few famous Monasteries in this Realm, but that he adorned the same either with some new piece of Building, Jewels, Books, or Portions of Land".

In spite of this, we are clearly not entitled to claim the reign of Athelstan as a great building age, and as such likely to have been the era of a great re-organisation of the Craft. But I think it is worth making the suggestion that the very paucity of building operations traceable to the period may even be a point in favour of the truth of the story in our traditional history. For if this was a fabrication, Athelstan's reign would appear to be by no means the best period to choose. Any of the chronicles, if consulted, would have suggested Edgar, or the period just before Athelstan, according to whether ecclesiastic or layman were the fabricator. And there, for the present, we leave Athelstan, though I shall have occasion to refer to him again in another connection.

Whether or not it had its origin under the royal patronage of Athelstan, a central feature, if not the central feature, of the Craft organisation must have been the Assembly. This is a matter on which much has been said and written; and the whole subject was (one might have said) exhaustively discussed some forty years ago by the great Masonic scholars Speth, Begeman and Gould,[1] who arrived at three almost completely different conclusions. Our evidence is to be found in the Old Charges, the earliest reference dating from late fourteenth century, and in the well-known Act of Henry VI., which explicitly refers to "the yearly congregations and confederacies made by the Masons in their general chapters assembled", which were expressly forbidden by that Act (1425). It is just worth pointing out that the latter is the earliest reference we have outside our own documents; and it can hardly be maintained that the compilers of the Old Charges invented the Assembly in the light of the legislation relating to it; indeed, the two-fold allusions to it, in such different quarters, seem to prove conclusively that it was no invention.

But there does not appear to be any connection between the meetings mentioned in the two cases. The Assembles referred to in the Act would seem, as also those referred to in the later versions of the Old Charges, to have been exclusively 'Masonic'. On the other hand, both the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. indicate something much more elaborate. The former (punctus duodecimus) more or less defines the composition of the 'semble', including:—

> . . . . . maystrys and felows also
> And other grete lordes many mo
> There schal be the scheref of that contre
> And also the meyr of that syte
> Knygtes and sqwyers th(er sch)ul be
> And other aldermen as ye s(ch)ul se

while the latter says that

> if nede be ye schereffe of ye countre or alderman of
> ye toune . . . schal be felaw and sociat to ye mast'
> of ye co'gregacion in helpe of hy' a yest rebelles
> and vpberyng ye rygt of the reme

Both the injunction to all Masons to attend, and the composition of the Assembly, have been used in the past to discredit the idea that there ever was such an Assembly at all; but Knoop and Jones have shown that there are traces of a somewhat similar organisation in the case of the Minstrels, as early as 1381; while the fact that royal impressment of Masons and the organisation of royal building work, were often, if not always, under the charge of the Sheriffs of counties gives these early accounts of the Assembly a considerable degree of plausibility.

At such Assemblies, we are clearly informed by the *Cooke* MS. that Masters who had broken any of the articles were dealt with, and also, as we might have expected, that 'admissions'—*i.e.*, the formal termination of inden-

[1] *A.Q.C.*, v. and vi.

tures—took place [1]; and these may well have been enrolled then and there. And it does not (so it seems to me) require a great stretch of imagination to suppose that, while so assembled, a portion of the time may have been spent in purely trade and technical discussion along lines which might lead on one side to the development and standardisation of Architecture, and on the other to the 'open violation' of the Statutes of Labourers referred to in the 1425 Act. One thing at any rate seems certain, that some sort of annual Assembly, at which by-laws or 'charges' might be drafted, codified or amended, and issues relating to the Craft determined, was spoken of in the Old Charges as quite a normal affair. It is by no means without interest to observe that the phrase "generale congregacyn" of the *Regius* MS. (c. 1390) or the "general chapters" of the 1425 Act seems to have been lost to the Craft, so far as known documents are concerned, until it reappears as the "yearly general Assembly" in the New Articles of mid-seventeenth century in the *Roberts* Family of the old Charges; and it seems a fair inference that there was a continuous tradition of at least 300 years in the use of the term.

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The organisation which in its early days spread over the whole country must have been considerably reduced in scale after the Reformation, when the major part of the stone building came more or less to an end. But, in the meantime, there were cities which were beginning to find occupation for resident Masons, and Town Gilds or organisations of Masons were already springing up. There had, of course, already been more or less permanent groups of Masons employed in many cathedral cities; but the evidence, so far as it exists, seems to point to their membership as belonging to the 'mobile' rather than to the 'local' type. Thus, at York, where the well-known ordinances of 1370 for the Masons of the Minster have been preserved, there is no evidence of any connection with the city; while the Masons' Gild of Lincoln appears from the return of 1389 to have been a purely religious and social body, which, incidentally, admitted both men and women. Perhaps the earliest example of a real Town Gild of Masons is indicated by the London regulations of 1356. In the preamble we find that there were 'divers dissensions and disputes' "entre les masouns hewers dune part & les manouns setters dautre part" 'because that their trade has not been regulated in due manner, by the government of folks of their trade, in such form as other trades are'. Whether this was a *bona fide* dispute requiring settlement, or whether, as has been suggested, it was a device for obtaining recognition by a decision in Court, the episode seems to imply that, whereas in the past there had seldom been anywhere (except at cathedrals) anything like continuous employment for Masons or groups of Masons, by this time London had enough stone buildings in progress to allow of an increasing number of resident Masons; but that so far no organisation on the lines of a Town Gild had been set up; and the incident may perhaps be regarded as that of the birth of the London Company of Masons—probably the earliest of such organisations in the country.

In the meantime, the non-localised Gild or Fraternity must have persisted for nearly another 200 years, though no doubt many other towns and cities must have had their own localised Gilds before the Reformation. No doubt, too, there were many other cases of conflict between the Masons and the civic authorities, though we have little trace of it, except at Norwich in 1512.[2] Here, by the way, we have a most interesting record, of 1549, of a complaint that Masons (and allied crafts), apprenticed and trained within the city, were leaving it to

[1] At the fyrst begynnynge new men that neuer were chargyd bi fore beth charged in this manere . . .

[2] *A.Q.C.*, xv., p. 202.

obtain work elsewhere [1]—a striking reflection of their essentially 'mobile' origin. On the other hand, it is equally probable that, over the country as a whole, there was a continuous drift of personnel from the 'mobile' to the localised Gild; and it seems clear that anything esoteric which may have formed a part of the teaching of the Craft in its early days must ultimately have found its way into the Town Gilds; and that it is from the records of towns that we may eventually obtain any evidence there is.

But it must be said here, and this is a very important point to be remembered when considering the date at which the speculative matter was introduced into the Craft, that, though no doubt opportunities for meeting would be more abundant in the case of a town Gild than for a mobile Fraternity, several of the peculiar features of early days would have vanished. There would, for instance, have been comparatively little need, if any, for secret modes of recognition; and considerably less isolation, or opportunity for what may be called 'fraternising with ecclesiastics'. Above all, the probability of the dissemination of a speculative system in a non-mobile Craft would be very small indeed. In other words, I am strongly inclined to suspect that the speculative elements which we meet in the Craft in (say) late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, though possibly developed under the more favourable static conditions of town life, must have originated, and substantially established themselves, in the mobile pre-Reformation days. I can, besides, see no adequate reason why they should spring up during a period when the Mason's Craft was on a footing largely similar to that of any other trade or craft.

While dealing with this transition period (from mobile to static), it is worth mentioning that the German Steinmetzen seem to have gone through several periods or phases which correspond very closely with those of our Craft. Thus, in late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, there are evidences of their being brought into line in Cologne with other city institutions, by the making of ordinances which conflicted with those of the Fraternity.[2]

Again, the Steinmetzen can show imperial confirmation [3] of their privileges, commencing with Maximilian I. (1498) or perhaps even with Frederick III. (1459), which remind us of the statement in the *Plot* Family of the Old Charges that:—

> these charges have been Seen & perused by our late Soveraigne Lord King Henry ye Sixth & ye Lords of ye Honourable Councell, and they haue allowed them well & Said they were right good & reasonable to be holden (*Watson* MS.).

One is tempted to suspect that such confirmations were intended to counteract the imposition of town regulations which were contrary to those of the Fraternity; and it is worth considering whether the same cause may not have been responsible for the appeal by our Craft to Henry VI. It is of interest to note that the Steinmetzen seem to have obtained their confirmations in a somewhat fraudulent manner; as the ordinances laid before the Emperors do not usually agree very closely with those of the 'Brother Book' of the Fraternity.[4] We have no means of knowing whether our forefathers did the same, but one hopes that they were more scrupulous. The foregoing resemblances between the histories of the English and German Fraternities of course prove nothing except the similarity of the conditions during the transition period through which both had of necessity to pass: some other links between the two bodies, of far greater significance, will be dealt with later.

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[1] *Ib.*, p. 203.
[2] Gould, *History*, i., pp. 169-70.
[3] *Ib.*, pp. 171-2.
[4] *Ib.*, p. 172.

I have now attempted to sketch a sort of skeleton outline of possible Craft history up to a little beyond the Reformation, that is, to somewhat under 200 years before the formation of Grand Lodge. I do not propose to make any sort of analysis of the intervening period, because my contention is that whatever speculative content the Craft possessed in 1717 was already established in it before the Reformation; but I have to draw attention to what seems to me a decidedly significant feature of the period.

This period has many times been called an age of transition between the operative and the speculative epochs of Masonry; and, although there were probably non-operative members in the earlier epoch, it is a correct description. Perhaps no passage in any document illustrates this more forcibly than the first of the "New Articles" of mid-seventeenth century which appear in the *Roberts* Family of the Old Charges:—

> Noe p'son of what degree soever be accepted a ffree Mason unlesse he shall have a Lodge of five free Masons att ye least, whereof one to be Master or Warden of that Limitt, or division, wherein such Lodge shall be kept and another of the Trade of ffreemasonry (*Grand Lodge No.* 2 MS.).

This is particularly interesting on account of the hint which it gives of some sort of territorial organisation, of which we have no other evidence from pre-Grand Lodge days. This, like the "Yearly general Assembly" to which I have already referred, may quite possibly have a long history behind it; and I suggest that, on the whole, it seems to belong to mobile rather than to static conditions; and rather to the more flourishing pre-Reformation period than to any later date. We have no means of ascertaining to what extent this 'article' was observed by the Craft as a whole; but it is perhaps worth mentioning that the numbers present at the two Lodge meetings which Ashmole records (in 1646 and 1682) were 7 and 9 respectively—the former gathering including one member who is styled "Warden" and probably one (Rich: Ellam) who was an operative; the latter consisting entirely, apart from Ashmole himself, of members of the Masons' Company. Again, it may not be entirely chance that for the first six years after the formation of Grand Lodge one of the Grand Wardens was either a Mason or at least an operative of an allied trade.

As to the influx of non-operative members during the post-Reformation period, I am inclined to think (but I can put it no stronger) that this would be more natural under static than under mobile conditions. But what seems to me one of the most striking features of the admissions is the wide way in which they are scattered over the map. Thus we have:—

1596 Kendal
Before 1601 Edinburgh
1619 (and presumably earlier) London Company
1641 Newcastle (acting for Edinburgh)
1646 Warrington

Even bearing in mind the interval of about 60 years between the Reformation (which cannot, however, be reduced to a single date) and the earliest examples, it does seem to me reasonable to suppose that the attraction, whatever it was, must have been already in existence in the Craft for a considerable time.

And that brings me to the very important question, as to what that attraction was. Writers on the subject seem generally to take the view that non-operative membership in early times was a more or less abnormal incident, and was based either on curiosity, or a desire to learn the principles of Architecture, or on a general sense of 'club spirit'. But I cannot help thinking that in early days it must have been a perfectly ordinary matter of business. When

a more or less educated ecclesiastic was in general charge, for instance, of the building of a remote Abbey, nothing would be more natural than his desiring admission to the Fraternity; but, and this is more important, the closer contact thus established would undoubtedly be greatly to the advantage of both master and man, and probably still more to the enterprise itself. Now I think it may probably be said that in the majority of cases of which we have information there was an ecclesiastic or a non-operative layman holding office as 'supervisor', 'clerk of the works,' and so on, up to a date immediately preceding the Reformation; and it does not seem to me at all unlikely that it was quite a normal practice for such men to be admitted as members of the Fraternity.

One feature of Craft practice, now, perhaps happily, obsolete, but a feature of seventeenth century Masonry, may be adduced as possibly of value as evidence of the significance of the non-operative admission of early times. We have plenty of evidence that gloves, and to a less extent aprons, were among the equipment which the employer had to 'find' for the operatives engaged on his work. It seems to me that nothing could be more natural than that the admission of (say) the 'clerk of the works' or the paymaster should be the occasion of a 'spread' at the employer's expense; while a new set of gloves and aprons all round (not necessarily implying the casting off of the old) would serve as a pretty compliment and most appropriately add a touch of smartness to the occasion. This seems to me to make better sense of the custom than any other explanation; and if it had become more or less general in the pre-speculative period, it would pass quite naturally into the speculative, when *every* person admitted into the Lodge (still regarded as an operative body) was a non-operative, and so according to time-immemorial usage made the distribution and paid for the supper. It does not seem possible even to suggest a date for the introduction of the custom. The earliest mention of the ordinary item of gloves, which Knoop and Jones record, is of 1322 [1]; but there is nothing to suggest either that the practice was not much older, or, for the matter of that, that the speculative custom was anything like so old.

I might add that it would be quite in keeping with the little drama of the admission if the new-made Mason were presented with the working tools of a Fellow Craft as we know them now; and I suspect that this feature of ritual to-day has as long a history as almost any other.

When we come to the non-operative admissions of the transition period, however, we must look for some entirely different reasons. No doubt in the later part of this period, *i.e.*, in the years which immediately preceded the formation of Grand Lodge, there may have been a large element of the 'club spirit' to attract admissions; but it is hard to account for the admission of men of the Ashmole type except by assuming that there was something going on in the Craft which was of interest to the scholar or the antiquary. I find it extremely difficult to believe, as is so often maintained, that any large portion of the speculative material was imported into the Craft by the literary speculatives of the seventeenth century; because I see nothing rational in the supposition that such men should, for no apparent reason, seize upon a perfectly ordinary Craft organisation, and deliberately implant in it such a curious and irrational complex of pseudo-Oriental lore. Moreover, although there was considerable interest in King Solomon's Temple displayed among the learned in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and a perfect flood of 'Temple' literature,[2] a study of this reveals nothing which could either have been borrowed from, or have given rise to, our principal Craft legend, nor our technical description of Temple detail. On these grounds, I am more and more inclined to believe that the speculative content of the Craft at the time when, for instance, Ashmole was admitted, was sub-

[1] *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 69.
[2] *A.Q.C.*, xii.

stantially the same as, though very likely much less elaborate than, it is to-day; and that, if so, then it must have been there at least a hundred years earlier.

This is perhaps a suitable point at which to introduce a few remarks on the Hiram legend itself. I have a strong feeling that short of some documentary discovery of a quite unique kind, we shall have to fill in its history by means of such conjecture as I have been suggesting. What seems to emerge most clearly from an exhaustive survey of the possibilities (and there can be but few avenues unexplored by Bro. Covey-Crump in his little but weighty *Hiramic Tradition*), is that the legend has *no* parallel outside of English Masonry, and that it is of little further use looking for one. We have, in fact, to conclude that the legend arose within the Craft; and we have rather to concentrate on the questions of when and how this is likely to have occurred.

Of these, I fancy the 'how' may be the easier, as it is not difficult to imagine the little drama having grown up out of 'horse-play' at the admission; and I fancy that the study of gild and craft admission customs of a similar kind is probably the most profitable line of research.

But I am more concerned with the 'when'. Here we have but a few scattered and slender hints to guide us. Looking back from 1717, we find that the 'words' must have been in use for a considerable period (see *Trinity College, Dublin*, MS.); while the F. P. O. F. are referred to specifically in the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. of 1696. Now Bro. Meekren has, I consider, in a paper to be read later, established the fact that as early as 1599 in Scotland the Fellow, as well as the Apprentice, received esoteric instruction at his reception; and the evidence brought forward by him illuminates, even more perhaps than it is illuminated by, the *Ediburgh Register House* MS. of a century later; for, by showing that, strictly in accordance with the Schaw Statutes, two Entered Apprentices were actually present at the reception of a Fellow, it affords a valid reason why the 'esoteric part' of the ceremony had to be performed in another room, as well as why the 'word' had to be whispered.

There seems to me to be no valid reason for doubting that the esoteric matter of 1599 was substantially the equivalent of the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. of a century later, and that it involved a form of the Hiram legend. I can put it no stronger than this: but I do think it worth drawing attention in this special connection to the curious suppression of the name of Hiram the Architect in the Old Charges at a date probably more than a century earlier still.

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I want now to bring forward some considerations of an entirely different kind. I have already referred to the Steinmetzen, and to the possibility of a common origin or any early connection with our Craft. Their records reveal no trace of anything like our traditional history, and little that is esoteric. But almost the only esoteric detail preserved bears a very striking resemblance to Craft material. Let me first read a few lines of the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. referring to the instruction of the 'master mason':—

> then coming in again He . . . must advance and put himself into the posture he is to receive the word and says to the eldest mason in whispering
>
> > The worthy masters and honourable Company greet you weel, greet you weel, greet you weel.
>
> Then the master gives him the word and gripes his hand after the masons way, which is all that is to be done to make him a perfect mason.

Compare this with a passage from the *Sloane* 3329 MS.:—

> God is Gratfull to all Worshipfull Mastrs. and fellows in that Worshipfull Lodge from whence we last came and to you good fellow wt is your name (A) J or B then giving the grip of the hand he will say Brothr John greet you well you (A) gods good greeting to you dear Brothr.

And now compare that with a passage from the Torgau Ordinances of the Steinmetzen, of 1462[1]:—

> 107. And this is the greeting wherewith every fellow shall greet; when he first goeth into the lodge, thus shall he say:
>
> > "God greet ye, God guide ye, God reward ye, ye honourable overmaster, warden, and trusty fellows";
>
> and the master or warden shall thank him, that he may know who is the superior in the lodge.
>
> Then shall the fellow address himself to the same, and say: "The master (naming him) bids me greet you worthily"; and he shall go to the fellows from one to the other and greet each in a friendly manner, even as he greeted the superior.
>
> And then shall they all, master and wardens, and fellows, pledge him as is the custom

The English renderings are in several places obviously corrupt; but we can still see three distinctive features of relationship:—

(i.) The visitor opens the proceedings by addressing himself to a Brother or to the Lodge in general;
(ii.) giving a three-fold greeting;
(iii.) as from the Master of the Lodge from which he comes.

The resemblance is so striking that it seems to me to point unmistakably to a common origin; and if this be a correct supposition, as I can see no likelihood of intercommunication between the two bodies at a date later than 1462, I conclude that the contact implied must have been earlier.

But, apart from traditions of ecclesiastical admission as early as the twelfth century, which may have been a natural development as I consider our own parallel cases to have been, the Steinmetzen records reveal one almost startling resemblance to a Scottish Craft feature. The Torgau Ordinances of 1462 refer to a 'triple division' of the territory covered by the organisation, to which the earliest reference is found at a general meeting at Ratisbon in 1459, and which is repeated at Speyer in 1463, that[2] "the workmasters of Strasburg, Cologne, and Vienna were acknowledged as being chief judges . . . These three are the highest judges and lodges of the craft; these shall not be displaced without just cause". There is a parallel so perfect that it may well point to old common tradition in the Schaw Statutes of 1599, in which the Lodges of Edinburgh, Kilwinning and Stirling are designated 'heid ludges' of Scotland. We have no trace of any similar tradition in England, unless possibly there is a hint of it in the "Limitt or division" of the New Articles; but I think the possibility of some such sub-division as (*e.g.*) York, Gloucester and London is worth bearing in mind.

I am, in fact, by no means prepared to accept the view that there can have been no connection between our Craft and the Steinmetzen; and this, of

[1] Gould, *Hist.*, i., p. 142.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 118.

course, opens the way to one more avenue of enquiry, as to the date at which the contact with the German body took place. As the Steinmetzen tradition appears to contain no trace whatever of the Hiram legend, it would seem probable that this was introduced into, or grew up in, the English Craft at a date subsequent to this contact.

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Let me now summarise shortly some of the more important conclusions which I have suggested as, to put it no stronger, well within the bounds of possibility:—

(*a*) That the original charges of the Masons, perhaps even then in the form of articles and/or points, were codified, and an annual general Assembly authorised, very likely based on some sort of territorial organisation, during the reign of Athelstan.

(*b*) That there was close and relevant contact with Continental masonry not later than 1462; and in any case the esoteric content of the Craft was of pre-Reformation date.

(*c*) That there were two esoteric 'steps' in existence in 1599. It is more than likely that the second of these involved a Hiram legend; while it is by no means unlikely that this was in use a century earlier.

At the commencement of this paper, I spoke of drawing attention to localities, persons or periods worthy of special study; and I want to conclude by giving several examples of the type of research which I have in mind—though I am hardly bold enough to hope that conclusive results can ever be reached along these lines.

First, as to Athelstan himself. Above all others of the English princes of the period, his interests and activities extended far beyond his own realm. May I quote a few lines from a modern historian.[1] "We know that he exercised a great influence not only over Britain, but over the whole of Christendom . . . But he was most renowned as the brother-in-law of most of the crowned heads of Europe. His numerous sisters had been sought in marriage by all the greater sovereigns". (His brothers-in-law, by the way, included Charles the Simple of France, Otto the Great, Louis II. of Provence, and Hugh, Count of Paris, himself the founder of a line of kings). "An infinite amount of lost diplomatic history", the writer goes on to say, "must lie beneath the story of these marriages". Moreover, Athelstan's reign itself may perhaps best be regarded as the culminating point of a close association, both political and religious, of England with the Kings of Saxony which synchronised with a revival of 'culture' in the Rhine Provinces under the Ottos towards the close of the ninth century—a contact close enough to have appreciably influenced the architecture of this country". To quote Baldwin Brown again[2]: "In several of their most characteristic features [the later Anglo-Saxon buildings] only reproduce what is common in the Trans-Rhenane provinces, and though Anglo-Saxon buildings have other very distinct features of their own which give the style independence, yet they have so much in common with German ones that we shall probably be right to reckon our own country, in the century before the Norman Conquest, an autonomous province of Austrasian architecture".

Or again, here is an example from a person or a place, rather than a period. The first post-Conquest Bishop of Hereford was Robert de Losinga, *i.e.*, 'of Lorraine', appointed in 1079, who instituted a much-needed rebuilding of the Cathedral. It seems unlikely that William of Malmesbury[3] is accurate in

[1] C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (1924), p. 522.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 231.
[3] *Gest. Pont.*, ?

describing his work as built 'on a round plan, copying in his own fashion the basilica at Aachen'; but there is plenty of evidence of foreign influence. "Here" says Clapham,[1] "there were towers over the east bays of the choir-aisles as well as one over the crossing. These eastern towers would seem to be a borrowing from German Romanesque and more particularly from the Rhine valley, where towers in this or a similar position are not uncommon". Moreover, until early eighteenth century there stood near the Bishop's palace a chapel of a type otherwise unknown in this country; of which Clapham[2] says that it "takes its place naturally in a group of kindred structures to be found in the Rhineland and north eastern France".

Here, then, to say nothing of the close contact with Normandy over a period of nearly a century commencing with the reign of Edward the Confessor, we have definite architectural associations with Western Europe—in each case probably closer and more considerable than at any later period. I have given these two examples, based on historical and architectural evidence, to illustrate the type of research that would be necessary to establish my thesis, if indeed such a thing were possible. But it must not be overlooked that a single architect, imported for a single specific task, may have formed the link between English and Continental Masonry to which their common matter is due. And I have little doubt that such contacts as I have used as illustrations must be a great deal more difficult to establish during the subsequent four centuries.

And this brings my somewhat lengthy work of imagination to an end; and I can only hope that I have raised sufficiently controversial issues to provoke an interesting discussion.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Poole for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. S. J. Fenton, seconded by Bro. C. C. Adams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. D. Knoop, R. H. Baxter, G. W. Bullamore, J. Heron Lepper, W. J. Williams, C. F. Sykes, W. W. Covey-Crump, R. J. Meekren, T. W. Phillips, and the Secretary.

Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter *writes*:—

I have read with a considerable amount of pleasure the advance proof of Bro. Poole's paper and cordially support the vote of thanks, which I know will be heartily accorded to him.

In the closing paragraph the author indicates that his paper is controversial, and invites a discussion. He will, therefore, not take it amiss if I offer a few remarks, which, however, are not exacty criticisms, but rather ideas of my own on the subject.

To begin with, the title of the paper is ambiguous. What is meant by the "Antiquity of the Craft"? The craft of the mason has its roots deeply implanted in the mists of antiquity. It is, indeed, hardly possible to say whether hunting, agriculture, smith-craft or building came first in the development of our civilisation. There was almost certainly building with un-hewn stones before the necessity for working tools arose.

But perhaps the quest of our author is the antiquity of freemasonry, and that is another story, although the two things may be more closely connected

[1] *English Romanesque Architecture*, p. 61.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 112.

than most people imagine. A hint of such a suggestion is to be found in the five peculiarities which distinguish the masons' craft from other bodies of workers (although generally there is no reason to limit these to mediæval times) and to the list of five others, which apparently concern themselves with freemasonry.

The attitudes of the figures in the Gloucester mason, the Peterborough boss and the Hitchin tile—as well as scores of others from Egyptian, classical and mediæval times—need not be regarded too seriously. It can hardly be too strongly emphasised that great caution, in two ways, is necessary in this connection.

It is particularly pleasing to me to read the references to and quotations from Professor Gerald Baldwin Brown, at whose feet I sat as a student in the closing years of the penultimate decade of last century; but, after all, the references concern themselves with a particular period of masonry or architecture and again there is no reason for such limitation. I am not sure that the argument about apses holds good. They were common features in Norman times—Steetley, Dalmeny and Leuchars perhaps deserve special mention—and they never entirely dropped out right to the end of the Gothic era. That there must have been a very efficient organisation amongst masons from the earliest times is evident from the monuments we still fortunately have remaining. Details of building methods, ornament and style, which enable us to determine the ages of buildings in all ages and countries have made architectural archæology an exact science.

Again, on the question of masons' marks there is hardly any limit to their antiquity. We find them on the stones of the pyramids and I believe I am right in saying our first Master, General Sir Charles Warren, found some on what he believed to be the foundations of King Solomon's Temple. Masons' marks have persisted through the centuries and are used at the present day, although they are now placed on the beds of stones where they are concealed from view except in isolated cases, such as the restoration of the Argyle Tower at Edinburgh Castle.

The wonderful mathematical accuracy with which the Greeks built in order to correct optical illusions and their use of conic sections in defining the profiles of their mouldings all prove that there were wonderful designers as well as splendid executants amongst these craftsmen.

But perhaps I am working round the subject. We have had a continuous stream of masons almost from the beginning of time. The connection has persisted throughout the ages. Man has ever been a creature addicted to ceremony. But just exactly where we get the connecting link between our own speculative freemasonry and the workmen of old is not easy to determine. It is more than possible that our present ceremonies are a gradual expansion of old customs and legends. My own faith is strong enough to make me believe that they are.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper said:—

I should like to say a few words to express my thanks to Bro. Poole for his provocative paper. I use this term in a laudatory sense, for his essay is an incitement to explore paths of research hitherto almost untrodden.

May I mention first of all a couple of minor suggestions in which I find myself unable to agree with Bro. Poole. In the list of five peculiarities which he considers distinguished the Mason's Craft from all others he gives:—

(*c*) a traditional history,
(*d*) a speculative element, and a habit of moralising on the Working Tools.

The other Crafts had their traditional history too. The history of Saint Hugh was an essential part of the Shoemakers' Mystery, and these workmen had to be able to reckon up their tools in rhyme, from which action to moralising on them is but a step. Since I quoted all this material *in extenso* in comments on Bro. Williams's paper on Saint Thomas of Canterbury, the Brethren will gladly dispense with a *rechauffé* on the present occasion.

I have only to add that I am heartily in agreement with Bro. Poole that our legendary history is a heritage from pre-Reformation times, distorted I dare say and altered in its details, but identical in its essentials with a medieval original which may yet be discovered. The recently unearthed *Graham* MS. is strong proof that till a comparatively recent period some uncertainty attached to the time and place and actors to be provided for the tragedy.

We need go no further than Shakespeare to see how the old religious expressions and legends clung in the memories of the Protestant Elizabethans: his clowns swear, "By the Mass", and Hamlet himself after the fateful interview with his father's spirit, released for a short space from Purgatory, swears by St. Patrick, because there naturally rises to his mind that legend of the Middle Ages which connected the Saint with the patronage of quite another region than is commonly assigned to him now.

Bro. Poole's paper is an encouragement to us all to go on seeking. It will be no very rash prophecy to suggest that theorising of his kind, erected on such a solid base of caution and learning, can do nothing but good, and will in a future, possibly not too remote, receive its crown of newly-discovered evidence.

Bro. W. J. Williams *writes*:—

Once more we are indebted to Bro. Poole for an interesting paper on an important subject at the opening of the New Year.

The Antiquity of the Craft has been the subject of many books and papers ranging over the period beginning with the *Regius* MS. (*circa* 1375 A.D.) and continuing unto this day. The Old Constitutions or Old Charges go back to the beginnings of human history, and endeavour to give some kind of a connected account of Freemasonry in the early ages and of various personalities of High Degree and good standing in relation to the Craft. Dr. James Anderson (is he not a man and a Brother?) also put into print his revised versions of Masonic History with supplementary information brought up to date of publication in the Editions of the Constitutions published in 1723 and 1738; the various Ceremonies in our Lodges add their quota; and Masonic Historians, too numerous to name, have made their contributions.

The subject of the Antiquity of Freemasonry was also treated with some particularity in a paper by our late Bro. J. Walter Hobbs in *A.Q.C.*, xxxv., 1922, pages 83 onward, and several comments on that production illuminated the topics then under consideration.

As I therein expressed my views as to the matter, I refrain from repetition. The intervening years have emphasised what I then ventured to say.

There are a few points which occur to me:—

It would seem that our Brother while purporting to deal with the Craft as a whole confines himself almost entirely to the British Isles and particularly England.

The most important deviation from that area is the very important one concerning the German Steinmetzen.

It is good that he has dealt with that topic and I hope it will lead us all into a closer examination of Gould's *History*, where the main factors are elaborately set out with a fullness which will enable us to judge for ourselves whether that painstaking author was correct in all his drastic conclusions. (See vol. i., chapter iii., pages 107-177.)

Here I may add that when Coverdale translated into English in *1550* the little book by WERTMULLERUS called "A spiritual and most precious pearl" he translated the word "Steinmetz" by "Freemason". Coverdale and other Reformers were for a long time resident in Germany (including Strasburg) and Switzerland while persecutions were raging in England and they had opportunities for acquiring information concerning such matters. Presumably the obvious literal translation of "Steinmetz" would, as Gould suggests (p. 108), be "stone-measurers—identical in all points with our own term stonemason".

Coverdale thus uses the phrase "God the heavenly freemason", which shows that he and Wertmullerus took a speculative or transendent view of the subject. (Gould, vol. ii., p. 154.)

It may also be observed that a point of similarity and perhaps of contact between English and German masonry is that the *Regius* MS. gives the Quatuor Coronati as the Masonic Patron Saints and also gives high honour to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Steinmetzen did likewise. (See Gould, i., pp. 134-5.) The Torgau ordinances of 1462 claim to have been drawn up from the letter of the ancient lodge rights that were "instituted by the holy worthy crowned martyrs by name Claudius and Christorius and Significamus to the Honour and praise of the Holy Trinity and Mary the Queen of Heaven". Did the *Regius* MS. draw its references to the 4 Crowned Martyrs and attached constitutions from a source common to the *Regius* author and the Steinmetzen?

I now pass to the subject of French Craft Masonry, which is dealt with at some length by Gould in vol. i., pp. 178 to 211.

Gould there makes several references to the Boileau code, which he dates at about 1260 (p. 197). "Very early notices of the building trades are to be found; but the oldest code which has been preserved is probably that of Boileau (about 1260). In it we find them already sub-divided into many branches, which of itself presupposes a much earlier existence, as the division of labour always marks a considerable development of a trade. This code unites under the Banner of St. Blaise, the masons, stonemasons, plasterers (both makers and users) and the mortarers (both makers and users of mortar)".

Gould then sets out Articles I. to IX. and XVII. to XXIV. and comments thereon. Shortly it must here suffice to say that the articles dcelare who may be a mason in Paris provided he works after the usages and customs of the craft.

II., III. Provisions as to limitation of number of apprentices and length of service.

IV. The King has granted mastership of the masons to Master William of Saint Patu who had taken oath in Paris that he would the aforesaid craft well and loyally keep . .

VII. The masons . . . may have as many assistants and workmen in their service as they please, provided always that they instruct them not in any point of their handicraft.

VIII. Every mason . . . shall swear by the saints to keep the craft aforesaid well and truly. Transgressions of the usages and customs of the craft are to be laid before the Master.

IX. Procedure when apprentice has served his term.

X. No one to work at his craft after the stroke of *none* (3 p.m.) at Notre Dame during flesh time (also other provisions as to cessation of work and fines for transgression).

XVII. The master of the craft has cognisance of the petty justice and fines of the masons, their workmen and apprentices: also deprivation of their craft &c.

XXI. The masons and the plasterers owe the watch duty and the tax and the other dues which the other citizens of Paris owe the King.

XXII. The mortarers are free of watch duty, and all stonemasons (tout tailleur de pierre) since the time of Charles Martel, as the wardens (preudomes) have heard tell from father to son.

Gould comments on this exemption attributed to Charles Martel (temp. 715-740) and continues: "We thus see that as early as the thirteenth century, a tradition was current in France that Charles Martel had conferred special favours upon the stonemasons and that this tradition was sufficiently well established to ensure very valuable privileges to the craftsmen claiming under it. With but one exception, all the Old Charges of British Freemasons also pointedly allude to the same distinguished soldier as a great patron of and protector of masonry".

Gould concedes the possibility of the traditionary history having received a French impress which time itself has failed wholly to obliterate (p. 201).

The main authority on which Gould relies is at the British Museum (1885 c. 5), and is entitled:—

Reglemens sur Les Arts et Metiers de Paris

Redigés au XIII° siecle et connus sous le nom Du Livre de Metiers D'Etienne Boileau. Publiés pour la première fois en entier. D'Apres les Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi et des Archives du Royaume avec des Notes et une introduction

Par G-B. DEPPING.

Des Societés d'Antiquaries de Paris, Edimbourg, Copenhague, de l'Academie Royal de Munich etc.

A Paris

De L'Imprimerie de Capelet

1837.

Bro. A. J. Dazeley, commenting on Bro. Hobbs' paper before referred to, said that this Paris "Charter" is "incontestibly the oldest written record of the Craft yet discovered and presents claims to consideration superior to the Halliwell (*Regius*) MS. assigned to the year 1390". This has led me to enlarge on the point.

Bro. Poole refers to the "apse" as definitely an imported Norman feature. It should, however, be borne in mind that the "apse" itself goes back to the Pagan period and that there still exist several important Churches going back, at Ravenna for instance, at least so far as the sixth century, wherein the apse is a prominent feature. Bro. Poole, therefore, could not have meant that the apse was a Norman *invention*, but only that Normans adopted it and used it in England, where it had probably been used in the Roman and subsequent periods.

Taking a broad view of the subject it seems a not unreasonable conclusion that wherever important building operations were undertaken whether in Babel, Niniveh, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Baalbec, Jerusalem or Byzantium, necessitating the employment of large bodies of workmen, the craftsmen employed were organised and regulated both by their Masters and by themselves. In any case, whether organised or not, the Craft was actively in operation and thus was at least as old as the oldest building where craftsmanship was exercised. How far organisation and any accompanying secret signs, tokens and words existed is a matter for research, but they are not of the essence of the Craft.

There is yet another aspect of the subject which probably concerns us more as members of the non-operative organisation ruled over by Grand Lodge since 1717, and which maintains a philanthropic and religious basis. Going back at least as far as to the early years of the present era there has been a constant practical application of the material operations of the Craft to a higher and spiritual order of things transcending the temporal by the eternal. The volume of the S.L. abounds in illustrations of this and later writers have illustrated the theme. The long extract published in *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 256 *sqq.*, from the *Pilgrimage of Perfection*, printed in *1526*, is one of the most striking instances of this; and perhaps two of the most important and most neglected passages in our Craft publications are those contained in the Historical part of the 1738 *Constitutions* at pages 41 and 42. The first reads thus:—"In the 26th year of his" (Augustus's) "Empire after the conquest of Egypt the Word was made Flesh, or the Lord Jesus Christ Immanuel was born the Great Architect or Grand Master of the Christian Church".

Bro. KNOOP *writes*:—

My colleague, G. P. Jones, and myself, being especially interested in the early history of Freemasonry, had looked forward eagerly to Bro. Poole's paper on the Antiquity of the Craft. We were, naturally, anxious to learn what contribution he had to make, by bringing new facts to light or by re-interpreting old facts, to a study which is admittedly obscure and controversial. We must confess that we are not at all convinced by the considerations advanced in his present paper.

Criticism is to some extent forestalled by Bro. Poole's frank admission, that he is engaged in an exercise of the imagination. He may be right in holding such an exercise to be permissible, and even necessary, where data are scanty or non-existent; but the assumptions he makes seem to us to be contrary to some of the known facts, and to be incapable of explaining some of the developments with which he deals.

(1) They do not, in the first place, explain why the modern speculative art developed out of operative masonry, rather than out of carpentry or minstrelsy. He presupposes among medieval masons the existence of "esoteric" beliefs, as distinct from secret methods of recognition; but we know of no evidence that this was so; and if masons may be credited with these things without evidence, so may minstrels and carpenters, or cobblers or smiths. It would be quite easy to draw moral lessons from the tools of these trades, as Holy Writ does from the arms of the soldier, or the implements of agriculture.

Carpenters, tilers and smiths were also engaged in what Bro. Poole calls a "mass art". They, too, wandered to some extent in search of work, and carpenters, like masons, were frequently impressed by the Crown; this was also true, to a lesser extent, of smiths and tilers. Presumably these trades also would need modes of recognition; indeed, it is known that carpenters in Scotland participated in what was called the "squaremen word".[1] Masons, therefore, were not, as Bro. Poole supposes, peculiar in these respects.

He suggests that there would be little need of signs of recognition among the members of town gilds. We may remind him that the only known examples in Great Britain of such secret modes of recognition occur in certain Scottish burghs in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

[1] Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 23.

(2) Bro. Poole thinks that masons had a greater sense of continuity and tradition than any other craft, and attributes this to publicity, *i.e.*, to their handiwork being more open to casual, or critical, public examination. Against this, three considerations may be urged:—(i.) Tradition is, surely, better preserved by professional, than by public, examination; public taste makes for change as much as for continuity, perhaps more. (ii.) The public, in any event, rarely saw the cores of walls, where the standard of work was not always very high. (iii.) In fact, the work of the minstrel, carpenter, cutler, or weaver, was as much open to public inspection and criticism as that of the mason. If any force made for continuity and tradition among masons, it was probably the lodge or the quarry; but other trades had analogous institutions and may thus have been equally traditional.

(3) Bro. Poole assumes that the mason's craft was highly organised at the time of the Norman Conquest. Naturally, we cannot prove that this was not the case; but we know of no scrap of evidence in favour of such a view. The existence of stone buildings is not enough; for though the erection of large churches or castles may prove the existence of a high degree of organisation for the purpose of carrying on building operations, that is not the same thing as organisation among craftsmen. Building contractors to-day may have an elaborate organisation, but that would not prevent the use of quite unorganised labour.

(4) Bro. Poole assumes that large bodies of foreign masons were introduced into this country in the Norman period, but, so far as we know, there is no authentic record of them. Individuals, like William of Sens, were indeed introduced, but there is neither warrant nor need for the assumption that Bro. Poole makes. A relatively small number of carvers and master masons, together with a large number of less skilled native workers, would have sufficed for the buildings he has in mind. Cathedral apses could be built in foreign style without importing large numbers of foreign workmen.

(5) Granting the existence of native stone-workers, there is no warrant outside the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., for believing in a codification of charges under Athelstan or his pre-Conquest successors, and it would seem in the highest degree dangerous to accept, at its face value, the evidence of documents written four or five centuries after the age of Athelstan. *A priori*, the sort of assembly described would seem very unlikely in an age of predominantly wood and wattle building, primitive transport and communications, very incomplete political unity, and unstable political order. The surviving remains of Athelstan's law-giving contain no mention of such codification, nor is it mentioned in the London demand for organisation in 1356. The earliest surviving evidence, so far as we know, of customs connected with the mason's craft, is derived from building accounts relating to Vale Royal Abbey in 1278[1] and to Nottingham Castle in 1348.[2] The former refers to a 'custom' regarding the purchase of mason's tools, and the latter to a 'custom' regarding payment for holidays. A study of contemporary building accounts shows that these particular customs were by no means national in their application, as might have been expected had they rested upon a national code such as the supposed code of Athelstan.

(6) It is doubtless by a miscalculation that Bro. Poole dates the appearance of craft gilds in the late ninth or early tenth century. The first known mention of a merchant gild is not earlier than 1093, though such gilds may have existed before then. As for craft gilds, "isolated examples occur early in the twelfth century, they become more numerous as the century advances, and in the thirteenth century they appear in all branches of manufacture and in every

[1] P.R.O. Exch. K.R. 485/22.
[2] P.R.O. Exch. K.R. 544/35.

industrial centre".[1] No new evidence has been brought to light which would make necessary a revision of these words, written by the late Sir William Ashley nearly fifty years ago, and they may still be taken as authoritative with regard to the age of the craft gild. The assumption, necessary for Bro. Poole's argument, that masons were organised at a date considerably earlier than the earliest known craft gild, cannot, therefore, in the complete absence of evidence to support it, be accepted.

Since he invites discussion of what he calls his "work of imagination", Bro. Poole will, I trust, forgive me if I have made too destructive an attack upon it. Having said so much, I may as well add what is really at the back of my mind. In previous papers, of a different type, Bro. Poole has given the Lodge the results of a wide knowledge and of meticulous and detailed researches. There can be no doubt that those results far exceed in value the work of imagination which he has contributed this evening, and I am sure that every Brother present will agree with me when I say, that I sincerely hope that Bro. Poole will turn his attention once more to those branches of masonic research which he has made his own, and which he has done so much to forward and elucidate.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The Art of Sculpture and of Building in Stone appears to have travelled from Egypt to Greece and thence across Europe to England. This is also claimed in the Old Charges and is a statement of fact rather than imaginative history. The details may, or may not, be correct.

The "beok" given by Athelstan to the masons was in exchange for charges in divers languages and is quite within the bounds of possibility. After the subjugation of the Danes it was necessary to re-Christianise much of the country, and missionaries from all parts of Christendom hastened to the work. If we assume that the Catholic Church possessed a church-building gild or gilds, then it would be very natural for a missionary to start a branch of the gild from his own country in the newly Christianised district. All that would be necessary would be a copy of the rules. A nucleus of skilled craftsmen could then train and assist the local labour and the gild would become permanent in the country.

It must be remembered that a mother gild exercised no jurisdiction over her branches. Except for an identity of aims and regulations, they were distinct organisations. Branches of foreign gilds in England usually tried to make this clear.

The branches of foreign church-building gilds ceased to exist when they accepted a charge from Athelstan and were replaced by the Athelstan gild. A similar redaction may have become necessary in other countries and resulted in such documents as the Strasburg Ordinances and the Schaw Statutes. Destructive criticism has seized on the fact that Athelstan was unmarried, to contend that he had no son Edwin. It so happens, however, that Athelstan succeeded his father on the throne of England, but was not the son of his father's wife. So the logic which rules out the existence of Edwin also does away with the existence of Athelstan.

I think we have a genuine account of what happened in 1356. The charges show that there was no love lost between the masons and the layers, and this was a dispute between masons (hewers) and layers. The authorities insisted that they were one mistery and that to do one another's work was not encroaching

[1] Ashley, *Economic History*, i., 76.

on one another's rights. My own view as to how the conditions had arisen assumes that the setters and layers and possibly the sculptors were the original Athelstan gild (Quatuor Coronati ?) which had established itself in London. When Henry III. rebuilt Westminster Abbey he established a branch of an Italian church gild at Westminster with St. John as its patron saint, and there was eventually formed a branch in the City which prepared stone with the mallet and chisel. For a time there was no friction, as the layers could obtain this stone for use on special work or continue to use the stone as bedded at the quarry for ordinary work. The opposition from the layers or trade gild came about when these hewers also carried out building operations. After the decision of 1356 the Free Masons went ahead and the trade gild was eventually absorbed. The preparation of recumbent effigies in freestone was easier than their preparation in Portland stone. When painted and gilded they looked just as good, and the working in marble became a dying industry. The Free Mason also became the setter, leaving only the inferior work.

I do not think it is possible to get any clear idea of history unless this duality of organisation is recognised. It may be the explanation of why there are the Quatuor Coronati as well as St. John, the Noah and Hiram legends, and the gavel or cutting hammer in opposition to the mallet and chisel, as well as two forms of the word in the third degree. It may explain also why one of the City lists mentions both the Master of the Freemasons and the Wardens of the Masons (fifteenth century).

Continuing to speculate, one might hazard the suggestion that the Greek Church had its own variant of the church-building gild which had descended from a temple building gild, and that the Crusades were responsible for branches of this being brought into the West. The Knights Templar connection with the Freemasons might be perfectly genuine, while leaving them quite free of any fraternisation with the Quatuor Coronati.

Although it may be desirable to assume that gilds were first invented in the seventh century it seems to me probable that sodalities with an occupation or other mutual object as a bond have been in existence from primitive times. The Christianising process was effected by arranging that such gilds were under the patronage of a saint instead of some particular god, and the burning of a candle to this saint rendered the gild a Christian brotherhood.

I am glad to see Bro. Poole's paper. I think we shall make better progress by trying to knit together the oddments of history that have survived than by trying to prove them forgeries or ignoring them when this cannot be done.

Bro. C. F. Sykes *writes*:—

I regret I am unable to be present to hear Bro. Poole read his paper, but I hope he will allow me to offer him congratulations on his effort. He demonstrates that there is yet room for the Speculative mason to speculate on matters regarding the Craft. Moreover, his speculations are all thought-provoking.

From the very nature of the paper any comments must involve speculation too,—a very fitting evening to occupy the minds of "Free and Accepted or Speculative Masons".

There are two periods towards which my imagination wanders, and both appeal to me as likely to have greatly affected the Craft organisation in this country.

First the great building era which immediately preceded and which immediately followed the Norman Conquest. The whole of this period was one in which the Craft in this country came under powerful continental influence. As Bro. Poole says, there can be little doubt that this period saw a great immigration of Norman craftsmen. Some years ago I ventured to disagree with Bro. Walter Hobbs regarding some points in his paper *The Travelling Mason and Cathedral Builders* (*A.Q.C.*, xl., 2). Quoting from a well-known historian I alluded to this coming of large numbers of masons from Normandy and stated that in addition to the work on abbeys and cathedrals, thousands of churches were also erected. I learned afterwards that there was considerable doubt among some present that such a number of churches had been built. It is with pleasure, therefore, that I note Bro. Poole writes that there can *hardly have been less* than 5,000 churches and chapels built during the Norman period.

This period was, in fact, an era of immense building activity so great that one can only wonder at the work accomplished, and the style of building was vastly superior to anything which preceded it in Saxon times.

The Norman craft was an organised one and could not fail to leave its mark on subsequent craft organisation in England.

I do not doubt that large numbers of native workmen were employed on church and chapel building. During this extremely active period there must have been great difficulty to maintain a sufficient number of craftsmen, and the training of native workmen would be a matter of necessity. But the directing influence was in Norman hands, and whatever shape the craft organisation took it would be that which these craftsmen effected.

From whence did the old Norman craftsmen get their organisation? Their buildings still in existence to-day are pointed out as Roman, meaning, of course, Romanesque in style. It would appear that the Roman buildings in France still standing at the time were the inspiration of the Norman style. Could there have also been existing at the same time any tradition connecting the mason's work with the old Roman Collegia organisations? It does not seem possible that any such tradition could have persisted through the Saxon period in our own country, but the position in France was somewhat different, for there, particularly in the South, the Collegia tradition did persist. It does not seem impossible that there may have been some Roman influence present in the Norman craftsmen's organisation. My imagination does not lead me to think that our Craft is actually a direct descendant of the Collegia, but that there may be traces of Roman custom does not appear to be too improbable, and that those traces came to us through the Norman craftsmen. Slight though it may be, I fancy our system of master and warden or wardens and our custom of terming each other, brother, may be relics of Roman influence.

Bro. Poole does, I think, make out a good case for the belief that the tradition of reorganisation of the craft in Athelstan's reign may well be a fact. At the same time I consider that, unparalleled in its building activites as the Norman period was, it must have been one too with a great formative influence on the mason craft customs in this country.

The second period to which my imagination turns is that of the seventeenth century.

The speculative mason was not unknown before that century, but to me, the transition which took place during the seventeenth century, showing the great importance of the Speculative Lodge, has not been exhaustively explored.

It cannot have been mere curiosity which led men like Ashmole and Randle Holme to become Freemasons, or which caused members of the London Company of Masons to become speculatives.

Bro. Poole alludes to the interest aroused among the learned during the century in King Solomon's Temple, but is of opinion that the literature concerning this contains nothing associated with our Craft Legend. But since the interest was aroused among the learned there must have been some cause for it.

Does the eighteenth century afford a glimpse of the reason for this interest?

Bro. Adams in his paper *Ahiman Rezon* (*A.Q.C.*, xlvi., 2) tells us that Laurence Dermott says that the arms adopted by the "Antients" were found in a collection of the "famous and learned hebrewist, architect and brother Rabi (*sic*) Jacob Jehudah Leon". The arms were, a man, a lion, an ox and an eagle with the ark of the covenant as crest and cherubim as supporters.

Now the Rabbi Leon came to London in the seventeenth century and lectured on King Solomon's Temple, of which he had a model. Dermott was the great eighteenth century protagonist for the observation of the traditional usages of the Craft, and his insistence on the importance of the Royal Arch is well known. The frontispieces of some of the editions of *Ahiman Rezon* are illustrated in the paper by Bro. Adams, and are worthy of notice in this respect. Dermott asserted that he firmly believed the Royal Arch to be the "root, heart and marrow" of Freemasonry. This comes from one who was probably the greatest figure in the Craft of the eighteenth century. He must have been convinced that the Royal Arch was ancient, and I think it may have been this to which prominence was given by the speculative brethren of the seventeenth century.

Bro. T. W. Phillips *writes*:—

This is an extremely interesting and very valuable paper, full of knowledge and full of suggestion. Personally, I feel greatly indebted to Bro. Poole, though in some parts I fail to follow his argument. For example, of his five postulates, while the first three can be granted without question, the other two are more disputable. Why should a mason "usually have been a stranger wherever he was working"? All through the Middle Ages masons were engaged, not only in building castles and cathedrals, but also in building and repairing parish churches, houses and town walls; and whatever mobility there may have been among the builders of cathedrals it is certain that the builders of houses, town walls and parish churches were stationary. With regard to cathedral builders, once they were on the work they became practically stationary, for, as Bro. Poole says in the last sentence of his postulate (b), "On the mediæval cathedral whether in building or in upkeep Master succeeded Master and man replaced man for some hundreds of years". That was a condition of things that showed little mobility once a mason was engaged on the job which became, in some cases, his life's work.

Then, again, I cannot see how the five "peculiarities" are deducible from the five "postulates". Bro. Poole himself admits that as to his first and second peculiarities we have no detailed knowledge except in regard to the second and that only at a late period. With regard to a traditional history, I fail to see how it arises out of any of the five postulates. Our traditional history with its unverified assumptions and its chronological confusion was but the effort of mediæval man to give an account of the history of the art of building, as he conceived it, from the beginning of time to his own age. Such an account would arise quite naturally just as ancient mythology did, and there is no need for any of Bro. Poole's postulates to account for it.

With regard to the Speculative element Bro. Poole considers that what we have to-day was existing, though possibly in a simpler form, in 1646, when Ashmole was admitted, and "it must have been there at least a hundred years earlier". That moves it back to 1550, and it is certain that what was there in 1550 had come from the Middle Ages. In reading the Old Charges that are in Grand Lodge Library one is struck by the casual and incidental way in which Solomon's Temple is referred to and by the absence of any reference to Hiram Abiff. The absence of reference to that notable character was surely not a case of "suppression", as Bro. Poole suggests, but rather because Hiram did not then exist in the minds of the writers. There are so many people mentioned in the Old Charges, from Adam to Athelstan, that it is quite certain that Hiram would not have been omitted if he had been in their minds at all.

There is another consideration that has a bearing on this important question. The Middle Ages were predominantly Christian and the whole thought of the time, as expressed in literature and philosophy, was based upon and coloured by Christianity. Christianity and Judaism were directly opposed to one another, and it is not surprising that during the Middle Ages the Jews and all they stood for were anathema. That being so, it is most improbable that any mediæval Christian organisation, and in particular an organisation concerned with the building of the cathedral, would have put Solomon's Temple and Hiram in the prominent position they occupy in the Masonic Speculative literature of to-day. If that be so, there is no wonder that the Old Charges show no interest in King Solomon's Temple or in Hiram.

Bro. POOLE *writes*, in reply:—

I expected to have to take a more defensive line than I find to be the case, now that I have the collected comments before me. But, with the exception of Bro. Knoop's, most have dealt so kindly with me that I am almost disarmed. Let me first try and answer Bro. Knoop.

(1) I have always been inclined to include 'allied crafts', such as those of the carpenter and tiler, when speaking of our Craft (in medieval times), and I certainly ought to have made this clearer. And I have little doubt that in England, as well as in Scotland, such Crafts were admitted to a knowledge of anything 'esoteric' there may have been. Moreover, I am far from denying that others, *e.g.*, minstrels or cobblers, may also have had their secrets. But there can have been little need for them; for if any of these Crafts involved travelling, as we know the minstrel did, the Craftsman would seldom be going to join a party, when, alone, such secrets would be required.

Bro. Knoop seems (as also does Bro. Phillips) to suspect me of trying to *prove*, from my postulates, that something like our Craft was bound to develop. This was hardly my idea. We know the Craft to-day; and I was trying to sift, out of early conditions, those which seemed to me likely to have assisted in fostering the development. The minstrel and the cobbler *may*, for all we know, have had their secrets too: the fact that we have no trace of a developed 'Free-minstrelsy' or 'Freecobblery' to-day is no proof that there never were the germs of either. The point I was trying to make was that in early days the Mason had a need of a mode of recognition, and an atmosphere favourable for esoteric development existed—and we have our Craft full-blown to-day: in other Crafts, neither the need nor the atmosphere (at any rate to the same extent) existed—and no full-blown Craft to-day. Is any inference possible?

The fact that we find examples of signs of recognition only as late as the seventeenth century, and then in towns, is not a matter for surprise; for the days of 'mobile' Masonry were virtually over long before we have any record of its proceedings.

(2) Perhaps I expressed myself badly: my thought was somewhat like this: How often must the Mason, on his travels, have paused for many a long minute before such great works as Malmesbury Abbey, or Beverley Minster, or Melbourne Church, and breathed a silent prayer that he, too, might some day be called upon to undertake such a building; and that, please God, he would put such honest work and craftsmanship into it that it, too, would be the awe and wonder of generations yet unborn.

(3) I think we are using the word 'organisation' in somewhat different senses. What I claim amounts to something like this—that, even in the pre-Conquest period, but increasingly in the Norman, Early English and Perpendicular, a new style and new ornaments seem to have spread so rapidly as to suggest that detailed instructions were issued to the Craft—that there may actually have been some sort of 'central authority' in touch with the Craft all over the land, which (among probably other duties) saw to it that new ideas were properly disseminated.

(4) Both Rivoira and Baldwin Brown take the view that large numbers of Norman Masons were employed in this country; and this seems to be a very usual view. But I was concerned not so much to prove that the Normans came here as that the bulk of the building was done by natives. And if Bro. Knoop is correct in his insistence on the comparatively small number of Norman Craftsmen employed in England, my case is a stronger one—the new style could not have so quickly and so completely replaced the old without a very high degree of organisation of the type to which I have just referred. I am glad, by the way, to have Bro. Baxter, whose opinion on a matter of this kind is of special value, on my side.

(5) I am inclined to agree on the inherent improbability of the Athelstan Assembly. But inherent improbability will get us nowhere. All I can say is that, for what it is worth, we have a definite claim made before the end of the fourteenth century, and inferentially somewhat earlier: and, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, I am inclined to admit the possibility as, at least, worth bearing in mind.

(6) I must, I fear, 'climb down' completely as regards the dates of early craft gilds. My sole authority for my statement was a casual note of my own, with no indication of its source; and I accept Bro. Knoop's correction without reserve. I am not sure, however, that my main argument is seriously affected.

Thanks, too, to Bro. Lepper, for correcting my somewhat unguarded statement as to the peculiarities of the Masons' Craft in medieval times—probably no single one of these is actually peculiar to it, though the group as a whole was, so far as we know.

Bro. Sykes hints at a line of research which might well be usefully explored. The importation of the system of Masons' marks suggests that a good deal besides mere technique may have come into this country in the wake of the Conqueror; and if anyone with the industry of the writer of *The Cathedral Builders* were to attempt to trace back the influences which shaped the "Norman" of late eleventh century, positive results might well emerge.

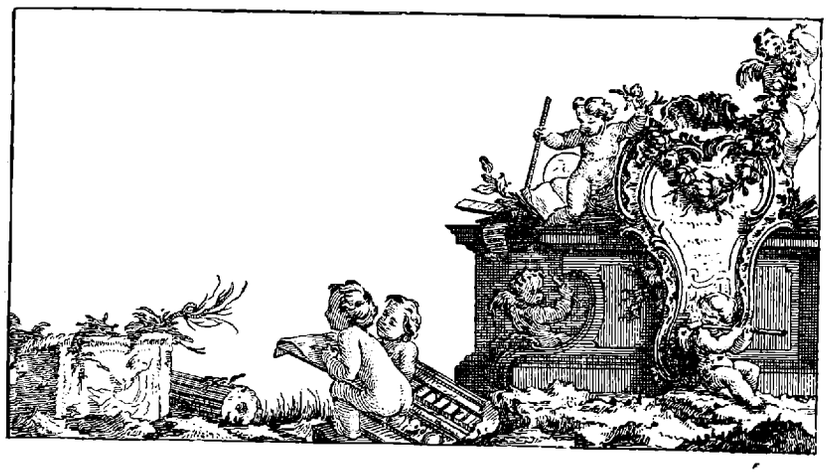
Bro. Phillips is perhaps making a good point about the omission of reference to Hiram in the Old Charges, but it does not seem to me conclusive.

If there were no reference at all, it might be; but there is actually a reference to the building of K.S.T. and also to the builder; and it is equally possible that Bro. Tuckett was right in his view (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., 179) that the name given to him—Aymon (or some variation) meaning 'the boss'—was a deliberate concealment of matter deemed to be esoteric.

It is almost disturbing to come (as I have arranged the comments) to two Brethren who seem to feel that I have been too modest in the claims to antiquity which I have suggested for the Craft. Both Bro. Baxter and Bro. Bullamore are, of course, quite right in emphasising the continuity of technique from very early times. No doubt in the architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Western Europe (which I regard as artistically, though not, of course, structurally, the high-water mark) we see the accumulated experience of ages, which has drawn on the Greek Temple as well as that of King Solomon. But it is the speculative element that we are pursuing; and I am almost, if not quite, convinced that nearly all of this element was *not* a part of the ancient tradition, but a native growth in this country.

Lastly, we must be grateful to Bro. Williams for a most useful epitome of the "Boileau code", which, if the date, 1260, is anything near correct, points to a continental 'contact' of the greatest interest, though there does not appear to be in it any trace of the esoteric.

I fully recognise the risk involved in the printing of such suggestions as I made in my paper, among the weighty and authoritative matter of which our *Transactions* are full. And I would like to conclude by emphasising that, at most, I have done no more than suggest possibilities—in some cases rather bare ones.



FRIDAY, 4th MARCH, 1938.

HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M., as W.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., as I.P.M.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., as S.W.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; B. Ivanoff, S.D.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., I.G.; Fred. L. Pick; H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Love, A.G.Pt.; F. R. Radice; F. P. Reynolds, P.G.St.B.; A. H. Parker; C. F. Waddington; H. Boutroy; Jas. J. Cooper; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson; *Capt.* R. Henderson-Bland; E. J. Marsh, P.G.D.; Wm. Jepson; F. Addington Hall; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; F. A. Greene; F. Coston Taylor; J. W. Hawes; S. Leighton; F. A. Dale; R. M. Strickland; F. E. Berber; Wm. Lewis; C. A. Everitt; D. L. Oliver; S. J. Humphries; S. M. Mowling; A. Victor Mowling; A. F. Cross; C. R. Cox; L. G. Wearing; B. S. Anderson; A. L. Mond, P.A.G.D.C.; H. Johnson; Wm. Edwardson; J. F. H. Gilbard; J. H. Greenwood; W. Morgan Day; R. H. Clerke, P.G.St.B.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. A. Nixon, P.M., Saint Vincent Lodge No. 1404; W. J. Youden, Jonkheer Lodge No. 865 (N.Y.C.); Albert Parker, P.M., and Wm. Edmund Gathercole, J.D., of London Lodge No. 108; B. N. Dunster, Kelvin Lodge No. 3736.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, S.W.; *Major* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., J.W.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby.; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Norman, *M.D.*, P.G.D., P.M.; Geo. Elkington, P.G.D., I.P.M.; Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, P.M.; and W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down.

The W.M. read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

JOHN PERCY SIMPSON.

BRETHREN:

Since our last meeting we have suffered another great loss by the death of Bro. John Percy Simpson, the senior Past Master of the Lodge, who occupied this Chair in 1912.

He was born in 1862, the son of the Rev. R. J. Simpson, Past Gd. Chaplain, who was vicar of St. Clement Dane's, and throughout his life our Brother was closely associated with that parish and with the charitable institutions connected with it. He was educated at Stratford-on-Avon, where in 1877 he gained the gold medal awarded by the Bard of Avon Lodge, Hampton Court, for knowledge of the works of Shakespeare. He then went to Worcester College, Oxford, and graduated with honours in Law in 1884; and was admitted a Solicitor in 1888. He was Solicitor to various associations, and became Clerk and Solicitor to the Trustees of the St. Clement Dane's Holborn Estate, a Charity with which he retained his connection up to the time of his death, and saw its activities greatly extended beyond the original parish limits. The Boys' School connected with the parish was also one of his interests and he helped to effect its transfer from previous cramped quarters in Houghton Street to more spacious buildings at Hammersmith.

Bro. Simpson was initiated in the Caveac Lodge, No. 176, in 1890, and occupied the Chair in 1897. He was given Grand Rank as Asst. Gd. Registrar in 1909. He was exalted in the Caveac Chapter, and held rank in Grand Chapter as Asst. Gd. D.C. in 1909 and Past Gd. St.B. in 1925. He devoted a great deal of time to the Royal Masonic Hospital, where he was a member of the House Committee. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1905, in which year he published his *History of the Caveac Lodge*; and he also contributed to our *Transactions* a paper on *Moses Mendez*. He was elected to full membership in June, 1906, and the volumes of the *Transactions* for that and the two following years contain his very valuable papers on the *Old City Taverns*, *Old London Taverns*, and *Old Suburban Taverns*, associated with Masonry. In 1913, as part of a Souvenir of the Grand Festival, he wrote an important article demonstrating the antiquity and propriety of the *Loyal Toast*: *The King and Craft*. This was circulated by direction of the Pro Grand Master, to all Lodges; it was reprinted in *Miscellanea Latomorum* in 1934 and again circulated. In his Inaugural Address as Master he described the work already accomplished by the Lodge in 25 years, but impressed on his hearers the work that still lay before us and the Craft generally, if we were to make any approach to a realisation of our high ideals.

He died on 21st January, only a very short time after he had retired from his various official appointments. The funeral service was held at St. Mary Abbot's, and the Lodge sent a wreath and was represented by Bro. W. J. Williams. On Tuesday, 1st February, a Memorial Service was held at St. Clement Dane's, at which the Lodge was represented by the Secretary and other Brethren.

One Provincial Grand Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction and twenty-nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Very cordial congratulations were offered to W.Bro. W. J. Songhurst who had now completed fifty years as a Freemason.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

From Lodge Collection.

The Martin Folkes Medal. Bronze.

Martin Folkes was a distinguished mason of the early days of the Grand Lodge, and also a scientific and literary man of eminence, President of the Royal Society in 1741. He was Deputy Grand Master in 1724 and 1725. In 1742 this medal was struck in his honour, but for what reason cannot be stated, nor is the artist identifiable. The inscription in exergue is "Romae, A.L. 5842", which suggests a masonic connection. The design on Ob. is a group of a pyramid, and sphinx, in a landscape. But the pyramid is engaged in what is clearly intended for the wall of Rome, and it is in fact the Pyramid of Cestus, just outside the walls in this very position.

Purchased.

Portrait medal of Hogarth. Silver. L. Wyon. Struck for the Art Union of London, 1848. The group on Ob. is the central group of Plate II. of *The Election*, a series designed by Hogarth before 1733.

Purchased.

Metal Badge. Foresters. Inscribed: Presented by Court 1940 to Bro. Robert Walker, S.C.R. for his exertions in the cause of Forestry. Feb. 7th, 1855. Design: Coat of Arms and supporters.

By Bro. F. P. REYNOLDS.

Pierced Jewel. Metal. Craft and Arch. The central arch of three has a keystone which is being removed by a figure wearing a tasselled cap. No inscriptions.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

The Pig and the Mastiff. Two poems in pamphlet, 1727, containing a hitherto unreported reference to Freemasonry. *Vide* separate Note.

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

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

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CARBONARI.

PART I.

BY BRO. FULKE R. RADICE.

I. INTRODUCTION.

SIR JOHN MARRIOTT says in the introduction to his *Makers of modern Italy*: "The evolution of the Nation-State was the characteristic contribution made by the nineteenth century to the science and art of politics . . . Not until the close of the nineteenth century was Europe exhaustively parcelled out into a congeries of Nation States, nominally equal in rank, if not in power, all possessed of sovereign authority and each independent of the others . . . Among all these political creations modern Italy, if not the greatest, was by general consent the most interesting, the most romantic". He adds a quotation by Lecky: "The mingled associations of a glorious past and a noble present, the genuine and disinterested enthusiasm that so visibly pervaded the great mass of the Italian people, the genius of Cavour, the romantic character and career of Garibaldi, and the inexpressible charm and loveliness of the land which was now rising into the dignity of nationhood, all contributed to make the Italian movement unlike any other of our time. It was the one moment of the nineteenth century when politics assumed something of the character of poetry".

In that great movement the Carbonari played no inconsiderable part; and to estimate the importance of that part, how it was played and with what means, is the subject of this paper.

A study of a secret society must always present great difficulties from the very nature of the subject; for not only do its members do their best to keep their secrets from the uninitiated, as good Freemasons do, although Freemasonry is not a secret society in the proper sense of the word, but the evidence of written documents, usually the basis of historical knowledge, is often lacking. This difficulty is greatly increased in the case of a Secret Society with a political object like the Carbonari, for its opponents, usually the government, by persecution and suppression, give it the very best inducement to keep its secrets inviolate, as by that means alone can its members preserve life and liberty.

Although a very ample literature on the history of the sixty years following the outbreak of the French Revolution exists, for the most part it deals with the Carbonari only incidentally and confines itself to a meagre description of the influence they exerted on the events of the time. Only a few authors have treated Carbonarism as a separate subject; and documents and authorities, valuable for the light they could shed on the history of the Society, but whose bearing on the general history of the time is relatively unimportant, have almost

certainly been passed by. More recently, however, the task of rectifying this omission has been undertaken with valuable results.

There is the further difficulty that the statements contained in many past Italian histories have to be weighed with the greatest care, for in Italy enthusiasm for the truly great achievements of the Risorgimento has sometimes distorted the perspective; and foreign writers have also not been guiltless.[1] Some historians even now will not allow any serious fault in anyone who died for the cause, while the government which had to deal with him is seldom credited with the fact that it was after all dealing with rebels against legitimate rule. But the scientific school founded by Professor Villari is doing excellent work; and the result of some of the latest researches is now available.

For these reasons, when Brother Heron Lepper suggested to me that, as a grandson of a Carbonaro and one who had received some slight training in historical research, a study of that Society would be appropriate for me to undertake, I had no illusions as to the difficulties involved; and I am sorry to say that my apprehensions have been more than justified. Moreover, neither time nor opportunity have allowed me to visit archives abroad, if only to check my authorities. My paper, therefore, can be regarded only as an introduction to a real study of the Carbonari, a beginning, in fact, to a much larger task, which with more time and the assistance of any Brethren who may be able to give me additional information, I hope eventually to accomplish. As a necessary consequence, many of my conclusions can be regarded only as provisional, likely to be upset, amplified or amended as fresh information becomes available.

Perhaps this is the opportune moment to thank those who have helped me, among whom I should like to mention Brothers Songhurst, Vibert, Heron Lepper and Rickard of this Lodge, and Professor Foligno, of Oxford.

Perhaps this is also the best place to explain briefly the structure of the Carbonaro Society and the terms which will be used, so that the subject may be easier to understand. The Carbonari called themselves Good Cousins, as we call ourselves Brethren. Their Lodge was a Vendita or sale, their Temple a Barracca or shed. The Vendite were sometimes grouped in tribes or Ordoni, a word difficult to translate, which has not always the same meaning, and sometimes the largest divisions of the Society were called Republics. The number of degrees varied, the best known being Apprentice, Master and Grand Elect. The president of the Vendita was called Grand Master. As regards the ritual, I need say nothing at present beyond that we have a fairly good knowledge of that of the three degrees mentioned above. The ceremony of reception of an Apprentice resembles an ordinary Masonic ceremony with an obligation, perambulations and catechism. It inculcates the need of virtue and purification. The degree of Master introduces a representation of the trial of Our Lord and symbolises the oppression of man by tyranny. The degree of Grand Elect introduces a representation of the Crucifixion and also of rebellion against the powers that be. The affairs of the Society were regulated by High Vendite. The colours of the Society were black, blue and red, and one of the Carbonaro salutations was: "A l'avantage". The ethical objects of the Society were to improve man by means of education and good living, a process called Carbonisation, and the political objects were the independence of Italy from all foreign influence and constitutional government, monarchical or republican. During this essay I shall use capitals when using the words "Society, Fraternity, etc.", to refer to the Carbonaro Society, "Carbonarism" to denote its tenets, philosophy and ideas and "Carboneria" to denote the actual Society itself.

In one more aspect must I crave your indulgence. As the Carboneria was a Secret Society with political aims, it is impossible to study its development

[1] Thayer, careful historian though he is, strays sometimes in his "Dawn of Italian Independence", and others are not guiltless.

without considering to some extent the history of the period, the circumstances which led to its rise and its political aims; in fact, without some knowledge of Italian history in general, it is quite impossible to understand the Society's rise; and to this object I must now devote a few paragraphs, confining myself to those particular movements and ideas which affected Carbonarism.

II. ITALY TO 1792.

Though Italy, a long peninsula and some islands, surrounded for the most part of its frontiers by the sea and separated from the rest of Europe by high mountains, seems marked out by geography to form a single state, it was never completely unified until 1918. Its inhabitants did not belong to one race: in the olden days it was inhabited by Gauls, Etruscans, Umbrians, Oscans, Latins, Itals, Elymians, Sicans, Sicels, Phœnicians and Greeks. All these nations left deep imprints on the character of the present day inhabitants of the different parts of the country. Parts of the South, for instance, including Sicily, are still in some respects more Greek than Italian. After the fall of the West Roman Empire there were invasions and settlements by several Germanic tribes and by the Arabs in the South, to add to the mixture of races and languages. A country, therefore, marked out by nature for unity, was turned by man, to use a famous dictum, into "a geographical expression".

The setting up of the Holy Roman Empire in 800 A.D. did not assist unity. South Italy and Venice preferred to acknowledge the rule of the real Roman Emperor at Constantinople to that of the crowned barbarian of the West. In the course of time the Pope, the Spiritual Head of Christendom, partly owing to circumstances beyond his control, drifted into an attitude of opposition to the Holy Roman Emperor, the secular Head of Christendom. An institution such as the Papacy could not do its work without a considerable revenue, which, in Medieval times, implied the possession of land; and when the Emperor claimed the overlordship of these lands the Pope felt bound to resist. Moreover, the strong Emperors of the House of Saxony, intent on consolidating their realm, found useful instruments in their clerical vassals, whom they strengthened at the expense of the lay lords, with the result that Churchmen were selected more for their political ability and submissiveness to the Emperor than for their saintliness and learning. The Papacy was then at the lowest depth of degradation; and for a time the Saxons carried all before them: they even reformed the Holy See itself with a strong hand. But the reformed Papacy of the great Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., could not brook the secularisation of its lands or of its dignitaries. A gigantic conflict arose, which shook medieval society to its foundation and made the unification of Italy impossible. Being the weaker, unable to preserve even that patrimony from which he drew the revenues essential for carrying on his office, the Pope enlisted powerful allies, the Norman kings of South Italy, some great feudatories and the great trading towns, and formed the Guelfic party as against the Imperialist Ghibellines. The Pope could not allow any other power to become strong enough in the Peninsula to hold him at its mercy and became Italian unification's bitterest enemy. Himself he could not effect what he prevented others from doing; he was too weak and public feeling was against him.

The need for enlisting support in the struggle gave the local lords, and especially the cities, their opportunity for extorting privileges from both combatants and attain to a position of practical independence. The formation of so many small states served to increase the divisions which rent the country; and the particularism of these polities remained endemic.

The period of the free republics, 1050-1250 A.D., was one of great glory. The feverish activities of the Italian burghers extended over land and sea. Their

trade helped to bring back civilisation to the West after the Dark Ages, while their arms resisted successfully the German Emperors, the Byzantines and the advancing Saracens. Their influence on the economical development of Europe is incalculable. Their continuous struggles, however, wore them out. In the end the cities themselves became internally divided into Guelfs and Ghibellines, and furious faction made men ready to submit themselves to any power which might ensure peace. They gave themselves up to whoever was strong enough to ensue it; and, the stronger the Lord, the more was his protection sought after. Larger states came into existence through several smaller units choosing the same Lord; and by the fifteenth century Italy was divided into five large states: South Italy, the Papal States, Milan, Tuscany and Venice, and several smaller ones like Ferrara and Genoa, maintaining a precarious balance of power. The comparative peace fostered the growth of wealth and prosperity; it also led to political apathy and military weakness.

The larger states differed in nature and origin, and, apart from actual conquest and deposition of the ruler, there was no prospect of further consolidation. Venice, the most powerful, was an aristocratic republic whose power was based on the sea. She had outstripped and overcome her rival, Genoa. But the diversion of the trade routes from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic had begun her decline, which proceeded slowly but steadily until her ruling caste became effete. Her tradition of good government was maintained, and there was no desire on the part of her subjects to rebel. Naples, once a strong feudal kingdom, had been weakened by the struggle between rival dynasties. The baronage had profited and dominated the administration. Milan, the richest part of Italy, fell under the rule of a military leader. Florence, purely a trading state under the rule of a great commercial house, remained weak in spite of her wealth. The Pope, though Head of the Church, had become an ordinary despot; and the combination of spiritual leadership of the Church with the secular government of a state proved disastrous to both. One more state must be mentioned, which at first was hardly regarded as Italian at all, Savoy or Piedmont. Under a line of very able rulers it had steadily increased its territory and was building up the foundation of an important power.

But the peace achieved by the despots was a peace of inertia and exhaustion; and mighty, vigorous neighbours were arising on all sides. The Italians themselves called in the foreign conquerors; and for years after the beginning of the sixteenth century the land was ravaged, oppressed and plundered; and foreign domination became endemic. The ruin begun by the foreign conquerors was completed by the diversion of the great trade routes from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. A steady decline set in and in the eighteenth century Italy touched her nadir. The people were impoverished, corrupt and devoid of all higher aspirations, the country was rotten to the core. The universal degradation was relieved only to some extent by the intellectual progress among the educated classes, for the great movements of the time, like that of the Encyclopædists, did not leave Italy untouched; and in the age of the enlightened despot some of her rulers did not fail to imitate their greater confrères in fostering science and material progress.

In 1792, when the French Republicans were at the gates, the condition of the chief Italian states was as follows. The Spanish conquest of South Italy in the sixteenth century led to a period of ruthless exploitation of the country, which came to an end only after the war of the Spanish Succession, when the kingdom passed into Austrian possession, to be ceded, after some years, to the junior branch of the Spanish Bourbons. The Bourbons' rule had not been too bad, but, in spite of some legal reforms, the relics of an effete feudalism had prevented all real progress. The common people were ignorant, superstitious and wretchedly poor, at the mercy of overendowed and rich priests and secular lords, and

a dozen legal systems, the relics of several conquests. The bourgeoisie was small in numbers and timorous, the nobility inept and lethargic. The king, Ferdinand IV. of Naples and III. of Sicily, was probably the lowest type of the Bourbon family, and his wife, Mary Caroline, though a daughter of Maria Theresa, became eventually a pestilential woman. What order there was in the kingdom was due to Acton, a foreign adventurer, and what vigour was left lay in Sicily. There were but few men capable of envisaging any progressive measures or indeed of profiting by them; but among these few were, curiously enough, some of Italy's brightest intellects, like Pagano, Filangieri and Giannone; and it is among these Southern thinkers that we find the earliest advocates of liberal institutions and even, for a time, of one government for all Italy.[1]

In the Papal States conditions had gone from bad to worse under priestly rule, and modern improvements were regarded as works of the devil though Rome had become a centre of arts, good manners and good taste. The country immediately round Rome consisted of the properties of the great landowners, the Marches and Umbria were peopled by small property owners, and the lands North of the Appennines, known now as Emilia, were inhabited by a fierce, turbulent race, progressive in the towns and backward in the countryside and the hills.

Tuscany was perhaps the most advanced part of the peninsula. It was still an autocratic state, the result of the rise to power of that astute politician, Cosimo dei Medici, in the sixteenth century, and now lived peacefully under the patriarchal rule of its Grand Duke, who belonged to the house of Austria. The inhabitants were devoted to study, in which pedantry and logic chopping were unduly prominent, and were prosperous. Content reigned and there was hardly a trace of higher political aspiration.

Milan also had fallen under Spanish rule in the sixteenth century, which it exchanged after the war of the Spanish Succession for that of Austria. Austria ruled efficiently; and Lombardy was the only part of Italy, besides Tuscany, where equality before the law had been acquired. The people were well educated and progressive, especially the nobility, but lacked any ambition for political progress.

Venice had reached the last stage of her decline. Her government and ruling aristocracy were effete, but her population still showed some vigour.

In the kingdom of Sardinia or Piedmont ruler and ruled were united; and, of all the states of Italy, Piedmont was the only one to show real energy and military spirit. The government was still largely patriarchal and feudal and the country was backward as compared with Lombardy, yet Piedmont was the only part of Italy where sturdy patriotism and a sense of political, as opposed to material, progress existed.

Taking Italy as a whole, by the time that the French Revolution broke out there was not that deep division between the classes which existed in France. Feudalism had long been eliminated from politics; it survived only in civic institutions and was not unpopular.[2] Patriarchal relations still subsisted in many parts between nobles and peasants; the clergy were in close contact with the masses and were regarded as confidants and personal friends rather than oppressors, and a strong religious feeling and a pride in the fact that the Pope resided in Italy prevented any hostility towards the Church. The bourgeoisie was less numerous than in France and had little influence. Constitutional reform was desired by few only, and by the majority of the inhabitants it was not even understood. Reforms, in fact, would have done violence to the people's prejudices and met with strong opposition. Most states were content to remain in their unprogressive, and in South Italy even barbarous, ways.

[1] Groce, *Storia del regno di Napoli*; Bari, *Latezza*, 1925, pp. 216-7, 229.
[2] Lemmi, *Le origini del risorgimento italiano* (1789-1815), Hoepli, Milan, p. 3.

If the desire for constitutional reform was weak, Italian national feeling was weaker still. Italy was accustomed to foreign predominance, and Austrian rule was progressive, though autocratic, and carried on in the name of the Holy Roman Empire, of which much of Italy was still nominally part. The desire for national unity was non-existent except in the minds of Alfieri and other eminent men. Even local patriotism was strong only in Piedmont and Liguria; elsewhere it was dormant, the people could not even be persuaded to bear arms in its own defence.

When, therefore, the French Revolution broke out, feeling in favour of the *status quo* was universal, except among the bourgeoisie; no rising in favour of the new equalitarian principles was possible so long as the peninsula was left to itself; it could be carried out only by foreign intervention. There was very little sedition until the French emissaries began to appear.[1]

III. THE FRENCH INVASION.

By 1792 the French Revolution had become militant and was appealing to all peoples to rise against their kings. The Italian states, no less than the rest of Europe, felt threatened; yet so divided was the country and so ingrained its parochialism, that, in spite of several attempts to form a defensive league, Piedmont, the most exposed of them, was left to face the first onset of the Republicans alone. By the end of 1792 Savoy and Nice had been lost and King Victor Amedeo III had been obliged to appeal to Austria for help, a dangerous proceeding for an Italian prince. The French were in this way kept at arm's length for three years; and the only incident of interest to us is that the chief of the "political office", which accompanied the French armies for the purpose of supervising the democratisation of the country, was Philipp Buonarroti, who will be mentioned again later,[2] a member of the family of the great Michelangelo and a friend of Baboeuf.

But the Republicans were not content with butting at the gates; the peninsula was overrun by Jacobin emissaries.[3] The ideals of universal brotherhood and liberty, cherished by the Jacobins in France and some of the intellectuals in Italy and especially by the Freemasons, were cosmopolitan in their nature; and, in the absence of any vigorous feeling of nationality after years of foreign predominance, did not clash with any preconceived ideas in Italy. The dazzling promises of the French agents, therefore, attracted a considerable body of support, and pro-French parties arose,[4] eager for the introduction of free institutions at the first opportunity. Even in reactionary Piedmont a plot was discovered[5] in which several nobles took part. Three liberal clubs had been founded, Botta the historian and one of the authorities for this period being a member of the first, and Cerise,[6] later to become head of the "Rays", a secret society which will be referred to subsequently, of the second. At the instance of Tilly, the French representative, the three bodies joined in one society, which in 1793 organised the conspiracy against the government just mentioned.

By 1795 Italy was flooded with ideas of equality, the abolition of feudal privileges, constitutional government and a state-controlled Church, which involved not only the end of absolutism, but also the overthrow of Papal supremacy in Church organisation. As the power on which the innovators were bound to rely was a Republic and the monarchies were opposed to their aims, we shall not be far wrong in assuming that at this period at any rate the intellectuals and

[1] Ferrari, *L'esplosione rivoluzionaria del Risorgimento*, Milan, 1925, ch. 3.
[2] Lemmi, p. 56.
[3] Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, Paris, Baudry, 1832, vol. i., pp. 69, 136.
[4] *ibid*, p. 136. Cantù, *Cronistoria, Unione tipografica torinese*, 1872, vol. i., p. 82.
[5] Tivaroni, *L'Italia* (1789-1815), Roux, Turin, 1889, vol. i., p. 18.
[6] Ottolini, vol. i., p. 15.

bourgeois innovators were, even more than constitutionalists, republican.[1] This trend of opinion was in conformity with the ideas of educated Italians, who regarded the period of the autocracies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as one of decline, as indeed it was, which led to the weakening of Italy's moral fibre and to her subjection to foreign conquerors, while they looked back with pride to the glorious exploits of the free republics of the Middle Ages. The activities of the French agents in clubs and secret gatherings, which led to these results, taught a lesson which at need could be applied in different circumstances.

In 1796 yet another ideal was dangled before the Italian reformers, one which ran counter to Jacobinical and philosophical cosmopolitanism and was to lead to complications. Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed to the army of Italy; and by the end of the year Piedmont had surrendered and Austria had been driven out of Lombardy. The part of Italy which was most ready to profit by the new ideas was, for geographical reasons, the first to come under French domination. Bonaparte, eager to strengthen his forces, called on the Italians to enrol under his banners, to become a nation and play once more a great part in history. He also set up a provisional government in Milan composed of Italians. A wave of enthusiasm swept over the middle classes in Lombardy, Piedmont and the Papal States north of the Appennines. The French general had evoked the desire for independence[2] from foreign domination in the territories under his control and many, taking his words at face value, began to cherish ideas, hitherto regarded by the majority as dreams, of uniting Italy into one country. While Jacobin cosmopolitanism had met with ready acquiescence in French rule, a feeling of nationality was bound to lead sooner or later to opposition to the invader.

At first Bonaparte's object was achieved. Risings in the turbulent Romagne, as part of the Papal States was called, led to the expulsion of the Papal legates and the formation of the Cispadan Republic, soon afterwards to be merged into the greater Cisalpine Republic. Such a voluntary amalgamation was a rarity in discordant Italy; and the hope of absorbing most of the peninsula in the wake of the conqueror made the Cisalpines Bonaparte's devoted followers and his chief propagandists. Not content with raising legions to fight for France, they took part in some of the general's most doubtful manœuvres, by which he tried to obtain control of as much Italian territory as possible. These nearly always followed the same course. Whenever, in the course of the military operations, neutral territory was occupied by French troops, Jacobin agents stirred up the local liberals to rise against their rulers, proclaim republics and sometimes demand union with the Cisalpine Republic.[3] Occasionally the agents preceded the troops; and, if the legal authorities resisted, the French soldiers intervened and posed as liberators from oppression. In this way Venetia was gradually seized, and Genoa converted into a democratic republic in alliance with France.

Disillusion was not long in coming.[4] While the French armies were still advancing, the rapacity of their commissaries and their exactions had provoked risings at Pavia and Binasco; and the bloody revolt known as the Veronese Easter was due as much to local patriotism aroused by foreign arrogance as resentment at French plundering. The Jacobins of both nations, protected by French bayonets, had perpetrated all kinds of excesses against secular and religious authorities, which outraged the feelings of the masses, who revered their Church

[1] Tivaroni, p. 31, as regards Piedmont's "novatori" (reformers). As the King vetoed all reform, the reformers, chiefly bourgeois and nobles, became republican. Also Leti, *La Carboneria, Massoneria nel risorgimento italiano*, Genoa, 1925, p. 66, quoting Soriga, *Rassegna storica del risorgimento*, year iv., vol. iv.

[2] Botta, vol. ii., p. 75.

[3] *ibid*, vol. ii., pp. 219, 242, 305, 362, *et passim*.

[4] *ibid*, vol. iii., pp. 48, 49.

and resented its secularisation. Botta [1] tells us that many of the best educated Italians followed at this period "phantastic illusions", while the bulk of the people remained faithful to the old order; and his testimony is valuable, for, apart from being an eye-witness, he had himself begun by joining liberal sects, as we have seen.

Then came Bonaparte's cession of neutral Venetia to Austria at the treaty of Campo Formio, a severe shock to the newly-evoked national feeling.[2] He left Italy at the end of 1797, but the policy of grab was carried on by the Directory in Paris and did nothing to allay the growing hostility. Following the usual method of stirring up riots, in the course of one of which the French representative in Rome, General Duphot, lost his life, Berthier, who had succeeded Bonaparte, seized the Eternal City and turned the Papal States into a Jacobin Republic. Piedmont,[3] after a period of shameless persecution and provocation levelled at its king, was coolly annexed while Piedmontese troops were distinguishing themselves in the French service.

Then came the turn of Naples. French agents had been busy there too; but liberal velleities met with severe repression, which did not increase the government's popularity. In 1798 the King, instigated by Nelson, fresh from the Nile, attacked the new Roman Republic, hoping to feather his own nest in the process of driving out the French. His army was bad, it was led by the incompetent Austrian Mack, there was treachery,[4] and the French leader, Championnet, was not only one of the few distinterested and honest French generals in Italy, but also an extremely able soldier. The Neapolitans were routed, the King fled to Sicily, which was saved by the English, and Championnet entered the capital, not, however, until after overcoming with great difficulty the furious resistance of the Lazzaroni. He established the Parthenopæan Republic, a weak state ruled by a handful of intellectuals in a city full of a disaffected mob and surrounded by a sullenly hostile countryside. Colletta [5] tells us that at this time several societies, both public and secret, were formed, the two principal ones being the "Patriottica" (patriotic) and the "Popolare" (popular), which attempted to imitate the Parisian clubs and tried to influence the government.

Owing to these high-handed actions, feeling against the French was now strong almost everywhere [6]; and in the Cisalpine Republic it was no less strong among the officials than among the masses.[7] Open resistance was out of the question; and the Italians began to imitate Jacobin methods and to plot in secret. The French Revolution, in fact, led to a great development of the secret societies all over Europe.[8]

There was one association ready to hand, which the Italians could have used for their purposes. As Freemasonry has been called with some reason the Mother of all Italian secret societies, it is desirable to examine what form our Fraternity took in Italy and the part it played in the events of this period.

[1] Botta, vol. ii., p. 2.
[2] Dufourcq, *Le régime jacobin en Italie*, Paris Perrier et Cie., 1900, pp. 62, 119.
[3] Botta, vol. viii., pp. 219-220. A strong body of Piedmontese opinion preferred annexation by France to amalgamation with the Cisalpine Republic, which meant Milan as capital. Parochialism was too strong even in Piedmont to be eradicated in three years.
[4] Croce, p. 221. The army had been infected while serving at Toulon.
[5] Colletta, *Storia del reame di Napoli*, Buonamici e Co., Lausanne, 1862, vol. i., bk. iv., ch. 8, p. 198.
[6] *Memoirs of General Pepe*, Bentley, London, 1846, vol. i., p. 152.
[7] Botta, vol. iii., pp. 48-49.
[8] *Nicolli, La Carboneria e le sette affini nel Risorgimento italiano*, Cristofori, Vicenza, 1937, p. 20.

IV. FREEMASONRY IN ITALY.

As already stated, despite her political apathy, Italy had not remained unaffected by the great intellectual movements of the eighteenth century. In the fine arts and intellectual pursuits she still produced preeminent men, and speculation was active, particularly in the sphere of economics and theory of government. In these intellectual speculations Freemasons undoubtedly played their part.

When Freemasonry was first introduced into Italy, its tenets of natural equality and universal brotherhood did not fail to interest thinkers, while its ritual and traditions proved attractive to elegant society. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century several Lodges had been consecrated under Warrants from both the Grand Lodges of England; and there were others which owed allegiance to the Grand Orient of France and the Strict Observance.[1] The reasons which attracted the more enlightened spirits into Freemasonry were precisely those that would render it suspect to the authorities. The Pope issued Bulls against the Fraternity in 1738 and 1751, and it was suppressed in several states. In Lombardy it was frowned on until the Emperor Joseph II., the enlightened despot par excellence, began to protect it in his edict of the 3rd of February, 1786. In Naples, Joseph's sister, Queen Mary Caroline,[2] favoured the Fraternity and even tried to gain admission to its ranks; she was toasted in the Lodges and formed the subject of Masonic poems; but Freemasonry seems to have wilted under the strict control exercised by the government.[3] It seems to have flourished most in the dominions of the King of Sardinia.

Italian writers are waging bitter war over the part played by Freemasonry in the Risorgimento (resurrection) of their country. Some like Luzio[4] have nothing good to say about it, on the assumption that every Italian who did not work for his country's independence was a reprobate, while Leti,[5] on the other hand, asserts that the Masons were the chief authors of the Risorgimento and all documents to the contrary are forgeries. Italian Freemasonry, I am assured, has claimed that the rebirth of Italy is due entirely to them, and are suffering accordingly. It is to be noted that both sides assume that Freemasonry was free to take, and should have taken, part in the political events of the time. We are more concerned with the theory that it is from Freemasonry that most of the secret societies in Italy derive their origin,[6] a theory officially sanctioned by the Papal authorities in the reports of the Macerata Trial in 1817[7]; and as late as the 23rd of October, 1820, Cardinal Castiglioni, late Pius VIII., wrote, "we are surrounded by the evil brood of Masonry".[8]

Not unnaturally many Italian Masons saw in the success of the French revolutionaries the realisation of their aspirations; and there is evidence that they did try to influence events in Italy in a liberal direction. In 1792 a French fleet under Admiral Latouche Tréville visited Naples to ask for certain explanations as to the conduct of the government. Several Neapolitan intellectuals, many Freemasons among them, took the opportunity to form in the course of a supper held at Mergellina, a place on the outskirts of the city, a

[1] Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, ch. 27, pp. 298-303.

[2] Botta, vol. iv., p. 469. Dito, *Massoneria, Carboneria ed altre società segrete*, Turin, 1905, pp. 47-49. *Miscellanea Latomorum*, vol. xviii., p. 43. The Queen secured the abrogation of the edict against Freemasonry in 1776 against the opposition of the famous jurist Tanucci. A toast to her was made obligatory in French Adonhiramite Masonry—see *Recueil précieuse* for 1785.

[3] Gould, vol. iii., p. 302.

[4] Luzio, *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento italiano, Zanicnelli, Bologna*, 1925.

[5] Leti, p. 12.

[6] Ottolini, *La Carboneria*, Soliani, Modena, 1936, *passim*; and Leti, p. 26; also Nodier, *Histoire des sociétés secrètes de l'armée*. Paris, 1815.

[7] *Memoirs of the Secret Societies of South Italy, particularly of the Carbonari*, John Murray, London, 1821.

[8] Cantù, *Cronistoria dell'indipendenza italiana*, Unione tipografica, Turin, 1872, vol. ii., p. 124 *et suseqq.*, and p. 808.

Jacobin society on a Marseillese model called "Sans Compromission".[1] The organisation of this society presented several features which will appear later in the Carboneria[2]; it was divided into four different classes of clubs subordinate to each other, and none of the clubs was allowed to know of the existence of any of the others.[3] The members of the central club were known to only a few, and exercised the supreme direction. Each candidate for the society, unless he were a Mason, had to take an oath on his weapons to keep the secrets of the society, free his country and fight tyranny. A full description of this organisation will be found in Appendix I. Despite its name, the programme of the society was moderate and displeased its more active members, who wanted to prepare a revolution. As a result, the society dissolved, and there emerged a new society under the extremist Vitaliano, called "Club Rivoluzionario" (revolutionary club). This in its turn offended some of its members, this time the moderates, and it split into two clubs, the extreme "Romo", which meant "republica o morte" (republic or death), and the milder "Lomo", which meant "libertá o morte" (liberty or death). Romo eventually became known as the "Società patriottica napoletana"[4] (the Neapolitan patriotic society).

Political discussion did not take place in the Lodges; for such purposes they were formed into clubs,[5] and by this expedient the Masonic obligation was respected. The liberals did not limit themselves to discussion, but even began to plot. The King and Queen became alarmed—no difficult matter so far as the King was concerned—and a severe persecution followed. The early martyrs of free thought in Italy, like De Deo, one of the three victims of this time who belonged all to the more extreme republican faction, were Masons. Vitaliano and Pagano, the defender of De Deo at his trial, who were themselves executed in 1799, were also Masons; and several Lodges were called after Pagano.[6] Under the stress of this persecution both Lomo and Romo disappeared.

In 1794 two Masons, who had been initiated at Marseille, Zamboni and De Rolandis, raised a revolt against the Papal Legate at Bologna and hoisted for the first time the red, white and green tricolour,[7] colours said to have been taken from the fringes of the scarf worn by members of Cagliostro's Egyptian Rite.[8] When this rising failed, the conspirators were defended by Aldini, of the Lodge of Bologna, but in vain. Leti[9] thinks that this rising led to the formation of the society of the "Rays"; he also says the insurgents had relations with secret societies in Genoa and Marseille.[10]

In Milan the Masonic "Società popolare" (popular society) was the first body in Italy to show any national feeling; and another Masonic group, the "Società per l'istruzione publica" (society for public instruction) was the first to plant a tree of liberty on the approach of the French, on the 18th May,

[1] Leti, p. 46; Colletta, vol. i., bk. iii., ch. 7, p. 126, says Latouche-Tréville advised the Neapolitans to meet in secret and plot.

[2] Dito, p. 54, and App., pp. 390-392.

[3] Lemmi, p. 39.

[4] Leti, p. 47; Dito, p. 54. Nicolli, p. 26, says that the "Societa patriottica" was the same as the original "Sans compromission".

[5] Ottolini, p. 10.

[6] Leti, p. 47.

[7] Lemmi, *Le origini del Risorgimento italiano* (1789-1815), Hoepli, Milan, 1906, denies that the tricolour was used then, the flag of the rebels being the colours of Bologna, red and white (p. 79).

[8] Tivaroni, *L'Italia* (1789-1815), vol. i., p. 263; Dito, p. 40. After he had been unmasked, Cagliostro returned to Rome and tried to found this Rite, but met with little support.

[9] p. 48.

[10] Leti, p. 48.

1796. Freemasons also founded the first liberal newspapers,[1] the well-known *Termometro politico* (political thermometer) founded by the Abbot Salfi, of whom we shall hear more, a paper which from 1796 onwards carried on a steady propaganda in favour of liberty, and the *Giornale dei patriotti* (the patriots' newspaper).

When French rule became oppressive, and liberal feeling turned against it, it would not have been surprising if the Italian reformers had used the Fraternity for their purposes, especially as so many of them were Freemasons. Indeed, some did make the attempt. In 1802, when Napoleon was setting up his autocratic rule, Salfi, with other Neapolitan refugees, set up an irregular Lodge for the purpose of plotting in favour of Italian independence.[2] It entered into relations with the Neapolitan Club in Paris and its chief, Prince Moliterno, yet another Neapolitan exile, as the restoration of republicanism in Naples was one of its objects. The Lodge was dissolved by Melzi, the first Consul's deputy in Lombardy, on the 27th of December, 1802, for Melzi, who hoped that Napoleon would ultimately form all Italy into one state, feared that the Lodge's activities would lead to the Cisalpine Republic's annexation to France and render the formation of such a state impossible.[3] Salfi apparently became reconciled to Napoleon's rule, as he became Venerable in the "Josephine" Lodge, when Masonry came into favour with the Conqueror, and was a member of the Grand Orient of Italy in Milan. He tells us that Freemasonry[4] "quoique favorisée en apparence par le gouvernement, avait toujours conservé un esprit d'opposition. Les partisans du despotisme ne purent jamais dénaturer celui de l'indépendence que les bons citoyens s'étudiaient à répandre de plus en plus partout où s'étendait leur influence . . . Tout différents des autres, les maçons d'Italie profitaient de la faveur que leur accordait en apparence le gouvernement pour mieux propager leurs doctrines qui transpiraient lors même qu'elles semblaient menager leur protecteur".

There is, therefore, some evidence to show that there was Masonic interference in politics; and several writers, including Ottolini,[5] assert that Freemasons took a prominent part in compassing the fall of Napoleon. This statement to me seems exaggerated. It is true that Masonic tenets did not favour the Cæsarism of Napoleon after 1801 and that there was a kind of opposition party in Lombardy, which, however, did not become vocal so long as Napoleon reigned; but there is no proof that Freemasonry, as a society, ever opposed the government. Italian and French Masonry were kept under such close supervision, both by the Directory and by Napoleon, as is shown by the fact that Joseph, his brother, and Eugène Beauharnais, his stepson, both became Grand Masters, and innumerable high officers, civil and military, were initiated, that any possibility of opposing the government, let alone carrying on subversive propaganda, must have been very remote. When, therefore, some say that Fremasonry became political or not according to circumstances, I feel bound to disagree. There is much evidence that, whatever they may have done as individuals, Italian Freemasons, so far as the Order was concerned, remained faithful to their obligation. In Savoy, as Brother Firminger has told us in a

[1] Ottolini, p. 26. Salfi was a priest and professor at Cosenza and a distinguished writer. He joined the Societa patriottica and fled when the persecution began. At this time, according to Soriga (Leti, p. 47), he said that the Milanese secret societies directed those of all Italy. Salfi later returned to Naples, after the French conquest. He was an eminent Mason and author of the poem "Iramo" on Masonic subjects. Botta, vol. ii., p. 225. He also says that Count Porro assisted Salfi, p. 382.

[2] Ottolini, p. 32.

[3] Soriga quoted by Leti, p. 81, says the Neapolitan exiles formed a Lodge called the "Club napoletano" in Milan, and that thanks to it the "Rays" obtained a new lease of life.

[4] Salfi's *L'Italie au dix neuvième siècle*, p. 51, quoted by Ottolini, p. 32.

[5] p. 65.

recent paper,[1] the society obediently suspended its activities at the bidding of the government when the progress of French opinions rendered the Order suspect. When, after Napoleon's fall, the Austrian authorities extended to their Italian provinces the Austrian laws banning all secret societies, we hear of several conspiracies, but none of them were the work of Freemasonry, though Freemasons did take part in them and Count Confalonieri tells us that in 1814 it was one of the three principal secret societies in Italy. Lancetti,[2] who had risen to the 32nd degree, says that Freemasonry "had never encumbered itself with political or religious objects and that on the contrary it tried to repress those members who showed an uneasy disposition and an eagerness for innovations, from which we can only conclude that the Freemason is the obedient subject of his government".

In addition to the practical considerations already referred to, the nature of Freemasonry was such as to render it fundamentally unsuitable, in its pure form, for the object of the Italian liberals. Ugo Bacci says[3]: "Masonry has a universal character, it is a school, a doctrine, a cult; its principles are applicable in all places and to all the manifestations of human thought. Carbonarism's characteristics are of an individual nature, it could be called a type of Masonry, which from idealism comes down to practical considerations, from the abstract to the concrete, from the enunciation of principles to their application in real life". Botta remarks: "The object of these (the Freemasons) is to benefit others and indulge in banqueting, the object of the others (the Carbonari) is the setting up of states.[4] Freemasons with political aims found their position as regards the Craft itself inconsistent. It was recruited chiefly from the aristocracy, while the support of the bourgeoisie and the lower classes was essential if any revolt against the French were to succeed; it was rationalistic and favoured a vague deism, while allowing freedom of conscience, and it could not therefore appeal to a religious and often fanatical poplation; it submitted to the *de facto* government, obedient to its own principles, and came to be regarded as a French tool, while France was the enemy; it was cosmopolitan, while the motive force of the liberals was a narrow patriotism which did not envisage at that time, except in a few enlightened minds, a united Italy. Freemasonry, unless first corrupted, could not serve the liberals' purpose. For their political activities, therefore, they found themselves compelled to join, and perhaps form on their own initiative, other associations, which would have the very characteristics which Freemasonry lacked; and out of their need arose many sects and foremost among them the Carbonaro Society.[5]

Naturally, Masonry was freely used as a model by the organisers of the new sects in compiling their ritual and setting up their organisations; and the relation between the Carbonari and the Freemasons remained very close, at this early period. Ugo Bacci[6] tells us: "nearly all Carbonari were Masons and the Mason was admitted to Carbonarism after a mere scrutiny and was not called on to undergo the proofs required from ordinary candidates.[7] Moreover, the highest degrees in the Carboneria were not conferred on persons who had not first attained to some of those which the

[1] *A.Q.C.*, vol xlvi., part 2, "Continental Freemasonry in the XVIII. Century".

[2] *Lettere inedite di U. Foscolo a V. Lancetti*, quoted by Ottolini, p. 30. Lancetti later was employed by the Austrian Government, see Vannucci, *I matiri della libertà italiana*, Le Monnier, Florence, 1860, p. 615.

[3] Bacci, *Il libro del Massone italiano*, quoted by Ottolini, p. 31.

[4] Botta, vol. iv., p. 258.

[5] Nicolli, p. 20, says the Carboneria split off from Freemasonry, with which it had been on friendly terms, when Freemasonry became Napoleonic. He considers Freemasonry and the Carboneria totally different entities, the Carboneria springing out of the maxims of the French Revolution and only indirectly out of Freemasonry. Luzio in *La Massoneria*, p. 170, agrees that Freemasonry took no part in the anti-French movement, though many individual Masons did.

[6] Bacci, quoted by Ottolini, p. 31.

[7] This is confirmed from other sources, see Ottolini, p. 31, note.

Scottish Rite practised for social and political purposes. Masonry used Carbonarism as a means for obtaining its end". As an individual example,[1] we may mention Maroncelli, Silvio Pellico's fellow prisoner in the Spielberg, who was a Master Mason, became a Carbonaro in Naples some time before 1815 and later helped to found the "Philhedonic Academy", which adopted the Masonic Ritual. The Jesuit paper *Civiltà cattolica* (Catholic civilization) of the 3rd of April, 1815, mentions two societies, "Stella" (Star) and "Fratelli seguaci" (Brother followers) as being of Carbonarian origin and also issuing from Freemasonry, while Bacci again says that as late as 1822 there was a Carbonaro Vendita at Palermo called "il libero muratore" (the Freemason), which was referred to in the sentence of the Court of Palermo on some of the insurgents of that period. Nevertheless, even at this early date this close connection between the societies remained, in my opinion, personal: it affected individuals and not, or hardly at all, the societies themselves. The Carbonari and similar sects arose during a crisis, the result of a revulsion of feeling against the French, when the hopes aroused by them had been disappointed. Carbonarism was a political movement with practical political ends, however much it may have cloaked those ends. It was opposed to the government and rebellious; it tended to favour the bourgeoisie; and among its adherents were members even of the lower classes. It was intensely religious and claimed that its tenets were Roman Catholic.

When, therefore, writers assert that Freemasonry was the Mother of all Italian secret societies, this statement can be accepted only if it be qualified by the proviso that such maternity was involuntary so far as the society itself was concerned. Freemasons did join the political societies in large numbers and even were in some cases their founders, but only as individuals, not as Freemasons. This view obtains full confirmation by a report of Peter Dolce, which is quoted in full by Luzio.[2] Dolce, a noble Venetian, had been employed in the law courts in the Legations at the time of the Kingdom of Italy, which Napoleon had constituted out of Lombardy, Venetia and the Legations. He was a Mason and was looking for employment under his new Austrian masters in 1814, after Napoleon's fall.[3] He accordingly wrote a report on the secret societies for Saurau, Austrian governor of Venetia, thanks to which he duly obtained the post of government agent which he hoped for. In this report he is most emphatic that his own society, Freemasonry, always obeyed the government and never lent itself to plots, though he admits that some Masons, especially among the younger members, had entered into conspiracies; but these had been expelled as opportunity offered.[4]

The only sign of political action on the part of Freemasonry as such which I have discovered during this period, was in 1814, when Eugène Beauharnais had grown suspicious of all societies and closed the Lodges.[5] Then Freemasonry, not unnaturally, began to favour Murat, who had always protected the Fraternity, and at that time was about to attack Eugène.

The close and friendly relations between the Carboneria and Freemasonry did not endure. It was galling to those Masons who had joined the sects and were risking their lives for their cause to see their Brethren, not only not helping them, but servilely, as they said, abetting their enemy, the government. The true Freemasons, on the other hand, had been mistaken by the authorities sometimes for conspirators and had suffered accordingly, as when Beauharnais closed

[1] Ottolini, p. 30.
[2] Luzio, p. 111.
[3] *ibid*, p. 64.
[4] In 1813, when Napoleon's rule was tottering, the Grand Lodge of Administration in the Grand Orient of Milan set up a commission with a view to inquire into the disorders which had crept into the society. The commission's work came to naught when Eugène closed the Lodges. Ottolini, p. 30.
[5] Leti, p. 67.

the Lodges, and were correspondingly irritated, especially when the sectarians' crimes brought them into disrepute. Luzio,[1] in trying to prove that the Carboneria owed very little to Freemasonry and that the two Societies were entirely distinct, points out that General Colletta, the historian, who had been Venerable of the "Umanità" (humanity) Lodge No. 84 of Naples, was not only very hostile to the Carbonari in his writings, but, when in command at Salerno in 1820, had asked for powers to extirpate the Sect in his military district and had resigned when these powers were not forthcoming. This attitude may be attributed to a soldier's anxiety to maintain discipline, but there are other instances. De Ninno[2] tells us that the Freemasons of Bari had been compelled to adopt Carbonarism in order to avoid assassination, and Count Laderchi[3] made the same complaint as regards the Romagne. Blumenhagen,[4] in a speech on "Masonry and the State" printed in 1828, said that it was the moral duty of Freemasons to denounce the Carbonari. Even Prince Ercolani of Bologna, of whom we shall hear again, a prominent sectary, proposed in 1820 that Carbonarism should be abolished and Freemasonry revived in its stead. By 1815 the two Societies had become estranged and even antagonistic. By 1818 the Vendita of Ivrea in Piedmont thought it necessary to try to bring about a reconciliation.[5]

Freemasonry in Italy lingered on after 1814, though banned by all the restored governments; but the Lodges did not meet,[6] and the Fraternity almost disappeared. Not until the unification of Italy in 1860 did it emerge once more[7] in anything like regular form, only, unfortunately, to fall into those very errors which the Brethren of the Napoleonic period avoided, and they had to sever all connection with their English Brethren.

V. THE FORERUNNERS OF THE CARBONARI.

Botta[8] tells us that as early as 1797 "the members of the Black League hated the French as much as the Germans (the usual name given in the early nineteenth century to the Austrians by the Italians) and wanted an Italy free from both, ruled under her own laws". Like a cautious scholar, Botta does not commit himself to the statement that the Black League really existed as a definite organisation: he says that a large number of people held opinions hostile to the rule of foreigners and that these were called the Black League by the French. His hints of the existence of such a society are confirmed by Solmi,[9] who says that "Botta is not the only one to mention the Black League; Pisacane also speaks of it and he was well informed and a contemporary". Dolce, in one of his reports to his Austrian employers, uses the term Black League as synonymous with the Carboneria.[10] This League may therefore be an early form of our Society. Its aims were nebulous, it seems to have wanted the establishment of a patrician republic, ruled neither by a feudal aristocracy nor by the Jacobins. It does not seem to have engaged in any subversive activities and many of its members took office under the French and, in 1799, under the Austrians.

[1] Luzio, p. 171.
[2] Quoted by Luzio, p. 173.
[3] *ibid*, p. 189.
[4] *ibid*, p. 203.
[5] *ibid*, p. 89.
[6] Luzio, p. 72, report of Dolce of 2nd April, 1817, says the Lodges in Austrian Italy had not met for the last three years. There was, however, a certain amount of Masonic activity between 1815 and 1860.
[7] Gould, p. 303.
[8] Vol. ii., p. 4.
[9] Ottolini, p. 37, quotes Solmi's *L'idea dell' unità italiana nell' étá napoleonica*, p. 49.
[10] Ottolini, pp. 27, 35. Ferrari, *L'esplosione rivoluzionaria del risorgimento*, p. 163, says that the Black League was reactionary; it preached independence at the expense of liberalism.

According to a French historian,[1] the Black League gave birth to another more clearly defined society, which Botta also mentions: the society of the "Raggi" (Rays),[2] whose motto, "l'Italia farà da sé" (Italy will fend for herself), has become famous. Its promoters were no less than General Alexander La Hoz, of Mantua, one of Italy's most dashing soldiers, and Teuillé, of the National Guard, both of whom had been dismissed by the French commissary Trouvé; General Pino, known as the first Grenadier of Lombardy,[3] who later fought in the Peninsular War; and Birago of Cremona, who had been minister for war in the first government of the Cisalpine Republic, all Freemasons, disgusted at the French robberies. The Rays' headquarters were situated at Bologna, though the society had been founded at Milan, for strategical reasons, for Bologna commanded an important pass over the Appennines. A similar society arose in Piedmont, possibly a branch of the Rays, of which Cerise was the chief. Though this movement began in North Italy, it was hoped to rouse the South as well.

It had all the faults common to all the Italian movements of the next forty years and some additional ones characteristic of this early period. Everyone wanted to command and no one to obey, as often happens in secret societies mostly composed of educated men and of the upper classes. They were doctrinaires, unlikely to appeal to the masses, whose support was essential for success; and at this time the masses had little patriotism or interest in anything beyond their daily needs. Time and again were liberal risings to fail because the leaders would not understand that the common man, even if he did know what a constitution means, which he usually did not, was more interested in his daily bread than political evolution.

The fate of the leaders on this occasion is illuminating. The opportunity for the Rays to act came almost at once. A reversal of fortune was overdue. By 1799 the French were discredited; Buonaparte was away in Egypt, and the Second Coalition conquered all along the line. The new republics, feeble organisms composed of a few intellectuals supported by French bayonets, incompetent and quarrelling with each other, collapsed everywhere after the French defeats; and in Central and South Italy something like a Jaquerie took place. In the kingdom of Naples, Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo, who had a measure of genius, aroused religious feeling as a counterpoise to enthusiasm for liberty; and his wild, rustic hordes wreaked terrible cruelties on the unfortunate Jacobins. His crusade, the Santa Fede (Holy Faith), as it was called, was hardly a secret society, but it formed part of the same movement against the French. Its name was to be used again for other purposes. In the North Suworoff was carrying all before him, and this would have been an excellent opportunity for the society of the Rays to act. La Hoz left the French service and raised some bands of irregulars. He persuaded Pino to help him for a time; but Pino soon made his peace with the French General Montrichard and was even entrusted with the defence of Ancona. This was not mere time serving, as the French were being badly beaten at the time and Pino himself was compelled to surrender; it simply shows that the desire for unity and independence was not yet strong enough to weigh in the scales against other motives. La Hoz alone remained faithful to his ideal; he helped to besiege his late colleague at the head of his "Insurgents of the Marches" and met his death during the siege. Botta represents him as perorating on Italian unity on his death bed.[4] It is not surprising that little more is heard of the Rays. They seem to have died out finally after Marengo, but fresh societies rose out of their ranks.[5]

[1] Dufourcq, pp. 560 *et subseqq.*
[2] Cantù, vol. i., p. 168. Botta, vol. iii., p. 60.
[3] *ibid*, vol.i., p. 870.
[4] Botta, vol. iii., p. 464.
[5] Dito, p. 62.

In 1796[1] there came into existence the Santa Fede, which later became famous, also called the "Viva Maria" (Long live Mary), or "Massa Cattolica" (Catholic Body), according to the locality in which it acted, strongly Roman Catholic, anti-Jacobinical in sentiment, to be carefully distinguished from Ruffo's bands which reconquered Naples. Sanfedists were among La Hoz's followers.

The Allies did not prove more popular than the French, for, though they did not introduce obnoxious tenets, they sacked and ravaged with the best in the course of the military operations; and after Suworoff's departure Austria showed every intention of appropriating as much Italian territory as she could seize, instead of restoring the rightful rulers. Napoleon's victory at Marengo, therefore, was received by the ill-treated and down-trodden Italians with relief; and they easily acquiesced in his rule. He was careful to suppress all tendency to revive the Jacobin excesses of the previous French domination and its plunderings; on the contrary, he kept order and placed moderate men at the head of affairs.[2]

Yet his Cæsarism offended many who hoped for more liberal institutions, and a movement similar to that of the Rays came into being.[3] A new society, called "Platonic Astronomy", was largely composed of members of the defunct Rays. The authorities for its existence are Cantù and Giacomo Breganze,[4] whose work, the *Unpublished annexes to Norvin's history of Napoleon*, is considered of vital importance by Ottolini, who quotes largely from it. Its structure was siimlar to that of many Carbonari societies and possesses some of the characteristics of Illuminism (see Appendix I.).

Early in 1802 Napoleon called the notables of the Cisalpine Republic to Lyon to settle its new constitution. The society, which by then claimed a membership of 30,000, secured the election of many of its adherents to the deputations. But at Lyon a split promptly occurred between those who thought Napoleon's proposals did not go far enough and those who were prepared to accept half-a-loaf and work the new constitution with a view to obtain their full objects later on and in the meantime enjoy as many of the fruits of office as could be secured, which too stiff an attitude would no doubt lose. The moderates won the day; and, though the society continued to act for some time, it soon dissolved and its remains were suppressed by the government. It was at this time that Count Cicoquara, who later became a prominent Carbonaro was condemned with Teuillé on a charge of conspiring to murder all Frenchmen.[5]

In his depositions before the Austrian authorities the informer Doria[6] mentioned a society called the "Roman Inquisitors", founded, he said, in 1804. Its object was to destroy monarchy and Roman Catholicism. Its Lodges were called "Carceri" (Prisons) and 9 members formed a quorum. The date, if correct, makes it very unlikely that this Sect was an off-shoot of the Carboneria. It was a forerunner on a parallel growth. Nothing more is known of it.

These forerunners of Carbonarism did useful work in preparing the ground and sowing the germ of future aspirations. It is not known how far they were responsible for risings in 1802, 1803, 1805 and 1806. The challenge they failed to sustain was taken up by a wider, stronger association, the Carbonari, whose origin we must now consider.

[1] Ottolini, p. 36, quoting Breganze. On Breganze see note on p. 26.
[2] Tivaroni, 1789-1814, vol. i., p. 183.
[3] Soriga, *I moti antifrancesi di Bologna del* 1802, quoted by Ottolini, p. 18.
[4] Ottolini, p. 18; Cantù, vol. ii., p. 582, Appendix to ch. 28, Austrian Government report of 12.4.1821.
[5] Cantù, vol. i., p. 264. de Castro, pp. 144-148.
[6] Luzio Mazzini, p. 415.

VI. THE ORIGINS OF CARBONARISM.

It is seldom that human activity is not beholden to something more ancient than itself; and this debt to the past is freely admitted in the teaching of the Carbonaro rituals, as is indeed natural, for age gives respectability and there is hardly, therefore, a secret society which does not like to trace its origin to the remotest antiquity. One of the Carbonaro lectures says that the Society was one of those founded in the remotest past by wise men, at a time when the world was given over to oppression and wickedness, with the object of educating men and bringing them back again to reason. We shall come aross this educational aim of the Society again and again. Carbonarism is said to be linked up with Mithraism, the Eleusinian mysteries and those connected with the cult of Isis, in fact, "a ray proceeding from the same centre". But to find Carbonarism's origins we must abandon these unsubstantial speculations and come to more solid research.

Freemasonry was not suited, as we have seen, to the needs of the Carbonari; it could not be used for their purposes; its symbolism was not available to them. We must now consider the other influences which moulded the form, ritual and philosophy of Carbonarism and try to trace the connection between those prototypes and the actual Carbonaro Society.

First and foremost let us turn to the Rites most closely akin to Craft Masonry. Count De Atellis [1] tells us that Freemasons of the Scots Rite built up in 1810 the Charbonnerie on the ruins of the abolished Fenderie; and he gives the circumstantial information that the new society had two degrees, each Vendita had not more than 12 members, with a Freemason for Master, and it was dependent on a Mother Lodge of the Scots Rite. The Carbonaro Ritual does show some similarities to the 18th degree and it does contain the idea of expiation of a crime. But while in the Élu degrees of the Scots Rite the expiation takes the form of a just trial and punishment of the evildoers, in the Carbonaro Ritual it assumes the form of vengeance for a wrong for which there is no legal redress. Apart from these differences, we have no information that the society of the Fendeurs was suppressed before 1810. This point will be referred to again later. It seems, therefore, that the influence of the Scots Rite is purely adventitious and possibly due to the probability of there being among the authors of the Carbonaro Ritual some Scots Masons.

The idea of vengeance directs our attention to the Templar Rite; and in this connection it is significant that one version of the third Carbonaro degree is known as that of "Grand Élu", which, according to Bro. Chetwode Crawley, in his essay on *Templar Legends in Freemasonry*,[2] is the name of a Templar degree which occupied a prominent place in the Rite of Perfection and developed into the 30th degree of the Ancient and Accepted Rite. Moreover, in the Templar ceremonies there is some reference to the Passion of Our Lord. Here again we cannot trace any direct connection with Carbonarism, but only a vague influence.

We find ourselves on more solid ground when we turn our attention to what is called by some "Forest Masonry", a group of societies which *prima facie* have a better claim to have been the fount of Carbonarism and offer a more fertile field of research: the Charbonnerie and its connections, where we have, not indirect parallels, but an identity of symbols and the same patron Saint. Here again we meet with a claim to remote antiquity. Ragon [3] quotes a document which dates back the origins of the Francharbonnerie to the pagan Emperors. We may admit the Carbonaro and the Charbonnerie's claim to an ancient origin to the extent that its symbolism is derived from a very ancient craft. The unknown

[1] Nicolli, p. 24.
[2] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxvi.
[3] Ragon, *Maçonnerie forestière*, p. 3.

author of the *Memoirs*[1] traces the origin of Carbonarism to Germany in the early Middle Ages, when the existence of man apart from some group or association was almost impossible, and associations were formed for mutual profit and protection. It is, therefore, very probable that the charcoalburners did the same as other crafts, used secret passwords and signs by which to recognise each other and to keep out strangers, and that the strong religious element almost invariably present in the ceremonies of such associations should also have appeared in those of the charcoalburners. We hear of an oath and a ritual known as "the Charcoalburners' Faith"[2]; and St. Theobald was their patron Saint.

The early German Charcoalburners' Association is said to have grown strong enough to have been able in 1455 to thwart the attempt of a noble,[3] Konrad von Kauffungen, to kidnap the princes of the ruling house of Saxony, and later to have forced Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg,[4] in 1514, to relax some of the oppressive forest laws. Whatever may have been the truth about the Charcoalburners,—and we have no proof that a secret society of that name did exist in Germany,—there were undoubtedly mysterious associations in medieval Germany; and the way of living of the Charcoalburners, apart from other men, would, no doubt, have lent an air of mystery to their activities.

From Germany the Charcoalburners' Associations are said to have spread to the Netherlands and France. We know that these associations existed in those two countries in the sixteenth century, but so far I have found no proof of their actual existence in Italy at that time, despite a statement to that effect by Ragon.

Ragon,[5] on the other hand, claims that the Francharbonnerie (*sic*) arose in the French forests. Its aim was the perfection of man. This association he describes as divided into five classes:—1, Charbonnier or Fendeur; 2, Le Prodigue converti; 3, Moins diable que noir; 4, Scieur; 5, Charpentier. The members were called "Bons Cousins Charbonniers" and were divided into three degrees, viz., Apprenti, Maître and Fendeur. Though Ragon is not clear on the point, it would appear that the three degrees were those of the first class of the Francharbonnerie. Professor Dito[6] agrees here with Ragon and says that the Charbonnerie was a "Devoir" spread in the Alps, the Jura and the Black Forest and especially in the woods near Dôle, Gray, Besançon and Moulins. He gives no authority for these statements, but they are borne out by other authors.

Ragon also quotes a passage in the "Abeille maçonnique" to the effect that a society was formed in the Jura Mountains by a priest, whose object it was to educate and render more civilized the rude charcoalburners of that district, again a reference to the educational aspect. The members of this society called themselves "Frères Compagnons", a very unusual appellation for a fellow member in Carbonarism, the more usual one being "Good Cousin". Another version of the same story is given by Nodier, who says[7] that a society arose in the Jura called the "Charbonnerie" or the "Bûcherons", which came to be known as the "Cousinnage" or the "Bon Cousinage", and thus gives us what was perhaps the origin of the Carbonaro's designation. This society according to the *Memoirs*, was revived in Napoleon's time by the Marquis de Champagne, whom R. M. Johnston[8] calls a "High Masonic Adept" and a founder of the Philadelphes. His pseudonym in that society was "Werther", as both Nodier

[1] p. 1.
[2] Memoirs, p. 2.
[3] Memoirs, p. 3 and Heckethorn.
[4] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxii., p. 37, *The Fendeurs*, by Bro. Crowe.
[5] pp. 2-4.
[6] p. 27.
[7] "The history of the secret societies, which had in view the destruction of Bonaparte", Paris, 1815. See *Memoirs*, p. 3. This is the title quoted in the *Memoirs*; but it is obviously Nodier's book.
[8] R. M. Johnston, *The Napoleonic Empire in South Italy*, vol. ii., p. 20.

and Witt tell us. The Jura, according to Nodier,[1] was strongly royalist, and the Marquis had little difficulty in enrolling many of the members of the "Cousinage", which was described by Nodier himself,[2] Cauchard d'Hermilly and General Rossetti, as we shall see, as a harmless association, into an anti-Napoleonic, rebel sect called the "Bandouliers". Witt[3] also refers to the existence of the "Cousinage in the Franche-Comté and the Jura, when those districts which are among those referred to by Dito, were under Spanish domination—that is before 1678. As authority he quotes "mon bon ami, le Comte (*sic*) de Champagne", a member of one of the noblest families of the Franche-Comté, who was particularly well acquainted with the sectarian movement and a leader of the Philadelphes, Bandouliers and Charbonniers. Witt adds that from the "Cousinage" the Carbonari borrowed their statutes, the designation "Good Cousin" and their patron Saint, St. Theobald; but beyond these details they had nothing in common with the older association. The true origin of the Carboneria, he traces to Freemasonry.

The Charbonnerie, according to Ragon, existed as late as the author's day in the department of Doubs; and this is corroborated by the evidence of Cauchard d'Hermilly,[4] who in 1821, at the time of the trial of the four Sergeants of La Rochelle for being Charbonniers, tried to prove that the society was harmless, and described his own reception into it. He referred, of course, to the old, operative Charbonnerie, while the Sergeants belonged to a political society recently introduced from Italy, as will be explained later. Similiar evidence as to the existence of the old Charbonnerie in 1802 and of its harmlessness is given by the Piedmontese General Joseph Rossetti[5] in a report he made to Murat, in whose army he was serving, in 1814. It runs as follows:—"The sect of the Carbonari is but that of the Good Cousins, which is very well known in France and especially in the Franche-Comté. I became affiliated in 1802, when my regiment was in garrison at Gray. I do not know if its founders, among whom Francis I. is mentioned, had any political object in founding it, but it is certain that at the time that I belonged to it its statutes and rites were simple, or, to be more accurate, puerile. The Carboneria of to-day is quite different. More ambitious and exacting; while widening its sphere of action, it has preserved from its ancient form only a few signs and its sequence of degrees. It has kept as its principal object the freedom of the human race and universal brotherhood. It imposes very severe duties and conditions, and arrogates to itself the right of punishing by death traitors even in the 1st degree. From the statutes, which I enclose, your Majesty will see that the catechism is purely republican. Your Majesty will also see that in the articles of faith a man is mentioned who is like a torrent of fiery lava, who, under the pretext of giving light to the world, brings everywhere fire and devastation: this man is Napoleon . . . The organisation of the Sect, your Majesty will not fail to notice, is admirable both for the speed and security of its means of intercommunication and for the hierarchical division of duties. This organisation has perfected with a happy simplicity all the means of intercommunication employed in Germany by the Illuminati and the Tugendbund. Reliable information has convinced me that the Carboneria in the kingdom of Naples began to grow in the province of Avellino at the end of 1811, but did not spread very far until the middle of 1812. To-day there is not a village in the kingdom that has not its Vendita. Such being the state of affairs, it is urgent that your Majesty take measures to prevent the action of the government being paralized by the mysterious activity of a sect which daily spreads in a more terrifying manner". This report is invaluable, not only as regards the character

[1] Nodier, p. 320.
[2] Nodier, pp. 265-269, 56, 159.
[3] Buloz Witt, *Les sociétés secrètes de la France et de l'Italie*, pp. 16-17.
[4] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxii., p. 53.
[5] Ottolini, p. 41, note.

of the old Charbonnerie, but also on other points which will come into consideration later; and Rossetti's testimony seems to be independent from that of Witt. Ragon, incidentally, agrees in thinking that the old Charbonnerie was not political; and I think we can safely adopt this view, despite the contrary assertion of Heckethorn that the Charcoalburners appeared as a political league as early as the twelfth century.

We must now turn to the society most closely connected with the Charbonnerie, the Fenderie. As we have seen, Ragon gives as the first class of the Francharbonnerie the class of Charbonnier or Fendeur. Heckethorn, instead, says that the Charbonnier was the second degree of the Fenderie, but he gives no evidence and he may have misread Ragon. Bro. Crowe [1] seems to have followed Heckethorn in making what I am afraid I can only regard, at present, as an erroneous statement. Bro. Irwin, in his Carbonaro ritual, makes the "Compagnon Fendeur" the second degree of the Carboneria and the Master's the third degree. This again I cannot accept on present evidence, especially in view of the statements of Dito, Nicolli, the depositions of the Carbonari examined by the Austrian authorities in 1819-1820, and in the *Memoirs* that the Master's was the second degree.[2]

The connection, however, between the Charbonnerie and the Fenderie seems well established. To begin with, the two crafts of charcoalburner and hewer are obviously connected, the one operation necessarily preceding the other. Further, the second name of the association in the Jura, "Bûcheron", is but another word for woodcutter, and Fendeur means hewer or splitter of wood. In their respective workings, both societies use treetrunks and treeboles where the Freemason uses a . . . both use an axe in place of the . . . and the title used in addressing other members, viz., "Cousin" and the salutation "A l'avantage" is common to both. There is also an allusion in the Fendeur ritual to a "Vente d'honneur",[3] though it was the Lodge of the Charbonniers which was known as "Vente", that of the Fendeurs being a "Chantier" or workshop. The candidate for the Fenderie was called a Briquet or flint, which is more appropriate to charcoalburning than to woodcutting; but in two versions,[4] of the Charbonnerie's ritual the candidate is known as "Guêpier" (wasp's nest or wasp catcher bird). Ragon seems to be right when he says that the Charbonnerie long preceded the Fenderie,[5] that the Fenderie split off eventually to form a separate association with the same moral principles and the same philanthropic objects, but with a separate ritual based on the woodcutter's craft. The members of the Fenderie came to be called "Bons compagnons Fendeurs", and later regarded themselves as a fourth degree in Freemasonry, no one being admitted who was not a Master Mason.

In the eighteenth century a speculative form of the Fenderie, which according to Dito approximated to Freemasonry,[6] was founded by the Chevalier de Beauchaîne,[7] the first "Chantier" being opened in Paris on the 17th of August, 1747. The members aped the dress of peasants and the tradition traced the origin of the society to the civil wars of the reigns of Charles V. and Charles VI., when, their story ran, some nobles became affiliated to the Devoir of the Fendeurs in the forests of the Bourbonnais. The society became popular and lasted until Napoleon's time. As it is mentioned in a book which deals with secret societies which plotted the downfall of the Emperor,[8] the Fenderie may have become subversive under the Empire, but the more reliable evidence

[1] *A.Q.C.*, xxii., p. 37.
[2] Nicolli, pp. 33-34; Dito, pp. 160, 184.
[3] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xx., p. 41.
[4] See Appendices I. and II.
[5] p. 23.
[6] p. 27.
[7] Ragon, p. 23.
[8] Memoirs, p. 3.

that we have is contrary to this supposition: Dito says that the society was never more than a pastime, and that it lasted until the trial of the four serjeants of La Rochelle; while Ragon brackets it with the old Charbonnerie as having had no political importance before the French Revolution. Here again Heckethorn tells a story that the Fenderie allied itself with the persecuted Templars in the fourteenth century and other members of the nobility, again without qoting any supporting evidence; and it is difficult to accept it.

Some writers, like De Castro,[1] think that it is to the Fenderie rather than to the Charbonnerie that we are to look as the parent stem of the Italian Carboneria. On this point Ragon[2] says that the Italian "Carbonaria" (*sic*) was derived from France, where the Carbonari were known as Fendeurs in the sixteenth century, the Fenderie being introduced into Italy by the armies of Francis I., the patron of the Carboneria. But the only support for this theory is the statement of de Atellis, already referred to[3] (p.). There is also a story that the Carboneria was founded at Capua in 1810 by a French officer whose own society had been closed down by the authorities. We would have to suppose that this closed-down society was the Fenderie; but we have Dito's testimony, for which, it is true, he gives no authority, that the Fenderie existed until 1821, and we have nowhere any evidence that it was abolished, either in France or in Italy. Moreover, the colours of the Fenderie, though the same as those of Bro. Irwin's second degree of the Carboneria, are quite different from those of the Italian Carbonari and of some versions, at any rate, of the Charbonnerie.[4]

On the other hand, as the Fenderie is called a "Devoir" by Ragon,[5] this society may be the connecting link between Carbonarism and the Compagnonnage; and we might look to the Compagnonnage for the origin of the incidents in the Carbonaro Ritual referring to the Passion of Our Lord. But even here we need not go beyond the Charbonnerie to trace a connection for our Society with the Compagnonnage. Dito calls the Charbonnerie a "Devoir",[6] and Ragon says that the "côterie" of the Charcoalburners took part in some of the mysteries of the Compagnonnage,[7] a statement corroborated by Bro. Vibert in his essay on the Compagnonnage.[8] Dito takes the extreme view that both Freemasonry and the Carboneria must look to the medieval Compagnonnage for their origin.[9]

Now we must come to Italy. One of the societies we shall come across in the course of this essay is the Santa Fede, which worked for the restoration of the Pope's full power; and Nicolli[10] suggests that the religious episodes of the Carbonaro degrees may have been borrowed from this society. Nearer to the country where the Carboneria was, in all probability, founded we have the *Memoirs'*[11] statement that there was in Sicily in the Middle Ages a kind of Vehme called the "Beati Paoli" (happy Pauls), an association of all classes banded together to resist the arbitrary power of the great barons and their courts of justice. Their "Companies" are said to have spread all over the island, especially Messina and Trapani, and the association seems to have dragged out its existence until the eighteenth century. According to the *Memoirs*, the Carbonari copied some of their forms, though the only ones referred to are the custom for the Grand Masters to meet in a chamber of honour in order to judge

[1] Dito, p. 138, note.
[2] p. 26.
[3] p. 12.
[4] See Appendices I. and II.
[5] p. 6.
[6] p. 27.
[7] p. 31.
[8] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxiii., p. 201, referring to Thory, *Annales*, 331.
[9] p. 69. Nodier, p. 267, also inclines to this view.
[10] p. 30.
[11] pp. 38, 39.

cases of breach of fidelity to the Society's obligation and the practice of burning a piece of paper bearing the name of a condemned member and entering his name in a black book. There is evidence that one of the names adopted by the later Carbonari to evade police vigilance was "Beati Paoli", but apart from these details I have not been able to trace any direct connection between the two societies.

Lastly, we might glance at the German influence. In the first place, the author of the *Memoirs*[1] may not have been far wrong when he suggests that the religious sectaries, who preceded the Reformation, were the originators of most of the secret societies of Italy, Germany and France. The two more recent societies most concerned are the Illuminati and the Tugendbund. A political sect known as the "Illuminati" or "Vindici del popolo"[2] (avengers of the people) is heard of in Rome as early as 1742: the leaders were Count Alexander Zampi and Count del Pero; but we do not know what relation, if any, this sect had with the Bavarian Society. Dolce gives us in his report to Saurau in November, 1815,[3] a series of astonishing statements to the effect that from the beginning of the French Revolution there had been a large colony of Illuminati in Naples. These had come from England where they were very powerful, King George III. himself being under their thumb (*sic*). They were concerned in all the Neapolitan revolutionary movements and were the founders of the Carboneria, which was so called after the monastery of St. Carbone, in which its foundation was decided. These Illuminati were very different from the German sect, as those in Naples were seditious, while those in Bavaria were indifferent towards the Revolution until the French entered on their career of conquest, when they became hostile to France. We can let this statement speak for itself. Dolce is not always reliable; and perhaps he was one of those whom Cantù referred to when he said that the Austrian agents were very gullible and easily misled. In the course of my investigations I have found that North Italian writers go sadly astray in dealing with events in South Italy, and *vice versa*. Botta, for instance, makes many mistakes about Naples. D'Azeglio, who was Sardinian agent in Naples in 1814, wrote on the 16th of June of that year that there had arisen in that kingdom a new sect, the Carbonari, which seemed to be derived from the Illuminati and was just as bad as they.[4] At some time during this period the Italian Freemasons refused an invitation from the Bavarian Illuminati to enter into relations with them, an indication of the Illuminati's reputation in Italy.[5] After the trial of Macerata in 1817 one of the off-shoots of the Carboneria in the Papal States was called the Illuminati, but we do not know if they were in any way connected with the other sects of the same name. There does not appear to have been any direct connection between the Bavarian sect and Italy; but Illuminist methods seem to have been introduced by the Philadelphes and the Adelfi societies which show distinctly Illuminist influence. The whole question of the relation of the Carboneria with the foreign societies will be considered elsewhere.

That the Tugendbund exercised some influence on the Carboneria is very probable. One of the Carbonaro centres at the beginning of the Society's existence is said to have been in Switzerland,[6] whence they filtered into Lombardy from 1809 onwards, if not before. The Carbonari may well have modelled their tactics for the political struggle on those of the German sectaries. Rossetti, in the report already quoted, says that the Carbonari had copied and

[1] p. 18, footnote.
[2] Dito, p. 37.
[3] Luzio, pp. 115-117.
[4] *ibid*, p. 123.
[5] *ibid*, p. 69.
[6] Ottolini, p. 36, quoting Breganze.

improved the methods of intercommunicating used by the Tugendbend. Nicolli [1] suggests that all the anti-Napoleonic societies of Europe arose at the instigation of a committee in Paris, which founded the Adelphes, that the Jugendbund, perhaps a misnomer for Tugendbund, was one of its creations and that the Carboneria was modelled on the German Society. If that was so, most probably it was the organisation and the administration, rather than the Ritual and the tenets, that were imitated.

These are all the sources of Carbonarism which I have been able to trace so far. Most of them can be considered only as having influenced the Ritual and the ideas of the Society: and it must be admitted that irrefutable proof of any direct connection with them is still lacking. But if we examine all indications and piece them together, we can hardly fail to believe that what is the most reasonable view is also the most probable, that as regards its Ritual, its symbolism and its main features, apart from its political objects, the Carboneria is the offspring of the old Charbonnerie. To support this view, there is in the *A.Q.C.* Library a ritual worked by the French prisoners' "Loge française de bonne union" held in Northampton.[2] In the third volume there is a description of the signs, words and an indication of the ritual of the "Charbonnerie ardennoise". The similarity of several points of this working and that of the Italian Carbonari is striking. The colour of the ribbons, black, blue and red, is the same; the jewels resemble each other, the passwords are the same, though transposed between the degrees, and the signs have distinct resemblances. The chief importance of this ritual, from our point of view, is explained in some notes by Bro. Heron Lepper, which I will quote in full:—"The ritual of the Charbonnerie Ardennoise is worth attention. It differs in many details from that of les Fendeurs published by Crowe in *A.Q.C.* (vol. xxii.), yet the two undoubtedly spring from a common original. Further, its inclusion with the Masonic rituals shows that the French military Lodges carried the degree with them through Europe. The particular version of the ritual can hardly fail to be connected with the W.M. of the 'Loge de la bonne union', Brother F. N. Burdet, who is described on a French certificate (*op. cit.*, p. 90), in addition to other Masonic distinctions, as being a member of several Lodges under the Grand Orient of Naples. It is not unfair to draw the inference that the degrees contained in these books were known to Burdet, even if he did not actually own the books, even if he did not actually confer the degrees, both of which things might have well been the case. However, if merely the first of these natural inferences be granted, the result is not without importance. We get a direct linking up of Naples with the French Charbonnerie degree, evidence of which, except for 'on dits', has hitherto been lacking. In view of the fact that Naples subsequently became the head centre of the Italian Carbonari in their day of greatest success, the degree exhibited in this MS. probably describes for us one of the seeds from which this notorious Italian political society sprouted. Many years ago Brother W. J. Songhurst suggested such a French origin for the Italian Society. It will be no small satisfaction to me, if by drawing attention to this ritual and to Burdet's Masonic activities in Naples, I have been able to clench with a rivet of direct evidence the opinion of a great scholar, who for well over forty years has been a guide and friend to every Masonic enquirer".[3]

My hesitation in regarding the connection between the Carboneria and the Charbonnerie as established by this ritual is that the ceremony resembles more closely that of Bro. Crowe's Fendeur ritual and Bro. Irwin's Compagnon

[1] pp. 29-30.
[2] Appendix II.
[3] It is interesting to note in this connection that about 350 A.D. the tract of forest between the Meuse and the Scheldt was known as the "Silva Carbonaria", Hodgkin. *History of the Anglo-Saxons.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939, vol. i. Map opposite p. 9.

Fendeur degree than that of the Carbonaro Ritual. We have,[1] however, in addition a description by Dito of an Apprentice's reception into the Charbonnerie du Jura. In this ceremony the various symbols used are also those used in the 1st Carbonaro degree of our rituals as well as several others in addition, and not those of the Fenderie; and the Candidate is put through trials in which the Passion of Our Lord figures. The connection with the "Bonne union" ritual is maintained by the fact that in both the candidate is called a guêpier, which can mean either a "Wasp's nest" or a "wasp catcher bird". If, as Bro. Heron Lepper concludes, the French Lodges carried with them on their campaigns the ritual of the "Charbonnerie ardennoise", there is a strong probability that they carried with them that of the Jura also. Dito and other authors give us one more useful fact. In their Italian Carbonaro Rituals they designate the specimen of firewood, which formed the Carbonaro's jewel, as an "Esciantiglion", which is a mere transliteration of the French word "échantillon", the Italian word for specimen being "campione". Similarly the word "Ordone", used to designate a group of Vendite or a row of Good Cousins in a Vendita, is not Italian, but a transliteration of the French word "Ordon", which means a row of objects placed at regular intervals. When we remember that the Neapolitan dialect contains many Spanish words, but, with the exception of "Monsù", the familiar name for cook, the origin of which is obvious, hardly any words of French derivation, the French connection of the Carboneria seems to me to be established, and we can safely say that there is a strong presumption that the Carboneria was the direct offspring of the Charbonnerie and more especially the Charbonnerie of the Jura mentioned by Witt and Nodier.

VII. FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY.

If it be difficult to obtain any clear idea of the antecedents of Carbonarism, it is still more difficult to obtain any definite data as to the actual origin of the Society, as the evidence is most conflicting. The earliest date is given by St. Edme,[2] who thinks that the Carbonari were in existence in Italy at the time of the wars of Francis I. and Charles V.; and he quotes in support of this opinion a certain Father P . . ., whom he met in Verona, who gave him the Carbonarian documents which he publishes and conferred on him the two first degrees of the Order. St. Edme says that the object of the Association was then to propagate Christian tenets and to form a united Italy. There is no corroborative evidence for this statement; indeed, the idea of a united Italy can hardly be said to have occurred to anyone in the sixteenth century beyond Macchiavelli and a few other thinkers. It may be that St. Edme had in mind the Carbonarian legend of the foundation of the Society and the patronage of Francis I.

St. Edme reproduces a Carbonaro certificate dated the 1st of February, 5707. This is the certificate which forms the subject of Bro. Crowe's paper in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xvi. St. Edme concludes from the date of this certificate that the Society came into existence early in the eighteenth century (1707), intervened in the war of the Spanish succession and then became dormant until the French Revolution. In support he refers to a book by the Abbé Richard called *Description historique et critique de l'Italie* (1770), but the passage he quotes says only that in 1707 a conspiracy headed by Cardinal Grimani succeeded in causing the Neapolitans to transfer their allegiance from the French candidate to the throne of Spain, Philipp V., to the Archduke Charles, later Emperor Charles VI., and does not mention the Carbonari. Perhaps more light may be shed on this point when one can get hold of the Abbé's book. 1707 was the year in which the Austrian troops occupied Naples, a diversion which wrecked the attempt of Prince Eugène and

[1] Appendix I.
[2] St. Edme, *Constitution et organisation des Carbonari*, pp. 1-9.

the Duke of Savoy to take Toulon and ultimately lost the Archduke the throne of Spain, a proper retribution for Austria's selfish policy. Gualterio [1] supports this story, but he may have merely copied St. Edme.

There is one more reference to such an early date in connection with the Carbonari, a report made in 1813 to Luini, the Director General of Police to Eugène Beauharnais, then Viceroy of the kingdom of Italy, which says that in 1718 a semi-masonic society had been started in Naples at the instance of the Pignatelli family, called C.S., whose members were all of the lower classes and whose labours consisted in reading and explaining passages out of the Gospels, preferably those referring to liberty and equality.[2] Luzio thinks that the date 1718 is a clerical error for 1798.[3] The only support, therefore, for St. Edme's early date is a passage referring to a society which may not even have been a secret society. Unless better evidence comes to light, we can only conclude that the date of the certificate reproduced by St. Edme is wrong. The date, incidentally, is a Masonic date, and I have found, so far, no proof that the Carbonari used the Masonic Chronology. The real date is more likely to have been 1807, or, less probably, 1797.

St. Edme continues his story by stating that Carbonarism was revived in South Italy soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution, its object being then to reform society, to moderate royal absolutism and to abolish government abuses. The government of the kingdom of Naples was then largely in the hands of the Queen, Mary Caroline, and Acton, her favourite, and had grown very unpopular, which is quite true, on account of its policy of persecution after 1792. The Carbonari, according to St. Edme, offered to restore the government's popularity provided royal protection was afforded to them. Before anything could happen, however, the French invasion of 1798 had taken place and the Bourbons fled to Sicily. The coming of the French led to a great development of Freemasonry, which the Carbonari hated as an enemy of Roman Catholicism. The rulers of the Parthenopæan Republic, in their precarious position, tried to reconcile the two Societies, but Cardinal Ruffo's victory led to the restoration of the Bourbons and of Carbonaro predominance. After Marengo King Ferdinand was compelled under the treaty of peace to suffer the existence of Freemasonry, and the two Societies at last managed to live quietly alongside each other until 1806, when Ferdinand was driven to Sicily for the second time. The only portion of this story which can be accepted without reserve is that the Carboneria allied itself with the Bourbons, though that occurred much later, and that the development of Freemasonry was fostered by the French wherever they penetrated into Italy. After Marengo St. Cyr's Corps was left in Apulia to watch the Allies in the Ionian Isles; and during that period Freemasonry flourished in the district of Otranto.[4] When Joseph Bonaparte and Murat ruled, Freemasonry spread throughout the kingdom and most officers, civil and military, found it advisable to be initiated.[5]

In addition to St. Edme we have a statement by Leti [6] that the Carboneria first appeared in Sicily in 1799, but he gives no authority. La Farina [7] gives the same date as Leti, but also without quoting any authority. Doria,[8] the traitor, also assigns a Sicilian origin to the Society, but gives no date. Besides these very doubtful statements I have been unable to find any evidence that an

[1] *Rivolgimenti italiani*, Florence, 1850, vol. i., p. 32.
[2] Ottolini, p. 38.
[3] Nicolli, p. 24, quoting Luzio, *Il processo Pellico Maroncelli.*
[4] Leti, p. 71, quoting Zara, *La Carboneria in terra d'Otranto*, Fratelli Bocca, Milan.
[5] Dito, p. 206, says that in the province of Cosenza nearly all the chief functionaries, including the judges, had to be Freemasons.
[6] p. 69.
[7] La Farina, *Storia d'Italia*, Turin, vol. iv., p. 51.
[8] Luzio, *La Massoneria*, p. 165; *Mazzini*, p. 354.

organised Carbonaro Society existed in South Italy about 1799, in fact Colletta [1] implies the contrary.

The suggestion that the Carboneria originated in Sicily cannot be accepted. The islanders had not forgotten that once Palermo, and not Naples, had been the capital, and they were suspicious of any Neapolitan importation. Italian feeling hardly existed in Sicily; and, though the island had produced its martyr to the cause of liberty in De Blasi in 1795,[2] its liberalism was strictly local: not for years was any connection made with the Carbonari of the mainland. Even after 1815 the Carboneria never flourished in the island to any considerable extent. Similiarly, the Neapolitans regarded any Sicilian influence with suspicion; and I suspect that the only basis for the story is that the Bourbon Court at Palermo entered into relations with the Continental Sectaries during the war against the French and this was magnified by the Corsican Genoese Doria into a derivation of the Carboneria from Sicily.

All evidence that the Carboneria existed in the eighteenth century having been rejected, we are thrown back to the nineteenth century. The condition of Italy was then as follows:—The whole of the mainland had been conquered by the French by 1806. In the North the Cisalpine Republic had been made into the kingdom of Italy, comprising Lombardy, Venetia and the Romagne, under Eugène Beauharnais as Viceroy. Piedmont and the Papal States were both eventually annexed to France; and South Italy was a separate kingdom under Joseph Bonaparte and, on his translation to the throne of Spain, Murat. The Peninsula was, therefore, in a measure united and under a uniform administration. The parts of the country where Carbonarism first became active were the plain of the Po and the kingdom of Naples. Later it spread to the Papal States; and as the development in these three parts of the country remained on the whole distinct, it will be best to consider them separately.

Although the earliest traces of a Carbonaro Society are found in North Italy, Carbonaro action was slow in developing there; and it is more convenient to deal first with South Italy, where we find the earliest definite proofs of the existence of a Carbonaro organisation. All that need be said about North Italy at present is that the earliest dates that we have for the existence of an actual Society are 1807, when St. Edme claims to have received from Father P . . . the documents[3] he published, and 1809, given by Breganze, both of which will be discussed later (see chapter ix.).

In South Italy the political situation was very complicated and this circumstance is reflected both in the rise of the Carboneria and the aims and ideas of the Society. The earliest date is given in a document in the Florentine archives,[4] which says that in March, 1804, the Society already existed and that it was hostile to the government; but, as the context shows that the government in question was that of Joseph Bonaparte, which did not come into existence until 1806, the date is clearly wrong, and the only explanation can be that Queen Mary Caroline, at whose command the Sect is said to have been founded, started it in the earlier year in order to pit it against Freemasonry, which was becoming Napoleon's docile instrument.

The choice of the year 1806 has some support. Leti [5] says that the Society was introduced by Maghella, later director of police under Murat, from France,

[1] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. viii., ch. 49.
[2] Tivaroni, 1789-1814, vol. ii., pp. 302 et subseqq.
[3] pp. 4-6. The anonymous author of *Des sociétés secrètes en Allemagne*", p. 191, says the painter Topino Le Brun was a Carbonaro. As he took part (with Angeloni, who will be mentioned later) in a plot against Napoleon, known as The plot of the Romans in 1802, and was executed, this assumes the existence of the Carboneria in Paris at that date, which is most unlikely. Le Brun may have been a Charbonnier. As the author says in a footnote on the same page that the Carbonari were Illuminati, he does not seem to know much of our Society.
[4] Pardi, quoted by Ottolini, p. 39.
[5] p. 70.

but remained confined to the French army until 1809, when it spread throughout the kingdom. Dito[1] adds the very interesting information that he had found in the archives of Cosenza in Calabria a report of a court martial held on some brigands and rebels against the French conquerors in 1806. The signatures of some of the officers who sat on the court are followed not only by the Masonic dots ∴, but also in some cases by those of the two first Carbonaro degrees . . . for an Apprentice and . . . . . for a Master. This may mean merely that the officers in question were Charbonniers, in which case this would be very strong evidence of the connection between the French Charbonnerie and the Italian Carboneria.

The year 1807 is supported by Count Pecchio,[2] a well known Lombard contemporary, who says that the Sect originated in Sicily, that it had a Queen (Mary Caroline) and a Cardinal (Ruffo) as Godparents and that it was supported by the English. Clavel[3] gives that same date but a different story. He says that Briot, a member of the Council of the Five Hundred at the time of the Directory, was a Charbonnier. He was proscribed and took refuge in the army, serving as a private in the 8th Regiment of the Line. During Moreau's retreat in 1796 he was taken prisoner by the Austrians. He escaped, only to fall into the hands of Schinderhannes' partisans in the Black Forest. He noticed that some of his captors were wearing Charbonnier insignia, and he gave the signs of the Society. He was acknowledged as a Good Cousin and sent to the French outposts. Briot became intendant of Calabria under Joseph, with Colletta, the historian, as his colleague, a councillor of the King and a member of the Grand Orient of Naples. He is stated to have introduced the Carboneria into the kingdom of Naples.

Witt[4] also states that the Philadelphes and Carbonari were introduced by the French soldiery first into Piedmont, then North Italy generally and later in the south. The first Vendita was founded in Capua in 1809 and that the Instructions of the Society and its books were printed in English, not because the Carbonari were numerous in England, but because the English Cabinet wished to make use of their services. Other versions and other dates are given in the *Memoirs*.[5] The first, which confirms Dito, except for the date, attributes the foundation of the Society to a French officer, whose own secret society had been suppressed; he set up a Vendita in Capua in 1810 and with difficulty got together 75 members. This view is held also by Count Canosa, who had accompanied King Ferdinand to Sicily in 1806 and had become one of the chief agents of the Queen and later became director of police after the Bourbon restoration. Another version ascribes the origin or possibly the resurrection of the Society to an unknown officer who had served in Spain, this being the story current among the Carbonaro Grand Masters of Naples. The date, 1810, is also favoured by de Atellis, who says that Masons of the Scottish Rite built up the Carboneria on the foundations of the suppressed Society of the "Fendeurs".[6] Colletta[7] also gives the date as 1810, when he says that some exiles of 1799, who had fled to Switzerland and Germany, were initiated into the Sect, which bore a different name in those countries (Tugendbund or Philadelphes?) and on their return to Naples introduced it there. This gives collateral support to Breganze. Leti again says that the first Vendite were founded near Otranto, but gives no date; he probably is relying on Signorina Zara's diary of the events of that time.

[1] p. 66, note.
[2] "I catechismo italiano", quoted by Ottolini, p. 39, and Luzio, *La Massoneria*, p. 165.
[3] *History of Freemasonry*, referred to by Dito, p. 67.
[4] p. 19.
[5] p. 77.
[6] p. 27, see also Nicolli, p. 24.
[7] Vol. ii., bk. viii., ch. 49, p. 228.

Botta,[1] Vannucci[2] and Cantù[3] give a yet different story. The old republicans had been severely repressed by the Bourbons after 1799 and forced to take refuge in remote parts of the country. As Napoleon was already Emperor in 1806, the French conquest of Naples brought them no relief. As they were opposed to his rule, the English rallied them; and they formed Vendite, chiefly in Calabria and the Abruzzi. Botta suggests that, as much coal-burning took place in those regions, some charcoal-burners probably belonged to the Society; and it is from these that the name was derived, a theory derided by Cantù. Botta adds that they formed a republic at Catanzaro, which probably means no more than that they founded a Vendita or a group of Vendite there. Their chief was Capobianco, of whom we shall hear again. The poet of Carbonarism, Fidanza, relates that the Society was formed by liberals, who had realised that Freemasonry was not a suitable instrument for furthering their ideas and, under the leadership of a bishop, probably Capecelatro, decided to found a Society for members of the lower classes, in which emphasis was to be laid on the religious aspect.[4]

There need be nothing surprising in the variety of stories about the Society's foundation. Bro. Heron Lepper's theory that Carbonarism meant different things in different places and different times is completely borne out both by the *Memoirs* and by Ottolini. The *Memoirs*[5] say, quoting from the report of the trial of the Macerata conspirators in 1817, that "the adherence of any individual to one of the societies suffices to ensure his reception with a corresponding rank into all those which may be formed afterwards, so that one sect is always merging into another, while procuring new proselytes . . . none of them differ essentially as to the object they have in view, viz., independence or at least a constitutional government, particularly in Italy". Ottolini[6] sums up at the end of his book: "From time to time some information (as to the nature of the Sect) did emerge. Hence arose the necessity for making changes in order to keep concealed so far as possible, and sound the public feeling of the several regions in which it was spreading. Hence arose a variety of form and programme, hence it came that the Carbonaro was militaristic and sectarian in the South, military and aristocratic in Piedmont among the nobles and the officers, and dominated by Alfieri's views among the thinkers and writers, romantic and federal in Lombardy, sectarian and anti-Papal in the Romagne". In itself the Carboneria may have represented at its foundation the fusion of several societies, as undoubtedly it did later, founded in different localities yet with similar aims; and when all merged into the greater body, it would not be surprising if each individual rhizome should regard itself as the parent of the whole plant.

The evidence seems strongly to favour a foreign origin, and especially a French origin, for the Society, and the date of its foundation in Italy seems to be about 1806. It is clear that it was but puny at the beginning until circumstances became more favourable for its growth. The French origin appears most authenticated in the South, where the Sect seems to have been republican at first and even Jacobinical, if the Jacobins were not the actual founders. Its authors seem at first to have formed a small minority among a population cherishing different ideas. The Carbonari in the South seem to have been more concerned with free institutions than independence: they did not mind so much as in the North whether the ruler was French or native. They became opposed to the French kings because these would not grant a constitution; and, in the course of the struggle, the Carbonari were forced to an alliance with strange bedfellows, as a consequence of which the aims of the Carboneria came to be profoundly modified.

[1] Vol. iv., pp. 258-261.
[2] p. 138.
[3] Vol. i., p. 808; Vannucci, p. 138.
[4] Ottolini, p. 43. Note, referring to p. 96 in *Vicende curiose nella vita dell'avv*, Felice Battaglia Baracchi, Florence, 1847.
[5] p. 20.
[6] p. 134.

VII. EARLY HISTORY OF CARBONARISM.

After Marengo, King Ferdinand of Naples remained at peace with France, his attitude being determined by the presence of St. Cyr's Corps in Apulia, stationed there to watch and threaten the Ionian Isles, which were always likely to become an important base of English or Russian activities. In 1805, however, St. Cyr was recalled to take part in the operations against Austria and, in spite of past experience, Ferdinand allowed an Anglo-Russian force to land in his territories. This time there was to be no mercy for him, as the overwhelming victory of Austerlitz had set Napoleon's hands free; and the mainland of South Italy was overrun in 1806 and constituted into a kingdom for Joseph Bonaparte. As in 1798, Sicily was saved by the English. Naples did not make any resistance this time, as, on the approach of the French, the upper classes, who feared a repetition of the horrors of 1798, when the lazzaroni got out of hand, took measures to keep them in check; but the lower classes, both in town and country, remained sullenly hostile, especially in Calabria and the Abruzzi.

The fortress of Gaeta resisted long enough to allow Sir John Stuart to land in Calabria and win the brilliant victory of Maida. As a result of this success some of the Santa Fede bands were reformed under their old leaders of 1799 (Capimassa), and, armed and supplied by the British, Pane di Grano, Franca Trippa and, most notorious of them all, Fra Diavolo, carried on a fierce partisan warfare similar in every respect to that for which the Spaniards gained such fame two years later.[1] Johnston[2] says that Napoleon's anti-Papal policy at that time turned the Calabrian clergy into bitter enemies, and they did their best to inspire the sectaries in their struggle. The Bourbons were not content with open action in the field and guerilla warfare. The Queen[3] formed an organisation called the "Real corpo degli urbani realisti di Carolina" (Queen Caroline's royal corps of royalist citydwellers). It followed the lines of a secret society: a number of "immediati" (those in the immediate proximity) were nearest to the person of the Queen, among them the Prince of Canosa, who took up his station in the island of Ponza, not far from Gaeta. Under these were the "mediati" (intermediates), who ruled the local associations and directed the subordinate enterprises. These had no relations with each other, but were controlled from above only, and were composed largely of Sanfedists. The Grand Master was "Giove Fulminatore" (Jupiter the wielder of lightning). Any method was considered permissible against the foreign invader, and murders, arsons and vendettas were frequent.

A rising was planned for 1806, and three descents, in Calabria, near Naples and near Salerno, were to be made from Sicily to help the conspirators. But Saliceti, the old terrorist and minister of police to Joseph, was on the watch. He intercepted a safe-conduct signed by the Duke of Filomarino sent by his sister to a friend. The duke was arrested, made a full confession and was executed. Mosca, who was to have assassinated Joseph, also was caught and put to death. The Prince of Hesse, who had defended Gaeta so gallantly, was beaten off when he attempted to land and the whole scheme collapsed.

In 1807 the attempt was renewed. A new sect, the "Trinitarii" (Trinity men) was organised. These may have been the same as Bruni's "Confederati" (Confederates).[4] Bruni employed all the paraphernalia of a secret society in the shape of passports, certificates, symbols and incendiary proclamations. Saliceti intercepted a letter from the Queen of the 10th of May, 1807, to the "society of colonel Palmieri", one of the conspirators, and his report gives much information

[1] Cantù, vol. i., p. 626.
[2] Vol. i., p. 323.
[3] Dito, pp. 201-203, who describes these events most clearly.
[4] Nicolli, p. 26.

about the plot.[1] It failed and Palmieri was one of the victims.[2] In 1808 came an attempt to blow up Saliceti himself by means of a bomb.[3] He escaped narrowly, but was shaken and his house severely damaged. The author of the attempt, Domenico, a boilermaker (calderaio, in Italian, a name soon to earn a lurid reputation) escaped this time.

The chief resistance to the invaders, in fact, was the work of the fanatical Roman Catholic and Bourbon partisans. It was inevitable that these and the Carbonari, both nourishing hatred for the French, should join hands sooner or later, especially when, across the Straits of Messina, there was an authority ready to bring about their co-operation. Prince Moliterno[4] was the chosen instrument. He had fought against Championnet and under Ruffo, but had adopted liberal views and had gone abroad to become the head of the club of the Neapolitan exiles in Paris. He had also been in England. He now came back to propound the unification and independence of Italy. The English authorities mistrusted his republican leanings,[5] but Medici, who, after Acton's death, succeeded him in the Queen's favour, entrusted him with the negotiations with the Carbonari and sent him to the mainland; and the prospect of being granted free institutions gained over the Sectaries, all but a remnant of republican purists of Catanzaro, the original Carbonaro "republic".[6] The sequel shows that there was a certain amount of fusion between the Carbonari and the Sanfedists, though we have no definite proof.

By the time that Joseph left his throne to occupy that of Spain the country had not been subdued, although the French were more powerful than in 1798. Joseph was a well-meaning ruler and had introduced several reforms, especially the abolition of out-of-date feudal relics in administration and the replacement by the Code Napoleon of the heterogeneous local legal system; but he was hampered by the fact that the bourgeoisie, the most progressive class, was weak in the kingdom. The reforms caused some distress and the Code Napoleon offended many of his subjects by its provisions regarding the Church. Moreover, the Neapolitans, as Galanti, a Neapolitan liberal contemporary, had said, did not have the necessary habit of obeying the law, had no political spirit, and no reliance could be placed on them.[7] Yet during his reign Joseph had made some progress; the Bourbons' past persecutions made their return dreaded and many of the educated classes were won over by the obvious improvements in the administration. Among these were Cardinal Ruffo and the Duke of Gallo.[8] From the beginning some Neapolitans were admitted to office.

Joseph's last act, when he had already reached Bayonne on his way to Spain, was to issue with Napoleon's consent the Constitution of Bayonne. The only democratic provision in this edict was the provision for a council of 100 members, 20 from each of the following classes:—Clergy, nobility, landowners, learned men and merchants. The members, however, were to be chosen by the Crown; and for all practical purposes the edict remained a dead letter, serving only to provide an object for Carbonaro aspirations and keep alive a question which was to be very troublesome for Joseph's successor.

Joachim Murat had earned the reputation of being the most brilliant cavalry leader of his time and he had distinguished himself in independent command. He was one of Napoleon's best subordinates and he had married his chief's

[1] Memoirs, p. 64.
[2] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. vi., ch. 20, p. 23.
[3] Memoirs, p. 77. The anonymous author of *Des sociétés secrètes en Allemagne* says that this attempt was the work of the Carbonari.
[4] Castro, p. 268.
[5] Record Office F.O. 70 Bentinck's letter of 30 March, 1812.
[6] Botta, vol. iv., p. 258 *et suseqq.*; p. 449 *re* Medici; Cantù, vol. i., p. 808; Memoirs, p. 67.
[7] Croce, p. 35.
[8] Botta, vol. iv., p. 222.

youngest sister, Caroline, a very charming and remarkable woman, whose great ability was of material assistance to her husband. Theirs had been a love match, and they lived happily many years, but became somewhat estranged at the end. He possessed all the Southern Frenchman's love of colour, display and gaiety; he had a weakness for resplendent uniforms, and, despite his sobriquets of "Beau sabreur" and "butcher", boasted that he had never killed a man: he led his great charges with a cane. His political ability was mediocre and his character not strong enough to deal with a difficult situation; and he became shifty and irresolute. In governing his kingdom he lacked sufficient firmness to say "No" to unreasonable requests and by sheer complaisance suffered lack of discipline and inefficiency to grow. His reign was to be of vital importance to the Carbonaro Society.

Under the new king the reforms initiated by Joseph were developed, but, as was natural, the army received particular attention. It was steadily increased and improved, and the militia was reorganised. Originally formed in independent companies, in 1790, it had become a Civic Guard under the republic of 1799. Abolished after the restoration, it was reconstituted by Murat into 21 provincial legions, one for each province of the kingdom.[1]

Murat's pleasing personality and that of his Queen found favour with the Neapolitans; and the capture of Capri, with some luck, from Sir Hudson Lowe, Napoleon's future gaoler, strengthened his position. Murat had the double task of completing the subjugation of the mainland and of warding off and even conquering, if he could, the enemy in Sicily. The pacification of the mainland progressed but slowly. In 1810, after the defeat of Austria at Wagram, Napoleon's power stood at its height; and Murat thought he could venture an attack on Sicily. He concentrated 35,000 men in the very toe of Italy in order to invade the island, which the English had made into a powerful base. He was thwarted by English sea power and his partial landings were easily defeated.

Meanwhile, the partisans, assisted from the sea, made his communications precarious. Calabria was in full insurrection and among the insurgents must have been Carbonari.[2] To make his rear secure, he sent General Manhès to deal with the rising. It was very difficult to distinguish between patriotic partisans, Carbonaro conspirators and mere brigands; and Manhès decided to treat them all alike. His methods were brutal, but effective. Calabria had been in a state of turbulence for centuries and its population lived in walled towns and protected villages. Manhès waited until the approach of winter, when all the food had been stored in the towns and there was none obtainable in the country-side, occupied all the cities and villages and sternly forbade any communication with men whom he had proscribed or the conveyance of any victuals outside the town precincts on pain of death. This order was ruthlessly enforced. Eleven women and children of Silo,[3] who had gone some distance from their homes to gather olives and had taken their dinner with them were all shot, as was also a woman who had looked after the baby of the wife of one of the brigands. The insurgents were driven by starvation into the inhabited places, where they fell an easy prey to Manhès' men. In this way, by 1811, the country was at last subdued, but blood had flowed, some of it Carbonaro blood.[4] Colletta's opinion of Manhès, an enemy, was that he was inhuman, violent and ambitious, but tireless in his duty and honest.[5]

Despite this persecution, circumstances were bringing about a change in the attitude of both Murat and the Carbonari. Joseph had been his imperial

[1] Johnston.
[2] Botta, vol. iv., p. 362.
[3] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. vii., ch. 27, p. 85.
[4] Castro, p. 269.
[5] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. vii., ch. 29, p. 88.

brother's dutiful subordinate, Murat cherished the ambition of ruling as an independent sovereign. He checked the pretentions of the French in his kingdom and began to conciliate the Neapolitans by promoting them. He even put into force that provision of the edict of Bayonne which stated that only Neapolitans were to hold office inside the kingdom. Napoleon promptly called him to heel, but Murat continued to shower titles and honours on his subjects; and, in spite of the efforts of the Queen, the relations between the two brothers-in-law deteriorated steadily from this time onwards. Some writers contend that by this policy Murat gained the nobles but lost the common people.

The king's disagreement with Napoleon aroused new hopes among the opponents of the French, and an opportunity now occurred for him to conciliate at least some of the Carbonari. In 1811 [1] some French and Germans, who were connected with the Society, came to Naples and asked the authorities for permission to canvass for members, on the plea that it would be good policy to educate the people through Carbonarism and by this means gain their affection for the French governments. By this time Saliceti had succumbed to the shock of the attempt to murder him; and his assistant, the Genoese Maghella,[2] was placed in charge of the police with the title of Director. Maghella was not without some spark of genius. He gained the approval of Murat during the campaign in Piedmont; in 1805 he had been one of Genoa's representatives at Napoleon's coronation as king of Italy at Milan [3]; and on Murat's accession he had obtained employment in Naples. He was a liberal all his life and was suspected by the Neapolitans of having designs of his own not shared by the government. On this occasion he examined the nature of Carbonarism, noted its resemblance to Freemasonry, which had proved so useful to Napoleon, and suggested to the king that the Society be taken under his patronage and used as Freemasonry had been. Murat agreed with great reluctance [4]; Maghella was made Grand Patriarch [5] and head of the Society, and General Filangieri, son of the old liberal, "regent". Maghella is even credited with the invention of a third degree inculcating a vague deism, of which we have no knowledge. Colletta [6] says drily about this plan that societies which support the government have no need of secrecy, but only those which seek to overthrow it.

Under the royal patronage, if so strong a word can designate Murat's lukewarm acquiescence, Carbonarism grew apace. It seems to have flourished particularly in the province of Otranto.[7] The first Vendita of which we have official cognisance was that of Altilia,[8] Capobianco's native town, founded in 1811 by Gabriel dei Gotti, soon to be followed by the "Acherontea dei Bruzii" (Acherontic Vendita among the Bruttians) and "Equilibrio" (Equipoise), both of Cosenza in Calabria. It is interesting to note thus early the Carbonarian passion for old Roman names, for Calabria was called by the Romans Bruttium. Active propaganda was undertaken and pamphlets printed and openly distributed. The Ritual was translated into the Calabrian vernacular by Canon Le Piane, inspector of the Royal College of Cosenza. Between 1811 and 1813 Vendite were formed at Castel Franco, Barletta, Altamura, Andria, all of which are in Apulia, and over the whole country, in fact. Rossetti, in the report already quoted, says that in 1812 the Society began to spread until

1 Colletta, vol. ii., bk. viii., ch. 49, p. 228. *Moll. Storia dell Italia nel* 1814 *fino al* 1851, pp. 20-21, quoted by Ottolini, pp. 38, 39, gives the same story, but places it in 1808, which seems too early.

2 Memoirs, p. 12.

3 Botta, vol. iv., p. 174.

4 Memoirs of Pignatelli-Strongoli, i., pp. 97, 98, confirmed by a police report, MS. B.8 No. 32, in *Biblioteca centrale del risorgimento*, Leti, p. 61.

5 Pardi, quoted by Ottolini, p. 43.

6 Vol. ii., bk. viii., ch. 49, p. 229.

7 Leti (quoting Zara), p. 71.

8 Cantù, vol. i., p. 808.

in 1814 there was not "a village which had not its Vendita"; Colletta,[1] that by 1813 the Carbonaria had spread to every locality and every rank of society; and Nicolli,[2] that in 1812 there were in Naples alone 140 Vendite and 46,000 Good Cousins. In 1811 a High Vendita was in existence,[3] an advance in organisation, which forbade its members to accept Murat's honours, perhaps a remnant of republican feeling or more probably resentment at Manhès' still recent persecution. The Society had even spread beyond Italy. Pepe says it had penetrated into France,[4] and Doria[5] was initiated while serving in 1811 with the 3d Chasseurs à cheval by the Polish Captain Elempizski of the 4th Polish Infantry at Seville.

The evidence as to the social classes from which the Carboneria recruited its members is contradictory. Fidanza tells us, as already stated, that the Society was formed largely in order to gain the lower classes, Freemasonry being too aristocratic and doctrinaire. Dito[6] bears out this view. Orloff[7] states that the Carbonari were "ferocious wretches" and that the landowners of Calabria joined the Vendite in order to control the populace and secure their own safety, but the author of the *Memoirs* contradicts Orloff, as he thinks the members were mostly of the lower classes. On the other hand, Signorina Zara,[8] who gives us most interesting information as regards the province of Otranto, says that in that part of the country the Carboneria was regarded by the common people as too aristocratic and its tenets as savouring of Jacobinism. Tivaroni[9] also states that the Carbonari were recruited chiefly from the intellectuals, the nobles and the middle classes, and Pepe found this to be the case in 1819. Briot[10] tried to form Vendite in the militia companies to serve as a bond of union, and the militia men were mostly of the upper classes. We find among the Carbonari men like the Duke of Montejasi,[11] intendant in the Abruzzi in 1814 and, as we have seen, a Canon of Cosenza. In 1820 the Carboneria had not penetrated among the lazzaroni of Naples, although they had been canvassed; but we hear of a Vendite among prisoners and convicts and the lower ratings of the fleet, three on the battleship Capri alone.[12] The explanation is probably that the expression lower classes did not include the populace in town or country, that the Carbonari were chiefly members of the upper and middle classes, but at times the lower classes were admitted when necessity made it desirable, as, for instance, when Trinitarians and Sanfedists were admitted. Signorina Zara[13] gives also some interesting facts about the ethical objects and developments of the Society. At first the Carbonari of Otranto aimed at the improvement in the conditions of the lower classes and discussed in the Vendite moral questions. Then ideas of civil and social equality were mooted, and finally they adopted liberty and general brotherhood as their aims. An essential condition for admission was to profess the Roman Catholic religion. Luzio[14] perhaps gives us the best summary of the Carbonari's objects as: 1, An anticosmopolitan, antigallic nationalism; 2, support for the Christian religion; 3, constitutional liberty.

Maghella's policy caused considerable changes in the outlook of the Carbonaro leaders. As the principal object among the Southern Good Cousins

[1] Vol. ii., bk. vii., ch. 53, p. 119.
[2] p. 40.
[3] Ottolini, p. 59.
[4] Pepe, i., p. 282.
[5] Luzio, *Guiseppe Mazzini Carbonaro*, Bocca, Turin, 1920, p. 297. Niccoli, p. 37.
[6] p. 66.
[7] Russian envoy to the Bourbon Court who wrote some Memoirs. Memoirs, p. 65.
[8] Leti, p. 71.
[9] 1789-1814, vol. ii., p. 273.
[10] Johnston.
[11] Pepe, 317.
[12] Memoirs, p. 43.
[13] Leti, p. 71.
[14] *Massoneria e Carboneria*, p. 168.

had been free institutions, it had not mattered to them at first whether French Cæsarism or Bourbon absolutism ruled. Since then the constitutional carrot had been dangled before their noses by the Bourbons, while Murat steadfastly refused to make any concession in this respect. There was reason to think, moreover, that the Bourbon offer might have some substance. General Pepe [1] and several other writers have asserted that a monarchical constitution was promised by the English agents; and in 1812 the British representative and Commander in Chief, Lord William Bentinck, was a Whig and had compelled the Court at Palermo to grant to Sicily a constitution on the English model and had upheld it by force of arms. At the same time republicanism was wholly repugnant to the only allies the Carbonari could enlist in their struggle against the French, yet free institutions were, in Carbonaro eyes, essential in order to secure the reforms of Joseph and Murat on a permanent basis. Accordingly, many of the Carbonari seem to have adopted a monarchical constitution as their objective. The aims of the various groups in the Sect were discordant. The Trinitarian and Santa Fede element of the Society wanted a Bourbon restoration on any terms; there was a residue of uncompromising republican opinion; some were ready to support Murat, now that he was working for independence, provided that he granted a constitution; others wanted the Bourbons back, but only on condition that they granted a constitution; and there was even a small section which was in favour of Bentinck's designs for an independent liberal Italy,[2] but this party developed later.[3] The distribution of the parties in the country was as follows:— The Bourbon partisans were strongest in Calabria which had suffered most from the French, strong but to a less extent in Apulia and the Abruzzi, while the Murattists prevailed in Naples and its neighbourhood, where there was an element hostile to the old régime.[4] Undoubtedly the Bourbon parties were in the majority and were bound to remain so as long as Murat did not remove the stumbling block to a reconciliation by conceding a constitution. Delfico [5] sums up the situation thus: Joseph had taught the Neapolitans to know their own rights; Murat taught them how to fight, yet neither granted them any rights; a clash therefore between the Carboneria and Murat was inevitable.

On his side Murat had never been enthusiastic for Maghella's policy. His misgivings were aroused when he received a letter from Dandolo,[6] councillor in the kingdom of Italy, which informed him that the Carboneria was extending all over Italy and advised him to eradicate it, as it was hostile to all thrones. This no doubt represented the information gathered in the Romagne, where Dandolo had been on a mission.[7] Murat was still further alarmed when he discovered that some of the Sect were in correspondence with Sicily, yet its support was indispensable if he wished to assert his independence.

A real reconciliation between the king and the Sect did not take place; both parties were temporising, watching each other suspiciously, while world events were rushing to a catastrophe. It was the year 1812 and Napoleon had set out on his Russian campaign.

VIII. MURAT'S DEFECTION AND FALL.

Despite Maghella's advice to stay at home,[8] Murat joined the French army at Napoleon's call. The tremendous disaster which followed completely changed

[1] Pepe, vol. i., p. 282. Vannucci, p. 138.
[2] Greco, quoted by Dito, p. 207.
[3] Leti, pp. 26, 76; Dito, p. 207; Luzio, p. 168. None of these writers agrees with the others at all points, *e.g.*, Leti says the majority was republican; Dito denies this and says the majority was pro-Bourbon.
[4] Leti, p. 76, quoting Rossi, *Dizionario illustrato*, Vallardi, Milan.
[5] Dito, p. 207.
[6] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. viii., ch. 49, p. 229.
[7] Ottolini, p. 76.
[8] Memoirs, p. 12.

the position of the Napoleonic empire, though the full extent of the change, so obvious to us, was not so evident to contemporaries. Murat probably realised the implications better than most men and began to think how to save his own kingdom, should Napoleon's power collapse utterly. When left in charge of the army in Poland he deserted and returned to Naples, leaving Eugène Beauharnais in command. Eugène had always been faithful to the Emperor and remained so to the end. He was likely to be an impediment to Murat's ideas of becoming an independent ruler and even acquiring a larger kingdom in Italy than he already possessed. Years before Queen Caroline [1] had established friendly relations with Metternich, when he was ambassador in Paris; and as Austria, still at peace with Napoleon, was likely to hold the balance in the coming struggle, Murat made overtures to Metternich. Austria was already intending to enter the lists against Napoleon if he refused to agree to reasonable terms, and she was looking out for every possible ally, should it come to a final contest. Nevertheless, the negotiations made little progress, because England favoured a Bourbon restoration to Naples and, not having been overthrown and invaded three times like Austria, was not disposed to leave her protégés in the lurch in order to buy off Murat.

Maghella [2] again advised the bold course, that Murat should declare against Napoleon at once, invade the Papal States and overwhelm the small French garrisons there—Maghella himself offered to raise the kingdom of Italy's army in his favour—and then, at the head of all Italy, Murat could offer his services to the Allies and claim all Italy as his reward. Maghella must have known that Murat was not fitted to carry out such grandiose schemes, but he was probably aiming at setting up a united constitutional state, and Murat was the best tool to hand, to be discarded later if necessary. This bold proposal was duly reported to Napoleon by the French partisans in Naples; and Maghella, being a Genoese and therefore a French subject, was summoned to Paris and, when blandishments failed to gain him for Napoleon, put under police supervision. Murat had as yet no pledge from Austria; and, as the first actions of the campaign in Saxony went uniformly in Napoleon's favour, he joined his brother-in-law, took a decisive part in Napoleon's last great victory at Dresden and checked Schwartzenberg at Wachau on the first day of the Battle of Leipzig. But the Battle of Nations sealed Napoleon's fate; and Murat again deserted the army.

As we have seen, the Carboneria had been growing apace since 1811. It had 200,000 members, it is said, and had even penetrated the services. Of the generals, for instance, Arcovito, Filangieri and Rossarol were Carbonari, Pepe certainly became one later and he may have belonged to the Sect even then. It was now a power to be reckoned with. The Society possessed a safe base in Sicily and the occupation of Lissa and the Ionian Isles by the British gave it another, of which it took prompt advantage by introducing Vendite into the Marches at Ancona. From there the Society reached out to Bologna in the Romagne; its presence was suspected in Milan,[3] it had penetrated even into Piedmont, where a Vendita had been founded in 1812 at Ivrea [4] by some Patriots who were tired of what they regarded as the subserviency of Freemasonry to the French. The Society had grown dangerous; and the government in Naples began to consider measures of precaution.

The Queen had obtained proofs that the Sectarians were in correspondence with Sicily [5]; and in April, 1813, the police [6] began to stop Carbonaro meetings; the time was appropriate for severe measures, as the Carboneria was passing

[1] Johnston, vol. i., p. 195.
[2] Memoirs, pp. 13, 14.
[3] Ottolini, p. 54.
[4] *ibid*, p. 133.
[5] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. vii., ch. 53, p. 119.
[6] Dito, p. 210.

through a crisis which resulted in the expulsion of a large portion of its members. The reason is not clear: it may have been that the numbers had outgrown the rudimentary organisation and the leaders [1] found it impossible to keep discipline; it may have been an attempt to get rid of some undesirable elements admitted during the struggle with the French, who were bringing discredit on what was now a respectable Society, as even its opponents admit; more probably still, a fissure had appeared in a structure containing so many heterogeneous elements with so many discordant aims, and the constitutionalists, who were in the majority, may have decided to expel the ultra-reactionaries. The expelled members took refuge among the Trinitarii [2] and Sanfedists, whence no doubt many of them must have originally come, and formed the society eventually known as the Calderai (boilermakers),[1] which earned an evil reputation, as will be related later. Naturally, the two Societies quarrelled furiously.

Such were the conditions, when the Carbonari, warned by police action of the government's new hostility, decided to attempt a rising in Calabria.[3] The Central Vendita of Cosenza sent out a pompous circular, which had little or no effect. The rising actually broke out on the 15th of August, 1813, while Murat was in Saxony. The rebels had to deal with Manhès, who was sent to Reggio to watch the English at the demand of Napoleon who was determined "to pull up by the roots the evil plant of Carbonarism"[4]. The head of the whole movement was the farrier of Altilia, Vincent Federici,[5] whom we know already under his sobriquet, Capobianco (white head). He was a captain in the militia and had for a time even gained Manhès' confidence. The French general struck at once. Capobianco, whose refuge was an inaccessible rock stronghold, was enticed by General Jannelli to a dinner, betrayed and executed. By the 25th of September the whole feeble affair ended with two more executions of Bruni and Santi.[6]

The repercussions of Capobianco's execution were wide. The Carbonaro committee [7] of action at Lissa printed the story of the "Grand Elect" 's death, called on all Vendite to mourn for him at a special meeting and swear implacable revenge against the "Great Wolf", viz., Napoleon. Special emissaries were sent out to proselytize and to tamper with the armies of the French rulers. General Pino, then still in the French service, is said to have exclaimed to his friend General Theodore Lechi on reading the pamphlet in question: "If these facts are correct, history will call us all butchers". Soon afterwards he was approached by an envoy of the High Vendita in Naples, Nicola Del Preite, who gave him full details of Manhès' repression, which drew from Pino the outburst: "We must think how to put an end to this. Italy cannot be treated as America was by Pizarro and the other Spanish captains. Tell those who sent you that the time of redemption is approaching, but has not yet come. This is the period of preparation; therefore be prudent and patient".[8]

On his return from Saxony Murat passed through Milan. The whole situation at home and abroad was most difficult. If he remained faithful to Napoleon and, in co-operation with Eugène Beauharnais, formed a French front

[1] Memoirs, p. 66.
[2] Dito, p. 210.
[3] Dito, pp. 210-215.
[4] Ottolini, p. 55.
[5] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. vii., ch. 53, p. 119. Vannucci, p. 139. Johnston prefers Manhès' version of the incident contained in a letter written to the Paris *Moniteur* in 1835, 22 years after the event. Botta places the event in 1811, which is wrong.
[6] Helfert, p. 132.
[7] Ottolini, p. 56, also Nisco *Storia d'Italia dal* 1814 *al* 1880, Rome, 1884, vol. ii., p. 53.
[8] Ottolini, p. 56, quotes a letter of Napoleon in reply to Eugène's representation as to the unfavourable effect in North Italy caused by Capobianco's execution, which says that it was essential that there should be a dead body between Murat and the Carbonari to prevent a reconciliation.

in Italy, he would have gravely embarrassed the Allies and made their invasion of France a very dangerous enterprise. On the other hand, he was convinced that Napoleon's reign was over and he did not want to share his fall. He had an interview with Eugène at Guastalla where he tried to induce him to proclaim Italian independence and divide Italy with him. On being rebuffed he plotted with General Pino, whom Eugène promptly removed from his command.[1] For the Allies it was a matter of importance that one of the Italian rulers should be detached from the Emperor; and Murat found his renewed overtures welcomed by Metternich, but Bentinck in command at Bologna was no less hostile than before. To make a good bargain for himself Murat had to be in a position to offer something solid, and to enable him to do this the full support of his subjects was essential; yet the Carbonari were disaffected, some openly hostile, and the Sect as a whole too powerful to be ignored.[2] He is said to have hesitated whether to court the Carbonari or the Calderai,[3] but decided in favour of the stronger Sect. As independence was one of the Carbonari's aims,[4] the ministry of police issued, as a first step towards winning them over, a circular to all the provincial Intendants to the effect that the king was about to embark on a campaign to establish Italian independence; but an ominous incident showed Murat how little he could rely on his subjects. At a review of a Guard regiment, according to Pepe,[5] the soldiers were ordered to fire a blank volley; a bullet whistled past the king. Joachim, however, remained unperturbed. "They are my children", he cried, "and children do not fire at their father", and ordered the volley to be repeated, standing himself in the line of fire. The regiment in question had been infected with Carbonarism, but the king's brave conduct disarmed the Sectaries' hostility for the moment.

As time pressed, Murat set his army in motion through the Papal States, though the negotiations with Austria had not yet come to any conclusion, England's desires as to the Bourbons being still the stumbling block. Wherever he went he set up a uniform administration,[6] with an eye to future annexation, while Maghella, who had escaped from France, founded new Vendite and tried to win over those introduced from Lissa, still hoping to win over the Carboneria.[7] The Neapolitan army joined up with Nugent's Austrian brigade on the Po; but in view of the uncertainty of the situation, Murat kept up friendly relations with Beauharnais and refused to declare himself against his old colleague. Not even when Nugent was attacked by General Grenier did he take any step to support him. Not till the 11th of[8] January, 1814, was the treaty signed. To bring Austria into the war it had been necessary at the treaty of Prague to promise her a free hand in Italy; and England, to secure the greater object, sacrificed the less: Murat was to be left in possession of his kingdom provided Ferdinand was com-

[1] Castro, p. 294. Reggi, vol. i., p. 10.

[2] Helfert, pp. 167-169, says that some of the Sectaries did support Murat. Murat also did his best to gain the "Italiani puri" (pure Italians) (p. 161) and the liberals, who formed the opposition in the Kingdom of Italy. Helfert, p. 132, also says that the Carbonari formed a daughter society called "Società o Ceto dei liberali" (society or caste of the liberals) which aimed at independence and any form of free institutions and were ready to use violence. At first they opposed Murat, but later supported him. As Helfert's authority is a letter of Raad, Austrian director of police in Venice (Pol. A ad 128 of 1 May, 1815), I think that as often happens the Austrian authorities had mistaken a political party for a Sect. Helfert, pp. 137, 551, also refers to some "Independentisti d'Italia" (Independents of Italy) in the Marches during Murat's occupation. Here again I think Helfert regards as a sect merely a body of public opinion. There was a "Club degli Indipendenti" (Club of the independents) in Naples.

[3] Cantù, vol. i., p. 813, says that at this time the Carbonari urged Murat to set up an independent Italian state, divided into two parts.

[4] Memoirs, pp. 66, 67.

[5] Pepe, vol. i., p. 315.

[6] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. vii., ch. 60, p. 131.

[7] Record Office FO 70, letter of 7 August, 1813, Castlereagh to Bentinck.

[8] Castro, p. 297.

pensated elsewhere. Bentinck received peremptory orders from Castlereagh to change his conduct, and the way was open for Murat to change sides. He declared himself on the 15th of February; but it was already too late, as an armistice had been signed on the 26th of January. Marshall Bellegarde, the Austrian commander in chief, the same who is mentioned in Bro. Firminger's essay, *Studies in Continental XVIIIth Century Freemasonry*[1] knew that a decision could be obtained only in France and he refused to waste the lives of his men uselessly and carried on only desultory operations, greatly to the disgust of the fire-eating Baron von Hügel,[2] the diplomat attached to his army. Early in April arrived the news of Napoleon's surrender and Murat's services were no longer required. Eugène's resistance collapsed and the Italian kingdom was assigned to Austria. Murat had to be content with his own kingdom and the Marches, which his army occupied, for the time being.

During the short campaign he had had further evidence of disaffection among his subjects. This time it was his generals who tried their hand at politics and obtained some experience in the art of conducting pronunciamentos.[3] They held a meeting at Reggio[3] in the Romagne, not Manhès' headquarters in Calabria which bore the same name, under the presidency of Carascosa, the commander of the first division, and formulated a demand for a constitution, which was duly presented to the king at his headquarters at Bologna. Murat made the very sensible observation that such matters could not be decided in the middle of a campaign and bought off the most important officers with honours. Their careers were more important to them than political ideals. The whole movement flickered out, greatly to the disgust of William Pepe, who claims to have been the prime mover.

Hardly had this difficulty been met when there arrived the news of another Carbonaro rising in the Abruzzi.[4] This was to have taken place on the 25th of March at a fair at Pescara, but it was betrayed, with the result that the outbreak did not take place until the 27th, at Città di S. Angelo. This was the first time that the Carbonaro tricolour, black, blue, red, was hoisted; it was inscribed "Indipendenza d'Italia" (Italian independence).[5] None of the other towns implicated made a move. Raids, supported from the Ionian Isles, on Teramo and Vasto failed; and by that time Pepe's brother, Florestano, had been sent in command and soon persuaded the Carbonaro chiefs to submit. It is not clear whether this rising was republican or Bourbon. It was another muddle from beginning to end, yet it might have been very dangerous. Florestano Pepe[4] said he would have gone over to the rebels with all his troops had the rising been universal throughout the province. The Queen, dissatisfied with Pepe's mildness, sent Nolli to take charge in the Abruzzi and use methods similar to those of Manhès. La Noce, Canon Marulli and Captain Michabis, all of Città St. Angelo, were executed,[6] and the Duke of Montejasi, the Carbonaro intendant, was dismissed.[7] Under the stress of this double persecution in Calabria and in the Abruzzi the Carbonari changed their signs and words, abandoned their meetings and allowed initiations to be conducted in the presence of five Good Cousins only under a Master. Some of the Carbonari took the name of "Greeks in solitude", one of the earliest examples of a change of name by a branch of the Society in order to evade the Authorities' vigilance. This variant of the Sect reappeared in the Ionic Isles after the restoration of the Bourbons and spread over some parts of the mainland.

[1] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlvi., part ii.
[2] Lemmi, *La ristaurazione in Italia*, 1814; *Diario del conte von Hügel*, 1910.
[3] Pepe, vol. i., p. 335.
[4] Dito, p. 216; Tivaroni, vol. ii., p. 280; Ottolini, pp. 61, 103.
[5] Johnston.
[6] Ottolini, p. 61, and p. 103, note.
[7] Pepe, vol. ii., p. 18.

Murat issued an edict from his headquarters on the 4th of April,[1] banning the Sect but granting an indemnity to all present members except those who had risen in the Abruzzi. The issue of this edict is assigned to the influence of the Minister Zurlo[2]; others say that it was the consequence of the passing in a Vendita of a resolution insulting to Murat[3]; it completed the breach between the king and the Carboneria. The measures to suppress the Sect remained ineffective, for a letter from Prince Moliterno to King Ferdinand, dated the 28th of the following July, says that Central Italy was full of Carbonari.[4]

Then it was again the turn of the generals.[5] This time it was Carascosa who summoned his colleagues to meet at San Donnino, and they decided to send Filangieri to Bentinck asking for £50,000, on the receipt of which they would march on Naples and proclaim a constitution. Bentinck, however, declined to give any help unless they would promise to dethrone Murat and restore the Bourbons, and the scheme was given up. William Pepe[6] then tried to concoct a pronunciamento of his own, but he was discovered and removed from his command. Murat did not dare to deal with the delinquents too severely, in fact, he was being advised from several quarters to treat the Carbonari as considerately as possible.[7] In these circumstances he settled down wearily to wait for the decisions of the Congress of Vienna.

It soon became apparent to the last survivor of the Napoleonic system that England was as little favourable as ever, and that he had gained a new enemy in Talleyrand, who now represented the restored Bourbons and was also championing the cause of the Neapolitan branch of the family. His only support was Austria; and he did not trust her overmuch. He tried, therefore, to prepare as best he might for eventualities. Once again he tried to win the Carbonari. His edict against them was to stand, but he was prepared to connive at the Society's continued existence provided it changed its name and symbolism.[8] Agriculture was to replace charcoalburning; the Vendita was to become a Pagliaia (Thatched hut) and the Good Cousin a Colono (farmer), but in order to keep absolutist Austria's favour he dared not grant the only concession, which might have affected his purpose, a constitution. Generals Rossarol and Arcovito met with a rebuff when they tried to obtain a pledge of support from the assembly of the "Holy Apostles", one of the higher hierarchical degrees of the Carboneria at that time; and there was even a rising of Castellammare.[9] Murat entered once more into negotiations with Napoleon at Elba, for there were several plots in Italy at that time with the object of effecting the Emperor's escape and making him ruler of Italy, and agreed to joint action, should an opportunity occur. When towards the end of 1814 some officers of the Napoleonic army of the late kingdom of Italy plotted against the Austrian domination, Murat gave a refuge to them and other liberal exiles after their failure. Among them were General Pino, who though not a plotter had been implicated, Pellegrino Rossi, Salfi, Prince Hercolani of Bologna and Count Cicognara.[10] Maghella was also sent to enter into relations with the Lombard "Centres", who will be described later, and other sects.[11]

The wait proved too long for the impetuous Sabreur. Early in 1815, goaded by Talleyrand's hostility, he sent to him in Vienna an ultimatum,

[1] Pepe, p. 167. Ottolini, p. 74, suggests that this edict was but a make believe to throw dust into the eyes of Austria and refers to Leti, p. 61.
[2] Memoirs, p. 60.
[3] La Cecilia, p. 12.
[4] Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 166.
[5] Pepe, vol. ii., pp. 2, 3; Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 21.
[6] Pepe, vol. ii., p. 1; Tivaroni, ii., p. 280.
[7] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. vii., ch. 53, p. 120.
[8] Memoirs, p. 61; Dito, pp. 216-219.
[9] Dito, p. 219; Tivaroni, vol. ii., p. 285.
[10] Dito, p. 219; Tivaroni, vol. ii., p. 285.
[11] Helfert, p. 164.

demanding immediate recognition of his own title to the kingdom of Naples. His envoy in the Austrian capital realised the rashness of this act and showed the letter to Metternich. The Austrian Minister at once replied that he would support Murat so long as he remained quiet, but at the first move he would mass 150,000 men on the Po. Before this warning could reach Naples, Napoleon had escaped from Elba. Murat at once ordered his troops to move, without even waiting to concert a plan of action with his brother-in-law. On the 30th of March he issued his famous proclamation calling all Italians to join him in the name of united Italy.[1] His army, though in poor condition, fought one or two very creditable actions, notably at the cavalry charge across the bridge over the Panaro, in which Filangieri distinguished himself and was wounded.[2] But he could gain no support. In the Papal States barely 1,000 men, mostly literati,[3] joined him and only 400 from the old Napoleonic army. The Carbonari, hostile to the last, worked against him and undermined the soldiers' discipline. He was compelled to retreat and was finally defeated at Tolentino. The brief premature dream of Italian unity died there.

Several provinces were now declaring for the Bourbons; defections were frequent,[4] and civil war was threatening. As a last throw Murat on the 6th of May at last granted the constitution, sending Zurlo and Colletta the historian to announce it; it was too late. His army by now had completely disbanded, his gift was worthless, as he no longer possessed any authority, and the ground was crumbling beneath his feet. He succeeded in evading his pursuers and escaped to France, and his generals concluded a convention with the advancing Austrians. Queen Caroline had remained at her post to the last, and concluded an honourable capitulation with the English naval commander. Ferdinand returned home, in peace. There were no excesses, the militia under the Queen had kept order and for once Carbonari and Calderai had united to ensure a restoration without excesses.

Murat made one last desperate attempt[5] ; he landed near Pizzo in Calabria. Some intercepted correspondence gave the government reason to think that he was in touch with the Carbonari.[6] The country refused to rise; he was captured and shot. The indefatigable Maghella was imprisoned in Hungary, then handed over to his new king, Victor Emanuel I. of Sardinia, who kept him a year on the fortress of Fenestrelle and then released him, to plot anew. He was incorrigible to the last, and died in 1850.[7] We shall meet him again in this paper.

IX. THE CARBONERIA IN NORTH ITALY TO THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

In the North the Carboneria did not enjoy the advantage of royal patronage; on the contrary, it had to prosecute an unceasing fight against authority. Its progress, therefore, was very much slower and we know much less about it than in the South. As we have seen, French highhandedness from 1796 onward gave rise to an outburst of antiforeign feeling, which, in the absence of other outlet, took the form of secret plotting, until the Allies drove the French out in 1799. Napoleon's victory at Marengo secured French domination and the plots re-commenced. There was, for instance, Salfi's attempt to form a dissentient

[1] This proclamation is said to have been drafted by Zurlo or Salfi.
[2] Colletta, vol. ii., bk. vii., ch. 80, p. 153.
[3] L. C. Farini, *Lo stato romano*, vol. i., p. 13.
[4] Maghella's circulars to the intendants, see Dito, *La campagne murattiana dell'indipendenza d'Italia*, Segati, Rome, 1911, p. 40.
[5] Bro. Gould tells us (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xiv., p. 42, Essay on "Military Masonry") that Murat was accompanied by Guillemard, a Mason, who probably shot Nelson at Trafalgar.
[6] Johnston, vol. ii., p. 46.
[7] Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 301.

Lodge, which may have been the same as that known as the "Club napoletano"[1] founded by Neapolitan exiles in Milan, which gave a fresh lease of life to the "Rays" and possibly helped that society to give birth to the "Guelfia", a sect with which I hope to deal on another occasion. In consequence of conditions in the North, Carbonarism became far more eager for Italian independence and less anxious about constitutional questions than in the South. The destruction of all foreign domination was the chief object, free institutions could be left till afterwards.

The Northern sphere of Carbonaro action can be divided into two sections: Piedmont, under the direct sway of France, on the one hand, and Lombardy and Venetia, both parts of the kingdom of Italy, on the other. As very little happened in Piedmont until Napoleon's fall, we can postpone our review of this country until later. In Venetia and Lombardy after Marengo there were a few risings against the French, at Brescia, Bologna and Crespino, which later became a noted Carbonaro centre, but there is no evidence that these risings were the work of sects. Until the Emperor's power was shaken, French authority was too solidly established for the Societies to do anything except to increase their membership and evade the attentions of the police. This they succeeded in doing to the extent that for long it was believed that the Carboneria was not introduced North of the Po until 1818, when Foresti brought it from the Romagne. Foresti himself, one of the prisoners of the Spielberg, thinks this to be the fact,[2] with some excuse. Actually, the case is far different.

We have the statement already referred to by St. Edme that he received in 1807, at Verona, from Father P . . . ., who conferred on him the first two degrees of the Carboneria, the Rituals which he publishes in his book. Though St. Edme's speculations on eighteenth century Carbonarism do not inspire one with confidence, there is not the same reason for rejecting his statements about events which occurred to him personally. There are two points which cast doubt on the accuracy of the date he gives: he says that only two degrees were conferred on him, yet he gives the third degree ceremony as well; and the enemies of Carbonarism, who appear in this ceremony, wear German, that is Austrian, uniform, while in 1807 the enemy was France. As his book was not published until 1821, when Austria had been for some years the Italian liberals' chief enemy, it may be that the third degree ceremony did not come to St. Edme's knowledge until later, after 1815, and does not necessarily make it impossible for him to have received the other rituals in 1807.

We have also a statement by the author of a book called *Du Piémont à la fin de 1821*, who is reputed to be Robert de Maistre, that the opposition in Italy to Napoleon, when Emperor, was composed of "revolutionists" under the "titre de Unionistes et de Carbonari". We know nothing further of these Unionistes.[3] We have also the evidence of Breganze[4] as to the existence of the Carboneria in Lombardy at least as early as 1809. He says that there were two societies. The first, known according to local whim as Santa Fede (Holy Faith), not to be confused with Ruffo's South Italian crusaders, or Viva Maria (Long Live Mary) or Massa Cattolica (Catholic crowd), was founded in 1796. Its chief object was the restoration of the Pope's power with the assistance of some foreign potentate. The other Society was the Carboneria, which, according to him, was of English invention and had two great centres, one in Sicily, whence

[1] Leti, p. 81, quoting Soriga.
[2] Vannucci, p. 607.
[3] *Du Piemont à la fin de 1821 et de l'influence des sociétés secrètes.* Pillet ainé, Paris, 1822, p. 27.
[4] Ottolini, p. 36. Breganze of Vicenza became a judge in 1798 under the Cisalpine Republic and a member of the legislative assembly. Later he was employed in the Ministry of police and became a judge of the Court of Appeal of Brescia in 1812. His unpublished notes to Norvin's *Life of Napoleon* form an original authority for this period in North Italy and are invaluable.

the Society spread to the kingdom of Naples, the Papal States, and, with but indifferent success, to Tuscany, and the other in Switzerland, where it was in touch with the Tugendbund and, we may add, other anti-Napoleonic movements like the Philadelphes. He gives no date for the Carboneria's foundation, but says it began to send out its tentacles into Lombardy in 1809, though it did not become really organised until 1814. In 1809 the Tirolese under Hofer were carrying on a desperate struggle with the French and their Bavarian allies during Napoleon's war against Austria of that year, and a rising in Lombardy would have been of material assistance to them and the Austrian army at grips with Eugène Beauharnais in Venetia. It is very probable, therefore, that the Tugendbund should try to urge Societies with the same object as itself to intervene.

The Santa Fede and the Carboneria, though poles apart in their ultimate objects, did have the common aim of Italian independence, which, as we have seen, was the predominating desire in the North. This led to the result that those members of the nobility who did not agree with the tenets of the Santa Fede flocked to join the Carboneria, without, however, losing connection with their relations in the other society, forming in this way a personal bond between the two sects and helping common action. This may tend to explain some extraordinary events in 1830, many years later. Dolce again tells us in one of his reports that the English by 1813 had formed three centres of activities against Napoleon: Milan, Genoa and Bologna.[1]

Further, Cesare Giacomini of Ascoli,[2] who took part in the conspiracy of Macerata in 1817, stated at his trial that he had been initiated into the Carboneria in Milan as early as 1811 in the presence of over 150 Good Cousins, both soldiers and civilians. We know also that the Carbonaro Committee of Lissa set up Vendite in the Marches at Ancona and Bologna, that their existence was suspected even in Milan and that it tampered with the soldiery's allegiance. We have seen how del Preite was sent from South Italy to approach General Pino. Cantù [3] also tells us that at the time of Murat's campaign in 1815 the Carbonari were numerous in Milan, Bologna, Alessandria in Piedmont and the mainland of Venetia and that Murat sent Maghella to Court them, as we have seen. We may, therefore, conclude safely that the Carboneria existed in the kingdom of Italy long before Napoleon's fall. It is equally clear that Napoleonic power was too strong to allow of the creation of any regular organisations, such as came into being in the South, and that in this region the Carboneria consisted of a number of single Vendite which endeavoured to keep in touch with each other, but had their directing body abroad.

In view of this evidence we need not be surprised to find that in August, 1813, when the campaign in Saxony was being fought, the Minister of Police in the kingdom of Italy, Diego Guicciardi, began to hear rumours that Vendite existed at Fermo and Bologna. The Senator Dandolo, the same who warned Murat and was doing government work in the Territories South of the Po, sent in two reports which not only testified to the presence of the Sect in that province, but that there it was republican and antimonarchical.[4]

Eugène Beauharnais, the Viceroy of the kingdom of Italy, had hitherto refused to believe the possibility of the Society gaining a footing in his territories, though he knew of its existence further South. Now that Napoleon had lost the battle of Leipzig and an Austrian army was invading Italy, he grew apprehensive, all the more as Murat was advancing North through the Papal States and his intentions were doubtful. He thought it wise to withdraw from his advanced position on the Tagliamento to the Mincio, abandoning Venetia. He had already

[1] Luzio, *Massoneria*, p. 120.
[2] Ottolini, p. 75.
[3] *Cronistoria*, vol. ii,. p. 36.
[4] Ottolini, p. 76.

closed the Masonic Lodges in Lombardy, an act which turned all Freemasons into supporters of Murat,[1] and he now ordered his officers South of the Po to be on their guard.[2] He was informed by some old republicans, who in the situation subsisting then had decided to support the Viceroy rather than risk falling under Austria, that an association like the Tugendbund did exist in the kingdom and that several of them had been asked to join it. Some officers, friends of General Pino, even admitted that they were Carbonari, but assured him that they had no intention to further any ambitions the King of Naples might cherish. Actually, although these declarations reassured Eugène somewhat, the situation was more serious than he thought. With the weakening of French power the Carboneria had become active. Milan had become a great centre, in touch with Bologna and Switzerland.[3] Envoys had even been sent to Bentinck, who had landed in Tuscany, to discuss the formation of an independent state, which the English General's proclamation seemed to favour.[4] Bentinck, however, was cautious enough to reply that only the Napoleonic states which helped the Allies by rising against the common enemy could hope to be allowed a continued existence.

South of the Po, in the Legations, things were going even worse. On the approach of the Neapolitans the Carbonari came out into the open and gave indications that they had an understanding with the invaders. Moreover, the law courts were adopting a procedure which was not that of the kingdom of Italy. Breganze himself, then a judge of the High Court of Brescia, was sent to investigate and found not only that the Carboneria was active, but that the Neapolitans were in treaty with the Austrians and intended to declare war on Eugène on the 17th of January. The changes in the legal procedure were, of course, part of Murat's plan to prepare the occupied territories for annexation. On the stated day Breganze was stopped on his way home through Ferrara by General Filangieri, of the Neapolitan army, and searched, but released with apologies and invited to dinner. One of the other guests was Count Cicognara, Podestà or mayor of Ferrara, the old sectary, who became later a prominent Carbonaro, if he was not one then already. Filangieri told Breganze that, despite appearances, there was no real hostility between North and South Italians, both wanted the independence of Italy. But the Neapolitans would not agree to Eugène, who had always been subservient to Napoleon, as ruler, while Murat had given pledges which he would not be able to evade. This story sheds much light on the doings of the Carbonari, and their action incidentally shows how unable they were to decide on a common plan and carry it out resolutely. Filangieri uttered words which the liberals would have done well to take to heart: "Our independence can be obtained only with the help of one who has an army under his command. There are two armies, and unfortunately we cannot fuse them into one".

By the end of March the Allies entered Paris. Italy was thrown into confusion. Eugène's army was round Mantua. In Milan several parties arose with overlapping objectives; the Liberals who had formed the opposition in the government, the "Italici" (Italics), the "Indipendenti" (Independents), and there was also a pro-Austrian party.[5] Eugène began to think of carving out a kingdom for himself out of his viceroyalty. But to enable him to do this the united support of his subjects would have been necessary, as now that the war against France was over, he had to dismiss his French troops to their homes. Breganze[6] thinks that the majority of the population would have

[1] Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. i., p. 858.
[2] Ottolini, p. 76.
[3] *ibid*, p. 183.
[4] *ibid*, p. 83. La Farina, vol. iv., p. 61, says Bentinck was approached by Count Trecchi, sent to him by Counts Confalonieri and Porro, liberals, but not Carbonari at that time.
[5] *ibid*, p. 79.
[6] *ibid*, pp. 82-88.

acquiesced in his rule, but there were strong forces against him. To begin with, he had offended the Italian army. Apart from his private quarrel with Pino for plotting with Murat, Eugène had been tactless enough in dismissing the French troops to assure them that he was a Frenchman to the core, and in concluding the convention of Schiarino Rizzino with the Austrians, which put an end to hostilities, he had given up, in return for permission to send a representative to the Allied Sovereigns in Paris to present his case, the fortresses of Venice, Osoppo, Legnago and Palmanova [1] to the enemy as security for his behaviour, greatly impairing the prospect of resistance, if the Italians decided to make a stand on their own behalf. Pino, Theodore Lechi [2] and other officers did not mince matters when they told him what they thought. Eugène then summoned the Senate, or Upper Chamber, and persuaded it to pass a resolution to send a deputation to Paris to demand the independence of the Italian kingdom and Eugène himself as king. This brought matters to a head.[3]

The Carbonari, as we have seen, had been preparing and, possibly in order to fulfil the condition laid down by Bentinck, had decided on a *coup d'état*. They were counting on Pino and his friends in the army, Luini, the prefect of Milan, and other prominent Milanese like Count Confalonieri. The Santa Fede made common cause with them; and we are told by Nicolli [4] that the "Centres", another society to be described later, had formed an alliance with them. Nearly all political parties except the soldiers were ready to accept the Austrians, from whom they hoped to obtain free institutions and independence. The Senate's action was *ultra vires* and it was made the pretext for a tumult. A petition was presented to the Podestà, or mayor, of Milan demanding the convocation of the Electoral Colleges or Lower Chamber. On the next day the mob rose, invaded the Senate house, where the Upper Chamber was sitting, and so frightened the senators that they hastily withdrew their previous resolution and agreed to summon the Lower Chamber. But the mob wanted a victim and the choice fell on Count Prina, the able but unpopular finance minister, who had been obliged to enforce the French exactions. He is said to have been condemned to death some time previously by the "Guelfia",[5] a Society to be described later, and warned of his fate, but he refused to fly, saying he would not be a Piedmontese if he did. For his murder the Sects and the Carboneria must bear the chief blame.[6] And it was useless. Eugène, finding no support anywhere, threw up the sponge. General Lechi did consider for one moment calling on what was left of the army and on the French, who had not yet crossed the Alps, to make a bid for independence against Austria; but he was not supported, and Pino himself was in favour of trusting the Allied Sovereigns; and, as the restoration of order was imperative, two liberals, Counts Porro and Serbelloni,[7] called for the assistance of the Austrian troops. Accordingly, two brigades of Bellegarde's army under Neipperg entered Milan on the 24th of April, and in this way Austria was placed in a winning position. Baron von Hügel,[8] the fire eating diplomat who was so disgusted with Bellegarde's leisurely operations, gives us some interesting facts about these events which show how strong parochialism was in Italy at the time. The colours displayed by the Milanese in the tumult, by citizens of a town where the Italian spirit was more developed than elsewhere, were those of the city of Milan, red and white, and not even those of the kingdom of Italy. After repudiating Eugène, they went even further in repudiating unity by assembling on the Electoral Colleges of the

[1] Botta, vol. iv., pp. 521-522.
[2] His brother Joseph was in Murat's army.
[3] Ottolini, p. 82.
[4] p. 41.
[5] Ottolini, p. 85.
[6] Dolce's report in Luzio, *Carboneria e Massoneria*, p. 64.
[7] *La Farina*, vol. iv., p. 62.
[8] Lemmi, pp. xii., 98.

old duchy of Milan only, excluding those of Venetia, the Legations and all the other provinces of the kingdom; and then, after dismissing their troops and rendering themselves defenceless, they sent a delegation to Paris to demand independence for themselves. On the 12th of June a proclamation announced that the Allied Sovereigns in Paris assigned all North Italy north of the Po, except Piedmont, to Austria, and the last hope of independence was crushed.[1]

We have come now to the end of the Napoleonic period, which is also the initial period of the Carboneria's existence. As we have seen, Carbonarism arose early and spread particularly in the North of Italy; the Carboneria, the concrete body through which Carbonarism expressed itself and acted, seems to have derived its origin from abroad and come into existence first in South Italy. It grew and gathered in its fold all kinds of other bodies and by 1814 it had grown from small beginnings into a wide Association, strong enough to influence events.

Yet during this period the results of its efforts were disappointing. Italy had become neither constitutional nor independent; the French had gone, only to be replaced by the Austrians; Eugène and Murat had been overthrown, but constitutional governments did not rule in their stead. For this failure we must look to the Carbonari's lack of unity, their defective appreciation of the realities and their inexperience. The Society had absorbed all kinds of heterogeneous elements and it varied in form from place to place. From the beginning republican ideas had been strong; when Napoleon's power began to totter, monarchical constitutionalism came into favour, especially when its adoption seemed to promise, not only the adhesion of Murat, but the support of England. Yet the Carbonari seemed unable to make up their minds which leader to follow; in spite of common aims they could not agree on a common method for achieving them or on a common plan to be pursued resolutely and steadfastly. The important question of the unification of Italy had hardly even been mooted as a practical plan, and Murat's appeal to that effect fell on deaf ears. It is not surprising, therefore, that their activities were sporadic, disjointed and ineffective.

By the middle of 1814 conditions in Italy had radically altered; the obstacles in the Society's way, though different in nature, were equally formidable. But the challenge to the existing system, which perpetuated foreign domination and absolutism, had been flung down. The Carboneria accordingly developed its organisation and its action grew more intensive. It is this development and the results it led to which will form the subject of the second part of my study on the Carbonaro Society.

X. THE CARBONERIA AND ENGLAND.

Before concluding the first part of this essay, some consideration must be given to the question of the relations between the Carbonari and the English. There is a view held somewhat widely among Italian writers that the Carboneria was set up by the English as a weapon to fight the French. We have already seen how the first rituals were supposed to have been written in English.

To take first the statements of Italian writers: Breganze in the passage already referred to[2] says that Carbonarism was an English conception, it spread from its base in Sicily to the Neapolitan Mainland and later to the Papal States and even, though abortively, to Tuscany. Pietro Dolce[3] (see p. 13) tells us that Carbonarism or the Black League was purely "an emanation from English Masonic Lodges" and was fostered by England, and that it worked in conjunction with the Tugendbund to create opposition to the Napoleonic régime. In a report of November, 1815,[4] to Saurau, Austrian Director of police, he adds that the

[1] Ottolini, pp. 82-88.
[2] Ottolini, p. 36.
[3] *ibid*, pp. 35-36.
[4] *ibid*, p. 44.

Sect had arisen in Naples as a result of the activities of British Freemasonry, as a counterpoise to French Freemasonry, which, having come under the control of the French government, was regarded as pro-French. Pecchio,[1] who had lived in England, says merely that the English in Sicily undertook the political education of the Carbonari in order to hold in check the party favourable to the French and to create an Italian party, which could assist them in safeguarding their hold on the island. In addition to these actual documents we have a story[2] that the Carbonari submitted to the British Cabinet at St. James's a scheme for an Italian State, which was rejected.[3] Prince Moliterno,[4] the republican of 1799 and promoter of an alliance between Carbonarism and the Bourbons after 1808, is said to have impressed upon King George III. that the independence of Italy was an indispensable step towards the overthrow of Napoleon. Lord William Bentinck, our Commander-in-Chief in Sicily from 1811 onwards and also diplomatic envoy at the Bourbon Court, is stated to have been a Carbonaro and the founder of the "Guelfia", a society to be described later.[5] We have Colletta's and Pepe's[6] statements to the effect that the Carbonari were in correspondence with Lord William Bentinck, and that the English representative, who on these matters tended to be a law unto himself, kept them well supplied with propaganda extolling the advantages of the representative institutions set up in Sicily and holding out the hope that similar institutions would be set up in Naples after the restoration of the Bourbons. Witt also says that Sir Robert Wilson, our representative with the allied armies in North Italy, was a Carbonaro.

The idea that English Freemasonry should have set out deliberately to found a secret society with a political aim for the especial purpose of overthrowing the French must seem to us preposterous, though it is precisely what the Italian Freemasons did. On the other hand English Freemasons as individuals would no doubt discharge all their civic obligations in these troubled times. There were military Lodges in Sicily, Malta and the Dalmatian Isles, notably Lissa,[7] and there were Vendite of the Carbonari in Sicily and Lissa; and one is even reported in Malta, though not until 1815.[8] Sir Sidney Smith, who held the chief command in Neapolitan waters in 1805 and 1812-1814, was a Mason. Bro. Gordon Hills in his essay in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxv., p. 101, tells us that he was a member of the society of "Knights Liberators", whose members had to be Masons,[9] a curious English parallel to the Carboneria, which is said to have been instituted in 1800 with the object of opposing Napoleon and freeing Europe.

Even if the two societies had no official relations with each other, individual members very probably had. We can take it for certain that our representatives would leave no means untried to damage French power; and support would be

[1] Ottolini, p. 39.

[2] St. Edme

[3] Castlereagh wrote to Stewart at Troppau (Bianchi, vol. i., p. 11) that the Neapolitan revolution was due to a Sect which aimed at upsetting all the states of Italy and uniting them under one régime. This was not true of the Carboneria generally at this period; but if the scheme mentioned above was really submitted to the English Cabinet, this would explain how Castlereagh formed his exaggerated view of Carbonarian unitarian ideas. See also Lemmi—*La ristaurazione*, p. 64.

[4] Ottolini, p. 54.

[5] *ibid*, p. 121.

[6] Colletta, vol. ii., book vii., ch. 53. Pepe, vol. i., p. 252.

[7] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxviii., "The poor common soldier", by Brother Heron Lepper. See also note at the end of the chapter.

[8] Cantù, *Cronistoria*, vol. ii., p. 201. Giuseppe Tordo, an old soldier who had served under Napoleon and Murat and had fled from Naples in 1815, founded in Malta the Vendita "Astro del Mediterraneo" (Star of the Mediterranean). This might indicate the existence of Carbonarism before that date, though not necessarily of a regular Vendita.

[9] There are notes in Sir S. Smith's own handwriting, dated about 1813, on the subject of this society. His suggestions for military operations which the Knights might carry out may have been prompted by his experience in Calabria.

given to everybody, like the Carbonari, who had the same object in view. But we have the definite statement of Lord William Bentinck [1] that he never sent any agents purposely to stir up an insurrection in Italy, though this does not preclude the possibility of relations with the Sectaries.[2] We had agents in Italy and Calabrians had enlisted in our service since 1808. He [3] distrusted Moliterno and poured cold water on his schemes for landing in South Italy. It was not till 1814 that Bentinck met emissaries from the mainland in the Island of Ponza, who laid before him proposals for a rising.[4] In view of this evidence [5] I cannot consider that the theory that the Carboneria or any other secret society was invented or even fostered to any large extent by the English authorities has any foundation in fact. All that can be said is that many highly placed Englishmen who were engaged in the war against Napoleon were strongly in favour of Italian independence and of a constitution for the whole country and that they were not always discreet. Lord William Bentinck, notably, aroused hopes in his proclamations which he could not fulfil and disappointed the Italians and gained for England an unenviable reputation for duplicity.

NOTE. The British Regiments shown in the following list had Lodges working at the time they were serving in Sicily and in the surrounding islands. It is not known, however, to which battalion the Lodge belonged. The list has been drawn up with the assistance of Brother Heron Lepper's index of military Lodges, which is authoritative.

Regiment	Lodge Number
2/10 Foot	299, 378
2/14	211
20	63
1/21	936
12/27	588, 692 whose W.M. Thomas Ash was shot in Sicily.
1/29	322
1/32	617
36	36
1/39	128
1/50	113
1/52	370
58	466
75	292
89	538, 836
20 (Light Dragoons)	759

APPENDIX I.

In the course of my paper I have frequently mentioned the names of Secret Societies connected with my subject and their place in the history of the Carboneria. In order to interrupt the flow of the historical narrative as little as possible I have refrained from giving such details of their constitutions, signs, ritual as are known to us. It might be convenient, therefore, to compile in an appendix a list as complete as possible of these societies, allies, offshoots and branches of the Carboneria and to give in connection with each such information as I have been able to obtain. As the reactionary societies often worked in

[1] F.O. 70, Sicily, Bentinck, 20.12.13.
[2] See W.O. 1/311, Gen. Forbes to Adm. Boyle on 1st August, 1811, "one of the persons employed by us to secure information."
[3] F.O. 70, Sicily, Bentinck, 30.3.12.
[4] F.O. 70, Sicily, 23.4.13. W.O. 1, 312, 25th January, 1812.
[5] F.O 70, Sicily.

close collaboration with our Sect, and their history is inextricably mixed with it, I have endeavoured to do the same for them in a separate appendix. I shall try to repeat as little as possible of what has been said already, yet show the interconnection of these various Sects and the influence they had on each other and especially on the Carboneria. In this section of the Appendix I will consider only the Societies which are dealt with in this paper, viz., those in activity in the years 1792-1814.

The earliest society which contains some of the features which we find repeated time and again in Carbonarism was the original liberal Masonic society in Naples, "Sans compromission".[1] Its organisation was as follows: it was divided into four kinds of Club. At the very bottom of the scale were the Elementary Clubs composed of not more than eleven members: on the initiation of a twelfth member the Club had to split into two Clubs of six members each. Each Club had a president, a deputy and a secretary, all elected by a majority of the members. Two "elementary commissioners" were appointed from among the members *ad hoc* to scrutinise the qualifications of candidates, who, unless they were Freemasons, had to take an oath on their weapons to keep the secrets of the society, free their country and fight against tyranny. They had then to make a speech on liberty, what they expected the future to bring and to condemn the government. The deputies of the Elementary Clubs met in the Clubs of the Deputies, the second class of Club. The Deputies' Clubs met for the sole purpose of electing "Deputy Commissioners" and then dispersed. Each Deputies' Club also was limited to eleven members. The Deputy Commissioners formed four "Electoral Clubs," the third class, who chose the members of the "Central Club". The Electoral Clubs did not dissolve as soon as the election was completed, as the Deputies' Clubs did, but remained to advise the Central Club and supervise the means of communication between the different Clubs and members, which was necessary, as every Elementary Club was kept ignorant of the existence of all other clubs. The "Central Club" exercised the supreme direction and, as we have seen, its members were known only to few. This Society was superseded by another of a more extreme character called "Club rivoluzionario" (revolutionary Club), which split into the moderate "Lomo" society, whose name represented "Libertà o morte" (liberty or death), and the more extreme "Romo", whose name represented "Republica o morte" (republic or death), and in its turn came to be known as the "Società patriottica napoletana" (Neapolitan patriotic Society).

In the North we find the "Lega nera" (Black League),[2] if indeed it was a secret society at all and not merely a body of opinion, of which we know hardly anything at all. The "Raggi" (Rays)[3] are better known, in fact we have some information of what is supposed to be its Piedmontese branch under the leadership of Cerise.[4] This branch was ruled by a secret committee of five, who had at their disposal four messengers to communicate with the subordinate bodies in the provinces. These were composed of 17 members; their duty was to canvass for new members, prepare arms, etc. Members who refused to kill an enemy if ordered to do so, or who revealed the secrets of the society, were to be stabbed to death. Here again the separate bodies were not intended to communicate with each other, not even the messengers knew who were the real chiefs. In addition to the "Rays" we hear of another society to which Cicognara belonged, of which we do not know even the name.[5]

The "Rays" gave birth to two societies, the "Astronomia platonica" (Platonic Astronomy) and the "Centri" (Centres). The[6] Astronomy's con-

[1] Dito, p. 54, and Appendix, pp. 390-392.
[2] Botta, vol. ii., p. 4. Ottolini, p. 44 note.
[3] Vol. iii., p. 59. Cantù, vol. i., p. 168.
[5] Tivaroni, L'Italia (1789-1815), vol. ii., p. 445.
[6] Cantù, vol. ii., p. 582. Ottolini, p. 18.

stitution, said to have been the work of a Bolognese, was as follows: The society consisted of a Solar Circle divided into two hemispheres, one at Milan and the other at Bologna, each composed of nine members called Planets. The two Hemispheres could send only verbal messages to each other by means of a Planet who became for this intercommunication duty a Comet. Each Planet was the First Star of a Segment composed of Ordinary Stars. Each Ordinary Star was the First Light of a Ray and each member of a Ray was called a Line. As usual the Lines did not know anything about the superior degrees; they had signs of recognition, had to be ready to revolt on a given signal and procure for themselves arms and ammunition. The "Centres" did not become prominent until after the fall of Napoleon, and will be dealt with in Part II. of this Appendix.

Helfert mentions several names which we do not find mentioned as secret societies by other authors. The "Società dei Liberali" or "Ceto dei Liberali" (Society of the Liberals or Caste of the Liberals),[1] according to him, existed in South Italy; they arose out of the Carbonari during the Murattian persecution and were strongly in favour of unity and independence and were prepared to agree to any constitution, provided Rome was capital. They were prepared to use violence and at first intended to overthrow Murat, but later decided to use him and his army for their own purposes. Helfert also says that they spread to the Marches and were courted by Murat during his occupation of that country. Bentinck is said to have attended some of their meetings, and they are also stated to have given birth to the "Centres". Throughout, Helfert tends to rely on the reports of the Austrian police,[2] which, though important and interesting, cannot be accepted in full, owing to the handicap under which the police worked in trying to gain information about Sects which used every expedient to avoid discovery. In this case I think that Helfert's police authorities have mistaken the party of the Liberali (Liberals) for a secret society. What he says about them in South Italy seems to apply better to the action of the Carbonari. The reference to the "Centres" is clearly inaccurate, unless we interpret it as meaning that the "Centres" arose out of the party holding liberal opinions. Similarly Helfert mentions in the Marches the "Indipendenti", "Indipendentisti", two expressions meaning "Independents" and therefore probably referring to the same body) and the "Italiani puri" (Pure Italians). As regards the "Indipendenti",[3] Helfert refers to a letter, dated 19th of May, 1814, sent to Naples, which purported to give their constitution, but there is a dispute whether this letter originated in Lombardy or Piedmont, or who wrote it; it is hardly likely therefore to carry much weight as evidence. This so-called sect is said to have formed groups in the seaports south of the mouths of the Po and in Tuscany. In 1815 Raab, the Austrian director of police in Venetia, recommended that they should be kept under observation. After Murat's fall they are said to have joined the Bonapartist movements of the time.[4] Helfert also adds that there was a "Club degli Indipendenti" (Club of the Independents) in Naples.[5] Here again it seems that the Austrians mistook a general appellation, used sometimes to denote a body of opinion or a political party, for the name of a sect. A Sect of this name did arise, but very much later. Similarly "Italiani puri" was a name given in the North to those men in Lombardy who wished to put an end to the Austrian domination. Other parties in Milan at the time, including a pro-Austrian party, have already been mentioned, and I need only add that, according to Dito,[6] the "Italici" or "Indipendenti" were a party which took part in the rising of the 20th of April, 1814, in Milan, a statement

[1] p. 132. Letter of Raab of 4th January, 1815.
[2] Helfert, pp. 161, 551, 552.
[3] *ibid*, pp. 134-137.
[4] *ibid*, p. 551.
[5] *ibid*, p. 552.
[6] p. 310.

which Tivaroni,[1] who is not, however, an independent authority, confirms. There is no reason to think that any of these were secret societies, though they acted in conjunction with or against the Carboneria.

This is probably also the most convenient place to quote two fragments of Ritual used in two varieties of the Charbonnerie, which clearly demonstrate the connection between the French society and the Italian Carboneria.

APPENDIX II.

Reception into the Charbonnerie of the Jura.

(Dito. Massoneria e Carboneria ed altre società segrete, p. 27.)

The candidate is called "guêpier".

A white cloth is spread on the ground, on it are placed: a salt cellar, a glass of water, a lighted candle and a cross.[2] The candidate, lying prone, places his hands on the salt and the water and swears secrecy. Then he is put through proofs in which the Passion of our Lord figures prominently, and was entrusted with the sign and the word. Then the President explains:—

> "The linen cloth represents the shroud in which we shall be wrapped; the salt indicates the three theological virtues; the fire, the lights which will be lighted at our death; the water reminds us of that water which shall be sprinkled over us; and the Cross is the symbol of the Redemption, and will be placed on our graves".

The candidate was told that the cross of Our Lord was made of a piece of sea-holly which had 70 thorns. St. Theobald was the Society's protector.

The Devoir had three degrees: Apprenti, Maître and Fendeur. Then the Père Maître said to the Apprentice:—

> Les richesses, L'orgueil ne sont que des chimères;
> Enfants du même Dieu, tous les hommes sont frères;
> Le vice seul est bas. La vertu fait le rang,
> Et l'homme le plus juste est aussi le plus grand.
>
> (Riches and Pride are but vain imaginings;
> All men, being children of the same God, are equal;
> Vice alone is low. Virtue gives rank,
> And the most just man is also the greatest.)

Copy of Fragments of Ritual of the "Charbonnerie ardennoise", from three volumes in manuscript in the Quatuor Coronati Library, containing rituals worked by the French prisoners' Lodge "Loge française de bonne union" in Northampton. Part of the third volume (18745).

Charbonnerie ardennoise.

sous la protection de St. Thibault evêque (bishop).

In this order there are only two degrees: Apprentice and Master.

Degree of Apprentice.

The sign is given by placing the open right hand perpendicularly on the left wrist. The reply is drawing away the right hand, as if cutting off the fist. This represents the first part of the obligation.

One stands to order in the same way as one gives the sign, while standing to order, one remains in the position of cutting off the wrist.

[1] L'Italia, 1789-1815, vol. i., p. 328.

[2] All these objects were placed on the Grand Master's Tree trunk in Carbonaro Vendite, and others besides.

The grip is given by grasping the right hand and tapping three times with the thumb inside a circle traced on the wrist; after turning the hand three times towards the wrist, joining together the right feet and right knee and placing the left hands on the other member's right shoulder. The Passwords are: Faith, Hope and Charity.

The knocks are given striking slowly three times crying three times: A l'avantage.

Masters' degree.

The first sign is given by raising the fingers to the height of the shoulders and, turning the backs of the hands towards each other, drawing two long perpendicular lines down the body. The reply is to draw four horizontal lines across the body with the little fingers, the hands with the palms upwards.

The second sign is given by carrying the right hand to the left shoulder and drawing it down towards the right hip. The reply is raising the right hand from the right hip to the left shoulder.

Note.—It has been impossible to remember what this sign alludes to; nevertheless one can be assured that it did exist. It may have alluded to the manner for pressing the specimen into the ground to mark the road for those lost in the forest. The reply would indicate that one knows the way, by acting as if one drew it out again, as there is no need for it.

One stands to order by letting the hands hang naturally over the stomach, crossed at the wrists.

The grip is the same as in the case of an Apprentice with the difference that a cross is traced instead of a circle and that the taps are the six taps of the Master's knocks, *i.e.*, · — · · — · · — ·.

The sacred words are: Or (thie) (nettle) and fou (gère) (fern). The Passwords are "Honour, Virtue and Honesty".

Decorations.

The Apprentices wear a device which is composed of three ribbons (red, black and light blue) 7 or 8 inches long. The Masters have the same jewel, except that at its extremity hangs, by means of a ring, a round piece of silver about two and a half inches long, cut so as to form a whistle and with three small notches at one end. The whole is called "Specimen" (échantillon); the three notches represent the three nails by which our Saviour J.C.R.J. was nailed to the Cross.

Opening of an Apprentices' Vente.

The Grand Master, standing opposite the two Assistants, strikes three slow knocks and says: "First and Second Assistants, invite the Good Cousins of both ranks (Ourdons) to join you and me in helping us to open the Apprentices' Vente and at the same time to make the forest resound with an 'Avantage'." The Assistants execute this command and report to the Grand Master that everything is ready. The Grand Master says: "Rise and to order; pay attention to me, my Good Cousins". Then he says: "The Vente of Apprentice Good Cousins is open" The Grand Master then orders the minutes of the last Vente to be read.

Reception of an Apprentice.

The Guêpier (Wasp's nest or wasp catcher?, the name of the candidate) is brought in, his eyes bandaged, by a watchman of the Vente crying: "à l'avantage the first time, à l'avantage the second time, à l'avantage the third time. If there is a Good Cousin in this forest, let him come to my help, for I need it very much". The Grand Master leaves his seat (se détache),

repeating the "avantages" and says: "I have heard the voice of a Good Cousin who calls for help, I come to see what he wants".

Q.: Whence come you, my Good Cousin?

A.: Grand Master, I come from the forest of the Ardennes.

Q.: What bring you?

A.: A guespier whom I have found in this forest, who wishes to be received as a Good Cousin Charbonnier.

At this point the Grand Master puts any questions on morality to the guespier which he thinks necessary; then he orders him to travel in the forest and undergo the proofs required for this reception, without forgetting to make him pass through the smoke of the ovens. After that he is brought back to the oven of the Grand Master by the watchman of the Vente who announces him with three avantages, to which the Grand Master

(here the manuscript breaks off.)

APPENDIX III.

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C. W. Heckethorn. *The secret societies of all ages and countries.* Vol. ii. George Redway. London, 1897. In London Library.
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A. Ferrari. *L'esplosione rivoluzionaria del Risorgimento.* In London Library.
J. W. Fortescue. *History of the British Army.*
Fortescue. *Following the drum.*
Helfert. *Kaiser Franz I v. Oesterreich und die Stiftung des Lombardo—* Venetianischen Königreichs. Wagnersche Universitäts Buchhandlung. Innsbruck. 1901. In London Library.
R. M. Johnston. *The Napoleonic Empire in South Italy.* McMillan. In London Library.
Lavisse. *Histoire de la France contemporaine.* Hachette. Paris. In London Library.
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Poggi. *Storia d'Italia, 1814-1846.* Barbera. Florence. 1883.
Thayer. *The Dawn of Italian independence.* Vol. i. In London Library.
Tivaroni. *L'Italia (storia critica) 1789-1815.* La Roux. Turin. 1885. In London Library.
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This list gives only the names of works actually consulted. Other authorities are referred to in the footnotes.

The basis of all studies on the Carbonari are the "*Memoirs*" (Murray), which give accurate information and copies of important documents. Hardly less valuable is St. Edme's "*Constitutions*", which give the rituals of the Masters' degree in full and the greater part of the Grand Elects' and a summary and the whole catechism of the Apprentices'. Buloz Witt is valuable on certain aspects of Carbonarism and its relations with foreign societies. Though it is difficult to know how far he is trustworthy, there does not seem to be any serious reason for not accepting a good deal of what Witt says, especially when one makes allowances for the fact that he wrote in prison from memory and without his papers. On the whole his statements may be accepted unless contradicted by reliable authorities.

The anonymous author of the "*Histoire des sociétés secrètes de l'armée*" is now generally recognised as Charles Nodier. His book also is very valuable on the relations of the Carboneria with foreign societies, and even more on certain societies, like the Philadelphes, with whom the Carbonari had connection. It is difficult, however, to know how far he can be regarded as trustworthy. Nodier shows clearly that he knows nothing about Freemasonry; on other points however he is clearly right. A pencil note on the first page of the copy of the book in the London library says that all that Nodier says about Oudet is wrong. On the other hand Bro. Gould in his essay on "*Military Masonry*" quoted evidence to corroborate much of what Nodier says. The anonymous work "*Des sociétés secrètes en Allemagne*" is more interesting than reliable, but some of the information it contains is useful. Original authorities on the period, which are reliable for their own part of the country are Botta, Cantù, Colletta and Pepe.

As regards the more recent works on Carbonarism, Nicolli gives the best general review of the Society. In English the best sketch is that by Bro. Heron Lepper. Frost makes mistakes and Heckethorn is untrustworthy. Of the more extensive works Dito's is easily the most scientific and clearest. Leti, Ottolini and Luzio, all very valuable, are more collections of notes than well balanced consecutive histories. Helfert's careful work is very valuable, though limited in scope. He relies a little too much on Austrian sources to the exclusion of Italian works, with the result that he is misleading at times; he mistakes ordinary political parties for secret societies.

Of the more general works Tivaroni is for the most part a compilation of contemporary authorities and is therefore invaluable, while Gualterio gives copies of important documents.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARBONERIA OR CARBONARO SOCIETY.

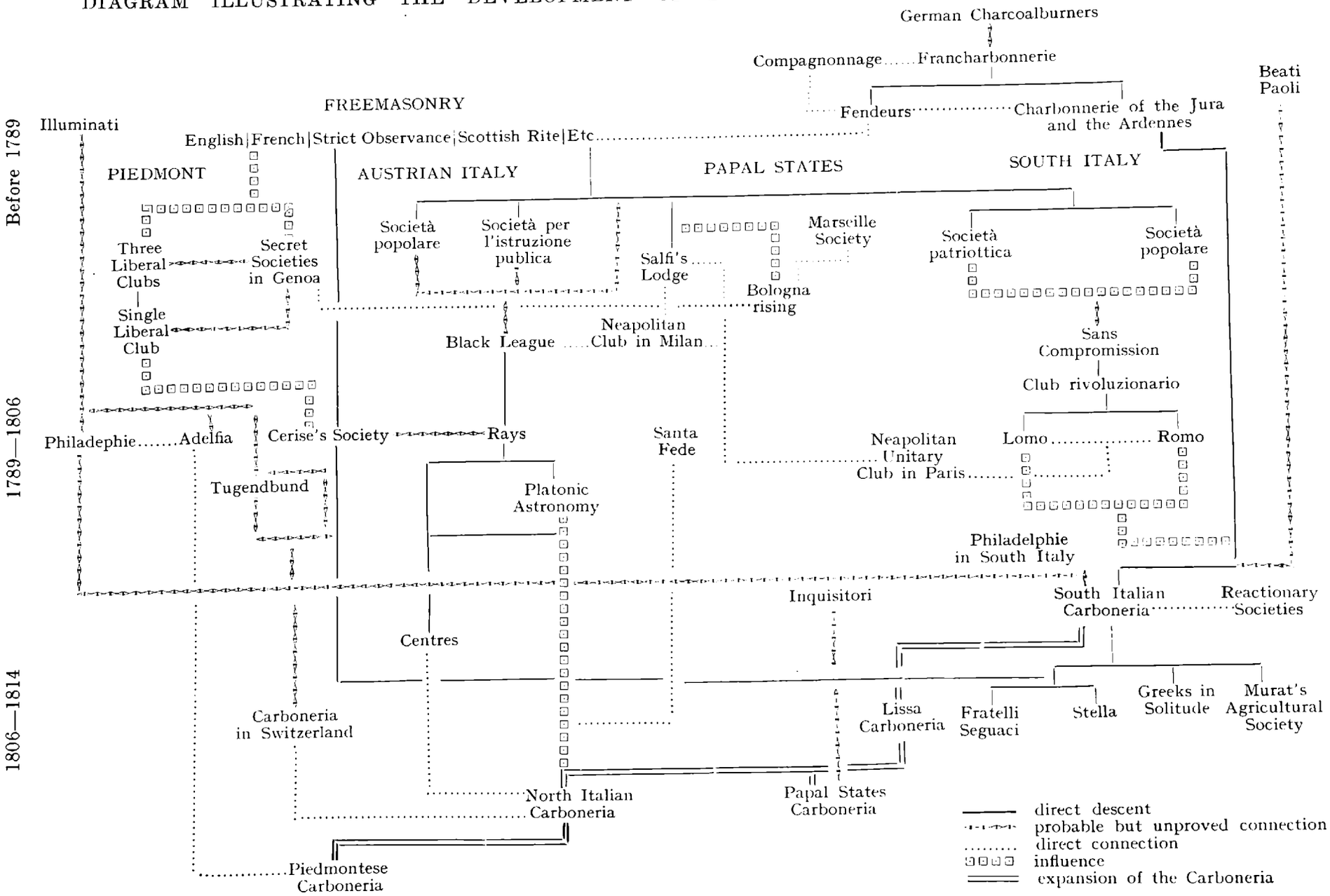
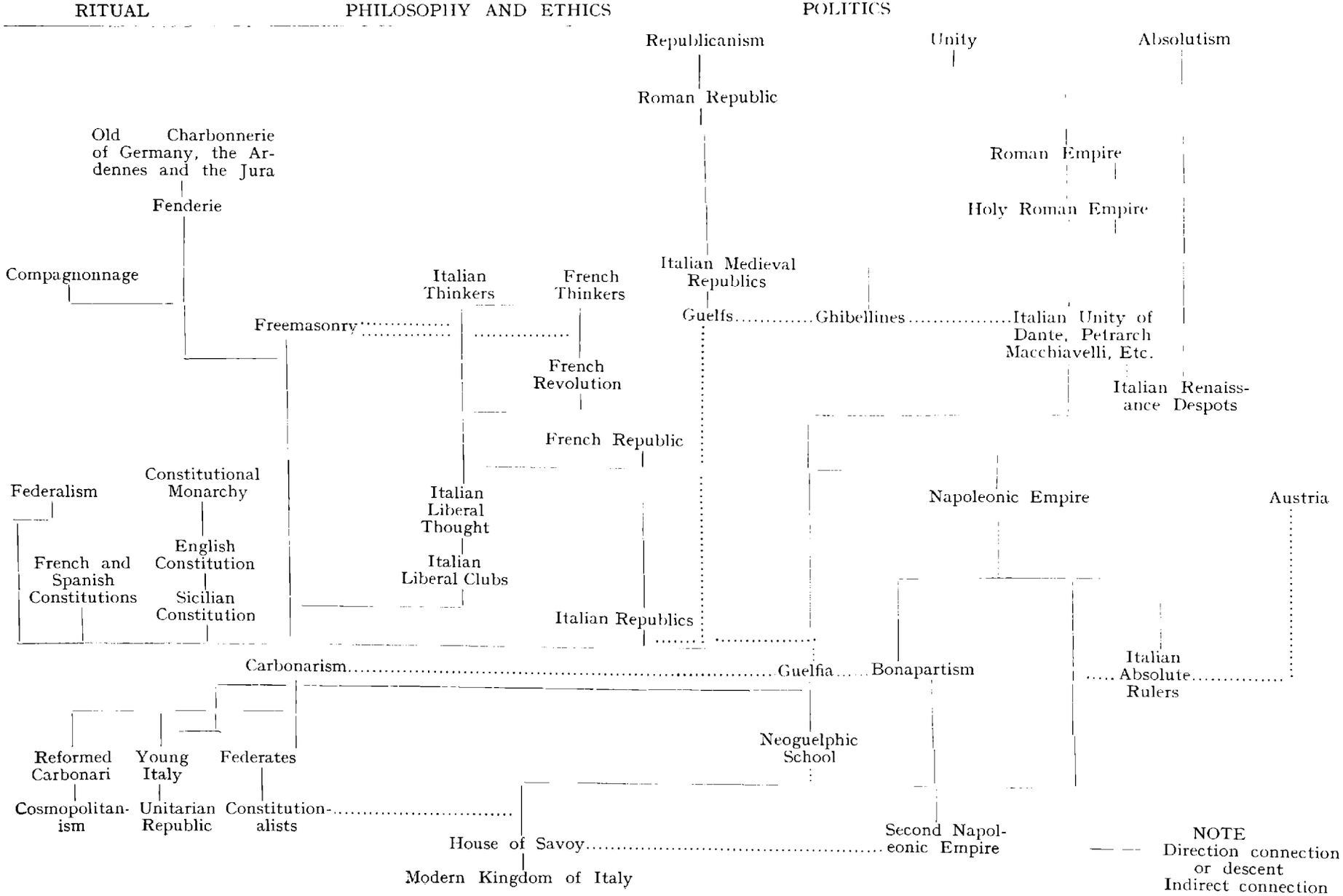


DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CARBONARISM



A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Radice for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, seconded by Bro. David Flather, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. J. Williams and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

Brother Radice has accomplished a stupendous task and far surpassed the expectations of those of us who already expected great things from him. He has not only obliged but amazed us. This is not to be taken as a left-handed compliment. It is a frank expression of admiration; for this achievement of his has made me feel, in the words of the poet, "like a watcher of the skies when some new planet swims into his ken"; our search is always for more light, and we have this evening discovered a star of the first magnitude.

As a model of erudition, diligence, and impartiality the paper can, I think, compete with any this Lodge has ever produced; still it is not for those qualities only, great though they be, that I would give it my ungrudging praise; for we must spare some of our admiration for the skill in selection whereby a vast amount of learning has been compressed into a narrative that is full without becoming diffuse, for the faculty of scholarship that has made it compact without the tastelessness of dessication, for the originality of outlook that gives colour to the story while never straying from the paths of historical fact; all these qualities win from me, and should win from everyone of us, gratitude and applause.

This paper is one more proof, if any were needed, that what has been termed, and not always kindly, the Authentic School of Masonic research is capable of producing work such as is produced by no other school, fair and square, and we might almost add the epithet rare work too.

Such comments as I have now to make have been suggested by the paper itself and will be found suggestive rather than complementary. When dealing with the historical aspect of Freemasonry in Italy, we shall do well not to forget certain contacts with our own country that have become famous. Thus there is the Natter medal struck at Florence in 1733 to commemorate a British Freemason, Lord Charles Sackville, and this is the earliest evidence of the existence of the Craft in Italy. Then in 1767, the Marquis of Kildare, later first Duke of Leinster and three times Grand Master of Ireland, was initiated at the early age of 18 in the Lodge San Giovanni de Zelanti in Naples. (*Hist. of G.L. Ireland*, p. 204.) From contacts such as these I should be prepared to draw the conclusion that early Italian Freemasonry was of the best tradition; and such a conclusion would seem to gather support from the fact that later on during a time of great revolutionary stress Italian Freemasonry, as an organized body, held itself aloof from meddling in politics. In this connection I should like to draw particular attention to the dictum of Ugo Bacci, quoted in this paper, which begins: "Masonry has a universal character, it is a school, a doctrine, a cult; its principles are applicable in all places and to all the manifestations of human thought."

If the emphasis I have laid on this opening sentence of a notable passage induces Brethren to reread it, together with Brother Radice's comments that follow, then I think the majority of us will conclude that he has put forward a very strong case to show that Italian Masonry did not sully its white apron in the mire of conspiracies against the state, whatever members of the Craft may have done as individuals. Whether we agree with Brother Radice's verdict or not, the question is worth close attention; for we know that at the same period in other countries, Spain for example, our Craft was warped from its original purpose to fit the designs of would-be constitution-makers and from the ribs of a new ship of state, which in the upshot proved too cranky a vessel to face the troubled seas of post-Napoleonic Europe.

It would be, however, an exaggeration to say that no attempts were made by various groups of sectaries to use Freemasonry in their plots. We know of several such attempts. Thus in the deposition made by a certain conspirator, Pierto Maroncelli, we read that in the early autumn of 1818 a congress of Carbonari from all the Vendite of Romagna was held at Bologna with the object of effecting a union of the Romagne with Tuscany and Lombardy; and that when it transpired that Carbonarism was unpopular in Tuscany, where Freemasonry was active, and did not exist in Lombardy, it was suggested that all the Vendite should be turned into Temples and the Carbonari become Masons in order to continue their political plotting. (*Vide*, A. Pierantoni, "*Carbonari dello stato ponteficia*".) Neither in this, nor in any other case that I know of, was such an unholy alliance accomplished. With that we must be content.

Coming to deal with the origins of Carbonarism in Italy, Brother Radice has accumulated a mass of evidence which proves that the sect was a development of the French Charbonnerie, probably introduced by the armies of the invader. The testimony of the Piedmontese general, Rossetti, given in 1814 (one of Brother Radice's many happy finds) is in this respect borne out by the ritual that belonged to Brother Burdet, of the French Prisoners' Lodge held at Northampton. If I allude now to this latter document, it is less from self-satisfaction at having been the first to note its bearing on Carbonarism than from the desire to pay tribute to the perspicacity of our late beloved Brother Songhurst. For many years he had been definitely of the opinion that the Carbonari derived their ritual from a French source, though in default of documents to support his view, he never advanced it as a theorem. That further research has eventually justified his belief is one of those happy incidents that confirm the faith we had in that great scholar's judgment and honesty, in both of which qualities he was unsurpassed.

In regard to the French Charbonnerie or Fendeurs (for, rightly or wrongly, I would include the two in one category, as identical in *the idea*, though varying in ritual), a note of caution should be sounded. In the allusions to the degree as worked in Italy, both in those collected by Brother Radice and in others yet to be discovered, we must distinguish between the occasions on which an entertaining side degree was being worked by a Masonic Lodge, and those when it took on a political and (if the phrase be permissible) Italian character. I cannot conceive that the French Lodges had any political axe to grind when conferring it; the case was altered when it became naturalized in the land of its adoption. In most cases the attendant circumstances will enable us to estimate whether it was given a Speculative or Operative significance, that is to say, whether it was as innocuous as any other side degree, or quite the reverse.

I shall not attempt to add to what Brother Radice has told us about the origins, legendary or real, of French Forest Masonry. Whether it still survives in France in its primitive form I do not know; but it certainly did continue to exist there to a much later date than its political descendant.

Anatole Le Braz in a fascinating book about Brittany, "*La Terre du Passé*" (1911, p. 188), describes a night he spent in the forest in the hut of a *sabotier* (sabot-maker), who told him:

> "Il est vrai aussi que les sabotiers ne forment entre eux qu'une famille, qu'ils se doivent une assistance réciproque, et qu'ils ont, pour se retrouver au milieu des autres hommes, des mots ou des signes connus d'eux seuls. Nous nous donnons même, en breton, le nom français de *cousins*. *Que ton cousin soit pour toi comme s'il était tout ensemble ton père, ta femme et ton fils*! Ainsi s'exprime un de nos adages. Il n'y a pas d'exemple que le précepte ait été voilé. Nos differends, s'il en survient, nous les réglons nous-mêmes; la sagesse des *anciens* les tranche, ou, si elle se récuse, eh bien! c'est la bonne hache."

(It is quite true that the sabot-makers form just one family among themselves, are expected to render mutual assistance to one another, and have words and signs known to themselves alone, for purposes of recognition when in mixed company. We even call ourselves *cousins* in the Breton language. *Let your cousin be to you as though he were your father, wife and son in one person!* So runs one of our maxims. There has never been an instance of its having been broken. If disputes arise among us, we settle them ourselves; the wisdom of the *elders* decides the cause, or, if that method fails, well! it's decided by our good hatchets.)

Emile Souvestre also writing of Brittany in the middle of the last century tells a story of such a dispute between two woodcutters that was settled *à la bonne hache*. Unfortunately, I have not the reference. So if we accept the evidence of these two authorities, it would seem that Forest Masonry lingered on in Brittany well into our own day.

Reverting to the uncertain date of the beginnings of Carbonarism in Italy, none of us can fail to be impressed by the industry and erudition that have brought together so many data; indeed, there is such an *embarras de richesse* that it is no easy task to make one's choice, and I find myself in the same quandary as the ass of Buridan, and hesitate, not between a mere couple of claimants, but a whole regiment of Richmonds. The issue is not very important. The real importance of this paper lies in its assemblage of facts, from which let each one of us form his own conclusions.

My final urge to give tongue on this occasion comes from the very human desire to say: "I told you so"!

When, a couple of years back, I said to Brother Radice: "There is no satisfactory account of the Carbonari in the English language. You with your special qualifications are the one man I know who could write it, and write it well",—his first rejoinder was to laugh at me. To-night it is my turn to laugh, and they laugh best who laugh last.

Bro. W. J. Williams said:—

The first thing to be said on the paper to which we have been listening is that it is one of the most enlightening historical papers ever presented to this Lodge since its inception over 50 years ago.

Our Brother shows, by the narration which has resulted from his undertaking to deal with the subject, that he was justified in stating that "without some knowledge of Italian history in general it is quite impossible to understand the Society's rise".

Had he attempted to treat his topic distilled and *in vacuo* the result would have been a lifeless product lacking the atmosphere which is the breath of life to all realistic historical studies. He therefore felt it necessary to devote "a few paragraphs" to convey that knowledge to us.

I must confess that the conspectus of Italian history which he has given us in section 2 of his paper has convinced me that my knowledge of Italian history during the period dealt with was well nigh an irreducible minimum.

The "few paragraphs" under the heading Italy down to 1792 will fill three closely printed pages of our *Transactions*; but it is manifest that it is only by dint of concentration and energetic and constant compression that this section has been confined to those limits. Indeed, while reading the paper as a whole I have been struck with the efficiency which has, throughout the paper, packed into that part of the Introduction now before us so much authenticated history, selected with discrimination of an almost judicial standard, and presented in a

manner which leaves on the mind of the moderately attentive reader a full but not overcrowded picture of a momentous epoch in Italian history.

The conglomeration of the mixed human material developed in Italy during the course of centuries is vividly traced, and so we are prepared as we could not otherwise have been for the emergence of such a Society as that to which we are in process of being "introduced".

Having said thus much it seems wiser to leave any further observations until the whole introduction is before us, but it is not premature at this stage to welcome with acclamation our Brother Radice and his most excellent essay.

He has perforce had to read to us a comparatively brief epitome of so extensive a paper; but in the process of selection he has doubtless borne in mind the truth embodied in the maxim, "the longer the spoke the greater the tyre".

The wise will understand.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The possible origin of the Carboneria as discussed by Bro. Radice is of very great interest.

A point that has occurred to me with regard to the Charbonniers and Fendeurs is that, if we assume that they were originally occupational societies, it is very probable that they united and divided at times according to the degree of prosperity of the trade. This would render the line of demarcation weak, and any political society that evolved might show traces of either or both the Charbonniers and the Fendeurs.

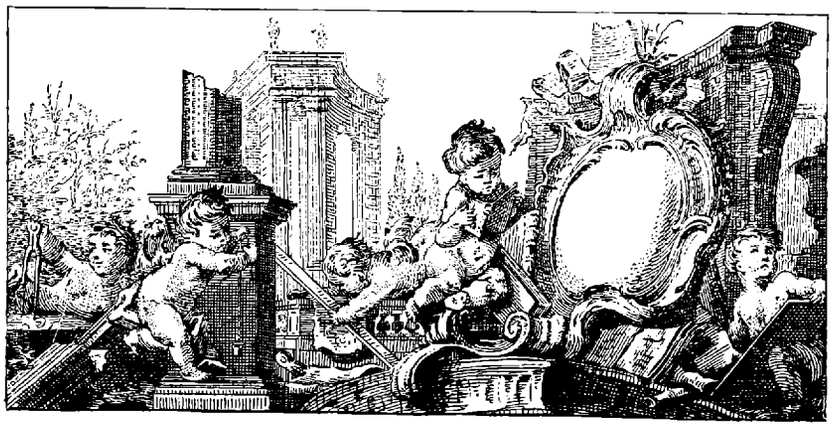
Such fusions and divisions were a feature of the London guilds such as the Bowyers and Fletchers. With ample trade, woodcutting and charcoal-burning would be separate mysteries. With but few men employed the tendency would be for the two divisions of the work to be carried on by the same mystery.

Bro. F. R. RADICE *writes* in reply:—

I am exceedingly grateful for the appreciation shown for my paper and all the kind remarks made about it. Bro. Bullamore's remarks have interested me greatly, and from such scanty evidence as we possess, especially that given by Ragon, it would appear that the picture drawn by Bro. Bullamore may well represent the actual state of affairs, especially in France, before the political Carboneria had come into being in Italy.

Brother Vibert has made a mild protest against my description of Queen Mary Caroline of Naples as a "pestilential woman". It is true, as Brother Vibert has pointed out, that at one time the Queen, like her brother the Emperor Joseph of Austria, favoured Freemasonry and became a toast in some Lodges. A reference to this fact will be found in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, vol. i., p. 5, and vol. xviii., p. 43. But, as I have stated in my paper, the Queen eventually turned against liberalism of all description, and though we must place to her credit the help she gave Nelson on his way to the Nile, we must also remember that when our troops were defending her last possession, Sicily, against Napoleon, she continually intrigued with the enemy and was ready, at times, to deliver our army to Napoleon. Sir John Moore, Bentwick and all our commanders complained of her; and the epithet "pestilential" is that applied to her by Sir John Fortescue in "*British Statesmen during the Napoleonic War*", not without justification. In later life Mary Caroline, possibly soured by her misfortunes, seems to have taken to drugs—opium is mentioned—and to have deteriorated in character.

I have to thank Bro. Heron Lepper for his exceedingly kind words, which go far beyond my deserts. It is the author of a paper who, provided he keeps his balance of mind, can best appreciate what is defective and what has been left undone. Concerning the Natter medal, Bro. Gould considered its genuineness as doubtful, I do not know why, and I must leave it to expert Masons to decide the point. As regards the attempts of Freemasons, *quâ* Masons, to interfere in politics, we have the Lodge founded by Salfi, an interesting personality who is well worth a paper to himself. Of that vain, giddy, verbose youth, Peter Maroncelli, half flibbertigibbet, half hero, I shall have a good deal to say in a later part of my paper. I doubt whether he really understood the purpose of the meeting at Bologna which he describes; for the object of reviving Freemasonry at that time was to curb the violence of the Carbonari, not to further their objects, as Maroncelli represents. But Maroncelli was trying to deceive the Austrians, and it would be unwise to take his statement at face value. The story of this Masonic revival will be told at the proper place in my paper. I am afraid I must disclaim any credit for discovering General Rossetti's report: it is quoted in Ottolini's book. I am very interested to hear that Heron Lepper regards the French Charbonnerie and the Fenderie as belonging to one category, which is also my opinion. In Italy I think the Carboneria was definitely speculative and not operative. Whether operative Vendite of Carbonari ever existed in Italy I do not know; it is worthy of note that all references to the existence of the Carboneria in Italy before the earliest date, which can be given for its foundation, in my opinion, 1806, imply that its activities were political. I have not found any trace hitherto of an organised operative Carboneria in the nineteenth century in Italy; I think it existed only in "traditional History" of the Sect.



FRIDAY, 6th MAY, 1938.

THE Lodge was opened at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer, as I.P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, S.W.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., as J.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., I.G.; and W. J. Williams, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Love, P.A.G.Pt.; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; A. F. G. Warrington; R. A. Card; S. Leighton; J. C. Vidler; H. Johnson; W. Morgan Day; Wm. Lewis; L. G. Wearing; W. D. Hirst; C. F. Waddington; C. F. Sykes, A.G.St.B.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; S. M. Catterson; F. C. Taylor; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; H. W. Chetwin; W. E. Gathercole; Albert Parker; S. J. Humphries; W. Ellis; H. G. Warren; E. W. Marson; A. F. Ford; A. F. Cross; A. F. Hatten; J. W. Stevens, P.A.G.Sup.W.; F. Addington Hall; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.D.C.; Jas. J. Cooper; Geo. C. Williams; D. H. Bell; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson; J. H. Greenwood; R. H. Clerke, P.G.St.B.; A. W. R. Kendrick; R. A. L. Harland.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Geo. E. Tomlinson, P.M., Sandown Lodge No. 1869; F. W. Sullivan, L.R., Drury Lane Lodge No. 2127.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; B. Telepneff; G. Elkington, P.G.D., I.P.M.; B. Ivanoff, S.D.; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, P.A.G.D.C.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, P.M.; F. L. Pick; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; G. Norman, *M.D.*, P.G.D., P.M.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; *Major* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., J.W.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby.

One Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction and twenty-four Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at

the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. H. C. Knowles, D. St. L. Parsons, S. A. Meacock, and E. H. Ezard, Past Grand Deacons; W. R. Semken, Past Assistant Grand Registrar; E. C. Harris, Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; H. W. B. Cotterill and R. R. á-Ababrelton, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; Stanley Palmer, A. Saywell, *Sir* James H. Ford, S. Pim Jackson, G. Y. Johnson, J. A. Parkyn, Kaikhushru Nusserwanji Sahiar, N. B. Spencer, *Lt.-Col.* J. W. Stead and W. H. Stoddard, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; J. W. Butler, T. J. Graham, G. T. Hill, James Ingram, T. H. Palmer and E. E. Sharp, Past Grand Standard Bearers; *Capt.* C. F. Sykes, Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; and John Hill, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

(i.) A four-paged leaflet entitled "An Ode | To be Sung in Saint Mary's Church, Ross, | on the morning of the consecration of the | Vitruvian Lodge | of | Free and Accepted Masons, | (Friday Sixth of August, 1813), | when a sermon will be preached on the occasion. | "
"Farrer, Printer, Ross."

(ii.) A theatrical announcement in French of the production of "Les Franc-Maçons, ou les Coups du Hasan", by Pelletier-Volmérange. The play was produced in Paris in 1808, but the announcement gives no place or date, and states that the play was "du Théatre de S.M. l'Impératrice et Reine". It deals with the adventures of M. Oudin, who goes to America to seek his fortune, but who on arrival finds himself poor and penniless, when he meets a benefactor, Mr. Blinchard de Focrènes. Oudin gratefully shakes the latter by the hand and gives him "the sacred sign of a Freemason". Blinchard de Focrènes, finding himself a member of this worthy Society, sees in his protégé a "true brother" and gives him five hundred guineas! Subsequently Blinchard goes to Paris, meets the wife and daughter of Oudin, falls in love with, and pays for the education of, the daughter, but ruins himself by gambling. He is abandoned by everybody and forced to give up his fiancée. Then Oudin arrives with a large fortune, helps his one-time benefactor, and gives him the hand of his daughter.

Photograph of letter from Duke of Wellington, dated 13th October, 1851, denying knowledge of Freemasonry.

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

Bro. W. J. Williams read the following paper:—

THE ANTEDILUVIAN PILLARS IN PROSE AND VERSE.

BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS, P.M. 2076.

ONE of the outstanding characteristics of Man is a yearning for knowledge, combined with a desire to acquire it and to invent means to preserve, accumulate, utilise and transmit to succeeding generations the results of search, thought, and experiment. At some stage in human development the means of transmitting knowledge by recording it in words spoken, written, or engraved, became known, and thus ancient monuments with inscriptions in signs and in words came into existence and were followed by manuscripts and printed books. All this has culminated in the evergrowing and overwhelming mass of materials which in increasing volume occupy so much cubic space on earth in these days.

Many years before the Christian era it was noted by the writer of Ecclesiastes (xii., 12) that "of making many books there is no end", and over 1,800 years ago the writer of the fourth Gospel said that, if all things were written on the subject he had been dealing with, he supposed that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.

Since then the tree of knowledge of good and evil has spread its branches far and wide; but the transmitted knowledge has by no means come unto us pure and unsullied. While it has suffered from the impurity and fragility of the channels of transmission it has also been changed and transformed, and has obtained accretions which have often, but not always, been improvements.

Actuated by the instinctive urge for making records, our ancient Brethren, who were masons, set themselves to record for the instruction of the apprentices and craftsmen how and in what manner this worthy science of Geometry began. In order to lay the foundation of his structure with due regard to logic and rhetoric and with some attention to grammar the compiler of the *Cooke* MS. (which is regarded as having been written about A.D. 1425) proceeded to assert and maintain by some of the "probacions" which occurred to him that all sciences live only by the science of Geometry; that all men live by Geometry; that among all the crafts of the world of man's craft, masonry hath the most notability and most part of the science Geometry; and he then alleges as evidence in support of his thesis:—(1) The Bible; (2) the master of stories (which means Peter Comestor); (3) *Policronicon*; (4) the stories that is named Beda; (5) *De Imagine mundi*; (6) Isidorus *Ethomolegiarum*; (7) Methodius episcopus and martiris "And other meny mo seyd that masonry is principalle of Gemetry as me thenkyth hit may welle be sayd for hit was the fyrste that was foundon as hit is noted in the bybylle in the first book of Genesis in the iiij chapter And also all the docteurs aforesayde acordeth thereto And summe of hem seythe it more openly and playnly ryzt as hit seithe in the bybulle Genesis".

The document then proceeds to refer to Lamech in the seventh generation from Adam before Noah's flood:—"By his first wife Ada he had two sons named Jobelle and Juballe. Jobelle was the first man that ever found Geometry and masonry and is in the Bible called the father of men dwelling in tents, that is,

dwelling houses. Jobelle was Cain's master mason and governor of all his works when he made the City of Enoche that was the first City that ever was made. Cain gave this City to his own son Enoch and gave the City the name of his son and called it Enoch and now it is called Effraym; and there was science of Geometry and masonry first occupied and contrived for a science and for a craft and so we may say that it was cause and foundation of all crafts and science And also this man Jobelle was called Pater Pastorum". Jobelle is also credited with the invention of marking out the boundaries of lands and of branding sheep.

"His Brother Juballe or tuballe was founder of music and song as Pythagoras saith in Policronycon and the same saith Isodorus who in his sixth book saith that he was the first founder of Music and song and of organ and trumpet and he found that science by the sound of ponderation of his brother's hammers that was tubalcaym.

"Tubalcain and his sister neema were children of Lamech by his second wife Sella (=Zillah)".

The *Cooke* MS. proceeds to state that this son "Tubalcaym" was "founder of smythis crafte and of other craftys of metelle that is to sey of eyron of brasse of gold and of silver as some docturs seyn and his syster neema was finder of weverscraft, for byfore that time was no cloth wevyn but they did spynne yerne and knytte hit and made hem such clothyng as they couthe but as that womann neema founde that crafte of wevynge and therefore hit was kalled womenys crafte".

(I now continue by copying Bro. Speth's modernised version of *Cooke* MS. as in *Q.C.A.*, ii.)

"And these three brethren[1] knew that God would take vengeance for sin, either by fire or water. And they were much concerned how to save the sciences they had discovered, and they took counsel together and exercised all their wits. And they said there were two kinds of Stone of such virtue that one would not burn, called 'marble', and the other named 'Lacerus' would not sink in water. And so they devised to write all the sciences they had found on these two stones, so that if God took vengeance by fire the marble would not burn, and if by water the other would not drown, and they besought their elder brother Jabal to make two pillars of these stones, that is of marble and of 'Lacerus' and to write on the two pillars all the sciences and crafts which they had found, and he did so. And therefore we may say that he was the wisest in science, for he first began and carried out their purpose before Noah's flood. Fortunately knowing of the vengeance that God would send, the brethren knew not whether it would be by fire or water. They knew by a sort of prophecy that God would send one or the other, and therefore they wrote their sciences on the two pillars of stone. And some men say that they wrote on the stones all the seven sciences but [this I affirm not].

Footnote by Bro. Speth.

I think the insertion of the above words is amply indicated. It makes sense which otherwise is very difficult to establish; it is justified by a similar remark at line 238 of the *Cooke* MS., and it will be remembered that the brethren are not stated in the Bible to have discovered more than 4 crafts, of which only 3 are identical with some of the 7 liberal sciences; viz., geometry, arithmetic, and music.

"As they had it in mind that a vengeance would come, so it befell that God did send vengeance, and there came such a flood that all the world was

[1] Bro. Speth writes four, but the original MS. and the transcript state "three". There were three brothers, and Speth seems to have added in Neema, their sister.

drowned and all men died save only eight persons. These were Noah and his wife and his three sons and their wives, of which sons all the world is descended, and they were named in this wise: Shem, Ham, and Japhet. And this flood is called Noah's flood, for he and his children were saved therein. And many years after the flood, according to the chronicle, these two pillars were found, and the chronicle says that a great clerk Pythagoras, found the one, and Hermes the philosopher found the other, and they taught the sciences that they found written thereon ".

The foregoing statements bring us to an end of the events leading up to the erection of the two pillars and the subsequent finding them after the Flood. There is not, so far as I know, anything further about them in the surviving records known as the Old Charges. The same narrative with but slight and mostly merely verbal variations is substantially reproduced in all, or nearly all, the subsequent specimens.

It should perhaps be mentioned that the *Regius Poem* makes no mention of the Pillars, although it commences somewhat abruptly with the heading, " Hic incipiunt constituciones artis gemetriae secundum Euclydem ". The early part of that Poem gives an account of the work done by the clerk Euclyde in founding the craft of Geometry in Egypt land. There they counterfeited geometry and gave it the name of masonry. The seven sciences are later on enumerated and briefly described, the order being Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, Music, Astronomy, Arithmetic, and

> " Geometry the seventh maketh an end
> For he is both meke and hende ".

The final commendation is then given:—

> " These ben the syens seven
> Whose useth hem wel, he may han heven ".

The Poem then proceeds at length to exhort the reader to live religiously and behave courteously.

It is proposed now to proceed in this essay to enquire as to the sources whence the history of the two pillars is derived.

No allusion is made to them either directly or indirectly in the Holy Bible. In Genesis iv., beginning in verse 17, the following statements are made:—

v. 17. " And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived and bare Enoch: and he builded a city and called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch ".

v. 19, 20, 21, 22. " And Lamech took unto him two wives: the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah. And Adah bare Jabal; he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ. And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron: and the sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah ".

From these simple statements many inferences have been drawn; but the fact remains that they only warrant the assertion that Cain (whose conduct was far from fraternal) was a builder; that Jabal was the originator of tent dwelling and cattle farming: that Jubal led the way in the art of making musical instruments and handling them: and that Tubal-cain was an instructor in the art of working in brass and iron. To this it may be added that Adam, the grand old gardener, and his wife, are depicted as having committed to them the work of dressing and keeping the Garden planted by the Lord God eastward in Eden.

Nothing is told us in the Bible as to the achievements in Astronomy of Adam and his antediluvian successors, although some quasi historians have not failed to draw inferences without producing evidences.

Naamah is credited in the *Cooke* MS. with the invention of the art of weaving, but why she should be so honoured more than any other person it doth not appear either in the Bible or in Josephus.

Still, on these shallow and unstable foundations the affirmations as to the origin of arts and sciences as having been recorded on the two pillars, one called "marble" and the other "laterus", are based.

We have seen that the author or compiler of the *Cooke* MS. does not leave us in the dark as to the sources whence he derived his information, but it is not proposed to do more in this paper than to endeavour to verify what is said by him as to the two pillars and the subjects recorded on them.

The Bible says not a word about the pillars. Peter Comestor follows Josephus, to whom we now turn; because, although the *Polychronicon* frankly names and quotes from Josephus, the *Cooke* author seems to have overlooked the name of that historian.

Whiston, in his translation of Josephus, states that the book written by Josephus, entitled *Antiquities of the Jews*, was published about A.D. 93. The following extract is from Whiston's translation published in London 1825, vol. i., pages 46 and 47:—

> "Now Adam who was the first man . . after Abel was slain and Cain fled away on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being 230 years old; after which time he lived other 700 and then died. He had indeed many other children but Seth in particular . . . Now this Seth, when he was brought up and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, he became a virtuous man; and as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inherited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them till they died. They were also the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time for the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of stone: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day".

Here Josephus leaves the subject of the two pillars and apparently does not refer to them again. The source on which Josephus relied for this tradition does not appear. He seems to write as though it were no mere phantasy of his own imagination.[1]

[1] In Knoop, Jones and Hamer's work "The two earliest Masonic MSS.", at page 39, those authors include some striking references to "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, vol. ii., ed. R. H. Charles". It will be observed that Josephus credits Adam with the prediction that the earth was to be destroyed either by fire or water and that such prediction prompted the erection of the two pillars. This prediction is somewhat similar to that attributed to Eve in one of the apocryphal writings cited by Brother Knoop and his colleagues.

Whiston, in a footnote at pp. 46-7, says:—

> "Of Josephus's mistake here when he took Seth the son of Adam, for Seth or Sesostris, king of Egypt the erecter of this pillar in the land of Siriad, see Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix, p. 159, 160. Although the main of this relation might be true and Adam might foretell a conflagration and a deluge which all antiquity witnesses to be an ancient tradition; nay, Seth's posterity might engrave their inventions in astronomy on two such pillars, yet it is in no way credible that they could survive the deluge which has buried all such pillars and edifices far under ground, in the sediment of its waters: especially since the like pillars of the Egyptian Seth or Sesostris were extant after the flood in the land of Siriad, and perhaps in the days of Josephus also, as is shown in the place here referred to".

The Greek words used by Josephus to describe the materials of which the pillars were made are: (1) plinthou and (2) lithou. The first of these words is rendered by Whiston "brick", the second he renders "stone". The name of the place where the pillars were said to be is rendered as "Sirida". (See Dindrof's edition, vol. 1., p. 8, Paris, 1845, to which the British Museum reference is 2046d.)

The Greek word "plinthos" is explained in Liddell and Scott's lexicon as primarily meaning "a brick whether baked in the sun or by fire". Liddell and Scott also give the Latin phrase "*ducere lateres*" to make bricks.

The Greek word "lithinos" means made of stone, and "ta lithina" stands for "marble statues".

It is an interesting and a disputed question as to the precise country meant by Josephus when he named "Sirida", but we need not now be detained by that controversy.

It would be superfluous to give in this paper the Latin transcription contained in the *Polychronicon* as to the two pillars.

It may be that some of our Brethren may be able to verify the authorities for the various allegations made by Josephus and the later writers. I must confess that although I have consulted the writings of Peter Comestor (called in the *Cooke* MS. the Master of History), Methodius and Isidore, as well as the *Polychronicon*, I have not succeeded in finding in them any other reference to the aforesaid Pillars beyond the acknowledgment in *Polychronicon* that the compiler of that book quoted from Josephus. This he did without material variation. (So also did Comestor.) Higden (R.), who is credited with the authorship of the *Polychronicon*, was a Monk at Chester, and in the Rolls *Series of Chronicles and Memorials*, edited by C. Babington in nine volumes, the Latin of Higden appears and also a translation into English by John Trevisa, as well as another translation by an unknown writer of the fifteenth century.

The relevant passages as to the Pillars are to be found in vol. ii. of Babington's work, page 233. The volumes are to be found in the British Museum Library on the open shelves No. 2073 (item No. 41).

In modernised English, Trevisa's version runs thus:—

> "Josephus. That time men wist as Adam had said that they should be destroyed by fire or by water. Therefore books that they had made by great travail and studies they enclosed them in two great pillars made of marble and of burnt tyle. In a pillar of marble for water and in a pillar of tyle for fire, for it should be issued in that manner to help [of] mankind. Men say that the pillar of stone escaped the flood and is yet in Siria".

It will be seen that there is not the same positive note here as in Whiston's translation. There it is said without qualification that the Pillar remained to the day when Josephus wrote.

The later translation, made in the fifteenth century, reads as follows:—

> "*Josephus.* Men in that time knowing by Adam that they should perish with water or fire did write artes whom they had gotten by labour in two pillars of diverse stone that it should not perish from memory. One stone was of marble against the flowing of water; that other was of tylestone, against the burning of fire which pillars be said to be yet in Siria".

Perhaps one reason why the *Regius* does not give the account of the two pillars in which the Seven Sciences were preserved is that although Higden wrote the *Polychronicon* in 1364 the English version by John of Trevisa was not dated until 1387, and so the various references in the *Polychronicon* were not available in the English tongue at the time the *Regius* was written. It may be that the Latin version was extant, but had not become easily accessible.

The following brief statement shows the facts as to the dates of *Polychronicon* and its English versions:—

From Index and Epitome to D.N.B.

> "HIGDEN, Ranulf (d. 1364), chronicler. Benedictine of St. Werburg's, Chester; his 'Polychronicon' printed in English version (dated 1387) of John of Trevisa (*q.v.*) by Caxton 1482, Wynkyn de Worde, 1495, and Peter Treveris 1527; another translation made in the fifteenth century: the original Latin was issued in Rolls Series, with both English versions and continuations". (xxvi., 365.)

> "TREVISA, John de (1326-1412), author; fellow of Exeter (1362-9) and of Queen's (1369-79) Colleges, Oxford; expelled 1379; chaplain and vicar of Berkeley: translated for fourth Baron Berkeley Higden's 'Polychronicon' 1387, and other Latin works". (lvii., 212.)

In an Appendix to this paper I have included some notes as to other references in Josephus which may be of interest; and also a note of my researches into the works of other writers referred to in the *Cooke* MS.

THE PILLARS OF ZOROASTER.

The two pillars referred to by Josephus are not the only pillars alleged to have been devoted to the perpetuation of the knowledge of the Seven Sciences.

In Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series as before), at vol. ii., page 277, there is a reference to Petrus Comestor 36°, and the passage is thus translated by Trevisa and modernised by me:—

> "Nymus Belus his son when his father was dead had Assyria and the City Niniveh named by his name and made that city Niniveh chief of the kingdom and made the city huger and more by three journeys. For Nimrod had beforehand founded that City and slew also Cham, who was named Zoroaster also, king of Bactria, that wrote the seven sciences in fourteen pillars in seven of brass and seven of burnt tile for to save them against either flood but Nynus burnt his books".

This reference to Zoroaster quoted in Higden's *Polychronicon* on the authority of Peter Comestor is of considerable interest.

Peter Comestor was born at Troyes at a date unknown, but he died at Paris about 1178 A.D. He was Author of *Historia Scholastica*, written in Latin and being in the main a paraphrase with occasional additions of the historical books of the Old and New Testaments. Some account of him is given in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. xi., 763.

I have compared the printed edition dated 1473 of *Historia Scholastica* (B.M.C. 5460) with the quotation in Higden and they agree. The MS. version at the British Museum (P.C. 7, F. iii.), which appears to have been written soon after the author's death, also concurs. He also quotes Josephus as to the antediluvian pillars.

The reference to Zoroaster occurs in Book xi., cap. xxxviiij., of the 1473 book, and leaf 3, column 1 of the MS. version.

It will be observed that Peter Comestor identifies Zoroaster with Ham, the son of Noah.

"Cham", it may be stated, is the mode in which the name we call "Ham" is rendered in the Latin Vulgate version. Furthermore, there is the allegation that Nimprothe (Nimrod) had founded Niniveh and slew also Cham that was named (hete or hight) Zoroaster also king of Bactria that wrote the Seven Sciences in fourteen pillars in seven of brass and seven of burnt tile for to save them against destruction by floods.

This in a way links up the writer of the pillars mentioned by Josephus with the postdiluvian writer of fourteen pillars, for the earlier seven were, it will be remembered, made by the children of Seth, who was separated only by a few generations from Noah and his children.

The divergence of materials is recorded in each case. In the later series brass takes the place of marble, but in both cases the other material is burnt tyle or brick. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the tradition as to the Josephus series influenced the narrator of the Zoroaster series.

It will also be noted that the Zoroaster series plainly states that his pillars recorded the Seven Sciences; whereas Josephus in his version seems to refer mainly if not entirely to "that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order"; that is the Science of Astronomy.

I do not know when first the Sciences were described as seven in number, but I doubt whether any such description was applied to them at any date long before the Christian era.

This may justify a suspicion that the Zoroastrian pillars were not thought of by any author prior to Josephus, as otherwise we should expect Josephus to mention them, and especially as the latter pillars have not been found to be mentioned before Hugo of Saint Victor wrote. His period was A.D. 1097-1141. The following is the account given by Hugo of Saint Victor in his Commentary on the Pentateuch (Migne P.L., C.L. xxv.) on Genesis ii.:—

> "Moreover Assur having withdrawn into the country which later was named Assyria after himself was followed by successors down to Ninus a descendant in the direct line. Ninus founded a city and conquered Cham who had survived until that time. Zoroaster Ninus's royal neighbour who was called the discoverer and author of the maleficent doctrine of numbers became king of Bactria; he also wrote the seven liberal arts on fourteen columns, seven of bronze and seven of bricks; his purpose in each case being to preserve them for posterity against destruction by both floods. Ninus defeating Zoroaster in battle burned his mathematical writings".

[Note by W.J.W.: The word above translated "numbers" is in the original Latin *mathematicae*, being the same word as that in the phrase "mathematical writings".]

For this quotation I am indebted to a book issued by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute: Publication No. 4, the full title of which is:—"Passages in Greek and Latin literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism translated into English by President W. Sherwood Fox Ph.D. D.Litt. F.R.S.C. and Professor R. E. K. Pemberton M.A. (Assistant Professor of Classics of the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada)".

It was published at Bombay in or soon after 1928. These authors claim (and I believe rightly) to have included all known references to the above subject in Greek and Latin literature. The book is kept in the Oriental Department of the British Museum. At page 69 occurs the following:— ,

> "*Junianus Justinus.*
> (wrote between 160 and 300 A.D.)
> Epitome of the Historia Philippica of Pomponius Trogus (ed Ruhl), i., l. 9".

His last war was the one he (Ninus) fought with Zoroaster, King of the Bactrians, who is said to have been the first discover of the magic arts and a most studious observer of the origin of the world, as well as of the movements of the constellations. After Zoroaster was slain (Ninus) himself departed this life leaving a youthful son Ninyas and a wife Semiramis.

Quotations are also made in the same book from numerous other writers referring to Zoroaster as king of the Bactrians. Among these are Eusebius (262 to 340 A.D.), Pseudo-Clement (350 to 400 A.D.), Isidore of Hispala (560-636 A.D.), St. Augustine of Hippo, &c.

I must conclude such quotations by a further reference to Petrus Comestor as follows:—

> "Abram skilled in knowledge of the stars (in which, according to certain authorities, he trained Zoroaster the discoverer of magic) knew that inclement weather conditions which occur at the rising or the setting of planets always change back to normal in 50 years: what he saw happened among the stars he desired to reproduce on earth".

It seems that the present opinion of historians is that the connection of Zoroaster king of the Bactrians, with Zoroaster the prophet of the Religion of the Parsees, cannot be established, and that the narration concerning Ninus, Niniveh, Zoroaster and Semiramis is merely fabulous. Should any Brother be desirous of seeing what a Parsee scholar and Freemason has to say on the subject of Zoroaster and the Seven Sciences, I would refer them to the K. R. Cama Masonic Jubilee Volume in honour of Brother K. R. Cama on his completing 50 years of Masonic life in the year 1904. A copy is in Grand Lodge Library. It was edited by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A. 1877, and published at Bombay in 1907.

The Editor contributed a most interesting paper (pages 102 to 247) on the Legendary and the Actual History of Freemasonry, commenting on the text of one of the Ancient Charges, and refers to the reference in the *Polychronicon* to Zoroaster. He concluded that the Parsi books do not support the identification of Zoroaster the Bactrian king with the Zoroaster who founded the Parsee religion and wrote the Zend Avesta.

BEROSUS.

A Babylonian priest named Berosus, who lived about 260 B.C., left a history of which fragments remain. Dr. Cunningham Geikie, in his work *Hours with the Bible*, Cassell and Co., London, &c., 1887, p. 190, gives references to Brockhaus Lexican art, Berosus, and says: "Bunsen in his Bibel Urkunden quotes the passages in full from Eusebius and Syncellus. They are given at length also by Lenormant, in his Essay on the Deluge".

Dr. Geikie writes thus:—

> "The account of Berosus is, briefly as follows: The Great Deluge took place under Xisuthros. The God Ea appeared to him in a dream, and announced that on the 15th of the month of Daisios (a little before the

summer solstice) all men should perish by a flood. He was therefore to collect all that was consigned to writing, and bury it at Sippara—the city of the Sun. There he was to build a vessel and enter into it with his family and dearest friends. (The narrative follows as to making of the vessel and in broad outlines follows in many points the Flood narrative in Genesis.)

After the flood had ceased, a 'voice further said that they were to return to Babylon and dig up the writings buried at Sippara; to transmit them to after generations. They then having heard the voice, sacrificed to the gods and returned on foot to Babylon. Of the vessel of Xisuthros, a portion is still to be found in the Gordyan Mountains in Armenia, and pilgrims bring thence asphalte which they have scraped from its fragments. It is used to keep off the influence of witchcraft'. Thus far Berosus".

[For an amplification of the account by Berosus I refer my readers to the comments of Brother Knoop and his colleagues.]

MANETHO.

In *Antiquities*, Book 1, cap. 3, s. 9, Josephus deals with the long lives of the Ancients who lived before the Flood and gives his view as to the reasons for such long lives being given them. He claims that all those who have written Antiquities both among the Greeks and barbarians agree to what he says and names eleven sources and among them "Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian History, and Berosus who collected the Chaldean Monuments". Thus it is clear that he was acquainted with the works of Manetho and Berosus.

Only fragments of their writings remain. As to Manetho, there is a collection of Ancient Fragments made by J. B. Cory, the best and enlarged edition of which was published in 1876. At p. 109 the following occurs and was extracted from the writings of Eusebius:—

Manetho.

"It remains therefore to make certain extracts concerning the dynasties of the Egyptians from the writings of Manetho the Sebennyte the high priest of the idolatrous temples of Egypt in the time of Ptolemæus Philadelphus. These according to his own account he copied from the inscriptions which were engraved in the sacred dialect and hieroglyphic characters upon the columns set up in the Seriadic land by Thoth the first Hermes (Mercury) and after the Flood were translated from the sacred dialect into the Greek tongue in hieroglyphic characters and committed to writing in books and deposited by Agathodæmon the son of the second Hermes the Father of Tat (Taut of the Phœnician mythology) in the penetralia of the temple of Egypt. He has addressed and explained them to Philadelphus the second king (of Egypt) who bore the name of Ptolemæus in the book which he has entitled Sothis (or the Dog star)".

The epistle follows, but it is noted that it is a forgery.

Dr. Hengstenburg, in *Egypt and the Books of Moses* (translated) published Edinburgh 1845, deals at length with the subject and strongly contends that the epistle and the narrative are not by Manetho, but were falsely attributed to him.

At foot of page 231 he gives the Greek of the passage referred to, and at page 236 a Latin version of the letter to Ptolemy.

Be that as it may, whether Josephus borrowed from Manetho or whether a person assuming the name of Manetho borrowed from Josephus is not our immediate concern. The statements, true or false, have come down to us

TITLE-PAGE OF
DU BARTAS' DIVINE WEEKES AND WORKES

and appear to have been adopted by the author of the *Cooke* MS. (following *Polychronicon*) thus:—

> "and after this flode many yeres as the cronycle telleth thes ij pillers were founde and as the polycronicon seyth that a grete clerke that called putogoras fonde that one and hermes the philisophre fonde that other and thei tought forthe the sciens that thei fonde ther y-writen".

[It should be noted that I now find that Bro. Covey-Crump has dealt briefly but comprehensively with this subject in a paper, in vol. i. of the Authors' Lodge *Transactions*, entitled *The Two Pillars, their history and symbolism* (see pages 277-278). After this paper was written I heard that Bro. Knoop and his colleagues had also dealt with the matter in their then forthcoming book on the *Two oldest Masonic MSS.*]

Apart from the Old Charges and the passages quoted herein there do not appear to be any references to the two antediluvian Pillars in the documents of the Craft. The Pillars are frequently depicted on various articles of Earthenware to be seen in Masonic and other Museums, but it seems that after the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717 the interest in Pillars was definitely transferred from those more ancient structures to the Pillars associated with Solomon's Temple which were ultimately broken by the Chaldeans, who carried all the brass of them to Babylon. (See Jeremiah lii., v. 27.)

It will be remembered that it is elsewhere stated that those pillars were made hollow for the purpose of serving as archives of masonry, but no such utilitarian purpose is stated in the Bible: nor does it appear that anyone has ever alleged that they were actually so used.

In the engraved title-page to the 2nd Edition of *Ahiman Rezon* (published 1764) and at the top corners thereof there are illustrations of sharply acute pyramidal pillars which seem to be meant as representations of the ancient Pillars. Perhaps Bro. Dermot embellished his book in that way as further evidence of his claim that the Grand Lodge of the Ancients continued to lay some stress upon the association of the Craft with the said Pillars.

THE COLUMNS

(As described by Sylvester and du Bartas).

Being in the Market Square of Salisbury about seventeen years ago and looking at a Bookstall there I found a mutilated copy of a book which had interested me for some years, as it had been quoted in some Puritan writers whose works had been read by me.

The book was entitled *Du Bartas his Divine Weeks and Works*, and had been translated out of French into English by Joshua Sylvester (1563-1618). Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, a French soldier, diplomatist, and man of letters, was born in Montfort in Armagnac in 1544, and died in 1590 of wounds received in the battle of Ivry. His chief poem was entitled "La Sepmaine". Thirty editions of this long work passed through the Press in six years. The first edition of the translation was issued in 1598, while the third and fourth editions were published in 1611 and 1613 respectively. The poem (which was never completed) ranges over the period from the creation of the world unto the Babylonish Captivity of the Jews. In its day the book was highly popular, and the translation was frequently referred to by writers of the period. It is indeed said to have had a considerable influence on Milton's *Paradise Lost*. It occupies about 650 quarto pages, each containing about 38 lines of rhymed ten-syllable verse.

Turning over the pages on the stall I found one considerable section of the Poem entitled "The Columnes" "The IIII. Part of the II. day of the

II. week ". I quickly saw that the volume in that section dealt with the subject in a way which brought in much Masonic phraseology. It became mine by purchase.

The section referred to extends from page 358 to 379 and is full of interest for the Masonic Student. The fact that the narration is in form poetic will not discourage the Mason who bears in mind the much earlier *Regius Poem*. A short article was written by me and appeared in the *Transactions* of the Lodge of Research (Leicester) for 1922-23 at page 53 *et seq*. The article had the result of prompting certain Masonic Brethren and the Librarian of Grand Lodge to acquire copies of the book for their Libraries, but the matter has not received as yet the attention it rightly deserves, and therefore this paper has come into existence.

The section before referred to is headed by

"The Argument ".[1]

" Seth's Pillars found: Heber instructs his Son
In th' use thereof, and who them first begun;
Opens the One, and finds on severall Frames,
Foure lively Statues of four lovely Dames
(The Mathematiks) furnisht each apart,
With Equipages of their severall Art:
Wonders of Numbers and Geometrie
New observations in Astronomy:
Musicks rare force: Canaan (the Cursed) cause
Of Hebers stop; and Bartas wittie pause ".

The Poet then " Being about to treat of the Mathematicks imploreth especial assistance in handling so high and difficult a subject ".

The verses then proceed, beginning on page 359:—

" AFTER THAT Men's strife-hatching, haut Ambition,
Had (as by lot) made this lowe Worlds partition
Phalec and Heber, as they wandered, fand
A huge high Pillar, which upright did stand
(Much like a Rock amid the Ocean set,
Seeming great Neptunes surly pride to threat;
Whereon a Pharos bears a Lanthorn bright
To save from Shipwrack those that sayl by night)
And afterward, another nigh as great;
But not so strong, so stately, nor so neat,
For, on the flowrie field it lay all flat,
Built but of Brick, of rusty Tyles, and Slat:
Whereas the First was builded fair and strong
Of Jasper smooth, and Marble lasting long
What Miracles! what monstrous heaps! what Hills
Heav'd-up by hand! what Types of antike Skills
In form-les Forms (quoth Phalec)! Father showe
(For, th' Ages past I know full well you knowe):
Pray teach me, who did both these works erect;
About what time: and then to what effect ".

Then follows Heber's answer:—

" Old Seth (saith Heber) Adam's Scholler yerst
Who was the Scholler of his maker first)

[1] This Argument is not in the original French.

Having attain'd to knowe the course and sites,
Th' aspect and greatnes of Heav'ns glistering Lights;
He taught his Children, whose industrious wit
Through diligence grew excellent in it,
For, while their flocks on flowrie shoars they kept
Of th' Eastern Floods, while others soundly slept

. . . . . .

They living lusty, thrice the age of Ravens,
Observ'd the Twinkling Wonders of the Heav'ns;
And on their Grand-sires firm and goodly ground
A sumptuous building they in time doo found.
But (by Tradition Cabalistik) taught
That God would twice reduce this world to nought
By Flood and Flame; they reared cunninglie
This stately payr of Pillars which you see;
Long time safe-keeping, for their after-kin,
A hundred learned Mysteries therein ".

" This having sayd, old Heber drawing nigher,
Opens a Wicket in the Marble Spire,
Where (Phalec following) soon perceive they might
A pure Lamp burning with immortal light ".

. . .

Then Phalec speaks:—

" O father (cries he out)
What shapes are these heere placed round about,
So like each other wrought with equal skill
That foure rain-drops cannot more like distill?
What tools are these? what divine secrets lie
Hidden within this learned Mysterie? "

Heber then proceeds to explain that these four represent, as the margin puts it, The liberall Sciences. Arithmetic is first described in 14 lines and then the *Numbers* 1 to 10, 100 and 1,000, and their significance are the subject of a most interesting exposition which is too long to be included here.

Numbers having been dealt with, the processes of Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division follow.

Then the poem proceeds with Geometrie:—

" That sallow-faç't, sad, stooping Nymph, whose ey
Still on the ground is fixed stedfastly,
Seeming to draw with point of silver Wand
Som curious Circles in the sliding sand

. . . . . .

Whose dusky Buskins (old and tattered out)
Show, she hath travail'd far and neer about
By North and South, it is Geometrie,
The Crafts-mans guide, Mother of Symmetrie,
The life of Instruments of rare effect,
Law of that Law which did the World erect.
Heer's nothing heere, but Rules, Squires, Compasses,
Waights, Measures, Plummets, Figures, Ballances.
Lo, where the Workman with a steddy hand
Ingeniously a levell line hath drawn,
War-like Triangles, building-fit Quadrangles
And hundred kindes of Forms of Manie-Angles

Straight, Broad, and Sharp: Now see on th' other side
Other whose Tracts never directly slide,
As with the Snayl, the crooked Serpenter".

The last of the four maids representing the Four Sciences is expounded in pages 376-9, but not at such great length as the other three Sciences, for

"While that Heber (eloquently) would
Old Musikes use and excellence have told;
Curst Canaan (seeking Iordan's fatall course)
Past by the Pillars, and brake his Discourse,
And mine with-all".

These are the passages *culled* from the section called The Columnes, but there are other matters which doubtless will interest Freemasons.

There is a remarkable engraved title-page to the book showing (*inter alia*) two *pairs* of pillars joined together by an arch, having on the left pair and surmounting them, the celestial globe, and over the right pair the terrestrial globe. Over the arch is a triangle containing the Hebrew Characters of the Tetragrammaton, those characters being surrounded by irradiating flames.

Turning over a few pages we come to two poems, one repelling the profane, the other welcoming those deemed worthy. These two poems are each framed in a design showing two pillars united by an arch, having over each pillar a painted pinnacle, and on the apex of each pinnacle a flaming sphere or circle.

The address to the profane is surmounted by a semicircle of solid blackness, and the blackness is also shown at the foot.

This is the first of four strenuous verses addressed to the profane:—

"Hence profane Hands, Factors for Hearts profane;
Hence hissing atheists, Hellish Misse-Creants:
Hence Buzzard Kites, dazzled with Beautie's glances:
Hence itching Eares, with Toyes and Tales uptane".

That writer seems to have made it quite clear that what he was about to reveal was intended to be revealed to worthy men, and to worthy men alone.

The frame of the second poem does not show any blackness, but is clear white where the other is black.

In the book there are some places where the Deity is entitled "Architect". I have noted these:—

p. 2. "Great Architect of Wonders".
p. 7. "The Power and Will, th' affection and effect,
"The Work and Project of this Architect
"March all at once".
p. 8. "Th' All's Architect".
p. 67. "Great Engineer, Almighty Architect".
p. 227. "Heav'ns great Architect".

Proceeding to other sections of the work we find other phrases which may be deemed to have a Masonic allusion.

THE ARKE (p. 302).

"I (God be praised) know that the perfect Circle
Whose Center's everywhere of all his Circle
Exceeds the circuit".

"And that which most the learned do prefer
The compleat Circle; from whose every-place
The Centre stands an equi-distant space".

The poem then deals with various geometrical figures and uses in some detail and includes the following warning against theoretical researches as compared with practical operations:—

(p. 363) "Chiefly (my Phalec) hither bend thy minde,
And learn Two Secrets which but few shall finde,
Two busie knots, Two labyrinths of doubt,
Where future Schools shall wander long about,
Beating their brains, their best endevours troubling:
The Circles Squareness and the Cubes Re-doubling.
Print ever faster in thy faithfull brain,
Then on brass leaves, these Problemes proved plain
Not by sophistical subtle Arguments,
But even by practise and experience;
Undisputable Art, and fruitfull skill
Which with new wonders all the World shall fill".

Some of these inventions are shortly referred to, but the following lines show that the poet looked forward to others:—

"Statues of Wood shall speak; and fained Sphears
Show all the wonders of true Heav'n in theirs.
Men rashly mounting through the emptie skie,
With wanton wings shall cross the Seas wel-nigh".

The third of the Sciences is then discussed under sundry topics, including the Terrestrial and Celestial Globes, the Zodiac and its Signs, the Meridian and the Constellations.

As to the Meridian, these lines occur on pp. 366-7, and may remind us of an event which took place when the Sun was at the meridian:—

"The Meridian, this
Which never in one point of Heav'n persists;
But still pursues our Zenith; as the light
Inconstant Horizon our shifting sight".

At p. 369, arising out of a discussion on the signs of the Zodiac, the thesis is laid down that "In heaven are patterns of all things that are in earth". I quote only two lines:—

"There's nothing precious in Sea, Earth, or Ayr,
But hath in Heav'n som like resemblance fair".

BABYLON (p. 321).

Here the poet describes his view of the manner in which the builders of Babel's tower were thrown into confusion and ultimately:—

(p. 321) "These Masons so, seeing the storm arriv'd
Of God's just wrath, all weak, and heart depriv'd
Forsake their purpose, and like frantic fools
Scatter their stuffe, and tumble down their tools".

p. 324. Here we have these lines:—

"But only Man can talke of his Creator,
Of Heav'n and earth, and fire, and ayr, and water,
Of Justice, Temperance, Wisdom and Fortitude".

The second of these lines puts us in remembrance of the symbolism of the Five Platonic Bodies; while the third line sets forth the Four Cardinal virtues, referred to in the Charge to the Initiate, and in the first Lecture (section 6): treating Wisdom as a synonym for Prudence.

p. 327. Speaking of the Hebrew language:—

"While the proud remnant of those scattered Masons
Had falséd it in hundred thousand fashions
When every one where Fate him calléd flew,
Bearing new words into his country new".

THE VOCATION (p. 382).

Introducing a fulsome dedication to James Ist, the translator (speaking for himself) says:—

"For he (I hope) who no less good than wise
First stirr'd us up to this great Enterprise,
And gave us heart to take the same in hand,
For Level, Compass, Rule, and Squire will stand;
. . . . . .
And will not suffer in this pretious fame
Ought that a skilfull Builders eye may blame".

THE MAGNIFICENCE (OF SOLOMON), p. 559.

"Last Wisdom comes . . .
Where-e'r she go she never goes without
Compasse and Rule, Measure and Weights about".

[The words representing Measure and Weights are not in the original French.]

Pages 580 to 588 describe the building and Dedication of the Temple, and the visit of the Queen of Sheba.

The following lines occur:—

(p. 581) "Another level'd by the Lesbian Squire,[1]
Deep under ground (for the Foundation) joines
Wel-polisht Marble in long massie Coines".

(p. 582) "The Stones are joyn'd so artificially,
That if the Maçon had not checkerd fine
Syre's Alabaster with hard Serpentine
And hundred Marbles no less fair than firm;
The whole, a whole Quar one might rightly tearm".

(p. 583) "O God (said Solomon) great only Trine!
Which of this Mystike sacred House of Thine
Hast made me Builder; build me in the same
A living Stone".

Thus he passes from the operative temporary Building to the House not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens.

The volume contains an Index of the Hardest Words, in which the following explanation is given:—

"Lesbian Squire: the Lesbians were so perfect workemen that they made Rules and Squires by their worke, and not their worke by the Rule".

That the poem we have been considering contains many striking parallels to expressions used in connection with Masonry in England will not be denied, but probably we should err if we said that any of the similarities were originally exported from England and were reimported to England in later years. The similarities appear to be part of the common stock of Masonic history and the

[1] "Lesbian Square" is not in the original French.

craftsmen and others and tend to show that in certain respects Masonry is indeed Universal. As an example I quote from the Essays of Montaigne (1553-1592) as translated in an English edition published London, 1759. "Where the Compass, the Square and the Rule are awry, all proportions drawn from thence, and all Building erected by those Guides, must of necessity be also crazy and defective. The uncertainty of our senses renders everything uncertain that they produce". Rabelais, who was born in 1483, also uses several phrases which seem parallel to expressions in our Rituals. See a short article by me in the *Masonic Record* for March, 1924, p. 105. It is hoped that the future efforts of our Brethren may explore for our satisfaction the various references to the Craft in countries other than our own.

The following points stand out clearly: —

(1) The description of God as the Great Architect and by other similar phrases as before collected.

(2) The two pillars or columns made before the Flood to preserve the Sciences and their discovery and investigation after the Flood. The one of Marble, which was intended to resist the Flood being intact, and the other of Brick, Tiles and Slate, which had been injured and "lay all flat".

[The English Charges made the mistake of crediting marble as fireproof and brick (or "laterus") as waterproof.]

The discoverers were Heber and his son Phalec. Phalec is the word equivalent for "Peleg", in whose days the Earth was, according to Genesis x., 25, divided. His name signifies "division", and presumably the inference may be warranted that as in the case of Egyptian land divided by Euclid (if Old Charges are true) so in that earlier division geometrical methods were adopted.

(3) Several references are made to the working tools of Masons, such as the Level, Compass, Rule, and Squire (*i.e.*, Square), Weights, Measures, Plummets, &c.

(4) The liberal sciences are dealt with at length. They are described as these four, namely, Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Music. The arts of Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric are not said to have been discovered in the Marble Column.

(5) Only one of the two pillars is opened. The other is a wreck lying flat. The Charges and other documents give varying and perhaps unconvincing accounts as to other finders.

Dr. James Anderson alleges that the knowledge of the sciences was also handed down orally from Adam and others to the post-diluvians, and this is enlarged upon in the recently discovered *Graham* MS. What became of the pillars, who can say? Josephus states that in his time one of them was still extant in the land of "Siridos". The descriptions given of them do not tally with the Egyptian Pyramids, although our thoughts naturally turn in that direction.

The Poem relates that the Columns were found by Heber and Phalec, but there seems nothing to prevent such Columns being found by any subsequent explorers. Josephus suggests that one of them was extant in his time: so that Hermes and Pythagoras (who both lived before Josephus) might well have found them in their respective times if they in fact remained in existence.

Here I leave the subject for consideration and expansion by other students who may perhaps be able among other things to reconcile seemingly conflicting statements and adjust chronological difficulties arising from the documents referred to.

APPENDIX.

JOSEPHUS.

Polychronicon, vol. 2, p. 227, cites Josephus. Trevisa translates, and the following is a modernised version:—

> Cain gathered riches violently by strength and made men be lechours and thieves, and turned simple living of men to finding of measures and of weights. He ordained marks and bounds of fields and of lands and built a city and walled it for he dreaded full sore them that he had grieved.

Whiston's *Josephus*, chap. 2, pp. 45 and 46, thus renders the passage:—

> Cain "augmented his household substance with much wealth by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintance to procure pleasures and spoils by robbery and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights, and whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it; and called that city Enoch after the name of his eldest son Enoch.

Josephus (Book 1, cap. 3, sec. 9, vol. 1, p. 50), speaking of the long lives of Noah and other patriarchs, states that God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time of foretelling the period of the stars unless they had lived 600 years. He then cites, in support of the great length of life of those ancients, the works of Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian History, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean Monuments, and Mochus, Hestiœus, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phenician History and six others, and concludes: "but as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit"

As to the Tower of Babel (Book 1, cap. 4, sec. 3, Whiston, p. 51), Josephus stated: "It was built of burnt brick, cemented together with water, made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water".

Josephus, Book 1, cap. 8, sec. 2 (Whiston, vol. 1, p. 56), when writing upon Abram's journey to Egypt, after stating that Abram successfully confuted the reasonings the Egyptians gave for their sacred and accustomed rites, says that Abram communicated to the Egyptians arithmetic and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for before Abram came into Egypt they were unacquainted with those parts of learning: for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

ISIDORE.

Reference to Isidore's *Ethomolegiarum* has been made by me (Edition by Wm. Lindsey, Oxford, copyright 1911, in two vols.). B.M. reference 2046.b.

St. Isodorus was Bishop of Seville 601 to 636.

His book quoted, referred to in the *Watson* MS., does not contain any reference to the aforesaid pillars, but it does deal with the following matters (among many others):—

(Under Index Librorum).

I. De Grammatica et Paribus eius.
II. De Rhetorica et Dialectica.
III. De Mathematica cuius parte sunt Arithmetica, Musica, Geometria, et Astronomia.
IV. De Medicina.

These items are further sub-divided in:—

(Capitula Librorum).

I.

I. De disciplina et arte.
II. De septem liberalibus disciplinis.
III. De Grammatica.

and so on for 25 items in all.

II.A.

I. de Rhetorica eiusque nomine.

(up to XXI.).

II.B.

I. de dialectica.
(up to X.).

III.B.

I. De vocabulo arithmeticae disciplinae.
(up to X.).

III.B.

I. De inventoribus geometriae et vocabulo eius.
II. De quadripertita divisione geometrie.
III. De figuris geometriae.

III.C.

I. De nomine musicae.
II. De inventoribus eius.
III. Quid possit musica.
(up to IX.).

III.D.

I. De astronomiae nomine.
II. De inventoribus astronomiae.
(up to XLIX.).

X. De inventoribus Geometriae et vocabulo eius.
Geometriae disciplina primum ab Aegyptis reperto dicitur, quod inundante Nilo et omnuim possessionibus limo obductis, initium terra dividendae per lineas et mensura nomen arti dedit &c.

(He does not in this connection name Euclid.)

de Musica.

XVI. Here Isidore refers to the claims made by Moses for Tubal (query Jubal) by the Greeks for Pythagoras by striking hammers and cords.

Other names are also given.

POLYCRONICON (Rolls Series).

Vol. ii. 227.

Isidorus libro 15, capitulo 2°.

Men were first naked and unarmed, nought secure against beasts neither against men and had no place to fonge [=receive] them and to keep them from cold and for heat; then by business of kind witte (=common sense) they bethought them of building. Therefore they built them small cootes and cabans (=cots and cabins) and waf them and heled them with small twiggs and with reed that their life might be more safe.

METHODIUS.

In Dr. Pusey's Ante Nicene Library of the Fathers, vol. xiv., the works of Methodius appear as translated by Dr. Pusey, Published Edinburgh 1869. B.M. reference 2004.a.

I have not seen in them any reference to Niniveh and Masons.

Methodius was martyred A.D. 312.

There is in the B.M. 2004.g. a later edition of Methodius translated into German (Leipsig 1917). The indexes do not show any reference to Niniveh. Nimrod or Masons. This publication seems to have been prepared very painstakingly.

ZOROASTER.

The attention of readers is called to the Articles on Zoroaster in Bayle's *Dictionary* and Calmet's *Bible Dictionary*.

In vol. ii. of Calmet the following occurs at p. 866:—

"After that Ebrahim Zer Attusht" [= Zoroaster] "was entered into Paradise God sent his disciples by his means, seven books which contained the true religion, after them seven others of the explication of dreams, then seven others of physic. When Alexander became Master of the East he had the first seven burnt, because nobody understood the language in which they were written, and kept the other fourteen for his own use. After the death of their conqueror the Gaures restored, so far as their memories enabled them, the seven books that had been burnt and made them into one large volume which they still preserve though they do not understand the language of it or even the character" . . .

At p. 867 "their votaries affirm that Alexander the Great caused all the then Zoroastrian books in twenty-one volumes to be burned. These they have recovered or replaced as well as they could but doubtless imperfectly. Zend is the name of the character, not of the language in which they are written; the language is called Avesta and the entire work is called Zend-Avesta".

The coincidences of the number of the books as multiples of seven and of their being burnt by a Conqueror seem noteworthy. The whole of the materials relating to Zoroaster his life and works display a mass of irreconcilable contradictions which may be unparalleled.

QUOTATION FROM THOMAS NASHE (1596).

Bro. Stanley R. Miller has sent me the following from Thomas Nashe's "Have with you to Saffron Walden" 1596 . . . "die ere we can set up brazen pillars for our names and sciences to preserve them from the deluge of Ignorance".

This sentence seems to be a medley derived from the antediluvian pillars prepared for preserving the sciences. Neither of these was metallic, though Zoroaster's were brazen, as also were Solomon's Temple pillars which preserved the names of "Jachin and Boaz".

The quotation from Nashe is to be found in vol. iii., p. 77, of the edition of his works edited by R. B. McKerrow.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Williams for his interesting paper on the proposition of Bro. S. J. Fenton, seconded by Bro. L. Edwards; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, Douglas Knoop, and the Secretary.

Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter *writes*:—

Our Brother, W. J. Williams, has favoured us with a delightfully interesting paper on the Antediluvian Pillars, and I would like to be associated with the other members of both Circles who are sure to accord it a warm measure of praise.

The essay is a model of research which it would probably be hard to beat in its own particular line.

The author has been careful to add the words "in Prose and Verse" to his title, and that exonerates him from criticism for not having diverged into the story of pillars from an architectural point of view. He acknowledges the work of previous investigators, but actually the proof of his paper was in my hands before Knoop, Jones and Hamer's wonderful book "The Two Earliest Masonic MSS." reached me.

The earliest form of the story seems to concern itself with the writing of some unnamed secrets on tables—probably slabs—of stone and clay; and its transference to *pillars* of marble and brick on which the children of Lamech wrote the seven liberal arts and sciences is a late development confined to Masonic legend. Like so many more of our legends, it, unfortunately, lacks authority.

So far as we know, pillars—or columns—either as constructive features or as detached ornaments, were not in existence so early as the time of Lamech's children, and we would need to descend the ladder of architectural archæology a long way before we reached a period when brick pillars were in use. It is almost superfluous to mention in connection with this paper that there are quite a number of pillars, especially in mediæval times, having Masonic legends attached to them. The Master's and the Prentice's pillars at Roslin are worth citing in this connection as they preserve a story of more than usual interest.

I think our late Bro. Thorp, of Leicester, was the first to suggest that the sharply pointed pyramidal structures illustrated on Masonic pottery and engravings were intended for representations of the antediluvian pillars. That was probably a lucky guess, but notwithstanding the possibility of the theory there is little likelihood if any such erections being contemporaneous with the period to which the legend refers.

This short note is not intended as a criticism of Bro. Williams's work. It is merely written in order that I may support the vote of thanks which I know will be warmly accorded to him for so admirable a contribution to our general stock of knowledge.

Bro. KNOOP, on behalf of Mr. G. P. Jones, Mr. D. Hamer and himself, *writes*:—

Bro. Williams is to be congratulated on bringing to the notice of Masonic students the treatment of the antediluvian pillars in Du Bartas' poem, *La Sepmaine*. This poem was widely read in French and English and was known not only to Milton but to Spenser. Du Bartas states, however, that only the four mathematical sciences—Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music—which in the mediæval scheme of the Seven Liberal Arts formed the *quadrivium*, were carved on the pillars. This would suggest that the ultimate source of Du Bartas was the *Arithmetica* of Boetius.

There are a number of comments which we should like to make on the remainder of Bro. Williams's paper, some by way of answer to questions he himself asks, some to correct what appear to us to be misconceptions.

(1) Following previous masonic commentators, Bro. Williams mistakenly attributes to Bede the *De Imagine Mundi* mentioned in the *Cooke MS.* This work, also known as *Imago Mundi*, was not written by Bede, but by Honorius Augustodunensis, *circa* 1090-1120, nearly four hundred years after Bede's death. Its author is said to have been Bishop of Autun in Burgundy. A text will be found in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clxxi.

(2) The word "stories", meaning "histories", appearing in *Cooke MS.* 1, 142: "and in the stories that is named Beda. De Imagine Mundi and Isodorus ethemologiarum. Methodus episcopus and martire", applies not only to Bede and to the *De Imagine* but also to the other authors and works in that list.

(3) Bro. Williams apparently regards the whole of the *Cooke MS.* as the work of one author. We have given reasons, in *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, for believing that the *Cooke MS.* is in two portions, one new and one old. The new portion covers 11, 1-642, and we have called this the Long History. The old portion includes 11, 643 to the end, and consists of the Short History and the Articles and Points. We believe that this Short History section represents the legendary history of masonry which was accepted by mediæval masons before the Long History was written. Speth had arrived at a similar conclusion. It is to be noted that only the Long History refers to the *Polychronicon*, Bede, Isidore, etc., as authorities. In our view, therefore, it is incorrect to talk of the *Cooke MS.* as if it were homogeneous, and it is important to specify which part of the composite work is intended. The story of the children of Lamech and their pillars, it should be noted, is contained only in the Long History.

(4) Naamah is credited, in the Long History, with the art of weaving, because the writer, like many mediæval writers on early biblical history, had accepted the extra-biblical legends which the Church had adopted from the ninth century onwards. The Bible does not say that Naamah invented weaving; other Jewish writings do. The whole matter is discussed in *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, pp. 40-41, 160-162.

(5) Bro. Williams correctly notes that the two pillars are not mentioned in the *Regius Poem*. We have tried to show that the historical and craft portions of the *Regius Poem* are, in substance, closely related to the corresponding portions of the Short History and craft portions of the *Cooke MS.* Items which do not occur in the historical part of the *Regius Poem*, therefore, are not likely to be found in the second half of the *Cooke MS.* Since the pillars are not mentioned in either the *Regius Poem* or the Short History part of the *Cooke MS.*, it seems to follow that the story of the pillars was introduced into masonic legend only when the Long History was written, somewhere in the second half of the fourteenth century.

(6) Bro. Williams asks when the Liberal Arts became seven. We have given the story of their development in *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, pp.

24-29. The Seven Liberal Arts were firmly established by the time of Martianus Capella of Carthage, *circa* 420 A.D. His poem, *Septem Artes Liberales*, gives their names and number for the first time known in history.

(7) We do not understand why reference to the TWO Pillars should suggest the Egyptian pyramids. Pillars are not pyramids and there are more than two pyramids in Egypt.

(8) Bro. Williams is, we think, quite right in saying that at some relatively late period masonic interest was transferred from the two antediluvian pillars to the two pillars erected in front of Solomon's Temple, but we think that this transference took place rather earlier than he suggests, which is "after the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717". References to Solomon's pillars are given in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* of 1696.

(9) In *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, p. 39, we have attempted to trace the origin of the story of the two pillars. We show it as originating, so far as the Jews are concerned, in the tablets of stone and clay on which Eve ordered Seth and his brothers and sisters to engrave the words of the archangel Michael when he brought the order for the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. This story is recorded in an apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae*. Clearly the writing was the important thing. How or when the tablets became pillars we do not know, but the mention of the tablets of baked brick clearly suggests Babylonia, while the pillars of stone suggest some other country, such as Palestine, which has what Babylonia does not possess, building-stone. We congratulate Bro. Williams on his quotation from Berosus, which we had not discovered. Had we been aware of it we should have used it in the section of our introduction dealing with the two pillars, for it seems to us of primary importance in the history of the legend.

Berosus was one of the main pre-Christian authorities, outside the Bible, for the pre-history of the ancient East. As Bro. Williams says, he was a Babylonian priest (*c.*330-*c.*250 B.C.). He wrote in Greek a history of Babylon which is now extant only in extracts by early writers. He is said to have drawn his information from ancient Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions on tablets and from temple records. The extracts from him were printed, in Cory's translation, by George Smith in the book which first gave the world the translation of the Babylonian account of the Creation and early days of the world [*The Chaldaean Account of Genesis* (1876)]. As Dr. Geikie's paraphrase omits an important detail, we requote the essential passages from Smith's work (p. 43):—

> "The deity Cronos appeared to him in a vision, and warned him that upon the fifteenth day of the month Daesius there would be a flood, by which mankind would be destroyed. He therefore enjoined him to write a history of the beginning, procedure, and conclusion of all things and bury it in the city of the Sun at Sippara; and to build a vessel . . . (p. 45) And when they returned to Babylon and had found the writings at Sippara they built cities and erected temples, and Babylon was thus inhabited again."

The difficulty concerning the account of Berosus had always been that he lived three centuries after the Jewish captivity in Babylon, but the discovery of the cuneiform account of Creation established the fact that the Babylonians did not acquire the story from the Jews at the time of the captivity, but that the Jews had acquired it from the Babylonians centuries earlier.

There can be no doubt that in origin the story of the two pillars is Babylonian, though the pillars were originally tablets of clay which had to be burnt hard after having been inscribed, and the writing on them had nothing to do with the seven Liberal Arts. Nor had it in the earliest Hebrew version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. In both Babylonian and early Hebrew versions the

writing was eschatological. The later Jewish version recorded in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, as quoted in *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, p. 41, states that the science of Music was carved on the pillars by the children of Lamech; other Jewish versions say that the science of Astronomy was carved on them by Seth. The independent legend of the fourteen Zoroastrian pillars says that the Seven Liberal Arts were carved on them, but this is probably a development in Christian times, since, as we have seen, the oldest known Latin record of the Seven Liberal Arts is the early fifth century poem of Martianus Capella.

But the Zoroastrian pillars are also mentioned in Jerahmeel. The so-called *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* are a mediæval Jewish compilation of manuscript material, some dating from the first and second centuries, and representing material compiled in pre-Christian times, though the various parts cannot be exactly dated. The existence of this collection of traditional material, dealing with the early days of the Hebrews from the Creation onwards, almost certainly indicates that the story of the fourteen Zoroastrian pillars was Jewish; it may ultimately have been Babylonian in origin. We have quoted the relevant passage from Jerahmeel, together with the corresponding passage from Peter Comestor, in *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, p. 163. The equation which Peter Comestor makes of Zoroaster, the Magician, with Ham is interesting, for right down to the seventeenth century, Ham, the wicked son of Noah, is repeatedly connected with necromancy.

Whether Martianus Capella was the first to arrange the Liberal Arts into a group of seven is uncertain; the history of these arts in the five preceding centuries is not known. It is, however, important to remember that in Jerahmeel, Peter Comestor and other writers, the story of the two pillars is kept quite separate from that of the fourteen Zoroastrian pillars. But sometime, probably in the Christian era, the Seven Liberal Arts were transferred from the fourteen Zoroastrian pillars to the two pillars set up by Lamech's children, and these in turn were interpolated into the legend of Hermes Trismegistus, so that he was made to recover the pillars on which the first Hermes had written all knowledge and to decipher the writing on them. When this combining took place we cannot say, but only on the hypothesis of combination can the account of the two pillars in the *Cooke MS.* 11, 239-326 be explained. The elements in the story there given are quite distinct: (1) the eschatological basis; (2) the writing of the Seven Liberal Arts on two pillars; (3) the recovery and deciphering of the inscriptions by Hermes Trismegistus and Pythagoras. The mention of Hermes Trismegistus points to some date after the fourth century A.D.

We must admit that we cannot give a probable date to that portion of the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* which also records the story of the fourteen Zoroastrian pillars, but it is very probable that it was among those absorbed by the Church from extra-biblical Jewish legends from the ninth century onwards. Parts of the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* go back to MSS. of the second century A.D., and represent material which, according to the editor, Rabbi Gaster, go back to the third century B.C.

(10) Bro. Williams, by drawing the attention of masonic students to the Babylonian tradition of the tablets, raises two possibilities of great interest. One is that Sippara may have been the same as "the land of Seiris", where, according to Josephus, the pillars stood. The other is that the association of Sippara with the sun may throw light on the connection of the fourteen pillars with the solar deity, Zoroaster.

Bro. Williams *writes* in reply:—

I am grateful to the Brethren who passed the vote of thanks and especially to those who favoured me with comments, viz., Bro. Baxter, Bro. Knoop and his colleagues and Bro. Vibert.

In the last paragraph of my paper I invited the Brethren to consider the subject and expatiate on it. Bro. Baxter has indicated the lines on which the subject of pillars from an architectural standpoint might be dealt with, but he recognises that I should have been going out of bounds had I ventured an excursion in that direction. My main difficulty was to cover the subject without undue brevity and without swamping the Du Bartas section with an introduction verging on the voluminous.

Coming to the details of the comments by Bro. Knoop and his colleagues the following responses are made; but first of all I should like to say how good it is of them to give the choice results of their investigations into the subject of my paper. These will, I am sure, incite the Brethren to acquire the further fruits of their erudition so consummately exhibited in their masterly book entitled *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*

(1) It is true that I adopted the view that the *Cooke MS.* treated Bede as the author of *De Imagine Mundi.* I came to the conclusion that Bede did not claim such authorship, but I postponed enquiry into the discovery of the work itself, and merely assumed it was a case of mistaken attribution of authorship, such as is not unusual in respect of the writings of ancient and medieval authors. This is now cleared up by the discovery, now first made (I believe) in a masonic publication, that the author of *De Imagine Mundi* was Honorius Augustodunensis. As Honorius does not deal with the pillars we need not further deal with him here. I have revised the passage.

(2) The explanation that the word "Stories" is descriptive not only of Bede's work but of the other following items seems convincing.

(3) I knew quite well that there was at least a duality of authorship in the *Cooke MS.* It was not within the scope of my paper to enter upon a critical analysis of the composition of the MS.

(4) We are indebted to Bro. Knoop and his co-authors for further information about Naamah and her invention of the art of weaving. There seems, however, but slender reason for saying as in their book, p. 162, that "she is apparently a goddess, like Minerva, of the female arts sewing, weaving, spinning etc."

In this connection, however, it may not be amiss to refer to Bishop Stillingfleet (1635-1699), *Origines Sacrae* (Edition Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1797).

In vol. ii., book iii., he deals at length with certain alleged derivations of the names of Heathen deities from the names of Adam and his posterity. At page 189 this occurs: "And if it be true which Genebrard and others subscribe to Naamah, the sister of Jubal and Tubal Cain, viz. that she was the inventor of spinning and weaving, then may she come in for Minerva. Thus we see there were some, though but obscure footsteps preserved even of that part of Scripture-history which preceded the flood".

(5) The suggestion as to the date of introduction of the pillars into Masonic legend seems plausible. The materials were however readily to hand for centuries before the *Cooke MS.* was written.

(6) My thanks are due for the information as to the first known record referring to the Liberal Arts as seven.

(7) I agree. The mention was made only to discredit it.

(8) The fact that references to Solomon's pillars are made in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* is certainly relevant, but so long as the "old Gothic Constitutions" remained as the actual documents for the guidance of the Craft the antediluvian pillars retained their prominence. To meet the point I have inserted the word "definitely" before the word "transferred". The old *Constitutions* appear for some time after 1717 to have been promulgated unofficially, perhaps as a protest against their relegation as a consequence of

Dr. Anderson carrying out the directions of Grand Master the Duke of Montagu. Anderson's 1738 Edition of the *Constitutions* at page 113 records under date 24th June, 1721:

"His Grace's Worship and the Lodge finding fault with all the copies of the old Gothic Constitutions, ordered Brother James Anderson, A.M. to digest the same in a new and better Method".

Cole's *Constitutions* were published in four editions dated respectively 1729, 1731, 1751, 1762. The 1729 Edition was entitled *A Book of the Antient Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masons*, and was dedicated to Lord Kingston, G.M. The first two Editions were printed from engraved copper plates. See Bro. Vibert's *The Rare Books of Freemasonry* 1923.

In the 1717 *Constitutions* (p. 75) the following lines occur in the Master's Song:—

"But godly Enoch of Seth's Loins
Two columns raised with mighty skill
And all his Family enjoins
True Colonading to fulfil."

At page 3 of the same book is a footnote as follows:—

"For by some vestiges of Antiquity we find one of 'em, godly Enoch (who dy'd not, but was translated alive to Heaven) prophecying of the final Conflagration at the Day of Judgment (as St. Jude tells us) and likewise of the General Deluge for the Punishment of the World. Upon which he erected his two large Pillars (tho' some ascribe them to Seth) the one of Stone and the other of Brick, whereon were engraven the Liberal Sciences, &c. And that the Stone Pillar remained in Syria until the days of Vespasian the Emperor."

In the *Vita Adae et Evae* quoted in *The Two Earliest Masonic* MSS. it is stated (though not in that quotation) that "Thereupon Seth made the tables".

I have not found in the 1723 and 1738 *Constitutions* any direct references to the two great pillars in the porchway of the Temple.

The 1738 *Constitutions* (p. 3) give a similar account of the antediluvian pillars and the conflicting claims as to whether they were Enoch's pillars or Seth's. Dr. Anderson also refers to Josephus and states that he affirmed the stone Pillar still remained in Syria to his time.

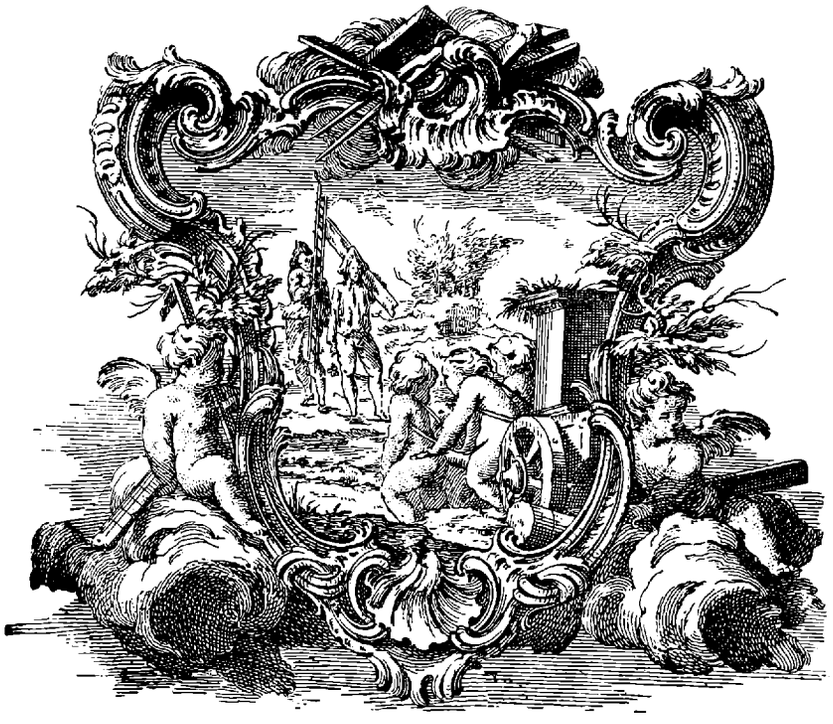
(9) This section of the comments by Bro. Knoop and his friends is full of information. Their discovery of the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae* sheds light on the process by which the Pillar theme was gradually evolved. The date of the *Vita Adae et Evae* is difficult to fix. The Editor of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, quoted in footnote to *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, gives no definite decision, but apparently concludes that the *Vita*, being originally in Hebrew, was in existence soon after the Christian era began. In the same volume Dr. Charles refers to a tradition that Solomon found the tables with a conclusion announcing the coming of Christ.

The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* were not compiled until the fourteenth century, so that it is difficult to show the date of the document on which he relied for any particular statement.

As to the Zoroaster pillars it should be remembered that whatever view is taken as to the date at which Zoroaster flourished he certainly was not an antediluvian, and so did not prepare his pillars in anticipation of Noah's flood.

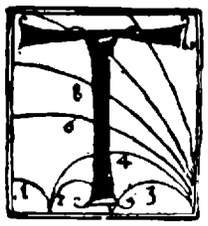
The Zoroaster who is the great prophet of the Parsee religion appears to have lived in the time of Darius Hystaspes. A short account of him is given in the 1738 *Constitutions*, p. 23, and concludes thus: "Zoroastres was slain by Argasp the Scythian A.M. 3517 and Hystaspes died 3518". I may however mention that our Brother Cama who is a Parsee has written to me that he thought that Zoroaster died a natural death.

(10) Bro. Covey Crump in his article on the two pillars suggested that "Sippara" indicated Sepharvaim. Dr. Pinches in his book *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia* (1902) identifies it as now Abu-Habbah and discovered by H. Rassam. At page 158 he says that Sippara is probably wrongly regarded as the Sepharvaim of the Bible. The comments by Bro. Knoop and his colleagues conclude with the words "the solar deity, Zoroaster". I have read many articles on Zoroaster but this deification is new to me and seems unwarrantable. He appears to occupy a similar relation to Parsee writings as does Mahomet to the Koran.



CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION UPON "THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CRAFT."

FROM BRO. R. J. MEEKREN.



HIS last paper by Bro. Poole is very welcome. And though with what is undoubtedly undue diffidence, he intimates that in part it may be regarded as imaginative, he yet exhibits very good grounds for the opinions he advances, conjectural as some of them may be. Nor is excuse needed for such a paper seeing that it is by the controlled use of the imagination that discoveries are made in any field of research.

It is to be remembered also that there are different methods of investigation, each in general applicable specially to certain kinds of problem. But most real questions are mixed in character, above all those connected with the behaviour of human beings, and thus it often happens that more than one mode of dealing with them is appropriate. In the problems attacked in the present paper there are several methods available. There is the strictly historical, depending on records of which the authenticity is established. There are those of literary criticism to deal with the matter contained in documents of a doubtful character, and there is the approach by the methods used in the anthropological sciences, and possibly also by those of psychology, in addition to, what for convenience may be called, the archæological, using the tangible monuments erected in the past by those we assume to be our predecessors in some sense or other. And as allied to this the special knowledge of the engineer and of the handicraftsman can be useful in elucidating various obscurities.

In the first place I feel the need of having a question answered: what is it exactly we are discussing? The Antiquity of the Craft, of course; but what precisely is to be understood by "the Craft"? We know well enough as a rule what is referred to from the context when the phrase is used, but it, like so many others, covers a complex entity. There is the craft itself, the body of technical knowledge and skill generalized from the knowledge and skill of many individuals. There is the Craft, as a group of craftsmen (organized or not) as a part of the body social and politic, and to which they as individuals belong. There is the Craft as an organization (or organizations) whether gild, incorporation or fraternity; and lastly another generalization from the knowledge of a group of individuals, the Craft as a complex of peculiar traditions and usages apart from the occupation or handicraft itself and detachable therefrom. There are no terms available by which these varying meanings can be conveniently designated, and perhaps, so long as we ourselves keep clear and distinct in our own minds which of them we may be particularly referring to, we can by a qualifying word or phrase here and there make it clear also to others just what it is we are speaking of. But confusions have arisen. As in the Legend of the Craft, and Anderson's revision and extension of it, the rise and advance of architecture is taken to be the same thing as a history of the Mason Craft in the inclusive general sense. This is well enough, had not the illegitimate assumption crept in that all eminent patrons of architecture were also members of the Craft taken in another sense. Such naïveté would hardly be possible

now, yet I suspect that more occult and subtle confusions of thought of the same kind have been at the bottom of many differences of opinion among Masonic students where both sides appeared to be basing their contentions upon the same grounds.

With the five postulates concerning the work of the mason everyone must surely agree, although perhaps they do not entirely cover the whole ground. We do know something about the more important edifices, whereas we could hardly hope to know much about the more humble every-day works; houses, barns, foundations, walls and the like, upon which I should suppose a great many masons in parts of Great Britain learned their trade and spent the greater part of their working life. This would be certainly true in Scotland, but I should suppose also in those parts of England where stone construction is common, that is where stone suitable for the purpose can be easily found and won. And if those features of the Craft in which we are specially interested, its traditions and usages, are really ancient and not merely medieval, one would expect to find the greatest conservatism and tenacity in maintaining them among the village and rural masons, and that at all periods. I think that here we may not have wholly rid ourselves of the prepossessions of the older hypothesis that the Masons who possessed these usages and traditions confined themselves to work on cathedrals, or at the least churches. The hypothesis itself is exploded, but its after effects remain in our thinking very often.

The last of the postulates is important, and I believe a good deal depends upon it, though it, too, is often practically ignored; that is its consequences are ignored. But this migratory character attaches to all the trades concerned with building, though perhaps not always to quite the same extent.

The five "peculiarities" of the Craft set forth in the paper do, as Bro. Poole says, seem to be connected in various degrees and more or less directly with the five "postulates". But at first sight it was not obvious why he should have spoken of an imaginary element in them. In the historical period and its hinterland the Craft (in the general and inclusive sense of the term) did, one would say, certainly exhibit all five of them. It is the question to be investigated when these features first appeared and in what order and under what circumstances. I take it that the imaginary element is the assumption, for the argument, that all of them are considerably earlier than it has been usual to allow.

The third and the fourth I should accept only under reservations. The traditional history is certainly remarkable for its elaboration, but the fact to which our attention has been drawn in the "postulates", that architectural monuments are conspicuous and enduring, and the further fact that they are often mentioned in chronicle and history along with wars and kings, form a necessary condition for such elaboration which did not exist in any other craft. It is the Charges or Constitutions as a whole, including the Legend that seem to be more nearly unique. The only possible parallel (as far as we know) being the Devoirs of the Compagnonnage, which from Perdiguier's account seem to have been used in much the same way, and may have contained something like a history. The laws and ordinances of the Steinmetzen, though written, are not analogous. On the other hand other crafts did have legends concerning their origin. Bro. Gordon Hills in a paper presented to the Lodge in 1915 gave some account of those of the carpenters and blacksmiths. But by implication we are almost obliged to assume that there were such legends. All trades had their patron saints, some of them christianized personages of pagan mythology, while others had attracted to themselves mythological characteristics. These saints were as a rule chosen on account of some connection, often very forced, with the given occupation. And from the proneness of humanity to invent aetiological myths (and the faculty is by no means lost) such stories would almost inevitably arise.

Personally I think the significance of the traditional history of the Craft has been over-rated so far as the problems connected with the ritual are concerned. I do not think it had any more vital connection with the initiation than the presentation of a copy of the *Constitutions* to the Candidate (which is required by the Grand Lodge of Quebec) has to-day. Admittedly some of the *eulogia* and like additional matter do reflect the phraseology, and occasionally, the ideas of the Old Charges, but that is quite a different matter. The only hope of arriving at the original forms is to strip off the accretions as and when we find them to be such.

The fourth peculiarity in the list is not quite clear to me. Is "moralising on the working tools" to be taken as defining "speculative element", or is the latter something else? For discussing questions of origin I should hold the word speculative to be the strict converse of operative. And the speculative labours of Masons on this view have no more to do with ritual than the operative processes. But moralizing on the working tools would be at least an important part of the speculative element. I confess to often using the word loosely myself, but there is need of precision in our terms.

Returning to the moralizations, I suspect they may have existed in other occupations. I remember as a child an old carpenter thus moralizing. The details are very vague, but I believe the plane, mallet or hammer and the saw came into it. In later life I have heard a cobbler moralize on the tools and operations of his occupation, which struck me as more remarkable for the unpromising nature of the material than for its depth or value. I should expect that such speculation might arise anywhere and at any period, and might have become in places a tradition. We have three specimens of such moralizing of Masonic provenance coming from the pre-historic period if we include the inscriptions of Steinmetz origin in Germany, otherwise only two. They do not seem to be beyond the power of any one with a turn for that sort of thing, and many uneducated people have such a turn. In any case I do not think it was a necessary part of primitive ritual, any more than, to compare it with more vital things, a sermon is necessary at the celebration of the Eucharist.

Non-operative, or so to speak honorary, membership in gilds was not uncommon, in the later stages at least, and some gilds had such members of very high rank indeed. Also this was occurring earlier than we definitely know of such membership in the masons' organization. We would like to think that such "speculative" members were attracted by something mysterious in the Craft. I should; but I am compelled to doubt it. I think such members affiliated with the gilds for reasons quite obvious at the time, and quite practical reasons of personal benefit, or in the case of kings and princes, for reasons of policy. It often happens that it is the obvious that is not seen till it is pointed out. There was a very good reason why among the changes and chances of turbulent periods men in high social position might seek to become affiliated with the mason craft. It would be a kind of insurance, like a sceret hiding place, or a subterranean passage out of the castle. The percentage of Freemasons in the historic period among men whose avocations take them far afield into strange lands, soldiers, sailors, travellers, and so on, has always been and still is far higher than among those of stay-at-home occupations. Ashmole and Mainwaring were made Masons during a civil war, and Moray at a siege.

Nor can I believe that the diffusion of a new style of architecture, or a new technique requires an organization to account for it. In Eastern Canada I have myself observed a change in the constructing of wooden buildings, quite as great in its way as the change from Norman to Early English, if much humbler and more insignificant. The change covered a period of about twenty years. It was made without the least shadow of organization, not even of a Trades Union which then were non-existent in the country. Architects and

contractors had nothing to do with it, for they were in the great majority of cases not employed. It was so radical that now any man who can saw a board off reasonably square and drive a nail straight can set up as a carpenter; while it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to find a man capable of laying out the timbers for one of the old frame constructions, which forty years ago were universal. Twenty years is a considerable period in a man's life, but in historical perspective it seems very little. Speaking with the diffidence proper to one who is only an amateur, I should say that in my opinion the differences in appearance and general effect between the Norman, say, and Early English were much greater than the differences in technical procedure. I am not ignoring the change in tools, from the pick and axe to the chisel and drill. The older tools require much greater skill to use them effectively and safely, but on the other hand the newer tools led to an elaboration of detail that could hardly have been attempted with the older ones. But the differences in laying out the stones would be negligible. Any man who could do the one would have no difficulty with the other. The cutting of the voussoirs of the arches in the two styles would be the same, and so would setting them. That is, as component parts of an arch. And while the mouldings and ornamentation are very different, they are, structurally speaking, only matters of detail. A trained man has often only to see a new process in operation, sometimes only the completed result, to be able to reproduce it should he desire or need to do so. A master mason might go on a pilgrimage, and between his devotions and religious duties examine a church or a shrine in the newer style, and it would be enough, technically speaking, to lead to its introduction within the sphere of his labours. Neither should I suppose that the Assemblies, or even the lodges, were, as such, concerned with such matters—they would be taken for granted. Undoubtedly there would be discussions between individuals and groups. We have the word of Villard de Honnecourt that masters did discuss points of design, and doubtless also any new technique they had seen or had invented. But, outside of compressed-air hammers and drills, machine saws and lathes, the processes of working stone have changed very little since men first began to use it for building.

The Hiram legend is too large a subject to do more than touch upon within the limits of discussion. But there is one point that seems very important. To my regret I have not seen Bro. Covey-Crump's work, and perhaps he mentions it. I was first indebted to Bro. David Williamson of Nevada for my knowledge of it. It is that whereas all English versions of the Bible, both the pre-Reformation MS. translations and the later printed ones, translate the epithet or title, Abi, or Abiv; the Coverdale Bible, which is supposed to have used Tyndale's translation of Kings and Chronicles, merely transliterates it as part of the name. This was that version of the Bible that created such a sensation, which people flocked to the churches to hear read, and would sit and listen to so long as they could get any one to read to them. It was also so thoroughly suppressed shortly afterwards that hardly any copies survived destruction. It seems as if it must have been then that the Masons, or some of them in some places, seized upon Solomon's master craftsman and brass founder as a suitable personage to be the hero of their ritual myth. Especially as he has often been confused with Adoniram, who was superintendent of the "corvée" (and there is no great difference between Father Hiram and Lord Hiram) who was probably the same individual as the Adoram (the Septuagint does call him Adoniram) who was stoned by the people at the accession of Jeroboam to the throne. Coverdale's Bible came out in 1535, and this fits in with the suppression of all mention of Hiram in the Old Charges to which Bro. Poole draws our attention. If his name was adopted at that time for the prototypical master it may very well have seemed proper to suppress it in a written document.

But I cannot agree that the Hiramic legend has no parallels, once it is divested of the Hebrew wrappings and the rationalizations in which it is disguised.

The subject of the organization and the means of recognition have been left to the last, for I think they are very important in any attempt to work back to origins. The former of the two indeed appears to be a crucial question. Bro. Poole says the organization was not "bounded by town or even shire, but extended over the whole country". If so, and I for one most heartily agree with him, it was not a gild. A gild was properly a local organization. Its members were so to speak neighbours, it had a habitation and a name, it had officers, usually with executive powers. The organization of the masons had none of these. It may be that the mediæval mason might have said it was a gild had he been called upon to give it a name; more likely he would have said it was a society or a fraternity, but that would be because he (and we are in a like case) had no name for the kind of thing that it really was.

I am very well aware that this is stark heresy, and that it runs counter not only to a consensus of opinion, but to an opinion that is held by all Masonic scholars almost without exception. Many analogies have been shown between the MS. *Constitutions* and gild ordinances, and it is quite probable that in formulating their customs the masons followed the gild model. Masons became gildsmen, they were members of gilds of hammermen, of squaremen, of Companies of brick-layers, plasterers and mortarers and even of bodies quite incongruous with their occupation, and were there a number of them sufficient for the purpose domiciled in one place they formed gilds of their own. And in such cases as the last it is obvious that all that belonged to the mason's organization did enter the gild in a sense—as something pertaining to all its members. It is most likely that such a state of affairs would lead to confusion, but as the one organization was inclusive, and the other essentially exclusive, the functioning of each would be different, not to say opposed in tendency, which would prevent fusion as a rule. Yet we find in Scotland, in the penumbra of the historic period, lodges that had become quasi-gilds, exercising the functions of the latter while remaining lodges. No group can avoid being influenced by ideas and manners common to society as a whole.

I should fully expect that the minstrels and the miners had originally an organization—I use the word for lack of a better, and it is fairly non-committal—very similar to that of the masons. Both occupations are pre-historic. And also I should quite confidently suppose that the carpenters at some early period had one also, and that indeed it might have been from this that the masons derived their own. The wrights in Scotland had something of the kind, and as the word wright in its various compounds designates some specialized form of the wood-worker, the carpenters were in their proper place among them. So far as technical skill goes the carpenters were scarcely if at all inferior to the masons. No one can think so who has seen the timbering above the vaulting of a cathedral. The wonderful framing of Salisbury spire is much more complicated than the thin shell of stone that covers it, while the beauty of the carved roof trusses in many old parish churches is patent to everyone.

Bro. Knoop and Mr. Jones have suggested that the known organization of the minstrels may have been used by the government to reduce the numbers of vagrants, and this could well account for the form which it had taken when it emerges into our ken. The miners on the other hand, though scattered over a considerable area, were not mobile in the same way that the minstrels and the building trades would be, and this may be the reason that their organization never emerged from its native obscurity.

The germ plasm, to use a biological figure, of all social organization is a common interest. This interest may be permanent or passing, trivial or important. Among the most powerful is a common need for security, whether of life and property, or of the means to gain a livelihood. If the various kinds of social organization were to be classified upon an evolutionary scheme the

species to which I suppose that of the masons belonged would be low down in the scale. An inchoate lien consisting in a common occupation and a body of traditional usages. It had neither head nor tail, no localization, no machinery of co-ordination. It was hardly indeed to be classed as more than the matrix of an organization were it not that it had an organ—the lodge. The institution that is, not the name, for that may be relatively late as thus used. The lodge was a temporary thing, springing up like a mushroom and disappearing even more quickly and completely. The botanic metaphor is closer than may appear. For the plant is no more than a network of fine threads running hidden through the earth or compost in which it lives. The mushroom is its organ of reproduction.

Of course there is the Assembly, which exhibits a more definite form of organization. But about this there has been much difference of opinion as to what it really was. Two possibilities occur on my view. One that the Assembly was a lodge—a lodge of obligation and (in theory at least) universally attended. The other that it was a quite new organ of the group which the circumstances and conditions of the time made desirable or necessary. Perhaps more likely it was both. That it derived from the lodge and evolved into something more adapted to handle what might be called the external affairs of the members of the mason craft. As it is described it certainly appears to have been a court, very like, *mutatis mutandis*, the court of the minstrels to which Bro. Knoop and Mr. Jones have drawn our attention.

Bro. Poole's suggestion that the Legend of the Craft may at the very least reflect some echoes of actual occurrences is one with which I am in agreement, and he seems to have made out a very good case for the possibility that some new organization came into being in the time of Athelstan. Added to, or superimposed, as I should say, upon the older one, for the latter could co-exist in or under the new one as a low form of life can live in a more complex one.

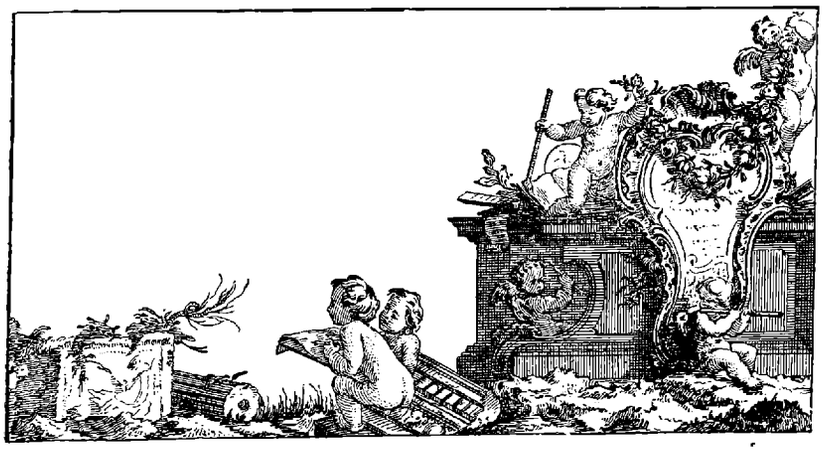
The means of recognition would arise naturally and spontaneously out of the same body of tradition and usage which I assume to have formed one main part of the common interest of the masons, and out of which their original organization sprang; for this would be not so much its *raison d'être* as its *esse*. The monumental indications to which Bro. Poole refers, and there are others, while very intriguing do not to me seem conclusive, certainly not by themselves. We should first of all consider the nature of means of recognition generally of which those used by the masons would be a specialised variety. Men of the same occupation, trade or profession, recognize each other as such as easily as Freemasons do. There is no mystery about it. They have a common mental background and a similar experience. The exchange of a few sentences without any ulterior intention is quite sufficient. Where formulated means of recognition exist they almost always refer to something known to all members of the group and to them only. They arise quite naturally and spontaneously as the need for them arises. And in exclusive groups practising rites of initiation these signs and tokens almost universally consist of ritual allusions. The secret societies of West Africa and the Thian ti Hwui of China will serve as examples.

The various "signs to know a Mason" more or less clearly described in some of the old Catechisms have not received the attention they merit. Many of them seem to be the kind of thing that could be made up or modified according to circumstances. We may recall a later formula that in so many words lays down how such indications are to be constructed. Many of these old "signs" are based on a reference to or emphasis upon the number three, the left side, or the square. The first two almost certainly have a ritual reference, and the third may have. To suppose that signs of recognition were first devised or manufactured arbitrarily, and that later a ritual was invented to account for them is psychologically upside down. It is not only to put the cart before the horse, but to insist that the cart draws the horse. For the

purpose of this metaphor I of course assume that both cart and horse are on reasonably level ground!

I have no doubt that horse-play did enter into the proceedings at the admission of new members into the organization. It would be almost abnormal had it not. The spirit that prompts to such amusement at the expense of someone else is by no means dead. For example, the Past Master's Degree in the Capitular rite in the U.S.A. consists of little else but horse-play. It is only a coincidence of course, but it is curious to recall the ritual associations of the phrase. The beast disguises and the hobby-horse of folk festivities at Yule and Midsummer are links in a chain connected with an immemorial past. And that "horse-play" could be a very serious matter indeed is manifest when we remember that most potent vehicle of evil-working magic, the *nidstong*, of the old Norse. It is seldom realized how much of primitive thought—and ritual—is fossilized, like the fly in amber, in words and phrases of every day life.

It may seem that where Bro. Poole has made a cautious ascent in a balloon securely anchored to solid earth I have mounted the magic horse of the Arabian Nights and flown away into the misty empyrean. Undoubtedly it is safer to keep to the paved ways of strictly historical research, but the distance that can be travelled upon them is limited and the ground has by now been quite fully explored. I do go further than Bro. Poole. He has made a plea for the systematic use of the monuments, the tangible evidence of the work of the mediæval masons, in order to obtain more light upon the subject. I believe that still further light may be obtained by other methods besides. Methods that are just as scientific, and yielding, within their limits, results just as well founded and trustworthy as those based on documentary evidence. But however this may appear, Bro. Poole in his paper has, to use an Americanism that is now almost become classical, just been "asking for it".



A RECORD OF THE OLD LODGE AT CHESTER.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES.

OUR purpose is to make a suggestion with regard to a stray sheet occurring among the papers, now in the British Museum, of the famous Chester herald, Randle Holme the third. The sheet (folio 34 in *Harleian MS. 2054*) is reproduced photographically on the next page of this note. Upon turning to that reproduction, readers will observe that the sheet contains 26 names, arranged on no obvious principle, together with certain translinear strokes and monetary entries, the meaning of which is anything but clear. The top line, which may be a heading, reads:—

William Wade w[t] give for to be a free Mason

We accept the conclusion, to which those who have studied this fragment have generally come, that the information contained in it, such as it is, relates to the Lodge existing about 1673 at Chester, to which city most, if not all, of the men named in the document belonged.

The interpretation of the record has long been a matter for speculation among masonic students. Rylands, some sixty years ago, after devoting considerable attention to it (in *Masonic Magazine*, 1881-82), concluded that it is a list of persons made freemasons, and of the amounts they paid as initiation fees; but he recognised that there were several points remaining unexplained:—

> The reason for the difference in the amount of the entrance fees paid, as given in the analysis at the end of the list, is not easy to explain. Why, it may be asked, are the first five names separated from the others, and given in different form? Are they superior officers of the Fellowship, and are we to understand the marks occurring before their names as recording the number of attendances at the lodge, the number of votes recorded at some election, or the payment of certain odd amounts?

Gould (see his *History*, ii., 185 *folg.*) was doubtful about the conclusion reached by Rylands, but had no definite alternative to offer. He quoted some evidence to support the suggestion that the marks or strokes represent votes, and suggested that the irregular sums of money might represent subscriptions, and not entrance fees, on a graded scale. Hughan (see *Old Charges*, 101-2) also felt uncertain about the solution offered by Rylands; and there, so far as most students were concerned, the question remained until about 1934, when Coulthurst and Lawson (see *A.Q.C.*, xlv., 83 *folg.*) made three suggestions. So far as we know, their first suggestion was wholly, and their second partly, new. According to their view, (i.) the top line should read:—

William Wade['s account of] what [each member] give[s] for to be a free Mason.

(ii.) The marks represent voting, the election being for Master, Wardens, and Clerk. One of the first pair having most votes was to act as Master; the third

and fourth were to be Wardens; and the fifth, as indicated by his account in the top line, was Clerk. (iii.) The amount placed against each name in the list was for quarterage, fees or fines.

When Coulthurst and Lawson wrote, another and very different explanation had been in the field for some twenty-five years, though it was not known to most English masonic students. Begemann (see his *Freimaurerei in England*, i., 378 *folg.*) in 1909 had made a series of suggestions. (i.) The five names at the top right-hand corner of the sheet are not—as represented in Gould's printed transcript—in line with the five rows of strokes. It is clear from the facsimile reproduction in *Q.C.A.*, iii. [and in *A.Q.C.*, xlv.] that the names are compressed into a smaller space; the first name is lower than the first line of marks and the fifth name is higher than the last line of marks. This would suggest that the list of five names constitutes an independent entry having no necessary relation to the strokes. (ii.) Begemann read the letter above the *w* in the top line not as *t* but as an *l*, with a stroke through the tail to indicate contraction. Accordingly, he read the line thus:—

William Wade will give for to be a free Mason.

(iii.) The amounts following, opposite the strokes, do not stand for a definite entrance fee, but for "compensation" (*Vergütungen*) payable by the candidate at different rates to each individual member. (iv.) The strokes indicate that the candidate was to give 20s. eight times, 10s. seven times, 15s. once, 5s. twice, and 8s. once. Admittedly this does not tally with the entries which follow, and one or other requires some slight adjustment. (v.) The five names at the top right-hand corner serve as confirmation, the first four being presumably names of officials and the fifth that of the candidate. (vi.) The figures at the bottom right-hand corner mean that nine members gave their consent (*Zustimmung*) for £1 each, nine for 10s. each, one for 15s., one for 5s. and one for 8s. The four officials named in the top corner either were not entitled to receive payments or had declined them.

There can be no doubt about the correctness of Begemann's observation with regard to the relative position of the first five names and the strokes; and we agree with his inference, namely, that the names and the marks have no proved connection. We do not accept his reading of the first line; the letter written above the line has no loop and is very similar to the *t* in *to* occurring in the same line. But whether one reads "will give" or "what [he must] give" makes little or no difference to the sense. The suggestion that candidates made graduated payments to individual members of the Lodge, payments amounting in the aggregate to a considerable sum, seems to us inherently unlikely.

The riddle, it is clear, cannot be solved on the basis of this sheet alone; and this leaves room for several hypotheses, but itself provides no means of testing them. We believe, however, that light may be thrown on the question by means of an unrelated, though later, record pertaining to the Lodge at Swalwell. The problem is to account for, and to connect, two things, namely (a) variation in payments, and (b) voting; and both points seem to be covered by the following entry:—

> June 14, 1733. It is agreed by the Society, that any brother of the lodge that hath an apprentice that serves his time equally and lawfully as he ought to do, shall be made free for the sum of 8s. And for any working Mason, not of the lodge, the sum of 10s. And to any gentleman or other that is not a working Mason, according to the majority of the company (*Masonic Magazine*, iii., 73.)

William Wade w^t giue' for to be a free Mason

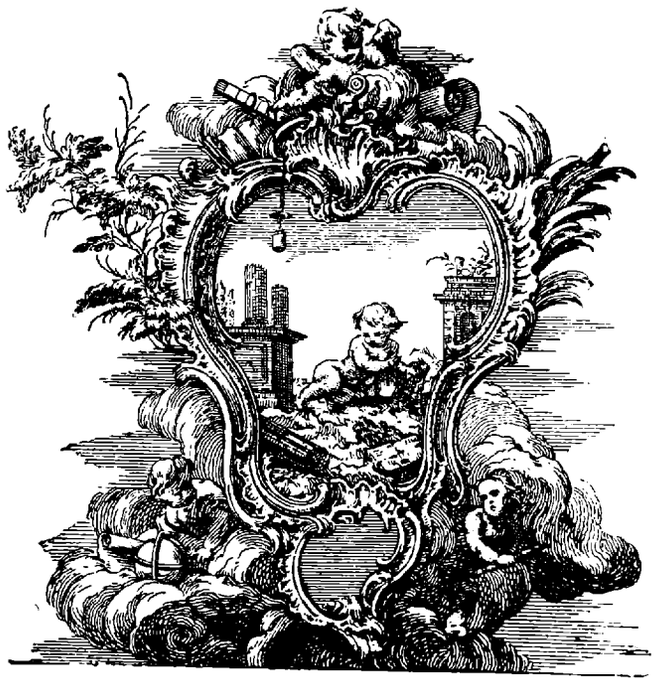
|||||||	d 20	Robert Morris
||||||	10	Willm Street ~~Alder~~
		15	John Hughes.
||	5	Sam pike taylor
		8	willm Wade

Willm Harvey	20
Mils Holden	20
Pet Downham	20
Tho ffoulkes	10
will Hughes	8
Jo ffletcher	10
Sole Hilton	15
Ran Holme	10
Ric taylor	10
Ric Ratcliffe	20
will woods	5
Jo Parry	10
Tho Morris	10
Tho May	10
will Robinson	20
James Mort	20
Jo Lloyd	20
Geo Harvey	20
will Jackson	10
Robt Harvey	20
John Madock	10

for 1s — 9
for 10d — 9
for 15d — 1
for 5d — 1
for 8d — 1

Our suggestion is, therefore, that the purpose of the voting, indicated by the strokes in the upper part of the sheet, was to decide whether William Wade, the candidate, was to pay 20s., 10s., 15s., 5s. or 8s. for his admission to the Chester Lodge. Like Begemann, we cannot make the strokes agree with the figures below; for there are only 19 strokes although apparently 21 members voted. It may be conjectured that when the secretary found himself unable to reconcile the number of votes with the number of voters, a second vote was taken. Then one member changed his mind as to the appropriate sum, for originally two were in favour of charging 5s. and subsequently only one member decided on that amount. At the second vote the name of each voter and the fee chosen were carefully recorded, the result being summarised in the bottom right-hand corner of the sheet.

As to the five names (of which Wade's was fifth) in the upper right-hand corner, we suggest that all were the names of candidates, and that the voting on the first four of them was recorded on a previous sheet, or sheets, now lost.



REVIEW.

THE LODGE OF PROBITY No. 61.

By T. W. Hanson.

CONSTITUTED in the year 1738, Lodge of Probity, Halifax, has fittingly celebrated its bi-centenary by the publication of this history, which is worthy of the Lodge and the occasion. Let me say at once that while it will appeal to a wider circle than the Craft because of the glimpses given of old Yorkshire life and worthies, I must confine myself in this short review to indicating a few items among its contents that deserve to be brought to the notice of serious Masonic students; one of these, at least, is of very great weight and significance to all of us who are interested in the development of Masonic ritual.

Among the many beautiful illustrations pride of place is rightly given to the copy of the Deputation under which the Lodge was founded in 1738. This copy was made from the original document by Bro. Michael Devon, assistant to the Grand Secretary in the year 1765. It is thus almost of as venerable an age as the original, now lost, and is one of the oldest English Masonic charters in existence; a Deputation, be it noted, and not a Warrant.

Fortunately many of the early records of the Lodge have been preserved, and from these we can gather a very significant fact, that the Brethren of Halifax were Antient in their working though owning allegiance to the Grand Lodge of the Moderns. The Chair degree was known to them; and in 1763 Deacons were appointed as Lodge officers. This period was the height of the feud between Antient and Modern, and it will be remembered that "Yorkshiremen, Irishmen and Scotchmen" were, according to a polemical pamphlet of the day, said to be the material from which the Grand Lodge of the Antients drew the bulk of its supporters. This is but one pearl gathered from the Lodge books, which are complete from the year 1762. Here is another taken from the year 1768:—

War begets Poverty,
Poverty Peace,
Peace makes riches flow
Fate ne'er doth cease.
Riches produce Pride
Pride is warr's ground
War begets Poverty
And thus all things go round.
Omnium rerum vicissitudo.

There always is a thrill in the unexpected, and any Brother in search of entertainment and surprises will find them in the Lodge minutes for the year 1770, when a new Lodge held at the Bacchus, Halifax, caused a scandal in the Craft. The affair reads more like a cinema drama of the underworld than a Masonic dispute. What happened was that a gang of coiners took out a Warrant in order to hatch their plots behind closed doors. Alas! there are more things in Masonic history than square with the precepts of the Order.

The most important part of the records, however, and to my mind it is so in the highest degree, deals with the period of the Union. Lodge of Probity in 1814 wished to adapt its existing ritual to that fixed by the Lodge of Reconciliation, and found a guide and friend in Philip Broadfoot, one of the founders of the famous Stability Lodge of Instruction in 1817. Some of his letters to the Lodge of Probity have been preserved, and the most valuable one, referring to ritual matters, is given in facsimile. While advising ritualists to go to the book itself for details, I may briefly state that in this letter occurs the earliest reference to the Skerrit as a W.T. that I have as yet met; the date is 1816. Here too the question of the right lights for the third degree is discussed, and it appears that the "old lamp" had its advocates even thus early, and that its use persisted in Probity down to our own times, though now discontinued. Let me echo the words used in this connection by Bro. Hanson: "I do not regret that I was raised in the irregular manner" in my own case the lamp was lit in Belfast.

Just one more quotation from Bro. Hanson:—

"The fragments of the original Reconciliation working, contained in Broadfoot's letters, are invaluable to the Masonic student".

Naturally, in the course of its long life Lodge of Probity has collected many treasures, such as a copy of the Book M, one of the rarest in Freemasonry, and a manuscript of the Old *Constitutions*, transcribed by William Jubb, *circa* 1736; but the Lodge's most valuable possession is that of a good name for all that is best in Masonry; and long may its Brethren continue to spread the Light in kindly Yorkshire.

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

NOTES.

An Early Printed Reference to Freemasonry.—A hitherto unreported reference to Freemasonry has been discovered by Bro. Lewis Edwards. It occurs in the second of two poems: *The Pig* and *The Mastiff*, printed by J. Stephens for J. Brotherton, at the "Bible" in Cornhill, 1727, in an octavo pamphlet of 28 pages. The author's name is not given; but the poem was written by Samuel Wesley, Junr., a brother of the celebrated John Wesley. The title page is: The Pig and the Mastiff. Two Tales. // De te fabula narratur. // An ornamental device above the Imprint. *The Pig* is a story of a group of husbands who wished to test the dutifulness of their wives, and directed them to boil a pig for dinner. Apparently this was considered so ludicrous a request that it was unanimously declined. *The Mastiff* is a silly story of a jealous husband. It is in this that the masonic reference occurs. The wife is unable to understand a message supposed to have been sent to her by her husband.

> She might as easily have sought
> To sound the bottom of a plot;
> Or, though a woman, ta'en occasion
> T'enquire the secret of *Free Mason*,
> And how, as Mystic Lodge supposes,
> Duke *Wharton* can succeed to *Moses*.

The allusion is late for Wharton, who left England, never to return, in 1725. Moses as Grand Master the author would have found in Anderson.

Pritchard's "Masonry Dissected."—In the Leicester *Masonic Reprints*, Nos. I. and XII., and in his *Bibliography of Masonic Catechisms and Exposures*, the late Bro. Thorp accepted, as the First Edition of Pritchard's *Masonry Dissected*, that of which the only known copy is in America, and which was reproduced by the late Bro. E. T. Carson in 1867. This has the imprint:—LONDON: / Printed by *Thomas Nichols*, at the Crown, without Temple Bar./ MD.CC.XXX. But the Second Edition, although following immediately upon the First, has the imprint:—LONDON: / Printed for J. WILFORD, at the *Three Flowers-de Luces* behind/the *Chapter-house* near St. *Paul's*. 1730. (Price 6d.)/.

It has always seemed to me remarkable (to say the least) that the two editions should have been set up from entirely different type and issued by different publishers; but a recent examination of the advertisements for them in the *Daily Journal* shows, as I expected, that this was not the case. The advertisement for the First edition appeared in the *Daily Journal* on Tuesday, 20th October, 1730, and was as follows:—

THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED

(*Dedicated to the Right Worſhipful and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Maſons and the Author's Affidavit before Sir Richard Hopkins prefix'd*)

MASONRY DISSECTED: Being a Univerſal and Genuine Deſcription of all its Branches, from the Original to this Preſent Time; as it deliver'd in the Conſtituted Regular Lodges both in City and Country, according to the ſeveral Degrees of Admiſſion. Giving an Impartial Account of their Regular Proceeding in Initiating their New-Members in the whole Three Degrees of Maſonry, viz. I Enter'd Apprentice. II Fellow Craft. III Maſter. To which is added, The Author's Vindication of himſelf. By SAMUEL PRITCHARD, late Member of a Conſtituted Lodge. [*sic*]

Printed for J. WILFORD, at the Three Flower-de-Luces behind the Chapter-Houſe, near St. Paul's. Price 6d.

The Second Edition was advertised the *next day*, on 21st October, in exactly the same words except that "*The Second Edition of*" was inserted between lines 5 and 6 of the preceding advertisement.

On Friday, 23rd October, the Second Edition was advertised for the second time with exactly the same advertisement, except that the fourth and fifth lines are omitted; and instead, the following is added at the bottom:—

"NB. There is prefixed to this Account, a True Copy of the Affidavit made before Sir RICHARD HOPKINS, of its Truth and Genuineneſs in every Particular, without which all other accounts are ſpurious, and groſs Impoſitions on the Publick."

It will be seen, then, that the First Edition was also published by J. Wilford and indeed was printed from the same type, differing only in the fact that it does not have the words "The Second Edition" on the title-page. It will also be seen, from the third advertisement, that the book was already being printed for other Publishers, and no doubt the one printed by Thomas Nichols was one of those "pirated" editions.

The Third Edition was advertised on Saturday, 31st October, 1730, in exactly the same words as on 23rd October, except that line 4 has now "*The Third Edition, of*" instead of Second Edition and the word "is" (which had

MASONRY
DISSECTED:

BEING

A Universal and Genuine

DESCRIPTION

OF

All its BRANCHES from the Original to this Present Time.

As it is deliver'd in the

Constituted Regular Lodges

Both in CITY and COUNTRY,

According to the

Several Degrees of ADMISSION.

Giving an Impartial ACCOUNT of their Regular Proceeding in Initiating their New Members in the whole Three Degrees of MASONRY.

VIZ.

I. ENTER'D 'PRENTICE, II. FELLOW CRAFT. III. MASTER.

To which is added,

The Author's VINDICATION of himself.

By SAMUEL PRICHARD, *late Member of a* *CONSTITUTED LODGE.*

LONDON:

Printed for J. WILFORD, at the *Three Flower-de-Luces* behind the *Chapter house* near St. *Paul's*. 1730. (Price 6*d.*)

Title page of First Edition.

MASONRY DISSECTED:

BEING

A Universal and Genuine

DESCRIPTION

Of all its BRANCHES from the Original to this Present Time.

As it is deliver'd in the

Conſtituted Regular Lodges

Both in CITY and COUNTRY,

According to the

Several Degrees of ADMISSION.

Giving an Impartial ACCOUNT of their Regular Proceeding in Initiating their New Members in the whole Three Degrees of MASONRY.

VIZ.

I. ENTER'D 'PRENTICE, II. FELLOW CRAFT. III. MASTER.

To which is added,

The Author's VINDICATION of himſelf.

The THIRD EDITION.

By SAMUEL PRICHARD, *late Member of a* *CONSTITUTED LODGE.*

LONDON:

Printed for J. WILFORD, at the *Three Flower-de Luces* behind the *Chapter-houſe* near St. *Paul's*. 1730. (Price 6 *d.*)

Title page of Third Edition.

been omitted by misprint in the first three advertisements) is inserted in line 7, which now ends " . . . as it *is* deliver'd in the Conſti- ".

There is a copy of the true First Edition in the Library of Grand Lodge. It has bound up with it, as a frontispiece folded, a copy of the engraved version of "The Mystery of Free-Masons" which had been printed in the *Daily Journal* on 15th and 18th August, 1730. Another copy of the true First Edition is in the Wallace-Heaton Collection.

It will be noticed that Prichard made his affidavit before a Magistrate, not a Commissioner for Oaths and an Attorney, as Bro. Vibert [*Misc. Lat.*, xiv., 115] supposed. Sir Richard Hopkins, who lived in Devonshire Square (in Bishopsgate Ward Without), was Alderman of the Limestreet Ward, Sub-Governor of the South Sea Company and a Member of the Fishmongers' Company. He died on 2nd January, 1736 [NS]. His will, dated 23rd January, 1734, was proved on 23rd February, 1736 [P.C.C. 34 Derby].

The above-mentioned sequence is shown clearly by the reproductions of the title-pages. In the illustrations are given the title-pages of the first and third editions. It was not possible to obtain an illustration of the title-page of the second edition, but this can be consulted in *Masonic Reprints*, xii., by J. T. Thorp, where it will be seen that the only difference between the title-pages of the second and third editions is the number of the edition.

S.N.S.

Noorthouck and the 1784 "Constitutions".—The Provincial Library at Worcester has recently acquired a copy of the 1784 *Constitutions* which was evidently at one time in the possession of J. Noorthouck, the author or compiler of the Book. On the inside cover is his bitter commentary on the reception it received on publication:—

> "This work, much as it differs from all former editions, is either so ill executed, the members of the Grand Lodge such incompetent judges of literary matters, or the fraternity in general so regardless and inattentive to their Constitutions; that to this day (March 5th, 1794) I am totally ignorant whether they approve or disapprove it! It was received with sulky silence, and the Hall Committee, that have so carefully recorded their superintendance over it, in the title page, was so august a body, that though I once was summoned to attend and though I was a brother mason, I was not once admitted to the presence of the Committee, nor ever received the least instance of civility from it!" (Not signed.)

It will probably be agreed that if he correctly describes the treatment he received he had some grounds for feeling sore, especially when we remember that Entick, the author of the 1756 *Constitutions*, was made a Grand Warden after the publication of his book, and was again appointed to carry out the revision of 1767.

On the back fly leaf is gummed a cutting from the *Public Advertiser*, July 29th, 1786: "Extract of a letter from a Freemason in London to a Brother at Wigan":—

> "You tell me you propose to make your next tour, to London, at the proper time for paying a visit to our Grand Lodge; of which you have formed very high ideas. I assure you, that the higher your ideas of this convention are, the more suitable they will be to those of the exalted personages of whom it consists; for, as to your old rustic ideas of the general equality among Masons, I advise you to leave them at home to take up again on your return, lest you should lose

them by the way. To prepare you for this august sight, I farther advise you to ask your Brother for the description of an Eastern Durbar; for I know he has been at Allahabad, and was for some time at the Court of the Nabob of Oude. In brief, men whose acquaintance no person need be anxious for elsewhere, carry themselves in Freemason's Hall with all the *hauteur* of Knights of the Polar Star, Garter, or any other Order under the sun. You may deem the badge of a Mason to be as ancient and honourable as you please, and may amuse yourself in your private lodge with the fond idea of being brothers to Kings and Princes; but however this may be you must not think to be treated as a brother, by those who wear aprons bordered with red and blue; as you will find, if you have the temerity to accost one of these distinguished personages.———The last Grand Lodge I attended, or ever meant to attend, after the stage procession of these dignitaries was over, and the illustrious groupe all settled, your Prov.Gr.Master happened to pass me. I had, as you know, put a little business into his hands, at your recommendation, about two years ago; so that we recollected each other. He showed his knowledge of me by one of those rude stares by which great men extort a salute from little men. I obeyed, and was preparing to take him by the hand in a brotherly way; but lo! after a very formal inclination of his head that was barely observable, he turned away instantly, to catch more tributes of the same kind, which I saw him receive in the same stile, until he approached the senior warden in the chair with a sociable relaxation of features.

The Grand Lodge is, in short, a theatre where men, whose ideas of their own importance are thwarted every where else, indemnify themselves amply from the little circle around them. How far the true interests of the society may be advanced by the managers of it assuming so much *farcical* consequence, I leave to the discussion of wiser heads than

(Yours, etc, ''

This is the vitriolic outpouring of a disappointed man and was probably written by Noorthouck himself as there is a slight correction in ink of a printer's error such as would be best known to the author of the letter. The reception the book actually had, compared with the hopes expressed by the author in page x. of the Preface, must arouse sympathy:—

> '' The pleasure received by the editor in the execution of his task can only be increased by his labours proving acceptable and useful to his brethren and by having candid allowances made for his deficiencies ''.

There are numerous emendations in ink throughout the book, chiefly verbal, corrections of typographical errors and such alterations as '' ample form '' to '' due form '', together with an evident desire to economise space by cutting out the names of some of those Brethren '' wearing aprons bordered with red and blue '', recorded in his historical notes as attending Grand Lodge. It would almost appear from these alterations, extending throughout the book, that he expected or at least hoped he might one day be called on to undertake a further edition. There are a few notes of more than verbal interest.

On page 11, after a reference to the Tower of Babel, he notes:—'' This description is restored from the first edition of Dr. Anderson's work ''. Again on page 26, after the account of the temple:—'' N.B. To compare all relating to the Temple with the Bible and with Josephus ''. A warning to all to consult the authorities before committing pen to paper. On page 67, and in reference to the pages rewritten and inserted after the book had been set up, there is the

remark:—"N.B. The above passages scored are what I adopted from Sandbys lecture". (Lines 8-12, 23-32 on page 67 and 1-4 on page 68.)

It is an interesting speculation to consider whether Noorthouck was induced to rewrite and insert new matter in these two pages by a desire to please the powers in Great Queen Street by quoting from Sandby's lecture, the latter being then in high esteem as the Architect of Freemasons' Hall. There does not seem any particular reason or need otherwise for the alteration which must have meant extra expense in printing and in binding. On page 41 there is the note:—"Bring here the note from p———". This is cut, showing that his notes were made before binding. The book contains a frontispiece which also points the same way. The plate is dated 1786 (?), but no copies appear to have been sent out without it. Sometimes they are found folded and inserted across the page, and in many copies just cut down to fit. The collation of this copy is as given in Bro. L. Vibert's *Rare Books of Freemasonry*. The Explanation of the Frontispiece is cut out and pasted on the opposite page. It appears to have been a proof, as the T. in the word "Explanation" is level with the other letters and not dropped as in other copies.

The Abstract of the Laws relating to the General Fund of Charity is missing, as indeed it is in most other copies. There is another copy in the Worcester Library bound in plain grey boards and with uncut edges containing the cancelled leaf and also the substituted leaves bound in between the Dedication and the Sanction.

The Noorthouck copy has the bookplate of James Paine, Architect.

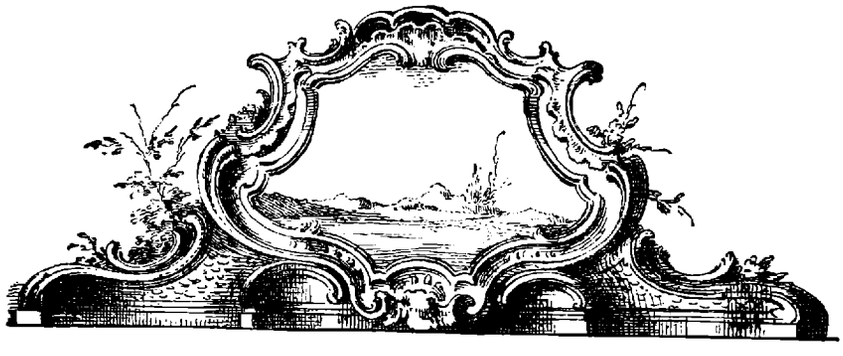
S. Wale delin.
C. Grignion Sculp.

Subject Bust I. Jones
Winged naked human figure holding square in L.H. approaching seated figure of Minerva pointing with L.H. to Bust.

One Science only will one Genius Fit
So vast is Art so narrow human Wit.

There is also at Worcester a proof state of the frontispiece before letters but with the names Cipriani and Sandby, Bartolozzi and Fitler drawn in with a point, not engraved with a graver.

F. J. Underwood.



OBITUARY.

IT is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

John Giles Austin, of Loughton, Essex, on 10th February, 1938. Bro. Austin held L.G.R., and was P.Z. of Aldersbrook Chapter No. 2841. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1924.

Major **Theodore Bitterman,** of Mount Vernon, N.Y., U.S.A., on 3rd April, 1938. Bro. Bitterman was a member of Lodge No. 36 (Wash. C.), and of Chapter No. 2 (New Mex. C.). He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1910.

Arthur Lincoln Boston, of Melbourne, Vic., on the 15th February, 1938. Bro. Boston was a P.M. of Lodge No. 161. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1935.

Sydney Bradgate, of London, N.W., in November, 1937. Bro. Bradgate was a member of the Authors Lodge No. 3456, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1916.

William Richard Bridger, of Leicester, on the 1st December, 1937, aged 65 years. Bro. Bridger was P.M. of Wyggeston Lodge No. 3448, and P.So. of De Mowbray Chapter No. 1130. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1934.

W. Percy Cochrane, of Monte Carlo, in November, 1937. Bro. Cochrane was a member of Lodge Light in the Himalayas No. 1448, and of Marwood Chapter No. 602. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1890.

John Henry Cox, of Erdington, on 20th November, 1937. Bro. Cox was a member of Lodge of Integrity No. 4563, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1937.

Dr. **Charles Edward Evans,** of London, E.5, early in 1938. Bro. Evans was a member of Upton Lodge No. 1227 and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1925.

Henry Ernest Foster, of Cambridge, on 19th October, 1937. Bro. Foster was a member of Scientific Lodge No. 88, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1936.

Sir **Hugh Clarendon Gowan,** *K.C.S.I., C.I.E.*, Bombay, on 1st April, 1938. Bro. Gowan held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and P.Dis.G.S.W. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1902.

Eppo Roelfs Harkema, of Amsterdam, in June, 1938. Bro. Harkema was a member of Nos Vinxit Libertas Lodge, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1910.

William Hepburn, of Wakefield, Yorks., in November, 1937. Bro. Hepburn was a member of Rectitude Lodge No. 4383 and of Wakefield Chapter No. 495. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1936.

Richard Charles John Jarvis, of Oxford, on 19th February, 1938, aged 56 years. Bro. Jarvis was a member of Bertie Lodge No. 1515 and of Alfred Chapter No. 340. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1935.

Enoch Alfred Jones, of Llanelly, on 11th October, 1937. Bro. Jones was a member of Prince of Wales Lodge No. 671, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1921.

Edward Francis Jones, of London, S.E., on 4th March, 1938. Bro. Jones was a member of Robert Mitchell Lodge No. 2956, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1937.

Edwin Charles Leach, of Diamond Creek, Vic., on 1st July, 1937. Bro. Leach held the rank of Past Grand Inspector of Workings and Past Grand Scribe N. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1929.

Lieut.-Col. **Thomas Martin Lowry,** of London, W., on the 1st March, 1938. Bro. Lowry was a member of Taquah Lodge No. 3356, and had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1910.

Ralph McIntosh, *B.A.*, of Carlton, Vic., in 1936. Bro. McIntosh was a member of Lodge No. 276, and of Chapter No. 39. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1929.

Hugh George McLachlan, *A.R.I.B.A.*, of London, S.E., on 4th April, 1938. Bro. McLachlan held L.G.R., was P.M. of Lodge of Loyalty No. 1607, and P.Z. of Lewis Chapter No. 1185. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1910.

Richard Harris Marks, of Luton, in 1933. Bro. Marks held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was H. of St. John the Baptist Chapter No. 475. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1923.

Charles Thomas Martin, of South Yarra, Vic., on 11th February, 1938. Bro. Martin held the rank of Past Grand Warden, and was P.Z. of Chapter No. 2. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1925.

Henry Aubin Mourant, *F.C.A.*, of London, E.C., on 8th March, 1938. Bro. Mourant was a member of Guardian Lodge No. 2625, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1934.

John Percy Simpson, *B.A.*, of London, W.C., on 21st January, 1938. Bro. Simpson held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1905, and elected to full membership of the Lodge in June, 1906, of which he was W.M. in 1912.

Charles Sinkins, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on 22nd January, 1938. Bro. Sinkins held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

John Gilbert Sturton, of Peterborough, on 30th November, 1937. Bro. Sturton held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1905.

Colonel **Gustavus Phelps Symes,** *M.V.O.*, of Weymouth on 15th May, 1938. Bro. Symes held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and was Pr.G.Sec. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1920.

Joseph Dean Taylor, of Sheffield, on 9th March, 1938. Bro. Taylor was P.M. of Furnival Lodge No. 2558, and a member of White Rose of York Chapter No. 2491. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1917.

John Fergusson Telfer, of Strathaven, Lanarkshire, in 1937. Bro. Telfer was P.M. of Lodge No. 215, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

Andrew Thomson, of St. Kilda, Vic., on 26th May, 1937. Bro. Thomson held the rank of Past Grand Warden and Past Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.) He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1892.

David Lowe Turnbull, *M.A.*, of Portobello, on 26th March, 1938. Bro. Turnbull held the rank of Past Depute First Grand Principal. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1909.

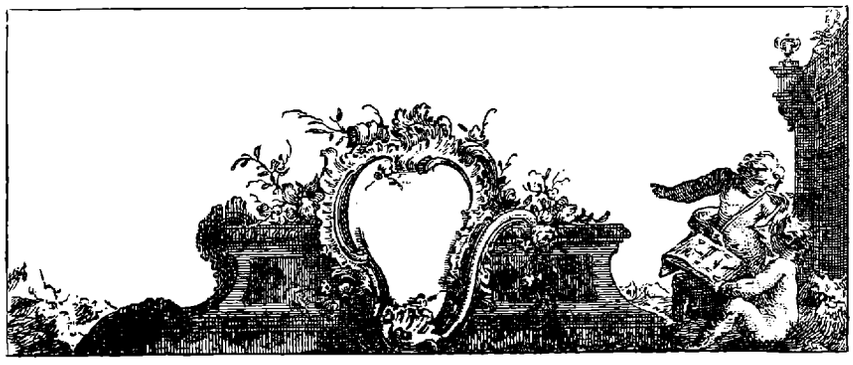
Dr. **William Herman Denier van der Gon,** of Amersfoort, Holland, on 6th June, 1938. Bro. van den Gon had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1906.

Charles Ernest Watson, *M.I.Mech.E.*, of Canton, S. China, in July, 1937. Bro. Watson held the rank of Dis.G.Pres.B.G.P. and P.Dis.G.Sc.N. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1931.

James Amory Wilson, of Glasgow, on 2nd March, 1938. Bro. Wilson was P.M. of Lodge No. 873, and a member of Chapter No. 69. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1927.

Alphonse Marie Tracey Woodward, of Gironde, France, on 27th March, 1938. Bro. Woodward was a member of the Yokohama Lodge and Chapter No. 1092. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1911.

John Wylie, of Glasgow, early in 1938. Bro. Wylie was P.M. of Lodge No. 87, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1933.



SUMMER OUTING, 1938.

PETERBOROUGH.

FORTY-ONE years have passed away since Quatuor Coronati Lodge held a Summer Outing at Peterborough.

On the present occasion the party comprised:—

Thos. Baldwin, Bognor Regis, P.M., 1726; Rodk. H. Baxter, Rochdale, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; Harry Bladon, London, P.A.G.D.C.; F. J. Boniface, London, P.M., 2694; J. W. Butler, Milnthorpe, P.G.St.B.; Robt. A. Card, Seaford, P.M., 30; *Capt.* C. E. Cheetham, Solihull, Warwicks, P.Pr.G.W., Kent; Geo. S. Collins, London, P.G.D.; Jno. H. Cookson, Kendal, P.A.G.D.C.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, Wisbech, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Ch., 2076; Robt. Dawson, Hastings, P.Pr.G.W.; W. Morgan Day, London, 2860; Lewis Edwards, London, P.A.G.R., J.D., 2076; Wm. S. Ellis, Newark, P.Pr.G.D.C.; E. Eyles, London, L.R., P.M., 167; S. J. Fenton, Birmingham, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, S.W., 2076; David Flather, Maltby, Yorks, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; Albert Frost, Sheffield, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; F. W. Golby, London, P.A.G.D.C., W.M., 2076; H. W. Graves-Morris, Luton, P.G.St.B.; Wm. Barry Gregar, Weybridge, P.Pr.G.W., Essex; Wallace Heaton, London, P.A.G.D.C.; Harold Hill, Bournemouth, P.Pr.G.D., W. Yorks; J. P. Hunter, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.Sup.W.; H. Johnson, Guildford, L.R., P.M., 2191; Hugh C. Knowles, London, P.G.D.; *Dr.* F. Lace, Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; C. A. Newman, Oundle, P.Pr.G.W.; *Dr.* C. E. Newman, London, S.W., 4550; Stanley Palmer, London, P.A.G.D.C.; *Dr.* S. H. Perry, Spalding, Pr.G.D.; T. Pickles, Kendal, P.Pr.G.Treas.; Cecil Powell, Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, Englefield Green, P.G.Swd.B., I.G., 2076; Thos. Selby, Eaglescliffe, P.G.St.B.; W. Scott, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.D.; B. A. Smith, New Malden, L.R., P.M, 1962; W. J. Songhurst, London, P.G.D., P.M., Treas., 2076; *Dr.* S. Stansfeld, Hailsham, Pr.G.Stew.; J. M. Stansfeld, Cambridge, 859; J. W. Stevens, London, P.A.G.Sup.W.; R. W. Strickland, Sevenoaks, P.M., 720; Ed. Tappenden, Hitchin, P.A.G.St.B.; Fred J. Underwood, Worcester, P.A.G.D.C.; Lionel Vibert, London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Sec., 2076; W. J. Williams, London, P.M., 2076; H. R. Wood, St. Anne's-on-the-Sea, P.G.St.B.; E. J. White, Bath, P.Pr.G.St.B.

On Thursday, 7th July, the London Brethren left Kings Cross at 10.15 a.m. and arrived at 11.37 a.m. at Peterborough, where the party were accommodated in the two hotels "The Angel" and "The Grand". Brethren from other parts of the country had already arrived.

After lunch at the Angel Hotel, the party proceeded to the Cathedral, where we were received by the Dean. A delightful hour was then spent wandering round the Cathedral, which was described by Bro H. Plowman. The Cathedral, as we see it to-day, is the third that has been built on the same spot. In 655 A.D. a monastery was founded at Medeshamstede—as Peterborough was then known. It was the first monastery, and one of the very earliest seats of Christianity in central England. The Danes destroyed it in 870 AD., and for one hundred years there was desolation. Then in 970 A.D. the monastery and church were rebuilt by Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, with the help of King Edgar. Again came the Danes, but this time merely to hold the

monastery in tribute. However, the church was not to be spared, for in 1116 A.D. it was accidently, but entirely, destroyed by fire. The Norman work, now to be seen, was begun then.

The special features of the Cathedral which call for notice are—the Norman roof of the nave, variation between East and West sides of the transepts, Norman apse, the beautiful West front.

On leaving the Cathedral a visit was paid to the Old Guildhall; and also, by the kind invitation of Bro. J. W. Hall, to the King's Lodgings. This latter lies immediately south of the Minster Foregate, and was used as a hostel for the King in olden times when he visited the monastery, which was of royal foundation. The surviving part of the King's Lodgings comprises two bays of late twelfth century quadripartite vaulting with simple chamfered ribs supported on short semi-circular piers in the respond walls, and a circular pier in the centre, all with moulded capitals and bases. These two bays constitute the northern end of a building which extended to the south and abutted on the great West wall of the monastery.

Later the party proceeded to the New Town Hall, where His Worship the Mayor, Councillor R. C. Howard, held a reception; and we were privileged to view the objects of interest in the Town Hall. After tea, kindly provided for us by the Peterborough Brethren, the Peterborough Museum was open for our inspection, and we were enabled to wander round at leisure and examine the many interesting items, which Bros. W. T. Mellows and F. Dobbs kindly undertook to describe.

After dinner at the Angel Hotel we were greatly interested by a lantern lecture delivered by Bro. W. T. Mellows, F.S.A., describing the various places to be visited during the next two days—an introduction which was highly appreciated by all.

On the Friday morning we proceeded by motors, *via* Flatton, to Castor —the ancient Roman town of Durobrivae—and viewed the parish churches. Having left Castor, we drove to Burghley House, the interior of which we were privileged to view by the kind permission of the Marquis of Exeter, K.G. A description of the building and its contents was given to us by Bro. H. F. Traylen, F.S.A.

Burghley House was erected by Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth, and was probably commenced in the year 1575. The architect was John Thorpe, who was employed in the building or improvement of most of the houses of the nobility in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The several varied and elegant features of the noble pile command observation—the stone cupola-topped turrets; the singular appearance of the numerous chimneys in the form of Doric columns coupled by cornices and heavy architraves; the ornamental balustrades of the roof; the solid, mullioned windows; the lofty spire of the chapel towering above the whole. The building is in the form of a parallelogram; the north, or principal, front is upwards of two hundred feet in length, and is divided into three compartments bounded by two massive square towers, each surmounted by an octagonal turret. As we passed through the several apartments we were afforded a view of the taste in the arts which prevailed among the English nobility from the middle of the seventeenth till about the eighteenth century—the splendid works of art, beautiful specimens of statuary, fine old tapestries, oak carvings, bronzes, mosaics, and other incomparable articles de vertu.

From Burghley House we proceeded to Stamford, where, under the guidance of Bro. H. F. Traylen, before and after lunch we visited many interesting buildings in the town. Amongst these were:—

St. Martin's Church—erected in 1480; a building of the Perpendicular style with a majestic tower.

Burghley Almshouses—dating from the eleventh century, altered and enlarged in the seventeenth century.

St. Mary's Church—built in the thirteenth century, occupying the site of an earlier church, probably of Saxon date, with a tower of Early English style crowned by a magnificent spire of the fourteenth century of the Decorated style.

All Saints Church—of which much of the original thirteenth century building remains; the magnificent tower and spire, and the whole of the upper part of the Church belong to the fifteenth century.

Browne's Hospital—of fifteenth century, originally comprised a Common room on the ground floor, divided into cubicles, an Audit room and a Chapel; the Chapel contains a very fine screen, the original pews and altar mensa, and some magnificent glass.

After a tour of this very interesting town we proceeded to Kirby Hall.

Kirby Hall was designed in 1570 by John Thorpe, and is a striking proof of the extent to which classic influences were affecting not only the ornament but also the planning of English buildings. The house was planned about an axial line running roughly north and south, with an uninterrupted vista across the forecourt, the inner courtyard, through the doors of the Great Hall to the garden and wilderness. The forecourt is enclosed on three sides by a stone wall, and on the fourth by the north front of the house. The north façade of the house owes its present form to seventeenth century alterations. The north side of the court shows on the ground floor the arcaded front of the loggia, a feature borrowed from Italy in the Renaissance period. The culminating point in the whole design is the porch in the middle of the south side of the inner court. The window with its balcony on the first floor is dated 1638, but the rest of the work belongs to the original house. The Great Hall, 48 feet long and 23 feet wide, rising to the full height of the building, has been despoiled of nearly all its fittings. The ceiling is a curious example of sixteenth century design. It is a species of barrel vault formed of four straight faces rising to more than half the pitch of the roof, and is divided into large panels by moulded ribs elaborately carved and supported on corbels decorated with cappings and carved devices of the Staffords.

From Kirby Hall to Fotheringay, where, after looking round the church, we visited the mound of the Castle in which Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed.

In the evening, after dinner, we were present, by invitation of the W.M. and Brethren of St. Peter's Lodge, No. 442, at an emergency meeting of the Lodge, when a demonstration of their working of the third degree was given. The demonstration of this working, with its special and peculiar points, and the inspection of the many Masonic objects of interest in the Lodge museum afforded us a very pleasant evening.

On Saturday morning we proceeded to Thorney, and visited the Abbey. In 1085 the old Saxon church was taken down by Abbot Gauter, and the church, of which the present church is part, was built. It was completed in 1108, and the dedication was renewed in 1128. The church was then five times as large as the portion now remaining, with six aisles, with spires on both western towers, and a central tower—the length being 290 feet. After the dissolution of the monasteries, Thorney was left desolate; but in 1638, on the country being restored, the remains of the Abbey Church were renovated to serve as the Parish Church. Inigo Jones is said to have been the architect.

On leaving Thorney we went to Croyland, where we inspected the Abbey and the Triangular Bridge.

The Abbey, built upon an island in the midst of the Lincolnshire fens, was originally founded on St. Bartholomew's Day, 716 A.D. Four abbeys have stood upon the site. The first abbey having been destroyed by the Danes, the second abbey was built in 948 A.D., but perished by fire in 1091 A.D. Rebuilt again in 1109, it was again destroyed by fire in 1143. The erection of the fourth abbey occurred between 1392 and 1469 in the Perpendicular style; but traces of both Early English and Decorated styles can be seen on the west front. The solid and round columns of the earlier Norman building were taken down, broken up and used as foundations for the Perpendicular work. After the dissolution of the monasteries, the choir, transepts and central tower were demolished, and the western arch was left to form with the nave and two aisles a church for the town. The fine proportions of the tower at once catch the eye. The structure has four galleries, probably inserted as sets-off to the tower and to lighten the walls. In the south pier of the eastern arch of the tower is inserted Abbot Joffrid's Norman font—an immersion font composed of three segments of stone. The main beauty of the present church is the stone-vaulted roof, of which the groining springs in a flamboyant manner from pillars devoid of capitals. The Abbey was once very rich in stained glass, but none of the old glass now remains. The quatrefoil over the nave window is of peculiar interest, as it illustrates incidents in the life of Guthlac, to whose honour the first abbey was founded.

The Triangular Bridge is at once a very popular feature of the town and the greatest curiosity of its kind in the country. The present bridge represents an earlier structure in wood, which existed in the middle of the tenth century; it is of late decorated or early transitional periods, and cannot be later than 1390 A.D. The bridge stands on three piers arranged in a circle at the angles of an equilateral triangle; and, though it has three arches, it has but one groined arch composed of three ribs. At the highest point of the bridge once stood a large cross.

From Croyland we proceeded to Spalding, where before lunch we were much entertained by a very pleasing item, entirely unexpected—a view of the splendid collection of stuffed birds from all countries. This was very popular, and we were greatly indebted to the owner and maker of the collection for his kindness in coming down and giving us so much of his time.

After lunch at the White Hart Hotel we visited the premises of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society. The Gentlemen's Society was started by Maurice Johnson, who had exchanged the company of wits at Button's Coffeehouse, of antiquaries at the Temple Change, and the company of Addison, Gay and Steele, of Willis, Stukeley and the Gales, and had left London for the ordinary society of a country town. In 1709 a few came together every post day at the coffeehouse in the Abbey Yard. In 1712 so well satisfied were they with the proceedings of the past three years that it was determined to place their meetings upon a footing of permanence; and proposals were issued for the establishing of a "Society of Gentlemen for the supporting of mutual benevolence, and their improvement in the liberal sciences and in polite learning". It was the work of no ordinary mind to plan, establish and maintain a Society which won the approbation of eminent philosophers, which numbered amongst its members men like Newton, Bentley, Pope, Addison, Gray.

We then proceeded to Northborough and visited the Church and Manor House. The church was erected in the twelfth century, and was a standing history of English architecture for three centuries. The lofty bell-cote is all that is left of the Norman church; the nave and north and south aisles are thirteenth century work; the chancel arch, with its two chamfered orders and half-round responds, is 100 years later. The window in the chancel is disappointing, being a square-headed domestic one probably built by a local

mason. The south chapel, sometimes called the "Claypole Chapel", but more properly the "De la Mere Chantrey", is the finest part of the church; it contains four windows and an arcade, and is faced with wrought stone both inside and outside.

The Manor House was formerly the property of John Claypole, the husband of Elizabeth, the favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell. The massive gateway is a relic of the fourteenth century. The House is co-eval with the south chapel of the church, having been built in 1340.

Leaving Northborough we wended our way *via* Barnack, where we visited the pre-Conquest church, the wonderful tower of which was erected probably in 1013; and where the famous quarries of building-stone were worked from early times, till they became exhausted some four centuries ago.

Then to Wittering, where is another pre-Conquest church; the massive chancel arch is pure Saxon, and the angles of nave and chancel show the long-and-short work characteristic of this pre-Norman period.

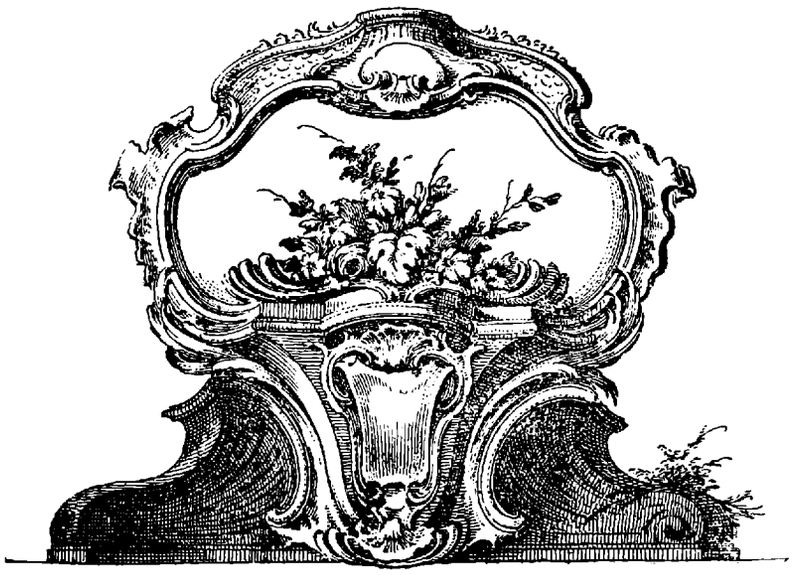
Arriving at Wansford-in-England, where the river Nene is crossed by an ancient bridge of thirteen arches, we took tea at the "Haycock" Inn, built in the reign of Charles II. After tea we returned to Peterborough; and after dinner at the Angel Hotel an "At Home" was held to entertain the local Brethren, a large number of whom we were pleased to greet and to show them our appreciation of their kindness during our visit.

During the evening Bro. Caster gave us an address on local Masonic history, which was full of interesting information. Also Bro. Lewis Edwards gave a short address in which he dealt with some facts in the life of William Stukeley and of Dr. Oliver, two figures of great Masonic interest who had some local associations with the neighbourhood. Stukeley (1687-1765) was a man of encyclopedic knowledge and of an insatiable curiosity, whose voluminous writings and correspondence, and whose multifarious interests have not yet met with the biographical recognition which is their due. Born at Holbeach, the son of a Lincolnshire lawyer, although apprenticed to, he showed early a great disinclination for, his father's profession; and after a scientific education at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, he studied medicine at St. Thomas' Hospital, London; and practised at Boston from 1710-1717. He then removed to London, where he remained until 1725, going thence to Grantham. In 1729 he was ordained at Croydon by Archbishop Wake, and was presented by Lord Chancellor King with the living of All Saints with St. Peter's, Stamford. In 1739 he became chaplain to the Duke of Ancester, who gave him the living of Somerby by Grantham. In 1747 the Duke of Montagu, one of our early Grand Masters, offered him St. George's Queen Square, Bloomsbury, which he accepted, continuing as rector until his death. The mere mention of his Fellowship of the Royal Society, and of the College of Physicians; of his share in refounding and becoming the first secretary of, the Society of Antiquaries; of his writings on archaeology and his archaeological tours and researches; and finally of his initiation into Freemasonry, "suspecting it to be the remains of the mysterys of the antients", serves to give an idea of Stukeley's manifold interests. The references to the Craft in his diary; his friendship with the Duke of Montagu, on whose death he wrote some lines in blank verse which together with some anecdotes of that nobleman's character appeared in the *British Magazine*, arouse the interest of Freemasons. Of his importance as an archaeologist Mr. Stuart Piggotty, while praising the accuracy of his early work and deploring how his later work is vitiated by his subjection to pre-conceived and fantastic theories, writes that he "was one of the first of that large band of medical men who have turned their scientific training to the study of archaeology with excellent effect." The Rev. Dr. George Oliver (1782-1867) was a person of more limited interests than Stukeley. He was initiated into Freemasonry in St. Peter's

Lodge, Peterborough, at the beginning of the nineteenth century—the exact date is uncertain—and a great part of his long life was devoted to the practice and the interests of the Craft. Much of Stukeley's work is unpublished, but Oliver's publications fill many volumes. They mark an epoch in the story of the Craft, but their somewhat unscientific and unhistorical character deprives them of much of their value. On the executive side, Oliver was for a time Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Lincolnshire; but by reason of his association with Dr. Crucefix, when that latter fell into disfavour with Grand Lodge, he lost that appointment; and a Masonic career of interest, brilliance and usefulness was overclouded by an unworthy persecution. Perhaps even to-day he has his reward in the fact that just as to the "man in the street" English history suggests Macaulay or Green, so to the "man in the Lodge" Masonic history suggests Preston or Oliver.

On Sunday we attended morning service in the Cathedral, when the Rev. Canon Blakeney preached an impressive sermon.

Eventually the party dispersed, the London Brethren leaving by the 3.8 p.m. train, after an Outing which will be remembered with many pleasant associations.



St. John's Day in Harvest

FRIDAY, 24th JUNE, 1938.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; George Elkington, P.G.D., I.P.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., P.M., as S.W.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; B. Ivanoff, S.D.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., J.D.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and Fred. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. A. Greene; C. B. Franklin, P.G.St.B.; W. Lewis; W. Taylor; J. C. E. Vidler; E. J. White; S. Leighton, P.Pr.G.W., Antrim; F. Addington Hall; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; *Rev.* G. Freeman Irwin, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch.; *Capt.* R. H. Bland; H. Johnson; S. R. Clarke; S. J. Humphries; H. R. Wood, P.G.St.B.; J. M. A. Ilott; J. F. Nicholls; W. Morgan Day; A. F. G. Warrington; C. F. Sykes; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; E. Eyles; T. W. Marsh; T. F. Laidler; J. C. da Costa; J. J. Cooper; F. A. Dale; D. L. Oliver; L. G. Wearing; A. F. Cross; W. E. Gathercole; S. M. Catterson; R. A. Card; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.D.C.; F. E. Barber; A. F. Slee.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. Skillington, P.M., and Andrew Duncan, Vale of Catmos Lodge No. 1265; John R. W. Read, S.W., Warner Lodge No. 2256; J. Lees, P.M., Lodge of Friendship No. 277.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. B. Telepnef; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, S.W.; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, P.A.G.D.C.; Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, P.M;. David Flather, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; *Major* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., J.W.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; G. Norman, *M.D.*, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby.

One Grand Lodge Committee, two Lodges and nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

From Lodge Collection.

Tracing Board. Hand painted on wooden panel; fourteen inches square. Dated 1825. Craft emblems in centre under a heraldic mantle. In chief emblems of various degrees.

Candlestick; Sheraton style. Inlaid at base with masonic emblems. No inscription.

Drawing of the Brierly Tomb at Mellor, Derbyshire, with inscriptions in cypher.

Photograph of the recently restored monument to Peter East. Freeston Mason, at Wisbech St. Peters; date 1715 and the arms of the masons.

By Bro. F. L. PICK.

Bucks Toast Book; manuscript collection of toasts and sentiments, in a handsome contemporary tooled binding, with inscriptions: Ancient Lodge of Assyria. Presented by S [enior] V [ice] G [rand] Morrison 1812 Peachey Grand.

Pen and ink sketch; Doorway at Newhouses, Oldham.

Copper plate; for summons of Friendship Lodge, with a pull from it.

Copper plate, for the Friendship Lodge certificate, of 1805. Pull from the plate previous to the last alteration made in it, with seal.

The Friendship Lodge Seal.

By Bro. ROBK. BAXTER.

Photo of the "Friendship" Warrant.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Poems on Several Occasions. The collected works of Samuel Wesley. 1736. Contains, besides the two poems exhibited at last meeting, a further masonic reference (hitherto unreported) on p. 258.

Portrait; Engraving. Martin Folkes. Hogarth *pinxit et sculpsit.*

By Bro. C. B. FRANKLIN, of Trinidad.

The Freemasons Sure Guide. Seth Drigge. 1819.
Four leaves in MS. MS. ritual. La clé de toutes les loges.
Statuts, Loge de la Paix. Guadeloupe. 1826.
Small pamphlet. *Instruction des Hautes Grades.* G. O. de France. n.d.

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

Bro. FRED L. PICK read the following paper:—

FREEMASONRY IN OLDHAM, 1789 - 1838.

BY BRO. FRED L. PICK.

THE Oldham of to-day is a busy manufacturing town of some 140,000 inhabitants, situated seven miles N.E. of Manchester, the Borough being approximately seven miles in length by four in breadth and extending close to the Yorkshire-Lancashire boundary in proximity to the Saddleworth Moors, whence sprang many of the founders of the town's original prosperity. It is mentioned in the Testa de Neville and there exists a contract for the repair of the Church in 1476, but the place rose from obscurity to its present eminence during the Industrial Revolution. The population of the Parish of Oldham in 1789 was estimated at 8,012, the census of 1801, which provided the first reliable figures, showed a population of 12,024, but by 1851 Oldham had a population of 52,818 and had attained to the dignity and status of a borough.

Prior to 1775, the principal industry was the manufacture of hats, but during the subsequent quarter-of-a-century this gave place to the manufacture of cotton and coal-mining, while the woollen trade withdrew to the Yorkshire side of the Pennines.

Reference will be made to "Rowbottom's Diary". This is a very interesting manuscript diary covering the years 1787-1830. It has not been published, except in serial form in a local newspaper, but the original is to be seen in the Oldham Public Library.

THE LODGE AT DOBCROSS.

Although the first Lodge to be formed in Oldham proper received its Warrant in 1789 there was for some years previously a Lodge not far away. The Warrant under which it worked was originally issued in 1765 by the Antients to certain brethren authorising them to hold a Lodge at the Sign of the Star, Mottram-in-Longendale, Cheshire. This Lodge never appears to have rendered any returns and, nearly ten years later, on 13th January, 1775, the Warrant and number, 139, were reallocated to a Lodge at the Swan with two Necks, Dobcross, about four-and-a-half miles E.N.E. of Oldham. The registers of the Antients contain the names of nine members only, viz.:—Edmund, Thomas and Ben Buckley, John and Robert Wrigley, John Taylor, James Mellor, John Harrop and John Wood.

According to Lane's *Masonic Records* (1895), this Lodge met at the Star Inn, High Moor, in 1803, and was erased about 1805. High Moor lies about a mile to the West of Dobcross, and Mr. Ammon Wrigley, the Oldham poet, is of the opinion that the address should more properly be Newhouses, a hamlet half-a-mile to the South of High Moor. There is here a house rich in decorative chiselwork. On one gable is a bull's head, the crest of the Buckleys, owners of the house during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A crudely-carved human figure ornaments one of the doorposts, and a rayed head

the other, while the Square and Compasses are carved in heavy relief on the lintel.

The Warrant was finally issued on 31st March, 1806, to its present holders, now St. John's Lodge 104, Stockport. A passing reference to the Lodge at Dobeross is to be found in J. Bradbury's "Saddleworth Sketches" (1871): "The Freemasons are not very numerous in Saddleworth. They formerly, for some years, held a Lodge at the Swan Inn, Uppermill, where it is still held". There is here confusion with a later and different Lodge, now Candour, 337.

THE LODGE OF FRIENDSHIP.

The first Lodge to be warranted in Oldham proper was the Lodge of Friendship, No. 554 (now 277), and almost every body to be considered in this paper is connected in some way with the Mother Lodge of Oldham. The Lodge is fortunate in the possession of all its old Minute Books and many other documents. Its Warrant is in an excellent state of preservation and hangs in the Lodge Room to-day. It is written in black ink, the only attempt at ornamentation being the ruling of a border in red ink. It was issued by John Allen, Provincial Grand Master for Lancashire from 1769 to 1807, and the text is as follows:—

No. 554

L.S.

TO ALL and every our Right Worshipful, Worshipful and Loving Brethren, I, JOHN ALLEN of Clements Inn in the County of Middlesex, PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER of the Most Antient and Honorable Society of FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS, in and for the County Palatine of LANCASTER under His Royal Highness Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland and Strathearn, Earl of Dublin, GRAND MASTER. SEND GREETING

KNOW YE THAT upon the humble Petition of our Right worthy and well beloved Brethren, *Jonathan Raynor, Joseph Dunkerly* and *Isaac Clegg* and in consideration of the great Trust and Confidence reposed in them I HAVE Constituted and by these Presents DO constitute them the said Brethren into a regular Lodge of FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS, to be opened at the House known by the sign of the Ring of Bells in OLDHAM in the said County of Lancaster; To be distinguished by the name of the Lodge of FRIENDSHIP being number 554 in the list of Lodges, To be there formed and held on the Wednesday on or before the full moon in every Month until the time and place of Meeting shall, with the concurrence of me or my Successors, be altered: With such Powers, Privileges, and Advantages as of Right belong to regular established Lodges AND I DO HEREBY nominate constitute and appoint our said Brethren Jonathan Raynor MASTER, Joseph Dunkerly SENIOR WARDEN, and Isaac Clegg JUNIOR WARDEN for opening the said Lodge And for such further time only as shall be thought proper by the Brethren thereof, It being my Will and Intent that this Appointment shall not in any wise affect the future Election of Officers of the said Lodge, but that the same shall be regulated by such Bye-Laws of the said Lodge as shall be consistent with the General Laws and Constitutions of our Antient Society AND I do hereby will and require you the said Jonathan Raynor, Joseph Dunkerly and Isaac Clegg and your Successors to take especial care that you and the rest of the Members of the said Lodge, do at all times observe, perform and keep, all and every the Rules, Orders, and Regulations contained in the Book of Constitutions; Except such as have been, or hereafter shall be, repealed, at any Quarterly or other General Communication, Together with such other Rules, Orders, Regulations and Instructions as shall from time to time be by me or my Deputy, or by my Successors, the

Provincial Grand Master for the time being, transmitted to you or your successors; AND that you and your Successors omit not once in every year, or oftner as occasion may be, to transmit to me or my Deputy or our Successors, Copies of all such Rules, Orders and Regulations as shall from time to time, be made by your said Lodge, for the good Order and Government thereof, Together with a List of Members of the said Lodge, with their respective Titles or Additions and the respective times of their several Initiations or Admissions; AND that you do duly remit such Sum or Sums of Money as shall from time to time accrue due from and be contributed by your said Lodge or the Members thereof to the FUND OF CHARITY and the GRAND FUND of the said Society AND LASTLY I will and require you the said Jonathan Raynor, Joseph Dunkerly and Isaac Clegg as soon as conveniently may be to send an Account in Writing of your Proceedings under and by virtue of this my Warrant of Constitution; RECOMMENDING to you, and the rest of the Brethren, the Cultivation of the Royal Craft and your keeping in view the three Grand Principals of our Order BROTHERLY LOVE, RELIEF, AND TRUTH. GIVEN at London under the Great Seal of Masonry, and also under my Hand and Seal the twenty second day of August A.L. 5789. A.D. 1789.

Wm. Hall Dep^{y}. P.G.M. Jno Allen Pro: Gr: Ma^{r}:

L.S.

The Lodge bore the following numbers:—

On Constitution	554
1792	463
1814	519
1832	344
1863	277

It has always met in Oldham, the various meeting places being:—

2.9.1789.	Ring of Bells.
8.12.1789.	Angel.
21.8.1793.	George & Dragon.
Nov. 1809.	Angel.
30.4.1817	Spread Eagle.
Feb. 1818.	Angel.
1826.	Ring of Bells.
1829.	Coach and Horses.
1841.	Angel.
1871.	Freemasons' Hall.

The Lodge lost no time in coming into being, for it was constituted on 2nd September, 1789. The account of the proceedings, as given in the Minute Book, is laconic:—

> "The Lodge of Friendship opened on Wednesday, the 2d Day of September, 1789, at 5 O'Clock in the afternoon, in due Form at the Ring of Bells, Oldham, by the Lodge of Sincerity, Bull's Head, Manchester".

Rowbottom also records it in his Diary:—

2.9.1789. "There was a meeting of Freemasons at Oldham when the Rev. Wrigley preached before them from Romans 13th Chap. 10th ver."

A more complete account of this important event is to be found in *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle* of 5th September, 1789:—

> "On Wednesday last, a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was constituted at Oldham, by a deputation from the different Lodges of Manchester and Bury. The procession was joined about two miles from town by the Brethren of the neighbourhood, and thence conducted to the Ring of Bells; whence, after the usual ceremonies, they proceeded in due form to St. Peter's Chapel, where divine service was performed, and an excellent sermon preached by the Rev. Brother Wrigley, A.M., from the 13th Chap. of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and the 10th verse—'Love is the fulfilling of the Law'".

At that time two Lodges were meeting at the Bull's Head, or Budworth's Tavern, as it was also known. For some years I was of the opinion (though confirmatory evidence was wanting) that the one concerned in the constitution of the Lodge of Friendship was Integrity (now 163). The publication of our late Bro. S. L. Coulthurst's paper on "Some Activities of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire in the Eighteenth Century" in vol. xxviii. of the Transactions of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research has thrown more light on this subject, and I now accept the contention of our Brother that the Lodge referred to was Unanimity (now 89). In any event the reference in the Friendship Minute Book to a Lodge of Sincerity would appear to be erroneous.

A list of the Founders, extracted from the Minute Book, discloses that these brethren were drawn from English, Irish and Scottish Lodges, and that no fewer than four Military Lodges were represented:—

Name.	Age.	Occupation.	From Lodge.
Jonathan Raynor	55	Weaver.	354, Irish Const. attached to the 49th Regt.
William Butterworth	22	Silk Weaver.	Union, 534 (now 268), Ashton-under-Lyne.
Joseph Dunkerley	47	Hat. Manfr.	218, Irish Const., attached to the 48th Regt.
Isaac Clegg	—	Cotton Manfr.	Union, 534.
James Butterworth	54	do.	do.
James Hardman	37	do.	Relief, 40, Bury (now 42).
James Lees	—	Innkeeper.	Union, 534.
William Taylor	34	Cotton Manfr.	Relief, 40.
Samuel Brierley	60	Tailor.	Lodge 92, Scottish Const., attached to the 25th Regt.

(There is an error here: Lodge 92 had an Irish Warrant.)

Thomas Taylor	40	Weaver.	58, Scottish Const., attached to the Duke of Norfolks 12th Foot.
John Mellor	39	Shoe Maker.	Fleece, No. 393.
James McBride	—	——	——
Thomas Skirrett	—	——	——

I am indebted to Bro. Philip Crosslé for the data relating to membership of Irish Lodges, both of the Founders and later of John Hassall.

Jonathan Raynor, first Master, is described as a Weaver. He was registered a member of Lodge 354, I.C., attached to the 49th Regiment, on 7th July, 1781, and was granted his Grand Lodge Certificate on 31st August, 1783. He also served as Master for the half-years beginning 1st January, 1789, and 24th June, 1795, and was constantly in evidence, filling every Office, from Warden to Tyler, as required. He was a Founder of the Lodge of Fortitude and Mishna Chapter and a member of Philanthropy Chapter.

Bro. Raynor must have passed over many dark squares on life's journey, for on 29th November, 1797, the Lodge advanced him two guineas on the security of his watch till valued, and Theophilus Turner, another member, received 3/6 for repairing and valuing the watch, which was not again mentioned. On 17th December, 1791, he was "sencered for his bad behaviour, and he asked pardon of the Lodge and received it".

On 29th August, 1792:—

5/- "To Brother Raynor his wife being Ill a long time we agreed to give him something and we gave him the above and every member gave in his mite in addition to it".

Two years later, Mrs. Raynor drowned herself at Hollinwood. About this time our hero is found as landlord of the Marquis of Cornwallis, Henshaw Street, which descended to his son Jonathan, who transferred the family loyalty to the Oddfellows.

Monthly grants of 2/- were made to Jonathan Raynor during the early years of the nineteenth century, and his story ends on 15th April, 1811, with a Lodge of Emergency "for the Procession of our well-beloved Brother Jonathan Raynor". The Lodge paid £2.6.0. for his coffin.

Joseph Dunkerley: Was registered a member of Lodge 218, I.C., on 24th May, 1784, and received his Grand Lodge Certificate on 15th December, 1787. It was suggested by a correspondent of *Misc. Lat.*[1] that he might be a connection of the famous Thomas Dunckerley, but this is most unlikely as the name is and was most common in Oldham and he was engaged in what was then the staple trade of the town.

Samuel Brierley: Bro. Crosslé has been unable to trace his name in the Registers of the G.L. of Ireland. Lodge 92 attached to the 25th Regiment had an Irish Warrant, not a Scottish one as stated in the Minute Book. He was a Founder of Philanthropy Chapter in 1791.

John Mellor: He is described as of Fleece Lodge, 393. This was evidently intended for the Lodge meeting at the Fleece Tavern, Shudehill, Manchester, though its number had been twice changed since it bore 393. This is now the Lodge of St. John, No. 191, Bury, but its early records are missing.

I have been unable to ascertain any particulars of the members of Union Lodge, Ashton-under-Lyne.

There is abundant evidence in the Minutes that the Founders and early members of Friendship had but the haziest of ideas as to the various Grand Lodges operating in England, and it would appear that this Modern Lodge worked the ritual of the Antients, as, time after time, we find such entries as:—

10th August, 1791.	Br. George Wright	All made modderon Masons Enterd past & Rais'd
	Br. Jeremiah Law	
	Br. Hostin Chadwick	
	Br. John Greaves	
	Br. Wm. Chadwick	
	Br. Thomas Wright	
	Br. Robbort Fenton	

In every case the member referred to had already been initiated, passed and raised in the Lodge and in some cases had even served as W.M. On May 4th, 1803, we have "Brother John Whitehead made Master Mason", while on the same date he is recorded as one of eight "made Modern Masons".[2]

[1] *Misc. Lat.*, vols. vii. and viii.

[2] An example is to be found at p. 15 of the *Memorials of the Lodge of Harmony*, 298, by R. Greenwood. This was also a Modern Lodge and a daughter of Friendship.

The first By-Laws are written in the back of the first Minute Book and are dated 1795. They follow closely the official model issued by the Antients. They have been printed in the *Transactions* of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research, vol. xxiii., pp. 114-121. Then, although Luke Tristram joined the Lodge on 4th December, 1805, it was not discovered until 29th March, 1809, that he was an Antient, when a Resolution excluding him was carried, though he avoided this penalty by submitting to re-making on 26th April, 1809.

The earliest Lodge Seal, too, is interesting. It was bought in 1790 at a cost of £1.11.6, and now bears a number clumsily altered to 344. The seal bears the Square and Compass, with the letter G., Sun, Moon and seven Stars, with an arm and hand, grasping a trowel, rising from a cloud. This emblem is also to be found on the old seal of the Lodge of Loyalty, Mottram (now 320), another Modern Lodge, but possibly founded on the ashes of an Antient one.[1] Its use in English seals is uncommon, though it is universally to be found in Ireland.

Bro. W. J. Hughan, reviewing Bro. John Wagstaffe's *History of the Lodge of Loyalty, No. 320*, Mottram-in-Longendale, in *A.Q.C.*, xi., said, "The seal is a very effective one, and will make Bros. Dr. Crawley and Sadler almost go into ecstasies, as curious to state, above the masons' arms is *an arm grasping a trowel*—which has long been the crest of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper, referring to the disbursement of Charity by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, said in his Inaugural Address:

> "We find that in such cases a nominal 'modernity' was no bar to relief. Thus on the 7th September, 1804, charity amounting to £2 5s. 6d. (Irish currency) was given to Brother Henry McArdel of No. 463 England, a Modern Lodge, now Lodge of Friendship, 277, Oldham.
>
> "As candidates for charity in Ireland were carefully tested as to their Masonic knowledge, this record is a valuable sidelight on what the Lancashire ritual was before the Union".[2]

No person of this name is recorded as a member of Friendship, either in the local records or those of Grand Lodge.

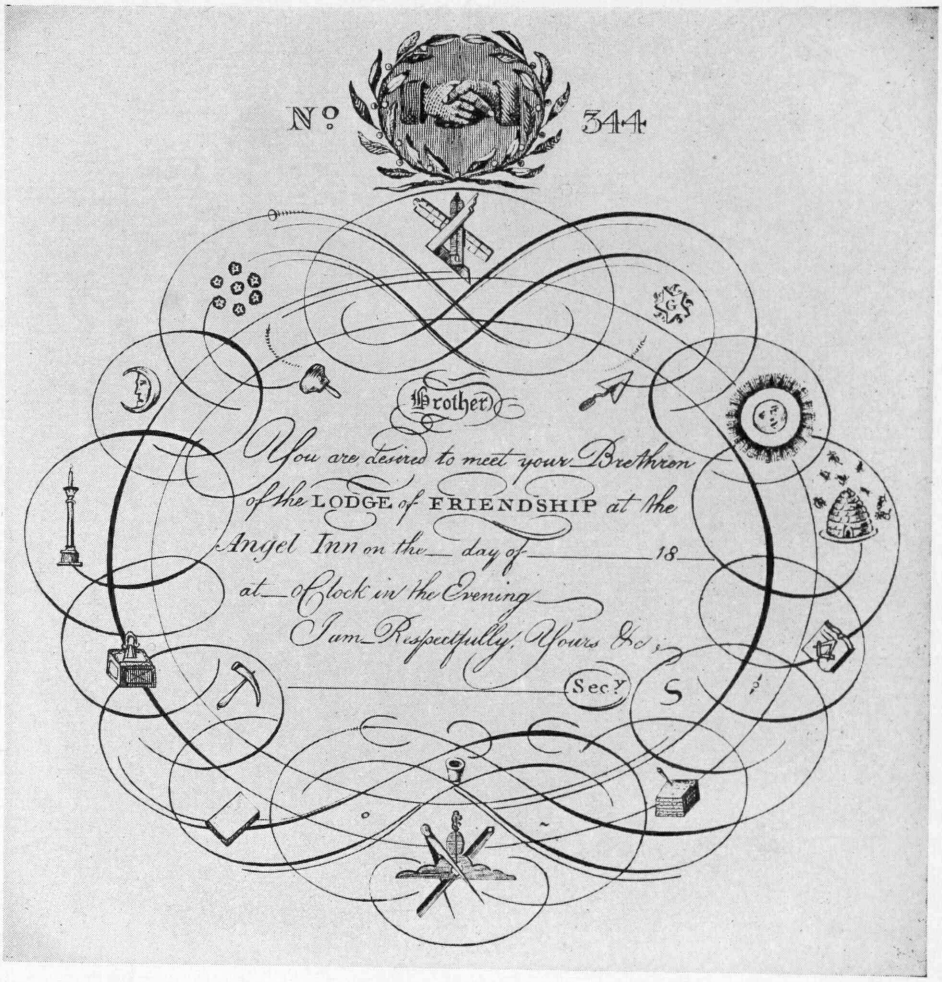
Three candidates were initiated on the day of the Constitution of Friendship:—

The Rev. Miles Wrigley, a noted preacher in the Manchester-Oldham district, was born at New Rode Lane, Cross-bank, in 1746 and was in 1789 parson of the little Church of the Holy Trinity, Dobcross. He was much in demand on such occasions as Sunday School festivals, Friendly Society gatherings, etc., and, as has already been mentioned, preached the Sermon on the day of the Constitution of the Lodge in which he had just been initiated, surely an unusual honour and opportunity for an Entered Apprentice. Two guineas were paid to him by the Lodge of Loyalty, Mottram on 3/9/1800.[3] He held a Manchester living for many years and died in 1821, being buried in St. Mary's Churchyard, Oldham.

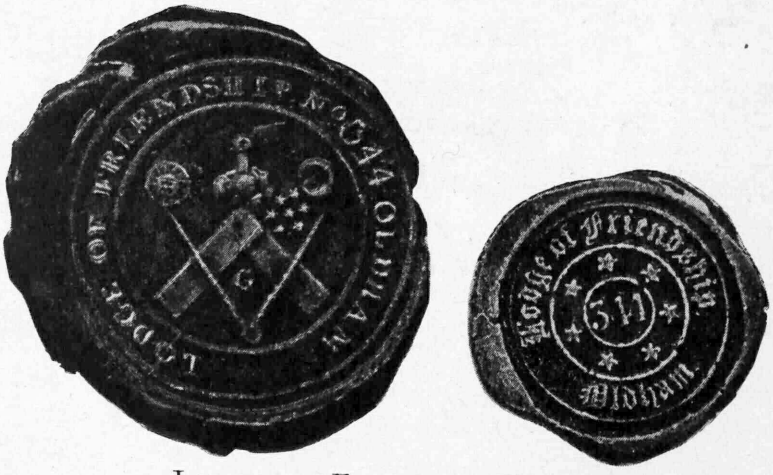
William Barlow, Cotton Manufacturer, Ashton-under-Lyne, was expelled for non-attendance on 9th November, 1791, but there is a note on 13th June, 1796: "Br. William Barlow paid all his Arrears due to this Body by Br. Micael Gunn". A person of this name will be referred to in connection with Knight Templary.

James Taylor, Innkeeper, of Hollinwood became a "full member" on 23rd February, 1790. He will be referred to in connection with the Lodge of Fortitude.

[1] Lodge of Loyalty, No. 320. *Centenary Festival*, 1898, p. 50.
[2] *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 301.
[3] Lodge of Loyalty, No. 320. *Centenary Festival*, p. 15.



FORM OF SUMMONS IN USE PRIOR TO 1863.



LODGE OF FRIENDSHIP SEALS.

FORM OF CERTIFICATE.

Copper-plate engraved in 1805 and bears traces of alteration of number, etc.

The newly-formed Lodge did not remain long at the Ring of Bells, but removed to the Angel, the leading local hostelry, on 8th December, 1789. James Lees, landlord of the Ring of Bells, was the first Treasurer of the Lodge, and does not appear to have attended after its removal from his house. We have the following entry in the first Cash Book (1790-1818):—

		£. s. d.
24.6.1790.	The Money that Los'd the Box from Br. James Lees paid toNight All But Br. Dunkerly's and butterworth is	9. 18. 0.
21.7.1790.	Joseph Dunkerly and James Butterworth towards losing the Box from Lees's	1. 2. 0.

William Butterworth was installed Master on 1st January, 1790, and held Office for six months. A half-yearly change of Officers, at or near the festivals of the two Saints John, was the rule until 1815 and again in 1818, though since that year an annual Installation has taken place. It may be mentioned that down to 1908 the *Election* of the Master was generally held while the Lodge was open in the Second Degree.

References in the early Minutes to ceremonial working are exceedingly meagre, but the following appears to indicate the absence of any special ceremony of Installation:—

Oldham June 24th 1795

This Day being held in Commemoration of Saint John the Evangelist the Lodge opened in peace and Due form and good Harmony at 3 O'Clock

Members Present

Theophilus Turner	W M
John Wood	S.W.
Jonathan Rayner	J W
William Butterworth	T
John Rowbottom	
John Lees	
John Taylor	
Thomas Wright	
John Schofield	

Absent — George Barlow.

And There was Chosen and Took their place Accordingly

Jonathan Rayner	W M
John Rowbottom	S W
John Lees	J W
William Butterworth	T
John Schofield	S
John Taylor	S D
John Wood	J D
Thomas Wright	
Theophilus Turner	

James Schofield Made Entered Apprentice

Richard Dodgson reported and supported by Br Thomas Wright.

Lodge Clos'd in Peace and good Harmony at 8 O'Clock

(Signed) John Greaves Tylor.

No other minute refers to the "taking of places" and it was not the general custom of the Lodge to have the minutes signed at this period, though occasionally the signature of the Secretary *or* Tyler was appended.

An early Subscription Book has also survived. The rate in 1790 was 9d. per meeting, of which 6d. was for expenses and 3d. for charity.

Equipment expenses included the following:—

26.5.90.	Paid Henry Mills for framing Warrant.	4.	6.
	To ornament	4.	0.
	Glass.	4.	0.
	Guilding.	5.	0.
	Ring.	—	2.
		17.	8.
15.12.90.	Paid for seal.	1. 11.	6.
19.1.91.	Paid for cleaning the Furniture of the Lodge.		6d.
16.3.91.	Paid Br. Raynor for Sword.	4.	0.

Candles then cost 9½d. a pound. There was one loss through counterfeit coin.

22.9.1790.	Bad to Night.	3.	0.

The first payment to the authorities is thus recorded:—

22.9.90.	Paid Mr. Hall to fund of Charity	10.	6.
	to Registering 20 Members at 5/-	5. —	—

The first local payment of charity was on 20th Oct., 1790:—

	Relieving a Travelling Brother	1.	0.

Similar entries, in respect of varying amounts of relief, occur regularly from this time onwards.

THE LODGE OF FORTITUDE.

We find passing reference to the first great crisis in Oldham Freemasonry in the first Minute Book of Friendship. Among those present on 17th August, 1790 was:—

"Visiting Br. Br. John Hassell, from Bull head, Manchester".

The same evening, Henry Mills, J.W. "wishes to have a certificate", *i.e.*, gives three months notice of his intention to leave the Lodge.

Three months later, on 27th November, 1790, a Warrant, a copy of which is given below, was issued by the Grand Lodge of All England at York:—

WE Thomas Kilby Esquire Grand Master of all England

Thomas Kilby
Grand Master

TO all and every our Right Worshipful and loving Brethren of the most ancient and honourable Society of free and Accepted Masons Send Greeting in the Lord.

KNOW YE that we have received the humble Petition and request of our well beloved and faithful Brethren ISAAC CLEGG, HENRY MILLS, JOHN BOOTH, JOHN HASSALL, JONATHAN RAYNOR, SAMUEL BRIETLEY and JAMES HILTON all of Lancashire, praying that we would a Constitution to them the said Brethren to hold a regular Lodge by the Title of the Lodge of FORTITUDE at the House of Brother James Taylor the Sign of the Sun in Hollingwood in the said County of Lancaster or such other place within the same County as they shall from Time to Time please. WE THEREFORE with the unanimous Assent and Consent of our Brethren of the most Ancient Lodge

of all England, and more especially because we are well satisfied of the good Life and Conversation of the said Brethren Isaac Clegg, Henry Mills, John Booth, John Hassall, Jonathan Raynor Samuel Brietley and James Hilton DO hereby constitute the said seven Brethren into a regular Lodge of free and accepted Masons to be opened at the House of James Taylor the Sign of the Son in Hollingwood aforesaid and to be held for ever on such Days, at such Hours and in such Places in the County of Lancaster as the Right Worshipful Masters and the rest of the Brethren of the said Lodge shall from Time to Time appoint. AND We do further at the request of the said seven Brethren on whom We in this Matter repose the greatest Trust and Confidence, hereby appoint the said Brother Isaac Clegg to be right worshipful Master, Brother Henry Mills Senior Warden, Brother John Booth Junior Warden of the said Lodge when the same shall be opened, and to continue in the said Offices for such further Time as the Brethren of the said Lodge shall think proper; it being in no wise our Intention that this our Appointment of the said several Brethren to the Offices abovementioned shall affect any future Election of the Officers of the said Lodge, but that such Elections shall be regulated in conformity to the Bye Laws of the said Lodge for the Time being of which we will and require shall be consistent with the General Laws and principles of Masonry: AND We do hereby will and require the said Isaac Clegg to take especial care by due Examination that all and every the said Brethren are Masons regularly made, and that they do observe the Laws of Masonry and in all respects demean themselves as becometh Masons AND FURTHER that the Right Worshipful Master of the said Lodge for the Time being shall cause to be entred in a Book to be kept for that purpose an Account of the proceedings of the said Lodge together with all such Orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good Government thereof. AND that it be not in any wise omitted once in every Year at or before the Feast of Saint John the Evangelist in Winter sending us at the least one of the Brethren of the said Lodge (if it can be made convenient) to lay before us and our Successors Grand Masters of all England and the Grand Officers and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of all England an Account in Writing of such Proceedings, and Copies of all such Rules Orders and Regulations as aforesaid to be then and there confirmed (unless for reasonable Cause) together with a List of the Members of the said Lodge, and of the Names of such persons as shall be received into the same as Masons and such Yearly and other Sums of Money as may suit the Circumstances of the Lodge and may be reasonably required to be applied towards General Charity and in Augmentation of the Revenues of the said Grand Lodge of all England.

AND WE further Will and require the said Isaac Clegg Right Worshipful Master forthwith to send us an Account of what shall be done by Virtue of these Presents. GIVEN at York the Twenty Seventh Day of November Anno Domini M.D. CCXC-A.L. 5790, and in the Year of the most Worshipful Grand Lodge of England.

BY the Grand Masters Command

Blanchard Grand Secretary.

L.S.

Isaac Clegg was a Founder and First J.W. of Friendship. He was Installed Master of that Lodge on 24th June, 1790, and attended every meeting until the end of the year, after which his name does not again appear, so he must have served as Master of Lodges under two rival jurisdictions simultaneously.

Samuel Brierley (Brietley) was also a Founder of Friendship. He gave three months' notice to leave the Lodge on 7th March, 1792.

Henry Mills was a painter, initiated in Friendship on 23rd September, 1789, and though he left his Mother Lodge there does not appear to have been any breach of cordial relations, for he was a constant visitor and even acted as Substitute Treasurer on 3rd August, 1808, and Substitute Master on 9th January, 1811. Friendship had many commercial transactions with him and one of his receipted accounts is still preserved.

John Booth was initiated in Friendship on 27th January, 1790.

Jonathan Raynor's career has already been outlined.

James Hilton was a member of the Jerusalem Encampment, Manchester.

The name of *John Hassall* is well-known to all students of Manchester Freemasonry, especially in connection with the Grand Lodge of All England at York. Bro. Philip Crosslé tells me he was registered a Master Mason of Lodge 375, Dublin, on 30th September, 1767. There appears opposite his name in the Register of the Grand Lodge of Ireland the entry, "Ex'd for Mal; pract; 3 Nov." (1768), but this was probably written in error, as the entry is partially erased by the rubbing of a finger over the wet ink and the note is repeated opposite the next name in the Register. He also appears to have taken the Knight Templar Degree in Ireland, and he appears in 1778 as a member of the Druidical Lodge, Rotherham, under the G.L. of All England at York.

There are several references to John Hassall in the archives of the York Lodge, 236, including a Minute of the Grand Chapter of All England at York, when, at a Chapter of Emergency of the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch Masons held on 17th January, 1780, "Bro. John Hassell of Conisbrough in the County of York was proposed (as a case of Emergency) to be made a Royal Arch Mason in this Grand Chapter free of Expence, which was unanimously agreed to And he was accordingly raised to the same Degree". Bro. Crosslé points out that as Bro. Hassall had already taken the K.T. in Ireland, he must have been a Royal Arch Mason, though he may have taken the degree under some other name.

We next find this piteous epistle:—

York Castle
May 17. 1780.

Most Worthy Brothere,

I make bould to rite you to Lett you Now I I Ham in Great Distress at preasant my adversarry as declared against me I would Not Have trubled you but I cannot Healp it for I cannot get Now work to Done year and my wife is very ill and cannot Healp me at preasant so for God Sake you speak to Mr. Smith about me as Soon as you can and in So doing I Shall be in Duty bound to pray for you all I Shall be Glad to see anny of you year—So Now more at preasant but Let me hear from as soon as you Can.

from your Loving Brothere
John Hassall.

He was in Manchester in 1786, and signed the Petition to the Grand Lodge of York for the Warrant of what is now the Jerusalem Preceptory, No. 5, formerly known as the Jerusalem Encampment. The first members of this were drawn from Lodge 39 of the Antients (now Friendship, No. 44). Bro. Hassall was Commander of the Encampment from October, 1786, to October, 1792. On 22nd December, 1787, he again petitioned the Grand Lodge at York for a Lodge to be held at the Brushmaker's Arms, Manchester, with what result is not known. He must have been concerned in at least one other Petition, for a letter dated 8th July, 1791, and signed, "John Kitson of York", refers to certain Warrants shortly to be issued to Mr. Hassall.

According to Yarker, John Hassall died in 1795, but Bro. Coulthurst, who has examined the records of the Chester Lodges, tells me he was a member of the Royal Chester Lodge until that year and that he appears to have dropped out until 1808, when he rejoined, and his signature or records of his attendance are found as late as 1828.

The Warrant of the Lodge of Fortitude is still preserved by the York Lodge, 236. The Lodge is referred to in Friendship Minutes on two occasions. On 16th February, 1791, James Whitehead visited the Lodge "from the Lodge of Fortitude held at James Taylors, Bottom of Hollinwood, under the Antient Grand Lodge of York". On 5th June, 1791, "Bro. John Schfield renter'd from the Lodge of Fortitude under the Constitution of York". There are very many references to visitors from "Hollinwood" spread over the remainder of the century and the early years of the nineteenth century, so it is possible that Fortitude lingered after its Grand Lodge had vanished.

During the early years of Friendship candidates were generally initiated, passed and raised at consecutive meetings, though sometimes they were passed and raised at one meeting; the three degrees were once given on one evening and once on two consecutive nights. The expressions "Passed" and "Raised" are used interchangeably in referring to the ceremony of admission to the Second Degree. Aprons were provided by the Lodge and cost about 1/- to 1/6d. each. They were of plain leather, and what are undoubtedly the tattered remains of one are still wrapped round an old V.S.L. in the Lodge cupboard to-day. Inter-Lodge visitation must have been a feature, for on 28th October, 1789, we find twelve visitors from Union Lodge, 534, and on 24th March, 1790, seven from Relief, Bury and two from Unity, 533, Manchester. The "Ent^{d}. Apprentice's Lecture" was given on 1st January, 1790, by Bro. Greenhalgh, a visitor from the Union Lodge, 534, and from 31st May, 1792, we find many references to the loan of the Book of Constitutions and Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*. On 7th March, 1792, the Lodge "closed in Good Harmony at 11 o'Clock with the Master's Lecture", and in April it closed with the "Enter'd Apprentice's Lecture".

EARLY ROYAL ARCH CHAPTERS.

A Warrant dated 13th September, 1791, was issued by the Grand Chapter of the Moderns to William Butterworth, Z., Samuel Brierley, H., and Thomas Taylor, J., authorising them to hold a Royal Arch Chapter at the White Lion, Werneth, on the last Sunday in March, June, September and December. This was the Chapter of Philanthropy, No. 82, and among its members were Jonathan Raynor, Henry Mills, James Taylor and other prominent and active brethren, Hollinwood being, as usual, well represented. The place of meeting was roughly midway between the houses then occupied by the Lodges of Friendship and Fortitude.

Between 1790 and 1839 more than seventy brethren "passed the chair" in Friendship, presumably to qualify them for admission to the Royal Arch, while this ceremony was performed in the neighbouring Lodge, Tudor (now 467) as recently as 1842. The first was Bro. John Booth, of Friendship, who was initiated on 27th January, 1790, and "Honourable Past the Chair" on 17th November, 1790. He does not appear to have been exalted until 29th June, 1796. On 19th January, 1791, "Br. John Saxon made Pass Master" and the remaining names appear singly or in batches.

According to the History of the Stone of Friendship Ezel Chapter, No. 90 (now 287), by Bro. E. G. Burtinshaw, on December 9th, 1792, William Green, Alexander Parkinson and Patrick McDonald were exalted in Philanthropy Chapter and forthwith began to hold Royal Arch Meetings in Stockport, where their Chapter was warranted in 1793.

On 13th May, 1793

> "Chapter No. 90 assembled at the Sign of the Sun, May 13th, 1793, visited by the three Principals and four other Companions of the Chapter of Philanthropy, No. 82, who constituted our Chapter and installed the officers in regular form according to antient custom".

The daughter outlived the Mother and is now the oldest Chapter in the Province of Cheshire.

Philanthropy also supported a petition for a Chapter at Stalybridge in 1796. The present Chapter of Reason, No. 324, is only accorded recognition as from 1844, but I am informed there is some connection between that and the Chapter originally constituted in or about 1796.

Philanthropy was represented by five members at the Constitution of Unity Chapter, now 298, Rochdale, which has been attached to Friendship's daughter Lodge since the Union of the two Grand Chapters in 1817.

There is a letter from John Foulston, Grand Recorder, dated 16th April, 1806, requesting the immediate rendering of returns, but no names appear to have been registered after 1807, and the Chapter was erased in 1839, its Warrant being returned to Grand Chapter by Companions petitioning for the Warrant of what is now the Royal Cheshire Chapter, No. 89, Dukinfeld.

Another Chapter was warranted in 1808. This bore the interesting name, Mishna, and the number 151. The Founders were John Broadbent, Jonathan Raynor and Thomas Potter, all of Friendship, and the Chapter met at the Angel, the house then patronised by that Lodge, on the first Sunday in February, May, August and November. No members were returned after 1808, and the Warrant was returned in 1839.

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR.

Existing local Masonic records contain no reference to early Knight Templary, but this branch of Freemasonry was active in the Hollinwood area. The following notes have been compiled from a copy of *Notes on the Temple and History of St. John and the Jerusalem Encampment*, by John Yarker, interleaved with copious MS. Notes by the author, in the Library of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research; Bro. J. R. Williams' *History of the Jerusalem Encampment* (in typescript), and data kindly supplied by W.Bro. G. E. W. Bridge, Grand Librarian to the Grand Mark Lodge.

Bro. Williams mentions that in July, 1790, Thomas Taylor, of the Lodge of Friendship, No. 554, was "initiated" in the Jerusalem Encampment, which was then working under the authority of the Grand Lodge of All England at York.

Yarker mentions, and it is repeated by Bro. Williams:—

Jerusalem Encampment, 19/3/1792.

> "The Royal Encampment met at two o'clock this afternoon, when Sir Thomas Taylor was installed R.G.C. of the Royal Encampment at Hollinwood, Sir John Booth, S.G.C. and Sir William Garlic, J.G.C."

During 1791 and 1792 visitors to the Jerusalem Encampment included Henry Mills, William Garlick and James Whitehead, all of Friendship and all resident in the vicinity of Hollinwood.

The Jerusalem Encampment decided to come under the authority of the Grand Encampment of London and a Warrant was accordingly issued in 1795. According to one of Yarker's MS. notes the Encampment at Hollinwood accepted a Warrant in 1793 and is included in the list thus:—

> 17. Hollywood, Near Oldham (Lancashire) St. Bernard 1793. Oct. 1.

Yarker mentions that the Provincial Grand Master of Lancashire in 1794 was William Barlow, to whom reference has already been made as one of the first Initiates of Friendship.

In 1798 a subscription was raised in aid of the "exigencies" of the State and among the contributors was:—

	£.	s.	d.
Conclave of St. Bernard, Navigation Inn, Hollinwood.	5.	5.	0.

On 24th February, 1805, the "Lectures" were given to the Jerusalem Encampment by "Mr. Henry Mills, from the Conclave at Hollinwood", and on 12th August, 1806, visitors included:—

> Jhn Schofield } Provincial G.
> Jhn Bent } Visitor from the Conclave of St. Bernard.

21.10.06. Received a memorial from the Conclave of 'Loyal Ashton-under-Lyne Volunteers' containing some strong charges of illegal proceedings in the Provincial Grand Commander Sir John Schofield, requesting the concurrence of the Sir Knights of this Conclave in reporting the same to Grand Conclave, which was unanimously agreed to.

The nature of the trouble and the outcome of this complaint are not apparent.

On 10th April, 1808, the Grand Conclave reported:—

> Read a letter from Sir Knight Thomas Potter, Principal of the St. Bernard Conclave, Werneth, dated 29th October, 1807, containing a List of Members Installed in the said Encampment; also advising that, in consequence of the Circular Letter of the 8th of June 1807, being withheld from him until the 18th of October in that year, he was thereby prevented corresponding with and forwarding the necessary returns to the Grand Conclave. The said Letter being taken into consideration the Grand Registrar was directed to get an explanation of the above detention, and in the meanwhile all Letters for the Encampment be addressed to Sir Knight Potter.

On 10th April, 1809, Grand Conclave reported:—

> Com. Taylor—Hollinwood—sent a memorandum of 3 Kts. Comps. installed in the Enct. Werneth, Manchester, since April 1806 with their fees of Registry — and 6/- — for the Charity from himself.

The Conclave is included in the "Statutes" List of 12th April, 1810, as:—

> 7
> St. Bernard
> Hollywood, near Oldham
> Lancashire
> White Lion
> First Sunday in June, September, December and March 1793 October 1.

It will be noted that Philanthropy Chapter was then meeting at this house on the last Sunday in the same months. The White Lion was also the head-quarters of Unity Lodge.

The Report of Grand Conclave of 18th April, 1811, included:—

> Read a letter from Sir George Taylor, of Moston, near Manchester, dated Werneth, 3d March, stating, that, with the assistance of a few Knights, he had revived the meetings of the St. Bernard Encampment, which had laid dormant for more than two years: and having convened the Encampment in due form, proceeded to install the Officers, viz. George Taylor, Commander; James Whitehead, First Captain; and George Farrand, Second Captain.

George Taylor must have been a particularly active member at this time as he was present at the Installation of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex as Grand Master on 6th August, 1812, when Commanders and Grand Officers received the Chair Degree of the Order, "which was imparted in Sacred Conclave in due form". The Commander presented "dutiful congratulations" to the Grand Master.

After this we have a gap until 1826, when, according to Bro. Williams, the Conclave of St. Bernard was included in the List as "Erased" and Knight Templary in Oldham came to an end until 1854.

MARK MASONRY.

Mark Masonry appears to have reached Oldham in 1795, when we have the following in the Minute Book of Friendship:—

> 28 October 1795. Made Mark Masons:
> Theophilus Turner
> John Rowbottom
> John Saxon
> William Ashton
> James Schofield
> John Wood

Seven names have the words "Made Mark" entered against them at a meeting in August, 1798, the day-date not being given. There were further batches on 17 April 1799, 29 October 1800, 13 March 1805, one only on 3 August 1808, and three on 9 January 1811, after which there is a gap until 1838.

The famous Travelling Mark Lodge of Ashton-under-Lyne was operating in this part of the country, but, unfortunately, its early records are missing, so it is not possible to say whether any other bodies were associated with Friendship in this making of Mark Masons or what brethren officiated at the ceremony.

For the sake of convenience the pre-Union excursions into the additional degrees of Freemasonry have been considered together, but we now resume the story of Craft Masonry in the year 1792.

Relief was being regularly disbursed by the Brethren of Friendship, who were also paying some attention to equipment, as witness the Cash Book:—

8.2.1792.	Relief for Jacob Wild	5. 0.
	Paid to Br. Stansfield for past favours	7. 6.
7.3.92.	To the Relief of Joseph Gillet of Lodge of St. Nichols, No. 248, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2. 0.
	Reliev'd a Distressed Brother	2. 0.

4.4.92.	To Gloves, 23 Pair 1/6 per Pair	1. 14. 6.
	To Ribbon 12 yards at	4. 3.
	To 3 Skins	3. 6.
5.5.92.	Paid Joseph Wood Bill for Ribbins	2. 6.
27.6.92.	Paid for Jewels	9. 6.

The dignity of the Lodge was upheld, where necessary, by the imposition of fines, thus:—

29.8.1792. "Br. William Chadwick and Brother Sam[l]. Fletcher Secretary and Junior Deacon fin'd for Going of Before the Lodge Clos'd in the Penalty of one shilling per Member By the Consent of this Body".

26.9.1792. "The Lodge was summoned to meet at 5 o'Clock, but on account of the Masters forgetfulness and his not coming till Eight o'Clock, It was opened then in Due form and with Good Harmony".

The W.M., Bro. John Schofield, was permitted to expiate his offence by the payment of twopence.

On October 23rd, 1792, the Lodge closed "In Hopes to meet again in good health and in fresh Masonic vigour the month following".

The number was altered from 554 to 463 in 1792, and in June, 1793, 4/- was paid to Theophilus Turner for altering the seal.

There were difficulties during this year. On July 17th it was necessary to borrow 3/- from Bro. Wood on account of the absence of the Treasurer and "few numbers". On August 21st, the Lodge removed from the Angel to the George and Dragon (the house of its Master) "Without one dissenting voice to Br. Woods on Account of Bad usage & worse language and so Farewell Mr. Lawson".

The brethren, however, continued to remember the needy:—

18.9.1793.	Paid to the Strangers Friend Society	10. 6.
	do. do.	10. 6.
	Reliev'd Bro. Roger Mosely No. 36	
	Rope & Anchor, Bolton	3. 0.
	(Anchor & Hope, now 37)	

An Emergency Meeting was held on December 5th, 1793. The Lodge was opened at 11 a.m. Bro. John Bates was raised and the Lodge closed at 2 p.m. "after this we proceeded to Royton on Business". In these modest words is described no less momentous an event than the Consecration of the first daughter Lodge, Harmony, now 298.

The following is a more complete account[1]:—

5th December 1793—Unicorn Inn, Royton.

Members of the Lodge of Friendship, 463, Oldham, assisted in constituting the Lodge of Harmony, 532, when the following Brothers were installed as Officers:—

James Hardman	as W.M.
Joseph Wood	S.W.
William Butterworth	as J.W.

Joseph Birks was made Entered Apprentice and requested to be "passed" and "raised" at our next meeting which is on Thursday after the full moon (Granted).

[1] *Memorials of the Lodge of Harmony*, No. 298, by R. Greenwood and R. R. Gray, p. 9.

Edmund Butterworth proposed to be made an Entered Apprentice. Accepted on the same occasion.

Bros. Chas. Hopwood and John Lyon Taylor admitted members from Lodge of Probity, 61, Halifax, and applied to be made "pass Masters" when convenient.

The Lodge closed in peace and good harmony at 8 o'clock in due Form.

The Warrant, which was dated 7th December, 1793, was issued by John Allen and named the brethren recorded above as the first principal Officers. It is in terms similar to those of Friendship.

The new Lodge did not remain long in the Oldham district, as on January 23rd, 1794, it was "Unanimously decided by ballot to remove to the House of Bro. Chas. Hopwood, the Blue Ball, Yorkshire Street,' Rochdale".

There is a memo. in the Friendship Minute Book of 11th June, 1794: "John Greaves made Master Mason May 18, 1791, and has now serv'd till the date hereof the time he Engaged to be our Tyler—and now it appears his Time is Expired".

This brother signed the Minutes of 1st January, 1796, though it was unusual at that time for them to be signed.

OLDHAM AND THE WARS.

The Cash Book records:—

11 Dec. 1793—Paid Return	1.	10.	6.
Expence on Making return		2.	6.
To 30 pair of Flannel Drawers for the use of our army abroad	3.	5.	0.
Carriage of the same to London		2.	7.
To Sealing Wax			4.
Expences of this Night	1.	0.	0.
	6.	0.	11.

The patriotic gesture mentioned in the above list must have been followed by some form of recruiting march, as Rowbottom records in his diary:—

26.5.1794. Mr. Hollinworth, attended by a large number of Free Masons, two elegant flags and a band of music beat up for Col. Hewet's Regiment of foot Oldham and its environs.

There is no mention of this in the local Masonic archives, and Mr. Hollinworth was not a member of Friendship.

In 1798 a voluntary subscription was raised towards the "exigencies of the State", and many and substantial donations were received, including:—

Lodge of Friendship	7.	7.	0.
Chapter of Philanthropy, White Lion, Werneth	5.	5.	0.
Conclave of St. Bernard, Navigation Inn, Hollinwood	5.	5.	0.
Jonathan Raynor, Pensioner		10.	6.

One may refer in passing to a manifesto of loyalty to the King and Constitution signed by 43 innkeepers and publicans of Oldham. Six of these were members of the Lodge of Friendship.

The first reference to a Masonic funeral was dated 17th July, 1796, when "The Lodge was Called for Emergency on the occasion of the funeral of our late Worthy Br. John Rowbottom". The Lodges of Relief, Bury; Harmony, Rochdale; and Minerva, Ashton-Under-Lyne; and the Chapters of Philanthropy, Werneth; and Trinity, Manchester, were represented.

The Cash Book:—

To preaching Br. Rowbottom Sermon	1. 1. 0.
To 2 dozen of Aprons	1. 7. 0.
Triming Jewels and Cutting Aprons	4. 4.
Gloves	14. 10.

The remainder of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries passed in a fairly harmonious manner. The Lodge continued to attend to the needy, gather in its own subscriptions and to proceed steadily with the provisions and maintenance of equipment. The Cash Book mentions:—

		£. s. d.
15.1.1794.	Tailor's Bill Coat Cap and Sashes	1. 0. 7.
	Coat Cloth	17. 6.
	(Probably for the Tyler)	
24.6.95.	Relieving Sister Lees	10. 6.
27.7.95.	To relieving a Brother Turk	3. 6.
	do. Brother Smith	3. 0.

The following articles were ordered on June 26th, 1796:—

Jewels for the Senior and Junior Wardens
Tyler's Trowel
An additional Cloth by Br. Gunn
24 Aprons by Br. Butterworth, plain Scins
New stand by Br. James Schofield
A Cushion by Br. Gunn of Crimson velvet

The Minute Book records two minor breaches of the peace:—

8.3.97. "Brother John Taylor Left the Chiair withoute Liafe".

He was not an Officer of the Lodge.

12.6.99. "The Lodge was Opend but Theophilus Turner disturb'd the peas & good harmoney at 8 o'Clock".

Bro. Turner was a well-known jeweller and clockmaker of Chadderton, of which parish he was Churchwarden. He was one of the first brethren in Oldham to be made a Mark Mason and he died in Oldham Workhouse in 1806 and was buried in Middleton Churchyard (Rowbottom's Diary).

On January 8th, 1800, "But a fue Brothers atendded the lodg was not Opend But there was pease hand good harmoney". Four disappointed brothers drowned their sorrows in "refreshment" at a cost of 12/6. This year Brother John Wood received £1. 1. 0. "towards Decorating the Lodge with additional Juels which at this time where much in want", and we also find, "Juels of Mr. Britland, £2. 10. 0."

There was a balance in hand of £33. 11. 4, in 1803, but the Lodge decided to advance its fees from £2. 12. 6. to £4. 4. 0., *i.e.*, £1. 1. 0. on proposition and £1. 1. 0. for each step.

A grant of 10/6 was made "By a gift to Brothers Prisoners in Lancaster Castle" on 15th August, 1804. The Castle was then largely used as a Debtor's Prison.

On 19th September, 1804, it was considered "whether two steps or only one taken on a night. Agreed that two might be taken". This crowded out the important item, "Liquor to be Determined next night, whether we are to have it as usual or on a better Plan".

Bro. Wood, landlord of the George and Dragon, died in 1804, and after several discussions it was agreed that "The Lodge shall stop here at this house until . . . we find a sufficient reason to remove after Due Trial of the Landlord that is coming to occupy this House".

A plate for printing "Civiticats" was engraved in 1805 at a cost of £2. 2. 0. This is still in existence and bears traces of alteration of number, meeting place, etc.

The monthly subscription was advanced from 9d. to 1/- on 18th March, 1807, "the Quantity of Liquor to come In be at the Option of the Master & Brethren".

THE UNLAWFUL SOCIETIES ACT, 1799.

We may now retrace our footsteps and consider the effect of the passing of the Unlawful Societies Act, 1799, which required the annual filing of a list of members of each Lodge with the Clerk of the Peace. It will be remembered that for some time there was a doubt whether new Lodges could legally be constituted, and the Moderns resorted to the practice of the Antients of transferring and re-issuing the Warrants of Lodges which should otherwise have been regarded as "lapsed".

The registration of Lodges not only involved the preparation of the list but a journey to the Office of the Clerk of the Peace for the district, presumably with some expense of travelling and refreshment:—

9.10.99.	Registiring the Lodge with the Clark of the Peace	1.	2.	11.
2.7.00.	to the Expences of Registiring to Brother Jno Wild		9.	8.
28.1.01.	Registiring the Lodge		8.	9½.
22.4.01.	Registiring with Clark of the Peace	1.	7.	3.
	Expences to Committee		6.	0.
17.2.02.	Regestring Lodge with Clark of Peace	1.	9.	6.
4.5.03.	By Expences in attending the Magistrates & making Oaths. Paid Clerk of the Peace &c.		17.	6.
	etc. etc. etc.			

During the first decade of the Century one Lodge was formed in Werneth, now part of the County Borough, one in Saddleworth and one in Middleton, each acquiring a seniority not warranted by its real age.

The Lodge of Unity, Werneth, was originally warranted by the Moderns on 21st June, 1732, and met at the Crown, Walbrook, London, its subsequent meeting places being:—

Goose and Gridiron, St. Paul's Churchyard	1733.
King & Queen, Rosemary Lane	1735.
The New Magpie without Bishopsgate	1739
The Red Lion, York Street, St. James's Square	1748.
The Dog Tavern, St. James's Market	1755.
The King's Arms, Marylebone Street, Golden Sq.	1758.

According to Lane,[1] the Lodge appears to have become dormant about 1798 and to have reappeared at the White Lion, Werneth, Nr. Oldham, about 1804, when it bore the number 32, altered in 1814 to 49 and in 1832 to 42. The Lodge adopted the name, "Unity", on 15th March, 1811, when a Warrant of Confirmation was issued.

[1] *Masonic Records*, 1717-1894.

A few letters and documents relating to this Lodge have been preserved by Lodges in the neighbourhood and there are scattered references in Minute Books. The very location of the White Lion is now unknown, though it is believed to have stood in that part known as Coppice Nook and to have collapsed or been pulled down in consequence of land subsidence about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Several communications addressed to the Lodge are now preserved by the Lodge of Unanimity, No. 89, Dukinfield, Cheshire. One of these, dated 22nd June, 1809, requests the Lodges which had supported the petition for the appointment of Francis Duckinfield Astley as Provincial Grand Master to meet at the Falstaff Tavern, Manchester, at 5 o'clock on 3rd July, to congratulate him and petition him to appoint for deputy some person in Manchester, this step being advisable to facilitate the business of the Province.

In August, 1807, a visitor from the Lodge of Wearneth paid one shilling to the Lodge of Friendship, and others are recorded as late as 1829.

John Whitehead, Joiner, of Oldham, was Worshipful Master of Unity in 1817 and received a communication from the Grand Secretaries threatening penalties for failure to register any members or pay any fees since 1809. It was pointed out that the W.M. himself was not registered as a member of the Lodge. He was originally initiated in Friendship on 2nd March, 1803, installed Master on 2nd January, 1811, and rejoined on 10th March, 1824. The date of his original cessation is not given, and he attended as a visitor on many occasions.

The Lodge of Unanimity possesses a fine copy of the Book of Constitutions, 1738, bearing the following endorsements:—

> "This Book of Constitutions Belongs to the Lodge of Unity, No. 32, held at the White Lion, Werneth, Lancashire".
>
> "This Book Belongs to the Lodge of Unanimity No 106 Astley's Arms, Dukinfield, kept by John Drury".
>
> April 19th 1845.
>
> Chas. Fernihough, W.M.

James Butterworth, an applicant for admission as a joining member of Friendship in 1819, complained that in consequence of the infrequency of meetings of Unity he could not obtain his Certificate. Bro. Butterworth's conduct was so violent that the Friendship members resolved he should never more be admitted to their meetings.

There is a rough pencil draft of a Minute of 1822 which was not copied into the Friendship Minute Book:—

> "Mov'd and 2nd. that Lodge 49 be apply'd to to contribute towards the relief of distressed Masons who may pass thro' the Town".

The Provincial Grand Treasurer's Accounts for 1828 show that dues were then paid in respect of six members only and the Warrant must have come into the market about this time. Lane mentions that Unity met at the Hare and Hounds, Oldham, in 1826,[1] but its assets were probably acquired by some other Lodge shortly after this.

Unanimity holds an undated account:—

	s.	d.
2 journeys to Oldham and Cash advanced for removing the furniture of the Lodge of Unity from Oldham to Dukinfield Settled. C. Sharp.	6.	7.

[1] *Masonic Records*, 1717-1894.

The following communication, also in the possession of Unanimity, reveals a grave scandal:—

78 High Street,

Manchester Oct 8 1835

Sir & Brother,

I have carefully perused the papers you left with me on Tuesday and now return them. The following are my sentiments concerning the matters they relate to, but I beg you will understand that I do not consider it my duty as Deputy Provincial Grand Master to act or decide in the affair, it is the business of the Board of General Purposes to do that——

Referring to the Grand Secretary's letter of the 25 July 1835 I do not find that it contains anything wherein I can aid you, it seems clear to me that the R.A. Charter is forfeited by reason of such a long period having been suffered to elapse without any communication being made to the Grand Chapter, I think you have no means left to render that Charter of any use to you or any other body but to adopt the course pointed out by the G. Secy, of course the expense of the renewal will fall upon the persons applying for it. The Craft Warrant is similarly situated, but yet I think it not unlikely that a proper petition would be listened to in which mention might be made of the notice taken of the Lodge in the Quarterly Communication dated 5th Sepr 1832, and with regard to the date of the Warrant you might remind the Board that tho' you *bought* the Warrant, it was not sold by a *Lodge*, or even by a Mason, you found it in the possession of a Stranger who had a lien upon it which you were obliged to pay off to obtain possession of it.

I may remark that I do not think you had any occasion to buy these Warrants at all, for you ought to have known that they could never be of any value in the hands of a Cowan, if your intention was to profit by the bargain it would have been prudent to have communicated your intention to the Grand Lodge before you parted with your money——

I am Sir & Bro

Faithfully and Fraternally Your's

(Signed) THO PRESTON

D.P.G.M.

Mr. Charles Sharp

Seedsman

Ashton.

In view of the receipted account mentioned above and other documents held by the Lodge of Unanimity it would appear that the Warrants referred to in this letter were those of Unity Lodge and Philanthropy Chapter, both of which had met at the White Lion.

The Lodge of Unity was erased in 1835, and a letter from the Grand Secretaries to Mr. John Schofield, the Duke of Sussex, Newton, Nr. Hyde, Cheshire, of 2nd December, 1835, refers to the late Lodge of Unity, No. 42, formerly held at Oldham and London, the members of which were either dead or had ceased to be such for some years past.

Reference may be made to one additional undated document:—

To the Worshipfull
Master of the Lodge
Copy Nooke

Worshipfull Sir,

The Lodge of Friendship does me the Honor to patronize a Play for Thursday evening next and I shall feel myself much obliged by the Attendance of the Brethren over whom you preside.

I am, Yrs. respectfully,

Oldham I. GOLDFINCH.
Monday even.

There is no reference to this in the Friendship records.

The Lodge at Middleton acquired its Warrant in a simple manner. A Lodge was constituted in London on August 21st, 1752, and bore the number 219. It was in a moribund state about 1802, and on May 20th, 1805, three brethren from Middleton were admitted joining members, Joseph Heap, one of their number, being appointed W.M. It was then unanimously agreed that the Lodge should be removed to the Suffield Arms, Middleton, Lancashire, and so there was no break in the continuity of the Lodge. It is now the Imperial George Lodge, No. 78.

The Lodge of Candour, 635 (now 337), Delph, which was constituted on Christmas Day, 1812, was assigned the Warrant of the Lodge of Unanimity, No. 328, Penrith, originally constituted in 1776, but erased on 6th February, 1811.

THE ORANGE SOCIETY.

Though the brethren of Friendship apparently looked with friendly eyes on any branch of Freemasonry, they tolerated no rival Orders, for on August 12th, 1807, it was

> "Agreed to summons John Harrop & John Heywood to Lodge to answer to their Conduct on Joining a Lodge of Orange People whether they mean to remain in our Lodge or entirely give up the Orange Lodge as our members will not allow them to sit with us; Except they decline the Orange".

The Rochdale brethren went further, declining association not only with Orangemen but with Odd-fellows and even persons with "Jacobinical tendencies".

There is a curious note of 9th March, 1808, when James Cocks, who was passed and raised on that day, was said to have more regularly "attended the Lodge than appears on the Book; because he may have been called off before the Names were taken or did not come till late in the evening". This is in the handwriting of Bro. Cocks himself, and reference will later be made to his practice of interpolating comments in the Minute Book.

The quartering of troops in the district in consequence of industrial unrest is recalled by a Minute of June 8th, 1808:—

> "The moment the Lodge was opened, Bro. Scott informed the Brethren that Wm. Rutledge, Esq., Captain in the 6th dragoon Guards, requested to be made a Bro., when the W.M. and the rest of the Officers and Brethren agreed to give him the entered Apprentices Step tonight and exalt him to the degree of a Master Mason to-morrow night".

Captain Rutledge was accordingly initiated and, twenty-four hours later, passed and raised, paying his fee of £4. 4. 0. He does not appear again to have attended the Lodge, though on 3rd August, 1808, Sergeants Kowlan and Williams, of his regiment, were visitors.

The monthly subscription was advanced from 1/- to 1/6d. on 4th January, 1809; 1/- was to be spent on liquor and 6d. on charity. The "Liquidation of Grand and Provincial Grand Fees" was to be paid in addition.

The brethren were not to be drawn into somebody else's quarrel on 29th March, 1809:—

> "Resolved that William Tristram having appealed to this Lodge concerning a censure cast upon him by the lodge of Hope at Bradford it is the Opinion of this Lodge that the affair ought to be referred to the Grand Lodge & that it is not meet for any private Lodge to interfere in any differences betwixt a Lodge & any Individual, the Merits of which they consider themselves incompetent to decide upon & that this be signified to the Lodge of Hope at Bradford".

It transpired at the same meeting that Luke Tristram, who had been admitted a joining member in December, 1805, was an Antient, and a resolution excluding him was carried, though Bro. Tristram submitted to re-making at the next meeting and thus retained his membership. The necessary fees were paid.

On 22nd November, 1809:—

> J—— B—— is Dismissed for breaking the Laws of the Lodge & forfeiting his Obligation by having connections with a Brother's Daughter and Lastly by a Brother's wife and accordingly he is dismissed from this Lodge.

According to the Cash Book the box was removed from the George and Dragon to the Angel in November, 1809, at a cost of 13/4. A month later the box was removed back to the George and Dragon, on this occasion ten shillings being spent in liquor. There is no reference to any change of meeting place in the Minutes, but the Lodge apparently settled at the *Angel* for several years.

On Sunday, June 27th, 1809 (St. John's Festival), the Lodge was opened at 1 p.m. and was closed at 8 p.m. The first Minute Book of the Lodge came to an end on July 11th, 1810.

The second Minute Book covers the period August 10th, 1810, to 27th December, 1838, and is almost as remarkable as the first, as it includes the only complete Minute extant of a meeting of the Travelling Mark Lodge of Ashton-under-Lyne and a complete set of Minutes of the proceedings of an irregular Lodge.

Charitable disbursements included, in addition to the usual payments to Jonathan Raynor:—

		£.	s.	d.
12.9.1810.	By cash to Brother in Stafford Jail	1.	0.	0.
	By relief of 3 Sailors		6.	0.
26.2.1812.	By 2 Bottles of Red Port for James Fletcher and Peter Whitehead		11.	0.

Nemesis awaited the tardy and the wrong-doer:—

3.7.1811. Resolved that the abstent brethren . . . (be excluded) & Circular letters to be sent to the other Lodges informing them that they are struck of the books.

10.2.1813. Resolved that Brother Peter Fearnhead is struck off the Books of this Lodge in consequence of an oath being taken against him at the new Bailey Courthouse by Brother Arthur Clegg.

At the same meeting it was decided that any member over twelve months in arrears was to be excluded "and is liquor stopped until he appears at the Lodge again".

24.6.1813: Joseph Brierley was struck off the Books for "defrauding the Brethren wilsfully and knowing at the same time that he was defrauding them".

1.6.1814: Resolved that Mr. James Barns having requested a Certificate from this Lodge it was unanimously agreed to return him this answer: "That he, having been expelled the Lodge, we are of the opinion that we cannot undo what has been done".

He was an innkeeper, initiated on 24th September, 1806, and expelled on 22nd November, 1809.

25.7.1814. It was decided that every Officer absent without reasonable excuse was to be fined one shilling and every absent member three-pence.

There is no reference, direct or indirect, to the Union of 1813 and no notice of any change of working, etc. On 30th April, 1817, £1. 0. 0. was paid for a Book of Constitutions and 1/4d. for its carriage.

The Minutes of 25th April, 1814, open:—

> This being Lodge of Emergency on the Glorious event that as taken place in the Deliverance of Europe from the Tyranny of Buonaparte, the lodge was opened in peace & good harmony at Eleven o'Clock.

A SCHISMATIC LODGE.

There was a grave crisis in Oldham Freemasonry during the years 1817-18. The trouble appears to have arisen out of the conduct of the landlord of the Angel, though its exact nature is not indicated. The first reference is to be found in the Minutes of 26th February, 1817:—

> Betwixt this 60th Page & the next Page 61, five Leaves were tore out of the Book by David Ogden or his order, who had intruded himself into the Lodge without being elected or being a member. The entries following from page 60 to 69 are written at one time to serve private purposes & James Potter the Secretary said he was ordered to report several Members present when they never appeared.

Daniel Lynch, Deputy Prov.G.M., attended a meeting at the Angel Inn on April 30th, 1817, when he granted a Dispensation for the removal of the Lodge to the Spread Eagle. A Minority dissented and continued to meet at the Angel, and, as they held the Minute Book, they entered the records of their own proceedings therein. James Potter, who was initiated on 3/11/1802, and acted as Secretary to the "rebels", appears to have turned to a page in the first Minute Book dated 9/10/1799 and to have inscribed thereon:—

> James Potter is my name
> and England is my nation and
> Oldham is my dwelling place
> and Christ is my salvation

In another hand is added:—

> O save him from rhymes like these
> And mind his bacco & his cheese.

When the books passed into the possession of the Lodge proper after the restoration of peace, pages were reserved for the record of their proceedings and several meetings were reported in full, though in other cases they were represented by a dated blank page in the Minute Book. We are, in consequence, fortunate enough to have between one pair of covers, the records of proceedings of both the regular and irregular Lodges.

The two accounts of the meeting held on April 30th are here given:—

A. The Regular Lodge.

Wednesday, April 30th, 1817, at the Angel Inn.

The Lodge was opened neither in Peace nor Good Harmony at 8 o'Clock.

Brothers Present.		*Brothers Absent.*
Daniel Lynch,	Dep. P.G.M.	Rodger Wrigley
George Crossley,	P.S.W.	Peter Moreton
Thomas Preston,	J.W. Prov.	Thomas Taylor, Joiner.
Pidgeon,	P.G. Secretary.	
John Bent,	P.G. Sword Bearer.	
Thomas Cawley	W.M.	
Thomas Potter,	S.W.	
Frederick Fletcher,	J.W.	
Andrew Ashton,	S.D.	
William Cordingley,	J.D.	
James Potter,	Secretary.	
James Cheetham,	Treasurer.	

John Ogden, James Cocks, John Shaw, Benjamin Hutton, John Lees, Thomas Pritchard Taylor, Mathew Sedgwick, Abram Garside, Tyler.

A Motion was made by Br. John Ogden & seconded by Br. John Lees that this Lodge be removed from the Angel Inn, when a Ballot took place when there were ten for the removal and four against it. Another motion was made by Bro. Thomas P. Taylor & seconded by Bro. Benjn. Hutton that the Lodge be removed to the Spread Eagle Inn in Oldham which was carried by a majority of twelve.
Daniel Lynch, Esq., D.P.G.M. then granted a Dispensation to remove and commanded the same to be done.

B. The Schismatic Lodge.

Oldham, April 30th, 1817.

This being Lodge Night the Lodge was opened in peace and good Harmony at Eight O'Clock when the following Brethren were present viz:—

Brother Thomas Cawley,	W.M.
Thomas Potter,	S.W. Substitute
Frederick Fletcher,	J.W. do
Andrew Ashton,	S.D.
William Cordingley,	J.D.
James Cheetham,	T.
James Potter,	S.

John Ogden, James Cocks, John Shaw, Benjamin Hutton, John Lees, Thomas Taylor, Matthew Sedgwick.
David Ogden—was not present till the business was over
The Lodge was Closed in peace and good Harmony at Eleven O'Clock.

The words qualifying the entry of David Ogden's name were added in another hand, probably that of James Cocks, Secretary of the Regular Lodge, who also appears to have written the note regarding "falsification" already referred to. In the same hand is endorsed on the "rebel" Minutes of April 30th:—

> At this Lodge of the 30th April, 1817, were present the Deputy P.G. Master Daniel Lynch, Esq & his Officers the leaves containing the Minutes of the Lodge for that Night & entered by the P.G. Secy. are torn out. See page 82.

The *Schismatic* Lodge was led by the W.M. of the *Regular* Lodge, Thomas Cawley, who had been installed on 3rd July, 1816, while the Regular Lodge was presided over by its S.W., Thomas Potter, who had already served as Master in 1805, 1812 and 1814.

There were present at the Angel on 28th May, 1817, Thomas Cawley, W.M., David Ogden, S.W. Sub., James Potter, J.W. Sub and Secretary, and Robert Tetlow, Tyler. Thirteen brethren were described in the Minutes as absentees. The same evening there were present at the Spread Eagle, Thomas Potter, W.M., William Jackson, S.W., Andrew Ashton, J.W., Benjamin Hutton, S.D., John Ogden, P.M., James Cocks, Secretary Pro Tem, Thomas Taylor, Joiner, and Abram Gartside, Outer Guard. They reported ten absentees including Thomas Cawley and James Potter, who were at the Angel. Thomas Taylor tendered his resignation, which was accepted and he thereupon appears to have thrown in his lot with the brethren at the Angel.

The two Lodges celebrated the Festival of St. John the Baptist on 25th June, 1817, when William Jackson was Installed Master of the Lodge at the Spread Eagle, ten brethren being present. Only four attended at the Angel, and David Ogden was chosen Master, but was not installed until 15th July:—

> Oldham, July 15th, 1817.
>
> This Day a Lodge of Emergency was Called by order of Francis Duckinfield Astley, Esqr. P.G.M. of the County Palatine of Lancaster when the following Brethren were Enstalled (Viz) the Officers was Appointed on St. Johns Day But was not Installed till this Day By Brother William Butterworth
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | (Viz) | David Ogden | W.M. |
> | | Rodger Wrigley | S.W. |
> | | Thomas Taylor | J.W. |

It would be interesting to know under what circumstances the Provincial Grand Master authorised the Installation of the "Master" of a Schismatic Lodge.

There next appears to have been a somewhat one-sided attempt at arbitration, as witness the records of the Lodge at the Angel:—

> Oldham July 20th 1817
>
> This being a Lodge of Emergency called by order of Francis Duckinfield Astley, Esqr. P.G.M. for the County Palatine of Lancaster, when the Lodge was opened in Peace & good Harmony— At twelve o'Clock
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | (Viz) | David Ogden | W.M. |
> | | Rodger Wrigley | S.W. |
> | | Thomas Taylor | J.W. |
> | | James Potter | S.D. Sub. |
> | | James Potter | S. |
>
> at half Past twelve o'Clock the following W. Masters took the Chairs and Immediately Proceeded to Business to take the late Quarrel betwixt

Brother Cocks & a traveller into there Consideration, & their Decision to be binding to all Brethren belonging to the Lodge of Friendship. The above Brethren withdrew.

The following Masters was appointed to settle the Dispute

(Viz)	Lodge of Unanimity, Duckinfield	No. 136	Thomas Bennett
	Do Minerva Ashton Under Line	562	John MDonald
	Do Imperial George Middleton	115	Robert Ogden
	Do Candour Delph	642	Robert Platt
	Do Unity Oldham		John Whitehead

The above five R.W. Masters took the Difference into Consideration betwixt Brother Cox & a Traveller and likewise the removal of the Lodge of Friendship, when the aforesaid Masters Unanimously agreed that the Lodge of Friendship should not be removed from the Angel to any other house only by the Book of Constitutions which they Think to be Legal.

this being a Lodge of Emergency was Closed in peace & good Harmony at half Past five O'Clock.

Resolved by the Lodge of Masters that Brother James Cheetham must Pay to the Master of the Lodge of Friendship the Cash in hand (and that he refuses to pay) until Brother Cox and the Brethren that takes part with him give there Consent and the Masters told him he must take as Comes and abide by the Consequence.

The refreshment of the arbitrators cost a matter of £5. 16. 0.

Both Lodges met on July 23rd, but the only business recorded is the removal of the name of Frederic Fletcher from the list of the Lodge at the Spread Eagle on account of his having "retired" to America. Dated spaces are left for the Minutes of this Lodge for August 20, September 24, October 12 (Emergency), October 22, November 19, December 12 (Emergency), December 17, but the actual proceedings on these dates were never entered up.

Meetings, fully reported, were held at the Angel as under:—August 20th, September 24th (Thomas Walton "reported"), October 22nd, November 19th (Thomas Walton Initiated, Passed and Raised—there were four visitors on this evening), December 17th ("This being Lodge Night the members was present but they Concluded in adjourning to the 25 and to Call a lodge of Emergency to fix St. John's and other Urgent Business").

On January 5th, 1818, the Lodge at the Angel celebrated the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist, there being eight brethren present, including one visitor, who acted as J.D. They also met on January 21st, February 18th and April 22nd (Emergency), after which we have the comment in the handwriting of James Cocks: "The last entry of the illegal Lodge held at the Angel Inn".

The proceedings of the regular Lodge at the Spread Eagle during 1818 are recorded more fully:—

The Feast of St. John was celebrated on January 21st, when "The following Brothers in succession were passed the Chair that is John Shaw, Benjamin Hutton, Mathew Sedgewick", also:—

> "To the Memory of our late much beloved and respected Senior Warden John Lees Esq. of Bank Side who died December 30th, 1817, was drunk in solumn silence".

The story of the restoration of peace can be gleaned from the following extracts:—

28.2.1818. On the 28th of February 1818 an application was made to the P.G. Master Francis Duckinfield Astley Esq. by James Cocks to remove the Lodge from the Spread Eagle to the Angel Inn according to a Resolution passed unanimously on the 12th of December last at a Lodge of Emergency convened by a regular summons, and in a few days a Dispensation arrived dated about the fourth of March 1818, of which the following is a Copy.

> Know all whom these Presents do concern that I do hereby permit order and direct that the Lodge of Friendship No. 519 shall be removed from the Spread Eagle to the Angel Inn in Oldham.
>
> Signed F. D. Astley
> P.G. Master.

18.3. 1818. This being the regular Lodge Night several Members attended but no Lodge was opened.

The cause of removing the Lodge from the Angel Inn being now obviated by the removal of the Landlord of that House, an application was made to the Provl. G. Master for a Dispensation to return to the Angel Inn according to the unanimous vote of the Lodge and a Dispensation for that purpose was obtained bearing date about the fourth of March 1818.

15.4.1818. No Lodge opened.

Wednesday 22d April, 1818. Angel Inn.
This being a Provincial Lodge was opened at 8 o'clock in due Form

Brothers Present
Francis Duckinfield Astley Esq Provincial G:M:
Daniel Lynch Esq. Deputy Provl:G:Master
George Crossley Esq: Provl:G:S:Warden
Peter Longsden Esq: Provl:G:J:Warden
James Esq: Provl:Grand Secretary
John Bent Esq: Grand P:Sword Bearer

William Jackson W:M:
Thomas P. Taylor J:W.
Thomas Cawley Past:M.
Benjn. Hutton
John Shaw
Andrew Ashton
James Cheetham
William Cordingley
Thomas Potter
James Potter
James Cocks
David Ogden was Present
Abram Garside Tyler.

Absent Brothers
John Ogden
Peter Moreton
Mathew Sedgewick

It is unfortunate that no details of the transactions at this important meeting are given. The Provincial authorities again attended a month later:—

Wednesday 20th of May 1818. Angel Inn.

This being a Provincial Lodge was opened in due Form:

Brothers Present	Brothers Absent
Daniel Lynch, Esq: D:P:G:Master	James Potter
Esq: P:G:S:W.	Thomas Cawley
Esq: P:G:J:W.	Mathew Sedgewick
Bent, Prov:Grand Sword Bearer	John Ogden
Thomas Potter	John Shaw
Thomas P. Taylor	William Jackson
Benjn. Hutton	Peter Moreton
James Cheetham	William Cordingley
James Cocks	Andrew Ashton
Whitehead	
of No: 642 Lodge of Candour	
held at Delph. Visitor.	
Abram Garside Tyler.	

Brother Thomas P. Taylor was unanimously elected as Master and James Cheetham as the Treasurer for the Following Year. David Ogden was paid off all demands whatever on the Lodge and his receipt on a stamp taken for the same.

17.6.1818. It appearing that Thomas Walton now of Halifax was reported entered passed and raised on the 19th of November, 1817, on one Night against the Laws and in an illegal Lodge and his whole fees received. It is resolved to write to one of the Lodges at Halifax to inform them and request they would enter pass & raise the said Thomas Walton without further charge or inform him if he attends it will be done in the Lodge of Friendship.

(Bro. Walton joined the Lodge of Harmony, now 275, Halifax, on 4th December, 1818, and was admitted a joining member of Friendship on 10th January, 1827.)

That as the Lodge has been prevented from knowing all the accounts and communications received from the Grand Lodge the Secretary is ordered to write to the Grand Secretary to inform him of this and to request to know how the accounts and returns of the Lodge are now standing.

Some of the "rebels" were shortly afterwards dealt with:—

10.2.1819. RESOLVED that as James Potter Peter Moreton William Cordingley and Thomas Cawley are a long time in arrears of pay and have absented themselves from the Lodge and upon being summoned to appear and pay all proper Demands have neither appeared personally or sent any Answer or messuage——That according to the Book of Constitutions and the ByLaws of this Lodge they are hereby declared suspended from this Lodge.

———

With the restoration of peace candidates began to come along and a new era of prosperity dawned. It would appear that some "outside" assistance was necessary, as Lodges of Emergency were held on Sundays, April 18th, and May 16th, at each of which Thos. Wallwork and Thos. Ogden, visitors, acted as W.M. and S.W. respectively. The second and third degrees were worked on the first

occasion and the third on the other. There was an unusual incident on September 29th, 1819:—

> The Lodge was this night adjourned in consequence of the Lodge Room being engaged by the Coroner.

The inquest was on one of the victims of the Peterloo Massacre.

No meetings were held in May or August, 1820, owing to insufficient attendance. A Serving Brother was elected a full member on 21st June, 1820:—

> Brother James Skelmerdine having been made by Dispensation in 1818 in Order to fill the Office of Inner Guard proposed on this night to pay the remainder of his fees instead of serving the said Office for three years, which was unanimously accepted in open Lodge.

On 19th October, 1820, "the R.W.P. honour'd the Lodge by a visit". The return to Grand Lodge, which is copied in the Minute Book, shows eleven members and seven in arrears and the first mention is made of Grand Lodge Certificates:—

Certificates for James Cocks, Thomas Potter, Robert Wrigley, Thomas Kendall } From the Grand Lodge.

Abraham Gartside was appointed Tyler at a salary of 12/- yearly, payable half-yearly, on 17th January, 1821.

The first mention of a Lodge of Instruction is dated 18th March, 1821. It was to be held monthly at the residences of five brethren in turn.

A candidate was accepted on 12th April, 1821, and there is added to the Minute, "who was unanimously accepted in open Lodge and to his great disgrace unanimously expelled 18th June, 1823". Turning to the date mentioned, we find: "On this evening W.L., Printer and Stationer was, by unanimous consent of this Lodge suspended from it, for profligate, licentious and disgraceful conduct". Somebody crossed out this paragraph and endorsed the record, "The above is a Lye". A Register of Expulsions still exists, but fortunately no other case is entered therein.

"The Coronation of our Illustrious Patron His gracious Majesty King George the 4th and also the Festival of Saint John" were celebrated on 19th July, 1821.

Pages are left blank for July and August, 1823. There was evidently some slackness about this time, as on 16th October, we find:—

> Whereas several of the Members having changed their residence, some being dead, and others having neglected attending it seems requisite that a new List of Members shall be made out . . in which shall also be inserted the Arrears of those Members who have not been regularly struck off the Books, which Members shall be requested to pay their Arrears immediately.

On 29th June, 1825, the thanks of the Lodge were accorded to Brother John Butterworth, of Philadelphia, for the handsome present of a Picture representing the Destruction of a Masonic Hall in America.

Blank pages are again left for August and September, 1825. On December 21st:—

> On consequence of the Lodge Room being engaged for a public meeting the following Brothers met at Brother John Whitehead's the Coach and Horses . . . Brothers Potter Meadowcroft & Bradbury were deputed to wait upon Mrs. Fletcher and pay her such Moneys as may

> be owing to her by this Lodge—after which they are directed to call a meeting of Emergency for the purpose of taking Mrs. Fletcher's conduct into consideration—and for such other especial business as may belong to ye interests of this Lodge.

The two subsequent meetings were held at the Angel, but in March, 1826, only two members attended, "who after drinking one Bowl of Punch returned to their respective homes". The next meeting was held at the Ring of Bells, the house of Bro. William Meadowcroft.

On 28th May, 1828, a subscription "was entered into for the establishment of a Benevolent Society by the Brethren of this Lodge present this Evening".

Another Sunday emergency meeting was held on 24th August, 1828, and again the business was a raising, but this time the ceremony was performed by the W.M.

On 17th September, 1828, Robert Wrigley and William Skellorn were appointed to attend a Provincial Meeting to be held at Blackburn on October 9th. They were to be allowed all reasonable expenses for their trouble and the regalia was to belong to the Lodge after the meeting. Is it possible that the Lodge was not yet using the regulation clothing as laid down in 1814?

Friendship removed from the Ring of Bells to the Coach and Horses on 14th January, 1829.

The first "outside" function in which the Lodge took part was the laying of the Foundation Stone of Henshaw's Blue Coat School on 20th April, 1829, when a Lodge of Emergency was opened at 9 a.m. and closed at 5 p.m. There were fourteen members and twenty-two visitors, who hailed from Delph, Middleton, Gee Cross and Unity, Oldham. The list of members at 22nd June, 1829, comprised seventeen brethren, so an attendance of fourteen was quite creditable.

William Skellorn, who was W.M. at this time, was an energetic Mason. He was a tailor, initiated on 29th June, 1825, installed W.M. on 1st January, 1828, and again served in 1832, 1834-39 and 1844. During 1829 he appears to have combined the functions of acting W.M. and Secretary. Bro. Skellorn was a real general-utility man and appears to have taken any office as required. On the incorporation of the Borough of Oldham in 1849 he was appointed one of the first Aldermen and died in 1854.

There were further threats to exclude brethren in arrears in June, 1829, and April, 1830. A General Purposes Committee of eight was appointed on March 31st, 1829.

A Lodge of Emergency was held on 15th July, 1830, on the occasion of the funeral of King George IV. Fifteen brethren were present, including one visitor:—

> This being a Lodge of Emergency as stated above, no Songs were sung and all healths Toasts or sentiments were drank in solemn silence; Was closed in Unamity, peace and good Order, on account of the loss the order had sustain'd by the demise of our Grand Patron.

The names of several military visitors are recorded about this time, and on January 26th, 1831, a former visitor, who had been described as a Sergeant in the Royal Irish Fusiliers, became a Joining Member:—

> Br. Robert Braddock was regularly Proposed and Admitted a Joining Member of this Lodge after a Strick Examination by the Members.

There thus began a family connection which, with one short break, has lasted until the present day, the present senior member of the Lodge, Bro. R. E. Braddock, P.P.G.D., being a great-grandson of Bro. Robert Braddock.

Three days later, the Lodge sustained a loss:—

Jan 29th, 1831. Br. John Wild our faithfull Tyler Happened a Misfortune by being run over by a Gig as he was returning from Manchester which terminated in his death, to the great Loss of the Members of the Lodge, and to Masonry generally.

Robert Wrigley was elected Master for 1832, but his name thereupon disappears from the Minutes and William Skellorn appears to have deputised. Several times the Lodge could not be opened, and there are frequent gaps in the Minutes, *e.g.*, from January, 1834, to January, 1835; then to January, 1836, after which meetings were held regularly for six months, but from July, 1836, to March, 1837, there is another gap.

The Accession of Queen Victoria stimulated interest:—

June 26th, 1837. celebration of St. Johns.

This being the day appointed by the authoritys of this Borough for the proclamation of her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria this Lodge was opened in due form at 10 o'Clock in the Morng for the purpose of joining the procession on the above occasion, when the following Bro^{n}. were present.

(Eight members of Friendship and twenty-two visitors from Middleton, Duckinfield and Delph.)

After the proclamation and procession the above Bro^{n}. partook of an excellent repast and the Lodge was closed in peace and good harmony about 6 o'Clock in the eve^{g}. with solemn prayer.

THE TRAVELLING MARK LODGE.

The next Minute to be quoted is of unusual importance and is given in full. The handwriting differs from any other in the book and it is obvious that the occasion recorded was none other than a meeting of the famous Travelling Mark Lodge of Cheshire:—

Sunday, 20th May, 1838.

This Day the Lodge was opened on Emergency in solemn prayer at 2 o'clock p.m. for the purpose of making several members of this Lodge Mark Master Masons, viz:—

Mark Masons
Robert Wrigley
Walter Dickson
Enoch Wilkinson
Joseph Marsland
William Chapman, Esq., Visitor (Ashton)
John Lister
Samuel Cheetham, Visitor (Ashton)

and when the following Brethren were present, viz:—

Walter Dickson
Wm. Skellorn
Robert Wrigley
James Cheetham
Robert Lees
Joseph Ogden
John Lister
Joseph Marsland
John Whitehead

from No. 402 Lodge of Loyalty, Visitors, Mottram.

Joseph Roberts
Richard Livesey
Joshua Wagstaffe
Wm. Hill
Joseph Ball
James Platt
Robert Booth
Enoch Wilkinson
Enoch Britner
James Wilkinson
Thomas Hadfield
William Blinkinsop

from 377 Lodge of Minerva, Ashton.

Robert Stansfield
George Horn
James Hilton
Wm. Chapman, Esq.
John Duckworth
Samuel Bruce
John Burn
Saml. Cheetham
Giles Shaw
Wm. Ashton

John Smith from 254 Lodge, Duke of Atholl, Denton.

from 106 Lodge of Unanimity, Dukinfield.

Joseph Redmayne
William Gartside
Edward Booth

James Palmer from No. Lodge of Bury.[1]

Henry Collier from 310 Mariners Lodge, Liverpool.

The Lodge was closed in solemn prayer about five o'clock.

(Sd.) Robt Wrigley.

James Cheetham, whose name is included in the above Minute, was one of twelve brethren made Mark Masons in Friendship on 13th March, 1805.

As the Minutes of this body prior to 1856 have disappeared the importance of this record in the books of a Craft Lodge will be recognised. The Travelling Mark Lodge continued to visit Oldham until 1869, but in consequence of the prohibition of the use of Freemasons' Hall on Sundays, the Cheshire body dropped out of the scheme of things after this year and its place was in due time taken by the Union Mark Lodge, No. 171.

The Friendship Minutes contain only one further reference to Mark Masonry:—

1.8.38. Memorandum that on the fifth day of July last Brother James Robinson Hallsworth was raised to the Sublime Degree of a Master Mason at the Delph Lodge in the presence of us

Charles Harrop W.M.
John Lister.

[1] Prince Edwin Lodge, now 128.

> Memorandum that on the 15th day of July last Brother James Robinson Hallsworth past the Chair at the Denton Lodge, and during the same day also took the mark in the presence of us
>
> John Lister.
> Robt. Booth.

The Delph Lodge referred to is now Candour, 337, and the Denton Lodge is the Duke of Athol, 210. Robert Booth was a member of the Lodge of Loyalty, now 320, Mottram.

There were many visitors during 1838, and the names of some who had attended the Mark Meeting appear again and again. A Lodge of Emergency was held on the occasion of the Coronation of Queen Victoria on June 28th, 1838, when sixteen members and twenty-nine visitors were present, the following Lodges being represented (the present numbers are given):—Candour, 337, Delph; Friendship, 44, Manchester; Imperial George, 87, Middleton; Loyalty, 320, Mottram; Minerva, 300, Ashton-under-Lyne, and an unnamed Lodge at Bury (a later reference establishes this Lodge as Prince Edwin, now 128).

Arrangements were made for a visit to the Saddleworth Festival of 5th October, 1838, when coaches, tickets and "books" were ordered for thirteen. The last item of interest in the second Minute Book of the Lodge of Friendship is the rejection of a candidate by six black balls. The individual in question was initiated in the Lodge of Loyalty, Mottram, on 30th June, 1839, and the views of the Provincial Grand Master for Cheshire, Lord Combermere, were expresed in a letter to Friendship from the Provincial Grand Secretary, E. H. Griffith, dated 7th December, 1839, in the course of which he said:—

> I am required by his Lordship to express his astonishment at your defence of the proceedings of the Mottram Lodge of Loyalty and further to communicate it as his decided opinion and wish that J.—— W.—— may not be advanced a degree in Mansory either by the Mottram Lodge or any other Lodge in his Lordship's Province.

Time will not permit any detailed relation of the further adventures of the Freemasons of Oldham. The Lodge of Friendship sank into a very low condition during the early 'forties, but, thanks to the activities of Isaac Gaitskill, a schoolmaster, initiated in 1846 and installed in 1849, a dramatic revival took place, new equipment was bought, a library founded, a Lodge of Instruction formed, and prosperity was the natural sequel.

In the meantime a Lodge had been formed at Waterhead, just over the Yorkshire Border, in 1840. It was desired to name this Victoria Union, but, as the name was not approved by the authorities, that of Tudor was adopted, signifying the geographical position of the Lodge at the junction of the Counties of the Roses. This Lodge removed into Oldham in 1857 and is now Tudor, No. 467.

Thomas Croxton, of Tudor, who was blackballed on his first application for admission as a joining member of Friendship, was accepted by the latter Lodge in January, 1866, became W.M. within a year and Prov. S.G.D. in 1868. Henry Lees Hollingworth was initiated by Bro. Croxton in December, 1866, and the subsequent success and development of the Craft in Oldham are due in no small measure to the efforts of Bros. Gaitskill, Croxton and Hollingworth. Bro. Hollingworth is still well-remembered by many of the older brethren of East Lancashire.

There are to-day eleven Craft Lodges, two Royal Arch Chapters, a Mark Lodge, Preceptory of Knights Templar, Chapter of Rose Croix and a Conclave of the Secret Monitor all meeting at Freemasons' Hall, Oldham, as well as other Lodges and Chapters in the near neighbourhood. Oldham has passed through

many difficult years and its industrial horizon is still obscured by clouds, but all the Lodges are in a healthy condition and one may rejoice in the fact that the standardisation of working so apparent in many parts of the country has never penetrated into this stronghold of sturdy independence.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Pick for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Lewis Edwards, seconded by Bro. W. J. Williams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, W. W. Covey-Crump, G. Y. Johnson, G. W. Bullamore, S. L. Coulthurst, E. Eyles, and C. B. Franklin.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

A frequent complaint of the members of our Correspondence Circle is that our papers are so far above their heads that they cannot understand them. Bro. Pick in his first contribution to our *Transactions* can certainly be acquitted on any charge of having delved into mysteries which are not capable of solution. His essay is a simple tale of Freemasonry in a busy Lancashire town during an interesting stage in its development. My only regret is that the story has not been expanded by the introduction of side-lights having a special bearing on the situation. A good deal more might have been made of a thorough geographical description, and of the peculiarly sturdy character of the inhabitants.

And then again Oldham was only a unit of the Province of Lancashire for the first period covered by the review and of the Eastern Division of the Province for the last dozen years dealt with in the essay. Details of Provincial Grand Masters might have added a little colour to the picture.

I have a certain interest in "Friendship", in so far that it may be regarded as my great-grandmother Lodge. To indulge in Scriptural terminology, "Friendship" begat "Harmony", and "Harmony" begat "St. Martin's", in which I was initiated more than forty years ago. And then again I can claim a thin kind of association with the Grand Lodge of All England at York, not only because some members of "Friendship" were members of "Fortitude" at Hollinwood, but because I happen to be linked up with the present "York" Lodge, 236.

John Crossley, the first Provincial Grand Master of East Lancashire, was a member of "Harmony", Rochdale. He is described as being of Scaitcliffe Hall, Rochdale, which fine old mansion still stands at Todmorden. The old Parish of Rochdale was an extensive one and included many places now absorbed into other boroughs. John Crossley's name is commemorated in a panel-stone of the graveyard wall abutting on the highway in Todmorden, on which he is described as "F.A.S. and Chapel-warden".

As to the crudely carved figures on the door jambs at Newhouses, I suggest that they may possibly represent the great-grandfather of David and the assistant (or should it be ancient) High Priest.

John Lyon Taylor, who joined the Lodge of "Harmony", Rochdale, from "Probity", Halifax, on 5th December, 1793, is buried in the Rochdale Parish Church. His grave-stone is one of the flags of the porch over which worshippers pass and re-pass on their way to and from divine service. He was the progenitor of several generations of public spirited Rochdale citizens, none of whom, however, seems to have followed his good example in joining our Craft.

The warrant of "Friendship" is not quite such a plain document as Bro. Pick would have us believe. I send a copy for exhibition. It was made at the time I was collecting information for our late Bro. Dr. T. M. Carter whilst he was compiling his paper on Provincial Warrants.

I have pleasure in supporting the vote of thanks which I know will be accorded to Bro. Pick.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS *writes*:—

The task of compiling such a paper was difficult. The information needed could be obtained only by persistent research over a wide area. The records were not ready to hand, but had to be sought for with diligence, and selected and arranged with skill and assiduity and a due sense of proportion. The atmosphere of the locality dealt with had to be considered and depicted during a period of about 50 years ranging from 1789 to 1838, when the effect of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic and other wars was an impressive factor in the general and commercial activities of the realm. Industrial troubles were rife in the territory dealt with. The Act known as the Unlawful Societies Act, 1789, for restraining the operations of secret societies, was passed; and there was much turmoil and dissatisfaction in the land accompanied by large developments in the increase of trade and the resulting profits.

Having rescued his materials from the haze in which they were immersed, our Brother had the task of putting them into order and combining them into the narrative we have before us.

He has done this in a way which makes of what might easily have been a very dry essay an interesting, enlightening, and even entertaining narrative.

The importance of such papers for the building up of masonic history is undeniable. This is not merely a Lodge history, but the history of masonic and allied activities in an important area during a critical period, wherein, in addition to other matters, herein already mentioned, the United Grand Lodge of England came into being as the result of the statesmenlike activities of the Rulers of the Craft and their advisers and the Brethren at large.

It is to be hoped that other competent Brethren, especially those in the Provinces, will continue on similar lines, thus consolidating in the chosen localities a cluster of local histories which can form, when combined, a mosaic ground-work enabling those who are interested in masonic history as a whole to see the masonic landscape in a sort of birdseye view.

Much work has already been done in this direction, and our thanks are due to the Brethren who have given up their time and energies to such labours.

There are a few points in the details which appear worthy of mention:—

In the list of Founders of the Lodge constituted in 1789 the name of Thomas *Skirrett* appears. This is interesting as indicating that the name of one of the working tools had been at some time utilised as a surname. Attempts to trace with certainty the derivation and meaning of this word have left the quest in some degree of uncertainty.

Bro. Pick states that "there is abundant evidence in the minutes that the Founders and early members had but the haziest of ideas as to the various Grand Lodges operating in England". It is clear, however, that whatever were their deficiencies in this respect they made up by dint of experience and experiment for any lack of knowledge; for they had to do with Irish Masons; they worked the Ritual of the "Antients" while acting under a "Modern" warrant, but made up for this by insisting upon certain brethren who were deemed to be infected by "Ancient" connections being made "past" and Raised as "Moderns".

Some of the Oldham brethren also on 27th November, 1790, obtained a warrant from the Grand Lodge of All England at York, and this could not have preceded by many years the date when (to use Bro. Pick's word) that Grand Lodge had "vanished", leaving its progeny the Lodge of Fortitude to linger on as orphans until they also faded away.

Some details of other orders and degrees are very aptly incorporated in the paper, including Early Royal Arch Chapters, The Knights Templar, Mark Masonry, to say nothing of The Orange Society.

The references to Aprons and other Masonic clothing being purchased by the Lodges to be supplied to the Members is interesting in view of the recent remarks of the Board of General Purposes in which disapproval is expressed of the general procedure now and for many years adopted in regard to such matters.

The paper concludes with a paragraph from which we learn that all the Oldham Lodges are in healthy condition, preserving their independence in the use of their accustomed methods of working, even though they may differ from methods advocated by certain proselytising ritualists.

Bro. G. Y. Johnson *writes*:—

Bro. F. L. Pick's paper on Freemasonry in Oldham has proved particularly interesting to me, as he has given new information about the Lodge of Fortitude constituted by the Grand Lodge of All England.

The moving spirit in this Lodge appears to have been John Hassall, who had been one of the Petitioners and the first Senior Warden of the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham, which was also one of the Subordinate Lodges of the Grand Lodge of All England.

The Druidical Lodge was constituted on the 22nd December, 1778; but Bro. Hassall never became the Master of this Lodge.

On the 24th June, 1778, the W.M. of the Lodge was re-elected, but John Hassall was not re-appointed the Senior Warden—in fact he is not on the list of officers.

A Certificate was made out by the Druidical Lodge in the name of John Hassell (*sic*) dated 28th January, 1780; so it would appear that John Hassall was contemplating a move about this time.

The last trace of John Hassall at or near Rotherham is his letter from York Castle dated 17th May, 1780, which is quoted in full in Bro. Pick's article.

Bro. G. W. Bullamore *writes*:—

The working of the Union Lodge at Ashton-under-Lyne as belonging to the "Antients" is not very clear. There is some evidence that "Modern" masons were a distinct set of ritualists who practised something other than the common working of the Lodges with a "Modern" warrant. The well-known example of the three members (a master and two past-masters) of the Bury Lodge, who were passed and raised in the Bolton Lodge (another "Modern" Lodge), will occur to most students. An alternative explanation is that the Lodge changed its allegiance and that, with the change, certain members were changed from "Modern" to "Antient", and vice versa.

The occurrence of the hand and trowel is of interest, as one would suppose it to belong to the layers rather than the Freemasons. I am aware that it is common on Lodge seals in Ireland; but there is no evidence that it originated there. My own view is that there is now hopeless confusion, owing to the free and accepted mason being regarded as one individual. Originally there were accepted masons who may have been eligible to be made free masons. The trowel and the gavel may have belonged to one body and the mallet and chisel to the other.

Bro. S. L. COULTHURST *writes*:—

In the absence of the official records of Lancashire before the Province was divided into Eastern and Western Divisions in 1825, every item of evidence is welcome until such time as the history of the Province is gathered together; and in Bro. Pick's paper there is material which will be of great use when that takes place.

The Lodge of "Friendship" was one of a series of Lodges and Chapters which were constituted in Lancashire during the great revival of Masonry, 1786 to the end of the century.

The main cause of this revival was the celebrated Provincial Grand Lodge and Procession held in September, 1788, which was held at the Bull's Head Inn, Market Place, Manchester, the most important Inn of the town. The effect of this festival appears to have escaped general observation. The immediate effect was the constitution of the following Lodges and Chapters:—

Lodge of Napthali No. 532 Salford, now No. 266 Heywood, September 22nd, 1788.
Lodge of Unity No. 533 Manchester, now No. 267 Cheshire, September 26th, 1788.
Lodge of Union No. 534 Manchester, now No. 268 Ashton, September 27th, 1788.
Lodge of Fidelity No. 535 Burnley, now No. 269 Blackburn, October 2nd, 1788.
Lodge of Tranquility No. 549 Manchester, now No. 274 Stackstead, July 17th, 1789.
Lodge of Friendship No. 554 Oldham, now No. 277, August 22nd, 1789.
Lodge of Fortitude No. 575 Lancaster, now No. 281, November 18th, 1789.
Garden of Eden Chapter No. 2 Manchester, of 1769, revived as No. 6, October 8th, 1788.
Chapter of Trinity No. 63 Manchester, December 12th, 1788.
Temperance Chapter No. 65 Wigan, April 10th, 1789.
Salem Chapter No. 114 Liverpool, May 7th, 1789.

Truly a remarkable piece of missionary work, the result of the visit of the Provincial Grand Master John Allen.

Bro. Pick tells us that "the only Lodge meeting at the Bull's Head, Manchester, at that time was 'Integrity' (now No. 163)". This statement should be revised.

"The Lodge of Unanimity" (warranted 1754) met here 1783-1803; and it is suggested that this was the Lodge that acted at the constitution of "Friendship", and not "Integrity", as suggested by Bro. Pick.

There is no evidence that "Integrity" assumed a leading part in the Province until the Lodge of "Unanimity" removed to Dukinfield in 1807. Recent investigations go to prove that this Lodge acted as the Provincial Grand

Lodge of Lancashire about 1763 to 1806 (?); all the Provincial officers, including the P.G.M.'s, Deputies and Prov: Grand Secretaries being selected or appointed from the Lodge of "Unanimity" during the above period.

All the 28 Provincial Warrants, issued for Lancashire from 1762 to the end of the century, were signed by members of the Lodge of "Unanimity".

The "Friendship Warrant" was signed by John Allen, Prov:G.M. and Wm. Hall, Deputy Prov:G. Master, both of whom were Initiates of "Unanimity" and members of that Lodge all their masonic lives.

I know Bro. Pick will forgive me for suggesting that the term "Sincerity" was used in mistake as a constituting factor.

In the list of Founders with their lodges attached Bro. Pick gives four brethren from "Union" No. 534 (now 268) Ashton-under-Lyne. This should read:—

"Union No. 534 Manchester, now 268 Ashton-under-Lyne".

This Lodge of "Union" had been constituted only 12 months before the Lodge of "Friendship". See above list. It did not go to Ashton until 1860.

Bro. Pick says: "I have been unable to ascertain any particulars of the members of Union Lodge, Ashton-under-Lyne except that James Lees, Innkeeper, was landlord of the house at which the lodge was constituted", etc.

The "Union" Lodge at that period was not of Ashton-under-Lyne, and the House at which the "Union" Lodge was constituted to be held was the "Black-a-Moor Head", Old Church yard, Manchester, and the landlord was James Barlow.

Later in speaking of the Lodge of "Friendship" Bro. Pick makes a statement which does not agree with the previous one, but nevertheless is more authentic:—

"James Lees, landlord of the Ring of Bells (Oldham), was the first Treasurer of the Lodge", etc., etc.

The Rev. Miles Wrigley was Rector of Saint Michael's Church, Angel Meadow, Manchester, for 28 years; he died in 1821, aged 75 years. He was exalted in Trinity Chapter No. 63, Manchester April 27th, 1796.

There is a John Mellor, Shoemaker (as per Bro. Pick's list), mentioned in "The Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester".

> Oct 14, 1772, Sworn as an Hon cfficer of the Court for the Muzzelling of Dogs and Bitches for Hanging Ditch and Cateaton Street.
>
> Oct 10, 1787, Sworn for the Court Leet as an Hon "Searcher and Sealer of Leather"

He was re-appointed 1788-1789 and 1790.

I have recently had the opportunity of going more closely into the activities of John Hassell of Chester. There was an old Chester family of Hassell, recorded in Registers of Holy Trinity Church from 1602, mentioning several "Johns".

Parkgate nearby was the sailing port of the Irish Passenger Packets, and this may explain some connection with the Irish entry of 1767.

There was a John Hassell at Chester and he buried two sons in 1756 and 1763; he died in 1783 and his wife in 1793. There is no record of him as a mason in Chester.

There was a John Hassell, Wine Merchant, in the Chester Directories from 1780 to 1828, of Bridge Street. He was an extensive traveller in connection with the wine trade, and no doubt his son John was the same. I would suggest that the Manchester addresses at "The Bull's Head" and "Brushmaker's Arms" were accommodation addresses. He certainly was never Landlord at either house.

The Records of the extinct "Loyal British" Lodge, Chester, gives the initiations of two different John Hassells.

On 2nd February, 1783, John Hassell, age 30, Wine Merchant, Bridge Street, Chester, was registered at Grand Lodge. Was this on initiation or on joining? He took his Freedom of the City by right as a Wine Vintner on February 12th, 1777. He joined Royal Chester Lodge, 1793, and is entered in the Minute Book as "From Druidical Lodge No. 109 Rotherham, Grand Lodge of York". This definitely connects him with the activities as set forth by Bro. Pick. He joined St. John Lodge, Manchester (now Bury) 1st November, 1786. Did he live in the Oldham or Manchester district in 1780 when he was taken to York Castle for debt? Did he come to Chester in 1783 after the death of his father in that year?

A John Hassell, Wine and Liquor Merchant, Bridge Street, Chester, took his Freedom of the City as a Wine Vintner on October 18th, 1796. He was present as S.W. of "Loyal British" Lodge at the Prov:G. Lodge of Cheshire on October 18th, 1796. One or other of the two joined, or rejoined, "Royal Chester" Lodge in 1808; and signed the Memorial to the Prov:G. Master of Cheshire in 1813.

The "Royal Chester" Minute Books show that a John Hassell attended the Lodge as follows (number following year shows the attendances made):—

1793 (5), 1794 (4), 1795 (3), 1796 (5), 1797 (3), 1808 (4), 1809 (5), 1810 (6), 1811 (3), 1812 (6), 1813 (5), 1814 (7), 1815 (7), 1816 (5), 1818 (6), 1819 (7), 1820 (7), 1821 (4), 1823 (8), 1824 (6), 1825 (5), 1826 (6), 1827 (7), 1828 (3), end of Lodge; and was Prov:G.J.W. Cheshire 1830.

In St. Mary's Church, Chester, there is a wall-tablet to Margaret, Widow of John Hassell and daughter of Wm. Newell, Alderman of this City (Brewer and member of Royal Chester Lodge), who died December 31st, 1871, aged seventy-one years.

As regards the "Fortitude" Warrant, from the wording this appears to have been a 'roving' warrant, reciting as it does "to Hold a lodge at the House of Brother James Taylor, the Sign of the Sun in Hollingwood in the said County of Lancaster or such other place within the same county as they shall from Time to Time please".

And later

"at the House of James Taylor the Sign of the Sun in Hollingwood aforesaid and to be held for ever on such days, at such hours and in such places in the County of Lancashire as the Right Worshipfull Masters and the rest of the Brethren of the Said Lodge shall from Time to Time appoint".

This is rather a "free lance" document in comparison to the usual condition of the "Modern" Lodges, such as the one issued to the "Friendship" Lodge of Oldham, 1789, which recites:—"To be held . . . untill the time and place of meeting shall, with the concurrence of me or my successors, be altered".

Bro. Pick *writes*, in reply:—

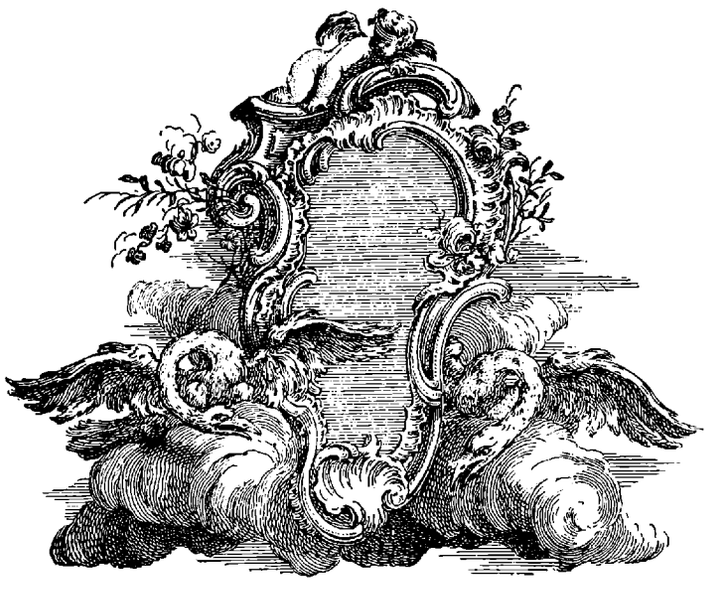
I am gratified by the reception given to my effort to describe the rise of Freemasonry in a provincial town during the period of the Industrial Revolution.

Bro. Williams is interested in the name of Bro. Skirrett. Little is known of this person except that he is described elsewhere as "a Yorkshireman", and I have found the surname also in Ireland.

Bro. Baxter desires the introduction of side-lights illustrative of the peculiarly sturdy character of the inhabitants, and some information regarding the local rulers of the Craft. Justice could not be done to the latter in the space available, and I was under the impression that I had illustrated the local character in the course of the paper. A more intimate knowledge of life on the South-East Lancashire-Yorkshire border may be obtained from the writings of such authors as Edwin Waugh, Samuel Laycock and their successor of to-day, Ammon Wrigley. It should be understood that, though at the beginning of the nineteenth century the towns, villages and hamlets were scattered, the greater portion of the Lancashire part of the map is now one "built-up area". The Yorkshire portion retains much of its rural character, the villages being separated by the Pennine moors and valleys.

From the remarks of Bros. Bullamore and Coulthurst it is apparent that remarks which I had intended to apply to the Lodge of Friendship only were capable of being applied to the Union Lodge. A simple adjustment of the text has remedied this. Bro. Coulthurst's observations are particularly valuable, and, as I have indicated in the text, my original views have now been modified.

Yarker states that John Hassall died in 1794, but he is not a reliable authority. The Bro. Hassall who was so active in Chester may have been the same man or possibly his son. The final vowel of the name is given alternatively as "e" or "a". Bro. Johnson has also been able to give us some information about this active Brother, and, in addition to his contribution to the discussion, he has very kindly checked all my York references with the original documents.



FRIDAY, 7th OCTOBER, 1938.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, S.W.; *Major* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; B. Ivanoff, S.D.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., J.D.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., I.G.; Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; Geo. Elkington, P.G.D., I.P.M.; and *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D.; N. M. Schulman; H. Love, P.A.G.Pur.; Wm. Lewis; A. F. G. Warrington; C. F. Sykes; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; S. Hazeldine; R. A. Card; J. R. Cully, P.G.Pur.; J. V. Jacklin; *Commdr.* S. N. Smith, *R.N.*; R. W. Strickland; J. F. H. Gilbard; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.D.C.; G. C. Williams; W. H. Topley; Arthur Saywell, P.A.G.D.C.; O. H. Bell; J. C. da Costa; L. G. Wearing; C. S. Bishop; J. J. Cooper; C. H. Lovell; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; T. F. Aveling-Ginever; A. E. Parker; F. Addington Hall; C. G. Greenhill; A. F. Cross; W. Morgan Day; S. J. Humphries; C. J. Hobden; F. Matthewman; A. L. Mond, P.A.G.D.C.; S. R. Clarke; A. F. Ford; W. J. Mean; A. N. Gutteridge; H. R. Ridge; R. A. L. Harland; R. G. Cooper; F. E. Barber; J. W. Hawes; H. M. Martin; R. H. Clerke; C. F. Waddington.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. H. Ranson, P.M. Cannongate Kilwinning Lodge No. 2 (S.C.); S. P. Thompson, P.M. Lodge of Research No. 218, Victoria; G. B. Fluke, P.A.G.D.C.; P. E. Single, St. Marks Lodge No. 857; G. D. Wright, P.G.St.B.; E. P. Astin, Lavender Hill Lodge No. 3191; L. S. Weatherstone, Frederick Lodge of Unity No. 452; and H. M. Ridge, P.M. Radium Lodge No. 4031.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; F. L. Pick; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; B. Telepneff; G. Norman, *M.D.*, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, PA.G.D.C.; W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; and J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derby.

Bro. Sydney James Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, S.W., was unanimously elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., was re-elected Treasurer; and Bro. G. H. Ruddle was re-elected Tyler.

One Provincial Grand Lodge and Thirteen Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP then delivered his Prestonian Lecture, and a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop for his valuable paper, on proposition by Bro. F. W. Golby, seconded by Bro. S. J. Fenton.

THE MASON WORD.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP, M.A.

The Mason Word more than a mere word. The *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, endorsed "Some questions Anent the mason word 1696", shows that there were two distinct ceremonies. Entered Apprentices and their secrets. Relative age of the two ceremonies. The Five Points of Fellowship in relation to the Noah story of the *Graham MS.* (1726) and the Hiram story of Pritchard's *Masonry Dissected* (1730). The possible origin of these stories. The *Sloane MS.* 3329 (*c.* 1700), a tract headed: "A Narrative of the Freemasons word and signes". The possibility that the various MSS. indirectly reveal THE Mason Word. The age of the Mason Word as an institution. The *Trinity College, Dublin MS.* (1711) as a link between operative and speculative masonry. Influence exercised by the Mason Word on the development of masonic ceremonies.

THE subject which I have chosen for my Prestonian Lecture is the Mason Word, and the customs and usages associated with its communication, about which all too little is at present known. What little is known, however, suggests that this operative forerunner of our speculative rites probably throws more light on the origins of our present ceremonies than do those early Craft regulations and mediaeval histories of masonry, commonly known as the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*, or, more familiarly, as the Old Charges. The MS. *Constitutions* present a wider field for investigation, as approximately one hundred different versions of them, ranging in date from the late fourteenth to the early nineteenth century, are known, and they have naturally been studied in considerable detail.[1] My field to-night is much narrower, as the principal materials on which I rely for my study of the Mason Word consist only of five late seventeenth or early eighteenth century manuscripts. Two of these, the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* (1696) and the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* (*c.* 1700),[2] are practically identical, apart from verbal variations and points of spelling and punctuation, with the all-important exception that the former is endorsed with a date. Thus the information is mainly derived from four documents, the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* (1696), the *Graham MS.* (1726), the *Trinity College, Dublin MS.* (1711), and the *Sloane MS.* 3329 (*c.* 1700). The last has been known for many years,[3] but its importance has recently been greatly enhanced by the discovery of the first two. Jointly these MSS. constitute a most valuable source of information about early masonic ceremonies, and I am glad to avail myself of the opportunity afforded by my appointment as Prestonian

[1] See, *e.g.*, Hughan, *Old Charges of British Freemasons*, 1st ed., 1870; rev. 2nd ed., 1895; Gould, *Commentary on the Regius Poem*, *Q.C.A.*, i. (1889); Speth, *Commentary on the Cooke MS.*, *Q.C.A.*, ii. (1890); Poole, *The Old Charges*, 1924, and *The Old Charges in the Eighteenth Century*, Prestonian Lecture for 1933; Poole and Worts *The "Yorkshire" Old Charges of Masons*, 1935; Knoop, Jones and Hamer, *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.* (the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.*), 1938.

[2] Discovered at the beginning of the century [Hughan, *A.Q.C.*, xvii. (1904), 91, 92], this MS. is now in the possession of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. A transcript appears in the Masonic Reprints of the Lodge of Research, No. 2429, Leicester. Its contents have subsequently proved to be practically the same as those of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, except that the two parts are transposed.

[3] It is quoted in the English edition of Findel's *History of Freemasonry*, published in 1865.

Lecturer to draw the attention of the Brethren to some of the significance of these four documents.

At the outset I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to various masonic students, and especially to Bro. the Rev. Herbert Poole, who has made such a close study of the Old Charges and of contemporary Masonic MSS.[1] It was his recent paper on the *Graham MS.* which first caused me to turn my attention to the various MSS. forming the basis of my lecture this evening.

THE MASON WORD MORE THAN A MERE WORD.

The justification for stressing the importance of the Mason Word as a factor in the development of masonic ceremonies lies in the fact that it consisted of something substantially more than a mere word. Thus the Rev. Robert Kirk, Minister of Aberfoyle, writing in 1691,[2] says the Mason Word "is like a Rabbinical Tradition, in way of comment on Jachin and Boaz, the two Pillars erected in Solomon's Temple (I. Kings, 7, 21), with one Addition of some secret Signe delyvered from Hand to Hand, by which they know and become familiar one with another". A letter of 1697 states that "The Laird[s] of Roslin . . . are obliged to receive the mason's word which is a secret signall masons have thro' out the world to know one another by. They alledge 'tis as old as since Babel, when they could not understand one another and they conversed by signs. Others would have it no older than Solomon. However it is, he that hath it will bring his brother mason to him without calling to him or your perceiving of the signe".[3]

THE *EDINBURGH REGISTER HOUSE MS.*

The *Edinburgh Register House MS.*,[4] a document discovered about 1930 among the records in the Historical Department of the Register House, Edinburgh, is considerably more informative. It is endorsed "Some questions Anent the mason word 1696" and consists of two parts, the first headed "Some Questions That Masons use to put to those who have the word before they will acknowledge them", and the second "The form of giving the mason word".

The test questions relate partly to the conditions of admittance and partly to matters with which nobody could be acquainted without previous instruction. As the MS. provides answers to all the questions, and states that they have to be answered exactly, it is obvious that the necessary instruction regarding all the questions must have been given to a candidate either at his admission or subsequently.

[1] See more especially "Masonic Ritual and Secrets before 1717". *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii. (1924); and "The Graham Manuscript". *A.Q.C.*, l. (1937). I enjoy one definite advantage over earlier writers approaching the same problem; thanks to the recent discovery of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, endorsed 1696, I have escaped their difficulties regarding the probable dates of the *Sloane* and *Chetwode Crawley MSS.* The handwriting of these two MSS. pointed to *circa* 1700; so did the fact that the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* contained, almost verbatim, the words of the so-called "Haughfoot Minute" of 1702 (Poole, *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 7). The MSS., however, refer to two ceremonies, whereas many masonic students maintained that there was only one prior to 1723. This conflict of external and internal evidence led to much doubt about the probable dates. Now that we know for certain that there were two distinct ceremonies at least as early as 1696, there need be no hesitation in accepting 1700 as the approximate date of these two MSS.

[2] *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies*, 3rd ed., 1933, 108.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Com., Portland MSS.*, ii., 56. For particulars about the Lairds of Roslin, a branch of the St. Clair family, and their claim to be protectors and patrons of the Craft in Scotland, see Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel)*, No. 1, Tercentenary Edition, 64-72.

[4] Edinburgh Register House, Miscellaneous Papers, No. 52. A photographic reproduction appears in *A.Q.C.*, xliii. (1930), 153-5, and a transcript in the *Trans. of the Manchester Assoc. for Masonic Research*, xxii, (1932), 143, in each case with an introduction by Bro. J. Mason Allan.

As the questions and answers are not very long, I propose to read them in full,[1] in order to give the Brethren a first-hand acquaintance with the kind of Examination to be found in all the manuscripts with which we have to do this evening:—

Q. 1: Are you a mason? *Ans.*: Yes.

Q. 2: How shall I know it? *Ans.*: You shall know it in time and place convenient. *Remark the fors[ai]d answer is only to be made when there is company present who are not masons. But if there be no such company by, you should answer* by signes, tokens and other points of my entrie.

Q. 3: What is the first point? *Ans.*: Tell me the first point ile tell you the second. The first is to heill[2] and conceall; second, under no less pain, which is then cutting of your throat. *For you most make that sign when you say that.*

Q. 4: Where wes you entered? *Ans.*: At the honourable lodge.

Q. 5: What makes a true and perfect lodge? *Ans.*: Seven masters, five entered apprentices, A dayes journey from a burroughs town, without bark of dog or crow of cock.[3]

Q. 6: Does no less make a true and perfect lodge? *Ans.*: Yes, five masons and three entered apprentices, &c.

Q. 7: Does no less? *Ans.*: The more the merrier, the fewer the better chear.

Q. 8: What is the name of your lodge? *Ans.*: Kilwinning.

Q. 9: How stands your lodge? *Ans.*: East and west as the temple of Jerusalem.

Q. 10: Where wes the first lodge? *Ans.*: In the porch of Solomons Temple.

Q. 11: Are there any lights in your lodge? *Ans.*: Yes, three—the north east, s w, and eastern passage. The one denotes the maste[r] mason, the other the warden. The third the setter croft.

Q. 12: Are there any jewells in your lodge? *Ans.*: Yes, three—Perpend[4] Esler [lashlar], a square pavement, and a broad ovall.[5]

Q. 13: Where shall I find the key of your lodge? Yes [?*Ans.*:] Three foot and an half from the lodge door under a perpend esler and a green divot. But under the lap of my liver where all my secrets of my heart lie.

Q. 14: Which is the key of your lodge? *Ans.*: a weel hung tongue.

Q. 15: Where lies the key? *Ans.*: In the bone box.

After the masons have examined you by all or some of these Questions and that you have answered them exactly and mad the signes, they will acknouledge you, but not as a master mason or fellow croft, but only as as [?an] *apprentice, soe they will*

[1] To facilitate reading, the various abbreviations used in the MS. for "question" and "answer" have been made uniform, the punctuation has been modernized, and such sentences as appear to be instructions have been printed in italics.

[2] *Heill, hele, heal*: to hide, conceal, to keep secret (O.E.D.).

[3] Cf. Laws and Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670, rule iii., "that no lodge be holden within a dwelling house wher ther is people living in it but in the open fieldes except it be ill weather, and then let ther be a house chosen that no person shall heir nor sie ws"; and rule v., "that all entering prentises be entered in our antient outfield Lodge in the mearnes in the parish of negg at the scounces at the poynt of the ness" (Miller, *Notes on the Early History and Records of the Lodge, Aberdeen*, 59, 63).

[4] *Perpend, parpen*: a stone which passes through a wall from side to side, having two smooth vertical faces (O.E.D.).

[5] *Broad ovall*: ? broached ornel. Broached: worked with a chisel (O.E.D.). Ornel, urnall, urnell: a kind of soft white building stone (O.E.D.). The terms "Parpeincoins", "pament", and "urnell" figure in the Rochester Castle Building Account, 1368 (*Arch. Cant.*, ii., 114).

say I see you have been in the kitchine, but I know not if you have been in the hall. *Ans.*: I have been in the hall as weel as in the kitchine.

Q. 1: Are you a fellow craft? *Ans.*: Yes.

Q. 2: How many points of the fellowship are ther? *Ans.*: fyve, viz., foot to foot, Knee to Kn[ee], Heart to Heart, Hand to Hand, and ear to ear. *Then make the sign of fellowship and shake hand and you will be acknowledged a true mason. The words are in the* 1 *of the Kings Ch* 7, *v* 21, *and in* 2 *Chr*: *ch* 3 *verse last.*

The conclusion of the examination shows, first, that the fellowcraft or master mason (which were equivalent terms in Scotland at this period) had secrets distinct from those of an entered apprentice; and secondly, that only the fellowcraft was acquainted with what are called "the five points of the fellowship". Further reference will be made to these two matters shortly.

"The form of giving the mason word" is a series of instructions to those admitting "the person to take the word", and indicates in a general way what was to be said to him and what he was to say. After he had taken an oath of secrecy, in which he swore not to reveal by word or writing any part of what he should see or hear, nor to draw it with the point of a sword, or any other instrument, upon the snow or sand, he was to go out with the youngest mason from whom he was to learn "the signe and the postures and words of his entrie". He then rejoined the company and said the words of his entry, which I shall now read: [1]

> Here come I, the youngest and last entered apprentice, As I am sworn by God and St. John, by the square and compass and common judge,[2] to attend my masters service at the honourable lodge, from munday in the morning till saturday at night and to keep the keyes therof, under no less pain then haveing my tongue cut out under my chin, and of being buried within the flood mark, where no man shall know; *then he makes the sign, again with drawing his hand under his chin alongst his throat, which denotes that it be cut out in caise he break his word.*[3]

This shows that, whatever other objects the formal admission might have, it served to emphasize the duties which the entered apprentice owed to his master.

In at least one Scottish operative lodge in 1670, namely, the Lodge of Aberdeen, the entered apprentice, in addition to receiving the Mason Word at his entry, had read to him the "Mason Charter", which was the version of the Old Charges now described as the *Aberdeen MS.*, and also the Laws and Statutes of the Lodge.[4] As the reading of these two documents would require the best part of an hour, the prceedings at the admission of an entered

[1] To facilitate reading, the punctuation has been modernized, and such sentences as appear to be instructions have been printed in italics.

[2] In mining, a *judge* is a staff used to measure the depth of holes (O.E.D.). Amongst masons, it probably referred to the *virga geometricalis*, or measuring rod, with which the foundation or ground plan of a building was marked out. (See Note by Knoop and Jones on "Latlaying the Groundwork", *Misc. Lat.*, September, 1937). Pictures of mediaeval masons sometimes show them with a square, a compass and a measuring rod, as in Libergier's tomb slab in Rheims Cathedral (Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, 140).

[3] These words of entry may be compared with those still used at an old practice of the Scoon and Perth Lodge No. 3, called the Baptism, which is performed at the time of refreshment. The Master, taking a little whisky and water in his hand, pours it on the head of the newly made apprentice, who repeats after the Master these words: "Here comes I the youngest and last made mason willing to do my Master's bidding from Monday morning to Saturday night. . . ." There is a reference in the Lodge minutes of 22nd January, 1741, to washing the newly admitted apprentice's head, and the likelihood is that the practice goes back to operative days (Crawford Smith, *History of the Ancient Masonic Lodge of Scoon and Perth*, 101).

[4] See quotation from the Mark Book of the Lodge, in Miller, 21. The Charter and the Statutes of 1670 are printed in the Appendices to that book.

apprentice, if the Aberdeen practice was at all general,[1] must have been considerably longer than a perusal of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* would suggest.

TWO DISTINCT CEREMONIES IN 1696.

Reverting to our MS., it may be noted that at the conclusion of what may be described as the ceremony, the word was circulated amongst those present and was finally given to the candidate by the Master. These signs and words were those of an entered apprentice, and, as the MS. points out, there were others belonging to a master mason or fellowcraft, which were imparted as follows:—First, all apprentices were ordered out of the company and none suffered to stay but masters. Then "he who is to be admitted a member of fellowship" knelt and took an oath of secrecy, after which he went out with the youngest master to learn "the posture and signes of fellowship". On returning, he made the master's sign and said the former words of entry, but leaving out the "common judge"; the masons then whispered the word among themselves, and finally the master gave him the word and the grip. There is nothing in the MS. as to the nature of the master's sign, word or grip, though some indications are given regarding the apprentice's secrets.

The fact that in 1696 there were two distinct ceremonies, if they may be so described, one applying to entered apprentices and one to fellowcrafts or masters, raises two questions: first, who were the entered apprentices, and secondly, whether or not both ceremonies were equally old?

ENTERED APPRENTICES AND THEIR SECRETS.

The object of obtaining the Mason Word was presumably to acquire a method of recognition, and thereby secure certain advantages in the matter of employment, and possibly of relief.[2] Ordinary apprentices were not free to seek work independently of the masters to whom they were bound,[3] and would therefore have no need of secret methods of recognition. Nor would they require relief, since their masters maintained them. The apprentice who was given the Mason Word could not, therefore, have been an ordinary apprentice. The explanation probably lies in the fact that in Scotland in the seventeenth century, and possibly earlier, apprentices and entered apprentices apparently formed two distinct classes or grades,[4] the entered apprentices hardly being apprentices at all in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather journeymen ex-apprentices. In Scotland, the Schaw Statutes of 1598[5] provided that an apprentice must be bound for at least seven years, and that, except by special permission, a further period of seven years must elapse before he could be made

[1] In addition to the Lodge of Aberdeen, the Lodges of Aitchison's Haven, Kilwinning, Melrose, Stirling and Dumfries all appear to have possessed versions of the Old Charges dating from the second half of the seventeenth century (Poole, *Old Charges*, 15-17).

[2] Murray Lyon, 28, and Miller, 30. It may be noted that masons were not the only craftsmen to possess a "word". The squaremen, *i.e.*, wrights, and possibly members of other building crafts, received the "squaremen word" (Murray Lyon, 23). O.E.D. defines squareman as "A carpenter, stone cutter or other workman who regularly uses a square for adjusting or testing his work", and notes its earliest occurrence as 1790. Actually, one of the signatories of the so-called St. Clair charter of 1628 describes himself as "deakin of squarmen" (Murray Lyon, 68).

[3] In London in the seventeenth century apprentices sometimes worked apart from their masters, but probably only on jobs to which they had been sent by them (Knoop and Jones, *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, 64, 65).

[4] A Minute of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge, dated 27th December, 1655 (*A.Q.C.*, xxiv., 41), records that apprentices were not to be made entered apprentices under the sum of twelve pounds Scots.

[5] Printed in Murray Lyon, 9, and Knoop and Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason*, 258.

a fellowcraft. During this second term of seven years,[1] or less, as the case might be, the ex-apprentice was apparently an entered apprentice, and normally worked as a journeyman for a master, though the Schaw Statutes did permit an entered apprentice to undertake a limited amount of work on his own account. That this general ordinance applied locally is shown by the Mutual Agreement of 1658, which regulated the affairs of the Lodge of Perth.[2] This provided that no entered apprentice should leave his master or masters to take any work or task work above 40s. Scots. Further, it was expressly provided that he was not to take an apprentice. At Kilwinning in 1659, two fellowcrafts and one entered apprentice out of each quarter, together with the Deacon and Warden, were appointed to meet each year at Ayr to deal with transgressors.[3] At Melrose, the entered apprentices were parties to the Mutual Agreement of 1675, which regulated the affairs of the Lodge.[4] At Aberdeen in 1670 the Laws and Statutes of the Lodge show that entered apprentices received the benefit of the Mason Word at their entry,[5] and that they became eligible for the fellowship three years later; further, the Mark Book of the Lodge shows that each entered apprentice had his mark,[6] and the same was the case at Dumfries in 1687.[7] The Schaw Statutes of 1598 provided that no master or fellowcraft should be received, except in the presence of six masters and two entered apprentices, and the early Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh prove that this requirement was observed.[8]

This evidence shows clearly that entered apprentices in Scotland had a real, if subordinate share in the government of the craft, and in its privileges. Their position can be compared with that occupied by the Yeomanry in the London Masons' Company. It is inconceivable that either in London or in Scotland the ordinary apprentice had any say in the management of the craft, or that he enjoyed any privileges; his was purely a position of servitude until the period for which he was bound had expired. Thereupon, in London he might be made a freeman and become part of the Yeomanry of the Masons' Company;[9] in Scotland he became an entered apprentice and received the benefit of the Mason Word. In due course, a yeoman in London might be accepted into the Livery, and an entered apprentice in Scotland might be received as a master or fellowcraft.[10] There was however, an important difference: the

[1] Cases of masons serving double apprenticeships occurred in England in the seventeenth century. Thus Richard Varney of Islip, stonemason, examined in the Chancellor's Court at Oxford, 26th April, 1681, stated that "he served his father (though he was his eldest son) more than a double apprenticeship"; John Saunders of Denton, stonemason, stated, on the same occasion, that he had served his father a double apprenticeship. [Abstract (very kindly lent to G. P. Jones and myself by the Rev. H. E. Salter) of papers labelled "1681 M" in the Oxford University Archives.] These double apprenticeships, however, were hardly analogous to the Scottish practice of apprenticeship and entered apprenticeship.

[2] Crawford Smith, chap. v.

[3] Minute of the Lodge, dated 20th December, 1659, quoted in R. Wylie, *History of the Mother Lodge, Kilwinning*, 2nd ed., 60.

[4] Printed in W. F. Vernon, *History of Freemasonry in Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire*, 13.

[5] There is nothing in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* to indicate when the entered apprentice received the benefit of the Mason Word. It merely refers to "the person to take the word".

[6] See page from Mark Book reproduced in Miller, facing p. 28.

[7] Regulation of the Lodge of Dumfries, approved 2nd June, 1687, printed in J. Smith, *History of the Old Lodge of Dumfries*, 9. The use of marks on work to enable the craftsman to be identified was not peculiar to masons. In London the Helmet-makers, Blacksmiths, Bladesmiths and Brasiers used them (Riley, *Memorials of London*, 238, 361, 569, 626).

[8] Murray Lyon, 79.

[9] Actually rather fewer than 50 per cent. of the apprentices bound in London took up their freedom (*The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, 63).

[10] In London there was no prescribed minimum period, and very occasionally an apprentice was made a freeman, and accepted into the Livery, on the same day, *e.g.*, Edward Strong, jun., in 1698 (*The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, 45 n). In Scotland, although the Schaw Statutes contemplated an entered apprentice-

former promotion was the exception rather than the rule;[1] the latter promotion, so far as one can tell, was the rule rather than the exception.[2] A rather better analogy is provided by the London carpenters who, under an Ordinance of 1607,[3] were forbidden to have an apprentice until they had been "free" three years and had served at least one year with a freeman of the Company.

So far as I am aware, the term entered apprentice occurs in operative masonry only in Scotland. It is commonly held that the entered apprentice was so called "because entered in the Lodge books,[4] but this cannot be regarded as a complete explanation. The Schaw Statutes of 1598 distinguished between (i.) "receiving" an apprentice and (ii.) "entering" an apprentice; "receiving" apparently took place at the outset of his career, and "entering" at some later, but unspecified, date, presumably at the expiration of seven years' servitude. The Statutes further provided that the name of the apprentice and the date of his "receiving" should be booked, and that, in due course, the date of his "entering" should be booked. Thus "entering" could hardly have meant simply that his name was entered in a book, as that had also been done when he was "received". It related, more probably, to his admission or entry into the ranks of the time-expired or fully qualified apprentices. The term "entered apprentice" occurs in the forms "enterprentice"[5] and "interprintice".[6] *Enter* and *inter* are both Scottish forms of *entire*, so that the term may have denoted *entire apprentice*, *i.e.*, complete or fully qualified apprentice.

Three pieces of evidence may be cited in support of this opinion. First, a Minute of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge, dated 2nd January, 1600, records that Andrew Patten was "enterit prenteis to John Crafurd his maister";[7] as a Minute of 7th June, 1599, records that Andrew Patten had served six years of his apprenticeship at that date,[8] it follows that he had served about seven years when he was entered. Secondly, a Minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, dated 3rd February, 1601, records that Andrew Hamilton, apprentice to John Watt, was "enterit . . . as past prenteis to the said Johnne Wat his m[aiste]r".[9] This clearly shows that Andrew Hamilton had served his time before being "entered". Thirdly, Article XIV. of the *Regius MS.* requires

> ". . . if that the master a prentice have,
> *Entirely* then that he him teach."

If originally an apprentice was *entered* as an *entire* apprentice, confusion between *entered* and *entire* might easily have led to *entire* apprentice being changed to *entered* apprentice.

ship of seven years, except by special permission, the period at Aberdeen in 1670 was three years. At Glasgow, in the early seventeenth century, the usual period appears to have been two years, to judge by the following:—

> It would appear from the Minutes [of the Incorporation of Masons], 9th February, 1613, and 5th February, 1617, that nine years was the customary endurance of an Apprenticeship, viz., seven years to learn the trade and two for meat and fee (Cruikshank, *Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons and the Lodge of Glasgow St. John*, 63).

[1] The Quarterage Book of the Masons' Company shows that in 1663 there were 45 members of the Livery, including assistants, as compared with 143 members of the Yeomanry; in 1677 the corresponding figures were 71 and 162 (*Ibid.*, 8, 9).

[2] That there were exceptions is shown by the fact that, in Edinburgh in the seventeenth century, it was not unusual for entered apprentices on the expiry of their entered apprenticeship to seek employment as journeymen, without having been admitted as fellowcraft (Murray Lyon, 28).

[3] Jupp and Pocock, *Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, 423.

[4] Kenning's *Cyclopaedia of Freemasonry*, 201.

[5] *Trinity College, Dublin MS.*

[6] *Sloane MS.*, 3329.

[7] *A.Q.C.*, xxiv., 36.

[8] *Ibid.*, 35.

[9] Murray Lyon, 79.

The secrets communicated to entered apprentices were probably not the essential ones, but means of recognition, safeguarded with less caution than the principal secrets and regarded partly as a joke. The possession of such secrets doubtless carried with it fewer privileges. The first two conclusions are suggested by a study of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* (i.) This shows that a good deal of horseplay was associated with the imparting of the entered apprentice secrets. Thus the oath was to be administered only "after a great many ceremonies to frighten" the candidate; when outside with the youngest mason, the candidate was to be frightened "with 1,000 ridiculous postures and grimaces" before being given the sign, postures and words of entry; after rejoining the company he was to "make a ridiculous bow" and "put off his hat after a very foolish manner". This horseplay may be compared with the practices common at the admission of freshmen to universities in mediaeval and later times,[1] or with the tests imposed upon newcomers to the Hanseatic factory at Bergen.[2] That something of this horseplay was liable to be introduced into the early speculative Lodges is clearly implied by one of the by-laws of the Lodge constituted at the Maid's Head, Norwich, in May, 1724, which reads: "6. That no ridiculous trick be played with any person when he is admitted".[3] These by-laws are stated to have been "recommended by our Worthy B^ro^ D^r^ Desaguliers" [Grand Master in 1719 and Deputy Grand Master in 1722-23 and 1725], and may be regarded as reflecting the desire of the recently formed Grand Lodge to suppress such horseplay. On the other hand, no corresponding fooling is mentioned in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* in connection with being "admitted a member of fellowship". (ii.) It is very noticeable, as previously mentioned, that whereas the MS. gives various indications as to the nature of the entered apprentice's secrets, it preserves a complete silence regarding those of the fellowcraft or master.

RELATIVE AGE OF THE TWO CEREMONIES.

Regarding the second question, the considerations I have just mentioned suggest the conclusion that the giving of the Mason Word originally concerned fellowcrafts only, and that the participation in it of entered apprentices was a later development. When such development took place is uncertain; very possibly it occurred when the category of entered apprentices, intermediate between apprentices and fellowcrafts, was first established, probably at some date prior to 1598. It doubtless represented an attempt to limit the number of potential masters, which rather suggests that it originated in the sixteenth century, a period when many gilds tended to develop restrictive policies. The Minutes of Aitchison's Haven Lodge[4] show that as early as 1598, when a new entered apprentice was admitted, he chose two entered apprentices as his intenders and instructors, and when a new fellowcraft was admitted he chose two fellowcrafts as his intenders and instructors. If these intenders corresponded to the "youngest mason" and the "youngest master" of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, who taught the candidates the signs and postures, then it may well be that there were two sets of secrets in 1598, and that it was these which the intenders imparted to the newly admitted entered apprentices and fellowcrafts respectively. On the other hand, it must be noted that, whereas the Schaw Statutes of 1598 required the name and mark of every fellowcraft or master to be booked (there being no corresponding stipulation concerning the entered apprentice, who presumably had no mark), at Aberdeen in 1670 the names and marks of entered apprentices, as well as those of fellowcrafts, were

[1] R. S. Rait, *Life in the Mediaeval University*, chap. vi.
[2] Helen Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*, 144-47.
[3] G. W. Daynes, *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 38.
[4] R. E. Wallace-James, "The Minute Book of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge, 1598-1764," *A.Q.C.*, xxiv.

recorded in the Mark Book. This suggests that the entered apprentice of 1670 enjoyed more privileges than his predecessor of 1598, but does not preclude the latter from having enjoyed some privileges.

If the giving of the Mason Word originally concerned fellowcrafts only, as I am inclined to think, the question at once arises whether the secrets and ceremony appertaining to apprentices were new, or whether they were those previously given to fellowcrafts. The words of entry, being common to apprentices and fellowcrafts, apart from the omission of a reference to the "common judge", were almost certainly old, and the same is probably true of the test questions and answers. I think it not unlikely that any signs and words were also old, and that it was the fellowcrafts who had been provided with new and more elaborate methods of recognition. To explain why I incline to this view, it is necessary to examine more closely what is known about the Mason Word in relation to fellowcrafts.

THE FIVE POINTS OF FELLOWSHIP.

As previously mentioned, the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* tells little about the giving of the Mason Word to fellowcrafts, but the last question and answer clearly show that the person to be "admitted a member of fellowship" was made acquainted with what are called "the five points of the fellowship, viz., foot to foot, head to head, heart to heart, hand to hand and ear to ear". Further light, however, is thrown on the subject by the recently discovered *Graham MS.*,[1] which bears the date 1726.

THE *GRAHAM MS.* AND THE NOAH STORY.

The *Graham MS.* appears to be the same type of document as the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, namely, a mason's *aide mémoire*, although it bears quite a different heading, viz., "The whole institutions of freemasonry opened and proved by the best tradition and still some referance to scripture". It consists of two parts, the first an examination, along somewhat similar lines to the *Edinburgh MS.*, the second an exposition, in the form of a "lecture", of legendary matter, chiefly concerning Noah, Bezaleel and King Solomon, which bears little resemblance to the events recorded in the historical section of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry.*

Before referring more fully to the legendary matter, I should state that the *Graham MS.* concludes with a cryptic reference to masons' secrets, and an enumeration of what are called "five points of free Masons fellowshipe which is foot to foot, knee to knee, breast to breast, cheek to cheek and hand to Back". The reference to freemasons' secrets reads thus:—

> So all [*i.e.*, King Solomon's Temple] Being ffinised then were the secrets of ffree Masonry ordered a right as is now and will be to the End of the world for such as do rightly understand it—in 3 parts, in refferance to the blesed trinity who made all things yet in 13 brenches, in refferance to Christ and his 12 apostles which is as ffollows: aword ffor adeveine,[2] Six for the clargey, and 6 ffor the ffellow craft.

The "three parts" conceivably refer to the three Degrees, which, as I shall attempt to show later, probably existed by 1726. I have no suggestions to offer

[1] This is named after the writer, Thomas Graham, and belonged to the Rev. H. I. Robinson, Londesborough Rectory, York, who first drew attention to it when he was initiated in 1936. He has since presented it to the Eboracum Lodge, York. A photographic reproduction, with introduction by Bro. Poole, appears in *A.Q.C.*, vol. l. (1937).

[2] *A devine*: ? a Divinity.

regarding the "13 branches", which, near the end of the MS., are set out thus:—

Your first is
your second is your third is
....
your twelfth is your thirteenth is

More important for our present purpose is the enumeration of the "five points of free Masons fellowshipe", as the occurrence of the same five points in the legendary matter relating to Noah doubtless provides one possible explanation of their origin. The rather gruesome story is briefly as follows:—Noah's three sons, desirous of finding something about him to lead them to the valuable secret which their father had possessed—for all things needful for the new world were in the Ark with Noah—went to Noah's grave, agreeing beforehand that if they did not find the very thing itself, the first thing they found was to be to them as a secret. They found nothing in the grave except the dead body; when the finger was gripped it came away, and so with the wrist and the elbow. They then reared up the dead body, supporting it by setting foot to foot, knee to knee, breast to breast, cheek to cheek and hand to back. Thereupon "one said here is yet marow in this bone and the second said but a dry bone and the third said it stinketh.[1] So they agreed to give it a name as it is known to freemasonry to this day".

The bone, being the first thing found, must presumably have some significance. Whether the phase "marrow in this bone" is significant is not so certain. It may be noted that the word *marrow*, in addition to its ordinary meaning, had certainly another, and possibly a symbolic meaning, for Scottish masons. It was used in Northern Middle English, and in Scotland down to the nineteenth century, to denote "partner", "fellow", "mate", and it is not uncommon in that sense in sixteenth and seventeenth century Scottish building accounts.[2] "Here is yet marrow in this bone" may thus have been a reminder that fellowship was of the essence of masonry. It is also possible that "marrow in this bone" may have been intended to serve as a mnemonic.

PRICHARD'S *MASONRY DISSECTED* AND THE HIRAM STORY.

Another possible explanation of the five points of fellowship is provided by a story relating to Hiram, of which the oldest-known form is that in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, first published in 1730.[3] According to this version of the story, three masons murdered Hiram, King Solomon's master of the works at the building of the Temple, in an attempt to extort from him the secrets of a master mason. On his being missed, fifteen fellowcrafts were ordered to search for him, and they agreed that if they did not find the word in or about him, the first word should be the master's word. Ultimately his body was found under a covering of green moss,[4] and King Solomon ordered that it should be taken up and decently buried. When they took him by the

[1] *It stinketh*: possibly descendant of mediaeval and sixteenth century satires on relics. Cf. *The Four P P*, ptd. ? 1545, of John Heywood (1497-1580), in which the Pardoner offers the Apothecary the "blessed jaw-bone" of All Hallows, and bids him kiss it devoutedly. The Apothecary does so and recoils with disgust—

. . . me-thinketh
That All Hallows' breath stinketh.

[2] E.g., "Item to Thom Crauford and his m[ar]rowis for 343 feet ashlar . . . £5 17*s.* 10*d.*" Edinburgh Register House, Master of Works Accounts, vol. iv., fo. 7, Holyrood House, 1535-36.

[3] Masonic Reprints XII., Lodge of Research, Leicester, 1929.

[4] The statement that the body was found "under a covering of green moss" may be compared with the statement in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* that the key of the Lodge is hidden "under a perpend eshler and a green divot".

forefinger the skin came off, whereupon they took a firmer grip of his hand and raised him by the five points of fellowship, viz., hand to hand, foot to foot, cheek to cheek, knee to knee and hand to back.

THE POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE NOAH AND HIRAM STORIES.

The marked similarities between the Noah story and the Hiram story, in its oldest known form, are very striking; both have the same main *motif*—the attempt to obtain a secret from a dead body, and both have the same subsidiary *motif*—the intention to provide a substituted secret, failing the discovery of a genuine one. Where either story originally came from, or how it became associated with masonry, is unknown. It is, however, possible that the Noah story had some connection with the narrative, in Genesis, ix., 21-27, of the shaming of Noah, to which it is in some respects parallel. In Genesis, Noah was asleep; in the *Graham MS.* story he was dead; but the exposure of his person in the former story, and the exhumation of his body in the latter, both offended against the respect due to a progenitor. In Genesis, Ham was the chief offender, on which account his progeny was cursed, and he is perhaps also to be regarded as the ringleader in the original of the *Graham MS.* story.

The stories of Noah and Hiram call to mind the fact that in Biblical instances of the miraculous restoration of life, the prophet or apostle lay full length upon the body and breathed into its face. Three cases are cited in the Bible, namely, those of Elijah, who raised the widow's son from death (1 Kings, xvii., 17-23), of Elisha, who raised the son of the Shunammite woman (2 Kings, iv., 34-35), and of St. Paul, who raised a young man named Eutychus (Acts, xx., 9-12). In the second case the process is described in detail:

> 34. And he [Elisha] went up, and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and he stretched himself upon the child; and the flesh of the child waxed warm.
> 35. Then he returned, and walked in the house to and fro; and went up, and stretched himself upon him; and the child sneezed seven times, and the child opened his eyes.

Here complete coincidence between living and dead was established twice, first by placing mouth to mouth, eyes to eyes and hands to hands, and secondly, by stretching at full length upon the body. It is thus not impossible that the original stories of Noah and Hiram may have been those of attempts to restore these men to life, because their secrets had died with them.

The Biblical examples show that the idea of complete coincidence of living and dead was to restore the dead to life. This would develop into necromantic practices, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the idea would survive only as necromancy.[1] It would seem not inconceivable that one story was modelled on the other, and that the original story rested on an old tradition connecting Ham, son of Noah, with magic and the black arts. The disinterment of Noah was clearly an act of necromancy, and it is therefore pertinent to note that Ham, son of Noah, is connected in mediaeval tradition, if not with necromancy in its narrower sense, at any rate with the black arts.[2] The tradition associating Ham with necromancy survived as late as the sixteenth century, when it was found in an English work, Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of*

[1] Necromancy: the pretended art of revealing future events, etc., by means of communication with the dead (O.E.D.).
[2] Cf. Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, book ii., chap. ci.

Witchcraft (1586).[1] It may further be noted that the five points of fellowship, suggesting as they do that two bodies were made to coincide, presumably with the object of the knowledge possessed by one passing to the other, also savour of popular superstition, and they support the possibility that the origin of the story must be sought in witchcraft or folklore. The fact that the Mason Word was linked by at least two seventeenth century Scottish writers, Henry Adamson and Robert Kirk, with the subject of second sight,[2] conceivably points to the same conclusion.

THE *SLOANE MS.* 3329.

Yet one other manuscript relating to the Mason Word, namely, *Sloane MS.* 3329,[3] calls for attention. This tract is headed "A Narrative of the Freemasons word and signes", and differs in character from the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* and the *Graham MS.*, as it does not appear to be a mason's *aide mémoire*, but a collection of notes on the Mason Word, apparently gathered by the writer from various sources. It contains (i.) an account of a dozen signs by which an operative mason could make himself known to a fellow mason; (ii.) a description of a fellowcraft's grip and of a master's grip, the latter in two forms; (iii.) two series of questions and answers, resembling those of the *Edinburgh Register House* and *Graham MS.*; (iv.) a brief reference to the master's word—*mahabyn*—and the method of communicating it; (v.) an oath. *Mahabyn* is very possibly a variant of *matchpin*, which is given as the master's word in the *Trinity College, Dublin MS.*

The fact that the signs and words are associated in the *Sloane MS.* with operative *freemasons*, strongly suggests an immediate English source for the document, the word "freemason" being unknown in Scotland as a trade designation; the reference to "interprintices" [entered apprentices] and fellowcrafts, on the other hand, points to an ultimate Scottish origin, as these terms were used only in Scotland in operative masonry; the word "attenders" [intenders], which occurs in the oath, also suggests Scottish origin, as the practice of appointing intenders to be responsible for teaching entered apprentices[4] did not extend to England, so far as I am aware. The use of the expression "this is bose or hollow" also suggests a Scottish origin.[5] Dr. Schofield, of the British Museum Manuscripts Department, who recently examined the manuscript, gives the date as *circa* 1700. As we know from the

[1] In this book (ed. Montague Summers, p. 222) it is said of the devil Gaap, or Tap, that "certaine necromancers . . . offered sacrifices and burnt-offerings unto him and to call him up they exercised an art saieng that *Salomon* the wise made it, which is false; for it was rather *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah* who after the floud began first to invocate wicked spirits".

[2] Thus (i.) Henry Adamson (*The Muses' Threnodie*, Edinburgh, 1638) says: "We have the mason word and second sight". (ii.) When Rev. R. Kirk dined in October, 1689, with Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop-elect of Worcester, the conversation turned on second sight. In the midst of the record of that conversation occurs the sentence: "The Dr. called the Mason word a Rabbinical mystery, where I discovered somewhat of it" (R. Kirk, *London in* 1689-90, printed in *Trans. Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.* N.S. VII. (1933), 139). (iii.) R. Kirk in *The Secret Commonwealth* (1933 ed., 107-8) enumerates five curiosities in Scotland "not much observed to be elsewhere": (*a*) The Brounies, (*b*) The Mason Word, (*c*) Second Sight, (*d*) Charmes, (*e*) A being Proof of Lead, Iron and Silver. Whether this association is a mere coincidence, or whether it implies some kind of connection and, if so, what, there is no evidence to show.

[3] This British Museum MS. consists of a double sheet, written on three and a half sides, bound up in a large volume, on the fly-leaf of which Sir Hans Sloane has written: "Loose papers of mine concerning curiosities".

[4] *Intender, intendar*: occurs in this sense in the Laws and Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670, and in the Schaw Statutes, 1598, as well as in the Minutes of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge. Craigie, *Dict. Older Scottish Tongue*, defines *Attender, Attendar*, "One who attends on another, or to some duty".

[5] See Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, under *boss*; also Craigie, *op. cit.*, which gives *bos, boys, bose, bois, adj.*, hollow, concave, perhaps from *bos, boce*, etc., etc., a leather bottle for liquids.

Edinburgh Register House MS. that a master's word and sign existed at least as early as 1696, there is nothing in the document which makes this date improbable,[1] though the distinction drawn between the terms "fellowcraft" and "master" is not found in Scotland at such an early date. The five points of fellowship, as such, are not mentioned in the *Sloane MS.*, but the method of communicating the master's word, as described there, embodies four of the points.

THE MASON WORD.

Both the Noah and the Hiram stories show that those engaged in the search did not find "the very thing itself", or "the word", for which they were looking, and that they had consequently to content themselves with substitutes. This suggests the possibility that there was a genuine secret somewhere in the background, which might conceivably be THE mason Word, to which no kind of direct reference appears to be made in any of the MSS. It is doubtless very tempting, on the strength of such hints as can be gathered from the limited material available, and by reading between the lines, to conjecture what THE Mason Word was, and who shared a knowledge of it, always assuming that there was such a word. As the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* and the manuscripts which we have more particularly in mind this evening, all refer, directly or indirectly, to Jewish history, there would appear to be a presumption that THE Mason Word was connected in some way with the Scriptures, and it is conceivable, in view of the complete silence on the subject of the MSS., that it was the Name of God, which according to Jewish tradition was never to be pronounced. If this was so, THE Mason Word was very possibly communicated amongst masons solely by means of a sign. In support of this very tentative surmise, it may be pointed out that the idea of a dread Demogorgon who was not to be named, occurs in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature both in Scotland and England, as can be illustrated from the writings of Sir David Lindsay (1490-1555),[2] Spenser (1552-99),[3] Milton (1608-74),[4] and Dryden (1631-1700).[5]

Fascinating though such speculations may be, I mention the possibility of THE Mason Word only to show that it has not been overlooked. My object this evening is the much more prosaic task of attempting to give an account of the Mason Word as an operative institution, and to use such matter-of-fact evidence as is available, to construct a picture of the institution and the conditions governing its operation.

In this connection it must be borne in mind that the Mason Word was something of great practical importance to Scottish operative masons; so much so, that early in the eighteenth century one Lodge actually went to law to secure the right to give the Mason Word.[6] It was part of the machinery for

[1] The late Brother J. Walter Hobbs stated some years ago that the earliest instance he had been able to trace of certain words which occur in the oath, namely "without any manner of equivocation or mentall reservation", was in the Sovereign's Accession Oath as revised by Parliament for use on the accession of James II. in 1685 (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 36), which suggests, if it does no more, that the *Sloane MS.* is not earlier than 1685. On the other hand, Brother Poole (*ibid.*, 8) refers to the suggestion made by Findel [*History of Freemasonry* (1869), 118 n.], which he regards as not altogether impossible, that the *Sloane MS.* was among the papers Plot had before him when compiling his *History of Staffordshire* (1686). The grounds for making the suggestion are: (i.) that no earlier document is known especially mentioning that a Brother must come down, even "from the top of a steeple", and answer a sign, and (ii.) that in at least one place the Plot account agrees practically verbatim with the *Sloane MS.*

[2] Sir David Lindsay, *Works*, ed. D. Hamer, I., 266 [*Monarche*, i., 2253], and III., 331, where the matter is fully discussed.

[3] Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I., xxxvii., 7-9, refers to Gorgon as the deity whose name may not be used.

[4] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II., 959.

[5] Dryden's rendering of *The Flower and the Leaf*, in *Poems*, Oxford ed., p. 333.

[6] *The Lodge of the Journeymen Masons, Edinburgh* (Murray Lyon, ch. xvi., and Seggie and Turnbull, *Annals of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, No.* 8, ch. i.).

preventing unqualified masons from working in the burghs, and corresponded to the steps taken by the London Masons' Company to preserve their monopoly of trade in the City.[1] There was, however, this important difference: the London regulations aimed at restraining, if not entirely preventing, "foreign" masons, *i.e.*, masons who were not freemen of the city, from carrying on their trade in London, whereas the object of the Mason Word was to check so-called "cowans"[2] from doing the work of qualified masons. I know of no evidence to show that the Mason Word was in use amongst English operative masons, and think it quite possible that it was through the non-operative members of Scottish Lodges that English "accepted" or "adopted" masons first became acquainted with the subject.

AGE OF THE MASON WORD.

Although it is almost certain that the area to which the Mason Word applied was Scotland, its age as an institution is more problematical: there is mention of it in seventeenth century minute books of certain Scottish operative lodges;[3] the earliest-known printed reference to it occurs in Henry Adamson's *The Muses' Threnodie*, a metrical account of Perth and its neighbourhood, published in Edinburgh in 1638:[4] "We have the Mason Word and second sight". This clearly implies that the Mason Word was a well-established institution in Scotland by 1638. If, as appears likely, it was a privilege associated with the termination of an apprenticeship, or the admission to a fellowship, it might be as old as the system of apprenticeship. In London that system dates from the early thirteenth century, and outside London from the late thirteenth century, but no reference to a mason's apprentice in England and Wales has been traced before the end of the fourteenth century.[5] How early the apprenticeship of masons developed in Scotland, I am unable to say, but as the Seal of Cause of 1475, which regulated the trades of the Masons and Wrights in Edinburgh,[6] provided for a seven years' apprenticeship, it is possible that the Mason Word as an institution in Scotland goes back to the fifteenth century. In England the earliest-known printed reference occurs in 1672 in Andrew Marvell's *Rehearsal Transprosed*, part i.: "As those that have the Mason's word secretly discern one another".[7]

I am disposed to think that the scope of the Mason Word gradually grew; I have already suggested that the imparting of secret methods of recognition to entered apprentices was probably a new development at some date prior to 1598; I am also inclined to think that an elaboration of the secrets imparted to fellowcrafts took place during the seventeenth century. In Scotland in 1696, to judge by the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, before a candidate could be admitted to the fellowship, all apprentices had to retire, doubtless because the candidate, after being instructed outside by the youngest master, had to re-enter the company, make the master's sign, and advance and put himself into the "posture" to receive the word, which was given him by the Master, together with the grip. In 1598, the Schaw Statutes, which were to be observed by all master masons in Scotland, provided that two entered

[1] *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, 10.

[2] *Cowan*: One who builds dry stone walls—applied derogatorily to one who does the work of a mason, but has not been regularly apprenticed or bred to the trade. . . . In 1707 Mother Kilwinning Lodge defined the Cowan as a Mason "without the word" (O.E.D.).

[3] Murray Lyon, 22.

[4] Henry Adamson, a Master of Arts and well-known citizen of Perth, was very possibly a non-operative member of the Lodge of Scoon and Perth, No. 3 (Crawford Smith, 41, 42).

[5] *The Mediaeval Mason*, 160, 161.

[6] Murray Lyon, 248.

[7] Grosart's edition of Marvell's Works, vol. iii., p. 55, quoted in *Misc. Lat.*, N.S., xvii., 134.

apprentices, in addition to six masters or fellows, should be present at the admission of a fellow, which implies that the admission at the end of the sixteenth century must have been different from what it was at the end of the seventeenth, as the master's sign could not be made, nor the posture assumed, in the presence of two entered apprentices, though a word might have been communicated in a whisper. The presumption, therefore, is that there was no "posture" in 1598, and if, as seems likely, the "posture" implied the "five points of fellowship", then it follows that the "five points", together with the story explaining them, were probably not associated with the Mason Word in 1598.

The practices connected with the communication of the Mason Word probably changed quite as much during the seventeenth century as did masonic ceremonies during the eighteenth, a matter to which I shall refer shortly. As a possible explanation of seventeenth century development, I would tentatively suggest that the five points of fellowship may have been introduced from witchcraft or folklore, without any explanation being given in the first instance, Scottish working men at that period being not unacquainted with such practices. In the second half of the century, to judge by the dates of most of the surviving Scottish versions of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*,[1] the Scottish lodges adopted the Old Charges and caused them to be read to the entered apprentices at their admission.[2] It is not inconceivable that in order to provide the fellowcrafts with some kind of corresponding history, and perhaps to supply an explanation of the "five points" for the benefit of the increasing number of non-operative masons,[3] a story was elaborated. This was possibly done, in part at least, by the utilization of existing traditions. The Noah story, with its distinctly necromantic flavour, would doubtless be formulated first; the Hiram story, further removed from witchcraft, but, in its oldest-known form, very similar in its *motifs* to the Noah story, would follow later. In each case, a very minor character in the legendary history of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* was made the principal figure of the story.

That the secrets and "five points of fellowship", communicated to fellowcrafts or masters, were a relatively late development, is also suggested by the fact that the so-called Master's Part (the prototype of the present Third Degree ceremony) was worked but little, if at all, in England at the time of the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717, or for some years afterwards.[4] It is, therefore, possible that just as a knowledge of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* was probably introduced from England into Scotland during the earlier part of the seventeenth century,[5] after the union of the two Crowns, or possibly during the reign of Elizabeth so a knowledge of the Mason Word may have been introduced from Scotland into England about the same period, before the elaboration of the ceremony associated with the giving of the Mason Word had taken place. Thus many masons in England in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries might be acquainted only with the older secrets and practices which in Scotland by that date had come to be associated with the giving of the Mason Word to entered apprentices, and might be ignorant of the newer and more carefully guarded and elaborate secrets restricted to fellow-crafts or masters.

On the other hand, if we are right in assuming that *Sloane MS.* 3329 was in the first instance derived from English sources, the master's word was known to some masons in England as early as *circa* 1700. It may be noted,

[1] See p. 198, note 1 above.
[2] Miller, 21.
[3] *E.g.*, at Aberdeen in 1670 the non-operatives largely outnumbered the operatives (*ibid.*, 23).
[4] Hughan, *Origin of the English Rite* (1925), 38 *foly.*
[5] Vibert, "The Early Freemasonry of England and Scotland", *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 208.

also, that although the *Sloane MS.*, like the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, recognizes a twofold series of secrets, the *Sloane MS.* associates them with (i.) fellowcrafts and (ii.) masters, whereas the *Edinburgh MS.* associates them with (i.) entered apprentices and (ii.) fellowcrafts or masters. As already indicated, there are grounds for thinking that originally the Mason Word was communicated only to fellowcrafts, and it may be that whilst in Scotland the old secrets came ultimately to be communicated to entered apprentices and new secrets to fellowcrafts or masters, in England the old secrets were retained for communication to fellows and new ones were given to masters.

TWOFOLD ORIGIN OF MASONIC CEREMONIES.

Nothing shows more clearly the twofold origin of masonic ceremonies than the oath set out in *Sloane MS.* 3329, by which the candidate swore to keep secret "the mason word and everything therein contained" and truly to observe "the Charges in the Constitution". This confirms the Aberdeen practice, to which reference has already been made, that on the occasion when the Mason Word was communicated to an apprentice, a version of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* was read to him. At the end of another version of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*, known as the *Harris No. 1 MS.*, which dates from the second half of the seventeenth century, there is a note referring to the secrets which must never be committed to writing, and the manner of communicating them.[1] There is no evidence to show whether in the seventeenth century this MS. was used by operative masons or by "accepted" or "adopted" masons; but I am inclined to think it was the latter. That "accepted" or "adopted" masons in the later part of the seventeenth century did have secret signs and words is borne out by the contemporary statement of John Aubrey, the antiquary, who wrote in the second half of the century that members of the Fraternity of adopted masons were known to one another by certain signs and watchwords, and that the manner of their adoption was very formal and with an oath of secrecy.[2] It is confirmed also by a rough memorandum[3] referring to the several signs and words of a freemason, written by Randle Holme III. on a scrap of paper, now bound up with B.M. *Harleian MS.* 2054, close to the version of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* copied by him, with which it is thought to be connected,[4] both documents probably being associated with a Lodge of Freemasons held at Chester about the middle of the seventeenth century. That such signs and words were derived from the Mason Word of the operatives is strongly suggested by the fact that when Dr. Desaguliers, the prominent speculative mason, desired to visit the purely operative Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721, he was found "duly qualified in all points of masonry" and received as a brother.[5]

THE *TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN MS.*

On the subject of the connection between operative and speculative masonry, I wish finally to draw attention to the *Trinity College, Dublin MS.*[6]

[1] The *Harris No. 1 MS.* is printed in *The Freemasons' Chronicle*, 30th December, 1922. The note is printed in Poole's *Old Charges*, p. 23, as follows:—Then let the prson wch is to be made a Mason chuse out of the Lodge any one Mason who is to instruct him in those Secrets wch must never be committed to Writeing which Mason he must alway Call his Tutor then let the Tutor take him into another Room and shew him all the whole Mistery that at his return he may Exercise with the rest of his fellow Masons.

[2] John Aubrey (1624-97), *Natural History of Wiltshire*, first printed in 1847.

[3] Transcript and photographic reproduction in Coulthurst and Lawson, *A.Q.C.*, xlv., 69, and facing 74.

[4] This opinion, expressed by W. H. Rylands in the *Masonic Magazine*, January, 1882, is shared by Coulthurst and Lawson, *A.Q.C.*, xlv.

[5] Murray Lyon, 160, 161.

[6] *T.C.D. MS.*, 1, 4, 18. It is printed in the *Transactions of the Lodge of Research, No. CC, Dublin*, for 1924.

This bears the date 1711 in an endorsement,[1] and resembles the *Edinburgh Register House*, *Graham*, and *Sloane MSS.* in that it consists of a series of test questions and answers, together with a memorandum about signs and words. Like the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, it appears to be a mason's *aide mémoire*; on the other hand, it is less operative in character, and may very possibly represent a link between the operative masonry of the seventeenth century and the speculative masonry of the eighteenth century. In support of this suggestion, three points may be noted:—

(i.) The endorsement on the MS. is "Free Masonry Feb: 1711", though the term "Free Masonry" was rarely applied to the operative art, even in England.

(ii.) Whereas operative masonry, so far as the Mason Word was concerned, apparently recognized only two classes of masons, viz., either entered apprentices and fellowcrafts, or fellowcrafts and masters, this MS. distinguishes three classes, viz., entered apprentices, fellow craftsmen, and masters, each with its own secrets. It is the earliest-known MS. to make such a distinction. The probability is that during the early part of the eighteenth century, before Grand Lodges were formed and firmly established, a trigradal system developed gradually and independently in different parts of the country, by a division of the original entered apprentice ceremony, to form what ultimately became the First and Second Degree ceremonies. Brother Lionel Vibert, in his Prestonian Lecture for 1925,[2] discussed this development, which he suggested took place in London about 1725. The reference in the *Graham MS.* of 1726 to being "entered, passed and raised and conformed by 3 several Lodges" implies that three distinct ceremonies existed by 1726 in that district (probably the North of England) to which the *Graham MS.* belonged. It may quite well be that three distinct ceremonies existed there at an earlier date. Just as the surviving MSS. show considerable differences in the test questions and answers, and in the signs and words, so they indicate differences in the number of ceremonies. The *Edinburgh Register House* and *Sloane MSS.* refer to two ceremonies, the *Trinity College, Dublin* and *Graham MSS.* to three. Such differences are not astonishing, as no uniformity should be looked for before Grand Lodges were firmly established and capable of exercising a unifying influence.

(iii.) The history of the document suggests the possibility that the MS. had a non-operative origin. The manuscript is contained in one of the volumes of collected papers of Sir Thomas Molyneux (1661-1733), a famous Dublin doctor and scientist, and, in the opinion of Dr. J. Gilbart Smyly, Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin,[3] was quite possibly written by Molyneux. As the earliest reference to a Lodge of Freemasons in Ireland relates to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1688,[4] it is conceivable that there was a Lodge in Dublin in 1711, although no reference to freemasonry in Ireland in the first two decades of the eighteenth century can be traced.[5] If such a Lodge existed, Molyneux may well have belonged to it.

[1] I have seen only a photostat of the MS., but Dr. J. Gilbart Smyly, Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, informs me that the endorsement is in the same hand and ink as the document itself, and that in his opinion there can be no doubt of the accuracy of the date.

[2] *The Development of the Trigradel System.* See also his paper, "The Second Degree: A Theory", *A.Q.C.*, xxxix.

[3] Expressed in a letter written to me, 23rd November, 1937, in reply to certain questions.

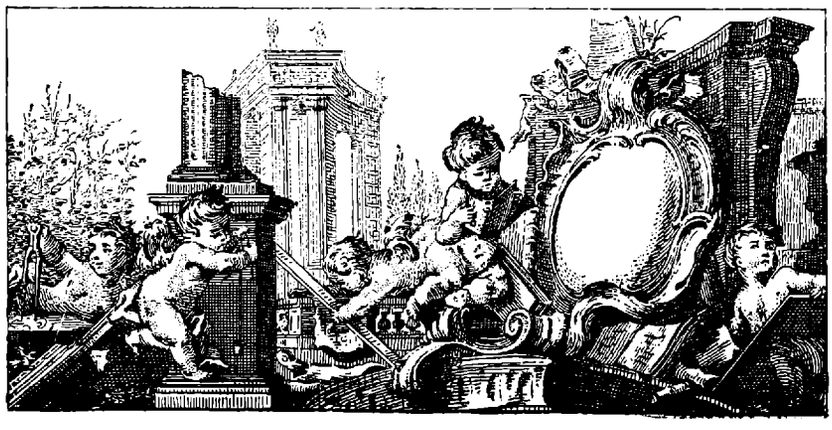
[4] Lepper and Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge . . . of Ireland*, 36. The late Bro. Chetwode Crawley discovered this reference to Irish masonry in a Trinity College, Dublin manuscript (*T.C.D. MS.* I, 5, 1), a Tripos [*i.e.*, satirical speech] at the commencements of the University of Dublin, 11th July, 1688. He announced his discovery in his Introduction to Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations.* Dr. J. Gilbart Smyly informs me that it has been published in full by Dr. John Barrett in an *Essay on the earlier part of the Life of Swift*, and in Jonathan Swift, *Works*, edited by Sir W. Scott, vol. vi., pp. 226-60.

[5] Lepper and Crossle, 41.

INFLUENCE OF THE MASON WORD ON MASONIC CEREMONIES.

Whether or not the *Trinity College, Dublin MS.* represents a first link in one line of evolution of operative into speculative masonry, I am satisfied that the nucleus of the present First and Third Degree ceremonies can clearly be traced back to the somewhat crude usages and phrases associated before the end of the seventeenth century with the giving of the Mason Word. It apparently grew under speculative influence during the eighteenth century, until it developed into complete ceremonies. This was probably brought about partly by elaborating the content of the ceremonies, partly by embellishing the wording of the ritual, partly by laying more stress on some matters, such as the fidelity of Hiram in refusing to betray the secrets of a master mason, and less stress on others, such as the attempt to obtain a secret from a dead body, and partly by dropping or modifying operative rules and regulations, and developing instead moral teachings, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols.

The process of expansion and evolution apparently went on right through the eighteenth century. I have no intention, however, of attempting to trace that development, a subject to which Bro. Vibert devoted considerable attention in his Prestonian Lecture. I shall content myself with observing that a great elaboration must have taken place by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when William Preston, in successive editions of his *Illustrations of Masonry*, wrote his commentary on the then existing masonic ritual. It was probably not until after the union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813 that our ceremonies attained to something approximating to their present form. By that time the influence exercised by the Mason Word had receded so much into the background as to be in danger of being entirely overlooked. My endeavour this evening has been to give it the recognition which, in my opinion, it deserves.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

TUESDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1938.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; G. Elkington, P.G.D., I.P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., S.W.; *Major* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; B. Ivanoff, S.D.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., J.D.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; David Flather, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; and A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. W. Hawes; C. E. Cheetham; R. Dawson; J. P. Hunter; C. J. Hobben; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; F. A. Greene; R. E. Gould; G. T. Harley-Thomas, P.G.D.; L. Gibson; W. J. Mean; R. A. Card; J. W. Rudd; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; T. H. Carter, P.G.St.B.; J. F. Nichols; S. R. Clarke; H. Tonks; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; *Sir* C. J. H. McRae, P.A.G.D.C.; G. C. Williams; L. G. Wearing; R. W. Strickland; H. G. Ridge; J. J. Cooper; A. Cross; B. S. Anderson; A. E. Gurney; T. F. Aveling-Ginever; and N. M. Schulmann.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. W. Lewis, P.Pr.G.Pt., Warwicks; H. H. Ashcrop, J.W., Concord Lodge No. 3239; J. G. A. Moss, I.G., and P. G. Smart, I.P.M., United Services Lodge No. 1428; S. P. Thompson, P.M., Research Lodge No. 218 (V.C.); and H. M. Ridge, P.M., Prometheus Lodge No. 4209.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. D. Knoop, *M.A.*, P.M.; B. Telepneff; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C.; F. L. Pick; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derbys.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; and H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, P.A.G.D.C.

The Worshipful Master read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

GEORGE NORMAN.

Brethren,

It is with very great regret that I have to announce the death of Bro. Dr. George Norman, which occurred on 7th November, 1938. He was born in the year 1848, and died two days before the 90th anniversary of his birthday. He studied at St. George's Hospital and at the Edinburgh University and took the Degree of M.R.C.S. at the age of 21. After a few years as Doctor on various steamships, he settled down in 1876 to practice medicine in Bath, where he resided until his death. He was prominent in church life and in municipal affairs in Bath, where for 16 years, until 1921, he was a member of the City

Council, during which time he was twice offered the Mayoralty of the City. He was interested in natural Science and became a Fellow of the Royal Microscopical Society; and for many years took a prominent position in other scientific and antiquarian organisations.

His Masonic career commenced in 1889, when he was initiated in Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41, at Bath, becoming Master in 1897. Two years later he was appointed Pr.G.W. of Somerset; and when the Somerset Masters' Lodge was constituted in 1915 he became its first Secretary; he was also Editor of its *Transactions* for many years, contributing articles on the History of Lodges in the Provinces. In our Lodge he joined the Correspondence Circle in 1895, was elected to full membership on 8th November, 1923, and occupied the Chair in 1927. He was Vice-President of each of the three Masonic Institutions. He was appointed P.A.G.D.C. (England) in 1917 and P.G.D. in 1929; and in Grand Chapter, the corresponding ranks of respectively P.G.St.B. and P.A.G.So. In Mark Masonry he was three times Master in his Lodge, and became P.G.Ov. in 1915 and Pr.G.M. Somerset in 1926. In the Order of the Temple he held several offices and dignities, culminating in that of G.St.Br. in G. Priory in 1914. In the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine, and in the Cryptic Rite, he held high office; in the Royal Order of Scotland he became P.Pr.G.W.; and in the Ancient and Accepted Rite he attained to the 32° in 1912. In the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia he held the position of S.S.M.

He was instrumental in founding the "Norman Library and Museum" at Bath, to which he presented many items from his own collections.

The funeral service was held at Christ Church, Bath, on Friday, 11th November.

Four Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Sydney James Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwickshire, the Master Elect, was presented for Installation, and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. *Major* C. C. Adams and assisted by Bros. L. Edwards,, W. J. Williams and H. Bladon.

The Worshipful Master referred to the continued illness of Bro. Lionel Vibert, who on that account was obliged to relinquish the office of Secretary of the Lodge. The news was received with very great regret, and the W.M. proposed and Bro. G. Elkington seconded that a letter of sympathy, together with an expression of appreciation and gratitude for the valuable services rendered by Bro. Vibert to the Lodge during the past 10 years, be sent to Bro. Vibert.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. C. C. Adams	S.W.
,, B. Ivanoff	J.W.
,, W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
,, W. J. Songhurst	Treasurer
,, F. M. Rickard	Secretary
,, L. Edwards	S.D.
,, J. A. Grantham	J.D.
,, F. L. Pick	I.G.
,, W. Jenkinson	Steward
,, H. C. Bristowe	Steward
,, G. H. Ruddle	Tyler

The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

"That W.Bro. Frederick William Golby, P.A.G.D.C., having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him."

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. Wing Commdr. F. C. B. SAVILE, R.A.F.

Brass Flat Iron Stand with Masonic emblems

Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. H. BLADON.

Small Silver Case with Masonic emblems. Engraved "No. 241 1916, W. Plummer".

By the Lodge.

Jewel. The Brotherly Society Love and Unity. Engraved on back, "W.N. 29 Decr. 1783".

Purchased.

By kind permission of the Librarian of Grand Lodge.

Book of Specimens of Certificates issued by the various Grand Lodges in England from earliest times to present day.

French Warrant—the peculiarity being in the date quoting day, week, month and year.

Two Certificates of "Tour de France".

a 1811

b ..... 1860.

Irish Certificate for Craft, R.Arch, and K.T. Carrickfergus—1726 (date doubtful).

Certificate of William Preston joining Lodge of Antiquity in 1778.

Certificate of "Maitre Ecossais" from Lodge "La Constante Union" under Grand Lodge of "Moderns", given in Ghent in 1770.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

The Worshipful Master then delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MY first words as Master of this Lodge for the ensuing year must be to thank most sincerely my Brethren for the confidence they have bestowed upon me by placing me in the Chair. It is a mark of distinction which I highly appreciate, and on my part I promise to continue to exert all my energies in furthering the interests of this world-known Lodge.

When I joined the Correspondence Circle about 30 years ago, and lived in London and regularly attended its meetings, I little thought I should become Master of the Lodge, and I should be glad to have the opportunity of pointing out to the members of the Correspondence Circle that they, each individually, have the same prospect before them.

Some of our Correspondence Circle members, I feel, are unduly reserved or bashful. They come to our meetings, take a deep interest in those papers which appeal to their own particular direction of research, but do not take full advantage of our meetings to discuss topics of masonic interest with the members of the Lodge. There is also always the opportunity of displaying at our meetings objects of masonic interest which are open to discussion or explanation.

The Correspondence Circle should know that all Past-Masters and members of the Lodge are only too anxious to be of assistance to enquiring masons, and are willing to correspond with them on their own special topics. When I look back at the time when I first joined the Correspondence Circle and think of the help which I received in discussions with, and letters from, the Past Masters of the Lodge—Canon Horsley, Henry Sadler, Bro. Dring, Gordon Hills, to mention some who have passed away—I feel that I owe a great debt of gratitude to the members of this Lodge for the encouragement I received which induced me to make continued research and to achieve such success in that direction that by invitation of the members I was elected a member of the Lodge itself and now hold the position in it of Worshipful Master.

It has become an established custom in the Lodge, ever since its consecration, over 50 years ago, for the Master to address the Brethren on the occasion of his installation; and those who have the opportunity and pleasure of reading these orations as published in our *Transactions* will acknowledge that my predecessors have given some papers of premier Masonic importance, and it is perhaps difficult to choose a subject suitable for the special occasion, especially as these orations are not previously printed as are the majority of papers given in the Lodge, whereby opportunity is afforded to the members to prepare additional information or lead discussion on the subject brought forward by the Lecturer.

I am going to state candidly that I want during my year of mastership, so far as possible, to have papers which will be of interest to the youngest joining members. I do not suggest that any of the papers given at our meetings have not been of masonic educational value to all masons, but some of them, in my opinion, have been beyond the junior members of the Craft who are asking for solutions to everyday Masonic problems.

LOST LODGES AND LOST LODGE RECORDS.

There have been numerous occasions since the formation of the Premier Grand Lodge in 1717, when the Lodges have been re-numbered—the last occasion being 1863.

In 1863 there were approximately 1,000 Lodges on the Register, to be exact 974.

Every number at that date represented a live Lodge. To-day, or at least in the 1937 year book, we find many numbers missing—in fact, of the 974 Lodges in 1863, there are only 788 which are still on the register and actually owning allegiance to Grand Lodge; 186 have, in the meantime, disappeared for various reasons. Some have been struck off and many have seceded in order to become members of Grand Lodges abroad or in the Colonies.

In January this year there were exactly 5,000 Lodges on the Roll of the United Grand Lodge, and the 5 000th Lodge was numbered 5696.

Thus in the aggregate 696 Lodges have disappeared from the List for some reason or other between 1863 and 1937—75 years. How many Lodges were founded and warranted between 1717 and to-day, which have functioned under either the "Moderns", "Antients", or United Grand Lodge, is a matter which I have not gone into—Lane's invaluable list is perhaps the best guide.

I have mentioned these figures in order to point out how many Lodges have been lost, each formed with the best of intentions by ambitious masons who banded together to further Masonic interests, and in a great many cases succeeded in holding their meetings regularly for many years—and then for some reason—often unrecorded—the Lodge faded away, ceased to work and is now to a great extent forgotten, except for such records as can be found in current newspapers and perhaps slight references in the minute books of lodges in their own vicinity, where visiting Brethren's names are recorded.

These lost Lodges all had their own property. They all had warrants and minute books, and most of them owned furniture and jewels.

Grand Lodge has many of the warrants of these defunct Lodges. But there are many in private hands, and it is to be regretted that when, for some reason or other, old lodge warrants, books and other items, have come into the market, they have not always been bought by Brethren interested in Masonic history, or by Lodges who have been able to form Masonic Libraries and Museums for the benefit of their members and the Craft in general.

In America there are Masonic Museums and Libraries which have obtained many items of value and interest which have been allowed to leave this country as the result of pure apathy on the part of English Freemasons, who have frequently failed to appreciate the importance of items offered for sale by dealers, and collections which have come into the market at the death of a Brother who perhaps had spent both time and money in preserving items of local Masonic interest, because he was more able to exercise his hobby than the Brethren of his Lodge who were not able to find the money for that purpose.

A few years ago a collection of English Lodge Histories came into a bookseller's hands. I suggested that about 40 should be bought by a Masonic Library, but they were rejected by the Librarian and were all bought by a Masonic Library in America.

The object of my present remarks on this subject is to call the attention of all members of the Craft to the fact that many Lodges have an accumulation of old papers, books, jewels and other items stowed away, sometimes in boxes, sometimes in cupboards. Of the value and importance of these items the members are seldom aware. The accumulation is usually considered as "junk", and usually passed on from the care of one Secretary or Master to another, year after year, without being examined or its historical value being understood, if it should by chance be inspected.

There are innumerable incidents of this character recorded in the published histories of Lodges, and I will give you a few examples which have come under my notice in Warwickshire.

The first is not a personal experience, but appears in the history of the Apollo Lodge No. 301, Alcester, which Lodge received a warrant in 1794. About 70 years later that warrant was lost and a warrant of confirmation was obtained in 1863.

I will now quote from the History of the Lodge written on the occasion of its Centenary in 1894. The author says:—

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

That Lodge now has both warrants in its possession, but the foregoing only confirms my statement that odds and ends may be put away and be forgotten; and it is generally "nobody's business" to investigate these boxes of "rubbish"—as was the case referred to, for more than 30 years.

The following is an instance showing that apathy is often the cause of Lodge relics being lost.

A certain Lodge was originally formed from a Volunteer Association and had a title embodying that fact; but, about 25 years ago, it was found that the supply of eligible candidates was not forthcoming, owing to the Volunteers being absorbed. By a petition to, after a definite hint from, Grand Lodge the name of the Lodge was altered by the deletion of the words referring to Military Service, and a new set of Jewels for the Officers was provided.

The original Officers' Jewels which had been given by the founders of the Lodge at its consecration in 1861, each engraved with the name of the Lodge of Rifle Volunteers, were offered to me for cash. They were the property of a Lodge still in existence which, by authority, had only changed its name.

I notified the Lodge, but it seemed to be nobody's business, and they did not buy them.

These jewels may be in a private collection to-day, or they may have been melted down during some boom in the price of silver.

Here is a case where the property of the Lodge has not been kept in close control.

How often does a Lodge seriously take stock of its property?

Some Lodges make an annual inventory of its property, which is signed by the master at his installation. I have seen many and I have seen a sequence of them of one Lodge. But there comes a time when something is missed and is not put on the new inventory, and no further record appears of the item, nor any reason given for its removal from the list.

I have a very serious instance in mind. A Chapter had an inventory in its minute book of 1850 which included "*2 Minute Books, Old*". These Minute Books were repeated in the annual list until 1854, but not after that date. Those two minute books which were *old in 1850*, so far as can be surmised,

contained the minutes of the Chapter from 1821 to 1850 and perhaps earlier, for the Chapter was originally founded in 1783 and had another warrant in 1821.

Yet those old minute books have been lost; and as, at a later date, the Chapter did not record its minutes for a period of 4 years, Grand Chapter has refused to grant it a centenary warrant in 1939.

Another schedule of Furniture and effects of a Lodge, dated 1851, (the Lodge itself is of much earlier origin) contained an entry, "*Minute Book 1752*". The earliest minute book in possession of the Lodge dates from 1764, and the minutes are complete from that date. Yet, although in 1928 I told the Lodge that I had seen the 1752 Minute Book mentioned in their list of 1851, the Lodge showed not the least interest in my information.

I happen to know where that Minute Book is to-day and who sold it to its present owner; but the Lodge has no interest in its early history, and so probably the whole affair will be forgotten. The question is—Who was responsible for the book being taken from the Lodge after it appeared in its list of property. As a matter of fact, the 1752 Minute Book does not contain the minutes of the Lodge which owned the book in 1851. It is the Minute Book of a London Lodge which ceased to work in 1762, and the book probably came to Birmingham with furniture bought in London for the formation of the local Lodge in 1764. The founders of the new Lodge actually used some clean pages in the London Lodge Minute Book as a Petty Cash Book regarding the original expenses of founding their Lodge. I mention this particular and peculiar incident in detail because it raises another point of importance. The possession by Lodges of old minute books and records of other than their own.

Even the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire was without any minute books prior to 1846 until a few months ago, when a volume was discovered by chance during the clearing out and demolition of an office of a long-deceased Prov. Grand Officer. Then a volume taking the records back to 1817 was discovered. But Prov. Grand Lodge of Warwickshire was constituted in 1792, and there are still to be found the minutes of the first 25 years. The Province of Warwickshire has in its possession also the Minute Book, Cash Book, and Tylers Book of a Lodge founded in 1792 which was erased in 1811. Grand Lodge has the Warrant of this Lodge, but I doubt whether Grand Lodge knows where the Minute Book and other books are, should any student be interested enough to make enquiries.

Again, the same Province holds the Warrant of an extinct Chapter which originally held meetings in the town of Alcester.

Another Lodge in Warwickshire, the Shakespeare Lodge No. 284, is in possession of the Warrant of another Shakespeare Lodge No. 516, which was warranted in 1793 and erased in 1799.

It will have been noted that the foregoing incidents refer to masonic history in Warwickshire; but I believe this apathy regarding masonic records is not peculiar to that province and is more or less general throughout the country.

What are we to do to make our members appreciate the wonderful history of English Freemasonry?

They seem to forget that they are making history to-day which will be read and commented upon by future generations of Masons, but I am afraid that there will never be exciting records of the twentieth century to equal those which have been written of our brethren of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Minutes, to-day, are very stereotyped in form and cold-blooded records of what happens; and comparatively nothing happens that has not the full sanction and approval of Prov. Grand Lodge acting under the direction of Grand Lodge. But read the minutes of Lodges that were working before Grand

Lodge appointed Provincial Grand Masters and Prov. Grand Lodges, and you will appreciate that it was only by the courage, self-confidence and ability of some of the Pioneers of Freemasonry in out-of-the-way places that the Craft eventually evolved into the united fellowship which makes it at heart such a strong force to-day.

In my humble opinion the time has now arrived when every effort should be made to collect all the available records of the early days of English Freemasonry. If this be not done soon, all interest in the past will lapse, and new masons will think only of present-day Freemasonry and show no interest in tradition, even when supported by concrete evidence.

How is it to be done?

The Grand Lodge of England is primarily the storehouse and guardian of all our records. It has, by its own authority, collected many warrants of Lodges now defunct, and its own Minute Books and Records are the best source of information on the Early Masonic History of this Country.

Under the guidance of Grand Lodge, the country and English Freemasonry has been divided into Provincial and District Grand Lodges. These Prov. Grand Lodges can get into touch with every Lodge in its jurisdiction, thus placing Grand Lodge in possession of reports from all areas.

My suggestion is that Grand Lodge approve and distribute to District and Provincial Grand Lodges for further distribution to every Lodge a request in the following terms:—

> With a view to secure, for the benefit of posterity, records of the early history of Freemasonry in this country, all Lodges should carefully tabulate a list of all their:
>
> (*a*) Minute Books (with dates of commencement and finish of each volume).
>
> (*b*) All documents they have relating to their Lodges, including Warrant, giving original number and date of issue; or, if working under a Warrant of Confirmation, details of issue as stated thereon.
>
> (*c*) Warrants or minute books of Lodges or Chapters, now extinct, which may be in their possession.

A printed form, on which to give the requested information, should be supplied in triplicate, one copy could be kept as a Lodge record and the other two for Grand Lodge and Prov. Grand Lodge records.

Such application should be sent to all Masonic Libraries and Societies who have such books in their possession. I believe there are many missing minute books hidden away in Solicitors' and Bank strong-rooms, absolutely forgotten. I could name two instances in Warwickshire of minute books being recovered from such sources.

The result of such returns could be analysed and tabulated.

Much valuable information would be brought before the members of the Craft who are students of masonic history.

It would stimulate the production of Lodges' Histories and in some cases bring supplementary volumes to those already written. But perhaps the most important achievement would be that the Lodges would go through their papers and in many instances bring to light forgotten items of their own and local history.

It is specially to be noted that no papers should be destroyed as useless, however trivial, until someone, who is in a position to do so, decides that it is of no historical value.

For example, first issues of Prov. Grand Lodge Calendars are very rare and should be kept.

If it be possible to keep a complete set of Summonses issued by the Lodge, they are valuable and can frequently be referred to for details which do not appear in early minutes.

I was once asked to examine a pile of masonic odds and ends taken from an attic of a Masonic Hall which was going to be enlarged; and, amongst other items of interest, there was a Centenary warrant, put aside because the glass of the frame was broken, and in that loft it had been hidden for about 14 years.

There are many lodges which have old tracing boards. Some of these have been recorded in these interesting papers in our *Transactions* by the late Brother Dring, but there are many sets of tracing boards in the Midlands which are in lumber rooms—unused to-day because they are not of the usual pattern. These boards and disused furniture are not so easily stored as books and papers, and therefore quite frequently get broken and thrown away as rubbish.

Another valuable object would be achieved by Lodges recording details of the dates of their old Minute Books, particularly those Lodges which are approaching their Centenary. As it is necessary to prove the continuous existence of a Lodge by the production at Grand Lodge of the Minute Books for 100 years, Lodges will know whether their records are complete, and if minute books have been lost or mislaid, such discovery will give an incentive to immediate organized search for their recovery.

Further, despite the fact that according to the Ritual, Freemasonry is so "widely extended that its branches are spread over the four quarters of the Globe", and again, "that it is universally spread over its surface", we must remember that times have changed since these statements first appeared in the ritual, and probably this country and Scotland are the only countries in which the Craft is progressing.

I may be wandering a little off the path I started on, but it is not only interesting, and something which gives us ample food for consideration and thought regarding the future, when we take into consideration that in the United States alone between 1933 and 1938 (6 years) no less than 530 lodges ceased to function and no less than 525,000 masons were struck off the Register in the same period. Incidentally, the total members on the Register of the Grand Lodge of England is not available, but in my opinion it is probably not in excess of the number lost in America in the last 6 years.

What has, or will, become of all the minute books, warrants and other paraphernalia of all these defunct American Lodges? We must remember also that hundreds of Lodges have been closed during the past 10 years in Germany, Italy and other Continental countries.

There is another long list of property that wants recovering and properly recording. The Warrants and Minutes of the defunct Military Lodges.

I made, to a certain extent, a successful record of the Orthes Lodge in the Warwickshire Regiment, which appeared in our *Transactions*, vol. xliv.; but the actual Minute books of that and similar military Lodges are still to be found, and are probably hidden in Barracks.

All masons who are interested in the History of the Craft are looking forward with restless anxiety for the publication of volume iii. of the Grand Lodge Museum and Library Catalogue which, I understand, will soon be released. I anticipate that, if the Library Catalogue is as complete as the two volumes already issued, Masonic librarians will be advertising for books of local interest the existence of which they were previously unaware.

If Sir Algernon Tudor Craig will produce another volume containing a catalogue of all the warrants and Minute Books which Grand Lodge have in their possession referring to defunct lodges, he will be conferring a great boon

on Masonic historians. To such a work as this could be appended the list of Lodge Warrants and Minute Books in the possession of other Masonic bodies, for which I am making such an earnest appeal.

If this appeal were put out by Grand Lodge, I am confident that every Provincial and District Grand Master would support the suggestion that the Lodges in their jurisdictions should comply with the request for information; and, in addition, they would encourage every Lodge to "put its house in order" by clearing out those old boxes and cupboards of alleged odds and ends; and probably we should raise sufficient enthusiasm which would result in the publication of many Lodge and Provincial Grand Lodge Histories, now long overdue.

At the subsequent Banquet Bro. F. W. Golby, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

Our Worshipful Master, although he comes from Warwickshire, is a Londoner by birth and a Freeman of the City of London by virtue of apprenticeship to the Merchant Taylors' Company. He was born in Kennington in 1875. He was educated at Sir Walter St. John's School at Battersea, and, as an old boy of that school was initiated at the Old Sinjins Lodge No. 3232 at the first meeting after its consecration in 1907. Soon after becoming a Master Mason, he joined the Earl Spencer Lodge of Instruction, No. 1420, of which our late Brother J. Walter Hobbs was preceptor, and through him became a member of our Correspondence Circle in 1909.

He held the office of Master of his Mother Lodge in 1917-18. In 1919 he moved from London to reside for business purposes in Birmingham.

In 1921 he became a founder of the Arts and Crafts Lodge, No. 4134, in his adopted city; and in 1921 became founder and Senior Warden of the Prometheus Lodge No. 4209, a Lodge comprised of members of the Midlands Metal Trades. Of this Lodge he became Master in 1922-3.

In 1923 he organized the formation of the Warwickshire Installed Masters' Lodge No. 4538, and continued to be its secretary until 1928, when he became Master. He was a member of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire Library and Museum Committee in 1923, and Chairman of that body from 1926 to 1935. In 1926 he was appointed Prov. Grand Senior Deacon of Warwickshire, and in 1933 Prov. Grand Senior Warden. He has been Honorary Member of the Foster Gough Lodge No. 2706, Stafford, since 1928. In 1931 he was elected a full member of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

In 1925 he was exalted in the Leigh Chapter No. 887, Birmingham, and held every office up to Second Principal.

In the same year he became a member of the Birmingham and Midlands College of the S.R.I.A., and was celebrant in 1935. In the Mark Degree, he has been a member of the Moseley Mark Lodge 667 and Ark Mariners' Lodge (Worcestershire) since 1933.

The following papers have been written by him and appear in our *Transactions*:—

1. Records of the ORTHES Lodge in the Royal Warwicksire Regiment. *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliv., 1931.
2. Richard Carlile—his Life and Masonic writings. May, 1936.
3. James Sketchley, of Birmingham, Auctioneer and Printer, Publisher and Freemason. May, 1937.

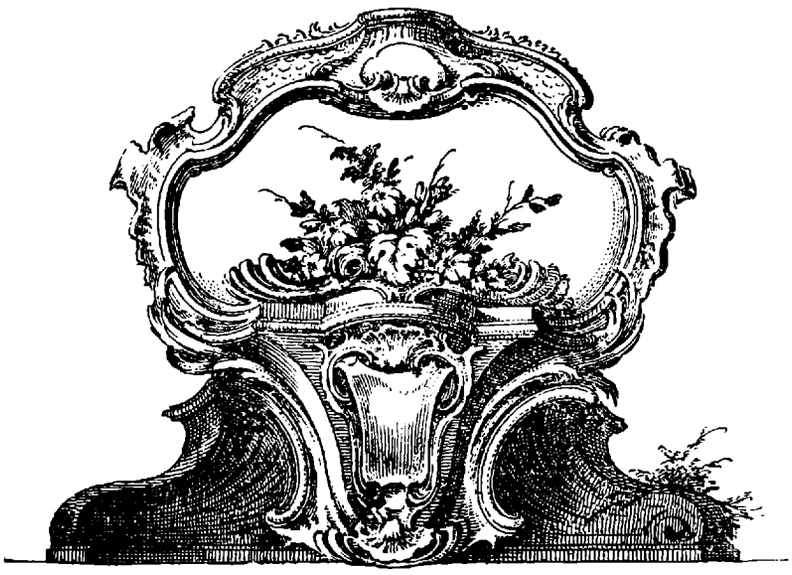
As a lecturer on Masonic Topics he is well known in the Midlands and elsewhere. His paper on "Lodge Summonses" appeared in the *Transactions* of the Dorset Installed Masters' Lodge, vol. xix.

A Pamphlet on *Books for Masonic Reading* was published by the Prov.G.L. of Warwickshire in 1931. A paper *What a Mason should read and why* appears in vol. ii. of the *Transactions* of the Mercia Lodge No. 3995. This paper was printed by the Stafford Masonic Study Circle and in the Punjab District Year Book, 1935-6.

He has been a frequent contributor to the *Miscellanea Latomorum* and to the Masonic Press. Papers have been published on *Chapter of Fortitude No.* 43, *Birmingham; Early Freemasonry in Tamworth, Staffs.; How to write a Lodge History; French Prisoners' Jewels; Landmarks of the Order;* and on many local Masonic topics.

He has also compiled at the request of the P.G.L. of Warwickshire a detailed history of *Two Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Warwickshire*—which has not yet been published.

He was one of the Pioneers of the Miniature Rifle Club Movement in 1903 and amongst his hobbies he has been a long distance walker, a cyclist and is a keen fisherman.



NOTES ON THE "GRAHAM" MS. OF THE OLD CHARGES.

BY BRO. W. E. MOSS.

FIRST of all, the Form of this document calls for comment.

The Paper, 16½ inches x 13, is "Brief" size; which, at its date may more certainly point to a lawyer's office as its place of production than it would now.

The Recital may be variously conjectured to be

a. a jocular antiquarian fake.

b. a "Finch"-like assemblage of fictive matter, nigh a hundred years before Finch.

c. copy for a catchpenny back-street printer, to be hawked about.

All these I exclude as "out of character!" entirely.

d. an "instruction" for carrying out a ceremony, vouched for by the name of T.G.

e. a private "aide-memoire" for the use of a recognised or professed ceremony-giver, to wit T.G.

This last seems to be the view of Bro. Knoop (*Scottish Mason*, p. 93). Can it not be

f. a "skeleton" or specimen, rather hurriedly written in parts, intended for actual submission to "any of the ffretarnity that intends to learn" to let them know what will be expected of them to conform to usage as concerns their prior knowledge, and to suggest vaguely what they may expect of unfamiliar matter?

Does it suggest that Thomas Graham himself wrote the document?

Very questionable, surely. Were he the ritual expert as it appears to claim, it is difficult to think that despite a somewhat untidy logical sequence of his exposition, he would be guilty of so many duplications, omissions, &c. These look like the work of some clerk-copyist who often could not read his original, and certainly troubled little to understand or make sense of his exemplar.

Next, as to "Thomas Graham's" description.

I fear that I cannot accept "chanceing" as the true reading of the word there written. Neither can I accept Bro. Williams' repellant word "chawesing."

It is simply "chaireing" and nothing else; the copyist having missed dotting the first "i" because he was so anxious to get to his favourite "e" with its double looping. He was very proud of his "modernistic" capital "E" also.

Then we have "Master of Lodges" plain enough. The only sense apparent to me is that T.G. claimed authority to communicate "chair qualification" to any proper person imperfectly informed of such, "that intends to learn."

"outher Enquam Ebo." What a real puzzle.

"outher" = "author" perhaps. But is it in character?

The most likely judging from the copyist's habits is that it should be "onther" for "on their." The next two words seem plain enough. To me they appear to indicate "an occasion" cryptically referred to in some anagram of no great ingenuity.

"October ye 24."

It might be the date T.G. appoints. But I find it hard to believe that this elaborate document was made for a single date only.

There is a tendency to regard a date, or seeming date, either near the beginning or the end of a MS. as of similar validity to the date on a letter or a legal document, in both of which a date has peculiar significance. But in other MSS. the reason for the date must be examined.

Consider the "title-date" of the "Inigo Jones" MS.

Not long ago I pointed out to a stockbroker friend that on the date he had inserted by usual custom on a transfer which came before me, one of the ostensibly simultaneous signatories was indubitably dead.

There is quite a good example in the first part of Vol. 50 of the "*Ars*" . . . the small book-plate of Francis Columbine, dated 1708, and described as Colonel of Foot. In 1708 he was not Colonel, nor even brevet-Colonel till 1717. So the date means something else. A grant of arms, perhaps?

Continuing on the supposition, almost forced on us (and quite apart from questions of handwriting, which are "sui generis"), that the seeming date is not in character with the MS. as a hurriedly-written copy, but noting a certain event as due for "October ye 24," one is tempted to ask, "Is October 24th a conventional date and no more?" An uninformed "postulant" scanning the MS. might cavil; and someone better informed will say, "All right, you'll find out where that comes in."

Note now that, in the Bible and in some of the masonic historians expanding it, emphasis is laid on the point that the Holy Temple was completed on the eighth day of the month Bul . . . which corresponds to October 23rd.

Sure enough, in the "Graham" MS. on page 3, we have what one may regard as the "crucial section" of the exposition beginning, "So all Being ffinised . . ."

October 23 is not Oct. 24. But I believe that in some years (the sacred year), the date moves on one further; alternatively, the Festival might be regarded as beginning the next day.

And if this be the reason for "October ye 24" the next group of figures does not indicate a year at all.

I suggest that they are nothing but "17^{s} 6." Seventeen shillings and sixpence . . . T.G.'s fee for his work. It's a bathos.

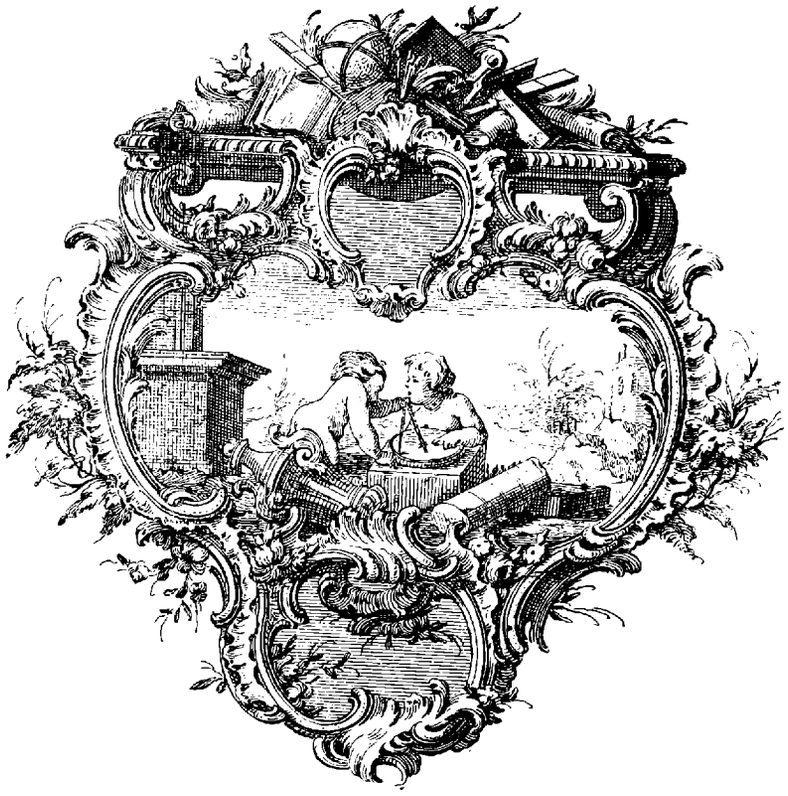
Concerning the internal matter of the MS. I would only draw attention to the odd use of the word "primitive." As to the six primitive names of power . . . of the Godhead seemingly . . . I had once but now have not an early XV. century English illuminated Sarum Horae to which some early owner had added a series of talismanic words or names . . . nine in all. Some are obviously Biblical; but others seem quite inexplicable. None of my friends at Bodley or B. Museum could interpret. They follow closely on a Latin hymn, also added in rough MS. which ends with a prayer for safety in battle.

Bro. POOLE makes the following comment:—

In my paper on the *Graham MS.*, I invited the Brethren to do some "hard thinking"; and I must congratulate Bro. Moss on the ingenuity which he has put into his share of it.

I hesitate to pass any judgment on his suggestions, though I may say quite frankly that, apart from its ingenuity, his main idea does not commend itself to me. I am not prepared to deny the possibility of an early eighteenth century Finch (for that is pretty much what Bro. Moss would make the writer)—indeed, there is enough evidence for Masonry of what we may fairly call a "clandestine" nature at a date not much later, to justify the assumption that it existed much earlier; and no doubt such a character would charge a fee. But somehow the document itself does not give me the impression that I would expect from it, if its purpose was as Bro. Moss suggests; and I still incline to the rather more pedestrian view that the document is of the "aide-memoire" class. I can give no stronger reason for my view; and Bro. Moss is as likely to be right as I am.

I am inclined to think, however, that the growing list of parallels, the *Essex MS.* now joining the *Whole Institution*, tends to support the view that the *Graham MS.* is merely one more or less normal unit of a hitherto unrecognised "group" of catechisms of a somewhat variant character.



A NOTE ON THE RELATION APOLOGIQUE ET HISTORIQUE DE LA SOCIETE DES FRANC-MACONS.

Par J. G. D. M. F. M.

A DUBLIN Chez PATRICE ODONOKO M. D. CC. XXXVIII.

BY BRO. W. E. MOSS.

"Mole quidem parvus, sed abundantià malitiæ teterrimus. . ."
"Small in Size but most wicked in Regard to its bad Subject. ."

(Decree of the Roman Inquisition, 25 Feb., 1739, publ. 18 Feb.)

HAT is it about?

Who was its Author, and why did he write it?

Why was it so important as to be singled out for such severity?

At the risk of being set down as a Bore, for my insistence on ancient "Exposures" and "Rejoinders" as matters of more value than passing mention, I return to the well-gnawed bone.

When I put the last touches to my Essay on Early Masonry in France, in which I tried to show that even the scraps of history vouchsafed us did convey a coherent story, and that "Lord Harnouester" was a real personage, and so too were "Chevalier Maskelyne" and "Squire Hegarty", I did not know the contents of the "Relation" except from meagre, and often misleading references.

I did not know that a copy was in the Q.C. Library!

(I make no apologies. Our lamented Bros. Songhurst and Vibert, yearning for a sight of the "Gruendliche Nachricht", 1738, were incredulous that there was one in the Supreme Council's Library at Duke Street!)

But I was lucky enough to buy a copy soon after, and could study it at leisure.

A short recapitulation. First came "The Grand Mystery Discover'd" in 1724 (I omit the "Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened", Dublin, 1725, and the "Grand Mystery Laid Open", n.p. 1726, merely noting the great similarity of titles); in 1730 that masonic 'Mrs. Harris' "S. Prichard, Master of Two Lodges" (unnamed) "at Norwich", produced "Masonry Disected". It went through several editions, of which I have the Fifth, 1733 (with a list of Lodges to No. 91); then again in 1738, in French dress, as "Réception Mystérieuse" printed at Liège, but with "Londres" for imprint. This is the date given for the copy in the J. Hodgkin Sale. (28 April, 1931, Hodgson). The "Francs-Maçons Écrasés, 1778, p. 114, gives the date as 1736. I do not know what earlier editions of this book give, more particularly those of 1747 and 1746 (if it exist).

RELATION
APOLOGIQUE
ET
HISTORIQUE
DE LA
SOCIÉTÉ
DES
FRANC-MAÇONS,

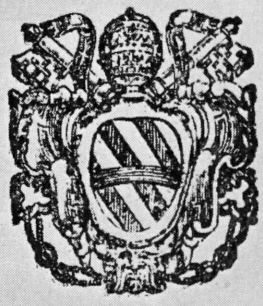
Par J. G. D. M. F. M.

Rarâ temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere poſſis. Calid. Arab. in tumulo Hermet. §. 100.

A DUBLIN,
Chez PATRICE ODONOKO, Libraire & Imprimeur.

M. D. CC. XXXVIII.

EDITTO.



GIUSEPPE del Titolo di S. Tommaſo in Parione della S. R. C. Prete Card. Firrào.

ESſendo ſtate dalla Santità di Noſtro Signore Papa CLEMENTE XII. felicemente Regnante nella ſua Bolla, che comincia = *In eminenti* = li 28. Aprile proſſimo paſſato condannate con pena di Scommunica ad eſſo riſeruata alcune Compagnie, Aggregazioni, e Radunanze, ſotto nome di *Liberi Muratori*, ò ſia *Franci Maſſoni*, à quali conuiene più toſto titolo di vere Conuenticole, le quali con apparenza di Società ciuile, ammettono Vuomini di qualunque Setta, e Religione, con ſtretto vincolo di ſegreto, ed anco con giuramento ſopra la Biblia Sagra, per queſſo, che in dette Radunanze, e Conuenticole ſi trattaſſe, ò faceſſe; E perchè tali Aggregazioni, Radunanze, e Conuenticole non ſolo ſono ſoſpette di occulta Ereſia, ma in oltre ſono pericoloſe alla publica quiete, ed alla ſicurezza dello Stato Eccleſiaſtico, giacchè ſe non conteneſſero materie contrarie alla Fede Ortodoſſa, ed allo ſtato, e quiete della Republica non ſi vſerebbero tanti vincoli di ſegretezza, come prudentemente ſi conſidera nella Bolla ſudetta, volendo la Santità di Noſtro Signore, che nello Stato ſuo, e della Santa Sede Apoſtolica, ceſſino totalmente, e ſi diſciolghino tali pernicioſiſſime Aggregazioni, Radunanze, e Conuenticole, ed acciocchè quelli, che non vengono contenuti dal timore delle Cenſure, venghino almeno raffrenati dalle pene temporali;

Col preſente Editto d'ordine della Santità di Noſtro Signore ſi proibiſce à qualunque Perſona di ogni ſeſſo, ſtato, e condizione, ancorchè Eccleſiaſtica, Secolare, ò Regolare di qualunque Iſtituto, grado, e dignità, ancorchè priuilegiata, e priuilegiatiſſima, e di cui doueſſe farſi eſpreſſa, e ſpecial menzione, compreſe ancora le quattro Legazioni di Bologna, Ferrara, Romagna, Vrbino, e la Città, e Ducato di Beneuento, che neſſuno ardiſca di radunarſi, e congregarſi, e di aggregarſi in luogo alcuno, ſotto le ſudette Società, ò Congregazioni di *Liberi Muratori, Franci Maſſoni*, ò ſotto qualſiuoglia altro titolo, ò velame, nè di troualſi preſente à tali Radunanze, e Congregazioni, ſotto pena della morte, e confiſcazione de' Beni da incorrerſi irremiſſibilmente ſenza ſperanza di grazia;

Similmente ſi proibiſce a qualunque Perſona come ſopra di ricercare, ò tentare veruno ad aggregarſi à tali Società, Radunanze, ò Congregazioni, e preſtare à tal' effetto alle medeſime Radunanze, ò Congregazioni alcun conſiglio, aiuto, ò fauore, ſotto le medeſime pene di ſopra eſpreſſe, ed à quelli, che daſſero commodo, o di Caſa, ò di altro luogo ancorchè con titolo di affitto, preſtito, ò qualunque contratto, per far ſimili Radunanze, ò Conuenticole, oltre le pene ſudette, ancor quella della demolizione della Caſa, ò Caſe, ò altri luoghi, oue ſi faceſſero tali Radunanze, e Conuenticole, volendo, che per incorrere le pene ſudette di demolizioni baſtino per preſumere la ſcienza nelli Padroni di dette Caſe, e luoghi le congetture, amminicoli, e preſunzioni ancora vmane ſenza ammetterſi ſcuſe di ſorte alcuna;

E perchè è volontà eſpreſſa di Noſtro Signore, che debbano ſcioglierſi, e totalmente ceſſare tali Aggregazioni, Società, e Conuenticole, come perniciose, e ſoſpettiſſime di Ereſia, e Sedizione, ordina, che qualunque Perſona come ſopra la quale auerà notizia, che ſieguano in auuenire le ſudette Radunanze, Congregazioni, e Conuenticole, ò che ſaranno ricercati ad aggregarſi alle medeſime, e ne ſiano in qualunque modo complici, ò partecipi, debbano ſotto pena di ſcudi mille d' oro, ed altre ancora corporali graui da eſtenderſi alla Galera ad arbitrio, riuelarle a Sua Eminenza, ò al Capo del Tribunale ordinario della Città, ò altri Luoghi, ne' quali ſi veniſſe a contrauenire al preſente Editto, coll' aſſicurazione, che tali Riuelatori ſaranno tenuti inuiolabilmente ſegreti, e ſaranno ſicuri, e graziati di ogni pena nella quale foſſero incorſi;

Ed acciocchè neſſuno poſſa ſcuſarſi dell' obligo di riuelare ſotto il mendicato pretesto di ſigillo naturale, ò qualunque giuramento più ſagroſanto, ò altro più ſtretto vincolo, d' ordine della medeſima Santità Sua ſi fà noto a tutti, che tal' obligo di ſigillo naturale, ò qualunque ſorte di giuramento in vna materia peccaminoſa, e già condannata ſotto pena di Scommunica come ſopra, non tiene, nè obliga in modo alcuno, eſſendo di ſua natura nullo, irrito, e di niun' valore &c.

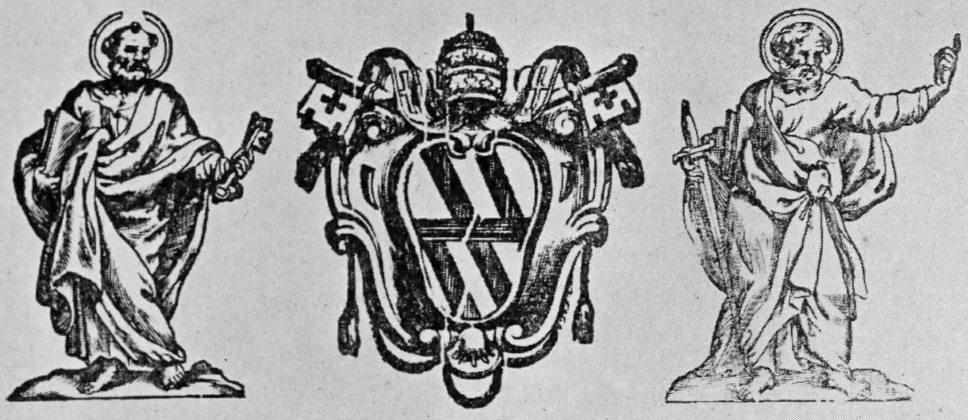
Vogliamo, che il preſente Editto affiſo ne' ſoliti Luoghi di Roma obblighi Roma, e ſuo Diſtretto, e nel termine di 20. giorni tutto lo Stato Eccleſiaſtico compreſe anche le Legazioni, e le Città di Bologna, Ferrara, e Beneuento, come ſe foſſe ſtato a ciaſcheduno perſonalmente intimato. Dato in Roma queſto di 14. Gennaro 1739.

G. Card. Firrào.

Girolamo de Bardi Segr.

IN ROMA, Nella Stamperia della Rev. Cam. Apoſt. 1739.

DECRETUM



Feria 4. *Die* 18. *Februarii* 1739.

SACRA Congregatio Eminentiſſimorum, & Reverendiſſimorum Dominorum S. R. E. Cardinalium in tota Republica Chriſtiana contra hæreticam pravitatem Generalium Inquiſitorum habita in Conventu S. Mariæ ſupra Minervam, expendens, quod non ſinè magno Chriſtifidelium ſcandalo in lucem prodierit quidam Libellus Gallico idiomate impreſſus, mole quidèm parvus, ſed abundantiâ malitiæ teterrimus, ſub Titulo: *Relation Apologique, & Hiſtorique de la Societé des Franc-Macons par I. G. D. M. F .M. . . A Dublin chez Patrice Odonoko MDCCXXXVIII.*, in quo Libello Societatis liberorum Cæmentariorum, meritò jàm à S. Sede damnatæ, ad incautos decipiendos, exhibetur Apologia, poſt maturum exámen, auditâ illius Cenſurâ, eàque Sanctiſſimo Domino Noſtro CLEMENTI PP. XII. relatâ, una cum eorumdem Eminentiſſimorum, & Reverendiſſimorum DD. Cardinalium Suffragiis, de Mandato Sanctitatis Suæ memoratum Libellum, tamquàm continentem propoſitiones, & principia impia, præſentis Decreti vigore damnat, & prohibet. Quapropter, ut tam noxium, & nefarium opus, quantum fieri poteſt, aboleatur, aut ſaltem non ſinè perpetua infamiæ nota recoli unquàm poſſit, Sacra eadem Congregatio de Mandato, ut ſuprà, præcipit, ut idem ipſum in Platea S. Mariæ ſupra Minervam die 25. currentis menſis, eo tempore, quo in proximo ejuſdem S. Mariæ Conventu habebitur Congregatio, publicè per Juſtitiæ Miniſtrum comburatur.

Præterea ipſa Sacra Congregatio juſſu Sanctitatis Suæ diſtrictè vetat, & prohibet omnibus Chriſtifidelibus, nè quis dictum Libellum præſenti Decreto vetitum quocumque idiomate, & verſione vulgatum, ſeù impoſterùm (quod abſit) vulgandum, audeat ullo modo, & ſub quocumque prætexto deſcribere, imprimere, aut deſcribi, vel imprimi facere, nequè apùd ſe retinere, aùt legere valeat, & præſumat ſub pœna excommunicationis per Contrafacientes abſquè ulla declaratione ipſo facto incurrenda, ſed illum Ordinariis locorum, aùt hæreticæ pravitatis Inquiſitoribus, ſtatim, & cum effectu tradere, & conſignare teneatur, qui nullâ interpoſitâ morâ eum comburant, aùt comburi faciant. Die 25. Februari 1739.

Paulus Antonius Cappellonus S. Romanæ, & Univerſalis Inquiſitionis Notarius.

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

Die 25. *Februarii* 1739. *ſupradictum Decretum affixum, & publicatum fuit ad valvas Baſilicæ Principis Apoſtolorum, Palatii S. Officii, ac in aliis locis ſolitis, & conſuetis Urbis per me Petrum Romolatium Sanctiſſi. Inquiſitionis Curſorem.*

ROMÆ, Typis Reverendæ Cameræ Apoſtolicæ 1739.

If this date, 1736, be correct, the "Relation Apologique" of 1738 might be a "counterblast" to it: but this work employs the word "Relation" in such a way as to suggest that the pamphlet aimed at bore this word in its title.

In any case, presumably in 1737, a French tract appeared, supposedly a "Relation" of some kind. No copy seems extant. There are hints which point to a broadside, containing fragments of it, preceding the more elaborate "Relation" by a few months.

However, it is represented now solely by the English translation, hopelessly rare, "Masonry Farther Dissected", 1738, and by later French versions included in "L'Ordre des Franc-Maçons Trahi".

With very good reasons the "Rel. Apologique" is supposed to be a riposte to this 'introuvable' "Relation". Because it says so itself, categorically.

(p. 7.) "*Quant à la Rélation qu'on a rendu publique sans la garantir, elle presente . une air de fausseté qu'on ne peut l'adopter sans répudier le bon sens. . . .*"

(p. 51.) "*N'est-ce pas assés qu'on cite le Sr. Hérault Lieutenant de Police a Paris? . . .*"

To me these remarks seem to hint that an "unguaranteed" squib preceded that vouched for by Herault . . . which latter is of course the "blague" supplied by the opera-star Carton. (No doubt satirised in Clement's dull play "Les Fri-Maçons; Hyperdrame".)

Then came the "Rélation Apologique" . . . long and often attributed to the Chevalier André Michael Ramsay, in "Kloss" and "Wolfstieg" in more than one place.

It is simply a puckish jest to father the work on this pious and learned Jacobite D.C.L. of Oxford!

But it is of some importance to arrive at the real authorship, if it be possible.

Here are some specimens of his phraseology.

(p. 5.) "*Processions solemnelles (sic!) qu'ils font en corps pour aller au pié du Trône. . . .*"

(p. 9.) "*De la Nation Angloise chez qui elle a pris naissance. . .*" (*i.e., Masonry.*)

(p. 58.) "*Le Maître de Loge qui le punit encore par une amande (!) d'un Shilling qui vaut douze sous du Païs. . . .*"

(p. 66.) "*On paie trois guinées en entrant. Une couronne, c'est-à-dire, un Écu par mois. . . .*"

These phrases seem to me to flow from an English pen. No French writer, surely, would be so meticulous about shillings and guineas. Do I smell the professed Numismatist?

You will find on the Title-page of the book a disregarded oddity in the shape of a classical quotation, quite "in character" with the best traditions of English erudite authorship of the period.

"*Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quid velis & quid sentias dicere possis. Calid, Arab. in tumulo Hermet. §100*".

This can only mean "Khalid the Arabian, On the Tomb of Hermes". The Hermes concerned is naturally "Hermes Trismegistus" a sort of transmogrification of the Egyptian "Osiris".

There was a mysterious "Khalid". The late Bro. Vibert sent me a card in November, 1934, suggesting "Khalid ibn Yazid" whom I had already run down.

(*Encyc. Brit.*, XI. ed., 5, 30, "Caliphate.")

"Khalid ibn Yazid succeeded his brother Moawiva II. as a youth, but was supplanted by Merwan ben Hakàm, though only nominally to be his successor. After the battle of Merj Rahit (684 A.F.) near Damascus, Merwan got his son Abd-al-Malik substituted. Khalid protested, but he was neither

soldier nor politician but a student of alchemy and astronomy. Translations of Greek books into Arabic are attributed to him. In 435 A.H. (1083 A.D.) there was still in Egypt a brazen globe attributed to Ptolemy which had belonged to Khalid ".

(*Encyc. Brit.*, XI. ed., 1, 520, " Alchemy.")

" Several alchemistic treatises in MS. in Arabic are in the Bibl. Nat., Paris, and at Leiden, given by Berthelot (" La Chimie au Moyen Age ", iii.) . . . the oldest if the book of *Crates* . . . its concluding words suggest that its production was due to Khalid ben Yazid (d. 708 A.D.), who was a pupil of the Syrian monk Marianus. The " *Liber de compositione alchemiae* ", which professes to be by one *Morienus*, perhaps the same as the teacher of Khalid, was translated in 1182 into Latin by Robertus Castrensis ".

A very dainty facsimile by the " Replika " process of Thomas Norton's " Ordinall of Alchimy " from Elias Ashmole's " Theatrum Chemicum ", 1652, was published in 1938 by Edward Arnold, London, with introduction by E. L. Holmyard, M.A., D.Lit. He alludes to this book, without naming either " Morienus " or " Khalid " and identifies the translator as Robert of Chester. . . . " Cestrensis ". Possible. But Robert is given other names as well. He notes that Ashmole claims to have compared his MS. with some fourteen or fifteen others, noting one once the property of King Henry VII.

It is curious that this work, which mentions " Freemasons ", and uses the term " Spekelatif ", should have escaped Dring's " English Masonic Literature " as a 1652 entry; and all the more so in that two fifteenth century MSS. of the Poem are in the MSS. Roy. at B. Mus. to provide earlier ones.

We now turn to a very queer book whose author is unidentified. He was not Francis Barrett, to follow A. E. Waite. " *Lives of the Alchemystical Philosophers* ", Lond., 1815. Of this I have a copy, presented, query, by the unnamed author, " to the Editor of the Quarterly Review ". It was later Sir Francis Palgrave's. Waite re-issued the book, re-edited, in 1888, with many omissions.

Here we find the tale of Morien, a Roman, who wrote in Arabic. He studied under Adfar, an Alexandrian Arab philosopher, and after his death settled at a hermitage near Jerusalem. To him came the " Soldan of Egypt hight Kalid, a wise and curious prince, lieutenant of the Caliph. His history and conversations have been written by himself and by Galip, the faithful slave of Kalid. Kalid has likewise left some little works upon the subject of Alchemy, which are printed in the collections of Hermetic Philosophy ".

This anonymous book also includes a long catalogue of names of works regarded as alchemical literature, extending to 751 entries. Among them is:

> SALMON, William (1644 - 1715): alchemical-medical practitioner; claiming to be M.D. (Author of " Polygraphicé . . . on Engraving &c. 1672; with an advt. at the end, of his *pills*, 3/- a box).
>
> The entry here is:
>
> " *Practical Physick, with the philosophical Works of Hermes Trismegistus, Kalid, Geber. c . .* " *1692. London.*

Apparently there is a French version of this twenty years earlier. " *Bibliothèque des Philosophes* ", which book as well as the " *Dictionnaire Hermétique* ", 1695, is attributed to Salmon. I decide not.

But here you have an English origin for " Kalid " and " Hermes " in juxtaposition of a date not far removed from the " Relation ". I do not know whether the French version uses the spelling " Calid ". It might do so easily.

It must not be overlooked that " Hermes " (nearly always correctly spelt, but " Hernes ", " Armes " and " Hermarines " are found) occurs in many of

the Old Charges. Coupled with another said to be "Pythagoras" in the venerable "Cooke" MS. and the "W. Watson". In most of the others, a person of very variable designation appears, fluctuating round "Hermarines", "Hermarynes", "Hermerines", "Hermerius", "Herminerus", "Hermerius", &c. The form "Hermaxmes" and the allied one "Hermaxes" look to me like errors for "Ter-maximus", a Latin rendering of the Greek "Trismegistos". This last occurs, so far as I know, only in the "Dodd" print of 1739 and the "Inigo Jones MS." The "Cole" print of 1731 spells it "Tresmagistus" and the "Inigo Jones" continues with the queer mis-copying. "He was to Osyris" (omitting "Counsellor"?) So at least "Trismagistus" has respectable documentary antiquity.

In my hunt for "Kalid's" book I have had the kindly assistance of Professor Dr. Hans v. Mzik, late Custos of the Staatsbibliothek at Vienna, and he enlisted the aid of Dr. Adolf Brockelmann of Breslau, both Oriental scholars of universal repute. Neither could trace any work "*On the Tomb of Hermes*" written by a "Khalid" or anyone else. Best of all, Dr. v. Mzik detected that the Latin quotation was from the end of the first book of the Histories of Tacitus!

The accepted text of this is always

"*Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis, quae sentias dicere licet*".

You will note that it is not exact. So I got Mr. Strickland Gibson, the Keeper of the Archives at Oxford of the Bodleian, to answer my query as to whether a "varia lectio" of this passage were known. None whatever was traceable; and, indeed, early MSS. of Tacitus are uncommon.

So, the author of the "Relation" has made two changes (or three, if you will). He has turned *quae* into *quid* each time, and *licet* into *possis*. And as Tacitus wrote *licet* and not *liceat*, I conceive that the author should have written *potes*.

I did once think it just possible that an obscure Arabic writer in an unknown book quoted an unknown variant text of Tacitus.

But I think it infinitely more probable that a sarcastic eighteenth century scholar invented a "spoof reference" for a tag he remembered inaccurately, though he knew its sense. May I try a translation?

> "A rare good hap of our times, when art free to think as thou willest and say what thou mayst think".
>
> (O tempora! o mores!) Hitler, Stalin and 'Musso'!

And then why "in tumulo Hermet(is)"?

I suggest that our jocular author has in mind a confused memory of the "Tabula Hermetis", which, under its English name of "The Emerald Table of Hermes", is the last and very brief tractate given in the "Lives, &c., 1815" (not in Waite's reprint). This might have supplied the name, and the reason for it—

That by the date of the "Rélation", Anderson & Co. had "buried Hermes" entirely.

So then, the "Rélation", even on its Title-page, is not "au sérieux".

And who is "J.G.D.M.F.M."?

As the whole book is in French, so should this be. Why not

"J(adis) D(eputé) G(rand) M(aître) F(olkes) M(artin)?

Now for a few words about its Contents.

There are many classical quotations, for which reference is meticulously given, in the best style: to Homer, Iliad; to Virgi, Eclogues and Georgics; to "Pacuvius" . . whose works have vanished; to Plutarch; and to several works of Cicero.

The spelling of the French is queer. "Sience" . . . "téorie" . . . "efet" . . . "vanpire", and oddest of all, "rebarbaratif" for "rebarbatif".

Wolfstieg says, quoting Begemann, I think, that it is an attempt to foist the pantheism of Toland into Masonry.

Toland did indeed publish "The Grand Mystery laid open" in 1714. It has nothing to do with Masonry, being merely a defence of the Hanover Succession. But Toland died in 1722, though certainly Des Maizeaux continued to exploit his "prophet".

Folkes would be quite sure to know Toland's style, and be eminently capable of a parody. I quote a passage to show what Wolfstieg alludes to:—

(p. 32.) "*Toutes choses ne sont qu'un dans l'Univers, cet un est tout en toutes choses. Ce qui est tout en toutes choses est Dieu, éternel, immense et sage. C'est en ce Tout que nous sommes, que nous vivons que nous avons le mouvement. . . .*"

A good imitation of Toland, but surely, in the "Rélation" just word-spinning? Not Propaganda!

What then was the singular quality in this obscure tract in indifferent French, mendaciously asserting Dublin as its place of printing, which moved the Cardinals at Rome to such unusual ferocity? Why should such a production as this make a stir at Rome at all? How came it to be introduced at Rome at all? (I have found one writer, transatlantic, suggesting that the Dublin Catholic hierarchy had forwarded it for inspection and probable action! *What? In 1738?*)

In my very real desire to descry a reason, my Essay alluded to suggests that as the word "HISTORIQUE" was on its title-page, it appeared to be a claim to "Authority", which wounded their susceptibilities. It was a very weak idea and I abandon it.

Studying the text of the "Rélation" I have come to two conclusions—

(a) that it contains some matter which the Cardinals might rate as blasphemous,

but,

(b) they would never have troubled to waste time and printing on it were it not that *its Author was known well at Rome*, in exalted social and learned circles, and had "intellectual influence" that they distrusted.

Because Martin Folkes, vice-president of the Royal Society when Isaac Newton was President, was himself at Rome, with his family, in 1735 and seemingly in part at least of 1736. He had been Deputy Grand Master in 1724 during the Duke of Richmond's Grand Mastership. In 1720 he had founded an "Infidel Club" at his house in London. He was personally quite immune to the Holy Office, and moreover was probably back in England in 1738 when the "Relation" appeared. I think the "February, 1739" of the "Decretum" proves the correctness of the title-page date. Repute says that the beautiful "Folkes Medal" was struck at the Papal Mint, from dies by "Hamerani", the Papal engraver of dies. Folkes was a recognised authority on Numismatics, on Coins and Medals, wrote a book on English Coins, of some importance, and it is said, gave assistance with the collections in the Vatican.

In attempting a catalogue of Bro. Wallace Heaton's Collection of Medals and Jewels from a set of lovely photographs, I was suddenly struck that it is possible that this Medal itself conceals a secret. The date, "ROMAE A.L. 5742", is on the Reverse. Marvin noted long ago the difference in quality between the engraving of the Head of Folkes and that of the Rev. . . . the Pyramid of Cestius. All masonic Medal-literature tacitly assumes that A.L. 5742 means 1742 A.D. Could it not equally mean 1738? I cannot find any absolute uniformity of usage, nor do I think it was ever established. Thus it may be the

case that Folkes got the die *of his head only* from Rome, had the Rev. engraved in France, where he was somewhat later, and dated it, meaning 1738, with ROMAE added impishly. The B.Mus. has a proof of the Head, with plain Rev. and no date anywhere. The Bodleian has a splendid example of the Medal, in gold. And the date is the very date of the "Relation".

Now for some of the "depravity" of the book.

After fifty pages of terribly learned stuff about many "societies" whose influence was detrimental as compared with the Masonic, and discussions on the word "Free" of no value, we come to a dozen pages of funny generalising about Lodge meetings. They seem a trifle frequent, "three days a week". "Chemists and Alchemists" propound their puzzles . . . our author likes Alchemy; "the Secretary always arrives first at a meeting . . . he never speaks, but spends his time in noting the proceedings in "hierogliphes". Fortunately, discussion is in the common phrase with nothing "argotique".

Then there is an account of a Reception ceremony, full of Cato, Plato an even Xenophon; a ceremonial investiture follows, with a trowel, of which everyone carries a specimen, with which the Aspirant "may build his Temple without fear to 'irriter la Sagesse éternelle'".

Then, by the Master and Guardians of the Keys, "a massy goblet is taken from the double-locked Chest of the Lodge, filled with Wine, and each Brother drinks in turn, the Master first, the Novice last of all. He is to say, "I look on this Cup as the Emblem of my Heart and the Wine as the Symbol of my Blood, with which I seal the promise I have made . . . ".

An Invocation of Wisdom, in chorus, follows, capped with the words, "Fiat, fiat".

The contemporary use of these words at Jacobite gatherings is well known.

I do not wonder that Begemann said that the "Rélation" was not written by a Freemason. But I do not think he appreciated the irresponsible levity of some of our predecessors. They were ready to supply plenty of nonsense at times!

So the Cardinals having some little defect of humour, broke a butterfly on the wheel. Martin Folkes would be delighted.

Observe an odd point. Contemporary allusion to this *French riposte* to a *French 'exposure'*, printed heaven knows where—Antwerp, Brussels, the Hague—always reaches England from English or American sources, never from French. Were they inspired? No French or German notices seem to exist; only the Papal fulminations. The German reprints are all later.

Reductio ad absurdum. The "Rélation" was written by Martin Folkes as a learned joke to muddy still further the streams of mis-knowledge, already frothy with the French original of "Masonry Farther Dissected" and the "Réception Mystérieuse", and succeeded in bringing off a grand "leg-pull" on the College of Cardinals.

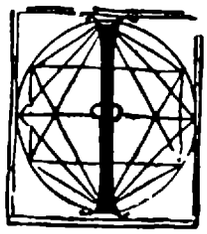
It fell flat everywhere else, including France, where it must have been intended to circulate. Later, it was disinterred by industrious German compilers of masonic miscellanies, who assumed it had great importance because it so egregiously hoodwinked the Cardinals.

I regret I have found no specimen of Folkes' acknowledged composition in French. Yet he was a Member of the Academie Francaise (of Sciences) in 1730.

THE ESSEX MS.

FRESH EVIDENCE ON THE GRAHAM MS.

BY BRO. H. POOLE.



MUST plead guilty of having overlooked an important and interesting piece of evidence relating to the text of the *Graham MS.* as a result of having filed a copy of one of the early Catechisms in the wrong place, and only coming upon it recently. May I, however, before going into details, put it on record that, at the time when I made my discovery, a letter from Bro. R. J. Meekren, written a fortnight before, was already on its way to me; and that to him must go the credit for having first recognised the very close relationship to the *Graham MS.* of a part of yet another document, usually referred to as the *Essex MS.*

This consists of two parts: the first being a fairly correct version of the *Grand Mystery Discovered* (printed 1724), which has, however, no independent critical value. The second part is an entirely different catechism, which follows fairly closely the *Whole Institution* (printed 1725), and is consequently related also to the *Graham MS.*; but having the further important feature, that it shares some material with the MS. and *not* with the print. This, it need hardly be pointed out, establishes the interesting fact that the text (presumably MS.) on which all three are based must lie behind all three surviving versions; and, especially bearing in mind the fairly wide variations in sequence and wording, rather further back in time than we might have assumed from the two versions previously known. The very close relationship between the *Essex* and *Graham MSS.* is possibly brought out most strikingly in such a parallel as that between the former's " it is to be understood & also belived " and the latter's " it is to be beliëued and allso under stood," in an entirely different connection. Perhaps most interesting of all, the possession of these three versions make it possible with some certainty to reconstruct the text of the original Catechism; and such a tentative reconstruction is given at the end of this note.

Bro. Meekren suggests yet another relationship, which, however, is not so close as that existing within the trio. With the *Graham MS.*—

> a reason for such poster
> in regard one God one man this sheweth a humble and obediant heart.

he connects, through the coupling of " posture " and " humble," a MS. which has been left on record by the late Bro. John Yarker—

> Why both knees bent and bare?
> Because I could not be in too humble a posture to receive that solemn obligation of a master mason

Their Health

Heres a health to ȳ Society & to every faithfull Brother that keeps his Oath of Secrecy as we are Sworn to love each other.

The world no order knows like this
our Antient and Noble fraternity
Let them wonder what the Mistery is
here fellow I drink to the

The whole Instruction opened and proved by Scripture 1ˢᵗ observe that as you make Imitation of a squeire is according to every Subject in hand proved by ȳ 17ᵗʰ verse of the 6ᵗʰ Chapˢ of the 1ˢᵗ of Kings

The Salutation as follows — From whence came you

A I came from a right worshipfull Lodge of Masters & fellows belonging to holy Sᵗ John who doth greet all true & holy

Brothers of our holy Secret to do If

Q If you be one

Q I greet you well Brothers what is your names

A I & the other to say B & C the examination Followeth

Q How shall I know you are a free mason

A By true words & tokens from my Entrie

Q How were you made a Mason

A By a true & perfect Lodge

Q What are a perfect Lodge

A The centre of a true Heart

Q And how many Masons was it called

A any odd number from 3 to 13

Q What was your first step towards your entring

A a willing desire to know the Secret

Q How came you in to the Lodge

A In ignorance & came out in knowledge

Q What did you see there

A I saw truth the World & Justice

Q What was behind you

A Perjury & exclamation of our fraternity

Q how was your Lodge set at your entering

A South East & West

Q Why so

A Because Churches stand east & West & Prechers to the South

Q Why does Churches stand East & West

A Because the East wind dryed up the Sea before the Children of Israel

Q What posture did you sap your oath in

A I was neither setting going standing lying hinging nor properly Kneeling cloathed nor naked shod no bare foot but as a Brother knows how

Q What were you sworn to

A To heal & conceal

Q What other tenners belong to your Oath

A To obey God in all true Squares made or sent to me from a Brother never to put out my hand to steal nor commit adultery with a Brothers Wife nor design any unjust revenge on him but love & relieve him as far as you can not hurting your self two far

2 What reason can you give or any Man render why Masons should have a secret more than any trade

A Because the building ye House of the Lord pleased his devine Majesty therefore in some part by mercy yet much more by free grace the obtaining a name & a new command the name signifying strength & the answer beauty & the command Love, For it is to be understood & also belived that every type of Gods House had some reference to the ensueing will of God which he would have the Children of Men in practice and his 12 Apostles for proof of this read the 6th & 7th of the 1st of Kings Keep well the Key that lyeth in a bone Box under a hairy Sod

which, in its turn, must surely be related to the *Dumfries No. 4 MS.*

> Why upon your left knee
> because I would be in so humble a pouster to ye receiving o ye Royall secret.

It cannot be contended that these parallels are close enough to be convincing by themselves; but it may be remembered that in my paper on the *Graham MS.* I was able to point out two decidedly closer parallels with the *Dumfries MS.*, while a great deal of the "biblical" matter of the latter is of a very similar character, though different in detail, to some of the contents of the *Graham MS.* There is here, in fact, a field for further study which might yield results of considerable interest.

The *Essex MS.* is in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 6760); and a recent enquiry elicited the information that it was written by James Essex (1722-1784), Builder and Architect of Cambridge. This is not helpful in connection with the problem of the provenance of the original text; but it is particularly interesting as suggesting that, as late as (say) 1740 at least, versions of what we may call "Graham type" were still in circulation, and probably somewhat widely distributed.

The text of the first part of the *Essex MS.* is not worth reproducing; the text of the second part is reproduced.

THE ORIGINAL CATECHISM.

The following is an attempt to reconstruct the latest form of the original catechism before the divergence which led to the three surviving versions. It omits the peculiar "moralisings" of the *Graham MS.*; and almost every word of it occurs in at least two of the three sources. These are referred to as

E = *Essex MS.*
G = *Graham MS.*
I = *Whole Institutions.*

Spelling and punctuation modernised.

The Whole Institutions of Freemasonry, opened and proved by Scripture, as also their words and signs.

First observe that all our signs is taken from the Square, according to every subject in handling; this is proved by the 7th verse of the 6th chapter of the First of Kings.

The Salutation is as follows:—

Q. From whence came you?
A. I came from a Right Worshipful Lodge of Masters and Fellows belonging to (God and) holy St. John; who doth greet all true and perfect Brothers of our holy secret: so do I you, if you be one.
Q. I greet you well, Brother; (God's greeting be at our meeting) what is your name?
A. I, and the other is to say his is B.

The Examination is as follows:—

Q. How shall I know you are a Freemason?
A. By true words, (signs) and tokens from my entering.
Q. How were you made a (free) Mason?
A. By a true and perfect Lodge.
Q. What is a perfect Lodge? (*not in* I)
A. The centre of a true heart.

Q. How many Masons is so called? (*not in* I)
A. Any odd number from 3 to 13.

Q. What was the first step towards your entering?
A. A willing desire to know the secret(s) (of Free Masonry) (I *has* to know what I now know).

Q. How came you into the Lodge? (*not in* I)
A. In ignorance, and came out in knowledge. (E)
A. Poor and penniless, blind and ignorant of our secrets. (G)

Q. What did you see in the Lodge? (*not in I*)
A. I saw truth, the world and justice (and brotherly love).

Q. Where? (G *only*)
A. Before me.

Q. What was behind you? (*not in I*)
A. Perjury and hatred. . . . (G)
A. Perjury and exclamation of our fraternity. (E)

Q. How stood your Lodge at your entering?
A. South, East and West.

Q. Why East and West? (*not in* I)
A. Because Churches stand East and West and Porches to the South.

Q. Why do Churches stand East and West? (*not in* I)
A. Because the East wind dried up the sea before the Children of Israel. (G *gives three other reasons*)

Q. Who conducted you into the Lodge. (G *only*)
A. The Warden and oldest Fellow Craft.

Q. Why not the youngest Fellow Craft? (G *only*)
A. . . (*remarks on humility*).

Q. What posture did you pass your oath in?
A. I was neither sitting, standing, going, running, riding, hinging (*sic.*) nor lying; naked nor clothed, shod nor barefoot (but as a Brother knows how. (I *says*, kneeling with Square and Compass at my breast)

Q. What were you sworn to?
A. For to heal and conceal (our secrets).

Q. What other tenor did your oath carry?
A. To obey God and all true Squares sent (to me) from a Brother; never to steal, nor to commit adultery with a Brother's wife, nor tell him a wilful lie; nor design (? desire) any unjust revenge on a Brother, but love and relieve him when it is in my power (*or* as far as you can—E), it not hurting myself too far. (I *says*, For to help all perfect Brothers of our holy secret, Fellow Craft or not).

Q. How many lights belong to the Lodge. (*not in* E)
A. Twelve.

Q. What are they? (*not in* E)
A. Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Sun, Moon, Master Mason, Square, Rule, Plum, Line, Mell and Chisel.

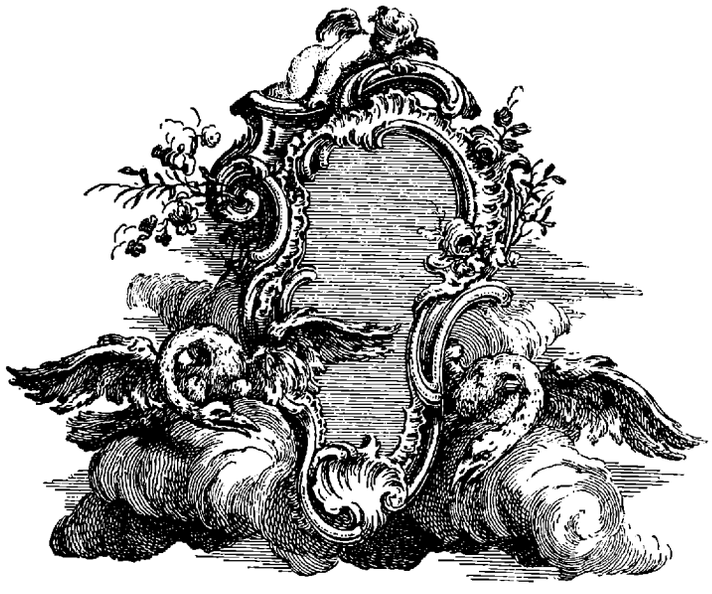
Q. Who is Master of all Lodges? (I *only*)
A. God and the Square.

Q. What is your foundation words? (*not in* E)
A. (O) Come let us and you shall have.

Q. What mean you by these words? (*not in* E)
A. We differ from the Babylonians who presumed to build to heaven; but we pray the Blessed Trinity to let us build true, high and square, and they shall have the praise to whom it is due.

Q. What reason can you give why Masons should have a secret (more than any Trade)?
A. Because the building the House of the Lord pleased His Divine Majesty; it could not well go amiss, being they wrought for so good a Master, and had the wisest man on earth (for) to be their Overseer. Therefore in some part by merit, yet (much) more by free grace, Masonry obtained a name and a new command: the name signifying Strength, and the answer, Beauty; and the command, Love: for proof hereof read the 6th and 7th of the first Book of Kings, where you will find the wonderful works of Hiram at the building of the House of the Lord.

Keep well the Key that lies in a bone box (under a hairy sod).
Adieu, Brother!



REVIEW.

THE SCOTTISH MASON AND THE MASON WORD.

By Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones

(Manchester University Press, 1939).

ROTHER Knoop's Prestonian Lecture of 1938, "The Mason Word", is here reprinted verbatim from the pamphlet issued for private circulation in that year, and is actually the mainspring of the whole book, which is a study of the history of the Scottish building industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and, in the authors' own words, "incidentally attempts to explain why the Mason Word, as an operative institution, was found in Scotland and not in England, and what were the peculiar conditions which made its establishment and development in Scotland possible".

The work thus falls into two divisions. One dealing with purely historical matter drawn from the records of the Scottish building operatives; the other speculative, esoteric, and, of necessity, largely theoretical.

About the value of the historical research offered us by this well-known literary partnership there will be no two opinions. They have now attempted to do for Scotland what they had already done for England, and even if hindered by the paucity of records available, have given what must be the most complete picture that has ever been seen of the Scottish building operative, his works, his wages, his Lodges, and his gilds. Criticism must remain silent in view of such a labour of love, based on documents, and ticketed with references; our admiration will be quite enough to offer, and that cannot be withheld.

Passing on to "The Mason Word", with which a reviewer in a journal such as *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* might well be expected to deal at greater length, apart from noting that it was more than a mere word or words and included other modes of recognition, I shall content myself with advising every Brother who is interested in the evolution of our Masonic ritual to make a close study of Brother Knoop's exposition. In such matters, esoteric and theoretic as they are, complete unanimity of opinion is hardly to be expected, and in discussing them we all are hampered by the thought of what is permissible for us to put into print. So our thoughts and judgments may easily be taken up wrongly by a reader, or different readers may read different conclusions into the text. But, needless to say, Brother Knoop has presented his thesis in phrasing so lucid that he has little to fear from misinterpretation.

This particular branch of Masonic study is full of interest to every Mason, while to the Masonic historian it is of the utmost importance. One of the MS. dealt with here is a case in point—the *Trinity College MS.*, dated 1711. The opinion of Brother J. Gilbart Smyly, S.F.T.C.D., Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, is that this date may be taken at its face value, an important pronouncement, in view of the fact that while Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 contemplate a Rite of two degrees, the Dublin *Constitutions* (Bennell) of 1730 contemplate a Rite of three, and perhaps a Chair degree in addition. Apparently

the division of the body of "The Mason Word" took place in different ways, in different places, and at different times—a phenomenon to be borne in mind when we are tempted to generalize after noting peculiarities in one particular manuscript.

Brother Knoop has a good deal to say about the curious Noah legend in the *Graham* MS., and suggests that it is a predecessor of the Hiram version. In this I concur, but would further suggest that these two names do not exhaust the list of possible entrants for Masonic immortality, and a lucky discovery may yet enrich us with the legend that associated the establishment of the Craft with the Tower of Babel. This hope is only one of many that will be felt after a careful perusal of this important piece of scholarship, offered us in such a fascinating way by Brother Douglas Knoop.

J. HERON LEPPER.

OBITUARY.

IT is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Cyril Lucius Tabutean Buchanan, of Melbourne, in 1938. Bro. Buchanan was a member of Lodge No. 300. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1923.

M. J. Cary, of Colombo, Ceylon, on 12th August, 1938. Bro. Cary held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was P.Z. of St. George Chapter No. 2170. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1929.

Harold Douglas Elkington, *M.Sc., F.I.C.*, of London, E.C., on 1st July, 1938. Bro. Elkington was P.M. of Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1932.

Giacomo Gargini, of Aylesbury, Bucks, on 30th July, 1938. Bro. Gargini held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was Z. of Buckingham Chapter No. 591. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

William Harvey, *J.P., F.S.A.*, of Dundee, on 5th July, 1938. Bro. Harvey held the office of Provincial Grand Master for Forfarshire, he was P.M. of Lodge No. 967 and P.Z. of Chapter No. 421. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1923.

William Austin Hubbard, of London, W., on 30th September, 1938. Bro. Hubbard was a member of Derwent Lodge No. 40, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1920.

Henry Raby Lanyon, of Red Cliffs, Vic., Australia, on 27th August, 1938. Bro. Lanyon held the rank of P.Pr.G.St.B., Staffs., Eng. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1912, and had been a Life Member since 1917.

Samuel Leighton, of Belfast, in July, 1938, in his 88th year. Bro. Leighton was Librarian of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Antrim, and was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1929.

Charles Thomas Spinks Maskell, of Marske-by-Sea, Yorks, in August, 1938. Bro. Maskell was P.M. of Handyside Lodge No. 1618. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1936.

John Mumby, of Birkenhead, on 8th September, 1938, aged 71 years. Bro. Mumby held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., Ches., and was for many years Secretary of the Merseyside Association for Masonic Research. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1914.

Dr. **George Norman,** of Bath, on 7th November, 1938, in his 90th year. Bro. Norman held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner, and had held office as Pr.G.M. for Somerset. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1895, elected to full membership of the Lodge in November, 1923, and was Master in 1927.

Rudd Cheslett Rann, of London, S.E., on 25th October, 1938. Bro. Rann was P.M. of Armament Lodge No. 3898 and Sc.E. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1922.

William M. Strom, of Greenville, Texas, in 1938. Bro. Strom was a member of Lodge No. 335 and of Chapter No. 114. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1929.

Walter James Terry, of Birmingham, on 10th September, 1938. Bro. Terry held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1933.

Richard Baxter Vincent, of London, N., on 15th October, 1938. Bro. Vincent was P.M. of Kingswood Lodge No. 2278, and P.Z of Manchester Chapter No. 179. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1911.

Ernest John White, of Bath, on 23rd October, 1938, aged 72 years. Bro. White held the rank of P.Pr.G.St.B. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1925.

John Edward Whitty, of London, W.C., on 3rd September, 1938. Bro. Whitty was P.M. of Yorick Lodge No. 2771, and Sc.E. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1923.

ST. JOHN'S CARD.

THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1938:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire, Worcester; Provincial Grand Lodge of Netherlands Indies, Malang, D.E.I.; Province of Guernsey, and Alderney Museum Committee, Guernsey, C.I.; Grand Lodge Committee on Masonic Education and Research, Vancouver, B.C.; Johore Utara Lodge No. 5324, Johore, Malaya; Enugu Lodge No. 5440, Enugu, Nigeria; Ara Lodge No. 348 (I.C.), Auckland, N.Z.; Hedworth Lodge of Instruction No. 2418, Westoe, South Shields; Entebbe Lodge of Instruction No. 3492, Entebbe, Uganda; Kohat Lodge of Instruction No. 4459, Kohat, N.W.F.P.; Devonshire West Area Masonic Study Circle, Devonport; Societas Rosicruciana in Scotia, Edinburgh.

BRETHREN:—Frederick Percy Ayliffe, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S. 1152, *1152*; Roland Henry Bailey, Warlingham, Surrey, 2148, *1853*; R. W. Baker, *F.R.G.S.*, Southsea, 1958; Frank Ernest Barber, London, S.E., P.M. 3095, *3095*; Albert Enoch Barkwill, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4196, *991*; Frank Noel Beadle, Middlesborough, P.M. 3936, *4636*; Henry Rainforth Beasant, Bristol, P.Pr.G.St.B., *P.Pr.A.G.So.*; Oliver Osmund Bill, Singapore, 1152, *1152*; William Boot, Sheffield, P.M. 4974; Henry John Bothroyd, Redcar, Yorks., 1618, *561*; Walter Levingston Burton, Singapore, 1152, *1152*; Harold Capinsky, London, N., 2265, *2265*; Selsby Mitchell Catterson, London, S.W., 3307, *1348*; Frank Cole, Northampton, 2555; Edward Cotton, Hanley, Staffs., P.Pr.G.W.; William Frederick Cowell, London, E., P.M. 2077; Ray Vaughn Denslow, Trenton, Mo., U.S.A., P.G.M., G.Sec., *P.G.H.P.*; Robert Douglas, Workington, Cumberland, 962, *371*; Walter Murray Duff, Dundee, R.W.M. 225, *P.Z. 164*; Ernest Vercoe Dunn, Launceston, 789, *789*; Reginald Edward Stanley Wilson Edwardes, *M.I.Mech.E.*, *A.M.I.E.E.*, Sutton in Ashfield, Notts., P.M. 2412, *J. 2412*; Randle James Evans, Wolverhampton, 5490, *4410*; Frank Fielding, Fort, Bombay, 944, *944*; Ernest Fisher, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 424, *424*; Wilfred Sidney Fisher, Peterborough, P.M. 2996; Charles Fotheringham, Port Elgin, Ontario, 429, *430*; Harry Archibald Francis, Rangoon, 5081, *5081*; Harry Frow, Maritzburg, Natal, Dis.J.G.W., *P.Dis.P.So.*; William Edmund Gathercole, London, N., 108; Walter John Glanville, Kimberley, B.C., P.M. 55, *7*; John Goldstein, Yonkers, N.Y., 1006; Walter Herbert Gregory, Stratford, Ontario, P.Dis.Dep.G.M.; *Major* William Heley Hallsworth, Walsall, P.A.G.Swd.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; James Frederick Hanks, Middlesborough, W.M. 561, *561*; Thomas Hanks, Middlesborough, P.M. 561, *561*; David McLean Hanna, Toronto, P.M. 598; *Major* John Wick Molyneaux Hawes, Guildford, Pr.G.D., Sussex, *1789*; Ernest Hickling, Wisbech, Cambs., P.M. 809, *P.Z. 809*; Berthold Martin Hirschfeld, Moonee Ponds, Victoria, 76, *11*; J. Hoek, Cheribon, Java, P.M. 87; *Major* William Evelyn Wykeham Howard, Bedford, 3156; Sydney John Humphries, Hayes, Middlesex, 1891, *1891*; Ellis Hunter, Northallerton, Yorks., P.M. 1848, *1848*; William Jepson, Muswell Hill, London, N., L.G.R., *P.A.G.Sc.E. Bucks*; William Ian Stuart Kelway, Mortonhampstead, W.M. 5358, *2595*; Tan Kim-Ong, Rangoon, 832, *832*; Ernest Albert Langham, Calcutta, 218, *229*; Herbert Frank Lawton, Stoke-on-Trent, 4269; Chester Ernest Lee, Long Beach, Calif., 518; James

Cambridge Lees, Darrang, Assam, 3195, *3195*; John Keith Butler Lusk, Tauranga, N.Z., 125 (N.Z.C.), *515* (S.C.); Archibald Henry MacQuarrie, Windsor, Ontario, Dis.Dep.G.M.; Harry Bertram Malcolm, Scarborough, 200, *200*; Isaac Louis Maltz, London, W.C., 1206; George Kenneth March, Leamington Spa, W.M. 4167, *Sc.N. 4336*; Philip Dunstan McDermott, Peterborough, 3964; Robert Stuart McKirdy, Nice, 4626; David Mitchell, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, P.M. 1175 (S.C.) *422* (S.C.); William Geddes Mitchell, Walkerville, Ont., 641; Charles Carey Morgan, Shawford, Hants., P.Dis.G.M. Bengal, *109*; A. Victor Mowling, London, N.W., 2127, *2127*; Sidney Melbourne Mowling, London, N., 2127, *2127*; *Dr.* H. Müller, Java, W.M. 35; Charles Brewster O'Maille Owen, Cairo, 4004, *1204*; Albert Edward Parker, Amersham, Bucks., I.P.M. 108; James George Wallace Paterson, Portsmouth, 1834; Alexander Photiades, Athens, Greece, G.Sec.; Will Pickstone, Blackburn, 5256, *281*; Edmund Pocknell, Bromley, Kent, P.M. 1692, *P.Z. 3649*; Horace Mann Ragle, Colorado Springs, U.S.A., P.M. 13, *P.H.P. 6*; John William Ratcliffe, Jr., Windsor, Ont., P.M. 642, *P.Z. 80*; Hilary Cameron Russel Rendle, Singapore, P.Dis.G.St.B., *P.Z. 3212*; John Ernest Renwick, Bedford, 4732, *2490*; Leonard S. Robson, Flixton, Manchester, 2464, *5127*; F. R. G. Rountree, Mauritius, 1696; Peter Russell, Vancouver, B.C., Dis.Dep.G.M.; William Rutherford, Tamworth, Staffs., P.Pr.G.R.; John Saltmarsh, Cambridge, P.M. 859, *H. 859; Wg.Comdr.* Francis Charles Beresford Savile, *R.A.F.*, London, S.W., 3820, *540*; Victor Schultz, Bredebes, Denmark, Maria til de tre Hjorter; Howard Donald Scott, Willard, Ohio, 562, *P.H.P. 167*; Leonard Greville Sewell, *M.C.*, Buxton, Derbyshire, 4966; Herbert William Seymour, Bognor Regis, 1726; Emerson Nelson Shrier, Windsor, Ontario, P.M. 500; Harry Smart, Filey, Yorks., P.M. 643, *643*; Charles Littler Smith, Chingford, Essex, P.M. 2750, *P.Z. 1237*; Ferguson Smith, Buenos Aires, P.M. 3364; Charles Frederick Snell, Singapore, 1152, *1152*; F. J. Stephens, Torquay, Devon, P.M. 328, *P.Z. 328*; John Struthers, *M.B.E.*, *M.A.*, *B.Sc.*, Croydon, P.M. 2015, *2015*; Albert George Summerland, Windsor, Ontario, 604; Albert Edward Taylor, Plymouth, 159, *159*; John Edward Taylor, Toronto, Ontario, 40; T. S. Temporal, Sheffield, W.M. 4288; Moses Jacob Toby, Calcutta, P.Dis.A.G.D.C., Bengal; Victor Roger Vick, Singapore, W.M. 1152, *J. 1152*; Alexander Wild, Hebden Bridge, Yorks., P.Pr.A.G.D.C. (E. Lancs.), *P.Pr.G.St.B.* (E. Lancs.); Lawrence H. Wilson, Windsor, Ontario, P.M. 521; Edward Ernest Worthington, London, S.W., P.M. 4377, *J. 3688*; Leslie Francis Wright, Redcar, Yorks., 4539, *3474*; *Revd.* Evan Morris Young, New Shildon, Co. Durham, P.Pr.G.Ch., *J. 2415*.

Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.