

BRITISH FREEMASONRY, 1717–1813

# British Freemasonry, 1717–1813

Volume 5: Representations

Edited by  
Róbert Péter

General Editor: Róbert Péter



ROUTLEDGE  


## BRITISH FREEMASONRY, 1717–1813

# CONTENTS OF THE EDITION

## VOLUME 1

General Introduction

Institutions

## VOLUME 2

Rituals I – English, Irish and Scottish Craft Rituals

## VOLUME 3

Rituals II – Harodim Material and Higher Degrees

## VOLUME 4

Debates

## VOLUME 5

Representations

Index

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GENERAL EDITOR  
Róbert Péter

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Representations

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Róbert Péter

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## CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Introduction	xiii
Bibliography	xxix
Admissions and Lodge Meetings	1
Theatre	43
Processions	87
Debates and Conflicts	141
Women	251
British Fraternal Societies and the Response to Grand Lodge Freemasonry	287
Editorial Notes	351
Silent Corrections	439
List of Sources	441
Index	447

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- AQC* *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, the transactions of Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076.
- BDA* P. H. Highfill, K. A. Burnim and E. A. Langhans (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–).
- CCED* The Clergy of the Church of England Database, at <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/> [accessed 3 March 2014].
- CMN* *Crossle Masonic Notes*, Library of Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.
- Constitutions 1723* J. Anderson, *The Constitutions of Free-Masons. Containing the History, the Charges, Regulations, &c. of that Most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity. For the Use of the Lodges* (London: Printed by William Hunter, for John Senex and John Hooke, 1723).
- Constitutions 1738* J. Anderson, *The New Book of Constitutions of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons: Containing their History, Charges, Regulations, &c. Collected and Digested by Order of the Grand Lodge from their Old Records, Faithful Traditions and Lodge-Books, for the Use of the Lodges* (London: Printed for Brothers Cæsar Ward and Richard Chandler, 1738).
- Crossle MS P. Crossle, *Extracts from Irish Newspapers, 18th Century*, MS, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London.
- Draffen G. Draffen, *Scottish Masonic Records, 1736–1950. A List of All the Lodges at Home and Abroad Chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, Lodge Mother Kilwinning, Lodge Melrose St. John with the Dates of their Charters, Places of Meeting, Alterations in Numbers and Colour of Clothing* (Coupar: Printed by Wm. Culross & Son Ltd., 1950).

- Dyer C. F. W. Dyer, *The Grand Stewards and their Lodge: A Record, in the 250th Year of Grand Stewards' Lodge, of the Progress of the Lodge and Something of Those from Whom its Members Are Drawn* (London: Grand Stewards Lodge, 1985).
- EB *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online Academic Edition* (2013), at <http://www.britannica.com> [accessed 10 June 2013].
- EMP D. Knoop, G. P. Jones and D. Hamer (eds), *Early Masonic Pamphlets* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1945).
- ERF *English Royal Freemasons: A Library and Museum of Freemasonry Information Leaflet* (London: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, 2010), at <http://freemasonry.london.museum/os/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/English-Royal-Freemasons.pdf> [accessed 2 October 2013].
- Foundations R. Berman, *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry. The Grand Architects. Political Change and the Scientific Enlightenment, 1714–1740* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012).
- FRS Fellow of the Royal Society
- FRSAL D. Clements and B. Hogg, *Freemasons and the Royal Society: An Alphabetical List of Fellows of the Royal Society who Were Freemasons* (London: Library and Museum of Freemasonry, 2012), at [http://www.freemasonry.london.museum/os/wp-content/resources/frs\\_freemasons\\_complete\\_jan2012.pdf](http://www.freemasonry.london.museum/os/wp-content/resources/frs_freemasons_complete_jan2012.pdf) [accessed 3 October 2013].
- GLFI J. H. Lepper and P. Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland*, 2 vols (Dublin: Lodge of Research, CC, 1925), vol. 1.
- Grand Lodge, 1717–1967 A. S. Frere et al., *The Grand Lodge 1717–1967* (London: Oxford University Press for the United Grand Lodge of England, 1967).
- Handbook H. Bogdan and J. A. M. Snoek (eds), *Handbook of Freemasonry* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2014).
- HPO *History of Parliament Online*, maintained by the Institute of Historical Research, at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/> [accessed 10 September 2013].
- IMR K. Cochrane (ed.), *Irish Masonic Records*, 3rd CD edition (2009), originally published by Philip Crossle, *Irish Masonic Records* (Dublin: Grand Lodge of Ireland, 1973).
- KG Knight of the Order of the Garter
- Lane John Lane's Masonic Records 1717–1894, version 1.0, HRI Online Publications, October 2011, at <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/lane/> [accessed 10 November 2013].

- LMFL Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London.
- Minutes, 1723–1739* W. J. Songhurst (ed.), *The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723–1739*, Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha Masonic Reprints, vol. 10 (London: Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 1913).
- Minutes, 1740–1758* J. R. Dashwood and N. G. Knight (eds), *The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, 1740–1758*, Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha Masonic Reprints, vol. 12 (Margate: W. J. Parrat, 1960).
- Mirala P. Mirala, *Freemasonry in Ulster, 1733–1813: A Social and Political History of the Masonic Brotherhood in the North of Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007).
- MMLDP C. Porset and C. Révauger (eds), *Le monde maçonnique des Lumières. Europe-Amérique et colonies. Dictionnaire prosopographique* (Paris: Champion, 2013).
- MYBHS *Masonic Year Book Historical Supplement*, 2nd edn (London: United Grand Lodge of England, 1969).
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), available at [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com) [accessed 1 December 2014].
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), available at [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com) [accessed 1 December 2014].
- OMO Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, at <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 1 December 2014].
- Powell C. Powell, *The Earliest Members of Lodge IV* (Sheffield: n. p., 2012).
- QCA Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha
- Schism* R. Berman, *Schism: The Battle that Forged Freemasonry* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2013).
- Wallace M. C. Wallace, ‘Scottish Freemasonry, 1725–1810: Progress, Power, and Politics’ (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2007).

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## INTRODUCTION

Róbert Péter

In *The Pursuit of History*, a widely used guide to historical methodology, John Tosh argues that the ‘most important published primary source for the historian is the press ... Newspapers have a threefold value. First, they record the political and social views that made most impact at the time ... Second, newspapers provide a day-to-day record of events ... Lastly, newspapers from time to time present the results of more thorough enquiries into issues that lie beyond the scope of routine news reporting.’<sup>1</sup> Reading newspaper accounts of events and individuals helps us to see the world through the eyes of contemporaries. The press, as the fourth estate, has had a major impact on the formation of public opinion. It has also played a major role in forging group, local, national, social, political and gender identities. The cultural and digital turns in the humanities have contributed to the increase of scholarly interest in the study of newspapers to comprehend culture, politics and society. Virginia Berridge’s statement of 1986 is still largely valid today: ‘[n]ewspapers are doubly neglected. There is a dearth of histories of the press, and newspapers are still underutilized as a source for other areas of historical research.’<sup>2</sup> Her statement can certainly be applied to academic research into eighteenth-century Freemasonry in the British Isles.

The purpose of this volume, which aims to help fill this gap in scholarship, is to highlight the different representations of Freemasonry in the British Isles as well as the connections of Grand Lodge Freemasonry with other fraternal societies between 1721 and 1813. It demonstrates the shifts and fluxes in public opinion as well as the self-perceptions of Freemasonry in the long eighteenth century. It includes a variety of press material including news items, advertisements, letters, essays and songs. Newspapers and periodicals publicized (masonic) sociability in diverse ways: through reports of admissions, processions, funerals and theatre visits, the election and appointment of (Grand) lodge officers, advertisements for meetings and feasts, reviews of books on the fraternity and letters to the editor. Peter Clark has stressed that the promotion of Freemasonry through the press contributed considerably to

the success of the fraternity, compared to most other associations of the period that were less active in publicizing themselves. Newspapers, he stated, ‘carried clubs and societies into the cultural mainstream of Augustan Britain.’<sup>3</sup> Newspapers also benefited from their relationships with clubs and societies since it helped them enhance their circulation and expand their revenue from advertising.

## Masonic Newspapers and Magazines

Looking simply at its title, *The Free-Mason* appears to be the earliest masonic journal, published in 1733 in London. However, its title is misleading. On 13 November 1733 a weekly governmental political journal entitled *The Hyp Doctor*, which had been founded to oppose the anti-ministerial *Craftsman*, temporarily changed its name to *The Free-Mason*. Sir Robert Walpole financed the journal, which was run by John Henley.<sup>4</sup> He was a dissenting minister and Freemason who worked for Walpole’s secret service. Henley used Freemasonry as a convenient subject ‘for a blend of humorous writing and political propaganda.’<sup>5</sup> This only appeared for little more than three months during which fifteen issues were published.<sup>6</sup>

It was in July 1792 that the first proper masonic journal in the British Isles was launched: the monthly *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine*. This Dublin periodical ran until August 1795. The majority of articles were of general interest.<sup>7</sup> For example, it contained contributions from Thomas Moore, a young Roman Catholic poet. Among the few masonic articles, we find several republications from earlier masonic books such as William Preston’s bestseller, *Illustrations of Masonry*. The *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* was followed by the *Freemason’s Journal; or, Pasley’s Universal Intelligence*, which appeared bi-weekly. John Pasley, the publisher, suffered financial problems because, as he explained, Catholics, who considered his paper to be a Protestant publication, were boycotting the publication.<sup>8</sup> The last short-lived Irish masonic periodical that came into existence during the period covered in the present volumes was the *Literary and Masonic Magazine* of 1802. A few women also subscribed to and read this magazine, which included articles that were of interest to female readers.<sup>9</sup> Although these magazines are difficult to access, the volumes that we had the opportunity to consult contain hardly any new information about Irish Freemasonry that cannot be found in other sources.<sup>10</sup>

The success of the Irish *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* in 1792 must have contributed to the creation of its English counterpart, entitled *Freemasons’ Magazine; or, General and Complete Library*, the first monthly issue of which was published in July 1793.<sup>11</sup> This masonic magazine, which modified its title to the *Scientific Magazine, and Freemasons’ Repository* in 1797, ran until December, 1798. The reason why we do not include articles from this periodical is that its full run has been made available in *Masonic Periodicals Online*.<sup>12</sup>

## The Selection Procedure

With one exception, this volume includes articles from non-masonic newspapers and periodicals. As we have seen, masonic magazines were launched in the 1790s. Hence, prior to this decade, reports about masonic activities could appear only in non-masonic journals. The non-masonic press also reported critical news about Freemasonry, which contemporary masonic writings, often sanctioned by the Grand Lodges, did not publish.

In the first phase of the systematic research on the press coverage of British and Irish Freemasonry, we created a database containing the details of 11,987 Freemasonry-related articles between 1709 and 1813.<sup>13</sup> This mostly draws on the following major collections: H. A. Scott's six-volume typewritten collection<sup>14</sup> (LMFL), Philip Crossle's handwritten collection of Irish newspaper extracts (LMFL)<sup>15</sup> and the *Crossle Masonic Notes*,<sup>16</sup> (Library of Freemasons' Hall, Dublin), the Burney Collection (BL) and the Rawlinson Collection MS C. 136<sup>17</sup> (Bodleian Library). Many of the articles included were not available in online archives when we submitted the final contents list of this volume to the publisher in 2012. Much material was drawn from the British Library microfilm set entitled 'Early English Newspapers', which contains copies of newspapers that are supplementary to the Burney Collection.<sup>18</sup> We also reprint articles that are theoretically available in the Burney Collection and the British Periodicals digital archives of the British Library. It must be noted that according to a recent evaluation of the natural language processing and search engines, the Burney Collection produced the worst results of nine databases, owing to the low quality of the OCR.<sup>19</sup> Relying on this test, Tim Hitchcock claims that '[e]ssentially, 52 per cent of the Burney Collection and a similar proportion of other resources are entirely unfindable, and as importantly it will be always the same 52 per cent.'<sup>20</sup> The majority of the articles drawn from the Burney Collection are from this 'unfindable' 52 per cent set. We identified numerous articles with the help of the aforementioned unique manuscript newspaper collections stored in masonic archives, which also helped us develop new digital search methods and techniques.<sup>21</sup> The latter further increased the number of articles that we identified in digital archives.

In the second phase of our research, we categorized the articles in the database thematically, the results of which were shared with the contributing editors who selected the relevant articles and complemented them with their own findings. The first five sections of this volume primarily contain articles listed in this database. The fact that we reprint about 4 per cent of the identified articles clearly shows that we did not aim for completeness. In fact, the actual proportion of the selected articles is greater than indicated, since plagiarism was not an issue in the eighteenth century. Newspapers often copied one another to fill their

space, usually without giving credit. This means that one finds functionally – and sometimes literally – identical reports in different papers. One of the most important criteria of the selection was that the analysis of the articles should contribute to current research on Freemasonry as well as the present-day scholarly concerns regarding eighteenth-century studies.

Although the specific criteria of selection are further discussed in some of the headnotes, it may be noted at this point that during the selection process we placed special emphasis on provincial newspapers. They frequently copied reports from the metropolitan papers, several issues of which no longer exist.<sup>22</sup> Such accounts can be found either in the provincial papers or in Irish and Scottish press sources, which also devoted a huge amount of space to news items drawn from London papers. By doing so, they promoted the idea of Britishness.<sup>23</sup> In the second half of the eighteenth century, the number of articles concerning local opinion and news increased in provincial papers.<sup>24</sup> The academic study of Freemasonry in the British Isles has primarily focused on the major cities, thus we know comparatively little about masonic events outside those cities.

We also put special emphasis on the reproduction of articles concerning the history of Scottish, Irish and Welsh Freemasonry since they have been largely unexplored in scholarship. All newspapers reported news about other countries. For example, English newspapers gave reports about Scottish and Irish masonic events and vice versa. As the first Welsh newspapers appeared only at the start of the nineteenth century, we could only reprint very few articles about Welsh Freemasonry that were mainly published in English newspapers.<sup>25</sup>

## Masonic Editors and Politics

Several Freemasons, including high ranking ones, were involved in the growing press industry. The incomplete list of masonic editors and journalists who worked for the following newspapers and magazines for different periods of time includes these names: James Pitt (*London Journal, Daily Gazetteer*), Raphael Courteville (*Daily Courant, Daily Gazetteer*),<sup>26</sup> Charles Delafaye (*London Gazette*), James Arbuckle (*Dublin Weekly Journal*),<sup>27</sup> Stephen Jones (*Freemasons' Magazine, Whitehall Evening Post*), William Perfect (*Westminster Journal; or, New Weekly Miscellany*), William Dodd (*New Morning Post; or, General Advertiser*), Robert Trewman (*Trewman's Flying Post*), James Asperne (*European Magazine*) and James Perry (*Morning Chronicle*). The editors and owners of newspapers play a significant role in determining their content. A quantitative analysis of the bibliographic details of the newspapers in the aforementioned database reveals that the *Morning Chronicle*, edited by James Perry, the Deputy Grand Master of the Antients (1787–90), published the second greatest number of Freemasonry-related items and also the second considering the frequency of masonic references.<sup>28</sup> These

masonic editors and journalists contributed considerably to the evolution of the overall positive public image of Freemasonry through the press in the long eighteenth century.

The press was closely tied up with politics. Newspapers, whose proprietors and authors could be bribed and bought, usually served the interests of a political party or faction. As Freemasonry was firmly affiliated with the Whig regime in the first half of the eighteenth century, it is not surprising that it was a governmental newspaper, the *Daily Gazetteer*, which published the greatest number of articles about the suppression of Freemasonry on the Continent.<sup>29</sup> Anti-ministerial papers such as the *London Journal*, *Mist's Weekly Journal* (renamed *Fog's Weekly Journal*), *Grub Street Journal*, *London Evening Post* and *Craftsman* were either not overly interested in Freemasonry nor, apart from a few exceptions, can anti-masonic sentiment be observed in their writings on the fraternity, which included advertisements for masonic books and reports of anti-Masonry abroad. The latter accounts were less likely to be published in Continental newspapers due to stronger state censorship. Despite the acts of governmental regulation and intervention (e.g., stamp acts) in the press, most newspapers in the British Isles still enjoyed more freedom than their Continental counterparts.

The House of Commons still restricted coverage of domestic politics. For example, in 1738 the *Gentleman's Magazine* was stopped from publishing parliamentary debates, which had appeared in the paper in previous years.<sup>30</sup> In the middle decades of the century the 'ministerial harassment of the press' considerably decreased.<sup>31</sup> In the early 1770s several newspapers, including the *St James's Chronicle* and *Whitehall Evening Post*, advocated more freedom for the press.<sup>32</sup> As a result of John Wilkes' campaign against the ban on the reporting of Parliament in 1771, newspapers published increasingly accurate accounts of parliamentary proceedings, including the disputes on the incorporation of Freemasonry in 1772.

During the French Revolution, political intervention in the operation of the newspapers increased considerably, which was manifested in the destruction of radical newspapers by ministerial action. The *True Briton*, a Tory newspaper established with governmental support, associated Freemasonry with the radical Illuminati. The readership of James Perry's *Morning Chronicle* most probably came from Whig or opposition supporters.<sup>33</sup> Perry, who was charged with seditious libel but was found 'not guilty' in 1793, employed radical journalists for his pro-opposition paper. As we have seen, Perry was a high-ranking Freemason who later played an important role in the preparation of the Articles of Union between the two rival Grand Lodges and was one of the signatories. The possible use of his masonic networks for his political activities is yet to be explored. Radical papers, including the *Argus*, *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, *Weekly Observer* and the *General Evening Post*, also published various types of news about Freemasonry.

This volume includes a number of articles from the *Northern Star*, which was a Belfast United Irish radical newspaper. They illustrate the political tensions between Irish Freemasons. Further investigation is needed to analyse Scottish and English provincial newspapers in which one might find traces of the associations of Freemasons with radical organizations.

## Authorship and Credibility

How reliable and credible are the newspaper accounts reproduced in the present volume? Most reports about masonic activities in the first five sections of this volume were probably written by Freemasons themselves. There is evidence that the texts sent to the newspapers were approved by the members of some lodges by ballot.<sup>34</sup> This clearly shows how Freemasons used the press to promote their fraternity. The fact that many of these articles were written by Freemasons as insiders should be taken into consideration when analysing them. The account may be compared and contrasted with the lodge minutes where available and accessible. Although newspapers competed with each other in terms of reliability, the articles should not be taken at face value since news items are the first drafts of history: they are constructed in the heat of the moment and, as we have seen, are subject to institutional and editorial demands. The massive growth in the number of published letters, including those written by critics and apologists of Freemasonry, provides 'powerful evidence of the growing recognition in later eighteenth-century Britain of the importance or utility of ensuring that one's views were heard or correctly represented in the press.'<sup>35</sup>

## Structure of the Volume

The 484 articles in this volume are arranged thematically under the following headings: Admissions and Lodge Meetings; Theatre; Processions; Debates and Conflicts; Women; and British Fraternal Societies and the Response to Grand Lodge Freemasonry.

Compared to the present-day fraternity, eighteenth-century Freemasonry in the British Isles was much more visible and public. Freemasons had hardly any secrets since, as volumes 2 and 3 demonstrate, their rituals were often published in the form of 'exposures' before 1769. Furthermore, the press reported the names of the newly initiated (foreign) visitors to lodges as well as the various types of masonic activities and celebrations. The 'Admission and Lodge Meetings' section illustrates the different types of lodge meetings, and highlights the masonic membership of numerous well-known and lesser-known people of the considered period. Because of the loss or lack of original records including membership lists and lodge minutes, these newspaper extracts often provide the only evidence

of the admission of a person and the activities of a particular lodge. Most probably Freemasons themselves sent these reports to the press, which explains why there was no debate or clarification about the masonic membership of a given person in the ministerial or opposition papers. Apart from a few exceptions, such as the mock references to the initiation of women in the ephemeral *Free-Mason* journal referred to above, these accounts can, on the whole, be seen as credible, which is also supported by the mention of several of these Freemasons in other masonic sources such as lodge minutes.<sup>36</sup> It should be noted that the number of articles about admissions decreased in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The press gives us invaluable and unique information about the close and lively relationship between Freemasonry and the theatre, which is covered in the second section. The earliest known theatre visit for a specifically masonic audience took place in Dublin in 1725 under the aegis of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. This preceded the first such London event that we know of by three years. In 1728 the Grand Master of the English Grand Lodge, an Irish peer, invited his fellow Freemasons to the theatre. The first Scottish theatre visit, including a public procession, took place in Dundee in 1734.<sup>37</sup> An evening at the theatre crowned the year of the Irish and English Grand Lodges. It formed part of their festivities for the election of a new Grand Master, alongside the Grand Feast and its elaborate public procession. Consequently, no collection of eighteenth-century masonic materials can be complete without including some that relate to masonic theatre visits, especially since these events have largely escaped comment by cultural historians. Local lodges emulated the Grand Lodge and thus we also find similar events run by metropolitan and provincial lodges. Although the Grand Lodge of England seems to have abandoned theatre visits in the late 1740s in London, they continued to flourish in Ireland, Scotland and in the English provinces. Masonic theatre evenings were invariably presented as a benefit for a local masonic actor, with a specially commissioned prologue (serious) and epilogue (humorous), and the singing of masonic songs as entr'actes. A significant aspect of the newspaper articles selected is that they reveal the masonic membership of many actors and theatre managers for the first time.

The third section contains articles about masonic processions and the laying of foundation stones for public buildings. These were major components of the public and cultural life of towns. It was through public rituals by the local masonic elite that Freemasons legitimized and reinforced their loyalty, power and social prestige outside the confines of the lodge. With a few exceptions, other clubs and societies of the associational world did not organize public processions in the eighteenth century. Regular masonic processions in the eighteenth century began in London in 1721. Annual processions marked the election of a new Grand Master. Freemasons assembled at the London home of the Grand Master elect and accompanied him in a vast procession to the Grand Feast, held in large

city halls such as Taylors' Hall and Stationers' Hall. Such processions were not unique to London, but were largely uniform in character across the British Isles, as the selected press reports show. Caricatures about masonic processions and reports of mock processions organized by the Scald Miserable Masons began to appear in the papers in the early 1740s. Consequently, the Grand Lodge of England decided to end its annual processions associated with the installation of a new Grand Master around 1747.<sup>38</sup> However, these masonic 'rites of collective belonging'<sup>39</sup> flourished in the English provinces, Scotland, Ireland and in the colonies.

Following the rationale of the fourth volume, the fourth section is devoted to the press coverage of the conflicts, attacks and feuds related to Freemasonry. Many of the selected articles are directly related to the debates presented in the previous volume. They not only complement these sources but also refine their interpretations from new perspectives. This section covers several types and themes of conflicts and debates regarding Freemasonry in the British Isles. They include religious condemnations, complaints about the unfair exploitation of personal masonic connections and networks, legal trials, disputes about masonic conspiracy theories, accusations of sedition, expulsions of Freemasons from lodges on moral and political grounds, as well as internal rivalries between (Grand) lodges. To provide a balanced picture, where possible, we also reproduce the masonic reactions to these charges and the vindications of masonic principles by individual Freemasons and masonic bodies. Social, political, religious and financial conflicts and feuds split the ideally universal and all-embracing brotherhood, which, *inter alia*, resulted in the establishment of rival lodges and Grand Lodges. Despite the social harmony preached in official masonic publications, the sheer number of newly created long-standing and ephemeral Grand Lodges, such as the Grand Lodge of All England at York, the Grand Lodge of the Antients, the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent, the Grand Lodge of Ulster and the Associated Lodges Seceding from the Present Grand Lodge of Scotland, clearly shows that Freemasonry in the British Isles was fractured. The articles selected highlight the natural tension between masonic idealism and actual practice. For instance, in times of war Freemasons' loyalty to their countries overrode that of their masonic oaths and the basic tenets of their *Constitutions* concerning politics and religion. Grand Lodges proudly announced their contributions to war supplies in the press.<sup>40</sup> Further research is necessary to understand the influence of Freemasonry within the militia both in the British Isles and the colonies.<sup>41</sup> More than one-third of the articles in this section are from the 1790s which saw heated disputes about Freemasonry in society during the turbulent period of the French Revolution and war, which also split masonic lodges in Ireland, Scotland and England. The longest chapter in this volume concludes with a detailed report of a grandiose masonic meeting

during which the *Articles of Union* between the Antients and Moderns Grand Lodges were signed. This resulted in the establishment of the current United Grand Lodge of England.

The section on 'Women' sheds light on differing public attitudes towards the exclusion of women from lodges, and provides evidence of the varied involvement of women in the allegedly entirely masculine Freemasonry. For example, women were invited to masonic feasts and balls and asked to present masonic epilogues in theatres. Eighteenth-century Freemasons had to defend the non-admission of women in their lodges throughout Europe. Recent research on masonic apologetic texts in Continental Europe highlights the fact that simple praise for homosociality in the earliest masonic documents swiftly gave way by the middle of the eighteenth century to broad elaborations on sexual difference.<sup>42</sup> However, as far as the currently available written evidence allows, we can claim that British and Irish Freemasons did not seem to go as far as their Continental brethren in their criticism of women. Though we are unable to reconstruct how the members of the fraternity actually spoke about women during lodge nights, Freemasons in the British Isles were very careful about how they addressed the ladies in public speeches and writings. Still, lodge members attended some typical eighteenth-century misogynistic comedies such as the *Wonder – A Woman Keeps a Secret* and sung bawdy, misogynistic songs during their meetings.<sup>43</sup> This section also includes references to English all-female or mixed-gender lodges from the late 1750s. According to Janet Burke, the eighteenth-century mixed lodges 'showed quite clearly the first stages of feminist thought and the women members' links to the Enlightenment.<sup>44</sup> It is clear that, from the 1740s, in France, women were much more involved in masonic activities via the adoption lodges than in Britain and Ireland. However, the French lodges of adoption were far from being egalitarian in their admission policy since they mostly initiated women of high social status. In that respect, the first, probably temporary, exclusively female lodges formed in the 1780s in England seem to be more radical and democratic, since the 'sisters' could perform freely their masonic work without the guardianship of their 'brothers.'<sup>45</sup> The relevant articles are significant in the history of female clubs and societies, since so far scholarship has not identified any record of masonic societies that admitted only women before the 1900s.

The last section of this volume is concerned with the influence of and reactions to Freemasonry in eighteenth-century British associational culture. It highlights the manner in which Freemasonry affected associational culture in eighteenth-century Britain, and demonstrates how other societies in eighteenth-century Britain were both influenced by and also sought to distinguish themselves from Freemasonry, which was the predominant fraternity in the country. The society of the Gallant Schemers was active in 1723–4 and was led by the Duke of Wharton, former Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England.

In a *Universal Journal* article from 1724 the Gallant Schemers are directly compared with Freemasonry. The Borlacians were a Tory society based in Oxford and a relatively large amount of press material is available that both promotes and satirizes this association. The Modern Masons was a mixed-sex society that met in London and which promoted themes associated with Robin Hood.<sup>46</sup> The last two societies provide an alternative vision of fraternal sociability in eighteenth-century Britain that, whilst drawing on Freemasonry, chose to include women in their associational culture. This section also includes articles about mock and rival fraternities, which flourished between the 1720s and 1740s.<sup>47</sup> In particular, press articles discussing the Gormogons show the manner in which sections of British society sought to undermine Freemasonry. The Scald Miserable Masons, who held mock processions in London in the early 1740s, provide an excellent example of public displays of satire against Freemasonry in Georgian Britain. The rival societies to Freemasonry in eighteenth-century Britain, whilst emulating the associational culture of the larger fraternity, also sought to promote an independent form of sociability. In this respect, this section helps to assess the ways in which the cultural and social practices of Freemasonry percolated beyond the walls of recognized masonic lodges and were effectively copied and sometimes modified by a series of other societies.

The categorization and division of the articles are naturally artificial. There are many thematic intersections between the chapters. For example, most theatre visits included a public procession. Another common theme in this volume is related to masonic charity.<sup>48</sup> Freemasons spent some of the (Grand) lodge funds on the relief of the poor and their indigent brethren, which they sometimes proudly reported in the press. Many people joined lodges because of these charitable payments. As David Stevenson argues, Scottish ‘lodges become financial institutions with initiation rituals attached’ from the middle of the eighteenth century. Recent scholarship has shown that this was not unique to Scotland. The second and last sections of this volume provide new evidence about benefit performances at theatres in urban areas. Masonic lodges and many other fraternities of the period attended theatrical performances in aid of their members, usually one of the actors.

## Editorial Principles

Within each section the articles are arranged in a chronological order. We reprint the dates that are found on the title pages of the original newspapers. Before the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar in 1752, the different English and Irish news publishers at different times used the civil/legal year (i.e., Old Style, the start of the year being 25 March) or the current dating convention (i.e., New Style). Because of differences in the starting date of the year, many

newspapers used ‘double-dating’, that is, they indicated the dates of days falling between 1 January and 25 March according to both the Old and New Styles (e.g. 1736–7).<sup>49</sup> We reprint these by using slashes (e.g., 1736/7). There were several newspapers which dated their issues only according to the legal calendar in certain years. For example, the *London Journal* used the legal year convention in the early 1720s. Accordingly, one can find the year 1721 on the front pages of the papers between 1 January and 25 March, that is, they continued to show ‘1721’ in this period. In this case we put the historical year in square brackets [N.S. 1722]. As the *English Short Title Catalogue* is not consistent, and sometimes imprecise, when referring to the dating conventions used by the different newspapers (e.g. references to Lady Day dating (civil/legal year)) in the General Note fields<sup>50</sup>, we tried to calculate which dating convention a given newspaper used in a specific year. We aim at arranging all the articles according to the currently used historical date (i.e., New Style) in each section throughout for consistency.

We transcribed the articles from the hand-written masonic collections of newspaper extracts by Frances and Philip Crossle (*CMN* and *Crossle MS*) in those cases where the publisher has not been able to source the originals. In such cases we could not indicate the issue numbers of the papers as they were not recorded in these manuscripts. Such transcriptions might contain errors since we found mistakes in all the masonic collections of newspaper extracts when we were able to consult the original copies of the papers.

Unlike today, most newspaper articles in the eighteenth century did not have titles. Many of them were printed one after the other without any sign of separation. When available, we reprint the sub-headings (e.g. Dublin) of the articles, which served to identify the different kinds of stories. As has been noted, one often finds identical news stories in different newspapers. Because of the limits of editorial space, regrettably the bibliographic details of the further newspapers in which a given article was republished has not been indicated.

The most challenging aspect of the editors’ task has been identifying the many individuals mentioned in the articles. For this, a variety of primary and secondary sources have been consulted, such as minute books, lodge histories, online databases and dictionaries. Those most frequently used can be found in the list of abbreviations. The staff of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London checked the unidentified names in the Wonnacott Index, which contains information about eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Freemasons based upon membership registers and Grand Lodge minutes. In this way, one name was identified. In these annotations, where it was possible, we aimed at providing information about their masonic career, offices and lodge memberships rather than summarizing their lives based upon relatively widely accessible sources including the *ODNB*. In several cases we could only offer possibilities and probabilities due to the lack of any basic information about them such as

their date of birth, occupation and address. Because of limited editorial space, we could only provide cross-references to already annotated names.

The texts are reproduced *ad litteram*. Original capitalization and punctuation have been retained and only the significant typographical errors have been amended. Apart from the newspapers and periodicals stored in the British Library, we indicate the details of the sources from which the documents were reprinted in the List of Sources at the end of the volume.<sup>51</sup> The original pagination of the text is signified by the inclusion of / within the text at the point of the page break. Any sections omitted from the text are indicated by [...]. Any other editorial interventions are also contained within square brackets.

### Notes

1. J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 5th edn (Harlow: Longman, 2010), pp. 352, 96–7.
2. V. Berridge, ‘Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers’, in M. Harris and A. Lee (eds), *The Press and English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986), p. 201.
3. P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp. 172–5, 262, 332.
4. *MMLDP*, vol. 3. p. 2748.
5. *EMP*, p. 300.
6. They are reproduced in *EMP*, pp. 299–316.
7. W. J. C. Crawley, ‘Appendix I. The Sentimental and Masonic Magazine, Dublin, 1792–1795’, *AQC*, 17 (1904), pp. 149–54.
8. Mirala, p. 100.
9. Mirala, p. 101.
10. The same applies to the Scottish *Masonic Mirror* (1797) of which we only know one issue. This thin masonic apologetic publication reproduces Charles Leslie’s vindication of Masonry, which was reprinted in several editions of William Preston’s *Illustrations of Masonry*. It also includes John Watkins’ examination of John Robison’s *Proofs of a Conspiracy* that was printed in a series of articles in the *Freemasons’ Magazine*.
11. A. Önnersfors, ‘“Perfection by Progressive Excellence”: An Initial Analysis of the Freemason’s Magazine 1793–1798’, in A. Önnersfors and R. Péter, *Researching British Freemasonry, 1717–2017* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield and Centre for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism, 2010), pp. 159–80.
12. See <http://www.masonicperiodicals.org/> [accessed 1 July 2014].
13. The first newspaper passage on Freemasonry was published in the *Tatler* on 7–9, June, 1709. *EMP*, p. 35–6.
14. H. A. Scott identified and transcribed articles from the newspaper collections of the British Library that were associated with Freemasonry and other fraternal societies in the early 1930s. The collection covers the period from 1721 to 1762. *Extracts from Newspapers 1721–1761: Concerning Freemasonry [and Other Societies]*, LMFL, BE 11 EXT fol.
15. P. Crossle, *Extracts from Irish Newspapers, 18th Century*. MS. LMFL, BR 18 CRO fol.
16. Francis Clements Crossle (1847–1910) and his son, Philip (1875–1953) transcribed an enormous number of documents concerning the history of Irish Freemasonry. The

Library of Freemasons' Hall, Dublin has an excellent index of the *Crossle Masonic Notes* containing fifty-two volumes.

17. W. J. C. Crawley, 'The Masonic MSS in the Bodleian Library', *AQC*, 11 (1898), pp. 4–37
18. For the catalogue to this collection see S. M. Cox and J. L. Budeit, *Early English Newspapers: Bibliography and Guide to the Microfilm Collection* (Woodbridge: Research Publications, 1983).
19. S. Tanner, T. Muñoz and P. Hemy Ros, 'Measuring Mass Text Digitization Quality and Usefulness', *D-LIB Magazine*, 15:7–8 (2009) at <http://www.dlib.org/dlib/july09/munoz/07munoz.html> [accessed 2 July 2014].
20. T. Hitchcock, 'Confronting the Digital: or How Academic History Writing Lost the Plot', *Cultural and Social History*, 10:1 (2013), pp. 13–14. For further shortcomings and advantages of the Burney Collection, see A. Marshall and R. Hume, 'The Joys, Possibilities and Perils of the British Library's Digital Burney Newspaper Collection', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 104 (2010), pp. 5–52; J. E. Tierney, 'The State of Electronic Resources for the Study of Eighteenth-Century British Periodicals: The Role of Scholars, Librarians and Commercial Vendors', *Age of Johnson*, 21 (2012), pp. 309–38.
21. For example, when a given article – transcribed in one of the masonic newspaper collections – could not be found in the digital Burney Collection by traditional keyword and wildcard searches, we tried to figure out how the OCR software (Abbyy FineReader) used by the British Library staff during the digitalization of the Burney newspapers could misrecognize the masonic search term in question. For this we re-OCR-ed the given article with the same software and also checked the actual OCR-ed text of the article with the help of the Connected Histories (<http://www.connectedhistories.org/>) database. In this way we identified such OCR-ed terms as 'frce-mafons' and 'pree-mafons' for which we searched again in the database. This resulted in new articles in the search results that cannot be found by normal searches because, for instance, wildcard characters cannot be used in the first three letters of the search terms.
22. It should be noted that on 20 October 1940 the newspaper warehouse of the British Museum was bombed. Because of the rainy weather, some 30,000 volumes of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century newspapers were destroyed. R. D. Altick, *The Scholar Adventurers* (New York: Macmillan, 1950), p. 235.
23. B. Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 42–3.
24. J. Black, *The English Press, 1621–1861* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), pp. 110–26. It was only in the nineteenth century that provincial newspapers became independent of the control and influence of the London press.
25. For example see *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 16 July 1726, issue 64.
26. *Foundations*, p. 96.
27. *Schism*, p. 223 and *GLFI*, p. 54.
28. The generalization of the quantitative and statistical analysis of the Freemasonry press database led to the development of a digital method which, inter alia, enables scholars to investigate the evolution, distribution and frequency of words in (digital) press archives, as well as explore long-scale trends and patterns in historical, literary, linguistic and cultural processes. It was introduced in 2010 and tested by case studies. R. Péter, 'Representations of Anti-Masonry in Eighteenth-Century London Newspapers', Twelfth International Conference on the History of Freemasonry, London, 30–1 October 2010. R. Péter, 'Researching (British Digital) Press Archives with New Quantitative Methods', *Hungarian Journal for English and American Studies*, 17:2 (2011), pp. 283–300. The most up-to-date version of this digital method is presented in the following

- paper: R. Péter, 'Digitális és módszertani fordulat a sajtókutatásban: A 17–18. századi magyar vonatkozású angol újságcikkek távolságtartó olvasása' [Digital and Methodological turn in the Study of the Press: the "Distant Reading" of 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century Newspapers Concerning Hungary], *Aetas*, 30:1 (2015), pp. 5–30.
29. Further research is required to circumscribe the pan-European network that was associated with the editors of the *Daily Gazetteer*, in particular, the circle of its chief director, Ralph Courteville. This should explain why this newspaper received so many reports on anti-Masonry from abroad and why they devoted more significance to these compared to other newspapers of the period. Andreas Önnersfors stresses that the investigation of the correspondence between the British and Irish newspaper editors and their foreign correspondents, including prosecuted Freemasons, would enrich our understanding of transnational masonic encounters and networks of the cosmopolitan European Enlightenment.
  30. D. Griffiths, *Fleet Street: Five Hundred Years of the Press* (London: British Library, 2006), pp. 38–9.
  31. B. Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press. Britain and France, 1620–1800* (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 35.
  32. Later the Prime Minister William Pitt bought the support of these and three other newspapers. Griffiths, *Fleet Street: Five Hundred Years of the Press*, pp. 44, 50.
  33. Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press*, p. 47.
  34. For example, on 28 June 1792 Irish Freemasons approved the text of the article about a large masonic meeting to be published in *Belfast News Paper* (29 June–3 July, 1792) as follows: 'At a Masonic Meeting held at Ballyclare, consisting of the following Lodges, viz. 430, 551, 590, and 645, Charles Crimble, Esq., in the Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to: ... 2nd. Resolved. That the above be published in the Belfast News Paper.' *IMR*.
  35. Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press*, p. 39.
  36. Another exception is the report about the initiation of Louis XV, the French king, in the *Leeds Mercury*, 18–25 August 1730, issue 272. Although it seems logical to assume that he was not, it remains uncertain whether or not Louis XV was eventually initiated secretly after all. But if he was, then not as early as 1730.
  37. T. Stewart, "'Through the Streets They Tramp and Go!': An Examination of Scottish Masonic Processions", in M. D. J. Scanlan (ed.), *The Social Impact of Freemasonry on the Modern Western World* (London: CMRC, 2002), Canonbury Papers, vol. 1, p. 77, 91–3.
  38. The mock processions seem to have had a negative and long-standing impact on the public image of Freemasonry. Twenty-five years after the event, the *Gentleman's Magazine* claimed that 'Masonry, which ever since the mock procession some years ago, in ridicule of the society, has been upon the decline in England, is now beginning to revive'. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 36 (1766), p. 39.
  39. F. O'Gorman, 'Parades and Processions in the Long Eighteenth Century', unpublished paper presented at the BSECS Conference, Oxford, 2010, p. 4.
  40. For example see *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, 6–8 January 1762, issue 700.
  41. The first military lodges were established in Ireland in about 1732 and in Scotland around 1743. P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800*, p. 332. Some members of these lodges were involved in secret services. For military lodges, see R. F. Gould, *Military Lodges, the Apron and the Sword; or, Freemasonry under Arms: Being an Account of Lodges in Regiments and Ships of War* (London: Gale & Polden, 1899).

42. 'Some authors noted women's legal and financial dependence on fathers and husbands as an implicit disqualification for lodge membership. In sum, women could never establish the freedom of thought and action requisite for masonic affiliation. Other writers developed elaborate descriptions of the physical and moral shortcomings of the female sex. Vanity, moral weakness, and excessive sensuality made women poor candidates for the rigours of lodge association, including fraternal loyalty and the ability to maintain secrets.' This quotation is from the abstract of Robert Beachy's paper 'Masonic Apologetic Writings and the Construction of Gender in Enlightenment Europe' presented at the symposium 'Lodges, Chapters and Orders: Fraternal Organizations and the Structuring of Gender Roles in Europe (1300–2000)' at the University of Sheffield on 11–13 July 2002. R. Beachy, 'Masonic Apologetic Writings', in M. F. Cross (ed.), *Gender and Fraternal Orders in Europe, 1300–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 91–101.
43. For the misogynistic aspects of masonic ideology and practice, see M. M. Roberts, 'Masonics, Metaphor and Misogyny: A Discourse of Marginality', in P. Burke and R. Porter (eds), *Languages and Jargons* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), pp. 133–54.
44. J. M. Burke, 'Leaving the Enlightenment: Women Freemasons after the Revolution', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33:2 (2000), p. 255
45. It may be noted that in Ireland there were short-lived female Orange lodges in the early nineteenth century. Mirala, p. 123.
46. A. Pink, 'Robin Hood and her Merry Women: Modern Masons in an Early Eighteenth-Century London Pleasure Garden', *Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism*, 4:1–2 (2013), pp. 203–14.
47. It is not possible to provide an even chronological spread of the para-masonic material as it seems apparent that fraternal activity went through a series of peaks and troughs between 1717 and 1813.
48. The Grand Lodge of England established the Committee of Charity in 1724 to relieve indigent Freemasons.
49. The case of Scotland is different since the country moved the legal start of the new year to 1 January in 1600 but otherwise the Julian Calendar continued to be used until 1752. So no double dating was needed on the newspapers.
50. Furthermore, there is no scholarly work which contains the dating conventions of all the eighteenth-century English and Irish newspaper titles.
51. The publisher and the editors of this volume collected many articles from the Colindale Newspaper Library, London, which was closed in November 2013. The print newspapers and microfilms have been moved to either the British Library Newsroom at St Pancras or the Newspaper Storage Building in Boston Spa.

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## ADMISSIONS AND LODGE MEETINGS

Freemasonry gradually became the most fashionable and successful fraternal society in eighteenth-century England, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>1</sup> One may well ask why so many men of almost all social ranks joined this fraternity. Although the answer to this question varied from individual to individual, one can discern the main motivations for joining. Curiosity about so-called masonic secrets, ancient wisdom, legends and rituals that were hidden before the non-initiated became members was an important factor. Like all rituals of passage, masonic rituals provided a shared, communal experience, which bound the participants together. The formal masonic meetings included dinners during which like-minded people could socialize in a more informal manner. Freemasons certainly enjoyed dining, drinking, toasting and singing during these sometimes epicurean lodge nights, when they could freely discuss, debate and exchange ideas. For many, as the writings of some masonic reformers and foreign visitors testify, Freemasonry functioned as a drinking club.<sup>2</sup> Another appealing aspect of these festive masonic meetings was the excellent opportunity to make new connections among people of different social, political and religious backgrounds. Masons benefited from these political, economic and business networks, which may have helped the members in their social advancement in the profane world. Second-class citizens of discriminated minority groups could use the lodges, where their legally stigmatized identities were partially ignored, to help themselves assimilate into the larger society. Another significant motivation for belonging to this brotherhood was that it provided financial security to their members. Masonic charities offered financial aids to those who were admitted in the close-knit masonic lodges. Like other benefit societies and the later trade unions, lodges offered assistance for various purposes ranging from providing loans in times of need and supporting war prisoners, to aiding a deceased Freemason's family by covering the funeral costs. In rural areas this was the main reason for joining lodges, which had similar functions to modern insurance companies.<sup>3</sup> Participating in theatrical and musical performances, which were often organized to collect money for charitable purposes, could also be appealing. Mainly in the first half of the eighteenth century the educated could be intrigued by listening to lec-

tures about new scientific discoveries presented in some English lodges, often by the members of the Royal Society.<sup>4</sup> Like today, eighteenth-century people preferred to join societies to which the celebrities of the day belonged.

In theory, the *Constitutions* of Freemasonry regulated who could be admitted into the lodges: ‘The Persons admitted members of a *Lodge* must be good and true men, free-born, and of mature and discreet age, no Bondmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report.’<sup>5</sup> As in the case of most clubs and societies of the associational world, masonic egalitarianism did not extend to women or to servants who were unable to afford the lodge fee.<sup>6</sup> In practice, these limitations were often not strictly observed. Several lodges who were short of money admitted anybody who paid the lodge fee. In Scotland some gentlemen, who paid much higher initiation fees than the ordinary members,<sup>7</sup> were allowed to go through all the degrees in a night. Other Scottish lodges gave permission for initiations to take place outside the lodge on condition that the fees were provided to the lodge.<sup>8</sup> In England, according to the minutes of the Antients Grand Lodge in 1752, two Freemasons had improperly ‘initiated many persons for the consideration of a leg of Mutton for dinner or supper to the disgrace of the Ancient Craft.’<sup>9</sup> According to Fifield D’Assigny, one of the main reasons for the decline of Irish Freemasonry in the early 1740s was the lack of care in observing the qualifications of candidates for admission.<sup>10</sup> In June 1796, a complaint appeared in the *Morning Post and Fashionable World* that Richard Hely-Hutchinson, the Grand Master of Ireland, ‘employs himself making a number of stupid Fellows Free Masons. This is an *humbug* he usually practises preparatory to a General Election, to cajole the votes for his Brother.’<sup>11</sup>

A newspaper report from 1732 testifies that the masonic rule about excluding people with ‘maim’ or with a physical ‘defect’ was not observed since a blind gentleman had been admitted into a lodge.<sup>12</sup>

According to the *Constitutions*, a Freemason cannot ‘be a stupid Atheist, nor an irreligious Libertine’ as he has to believe in ‘that Religion in which all Men agree.’<sup>13</sup> However, several leading Freemasons also attended the meetings of the notorious Hell-Fire Clubs. The Duke of Wharton, Grand Master in 1722–3, founded the first Hell-Fire Club in London in 1719. Martin Folkes established an infidel club to which the Duke of Montagu, the first aristocratic Grand Master (1721–2) and the Duke of Richmond (Grand Master, 1724–5) also joined.<sup>14</sup> Folkes, the Deputy Grand Master in 1724–5, was accused of atheism by his contemporaries. As David Stevenson notes, lodges initiated whoever they wanted to regardless of their beliefs or lack of belief.<sup>15</sup> Hence, the accusations of *The Craftsman*, an influential Tory newspaper, that masonic lodges admitted ‘Turks, Jews, Infidels, Papists and Nonjurors’ was not entirely without foundation.<sup>16</sup>

Although several English lodges still had artisan, tradesman and active stonemason members in the 1720s, the newspaper articles mostly reported the

admission of gentlemen. It is important to note that the admission of a person does not necessarily mean that he was active in Freemasonry. This applies even to some Grand Masters, such as William, fifth Lord Byron,<sup>17</sup> who gave their names to the fraternity but hardly attended the lodges. There were also those who were simply curious about the secret initiation ceremonies after which they did not participate in any masonic activities.<sup>18</sup>

Freemasonry has often been associated with Protestantism. However, three Catholic noblemen (Thomas Howard, eighth Duke of Norfolk, Anthony Browne, sixth Viscount Montagu and Robert Edward, ninth Lord Petre) were elected as Grand Masters in England, whose Catholic background the newspapers sometimes highlighted. Eighteenth-century Irish Freemasonry was unique in the British Isles not only because of the large number of lodges but because of the significant proportion of Catholics among Irish Freemasons. There were certain periods when some lodges contained mostly or perhaps entirely Catholic members. Further systematic research about the denominational composition of lodges is required to establish how religiously heterogeneous and/or homogeneous the lodges in fact were.

The overwhelming majority of British and Irish Freemasons were affiliated to the Christian churches. The proportion of non-Christians in masonic lodges increased only in the nineteenth-century. However, some men of 'other faiths', especially Jews, were admitted into lodges, as the *London Evening Post* of 21–3 September 1732 reported.<sup>19</sup> In the second half of the same century, one finds a number of Jews admitted into the fraternity, although several lodges, both Antients and Moderns, barred Jews from membership. As far as is known, Umdat-ul-Umrah Bahadur was the first Muslim Freemason, who was admitted into lodge Perfect Unanimity – affiliated with the Moderns Grand Lodge – in Madras in the 1770s.<sup>20</sup> Two Turkish Muslim shoemakers, who had already been initiated, also joined Edinburgh lodges in 1784.<sup>21</sup>

From the 1720s onwards, as the engraved lists and lodge minutes demonstrate, most private lodges met regularly, normally once or twice in a month on a fixed day of the week and at the same venue. Grand Lodge also regularly arranged the so-called Quarterly Communications during which they collected fees and donations to the masonic charity.<sup>22</sup> Grand feasts were held usually twice a year: they celebrated the festivals of the two patron saints of Masonry, that of St John the Baptist on 24 June and that of St John the Evangelist on 27 December, which were accompanied by public processions.<sup>23</sup> The members of the so-called Grand Stewards' Lodge were responsible for regulating and conducting the annual Grand feasts – they also enjoyed several privileges including attendance at all the meetings of the Grand Lodge. It was during these occasions that the Grand Masters and the different Grand Officers were appointed and installed. The appointment of the Grand Officers was more democratic in Ire-

land, where the members of the Irish Grand Lodge elected the Grand Officers, whereas in England they were appointed by the Grand Master.<sup>24</sup> The growing institutionalization of the Grand Lodges, resulting in the establishment of federal organizations, is well illustrated by the creation of several new Grand Offices with different duties and responsibilities. The Grand Officers were mostly from the middling and upper sorts but we can find a carpenter (Jacob Lamball) and a weaver (Benjamin Aldhouse) among them even in the elitist ‘Premier’ / Moderns Grand Lodge of England, at both the beginning and end of the period under consideration. The press annually reported the names of the Grand Masters and Grand Officers. The following table illustrates when these offices were established, which Grand Lodge introduced them, as well as the national differences between the Scottish and the London-based Grand Lodges.<sup>25</sup>

<b>Officers</b>	<b>‘Premier’/Moderns Grand Lodge</b>	<b>Grand Lodge of the Antients (1751–)</b>	<b>Grand Lodge of Scotland (1736–)</b>
Senior Grand Warden	1717	1753	1736
Junior Grand Warden	1717	1753	1736
Deputy Grand Master <sup>26</sup>	1721	1753	1736
Grand Secretary	1723	1751	—
Grand Treasurer	1727	1764	1737
Grand Sword Bearer	1733	1788	—
Grand Clerk	—	—	1736
Grand Officer	—	—	1737
Substitute	—	—	1737
Grand Master	—	—	—
Grand Pursuivant	—	1752	—
Past Grand Master	1767	—	—
Grand Chaplain	1775	1772	1759
Grand Architect	1776	—	—
Grand Tyler	1800	1752	1769
Grand Organist	1812	—	—

The limitations of the early membership records set the temporal boundaries of this chapter: we primarily include newspaper extracts between 1721 and 1770. The ‘Premier’ Grand Lodge called for returns in 1723, 1725 and 1728 but did not require regular membership returns until 1768.<sup>27</sup> The 1723, 1725 and 1728 membership lists are recorded in the first minute book of the ‘Premier’ Grand Lodge. It must be noted that these lists are only snapshots of the membership at that time. There are persons, including Grand Officers, who are mentioned in

the Grand Lodge minute book but do not occur in any of the membership lists for 1723, 1725 or 1728.

The Grand Lodge of the Antients was a more democratic organisation than the Moderns, and controlled the administration of lodges and their members from its foundation. For example, they kept membership registers (the Morgan's Register) from their creation in 1751 onwards. Return forms were standardized from the 1770s but they were not used by all lodges. Despite the forms provided by the Antients Grand Lodge, their returns and membership register entries often merely consist of lists of names, which do not mention the occupations or addresses of the members. It must furthermore be noted that membership registers should not be seen as a complete record of masonic membership, since not all returns were sent in to the Grand Lodges, especially from the North of England, and even if they were sent they did not always reach the Grand Lodges.

To reconstruct the memberships of early Irish and Scottish lodges is even more difficult. In Ireland, all official masonic records before the 1760s are lost. The membership registers drawing on the returns of the lodges from the 1760s are the earliest systematic records of lodge membership, because the Grand Lodge minutes are only available from 1780. In Scotland, several old minute books – one of them starting as early as 1599 – survived but at the moment they are very difficult to access in the individual lodge archives and in the still largely uncatalogued Library of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in Edinburgh. Another serious limitation of these official Grand Lodge documents – and traditional masonic historiography in general – is that they do not make mention of the numerous lodges which did not join a Grand Lodge because, for example, they disagreed with the regulations and rituals of the Grand Lodges for various reasons.

In order to contribute to the improvement of this situation, we prefer to include in this section articles that are concerned with: (i) the initiations and the appointment of officers in individual lodges; (ii) the meetings of provincial lodges where the names of the members are mentioned; (iii) the deaths and funerals of Freemasons; (iv) masonic visits within the British Isles and foreigners visiting British and Irish lodges.

Unless falling within one of the above categories, we mostly excluded articles which were related to the installation of Grand Masters and Grand Officers: apart from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, the complete lists of these officers are easily available.<sup>28</sup> We included hardly any English articles after 1770 since all the extant membership registers have been digitalized in the Library and Museum of Freemasonry and will soon be available on ancestry.com in a separate database.<sup>29</sup> Since no similar projects are ongoing in Ireland and Scotland, we reproduce some relevant Scottish and Irish articles, which cover the aforementioned themes or other notable events. We do not reprint those press accounts that only report the dates and venues of masonic meetings without mentioning names.

This section thus highlights the events during the different types of lodge meetings and reveals the masonic membership of many well-known figures as well as lesser lights, including politicians, scientists and clergymen, who played important roles in the formation of society and culture in the British Isles.

### Notes

1. This headnote was written by Róbert Péter.
2. See also Vol. 4, pp. xv–xvi, 381 and P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 325. As several contemporary writings including lodge minutes and paintings demonstrate, Freemasons were not always able to preserve the decorum of Georgian sociability during lodge nights and afterwards. For instance, William Hogarth (1697–1764), a Freemason himself, in his well-known engraving *Night* of 1738 shows the drunken Col. Sir Thomas De Veil in his full masonic regalia with a square hanging from his neck (pointing out that he was the Master of his lodge) and white apron, who is helped out by his Tylor colleague. See M. Mulvey-Roberts, ‘Hogarth on the Square: Framing the Freemasons’, *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 26:2 (2003), pp. 251–70.
3. D. Stevenson, ‘Four Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Scotland’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 90:2 (2011), pp. 286.
4. See also Finch’s ‘lectures’ of 1802 in Volume 2, pp. 341–89.
5. *Constitutions 1723*, p. 51.
6. On the Continent some gentlemen brought their personal servant with them, who was then also initiated, though often only ‘by communication’ and only in the first degree.
7. The practice of paying high entrance fees in order to become a full member at once without going through the normal learning period was called admission ‘by redemption.’
8. Stevenson, ‘Four Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Scotland’, p. 285.
9. J. R. Dashwood and N. G. Knight (eds), *Early Records of the Grand Lodge of England According to the Old Constitutions*, QCA Masonic Reprints, 11 (Margate: Publisher, 1958), p. 3.
10. F. D’Assigny, *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the Present Decay of Freemasonry in the Kingdom of Ireland* (1744).
11. *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, 14 June 1796, issue 7579.
12. ‘no Master should take an Apprentice, unless ... he be a perfect Youth having no maim or defect in his body that may render him incapable of learning the Art’, *Constitutions 1723*, p. 51.
13. *Constitutions 1723*, p. 50.
14. D. Stevenson, ‘James Anderson: Man & Mason’, *Heredom*, 10 (2002), pp. 93–138, on p. 122.
15. Stevenson, ‘James Anderson: Man & Mason’, p. 121.
16. *The Craftsman*, 16 April 1737, no. 563. The entire article is reproduced in Volume 2, pp. 12–15.
17. William, fifth Lord Byron was Grand Master of the ‘Premier’ Grand Lodge between 1747 and 1751.
18. Stevenson, ‘Four Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Scotland’, p. 285.
19. J. M. Shaftesley, ‘Jews in English Freemasonry in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries’, *AQC*, 92 (1979), pp. 25–63. J. Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723–1939* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970). P.-Y. Beaurepaire ‘L’exclusion des Juifs du temple de la fraternité maçonnique au siècle des Lumières’, *Archives Juives*, 43:2 (2010), pp. 15–29.

20. *Handbook*, p. 261.
21. D. Stevenson, 'Religion and Freemasonry in Scotland in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries', lecture at the Centre for Research into Freemasonry, University of Sheffield, 14 December 2004.
22. From 1729 onwards lodges were required to pay an annual sum to the Grand Charity.
23. Several Irish lodges also had feasts on St Patrick's Day, and Scottish lodges on St Andrew's Day.
24. *Schism*, p. 222.
25. The reason why we do not include the Grand Lodge of Ireland is that we did not find a comprehensive list of the Grand Officers. Appendix II in Ric Berman's recent book only covers the Principal Grand Officers between 1725 and 1770. *Schism*, pp. 195–8.
26. In Scotland, it was called the Depute Grand Master.
27. The motivation of administering the membership records in 1768 is strongly related to the fact that the Moderns Grand Lodge intended to raise money so that they could erect a central hall, which was completed in 1776. Accordingly, a number of different fees paid by lodge members were introduced. Sending the annual returns to their Grand Lodge only gradually became a standard practice by the Modern lodges. The Unlawful Societies Act of 1799 was used to threaten the lodges with the withdrawal of their warrants if they failed to provide the Grand Lodge with the annual returns.
28. For the lists of the Grand Officers of the Antients and Moderns Grand Lodges, see *Masonic Year Book Historical Supplement*, 2nd edn (London: United Grand Lodge of England, 1969). For the Scottish Grand Officers, see M. C. Wallace, 'Scottish Freemasonry, 1725–1810: Progress, Power, and Politics' (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2007), appendix 4.
29. I thank Martin Cherry for this information and clarifying a number of points concerning the early membership records of the English Grand Lodges.

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***Applebee's Original Weekly Journal, 5 August 1721, issue 2125***

Last Week his Grace the Duke of Wharton<sup>1</sup> was admitted into the Society of Free-Masons; the Ceremonies being perform'd at the King's-Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and his Grace came Home to his House in the Pall-Mall in a white Leathern Apron.

***Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post, 12 August 1721, issue 141***

Last Week the Lord Hinchinbrook,<sup>2</sup> Sir George Oxeden,<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Rich,<sup>4</sup> and Mr. Rushal<sup>5</sup> were admitted into the ancient Fraternity of Accepted Masons, at the King's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Churchyard, where they had a very noble Entertainment, and afterwards went Home in their Leathern Aprons.

***Applebee's Original Weekly Journal, 9 September 1721, issue 2155***

The following Gentlemen were made and created Free and Accepted Masons, at a Lodge held at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundel-Street, by Dr. Bealing,<sup>6</sup> Deputy to his Grace John Duke of Montague,<sup>7</sup> Grand Master of that Fraternity, viz. John Kirk,<sup>8</sup> Mercer, Thomas Harbin,<sup>9</sup> Gent. George Gibson,<sup>10</sup> Mercer, Stephen Evans,<sup>11</sup> Gent. and Thomas Buckley,<sup>12</sup> Distiller; all which Gentlemen went Home in their white Aprons very well satisfy'd, and according to the ancient Institution of that noble and advantageous Brotherhood.

***London Journal, 17 February, 1721 [N.S. 1722], issue 134***

Some Persons of Note were last Week enter'd into the Society of Free-Masons, at Trueby's in St. Paul's Church-yard. As the Orders observed amongst them have been hitherto kept Secret, it is believ'd they had not been so considerable, or numerous, but from the Curiosity of many who could not learn their Customs any other way, than by an Admission into their Company. We hear that a Treatise is likely soon to appear Abroad, wherein the Author undertakes to prove, that the Gypsies are a Society of much longer standing than that of the Free-Masons.

***London Journal, 16 June 1722, issue 151***

A few Days ago, a select Body of the Society of Free Masons waited on the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend,<sup>13</sup> one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to signify to his Lordship, That being obliged by their Constitutions, to hold a General Meeting now at Midsummer, according to annual Custom, they hoped the Administration would take no Umbrage at that Convention, as they were all zealously affected to his Majesty's Person and Government. His Lordship received this Intimation in a very affable Manner; telling them, he believ'd they need not be apprehensive of any Molestation from the Government, so long as they went on nothing more dangerous than the ancient Secrets of the Society; which must be of a very harmless Nature, because, as much as Mankind love Mischief, no Body ever betray'd them.

***Daily Post, 25 March 1724, issue 1402***

We hear there was a great Lodge of the ancient Society of the Free Masons held last Week at the Horn Tavern in Palace-Yard; at which were present the Earl of Dalkeith<sup>14</sup> their Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master, his Grace the Duke of Richmond,<sup>15</sup> and several other Persons of Quality; at which time the Lord Carmichaell,<sup>16</sup> Coll. Carpenter,<sup>17</sup> Sir Tho. Pendergrass,<sup>18</sup> Coll. Paget,<sup>19</sup> and Coll. Saunderson,<sup>20</sup> were accepted Free Masons, and went Home in their Leather Aprons and Gloves.

***Daily Post, 23 November 1724, issue 1610***

Last Saturday his Grace the Duke of Richmond,<sup>21</sup> accompanied by the Right Hon. the Lord Dalkeith,<sup>22</sup> Sir Thomas Macworth,<sup>23</sup> Dr. Desaguliers,<sup>24</sup> and other Gentlemen, went to the Lodge at Richmond, and made John Rily<sup>25</sup> of the Middle Temple, Esq; and another Gentleman, Free-Masons. After Dinner his Grace return'd to Town, and being Grand Master of that Society, presided at their quarterly meeting that was held that Night.

***London Journal, 11 December 1725, issue 333***

Mr. Abbot<sup>26</sup> the jeweller, from whom a rugged Stone of seven Ounces and a half was taken, as mentioned in our last, but who was then so very weak that his Life was despaired of, is since dead; and he was buried last Tuesday Night in St. Paul's

Church-yard, the Pall being held by six Free Masons in Mourning Cloaths, but in white Aprons and Gloves, he having belong'd to that Society.

***British Journal, 18 December 1725, issue 169***

On Tuesday last there was a Meeting of the Lodge of Free Masons, at the Fleece-Tavern at Temple-Bar, where they unanimously elected Thomas Batson,<sup>27</sup> of Grays-Inn, Esq; their Master; Mr. Geering,<sup>28</sup> Tobacconist in Friday-Street, their Senior Warden; and Mr. Jackson,<sup>29</sup> an Attorney at Law, Junior Warden for the Year ensuing.

***Mist's Weekly Journal, 8 January 1726, issue 37***

*Darlington, Dec. 27.* This Day was held at the Post House here the Anniversary Meeting of the Society of Free Masons, where was a numerous Appearance of Gentlemen, and a splendid Entertainment on the Occasion, and Robert Bowes,<sup>30</sup> Esq; of Thornton, was chosen their Master, Henry Forth,<sup>31</sup> Esq; Senior Warden, and John Pemberton,<sup>32</sup> Esq; Junior Warden for the Year ensuing.

***Weekly Journal; or, British Gazetteer, 16 July 1726, issue 64***

We hear from Carmarthen, that at a Lodge of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS held on St. John's Day, the 24th of June last, at the Nag's Head in that Town, Sir Edward Mansell,<sup>33</sup> Bart. was unanimously elected Master, Peter Chettle<sup>34</sup> and John Lloyd,<sup>35</sup> Esqs; Wardens for the ensuing half year: Upon which Occasion, a splendid Entertainment was provided, and several Gentlemen of Distinction, viz. Sir John Price,<sup>36</sup> Bart. Rawleigh Mansell,<sup>37</sup> Esq; David Edwards,<sup>38</sup> Esq; &c. were there admitted Members of that most Ancient and Honourable Society.

***Daily Journal, 21 February 1727, issue 1905***

On Monday the 27<sup>th</sup> of this Instant February, 1726, the Feast of the ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted M A S O N S will be held at Mercers-Hall in Cheapside. None are to be admitted without Tickets, which are to be had only of Mr. Edward Lambert,<sup>39</sup> Confectioner, at his House in Pall-Mall, over-against St. Alban's Street; and at Mr. Morise's,<sup>40</sup> at the Goose and Gridiron, St. Paul's Church-Yard.

***Weekly Journal; or, British Gazetteer, 8 April 1727, issue 100***

They write from Chichester, that on the 30th of March there was held a Lodge of Free Masons, at which the Earl of Sunderland,<sup>41</sup> Captain Edward Young,<sup>42</sup> George Oglander,<sup>43</sup> Esq; Mr. Henry Haslen,<sup>44</sup> and Mr. John Jenkins,<sup>45</sup> were admitted into that honourable, as well as antient Society. The Brethren then present, were Mr. Daniel Lucas,<sup>46</sup> Master; Mr. Robert Clarke,<sup>47</sup> Sen. and Mr. Henry Smart,<sup>48</sup> Wardens; His Grace John Duke of Montague,<sup>49</sup> his Grace Charles Duke of Richmond,<sup>50</sup> Mr. George Harris,<sup>51</sup> Alderman, George Murry,<sup>52</sup> Esq; Mr. Richard Godman,<sup>53</sup> Mr. John Peerman,<sup>54</sup> George Parker,<sup>55</sup> Esq; Mr. William Collins,<sup>56</sup> Alderman, Mr. Richard Lunn,<sup>57</sup> Mr. Patrick Heggly,<sup>58</sup> Mr. Richard Clowdesly,<sup>59</sup> Mr. John Dymmer,<sup>60</sup> Mr. William Bucknell;<sup>61</sup> and the Rt. Hon. John Lord Delawar,<sup>62</sup> the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Coke,<sup>63</sup> Knights of the Bath, and Captain Edmund Martin<sup>64</sup> were pass'd Masters.<sup>65</sup>

***Stamford Mercury, 11 July 1728, issue 1***

From York, That on the 24th of last Month, being the Feast of St. John the Baptist, a Grand Lodge of free and accepted Masons was held in this City; Sir William Milner, <sup>i</sup>66Bart. was chose Grand Master of England for the Year ensuing; Mr. Drake,<sup>67</sup> Deputy Grand Master; Mr. John Wilmer<sup>68</sup> and Mr. John Marsden,<sup>69</sup> Grand Wardens. They observe, that the present Right Worshipful Grand Master is the 798th Successor to Edwin the Great.<sup>70</sup>

***London Evening-Post, 6–8 February 1729, issue 184***

On Thursday Night last his Grace the Duke of Norfolk,<sup>71</sup> the Rt. Hon. the Lord Delvin,<sup>72</sup> and several other Persons of Distinction, were received into the most ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at the Lodge held at the Horn Tavern in Westminster; of which his Grace the Duke of Richmond<sup>73</sup> is Master, and upon that Occasion there were present, the Right Hon. the Lord Kingston,<sup>74</sup> Grand Master, with his General Officers, the Right Hon. the Earl of Inchiquin,<sup>75</sup> the Lord Paisley,<sup>ii</sup>76 Lord Kingsale,<sup>iii</sup>77 and many other Persons of Note.

***Dublin Gazette, 27–30 December 1729, issue 264***

London, 20th December, 1729. On Wednesday was a making of Free and accepted Masons, at the Swan and Rummer in Finch Lane, where the Lord Kingston Grand Master,<sup>78</sup> the Lord Melvin,<sup>79</sup> Nathaniel Blackerby, Esq.,<sup>80</sup> Deputy Grand Master, and the Grand Wardens,<sup>81</sup> &c. were handsomely entertained by the Brethren of that Lodge.

***York Courant, 6 January 1729/30, issue 226***

On Friday last the Right Hon. the Earl of Sunderland<sup>82</sup> was admitted into the Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at the Horn Tavern in Palace-Yard, Westminster; where the Lord Kingston,<sup>83</sup> Grand Master, with his Deputy, and other Grand Officers, were present; as also the Dukes of Norfolk,<sup>84</sup> Richmond,<sup>85</sup> and Montagu,<sup>86</sup> the Lords Dalkeith,<sup>87</sup> Delvin<sup>88</sup> and Inchiquin,<sup>89</sup> and several other Persons of Distinction.

On Saturday they met again at the Devil Tavern within Temple-Bar, where the Masters and Wardens of the several Lodges were assembled to chuse a Grand<sup>iv</sup> Master for the ensuing Year, and his Grace the Duke of Norfolk was accordingly elected into that Great Office.

At the same Time a Charity Bank was erected for the Relief of poor Brethren, their Widows and Orphans; and a considerable Sum was collected, and paid to Nath. Blackerby,<sup>90</sup> Esq. (present Deputy Grand Master) who was chosen Treasurer of the said Charity.

Many People are in great Hopes that this mysterious Society, that is honour'd with several Persons of high Rank, as Members thereof, having made a very laudable Beginning, will soon vie with those Societies that are at present the most famous for charitable Deeds.

***York Courant, 10 February 1729/30, issue 231***

Last Week the Earl of Portmore<sup>91</sup> was admitted a Member of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

[...]

There was last Night at the Horn Tavern in Westminster, a Lodge of the Free and accepted Masons, the Duke of Richmond<sup>92</sup> presiding as Master of the said Lodge, when the Duke of Grafton<sup>93</sup> was admitted and sworn a Member of that ancient and honourable Society.

***Leeds Mercury, 20–7 January 1730, issue 245***

From the London Evening Post, January 24.

A Lodge of the antient and honourable Society of free and accepted Masons was held last Night at the Horn Tavern, Westminster, where were present the Duke of Kingston<sup>94</sup> Grand Master, Thomas Blackerby,<sup>95</sup> Esq; Deputy Master, Duke of Richmond,<sup>96</sup> Earl of Sunderland,<sup>97</sup> Lord Inchiquin,<sup>98</sup> and many more Lords and Gentlemen, and five Masons were made, viz. the Earl of Portmore,<sup>99</sup> Stephen Fox<sup>100</sup> and Roger Holland Esqrs.<sup>101</sup> the Hon. Mr. Forbes<sup>102</sup> and Mr. Martin.<sup>103</sup> Dr. Desaguliers<sup>104</sup> officiated Part of the Ceremonies on this Occasion.

***British Journal, 7 March 1729/30, issue 114***

Thursday Night<sup>v</sup> at the new erected Lodge the Prince William Tavern, Charing Cross, the following Gentlemen were made Free Masons, viz. Gov. Tinker,<sup>105</sup> Gen. Tinker,<sup>106</sup> Gov. Burrington;<sup>107</sup> Esq; Frederick,<sup>108</sup> a foreign Minister; Esq; Goulston;<sup>109</sup> Philip Lassels,<sup>110</sup> Esq; Maj. Singleton,<sup>111</sup> Mr. Theobalds,<sup>112</sup> Capt. Read,<sup>113</sup> Mr. Rice,<sup>114</sup> and Mr Baynes<sup>115</sup> the Master of the House. There were present the Duke of Norfolk,<sup>116</sup> Grand Master, Ld. Kingston,<sup>117</sup> Nat. Blackerby,<sup>118</sup> Esq; Dep. Grand Master, Sir W. Saunderson,<sup>119</sup> Sir W. Young,<sup>120</sup> Col. Carpenter,<sup>121</sup> and Mr. Batson.<sup>122</sup>

***London Evening-Post, 17–19 March 1730, issue 355***

On Monday Night last at the Horn Lodge in the Palace-yard, Westminster, (whereof his Grace the Duke of Richmond<sup>123</sup> is Master) there was a numerous Appearance of Persons of Distinction; at which Time the Marquis of Beaumont,<sup>124</sup> eldest Son and Heir Apparent to his Grace the Duke of Roxburghe,<sup>125</sup> Earl Kerr of Wakefield, a Peer of Great Britain; Sir Francis Henry Drake,<sup>126</sup> Bar. the Marquis De Quesne;<sup>127</sup> Thomas Powell of Nanteos,<sup>128</sup> Esq; the Chevalier Ramsey,<sup>129</sup> and Dr. Misaubin,<sup>130</sup> were admitted Members of the ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

***Leeds Mercury, 7–14 April 1730, issue 254***

We hear that on Friday last Nathaniel Blackerby,<sup>131</sup> Esq; Deputy-Grand Master, assisted by Dr. Desaguliers,<sup>132</sup> formerly Grand Master, and other Grand Officers, constituted a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at the Red Lyon at Canterbury, at which Time several Gentlemen of that City and Neighbourhood were admitted Members of that most Antient and Honourable Society.

[...]

A few days since, their Graces the Dukes of Richmond<sup>133</sup> and Montagu,<sup>134</sup> accompanied by several Gentlemen, who were all Free and Accepted Masons, according to Antient Custom, form'd a Lodge upon the Top of a Hill near the Duke of Richmond's Seat, at Goodwood in Sussex, and made the Right Hon. The Lord Baltimore<sup>135</sup> a Free and Accepted Mason.

***London Evening-Post, 21–3 April 1730, issue 370***

On Monday Night at a Lodge at the Bear and Harrow Tavern in Butcher-Row without Temple Bar, several Gentlemen were admitted into the Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons; of which Number were Sir Thomas Twisden,<sup>136</sup> Bart. the Hon. Mr. Chichester,<sup>137</sup> Brother to the Earl of Donegal,<sup>138</sup> and Dr. Hollins<sup>139</sup> an eminent Physician.

***British Journal, 16 May 1730, issue 124***

We hear than on Tuesday Night last, at a Lodge held at the Horn Tavern in Westminster, when the Duke of Norfolk,<sup>140</sup> Grand Master, Nathaniel Blackerby,<sup>141</sup> Esq; Deputy Grand Master, and other Grand Officers, as also the Duke of Richmond<sup>142</sup> Master of the Lodge, Marquis of Beaumont,<sup>143</sup> Lord Mordaunt,<sup>144</sup> Marquis de Quesne,<sup>145</sup> and several other Persons of Distinction were present; the following foreign Noblemen, Francis Louis de Gouffier,<sup>146</sup> Charles Louis,<sup>147</sup> President de Montesquieu,<sup>vi148</sup> Francis Comte de Sade,<sup>149</sup> as also John Campfield Esq;<sup>150</sup> Wm. Cowper of Golden Square, Esq; and Capt. John Mercer,<sup>151</sup> were admitted Members of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free Masons.

***British Journal, 13 June 1730, issue 128***

On Monday last Mr. Orator Henley<sup>152</sup> was admitted a Free and Accepted Mason at the Prince William-Lodge at Charing Cross, several Noblemen and Gentlemen being present.

***Leeds Mercury, 18–25 August 1730, issue 272***

We hear some Gentlemen lately returned from France, among other Things, say that his most Christian Majesty<sup>153</sup> had been made a Free-Mason, in the usual Forms, by the Duke of Norfolk,<sup>154</sup> Grand Master of the Company, &c. that his Majesty hardly ever shewed himself more merry than he was at that Piece of Ceremony.

***Dublin Weekly Journal, 13 March 1730/1, issue 11***

DUBLIN,

On Saturday the 6<sup>th</sup> Inst. a Lodge of Free-Masons was held at the Yellow-Lyon in Warborough's-street. The Rt. Hon the Earl of Ross<sup>155</sup> Grand Master of Ireland, the Hon. William Ponsonby, Esq;<sup>156</sup> Master, Wm. Cooper, Esq;

Rowly Hill, Esq;<sup>157</sup> Wardens, the Right Hon, the Lord Kingston,<sup>158</sup> late Grand Master of England, the Rt. Hon the Earl of Drogheda,<sup>159</sup> the Rt. Hon. the Lord Southwell,<sup>160</sup> John White Esq;<sup>161</sup> Abraham Creyton,<sup>162</sup> Esq; Henry<sup>vii</sup> Plunket,<sup>163</sup> Esq; Lawrence Toole,<sup>164</sup> Esq; Wm. Mosely,<sup>165</sup> Esq; Mr Wm. Dobbs,<sup>166</sup> Mr John Haley,<sup>167</sup> Mr Tho. Griffith,<sup>168</sup> Secretary to the Grand Lodge, Present. Where upon proper Application, the Rt. Hon, the Lord Tyrone,<sup>169</sup> the Rt. Hon. the Lord Nettervil,<sup>170</sup> the Hon. Tho. Bligh,<sup>171</sup> Esq; and the Hon. Henry Southwell,<sup>172</sup> Esq; were in due Form, admitted Members of that Ancient and Rt. Worshipful Society.

***London Evening-Post, 25–7 November 1731, issue 623***

We hear that during the Stay of the Duke of Lorrain<sup>173</sup> at Sir Robert Walpole's<sup>174</sup> Seat in Norfolk, a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was held by the Lord Lovel,<sup>175</sup> Grand Master, in which Count Kinski<sup>176</sup> and Sir Robert Walpole were admitted Brethren.

***Daily Post, 11 December 1731, issue 3817***

LONDON.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle<sup>177</sup> and Brigadier General Churchill<sup>178</sup> were a few Days since admitted into the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, with the usual Ceremonies.

***George Faulkner. Dublin Journal, 18–21 December 1731, issue 642***

DUBLIN

[...]

Last Thursday, at the yellow<sup>viii</sup> Lyon in Warbough's-Street, was held a Lodge of Free-Masons by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Netterville,<sup>179</sup> Deputy Grand-Master of Ireland, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Blaney,<sup>180</sup> the Hon. Thomas Bligh,<sup>181</sup> Esq; the Hon. Henry Barry,<sup>182</sup> Esq; John Walter,<sup>183</sup> Esq; John Leigh,<sup>184</sup> Esq; Robert Hartpole,<sup>185</sup> Esq; Henry Ivers,<sup>186</sup> Esq; Lar. Toole,<sup>187</sup> Esq; Mr. William Dobs,<sup>188</sup> Mr. Richard Roch,<sup>189</sup> Mr. John Hailey,<sup>190</sup> and Mr. Tho. Griffith,<sup>191</sup> Secretary; where, upon proper Application, Sir William Burdit,<sup>ix192</sup> Bart. and Charles Pultney,<sup>193</sup> Esq; were admitted Members of that Antient and Right Worshipful Society.

***Daily Post, 24 February 1732, issue 3881***

LONDON.

[...]

At a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, held on Monday Night last at the Devil Tavern in Fleet street, that celebrated Artist Mr. Daniel Delander,<sup>194</sup> of the same Street, Watchmaker, was admitted a Member of that Antient and Laudable Body with the usual Ceremonies; and in a few Days he is to read before the Grand Officers, a Lecture on the Drum of the Ear.

***Read's Weekly Journal; or, British Gazetteer, 11 March 1732, issue 364***

The Rt. Hon. Anthony Brown,<sup>195</sup> Viscount Montacute, a Roman Catholick Peer, is elected Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons for the Year ensuing.

***London Evening-Post, 25–7 April 1732, issue 688***

Last Monday were admitted of the Honourable and Antient Society of Free and Accepted Masons, George Skinner,<sup>196</sup> of Enfield: Esq; a blind Gentleman; and the same Day the Right Hon. the Earl of Strathmore.<sup>197</sup>

***London Evening-Post, 27–9 April 1732, issue 689***

Last Wednesday was held a Lodge by its Master, at the Golden Spikes in Hampstead, the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Montacute,<sup>198</sup> Grand Master, when were present several of the Antient and Hon. Society of Free-Masons, in whose Presence was admitted by the Rev. Dr. Desaguliers,<sup>199</sup> — Pelham, Esq;<sup>200</sup> and another Person of Distinction, and the Right Hon. the Lord Tenyham<sup>x201</sup> was elected Master of that Lodge on the Resignation of Lord Montacute: After an elegant Dinner, partly at the Expence of the Grand Master, and partly of the Brethren there present, a handsome Collection was made for a Brother in Distress, completed with great Chearfulness and Affection, sufficient to convince the World of the little Ground they have for entertaining Impressions so false and prejudicial to this Society.