

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

FROM ITS RISE DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

BY

J. G. FINDEL,

Editor of the German Masonic Periodical "die Bauhütte", Honorary Member of Minerva Lodge, Hull, and of several German, French, and Italian Lodges.

Translated from the second German edition under the
author's personal superintendence.

WITH A PREFACE

BY

C. VAN DALEN, DR.

P. M. of the Lodge "Friedrich Wilhelm zur gekrönten Gerechtigkeit" at Berlin,
representative from the Grand Lodge of Scotland to the Grand Lodge of Prussia "Royal York
zur Freundschaft", Editor of the German Freemason's Calendar.

LONDÓN:
ASHER & CO. 13, BEDFORD STREET,
COVENT GARDEN

1866.

TO THE MOST WORSH.

THE

GRAND LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS,

(M. WORSH. BRO. WILL. PARKMAN, GRAND M.)

THIS WORK

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY AND FRATERNALLY

DEDICATED.

TO J. G. FINDEL,

Worshipful Sir and Brother.

Your highly esteemed favour of Feb. 23, is received, and the intimation therein contained of your intention to dedicate your proposed English edition of a standard work upon Freemasonry, to the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, we deem a high compliment.

Dating as far back as 1733, the M. W. Gd. Lodge of Massachusetts, has the honor to be the oldest Gd. Lodge in America, she can therefore also assure you, that it has been the practice of this venerable Gd. Lodge, to disseminate masonic knowledge and principles, to their fullest extent. We gratefully accept your flattering honor of the dedication.

With sentiments of the highest esteem and masonic regard, in behalf of the Gd. Lodge of Massachusetts, I am

Fraternally

Yours

William Parkman,
Grand Master.

Preface.

To write a Universal History of the Freemasons' Fraternity, founded upon precise dates and authentic facts, was formerly considered as a task presenting so many difficulties, that the chevalier de Bonneville deemed ten men's lives a period scarcely equal to the undertaking. And indeed, the literature of Freemasonry is so profuse, yet withal so defective in many respects, that for several divisions of the subject, reliable data are wanting altogether; the historical materials have been hitherto scattered about in so many different places, or mixed up with dubious and contradictory statements, and above all, the origin of the order has been so veiled in the darkness of mystery, that the observation above quoted has some foundation in truth.

After the many and meritorious works in which Anderson, Preston, Laurie, Krause, Kloss, Keller, and others have elucidated single sections of Masonic History, thus involuntarily paving the way to a more comprehensive narration, Br. J. G. Findel, author of a History of German Literature and editor of the "*Bauhütte*", which of all the German Masonic periodicals enjoys the widest circulation, has been the first to collect the rich materials accumulated by his predecessors. These he has brought to the test of a sound and sober criticism, and has reduced them to order, so that the reader has for the first time a complete and reliable Universal History of Freemasonry. More than many others, we could mention, Br. Findel is possessed of the requirements

necessary for such an undertaking. Besides possessing a considerable amount of learning, of which he has given many proofs, his connection with Masonic Brethren all over the world, and the having had placed at his disposal the rare treasures hitherto buried in various libraries, have furnished him with the facts necessary to ensure completeness in his compilation, while his enthusiastic ardour for the welfare of the Fraternity, tempered by a most impartial love of truth, has produced a style, as worthy the dignity of science, as it is clear and attractive to the general reader.

No wonder that such a book, delineating as it does the most important and powerful instrument of civilization, which has materially improved social life and contributed to raise the moral tone and culture of the people, should greatly interest the minds of the serious and thinking public; and this has been more signally the case, since the powerless anathema of the keeper of the Holy See at Rome has lately spread a new halo of light around it, instead of annihilating it in the destructive fire of its wrath, as was intended, — no wonder that such a book was received with general applause, and that its first edition was speedily sold.

Many and loud are the voices proceeding from the interior of the Fraternity itself, declaiming against the secrecy of the masonic institution, because injurious to the welfare of the Union; and though we do not agree to all advanced by them, we readily allow that but few, and they among our less intelligent and instructed Brethren, continue to desire that Masonic History should be kept secret from the public at large. How would it be possible to make any portion of historical science keep pace with the progress observable in the rest of human information, if the scrutinizing eye of sound criticism were excluded from it? And is it not contrary to the leading idea of the Fraternity, which invites all mankind fully to participate in its blessings, to keep the world in general ignorant of the origin of this benevolent institution and of the events which have marked its progress,

and to leave them to adopt the errors disseminated by our enemies, together with all the fabricated legends of the High Degrees at the very head of the order? Convinced that these questions must be answered in the affirmative, Br. Findel has written his book not only for the more limited circle of initiated readers, but has rendered it accessible to any person desirous of instructing himself, following herein the example of the Grand Lodge of England, who published in 1723 the Book of Constitutions, and the works of Masonic writers most in repute, some of whose names we have already cited above.

If the history of our Order, as it is called by many, is interesting to any person of good education, it ought to be preeminently so to an Englishman. The flower of the nobility, the greatest excellence and genius amongst the commoners in the three United kingdoms, have belonged to it and played a conspicuous part in its pages, so that in fact its history may be said to form no inconsiderable portion of the History of England. This influence of Masonry has been deservedly appreciated by modern writers, and Hermann Hettner, one of the best among the German authors who have written on English Literature, has devoted a chapter of his book to the subject.

As in England Freemasonry developed itself into a union embracing all mankind, so England has been the cradle of Masonic History; as in those German lodges which preserved the Old Charges intact, the spirit of Masonry more prevails over the mere rehearsing of the ritual than it does in the country to which we are indebted for those landmarks, and as, it must be confessed, for the last 30 or 40 years historical science has been somewhat neglected by our English brethren: therefore they doubtless will thank Br. Findel for imparting to them the fruits of his own and his predecessors' indefatigable studies.

By a happy coincidence the following translation was made by a descendant of two dignitaries of the Grand Lodge of England, now residing in Berlin, who has brought to the task an inherited interest in the subject treated of, and who, with a

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sufficient knowledge of the German language, has combined that fluency of style without which even the richest contents could not attract a reader of cultivated taste.

It may then be hoped that this general and satisfactory survey of the History of Freemasonry offered in the present translation of Br. Findel's ably conducted volume, will enable um bers to accomplish with ease that which hitherto has been vouchsafed to only a few, and to these only after the most painstaking exertions. No better service could be rendered to the cause of Masonry; those who by this work have gained an insight into the very essence, form, and significance of our order, cannot do otherwise than enrol themselves henceforth among the list of its warm friends and admirers; and those who are already adepts in the Royal Art, must try to preserve for it that pure and simple dignity of form which has been handed down to them by their forefathers.

Berlin, November 1865.

Charles van Dalen.

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Introduction.

**Freemasonry and its Organisation. — The Historians
of Masonry.**



From its very first existence the Society of Freemasons has attracted the observation of the world; it has been very suggestive to, and been thought worthy of the attention of many of our best and most able men, and has secured to itself the sympathy of well cultivated minds of all ranks and conditions. Without protection either from Church or State, scarcely tolerated in many countries, sometimes even cruelly persecuted and oppressed, it has, notwithstanding, in the course of a few centuries, from an inconsiderable number of true and sincere followers, increased to an association extending over the whole of the civilised world, including within its fraternity several thousand men of the most varied shades of opinion and of religion, who in this community, exempt from the restless agitation of active life, have united to exercise a salutary influence over one another, by elevating mind and soul to purer, clearer, and sublimer views of mankind in general, and their own individual existencce.

Although much has been done to bring it into disrepute, and to cast unworthy suspicions upon its efficiency and its tendency, yet it not only still exists, but has in the course of years, enlarged its sphere, and developed its resources, and has in no small degree contributed to

raise the tone of social life, and assisted in the moral improvement and general culture of the people. Being based upon eternal truth and the unchangeable requirements of our nature, it has, notwithstanding its manifold errors, faithfully fulfilled its pacific and exalted mission, inclining its members to love and charity, to moral courage and fortitude, to truth and the conscientious discharge of known duties; it has comforted the afflicted, brought back the erring to the path of virtue, dried the tears of widows and orphans, and is the parent of many an institution for benevolent purposes. The great and mighty ones of the earth have joined themselves to the fraternity, simple-minded citizens have under its influence been made to feel their own innate dignity, friendship has seen many a smiling blossom flourish on its stem, and good and virtuous men, separated by the conventionalities of social routine, have here found themselves united for noble aims and purposes, who might otherwise have never been brought together.

The vast proportions which this Society has assumed, the mystery involving its origin and early development, the different forms it has adopted in different countries, not only with regard to its constitution, but also to the customs incorporated with it, the destruction of many manuscripts, together with other circumstances have rendered an investigation and a reliable delineation of its history, exceedingly intricate, but by no means impossible. The zeal of a few devoted inquirers has shed light upon the chaos of contradictory opinions, elicited facts, and made whole epochs emerge from the obscurity surrounding them. — It is upon the authority of some valuable works issued in the course of the present century, that it has been possible to produce a history of Freemasonry. Before proceeding however to a more detailed description of it, it is first

necessary to say a few words concerning the nature of Freemasonry and the organisation of the Society.

Freemasonry. Freemasonry, which by its followers is most justly described as an art, as the Royal art, is to the Masonic Brethren, what religion is to the Church, what the substance is to the form. The former is everlasting and unchangeable, the latter is dependent upon the variations to which time, place, and persons are exposed.

Up to the commencement of the present century, scarcely any but Germans expressed any very clear ideas concerning the nature of this Society, and amongst the first who deserve to be especially mentioned are Lessing in his "Ernst and Falk", Herder in "Adrastea", Krause and Fessler, and of still more recent date O. E. Funkhänel, O. Marbach, and Rud. Seydel are conspicuous; the latter especially in his work "Discourses on Freemasonry to reflective Non-Masons", which was received with well-merited approbation, has shown how the present nature, form, and efficiency of the Fraternity logically follows out of the essential idea of Freemasonry itself. — As Freemasonry is not a dogma, but an art, working only upon man's intellectual faculties, it cannot be taught fully in words; by active participation in Freemasonry itself, by social intercourse with its members, must it be learned and tested. Seydel says that Freemasonry is that disposition of the mind, in which the good or spiritual instinct prevails over its antagonistic principle i. e. over egotism, and this mastery obtained by our higher instincts, in however slight a degree, is the only qualification insisted on, in order to be received into the Masonic Fraternity.

The Masonic Fraternity. The purest and most perfect exemplification of religious impulse, of goodness, of piety, of holiness cannot be concentrated in a single individual, but only in a Society of individuals, organized on this

firm basis, that all its members agree on this one point, viz: that they do not seek their own selfish interests, but the general and spiritual good of the whole, according as it is assigned to each individual to see, apprehend, and demonstrate, that he endeavors to mortify through life all selfish impulses, every thing tending to disunion both in himself and around him, that the universal and intellectual advantage of all may prevail, and become the fountain whence each derives happiness.

From this Fraternity then they are not excluded whose creed is different, but only those whose nature and desires are opposed to this.

This union of all unions, this association of men, bound together in their struggles to attain all that is noble, who desire only what is true and beautiful, who love and practise virtue for its own sake — this is Masonry. It is the most comprehensive of all human confederacies, the outward circle, enclosing and concentrating all smaller ones within its precincts, and therefore the purest and sublimest form of human association, there being really no other moral and religious union, which like this is based on the purity and genuineness of the divine instinct within us, which is the groundwork in the character of all good men. — Therefore is Freemasonry the most perfect representation of that inward wrestling for the reunion of the scattered sparks of divine light, for the reconciliation between God and his creatures, between man and his fellow-man, and therein too, lies its historical and intellectual title to be called into existence. Here do we find the contradictions between Mankind and the history of the human race reconciled; the virtuous out of the multitude are here gathered as in a Temple, the band of faithful believers, as well as the isolated individual. — However these contradictions are by no means permitted to remain quietly in close proximity,

but each member forms one of an alliance united for mutual instruction and interchange of thought, for the polishing down of all that is harsh and inharmonious, that in loving fellowship they may approach more nearly to their ideal, until at length all incongruities are reconciled and made to accord in sweet harmony.

The Work of Life, progress, and activity are better suited
 a Mason. to us mortals, than the assertion, the work is complete, there is no more that we can do. Our Fraternity has not yet reached perfection, but is still developing and extending. The ideal excellence after which it aspires is that condition in which God's will is the will of all mankind. Moral perfection as it is the aim of the human race, is also its aim. The Mason for his part must with hand that is never weary, and an ever watchful eye, in close communion with his Brethren strive to attain this design. Above all he must begin with himself if he wishes to carry out the moral and intellectual advancement of the human species; he must endeavor to arrive at self-knowledge and incessantly aspire to perfect himself, that the gladdening, blessed, and inspiring principle of love within him, may be gradually disencumbered of the fetters of selfishness, sensuousness, and supineness which bind it, then will his aim be to diffuse truth, beauty, and goodness around him in his daily life and to further the welfare of mankind in obedience to God's law, and with no selfish end in view.

The Lodge. The place in which the Freemasons assemble to work in common is called a Lodge, and the assembly itself, in which the precepts of Masonry are propounded and mutually practised, bears the same name. Men having but one purpose, have found themselves in one Lodge, longing to reach the highest and best this earth has to offer. All that has been acquired in their mental

struggles with much toil and labor, may here in the Lodge be very appropriately deposited and presented for the profit and delight of each other, to the mutual advantage both of themselves and their brethren, either by making them aware of their own progress or by placing before them the stirring example of others, so that the words of Schleiermacher may be well applied to the Lodge: "To present a life passed according to the dictates of reason and godliness, is regarded by each member as a study, an art, and therefore engages each one to strive to perfect himself in some one particular. A noble emulation prevails in the Fraternity, and the desire to offer something which may in some degree be worthy such an assembly, incites each one faithfully and assiduously to appropriate to himself whatever seems to be marked out for him in his particular sphere. — The more ready the members are to communicate their thoughts to each other, the more perfect will be their fellowship. No one member has his knowledge from himself alone, he is at the same time a participator in the knowledge of others."

Thus the Lodge is an active Institution, not merely for the bringing together of faithful friends in a Society modelled according to the perfection of good Fellowship, but likewise for the purpose of educating its members for the world, for mankind. In this sense Lodges may be called veritable workshops, in which the members work, in order that the type of human nature, in its original purity, of which in the manifold changes and mutilations humanity is subject to, much has been lost, may be restored and revived, first in the narrow circle of the Fraternity, and further perfected when actively working in concert, to be still more widely disseminated, and made attainable to all mankind. — To this explanation of Freemasonry, we will add a few remarks,

touching its relation to Church and State and its outward form.

The Position of
Freemasonry
towards the State. The position Freemasonry assumes towards the State is a perfectly friendly one, as one of its fundamental laws prohibits all political discussions, educating its members to become good citizens, enjoining them to promote the general welfare, and fostering in them conformity to law, and the love of good order. Whatever difference of opinion we may express upon other points (as freedom of conscience is by us accorded to every one), yet herein are we all of one mind, viz: that we patronize the arts and sciences, and demand the practice of the social virtues, faithfully and conscientiously avoiding giving offence to any government whatsoever, under which we may assemble peaceably in due form. Therefore it is the interest of every State to favor Freemasonry, — as Lessing correctly observes: “Wherever Freemasonry has appeared, it always has been the sign of a healthy, vigorous government, as it is even now the token of a weak and timid one, where it is not sanctioned.” This opinion has been confirmed at different periods by competent authorities.

Position of Free-
masonry towards
the Church. Freemasonry takes a similar position to the Church, as it does to the State. All doctrinal tenets it makes it a rule to leave untouched, keeping aloof from all religious entanglements, which the numerous sects have fabricated, esteeming and honoring every form of faith, insisting above all things that its members should display Toleration and Charity in their daily Life. — Genuine masonry has to deal with man as man, and by making its followers good men, it necessarily trains them to be good members of the religious communities to which they belong. The hostile attitude assumed by the Catholic and other Churches towards Freemasonry (wherever it has not been aban-

done) is not, nor ever will be a proof of the michievous tendency of this Institution, but only of unfounded misrepresentations and inventions, and above all ignorance of its real nature and influence.

Neither is there any foundation for the often repeated reproach that Freemasonry favors religious indifference; it relies chiefly on connecting mankind with that common link, which is the groundwork of all religions; for the only thing it takes into consideration, is the inward moral worth of its followers, leaving to each one his own individual opinion.

Thus Freemasonry is neutral ground for all political opinions and religious creeds, and within its Fraternity all political and religious controversies, which so greatly embitter life, and set mankind at variance, are happily avoided.

The Organisation of the Order. A Lodge is formed by the assembling of a sufficient number of members (the number is determined by law), who upon proving satisfactorily, that they possess the necessary intellectual capacity, and have substantial means sufficient, apply to some properly constituted Grand Lodge, praying it to constitute them a regular Lodge, and to grant them a charter accordingly. The Grand Lodge, as the supreme administrative power, grants them this, if no obstacles stand in the way, and consecrates the new Lodge, which henceforth has to conform to the Statutes and Rituals delivered over to it, and is then immediately received by all Lodges throughout the world, as a regularly constituted Lodge, and enjoys all the privileges of the same. Lodges which are defectively constituted are called irregular or unwarranted Lodges, and their members are not admitted as visitors into regularly formed Lodges.

The Lodges, called St. John's Lodges, are so named because they reverence St. John the Baptist as their

patron, and are divided into three degrees, the apprentices, the fellow-crafts, and the master-masons. Lodges which during war work in the field are called Field Lodges. Each Lodge bears a symbolic name, to which is added the name of the place where it holds its sessions; for example "Eleusis of Taciturnity" at Bayreuth. At the head of each lodge is a Board of officers elected by a majority of votes. The affairs of the Lodge are under the direction of the Worsh. Master (Master of the Lodge) and under him the Deputy and two wardens. Besides the three original degrees in accordance with the spirit of Freemasonry, there exist in some branches of the Fraternity the so called higher degrees which are conferred in the Scotch or St. Andrew's Lodges, also in the Chapters, but which are foreign to the real spirit of Freemasonry, and an innovation which crept in at the time of Masonic degeneracy.

All business, initiations, and promotions take place in the Lodge. Every regularly initiated Freemason, has free admittance into any Lodge in the world, and meets therein a brotherly welcome.

All the St. John's Lodges under the direction of a Grand Lodge, form a league, called also a rite or system, and most of the Grand Lodges are placed in communication with each other by means of representatives (who act as ambassadors), exchanging the records or minutes of their transactions. At the head of the Grand Lodge is the Grand Master assisted by a Board of grand officers, which is the case in every St. John's Lodge. — The Gr. L. is composed either of representatives or proxies from subordinate Lodges, and of officers chosen by them, and has either a fixed place for its assemblies, chiefly in the capital of the country, or meets at different places in rotation. Those Lodges which are united to a Grand Lodge have a constitution in common, which being al-

most everywhere imbued with the spirit of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, has an absolutely democratic basis. — In some Grand Lodges it is true, a more hierarchical form of government is adopted, little suited to the dignity of free men. — In Freemasonry, the fundamental idea is that of a general priesthood, capable of voluntary action, and of self-government — therefore the Grand Lodge should not be a court of jurisdiction, and still less a dogmatic body, but a purely administrative and representative body, all governmental and legislative sovereignty being vested in the subordinate Lodges. The unity of the Masonic Fraternity is entirely an intellectual unity, depending upon harmony of thought; there is not such a thing as a supreme power in which the whole authority of the Fraternity is vested alone. Certain fundamental laws have an authoritative influence over the whole Fraternity, but besides these every Grand Lodge and every subordinate Lodge has by-laws of its own to which every brother as long as he remains a member must conform as well as conscientiously submit to, and practise the duties he has solemnly promised to fulfil. The duties of a Freemason, far from being opposed to his duty to God, to himself and others, do but invest these obligations with a more sacred character. Members who are guilty of repeated violations of the laws of the Fraternity, or of conduct unsuitable to the dignity of the Institution, must in case the admonitions and corrections of their Brethren prove ineffectual, be turned out of the Lodge and consequently out of the Fraternity.

Freemasonry lives and instructs in Emblems and Symbols in which the leading idea is that the Freemasons are in reality a company of real Masons, their object being the erection of a spiritual Temple. Every Freemason and every Lodge must strive to attain Light, Truth, and

Virtue, which is the reason that the Lodge is regarded as the centre and source of Light, and as the Worsh. Master takes his seat in the East, it is called "Orient". Most of the Symbols have been taken from the tools of operative Masons, and have been made to bear a deeper and spiritual meaning. Besides the general working Lodges, which are Lodges of initiation and instruction, sometimes extraordinary Lodges meet, as for example Festival Lodges and Funeral Lodges, the latter in memory of deceased Brethren.

Having in the preceding pages explained the nature of Freemasonry, and given a general idea of the character of the Institution, the history of which we are about to occupy ourselves with in the following pages, we will first make a passing inquiry into the progress of Masonic historical science.

The Historians of Masonry.

The history of Freemasonry — long veiled in mystery, interwoven with legends, purposely distorted by misrepresentations, has, through the profound and conscientious research of some few solitary and unprejudiced brethren, acquired of late years, a sure foundation upon scientific principles. This more especially refers to the origin of the Fraternity, concerning which, even to this very day, the most confused, ridiculous, and discordant opinions prevail. Blinded by absurd self-conceit, and an eccentric desire to prove the extreme antiquity of the Institution, many have strenuously combated the idea that the Fraternity originated in the Operative Masons;

or seeing that the ancient symbolical marks and ceremonials in the Lodges, bear a very striking resemblance to those of the mysteries of the ancients, have allowed themselves to be deceived and led astray, imagining they can trace back the history of the Craft into the cloudy mists of antiquity. Instead of endeavoring to ascertain how and when these ceremonies were introduced into our present system, they have taken it for granted, they were derived from the religious mysteries of the ancients. Each fancied resemblance or agreement with some symbol or pretended custom of the ancient mysteries, is considered as a safe guide, a close connexion is immediately inferred, which not unfrequently involves an entanglement in unessential particulars, having not the slightest bearing on the subject.

Bro. Anderson, who with the sanction and approval of the first G. L. compiled a "Book of Constitutions" commences his work with a history of the Fraternity, borrowed from an ancient book of Constitutions, which is nothing more than a history of Architecture, and a reproduction of the "Legend of the Corporations", handed down by the ancient operative Masons. It begins with Adam, who, most probably, it is thought, instructed his sons in Geometry and its application to various arts, and continues with a review of the development of Architecture, down to the 17th and 18th centuries. A learned brother, Rev. Geo. Oliver¹⁾ with all gravity, places the origin of Freemasonry even prior to the Creation, tracing its germs back to the very honeymoon of Paradise, informing us that Moses was Grand Master, Joshua his Deputy, and Aholiab and Bezaleel Grand Wardens!

¹⁾ "The Antiquities of Freemasonry etc., from the Creation of the World" etc., by G. Oliver. London, 1823. Pag. 26, sq. 258.

Other masonic authors attempt to fix the origin of Masonry somewhat later, one attributing it to the followers of Pythagoras, another to the Essenes and first Christians, as does the Swedish system; many English brethren and one American brother J. W. S. Mitchell¹⁾, bring it down to the period of the building of Solomon's Temple; Thomas Payne²⁾ and others ascribe it to the Druids, Danse de Villoison, to the city of Herculaneum, or else to the time of the Crusades, which likewise the Knights Templars especially think proper to adopt.

It was in 1740 in France, that a Scotchman, Ramsay first suggested the possibility that the origin of the Fraternity might be in the time of the Crusades, for before that period no mention whatever was made of any connection between the Masonic order and the order of Knights Templars. — Afterwards this fable assumed a more tangible form, in the higher degrees of several Masonic rites, and thus received fresh encouragement.

The first writer on the subject of Freemasonry who ventured to hint at the existence of a historical connection between the Fraternity of Freemasons and that of the stone-masons was the Abbé Grandidier³⁾, a Non-mason, who, while engaged on his "*Essai historique et topographique sur la Cathédrale de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, 1782*", had occasion to examine the archives of the Cathedral and the various manu-

1) The history of Freemasonry and masonic Digest etc. 2 vols. Marietta, 1859, p. 50 ff.

2) See Heldmann, „Die drei ältesten geschichtlichen Denkmäler der deutschen FrMrBrüderschaft sammt Grundzügen zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte der FrMrei. Aarau, 5819. Sauerländer. P. 9. —

3) *Histoire des cultes et cérémonies relig.* Tom. X.

scripts therein preserved. According to Kloss ¹⁾ he first published his conjecture in the "*Journal de Nancy*, 1779", and in the "*Journal de Monsieur*", as also in a private letter to a lady, dated 24th Novbr. 1778, which was subsequently published in De Luchet's "*Essai sur la Secte des Illuminés, Paris*, 1789". The London "Freemasons Magazine" for June 1859 contains a translation of this interesting letter, from which we make the following extract:

"*Strasbourg, Nov. 24., 1778.*"

"You, madam, have doubtless heard of that celebrated society transmitted to us from England, which bears the name of Freemasonry. Its members are spread throughout Europe, and are much more numerous than perhaps either the honour or the interest of the association require. I shall not here, however, speak of this body in terms either of eulogy or of satire. I shall not even inquire into the motive for the inviolable secrecy which it demands, or the peculiar oath which belongs to it. I am not initiated into its secrets, and I find myself unworthy to "see the light". I know not whether all is tranquil, "as in the valley of Josaphat, where no woman ever tattled". The fair sex may indeed complain of the vigorous laws which exclude them from beholding the "sun, the moon, and the Grand Master of the Lodge"; it is a new injury that man has done them in believing them incapable of preserving a secret.

"I may further confess that the founder of Freemasonry was not a Frenchman, such an institution being repugnant to the heart and character of our countrymen. I shall no longer seek its origin in the construction of the ark of Noah, who they say was „a most venerable Mason"; or in that of the temple of Solomon who passes

¹⁾ Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung. Berlin, 1855.

with them as "the most excellent Mason." I should take care not to search for it in the history of the Crusades, there to discover the first Masons in those crusading barons whom some suppose to have been engaged in the "divine or royal art" of rebuilding the temple; nor should I look for it in those ancient soldiers of Palestine who were called Knights of the East and of Palestine. These ridiculous opinions, which the Freemasons themselves do not dare to present, except under the veil of allegory, do not deserve to be revealed by one of the profane. I dare flatter myself, madam, that I can present to you a more probable origin for the association. It is not to be found either "in the east or the west;" "the Lodge is well tiled" — it is not that which will furnish me the proofs of my statement. I have not had the happiness to work from "Monday morning to Saturday night"; but I hold in my "profane" hands authentic documents and real records, dating more than three centuries back, which enable us to see that this much boasted society of Freemasons is but a servile imitation of an ancient and useful fraternity of actual masons whose head-quarters were formerly at Strasbourg."

"The Cathedral of Strasbourg, and above all its tower, begun in 1277 by the architect Ervin of Steinbach, is a masterpiece of gothic architecture. This edifice as a whole and in its details, is a perfect work, and worthy of admiration, it has not its equal in the world. Its foundation has been so solidly placed that, notwithstanding the fragile appearance of its open work, it has resisted, even to the present day, storms and earthquakes. This prodigious work spread far and wide the reputation of the Masons of Strasbourg. The Duke of Milan in 1479 wrote a letter to the magistrates of the former town, in which he asked of him a person capable of directing the construction of a superb church which he

wished to build in his own capital. Vienna, Cologne, Zurich, and Fribourg constructed towers in imitation of that at Strasbourg, which was not finished till 1437, but they neither equalled it in height, beauty, or delicacy. The masons of those different fabrics and their pupils — spread over the whole of Germany — to distinguish themselves from the common workmen, formed themselves into the fraternity of masons, to which they gave the German name of *Hütten*, which signifies Lodges, but they all agreed to recognize the authority of the original one at Strasbourg, which was named *Haupt-Hütte* or Grand-Lodge. In the course of time the project was conceived of forming a single society for all Germany, but this plan was not fully developed till twenty years after the construction of the tower of Strasbourg. The different masters of the individual Lodges assembled at Ratisbon, when they drew up, on the 25th of April 1459, the Act of Fraternity, which established the chief of the cathedral of Strasbourg, and his successors, as sole and perpetual Grand-Masters of the fraternity of Freemasons of Germany. The emperor Maximilian confirmed this proceeding by a diploma given to Strasbourg in 1498; Charles V., Ferdinand, and their successors renewed it from time to time. This society, composed of masters, companions, and apprentices, formed a particular jurisdiction; and the body at Strasbourg embraced all those of Germany. It held its tribunal in the Lodge, and judged without appeal all causes brought before it, according to the rules and statutes of the fraternity; these statutes were renewed and printed in 1563. The Lodges of the Masons of Suabia, Hesse, and Bavaria, Franconia, Saxe, Thuringia, and the provinces on the banks of the Moselle, acknowledged the authority of the Grand-Lodge of Strasbourg. Even in the present age the masters of the establishment of Strasbourg condemned to the penalty

of a fine the Lodges of Dresden and Nuremburg, which was paid. The Grand-Lodge of Vienna, which founded Lodges in Hungary and Syria, and the Grand-Lodge of Zurich which governed all those in Switzerland, referred to the Mother Lodge of Strasbourg in grave and difficult cases.

„The members of this society had no communication with other masons who merely knew the use of the trowel and mortar. They adopted for characteristic marks all that belonged to the profession, which they regarded as an art far superior to that of the simple labouring mason. The square, level, and compasses became their attributes. Resolved to form a body distinct from the common herd of workmen, they invented for use among themselves rallying words and tokens of recognition, and other distinguishing signs. This they called the sign of words, *das Wortzeichen, le salut, der Gruss*. The apprentices, companions, and masters were received with ceremonies conducted in secret. They took for their motto „liberty“, and it is said they sometimes refused to acknowledge the legitimate authority of the magistrates.

„You will doubtless recognize, Madam, in these particulars, the Freemasons of modern times. In fact the analogy is plain — the same name, ‘Lodges’, signifies the place of assembly; the same order in their distribution; the same division into masters, companions, and apprentices; both are presided over by a Grand-Master. They have both particular signs, secret laws, statutes against the profane; in fine, they can say one to the other ‘My Brethren and my companions know me for a Mason’.”

These hints, thus thrown out by the Abbé Grandidier, were first adopted by Vogel in his „*Briefen über die Freimaurerei*“, 1785, and afterwards by Albrecht

in his "*Materialien zu einer kritischen Geschichte der Freimaurerei*", 1792, but without producing the desired results, the opinions of their authors being unsupported by the necessary documentary evidence.

At the beginning of the present century a sincere desire to investigate the origin, history, and principles of Masonry began to be manifested among German Masons, and the first attempt was then made to compile, select, and submit to critical examination the scattered opinions of masonic authors. Prominent among those who undertook this task were Bro. Schneider of Altenburg, who published the result of his researches in the "*Altenburger Constitutionsbuch*" and in the "*Journal für Freimaurer*"; Bro. Krause, who in his voluminous and valuable work "*Die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden der Freimaurerbruderschaft*" 2 vols., has collected and carefully criticised the authentic documents of the Fraternity to which he at the time had access, elucidating and completing them by arduous historical research and unwearied industry; Mossdorf, the author of "*Mittheilungen an denkende Freimaurer*" and the editor of "*Lennings Encyclopaedie für Freimaurer*"; Heldmann, the author of "*Die 3 ältesten geschichtlichen Denkmale der deutschen Freimaurer-Bruderschaft*"; and F. L. Schröder, who has left us the result of his investigations in the "*Materialien zur Geschichte der Freimaurerei*", a work which, as it is published for the Masonic Historical Societies of Germany, is unfortunately accessible only to a select few. The only complete and connected history, however, was contained in the manuscript work of J. A. Fessler "*Versuch einer kritischen Geschichte der Freimaurerei und der Freimaurer-Bruderschaft von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf das Jahr 1812*," a very few copies of which are extant.

Enlightened and zealous Brethren subsequently continued to build on the foundation here laid, and the

persuasion, that the Craft did not originate as Ramsay represents it in his fable, (invented to serve some political purpose,) in any Order of Chivalry whatsoever, but in the building fraternities of the Middle ages, gained ground, and became doubly confirmed and strengthened.

These researches having made the intimate connection between Freemasonry and the Operative Masons of the Middle ages exceedingly probable, Krause's work, previously mentioned, still further confirmed the supposition, for he sought to trace back its history to the Building Corporations of the Romans, an idea still entertained by Brothers Schauberg and Em. Rebold¹⁾, even in our own day. These Roman Corporations were, at any rate, a medium, necessary for the connecting the Lodges of the Middle ages with the mysteries of the Ancients, therefore we will dwell a little longer on this Hypothesis of Krause's.

The Architectural „Collegia“ of the Romans²⁾ enjoyed the privilege of a Constitution of their own, and were recognized by the State as a legal body. They were placed under their own officer, Aedilis, who was skilled in Architecture; and according to Vitruvius' statement (in the time of Augustus) the Members were required to be well skilled and to have a liberal education. Upon the overthrow of the Republic, when all other Corporations lost their privileges, owing to the despotism of the Emperors, the thirst of the Rulers for splendor and renown caused the collegia to be confirmed in nearly all their former rights and privileges.

¹⁾ See Rebold, *Histoire générale de la Franc-Maçonnerie*; Paris 1851 and: *Histoire des trois Grand-Loges de France*; Paris 1864.

²⁾ The Article headed „Collegia“ in the Encyclopedia of Ersch and Gruber (by Bähr) is not complete; see: Krause, *Die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, 2. Aufl. II. Bd. 2. Abth. S. 92.

Three members were, at least, required to form a College, and no one was allowed to be a Member of several Colleges at the same time. The Members, after hearing the reports of their Officers and deliberating thereon, carried their resolutions by a majority of votes; and in the same manner Members were enrolled and officers elected. The custom which prevailed among the Operatives of the Middle Ages, we find likewise here, viz. that besides the legitimate Members of the corporation, lay or amateur Members (Patrons) were admitted. The Corporations held their meetings in secluded rooms or buildings exclusively appropriated to that purpose, and most of them had their own schools for the instruction of apprentices and lower grades of workmen. They had also their own peculiar religious ceremonies and priests; also an exchequer belonging to the Corporation, an Archive, and their own seals. The Members took an oath mutually to assist each other; indigent Members received relief, and on their demise were buried at the expense of the Corporation. They kept registers of the Members (similar to the lists or directories of the Lodges) some of which are still extant. They had also their records, their Masters (*magistri*), Wardens, (*decuriones*), Fellowcrafts and Apprentices, Censors, Treasurers, Keepers of Archives (*tabularii*), Secretaries (*scribae*), and Serving Brethren; their tools and working-implements had besides a symbolical meaning; and in religious matters they were tolerant.

The Members called themselves *Collega*, *Incorporatus* or *Collegiatus*, the name of Brother not becoming general till the Christian Masonic Fraternity adopted it.

One of the Roman Colleges, the *Dendrophori* or Tree-bearers, was originally divided into different parts and thus distributed amongst all the Colleges and Mysteries;

but was afterwards united in one Body (corpus) with those of the Fabrorum or Masons, a circumstance that is said to have facilitated the transmission of the doctrines of the heathen philosophical schools and mysteries into the Roman Building Corporations, which were the most distinguished and numerous of all those existing in the Roman Empire¹⁾ over which these corporations were scattered, and were every where exempt from all public taxes. On the tombs of the Roman Masons are to be found not only the compasses, square, plummet, trowel, and hammer, but often two shoes, upon which lay a half-opened pair of compasses²⁾, perhaps the symbol of a well spent life; or of conjugal fidelity.

Several Roman authors, and some monumental inscriptions furnish undeniable proofs that these Associations (*sodalitia*) of Artists and Artisans continued among the Romans for a considerable period. That they were in Gaul and Britanny is beyond a doubt; and that a certain connection existed between them and the building Corporations of later date, can also scarcely be disputed. What we wish to ascertain is this: 1) whether the one is a direct continuation of the other; 2) whether there exists sufficient historical proof to justify the tracing back the Fraternity of Masons to the building Corporations of Rome? — Both these questions must be answered in the negative: for the German Fraternity of the „*Steinmetzen*“ (stone-cutters) have so completely and designedly metamorphosed the original signification of whatever they, by any possible chance, can have received in a traditional form from the Roman Architectural Colleges, that we must regard their laws and

¹⁾ See: Krause, l. c. 2. vol. II. Part. p. 166 below and p. 166 with remarks.

²⁾ See: Dallaway, Discourses p. 401. An Inscription was found at Chichester 1725 according to which the College of Masons had erected a Temple to Neptune and Minerva.

customs as something essentially new, and totally different from those in use in ancient times. Besides which the history of Freemasonry is wholly and entirely gathered from documents (constitutions and customs) belonging to corporations formed in the Middle ages, and not from any Roman Corporations. It was only when the Fraternity of "*Steinmetzen*" (Stone-cutters) had attained to perfection, or rather was on the decline, that the real history of Freemasonry according to its existing signification commences, which in 1717 took the authentic laws, the regulations and customs of the "*Steinmetzen*" as a model. — Those practices and that way of life dependent upon German habits, as well as some few monastic usages which were adopted, and the legal forms and regulations in use amongst the German and English "*Steinmetzen*" — of these not a single trace is to be found in the Roman Corporations. They were equally unacquainted with the friendly appellation of "Brother", as also with the form of salutation; there being no travelling fellow-crafts, consequently they had no certificates of Legitimation.

Some authors, indeed, have gone even still farther, seeking to find the elements of Freemasonry in the mysteries of the Indians and Egyptians, and this idea still fills the brains of some few individual Masons in England, and America, in France and in Germany. In France its chief supporter was Alex. Lenoir ("*La Franc-Maçonnerie rendue à sa véritable origine, ou l'antiquité de la Fr.-Maç. prouvée par l'explication des mystères anc.*", Paris 1814.) More recently Br. Dr. J. Schauberg¹⁾ in Zurich has likewise with much erudition followed out

¹⁾ See: "*Alpinā*" Mr. Taschenbuch. Von J. Schauberg, 1. u. 2. Jahrg., also: "*Vergleichendes Handbuch der Symbolik der Freimaurerei*". 3 Bände. Schaffhausen 1861—63.

this opinion. All attempts however to trace the history of Freemasonry farther back than the Middle ages have been up to the present time most decided failures, and placing the origin of the Fraternity in the mysteries of Egypt — that land of obstinate adherence to caste, must most especially be rejected as a wild and untenable hypothesis. — Whatever could be accomplished in this line, may be seen in Br. J. Schauberg's recent work, on the Building Corporations¹⁾ of the Ancient and Modern ages. Armed with all the erudition that books can afford him, both in the history of Architecture and of Jurisprudence, Schauberg has endeavored to demonstrate the connection between Freemasonry and the Building Colleges of the Romans, and through them with the Building Lyceums and Mysteries of Greece and Egypt. — And what is the result? He has proved that schools of Architecture and Societies of Architects existed among the Ancients, that the Science of Architecture is of very ancient date, and has been transmitted to modern times, and that a similarity is to be found between a few Masonic Symbols, theories, and customs, and the Mysteries of the ancients, the Druids, and the Cimbric bards in Wales, as well as in German legends and fables. Thus he has confirmed anew — what, it must be confessed, no one doubted — that these institutions and confederations resembled those of the Freemasons; he has furnished fresh material for a more perfect recognition of all this, and has shown that every where certain tokens are to be met with, the counterparts of which may be found in Freemasonry, either on coins or pictures, ballads and legends, or on architectural monuments and inscriptions. It is very evident that the borrowing

¹⁾ See: *Allg. äussere und innere Geschichte der Bauhütte.* (Handb. d. Symbolik, III.) Schaffhausen 1863.

and appropriation of these is something nearer the truth, than the reception of the improbable presumption of a propagation of some mystic order or other, especially as it can be incontrovertibly proved that many symbols, legends, and customs did not find their way into Freemasonry till the 17th and 18th centuries, and the resemblances may be stated as simply the offspring of civilisation in general.

If Freemasonry were really a continuation of those ancient Confederacies, we must of necessity know more of their method of instructing and their internal arrangements, than the rest of mankind, which is by no means the case. What the philosopher and historian Krause said in refutation of Br. W. A. Laurie's suppositions, holds good even to this day:

“When we find in any nation or age social efforts resembling in aim and organisation those of the Freemasons, we are by no means justified in seeing any closer connection in them, than such as human nature every where and in all ages is known to have in common, — which characteristics form the basis of all social intercourse, — unless we are thoroughly convinced by most reliable historical facts, that a really historical connection exists. And even such historical connections are very various in kind; for it is one thing when an institution flourishes through the being constantly renewed by the addition of new members, its sphere of action and regulations undergoing at the same time repeated changes; and another thing when we learn from history that from an already established Institution a perfectly new one takes its rise; and again somewhat different is it, when a newly formed Institution, just rising into existence, takes for its model the views, sphere of action, and the social forms of one which has long become entirely extinct. The difference between

“these three kinds of historical connection must be everywhere most clearly defined, in such cases likewise, where they all three appear. In the history of Freemasonry the third kind is most especially important, because it is most generally to be found, and to those unversed in the subject, it seems as if there actually existed historical connection of the first and second kind. Take, for example, the strong resemblance most distinctly marked, between the constitution and symbols in Freemasonry and the sect called the Essenes. Whoever should give this as a reason for asserting that the Essenes had by successive transitions been incorporated into the Society of Freemasons, would greatly err by coming too hastily to a conclusion.”

That we may not be led astray in these our inquiries into the history of the Society of Freemasons we need only bear in mind what the English Grand Lodge, the mother of all Lodges, happened to meet with in the year 1717 and immediately appropriated. This was the bequest of some ancient Lodges of Architecture, a simple Rite, the three fundamental laws of brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth, and the so-called ancient gothic Constitutions, still existing as documents, all which bear no remoter date than that of the 12th Century.

The decline and final discontinuance of the ancient Mysteries was a necessary consequence of the spread of Christianity; for whatever Christianity taught, she taught and promulgated openly, before the whole world. It was not simply that she had entirely severed herself from paganism, but she sought in every possible way to make it an abomination and a detestation to the people, and to root out from amongst them all vestiges of heathen customs. Who then should be the propagators of these mysteries? The Christian Societies of Builders were composed at first almost exclusively of Monks and

Lay-brethren, and the Stone-cutters, it is well known, were in like manner originally employed in the service of the Church. The mysteries of the ancients were specially national — and herein do they essentially differ from Freemasonry; for the admission of foreigners was prohibited, and they taught only the Mythology of their own country, whereas Freemasonry is universal, cosmopolitan.

The whole course of history most emphatically demonstrates the impossibility of the perpetuation of these secret rites. Take but a survey of the period of time between the second and tenth centuries — the time of the decline of the Roman empire, of the wandering of nations, of the rise and spread of Islamism, of club-law etc. — those centuries of darkness and barbarism, when only a few could read and write, and scarcely any one ventured to think.

Antiquarians and hypercritical historical writers have ever shewn a peculiar predilection for turning their learned researches to account in this direction, tracing out and exposing allusions and sympathetic relations, either intimate or remote between Freemasonry and these ancient Institutions, and proclaiming mere personal suppositions, as generally accepted truths; a mode of proceeding, which found the more ready acceptance, the less the true history of Freemasonry was known, and the greater the desire manifested to attribute to the order a remote degree of antiquity — just as if it needed such support, and were not sufficiently beautiful, significant, and honorable in itself. However of late, these opinions have been gradually losing ground; sagacious and unprejudiced Masons in all countries now rely entirely only on the history of their fraternity which has been authentically confirmed, rightly considering that nursery tales belong to the nursery.

Since Preston wrote, nothing has been done in England towards the investigation of the history of Freemasonry; in France the works of Thory (*Acta latòmorum*), of Clavel (*histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie*), of Cherpin & Kauffmann, and of Em. Rebold may be cited; in Germany amongst modern works, those of Br Dr. George Kloss, the father of historical criticism, most decidedly take the first place. Assisted in his inquiries by one of the best libraries and collection of Manuscripts which any Mäson ever possessed, and having a mind entirely free from prejudice he, in his work entitled „*Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*” (2. Ed. Berlin 1855) first submitted the existing records of Freemasonry to an additional test, by most carefully comparing them with one another, then out of the resources at his command, he elaborated a history of Masonry in England, Ireland, and Scotland (1847, 1 vol.) and also in France. (1842, 2 vols.)

Although Kloss, in the work first mentioned, has only regarded the German *Steinmetzen* (stone-cutters) and the English Freestone-masons in the light of workmen and associates in trade (Craftsmen), yet his critical examination of the laws and statutes of their body led him to a well grounded conviction, and the inevitable conclusion that the present fraternity of Freemasons had its immediate origin from the ancient company of Stone-cutters and the building corporations connected with it, that the terms “operative” and “speculative” Masonry, are only loopholes at which Masonic pride is allowed to ooze out. There now only remained this one doubt to solve, whether the customs and symbols of modern Freemasons were immediately derived from the building associations of the Middle ages, or whether their origin dates from some other period. A solution was offered to this doubt by the statement of Fr. Alb. Fallou

“die Mysterien der Freimaurer, sowie ihr einzig wahrer Grund und Ursprung” (Leipzig, 1859. 2. Aufl.) and Winzer (*“die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters”* etc. Giessen, 1859) stating, that the German “Stone cutters” and the English Freemasons were not merely trade associations but likewise brotherhoods or Fraternities possessed of especial secrets, belonging to their trade. The two authors have afforded additional proof, that the present body of Freemasons did not originate the ritual forms, nor the symbolic signs practised in modern times, nor did they receive them from any other secret community, but most likely inherited them from their parent society; furthermore that the English *“Steinmetzen”* (Stone cutters) acquired their mysteries from Germany, and finally that the German *“Steinmetzen”* did not entirely devise their customs and the constitution of their fraternity themselves, but borrowed them partly from other German corporations, and partly copied them from ecclesiastical and monastic rules and regulations, and that the symbols in use in ecclesiastical architecture and the practice of their art can alone be regarded as exclusively their own.

With regard to the History of Freemasonry after its transformation into a universal brotherhood, into a union of unions (1717) as well as what refers to the history of individual countries and epochs besides the official documents of the fraternity in England, the works of Anderson and Preston, and in Scotland, Laurie’s History of Scotland — we have the writings of Kloss and several other modern works.

In the present work, the whole historical material has been for the first time collected together, and after having been subjected to a careful critical examination, the present historical summary is submitted to the fraternity.

The Early History of Freemasonry.

(The time before 1717.)

The Legend of the Craft. — The “Steinmetzen” of Germany. — The Building Corporations of England. — The first germs of a universal Brotherhood.

A. The Legend of the Craft.

The history of the world begins with a Legend, so does the History of Masonry. — For, what Anderson in the very commencement of his “Book of Constitutions” relates as history, is in fact nothing more than the traditional “Legend of the Guilds”, contained in the ancient constitutions, its legendary character being beyond a doubt. — This same relation, most likely, stood the working Masons of the Middle ages in the stead of an authentic history of Architecture, which in all essential particulars it seems to supply.

In the following pages we give an extract of the copy, as contained in the “Gentlemans Magazine”, June, 1815:

“The might of the Father of Kings, with the wisdom of his glorious Son, through the grace and the goodness of the Holy Ghost, there bene three persons in one Godheade, be with us at our beginning, and give us grace so to governe us here in this mortall life liveinge, that we may come to his kingdome, that never shall have endinge. Amen.

“Good Bretheren and Fellowes: Our purpose is to tell you how and in what manner this worthy science of Masonrye was begunne, and afterwards how it was

favoured by worthy Kings and Princes, and by many other worshipfull men. And also, to those that be willinge, wee will declare the Charge that belongeth to any true Mason to keepe for in good faith. — —

“For there be Seaven liberall Sciences, of the which seaven it is one of them. And the names of the Seaven Scyences bene these: First is Grammere; and it teacheth man to speake truly and write truly. And the second is Rethorike; and teacheth a man to speake faire in subtile termes. And the third is Dialectyke; and teacheth a man for to discern or know truth from false. And the fourth is Arithmeticke; and that teacheth a man for to reckon and to accompte all manner of numbers. And the fifth is called Geometrie; and that teacheth mett and measure of earth and all other things; of the which science is called Masonrye. And the sixth science is called Musicke; and that teacheth a man of songe and voice, of tongue and orgaine, harpe and trompe. And the seaventh science is called Astronomye; and that teacheth a man the course of the sunn, moone and stars. — —

“How that these worthy Sciences were first begonne, I shall you tell. Before Noyes floode there was a man called Lameche, at it is written in the Byble, in the iiijth chapter of Genesis; and this Lameche had two wives, and the one height Ada, and the other height Sella; by his first wife Ada he gott two sons, and that one Jabell and thother Tuball, and by that other wife Sella he got a son and a daughter. All these four children founden the beginning of all the sciences in the world. And this elder son Jabell found the science of Geometrie, and he departed flocks of sheepe and lambs in the field, and first wrought house of stone and tree, as is noted in the chapter above said. And his brother Tuball found the science of Musicke, songe of tongue,

harpe and orgaine. And the third son Tuball Cain found smithcraft of gold, silver, copper, iron and steele; and the daughter found the craft of Weavinge. And these children knew well that God would take vengeance for synn, either by fire or by water; wherefore they writt their science that they had found in two pillars of stone, that they might be found after Noyes flood. And that one stone was marble, for that would not bren with fire; and that other stone was clepped laterns, and would not drown in noe water."

"Our intent is to tell you trulie how, and in what manner these stones were found, that these sciences were written in. The greet Hemarynes that was Cubys son, the which Cub was Sem's son, that was Noys son. This Hermarynes, afterwards was called Harmes, the father of wise men; he found one of the two pillars of stone, and found the science written there, and he taught it to other men. And at the making of the Tower of Babylon there was Masonrye first made much of. And the Kinge of Babylon that height Nemrothe, was a mason himself; and loved well the science and it is said with masters of histories. And when the City of Ninyve and other cities of the East should be made, Nemrothe the Kinge of Babylon, sent thither threescore masons at the rogation of the Kinge of Nyneve his cosen. And when he sent them forth, he gave them a charge on this manner. That they should be true each of them to other, and that they should love truly together, and that they should serve their lord truly for their pay; soe that the master may have worshipp and that long to him. And other moe charges he gave them. And this was the first tyme that ever Mason had any charge of his science.

"Moreover when Abraham and Sara his wife went into Egipt, there he taught the Seaven Scyences to the

Egyptians; and he had a worthy Scoller that height Ewclyde, and he learned right well, and was a master of all the vij Sciences liberall. And in his days it befell that the lord and the estates of the realme had soe many sonns that they had gotten, some by their wives and some by other ladyes of the realme; for that land is a hott land and a plentious of generacion. And they had not competent livehode to find with their children; wherefore they made much care. And then the King of the land made a great Counsell and a parliament, to witt, how they might find their children honestly as gentlemen; and they could find no manner of good way. And then they did crye through all the realme, if there were any man that could informe them, that he should come to them, and he should be soe rewarded for his travail, that he should hold him pleased.

"After that this crye was made, then came this worthy clarke Ewclyde, and said to the king and to all his great lords, "If yee will, take me your children to governe, and to teach them one of the Seaven Scyences, wherewith they may live honestly as gentlemen should, under a condition, that yee will grant me and them a commission that I may have power to rule them after the manner that the science ought to be ruled." And that the Kinge and all his counsell granted to him anone and sealed their commission. And then this worthy took to him these lord's sonns, and thaught them the scyence of Geometrie in practice, for to work in stones all manner of worthy worke that belongeth to buildinge churches, temples, castells, towres, and mannore, and all other manner of buildings; and he gave them a charge on this manner.

"The first was, that he should be true to the Kinge, and to the lord that they owe. And that they should love well together, and be true each one to other. And

that they should call each other his fellowe, or else brother, and not by servant, nor his knave, nor none other foul name. And that thruly they should deserve their paie of the lord or of the master that they serve. And that they should ordaine the wisest of them to be master of the worke, and nether for love nor great lynneage, ne riches, ne for no favour to lett another that hath little conning for to be master of the lord's worke, wherethrough the lord should be evill served and they ashamed. And also that they should call the governors of the worke, Master, in the time that they worke with him. And other many moe charges that longe to tell. And to all these charges he made them to sweare a great oath that men used in that time; and ordayned them for reasonable wages, that they might live honestly by. And also that they should come and semble together every year once, how they might worke best to serve the lord for his profit and to their own worshipp; and to correct within themselves him that had trespassed against the science. And thus was the scyence grounded there; and that worthy Master Ewclide gave it the name of Geometrie. And now it is called through all this land, Masonrye.

"Sythen longe after, when the Children of Israell were coming into the land of Beheast, that is now called amongst us, the country of Jhrlm. Kinge David began the Temple that they called *Templum D'ni*, and it is named with us the Temple of Jerusalem. And the same King David loved Masons well and cherished them much, and gave them good paie. And he gave the charges, and the manners he had learned of Egypt given by Ewclyde, and other moe charges, that ye shall heare afterward. And after the decease of Kinge David, Solomon, that was David's sonn, performed out the Temple that his father begonne; and sent after Masons

into divers countries and of divers lands; and gathered them together, so that he had fourscore thousand workers of stone, and were all named Masons. And he chose out of them three thousand that were ordayned to be masters and governors of his worke. And furthermore there was a Kinge of another region that men called Iram, and he loved well Kinge Solomon, and he gave him tymber to his worke. And he had a sonn that height Anyon, and he was a Master of Geometrie, and was chief Master of all his Masons, and was Master of all his gravings and carvinge, and of all manner of Masonrye that longed to the Temple; and this is witnessed by the Bible, *in libro Regum*, the third chapter. And this Solomon confirmed both charges and the manners that his father had given to Masons. And thus was that worthy Science of Masonrye confirmed in the country of Jerusalem, and in many other kingdoms.

“Curious craftsmen walked about full wide into divers countryes, some because of learning more craft and cunning, and some to teach them that had but little cunnyng. And so it befell that there was one curious Mason that height Maymus Grecus, that had been at the making of Solomon’s Temple, and he came into France, and there he thaught the science of Masonrye to men of Fraunce. And there was one of the Regal lyne of Fraunce, that height Charles Martell; and he was a man that loved well such a science, and drew to this Maymus Grecus that is above-said, and learned of him the science, and tooke upon him the charges and manners; and afterwards by the grace of God, he was elect to be Kinge of Fraunce. And when he was in his estate, he tooke Masons, and did helpe to make men Masons that were none; and set them to worke, and gave them both the charge and the manners and good paie, as he had learned of other Masons; and confirmed them a Charter from

yeare to yeare, to holde their semble wher they would; and cherished them right much; and thus came the science into Fraunce.

“England in all this season stood voyd as for any charge of Masonrye unto St. Albones tyme. And in his days the King of England that was a Pagan, he did wall the towne about, that is called Saint Albones, and Saint Albones was a worthy Knight and steward with the Kinge of his household, and had governance of the realme, and also of the makinge of the town walls; and loved well Masons and cherished them much. And he made their paie right good, standinge as the realm did; for he gave them *ij, s. — vi, d.* a weeke, and *iiij, d.* to their nonesynches. And before that time, through all this land, a Mason tooke but a penny a day and his meate, till Saint Albones amended it, and gave them a Chartour of the Kinge and his Councell for to hold a general Councell, and gave it the name of Assemble; and thereat he was himselfe, and helped to make Masons, and gave them charges, as you shall heare afterward.

“Right soone after the decease of Saint Albone, there came divers wars into the realme of England of divers Nations, soe that the good rule of Masonrye was destroyed unto tyme of Kinge Athelstone’s days that was a worthy Kinge of England, and brought this land into good rest and peace; and builded many great works of Abbyes and Towres, and other many divers buildings; and loved well Masons. And he had a sonn that height Edwinne, and he loved Masons much more than his father did. And he was a great practiser in Geometry; and he drew much to talke and to commune with Masons, and to learn of them science; and afterwards for love that he had to Masons and to the science, he was made a Mason, and he gatt of the Kinge his

father, a Charter and Commission to holde every yeare once an Assemble, wher they ever would, within the realme of England; and to correct within themselves defaults and trespasses that were done within the science. And he held himself an Assemble at York, and there he made Masons, and gave them charges, and taught them the manners, and commanded that rule be kept ever after, and tooke than the Chartour and Commission to keepe, and made ordinance that it should be renewed from Kinge to Kinge.

“And when the Assemble was gathered he made a cry that all old Masons and young, that had any writeinge or understanding of the charges and the manners that were made before in this land, or in any other, that they should shew them forth. And when it was proved, there were founden some in French, and some in Greek, and some in English and some in other languages; and the intent of them all was founden all one. And he did make a booke thereof, and how the science was founded. And he himselfe had and commanded that it should be readd or tould, when that any Mason should be made, for to give him his Charge. And fro that day unto this tyme manners of Masons have been kept in that form as well as men might governe it. And furthermore divers Assembles have beene put and ordayned certain charges by the best advice of Masters and Fellows.” etc. —

Thus far do we quote from this ancient Legend. When we compare it with the genuine, authenticated history of Architecture, it is apparent that it is founded upon historical records or traditions. It is well known that Architecture is the Mother of civilisation, that it throve and flourished amongst the ancients and it must be assumed as a fact, that, even at that early time, Architects had a certain organisation of their own; but that the history of Freemasonry extended as far

back as to the very earliest ages of antiquity, is by no means proved.

It is very natural, and not at all difficult to conceive, that the members of the architectural associations of the middle ages, sought to impart dignity to their fraternity by attributing to it a venerable antiquity, and in pursuance of this notion to identify the history of their art with that of their corporation; and indeed they may be said to have had a certain degree of authority for so doing. But no such authority have the fraternity of Freemasons under the present acceptation of the word; they must employ quite a different standard in estimating the probable date of their birth, because with them the superstructure is purely symbolic, and the remarkable document just submitted to notice, can be regarded as nothing more than a Legend. — There are in all, three such traditions extant. The English Masons have the York Legend, dating as far back as the year 926; the German "*Steinmetz*" replies to any queries referring to the origin of his art, by pointing to the erection of the Cathedral of Magdeburg (876); and the Scotch Mason is satisfied with transferring it to the year 1140, the date of the building of Kilwinning.

As we shall hereafter have occasion to return to these Legends, we will for the present content ourselves with these few introductory remarks. Now it is more especially our object to obtain some more firm historical basis.

B. The “Steinmetzen” of Germany.

I. Introduction.

In comparing the social organisation, customs, and doctrines of Freemasonry with those of the medieval building associations, we find many indications of a close historical connection existing between the two institutions. For example, we recognize that the following peculiar usages and customs were common to the fraternity of Freemasons of the present day, and the “*Steinmetzen*” (stone-cutters) of Germany: 1) The classification of their members into Masters, Fellow-crafts and Apprentices; 2) The government of the society by a certain number of officers; 3) The exclusion of the uninitiated from their community; 4) The privileges of a Master’s son; 5) The peculiar requisites or qualifications for membership; 6) The fraternal equality of all the fellows of the craft; 7) Their mutual obligations to relieve suffering; 8) Their peculiar laws, jurisdiction, and form of judicature; 9) The manner of opening and closing their assemblies; 10) The ceremonies of initiation into the fraternity; 11) The usages at their banquets and table-lodges; 12) The examination of foreign brethren, etc.¹⁾

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, and combining with them the results of historical investigation already arrived at, it has now been placed beyond all doubt that the modern society is the direct descendant and successor, in an unbroken line, of the Operative Fraternity of Masons of the Middle ages.

The four London Lodges which in the year 1717 bestowed upon the fraternity of Freemasons its present

¹⁾ See Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*. 2. Aufl. p. 25.

form and constitution, were lodges of operative and accepted Masons; the legal statutes forming the base of the established Grand Lodge of that period, were the ancient constitutions and charges of the operative Masons, and those customs and symbols transmitted from the Lodges of England, Scotland, and Ireland were the very same as those of the ancient Architectural lodges. As previous to this, but little had been written, there were therefore no apprentices' indentures, instead of which however, certain verbal credentials, in the way of question and answer, had been introduced, which were confided only to the members of the corporation under the seal of secrecy. By virtue of these they were in a position to offer proofs of their identity wherever they came. These questions and answers, together with certain signs and hand-gripes have been preserved amongst the Masons and Stone-cutters in Germany and Ireland¹), as well as in Scotland, down to the present time. — Those customs in use amongst the German "*Steinmetzen*" are published in Fallou's *Mysteries*, those common amongst English Masons have hitherto remained unknown. It was not until last year that one was found, and that by the author in the British Museum in London (Sloane MS. Nr. 3329)²) a Manuscript dating about the end of the 17th century, containing a catechism (Ritual) of the English Masons. These documents prove beyond a doubt that the present association of Freemasons is derived from the building corporations of the Middle Ages. Further proofs of this are contained in the minutes of the ancient Lodge in York between the years 1712—1730, as well as in the history of Freemasonry, drawn up by Anderson, under

1) See *Freem. Mag.* 1864. A catechism (Examination) of German "*Steinmetzen*" will be found in Appendix A.

2) See "*Mittheilungen aus dem Verein deutscher Freimaurer*". I. 3. page 81, etc. (Appendix D.)

the auspices of the first Grand Lodge, which before the year 1717 is nothing more than a history of Architecture.

The history of Masonry, therefore, is closely interwoven with the history of the Building associations of the Middle Ages. — We must consequently devote a brief space to the history of Medieval Architecture. — Our forefathers, the ancient uncivilised tribes of Germany, it is well known, long dwelt in miserable huts of their own construction, and were, at first, satisfied with churches rudely built of wood. — Most probably the monks and Emperors introduced Roman handicraft into Germany. They had no style of architecture of their own, therefore being surrounded by specimens of ancient Roman art, they retained and imitated so much of the originals before them, as their simple, uncultivated minds could grasp. The Ostrogoths, in consequence of their somewhat more advanced culture, were the first, who, with a certain degree of success, attempted on Italian soil, the appropriation of the antique in daily life as well as in art.

In Theodoric's reign especially, a more lively interest in Architecture is to be remarked. But in all the ancient structures we find Roman influence predominating; with the more general development of civilisation, we discover the science of Architecture advancing. It was not until Charlemagne's time, that any real, vital, energetic movement in the German architectural genius was manifested.

After the fall of the Carolingian race and the separation of their dominions into different kingdoms was established, when the spirit of Christianity had become more generally diffused, when the German mind, taking, as it were counsel with itself, had created new forms in its civil and religious polity, more in correspon-

dence with a superior degree of civilisation, after all this was it first possible that the science of form could be made to display more excellent artistic proportions. With regard to the development of the civil polity, most especially important is the feudal system, which as a natural consequence resulted from the whole tone of mind prevailing in the Middle ages, and from the distinctive characteristics which marked the spirit of the German people. — “That compact natural unity belonging to nations vanishes” says Schnaase, “and in its stead appear a number of personal interests; the unessential nature of the contract supplies the place of the inherent necessity —, and the state assumes the appearance of an airy superstructure which, beginning with the multitude of inferior vassals, gradually mounts upwards through narrow intermediate degrees of rank, till it unites in one single head. This artificial and complicated machinery is repeated in all the outward expressions of the life and manners of the Middle ages, and more especially in all their architectural-creations.” —

Corporations. As the individual interest very much outweighed every other, it was most natural that the desire to form voluntary fellowships and unions asserted itself every where — first amongst ecclesiastics in the monasteries, then in chivalry, and lastly in the associations of the citizens according to their several trades, into Guilds, and in leagues formed between different towns. Wherever we turn, we find exclusive corporations, we every where descry the spirit of individualization in full activity, forming associations and isolating them from the mass. The bold and vague strivings of that age, found a more definite expression in architecture. Like the whole of the civilisation of that period it proceeded from the traditions of ancient Roman art, until after many and varied trans-

formations, and the voluntary adaptation of incidental influences which it worked out for itself, it finally resolved itself into the most imposing system, known in the history of architecture. The best energies of all the Christian nations in the Middle ages were bestowed upon it, so as to further, as far as lay in their power, the accomplishment of the task before them. — Germany and France take the first rank in these strivings, England the second, while Spain and Italy are more in the back-ground.

Two distinct styles of Architecture, the Roman and the Gothic (Saxon) characterise two different epochs.

The Monasteries. The Roman or, more properly speaking, the Catholic style is in its fundamental character essentially priestly. — The building of churches especially originated with the clergy. — The Monasteries were not only the nurseries of science and civilisation, the centre of all energy and zeal in art, but they cultivated the soil too, and made of a waste and barren desert, a fruitful oasis. — Therefore we find that if the monks were not the only fosterers of Architecture, yet it was chiefly in their hands ¹⁾; more especially the Benedictines ²⁾ and after them the Cistercians, occupied themselves with it:

¹⁾ With regard to the distinctive appellations for Masons Wyatt Papworth informs us that the Latin "*Cacmentarius*" is the most ancient (1077) and the one the most in use. — (See Fessler, crit. Hist. and Heldmann.) In the year 1217 one author uses the word "*ccmentarius*", as synonymous with mason. In the year 1212 "*cementarii*" is employed indiscriminately with *sculptores lapidum liberorum*. In the year 1396 this expression is to be met with "*Lathomos vocatos fremaceons*", as also the appellation "Freemason", is in 1396 found in the building scrolls in Exeter Cathedral, and in Kent and in Devonshire. — *Libri muratores* is also sometimes seen.

²⁾ See Fallou l. c. p. 187, etc. Fessler, *Gesch.* III. Part.

Each monastery was a colony in which not merely exercises of devotion were carried on, where languages, Theology, and Philosophy were taught, but in which Agriculture likewise, and many other different trades were pursued. — Every abbot considered it his duty to contribute to the embellishment of the Church attached to his Monastery, and to found new Churches and Monasteries; and as he had also the superintendence of the erection of certain edifices entrusted to his care, the promotion of Architecture, (which at that time included both Painting and Sculpture,) was something which lay near to his heart. The Abbots sketched out the plans of their churches and convents, and superintended the building of them. Hence arose settled school traditions, and the several monasteries formed associations with one another.

The handicrafts living in close connexion with the monasteries and assisting the monks in the execution of their buildings, formed associations amongst themselves from which doubtless the Lodges or *Bauhütten* had their rise¹).

The erection of more considerable public buildings must of necessity for a number of years, have closely united many artists and workmen, who lived together, and worked in common; the permanent duration of these unions, the discipline to be maintained amongst the workmen, and the attainment of the end they had in view, this was only possible if strict order and regularity were observed both among subordinates and equals. Consequently these unions must very soon have

1) Schmieder attributes the religious spirit pervading the present institution and the ecclesiastical style of address bestowed on the officers in the Lodges to the close connection maintained between the "*Bauhütten*" and the monasteries.

assumed a distinctive social character, the fraternities (*Confraternitäten*) established by the monasteries in different countries probably served as models, as advantages were there offered to every member, which, save within their precincts, were difficult to obtain; neither is it impossible that this social form was an inheritance bequeathed by other and earlier building associations.

The Lodges,
"Bauhütten".

When the predilection for building rapidly increased as a natural consequence, the assistance of the laity had to be resorted to, thus in time enabling them likewise to obtain a knowledge and to become versed in the practice of architecture. Indeed, as the monks and bishops gradually renounced simplicity in their manner of living, and art was less esteemed by them, its exercise became confined to the laity alone. —

When at last greater self-reliance had been acquired, and the rising importance of the cities imparted a civil aspect to daily life, the German genius was aroused to a full display of its strength, and boldly attempted to surpass in splendor all the creations ever yet undertaken. Unfettered by the shackles, foreign laws and ceremonies imposed, and strengthened by a clear and complete technical knowledge of their art, the national taste first gave utterance to her deepest thoughts in her own native language¹⁾, and the Saxon (gothic) style of architecture made its appearance 1225 to 1525.

¹⁾ The Christian architects had a prejudice in favor of the upright pointed style of architecture, thus leading the thoughts upwards to Heaven, and this style in its highest perfection is the expression of that innate spirit of piety inherent in the German mind. — It led the architects to form independent creations of their own and to display the most perfect harmony in their architectural design. — It gave them complete command over the huge masses of materials they had to deal with, and we trace its influence in the minutest ornaments. Their works of art were, as it were, a hymn of praise to the Deity, whence they

With unprejudiced minds, the German architects seized upon every thing that had been elsewhere crowned with success, and what they acquired for themselves through their own exertions, this they kept profoundly secret, in their guilds and corporations, which embraced in one common bond of fellowship all the workmen of the more important towns, whether near at hand or at a distance. — The ever restless novelty-loving inhabitants of northern France, who had a large portion of German blood in their veins, are thought to have originated the Gothic style of Architecture; for there, in the period between 1160 to 1170 it made its appearance. Thence it was quickly transplanted to England, afterwards to Germany and the rest of the northern nations, whilst southern kingdoms manifested great indifference on the subject. The further improvement of the gothic style, as well as its perfection, was reserved nevertheless for the Germans. The mathematical rules and proportions appropriate to this style were taught in the Lodges¹⁾ of the German Stone-cutters, and communicated to each other, as secrets appertaining exclusively to their art.

W. v. Hirschau. Similar Lodges (*Bauhütten*) were erected wherever a large edifice was in course of building, and as these buildings often took years to complete, round about the *Bauhütten* dwelling houses were constructed, which ultimately became colonies and even monasteries.

derived the power to create. In a word, the Saxon style of architecture, is elegant in its details, grand in its entirety, inventive, and full of meaning in every part. F. W. Mogk, *die Aegidien-Kirche zu Oschatz*. 1849.

1) Hütte-i. e. Lodge, a booth made of boards, erected near the edifice which was being built, where the Stone-cutters kept their tools, carried on their work, assembled, and most probably occasionally eat and slept there.

The Abbot Wilhelm von Hirschau, Count Palatine of Scheuren, A. D. 1080—1091, is considered as the real founder of the German *Bauhütten*; he had previously been master of the *Bauhütte* of St. Emmeran in Ratisbon, and for the purpose of completing and enlarging the convent of Hirschau, workmen of every kind had been brought together, who had been incorporated with the monastery as Laybrethren, and whose instruction and general improvement had been greatly promoted by him. Their social life was regulated by special laws, and the one the most frequently inculcated by William was, that brotherly concord should prevail, because only by working together and lovingly uniting all their strength, would it be possible to accomplish such great works, as were these undertakings for the public benefit.

Those Lodges conducted by the Benedictines continued to flourish, until the ecclesiastics by degrees lost their taste for architecture, and the masterbuilders, who had been trained by them, separated themselves from the monasteries. As early as the 13th century many Lodges of Stone-cutters existed, which were quite independent of the monasteries, and were closely bound together, forming one general association which included all German Stone-cutters. — They had especial signs of recognition and secret ceremonies (*Heimlichkeiten*), and were kept together by certain guild-laws (*Ordnungen*), to the due observance of which each member was bound by oath, and in which their privileges and duties were clearly defined. — Various contradictory opinions have been expressed concerning the nature and organisation of these Lodges, more especially as regards their skill and science. — Some ignoring the vast and deep intuitive power unfolded in these *Bauhütten*, have discerned in them nothing more than

the ordinary abiding places of incorporated bodies of Craftsmen, wherein a stricter discipline was exercised while others again, largely drawing upon their imagination, have regarded them as the depositories of deep and important mysteries. But in truth the mediæval Lodges were the resort, neither of subtle adepts, nor of mere every-day workmen. A. Reichensperger¹⁾ justly affirms — “the intellectual harmony which existed in those Lodges, notwithstanding the outward diversity exhibited in their creations, is sufficient evidence, that the nature and organisation of the institution had a much firmer footing than could be supplied by arbitrary precepts, and unmeaning signs, adopted by journeymen masons — as also the testimony vouchsafed in the incomparable works of their erection, which like trees of miraculous growth, continued to thrive through long centuries, steadily submitting to be judged by the same laws, whatever changes may have been wrought in the luxury and culture of nations”.

“It is well known” remarks Reichensperger farther “there was less skill displayed in writing in the Middle ages, than in our times, and the least of all in the region of art; the lapidary style in its most literal sense, was the one adopted; they chronicled in buildings and in works of art. Those records, very few of which reach farther back than the middle of the 13th century, especially referring to the building corporations, the monuments of art, and the social life of the middle ages, must be viewed together, so as in some measure to afford a picture of the subject.” All the statutes of the Stone-cutters prove, that practical views of religion, strict morality, and uprightness of conduct were the main pillars on which the Lodges were supported.

¹⁾ „*Die Bauhütten des Mittelalters*“. *Kölner Domblatt* 1851, and *Freimaurerzeitung*. 1859, Nr. 28.

Before however we pass on to study the nature, laws, and customs of the fraternities of Stone-cutters, we will first more closely investigate their origin and gradual development.

The Guilds. In very early times in Germany, we find that confederacies were formed, in which the members by solemn oath entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, to defend each other against all foes foreign and domestic, particularly against the increasing power of the great landed proprietors. Soon after the formation of towns, which gradually rose in importance, and to which numbers of freemen flocked, trade and business improved, and within the walls of these towns, fraternities and guilds were formed, which included all the citizens.

The existence of such protective guilds, in the 13th century, in nearly all German towns is not entitled to belief, merely from the authority of received tradition¹⁾ but from several statutes, which have been handed down to us. They had at their head a brother who took the chair (Alderman, Master), new members were only admitted on good security, regularly constituted assemblies were convened for the despatch of business, in which every thing pertaining to their trade was freely discussed, and the admission of the sons of members was facilitated in every way &c. But as the city guilds shut out the handiercrafts from alliance with them, these latter formed confederacies of their own. —

Although we have no positive documentary evidence of these associations prior to the 12th century, yet this should not make us doubt the fact; for they may possibly, as Winzer very justly remarks, have existed long before they possessed written constitutions. It was not

¹⁾ See Winzer, the German brotherhoods of the Middle ages &c. Giessen, 1859. Ricker's library. Page 29 &c. Note 19.

until they had succeeded in obtaining formal recognition, and when desirous of acquiring some especial privilege, that the necessity of a written constitution was felt, so as to give it, as it were, superior sanction. All such as were free born, irreproachable in conduct, were skilled in their craft and therefore had interests in common, were admitted to this association. The members enjoyed equal rights, acknowledged mutual obligations, and regarded one another as brethren. — This was likewise the case with the Stone-cutters.

2. The Fraternity of Stone-masons.

The magnificent architectural monuments of the Middle ages, and all the splendid buildings of that period, which alone come under our consideration, were principally constructed of large blocks of free-stone, hewn out, and put together, according to the rules sketched out in the architects' design. It is self-evident that for this purpose none but skilled workmen could be employed; these were the Stone-Masons, from the midst of whom arose the Fraternity of Freemasons.

Origin of the Fraternity of Stone-Masons.

The period when the German Stone-masons incorporated themselves into a fraternity will always be very difficult to determine with certainty. Winzer supposes it to be, at the beginning of the 13th century (1211); we shall however scarcely err, if we go back to the 11th century, at which time the Roman style of architecture arose, being a blending of the ancient Roman element with the Saxon. In the year 1000, mankind seized with a panic, to us incredible, were expecting the end of the world and the last judgment. But when the dreaded year had run out its course satisfactorily, every one seemed to breathe

more freely; with ardent zeal old churches were torn down, and in their stead new and more magnificent ones erected.

The erection of these edifices united Masons, especially Stone-masons together, in large numbers. As they were so long engaged on the same building, the workmen were brought in to very close contact; the practise of the same art, their uniting to carry out the same design, the combination of their artistic faculties, united them still more, and was the cause that gradually there arose from their body, the fraternity of German Stone-masons. According to an old tradition, the handicrafts were first created into a brotherhood in Magdeburg Cathedral, to which event the date 876 is most unaccountably fixed, whereas the building was not commenced till 1211. There is however no particular historical importance attached to this tradition.

Milner in his "history of Winchester" says that Bishop Lucy in 1202, established a company of workmen for the furtherance of the building of his Cathedral, and that most likely they were the originators of the fraternity of Freemasons.

Other English authors bring down this event to the reign of Edward III. Gunn (on Gothic Archit.) remarks: "These immense works (in Saxon style) produced a host of artificers, from amongst whom — in imitation of the fraternities already established — companies, academies, schools, and corporations were formed. — An oath of secrecy was administered to the initiated, a veil of mystery was spread over their meetings, a new light was kindled by their means, and valuable discoveries extensively diffused".

In Germany the Fraternity of Masons was most undoubtedly, a still earlier product of the spirit of association of the 10th and 11th centuries, as was like-

wise the Saxon element in Architecture, the most creative in regenerating the art. Therefore we are justified in supposing that the fraternity of Stone-masons existed at the time of the erection of the Cathedrals of Hildesheim 1061, of Naumburg, Speier, Bamberg &c., although most likely these guilds were more thoroughly perfected at a later date, at the period when Gothic architecture flourished. This event perhaps we may venture to assert, was when the Cathedral of Col6gne was built; at least another tradition, independently of the one mentioned above, refers to this city, and more especially to the celebrated scholastic Philosopher Albertus, Count of Bollst6dt, usually known under the name of Albertus Magnus, who in 1249 resided in Cologne, and is pointed out, as the real inventor of the German (gothic) style of architecture. "Albertus¹⁾ recalled into life" says Heideloff²⁾ "the symbolic language of the ancients, which had so long lain dormant, and adapted it to suit architectural forms, where it rendered excellent service, figures and ciphers being adopted as abbreviations, instead of the circumstantial rules prescribed in Architecture, more especially, as in the societies of Architects, they were not allowed to draw up the fundamental laws of the Albertine architecture in writing, for in order not to be profaned, it had to be kept most strictly se-

1) Albertus was born in Lauingen in Suabia in 1205, studied in Padua, entered the order of Dominicans in 1223, and taught in the schools of that order in Hildesheim, Ratisbon, Cologne, and Paris (perhaps also in Strasburg). In the year 1249 he became head-master of the school in Cologne, and 1260 bishop of Ratisbon, whence after two years' sojourn he returned to Cologn6. He was a scholar of considerable note. Besides Theology, he taught Moral and Natural Philosophy, and Mathematics. His great chemical and mechanical skill caused him to be suspected of witchcraft. He died in 1280.

2) Heideloff, *Bauh6tte des Mittelalters*. N6rnberg 1844. p. 10.

cret. — For this reason symbols were made use of. This symbolic language, because of the facility with which it could be turned to account, has always been highly esteemed, and to understand it was looked upon as a point of honor. These symbols were likewise applied as a rule and guide in the practice of art; to those who understood them, they facilitated the work, as by their means, an insight was afforded into the shortest way of understanding its aim and execution; from this artistic language the buildings were constructed. The spirit which imbued this secret doctrine worked effectively in the "*Bauhütten*"; for no apprentice was admitted, who was not endowed with good sound judgment and a certain amount of knowledge, for by such the symbolic language would be more readily understood, than by those who were entirely uncultivated. — The esteem in which they were held, and the feeling of self-reliance with which this inspired them, kept them from communicating the consecrated language to the uninitiated; besides which these symbols served as a medium of intercommunication in the then imperfect state of the art of writing, for the Mason would not have had time, means, and opportunity to learn this; while on the other hand, having as it were, to entertain himself with those signs and emblems, which he had daily before his eyes in his artistic occupations, he could, even when engaged in his work, profit by the instruction and suggestions of his more experienced comrades."

It is even asserted, that Albertus Magnus designed the plan of Cologne Cathedral, which is by no means impossible, as very probably, owing to his great fondness for architecture, he may have belonged to the guilds. It is likewise said¹⁾ that he altered their constitution,

1) Winzer, l. c. page 54.

giving them new laws. But it is very difficult to determine by historical investigation what share he had therein; whether he only gave an impetus to a scientific apprehension of the language of symbols, or whether he threw a light upon the hidden creative power contained in these symbols, making them clear, and capable of being effectually worked out. Bro. Winzer is of opinion, the advantage resulting to us is this, "that as in Cologne Cathedral, the Gothic style is fully carried out in every part, the deeper signification to be understood under these rules and appropriations was revealed. We must however bear in mind the meaning at that period attached to the word science, in which allegory and symbol were the leading features; from the time of the crusades to the Middle Ages, these mystical characteristics are to be found; wherein the wisdom drawn from the Judaism of Arabia with interpretations taken from the Old Testament, constituted the highest flights of philosophy, then do we exactly know of what those rules, and that system of Architecture consisted. Mathematical axioms and geometrical figures, garnished with mystical hints, biblical allusions and interpretations, whence the gothic proportions were derived and upon which they were based, with the rules prevalent in the gothic style, formed the innermost and secret aim of the whole design."

Extension of the Fraternity. Favored by the predilection for building prevailing in the 13th and 14th centuries, architects every where found employment, and it not unfrequently happened, that they were invited by other builders to go to foreign countries. Thus, in the course of time, in Italy, France and England, splendid buildings were erected by Germans¹⁾. — But in Germany espe-

¹⁾ See Dallaway, Discourses upon Architecture, p. 406;

cially, did they travel about and disperse themselves in all directions. — In consequence of which, as early as the 13th century, there were Stone Masons' „*Bauhütten*“ established in Magdeburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Cologne, Halberstadt &c. German architecture however, did not long continue to flourish, and as it declined, the *Bauhütten* declined too, and fell into disorder, to put a stop to which, in 1459, the masters of nineteen different *Bauhütten* in Southern and Central Germany united themselves and, April 25th, in Ratisbon wrote down the re-modelled laws, entitling them “ordinances”. These Statutes were afterwards altered many times and in 1498 were confirmed by the Emperor Maximilian I. and by several successive Emperors.

The Members of the legally constituted autonomian confederacy (Masters, Parlierer [Speakers], journeymen,) acknowledged as superiors the Workmasters in the principal Lodges in Strasburg, Vienna, Cologne, Bern and afterwards Zurich, — but the highest referee of all, was the Master of the principal Lodge in Strasburg Minster; all disputes amongst the members were by him ¹⁾ adjusted. The *Bauhütten* in Lower Saxony, in Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, and many other cities, were not represented in this Stone-Mason congress, nor was their attendance solicited. — It was not till some years later that a copy of the new code of laws, drawn up in Strasburg, was sent to them, accompanied

Zamodia the German at Pisa; John and Simon of Cologne at Burgos in Spain; Otho, a German artificer in the building of Westminster &c.

¹⁾ This was likewise the case, when Vienna and Zurich themselves in important and doubtful causes referred to their mother College at Strasburg. See Schöpfung, *Alsatia Illustrata*. Kr. Urk. 2 vol. p. 243. Schöpfung says amongst other things: “We know, that the fraternity of Freemasons, which spread itself throughout Europe, owed its origin and organisation to the Stone Masons of Germany.”

with the request that they would join the fraternity. Instead of doing so, however, they held a congress Aug. 24th and Sept. 29th 1462, at Torgau, and drew up a special code¹⁾ of their own, which never received legal confirmation. — The fraternity employed in the building of Strasburg Minster were the first in Germany to call themselves Free-Masons, for such as had formerly been under the direction of the monks, had been merely termed fraternities under such and such a saint, and even the original company of Architects at Strasburg before the year 1440 bore the name of Brothers of St. John.

The organization
of the Fraternity.

Let us now turn to the actual organization and system²⁾ of the Fraternity itself. Wherever a master had a building in the course of erection, there were always workmen in great numbers, and the German Stone-masons formed a sort of *confraternitas* together, binding themselves by an oath; to which union besides the confederates, amateurs were also admitted, if they only consented to enter the Brotherhood, and submit to its laws. — Among the privileges granted these amateurs were, a participation in the administration of justice, (in conformity to established custom) a share in the election of officers, in the banquets, and in works of charity. — At the head of the fraternity, there was, in compliance with ancient usage president, i. e. Master of the chair, chosen by vote, for his deserts; he was elected annually, and adjusted all differences, conformably to the observances, practised among mechanics, and the rights of Stone-masons; the rest of the

1) See the laws of the Stone-masons of the year 1462 from the Rochlitz copy in "Communications from the Society of German Masons", vol. I., 2. Part.

2) Winzer, l. c. Page 55. — Fallou, l. c. Page 212.

Brethren were equal, and as such entitled to equal privileges.

The Fellow-craft was obliged to instruct his brother gratuitously in his art, therefore to communicate to him every thing in which he was himself skilled, and this knowledge was only to be imparted to such, as were acknowledged as Brethren. A meeting was convened every month, in which the affairs of the society were discussed, sentence was passed on the offenders against the laws, and last of all a banquet took place. The chief festivals of the Stone-masons, were on St. John the Baptist's Day — and the one designated the Day of the "four crowned martyrs", the especial patron saints of the Stone-masons. Whoever had served his time and finished his travels, sent in his name to the Lodges; if found to have been irreproachable in his conduct, he was accepted, upon payment of his fees and upon his taking the vows of obedience and secrecy. — Besides these monthly meetings every principal Lodge held a chief meeting at least once a year (*Hohe Morgensprache*). When afterwards the masters excluded the Fellow-crafts from these meetings, from two to four principal meetings were held a year, and the quarterly meetings of the Grand Lodges of the present Freemasons are a continuation of these; the Fellow-crafts continued to have monthly meetings, and in this as well as in the reception of new members, they retained a part of the ancient custom. — The meetings and judicial sittings were opened and closed by a catechism or dialogue between the presiding Master and his Wardens. It was not till after his admission into the fraternity, i. e. so long as the Lodges flourished, that the newly made brother, was initiated into the secrets: — instruction was given in Allegory and the symbols in use in monumental architecture, and the explanation of the signification of many architectural adornments was taught,

and he learnt in accordance with the rules of art, himself to sketch, plans so as to pave the way to his one day obtaining the Mastership.

The Saxon Style of architecture, and with it the ancient language of symbols, was preserved in the old German *Bauhütten* till the time of the Reformation, but when the fraternity was on the decline, the assemblies aimed less at improving and perfecting art, than at preserving the ceremonies, and accommodating disputes within their own independent jurisdiction. What they had learned, they retained, but there was no perceptible progress, consequently they retrograded. After the Reformation, when the building of Churches almost entirely ceased, and the symbols were seldomer explained, the Stone-masons degenerated more into mechanics, and as a matter of course their ceremonies, which were not clearly understood, resembled more nearly those of other handicrafts, and lost their meaning, especially as in many places, the Stone-masons were incorporated with the masonic guilds. This was, however, not exactly the case in England; though by degrees they gradually sunk to the grade of mechanics, yet they kept up their ceremonies, so that, when the present fraternity of Free-masons was established, these were still in use, and needed only to have a different signification attached to them.

3. The customs and symbols of the German Stone-masons.

A complete insight into the customs in use among the fraternity of Stone-masons, into their origin and progress, will most likely never be vouchsafed to us. Nevertheless, we know enough to decide that in all essential particulars they are the product of German soil; even the English catechism, as preserved to us amongst the

Sloane Manuscripts No. 3329, contains passages referring to the ancient German Vehmic courts (Vehme).¹⁾ We will leave undecided what Fallou asserts, that the form of initiation amongst the Stonemasons is an imitation of the rite of consecration of the order of Benedictines.

The Fellow-craft when he had served his time, and was desirous of being admitted into the Fraternity, was obliged, as in other guilds, to prove that he was of respectable parentage, born in wedlock and bore a good reputation (there were some trades, which were thought dishonorable, and on that account their sons were ineligible as members of a guild). — Most of the statutes required expressly that they should be free-born, of blameless reputation, possessing capacity both of body and mind. — The candidate then received a sign, his peculiar mark of honorable distinction, which henceforward he had to cut into every work in which he was engaged. — The brother, who proposed his admission, had likewise to become security for his good conduct. — On the day fixed the candidate went into the house, where the assemblies were held, where the master of the chair had had every thing prepared in due order, in the hall of the craft; the brethren were then summoned (of course bearing no weapons of any kind, it being a place dedicated to peace), and the assembly was opened by the Master, who first acquainted them with the proposed inauguration of the candidate, despatching a brother to prepare him. The messenger, in imitation of an ancient heathen custom, suggests to his companion, that he should assume the demeanour of a suppliant; he is then stripped of all weapons, and every thing of metal is taken from him; he is divested of half his garments, and with his eyes

¹⁾ Secret Criminal courts of justice, established in Germany during the middle ages.

bound, and breast and left foot bare, he stands at the door of the hall, which is opened to him after three distinct knocks. — The Junior Warden conducts him to the Master, who makes him kneel and repeat a prayer. The candidate is then led three times round the hall of the guild, halting at last at the door, and putting his feet together in the form of a right angle, that he may in three upright square steps place himself in front of the Master. Between the two, lying open on the table, is a New Testament, a pair of compasses, and a Mason's square over which in pursuance of an ancient custom, he stretches out his right hand, swearing to be faithful to the duties to which he pledges himself, and to keep secret, whatever has been, or may be hereafter made known to him in this place. — The bandage is then removed from his eyes, the three great Lights are shewn him, a new apron bound round him, the password given him, and his place in the hall of the Guild pointed out to him. The manner of knocking and gripe of the hand were and are the same as those now used by the apprentices in Freemasonry. After the Master has enquired, if any one has any thing else to submit to the decision of the assembly, he closes the proceedings with the usual knocks of the Stone-masons' hammer.

At the banquet which invariably succeeds the reception of the candidate, which feasts were always opened and closed with prayer, the chief-master proposes to drink the health of the newly accepted brother in the drinking cup oft he Brotherhood called "Willkommen" to which the brother replies by drinking to the welfare of the whole fraternity. At that time, as now, and in all other guilds, healths were drunk with three times three; the cup was taken hold of with a glove, or pockethandkerchief; the cover lifted off; and lastly it was carried to the lips;

the cup was emptied in three separate draughts and replaced on the table in three motions.

When a Fellow-craft was on his travels, and wished to visit the Lodge of any place for the first time, he knocked three times distinctly approaching, with three upright regular steps, the Master or Speaker, (Polirer, a corruption of Parlierer) who supplies the place of the Master in his absence, and also addresses strangers, the other Fellows all standing round, their feet placed at right angles.

The salutations of the travelling Fellows are: God greet you, — God guide you, — God reward you — Master, Parlierer, and all good comrades. Upon which the Master or Parlierer returns thanks that the apprentice may know, which is the chief, then he continues "the Master N. N. sends you a greeting!" — — This is a summary account of the customs usual amongst the German Masons on the admission of a candidate. Whoever wishes to know more on the subject, is referred to the works of Fallou and Winzer and likewise to Appendix A: "Examination of German Stonemasons."

Symbolism. Together with the customs which the Stonemasons received, and upon which they greatly improved, there were likewise secret teachings in architecture, and mystical numbers handed down to them, which they employed in their buildings. The numbers 3, 5, 7, and 9, were especially sacred, as were also the colors gold and azure which bore a symbolic allusion to their art, and white to their secret association. The "interlaced cord" which is to be found sometimes as an adornment over portals, has reference to this last. The following articles were their most expressive and peculiar symbols: the compasses, square, the thone-hammer or gavel, and foot rule, all which had in the *Bauhütten* an especial meaning conferred on them. As in the Church the Priest took his place in

the East, so in the *Hütte* did the Master of the chair; the wardens of the fraternity sat in the West facing the East. These three principal officers were emblematical of the three pillars in the *Bauhütte*: Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, and served too as types of the Brotherhood.

With regard to the symbolising of the masonic implements it was not alone a characteristic of the times, but by example it was made incumbent on all; for the Stonemasons were by no means the first, who symbolised the instruments of their trade; though indeed above all other guilds they had most especial cause to invest them with a far higher worth, and to refer them to a spiritual building; for it was a holy vocation to which they devoted themselves. By the erection of a house to God's service, the Master Mason did not alone perpetuate his own name, but assisted also to the glorification of the greatest of all Beings, to the Spread of the knowledge of Christianity, and stimulated to the practice of Christian virtue and piety.

Intimations of their secret Brotherhood and of the symbols known to them are to be found on all their monumental buildings, as well as of their religious views, which were entirely opposed to the prevailing corruption of morals of the clergy every where, as well as to the strict orthodox doctrines of the Church. — In the St. Sebaldus Church in Nuremburg is a carving in stone, representing a nun, in the lewd embrace of a monk. In the large Church at Strassburg, in one of the transepts opposite the pulpit, a hog and a goat may be seen carrying a sleeping fox, as a sacred relic; a bitch is following the hog; in advance of this procession is a bear with a cross, and before the bear a wolf holding a burning wax taper. Then follows an ass, who is reading Mass at the Altar. In the Cathe-

dral of Würzburg are to be found the significant columns J. and B. which were in the porch of Solomon's temple. In the Church of Doberan in Mecklenburg¹⁾ there are many double triangles placed in a significant manner, three vine leaves in masonic fashion, united by a cord, and symbolic ciphers on the columns; there is further a beautifully preserved Altar piece which apprizes us of the religious views of the architect. In the foreground there are priests turning a mill, grinding dogmatic doctrines therein. In the upper part of the picture is the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus, having a flaming star on the lower part of her body. At the bottom of the picture is a representation of the Lord's Supper, in which are the Apostles in the well known Freemasons' attitude &c. In another gothic Church is a satirical delineation of the over-shadowing of the Holy Ghost; a picture of Mary, from beneath whose dress issues a leathern pipe, up to the picture of the Holy Ghost; in the Cathedral of Brandenburg a fox in priestly robes is preaching to a flock of geese; in the Minster at Berne, in a picture of the last judgment, the Pope is amongst the damned.

The corporations of Architects existed when the orthodox Church was at the very height of its glory, and the Papacy probably in the plenitude of its power, but at the same time she had to wrestle with a widely spreading enlightenment, and with many communities of so-called Heretics, Gnostics and Manichees, and some too who held Christian opinions in all their original purity, as for instance the Cathari, the Albigenses, the Waldenses, Paterini; the votaries and adhe-

¹⁾ See „The Church in Doheran, described in reference to Freemasonry by Brother Paetow, Orator in the Lodge of three Stars in Rostock in the *Freimaurerzeitung* 1858 Nr. 49. (The Church was consecrated in 1368.)

rents of these various denominations wandered into every part of Europe, forming new communities, not only receiving noblemen, freemen, citizens, and merchants into fellowship with them, but monks, abbots, and bishops. Reason was every where arming herself in silence, to defend the oppressed kingdom of God, and in the midst of intellectual darkness to preserve the light of truth. Excommunication, interdict, and the funeral-pile were insufficient to suppress and hinder the rapid development and spiritual emancipation of the human race.

The German Stonemasons could not remain ignorant of these struggles, and there is not the least doubt, that some of them even secretly played their part, as the „*Wahrzeichen*” (Signs) of which we have just made mention, and which we might have very considerably multiplied, most amply testify. The Masons, by reason of the nature of their art, were continually brought into contact with all classes and conditions of men; they had a personal knowledge of the nature of the Church, and well knew the degeneracy of the clergy. They were far ahead of their contemporaries in general knowledge and education; and in their travels to and fro, not only throughout Europe, but sometimes extending to the far East, they became familiar with widely-differing religious views, and obtained a clearer conception of Christianity. They had also learned to practice toleration, and their Lodges became a sure place of refuge for those, whom religious fanaticism persecuted on account of their opinions. — All who were good and true, and well skilled in the art, were received among them, and were protected from the persecutions of the Church, and of the blood-thirsty Inquisition, which could be the more readily done by them, as no class or condition could possibly dispense with the operative Masons, and having the secrets of their art to

preserve, they were not so open to the suspicions of the Church ¹).

4. The Dissolution of the Fraternity.

The decline of the German Brotherhood ²) went hand in hand with the decline of the desire to erect new buildings, added to which, the art of printing rendered education more general, and the Universities spread everywhere more universal enlightenment. The Reformation gave a clearer insight into every branch of science, bestowing fresh vigor on all mental struggles, but at the same time diminishing the respect hitherto shewn to symbolism and art. The farther the Reformation extended, the fewer the churches and monasteries which were built, and the greater the number of builders thrown out of employment. Then followed the Thirty Year's War, during which all building was discontinued. In 1681 the ancient city of Strasburg fell into the hands of the French, and the German princes, so often deceived by the intrigues of Louis XIV. and jealous of his power, sought by every possible means to circumscribe his influence in Germany. Their attention must necessarily have been attracted to a community like that of the Masons, the members of which scattered throughout

1) Notwithstanding this, however, the fraternities existing as early as the year 1189 were prohibited by the council of Rouen (Cap. 25), and the same was most clearly expressed at the council of Avignon in the year 1326 where (Cap. 37) it is said, the members of the fraternity met annually, bound themselves by oath mutually to love and assist each other, wore a costume, had certain well-known and characteristic signs and countersigns, and chose a president (Majorem) whom they promised to obey.

2) See Heldmann l. c. pag. 337. — In *France*, the Building Associations flourished for a time, but about the beginning of the 16th century, gradually declined, and finally united with the city guilds or corporations. They were entirely abolished by Francis I. in 1539. (Rebold, *hist. gén.* pag. 75.)

Germany, and bound together by the closest ties, still owed allegiance to the mother-lodge of Strasburg, then under French jurisdiction. By a decree of the Imperial Diet, March 16th 1707, all connection of the German Stone-masons with the *Haupt-Hütte* of Strasburg was formally interdicted. Attempts were made to establish a National *Haupt-Hütte* for Germany, but without success; and disputes and dissensions arose among the various Lodges. In consequence of these difficulties, as well as of numerous complaints concerning abuses which had gradually crept into the craft, the Imperial Edict of Aug. 16th 1731, abolished all *Haupt-Hütten*, as such, transferring to the government alone the adjudication of all disputes between the guilds and crafts. It was also ordained that all distinction between the Salute-masons (*Grussmaurer*) and the Lettermasons (*Briefmaurer*) should thenceforth be dropped, and that for the future no new Master should be sworn to conceal the secrets of the craft.

Nevertheless the association was still continued in secret, and still retained the distinction between the *Gruss-* and the *Brief-Maurer*, their own administration of justice, and their subordination to the *Haupt-Hütte*. This is the case, even in the present day, in many places in Germany. For example the Saxon Stone-masons even now regard the Strasburg *Hütte* (Lodge) as their chief Lodge. The last regular legislative assembly of the German Stone-masons was held in the year 1563. Much light has been thrown upon the traditions, history, usages, and customs of the craft during the past few years. Reichensperger lately discovered at Triers the Archives or Guild chest of the Stone-masons' Company, which is said to have contained many valuable manuscripts; among others, one dated Oct. 30th 1397. In the city Library of Triers is still preserved the record book of

the Stone-masons' court, embracing a period of several years from 1670—1721 and containing much valuable and interesting information concerning the ancient customs and usages of the craft.

5. Constitutions of the Steinmetzen of Strasburg.

At this day we have no authentic documents which refer to the organization of the German Stone-masons' Fraternity, during the most flourishing period of its existence. It was only when the ancient forms had commenced falling into disuse, when the taste for forming leagues and confederacies was on the wane, and when the true comprehension of the meaning of the ancient ritual, usages, and discipline was beginning to disappear, that the Masons felt the necessity of endeavoring to prevent the total extinction of their society, by re-establishing the ancient land-marks, by excluding all foreign elements from the craft, and by compelling all the Stone-Masons to belong to the Guild or Fraternity. For this purpose, they assembled together in the year 1459, and resolved to renew and revise their ancient constitutions.

These statutes which are undoubtedly based on the ancient customs and laws of the craft, were discussed and agreed on, at two assemblies of Masters and Fellows, "held in the manner of a Chapter", (*"in Kapitelsweise"*) the first at Ratisbon on Easter day 1459, and the second shortly after at Strasburg, when they were definitively adopted and promulgated. The spirit of the German Imperial Constitution is plainly to be seen in all its features.

The expression "*in Kapitelsweise*" which is used by no other Guild, is derived from the convent meetings of the Benedictine monks, which were termed "*Capitula*" or Chapters. All the precepts of these Statutes, which were kept secret from the profane, and were read at

least once a year in the lodges, refer especially to the moral obligations of the brethren to one another, and breathe throughout, a spirit of brotherly love, strict integrity and morality.

This ancient document was printed from a well authenticated manuscript of the *Haupt-Hütte* at Strasburg, appearing in Heldmann's "three most ancient historical memorials of the German Fraternity of Freemasons" (Aarau 1819), then in Krause's *Urkunden II. 1.*, in Heideloff's "*Bauhütte des Mittelalters*" (Nürnberg 1844), in Kloss' "*die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*" where it is compared with the English corporation laws (page 108) and finally extracts have been taken from it by Fallou (L. c.) and in W. Keller's brief survey of the general history of Freemasonry.

The *Haupthütte* in Strasburg took advantage of the presence of the Emperor Maximilian to obtain a confirmation of their Statutes in 1498, or perhaps only an abridgement of them, which were afterwards submitted to other Emperors to receive their sanction likewise. But the whole of these different confirmations, as they merely repeat the words of Maximilian I., were only bestowed upon the ancient Statute of the year 1459 which, it is worthy of remark, bears the most ancient date of any authentic document extant, and only a little later than the Halliwell document. — The revised Statute of the year 1463 contains a repetition of the former laws of 1459, with a few additions, which time and circumstances and greater experience rendered necessary.

To this revised Statute is wanting the ecclesiastical preface and the mention of the "four crowned martyrs", the Patron saints of the Fraternity.¹⁾

1) The Legend of the "four crowned Martyrs" together with the decrees of the imperial diet which prohibited all connexion with the *Haupthütte* are to be found in Kloss l. c. page 257.

The *Bauhütten* in Northern Germany determined at Torgau in 1462, as has been already mentioned, upon having a new Constitution for themselves. We subjoin an abridgment of the Constitution of Strasburg in Appendix B.

C. The Building Corporations of England.

I. The Fraternity of English Architects.

When in the fifth century, Britain became the spoil of Northern warriors, all progress in the arts was nipped in the bud. The various works of architecture erected by the Romans were destroyed. Civilization remained at a stand still, or to speak more correctly, relapsed into barbarism, as in other Roman provinces which were tottering to their fall. The half-savage conquerors of the land, the rude Angles and Saxons, like all other nations in a state of infancy, destroyed what they knew not how to prize, until finally, under the gentle influence of dawning Christianity, the manners of the people became more gentle, and more humane views began to prevail. The people commenced improving their public and private buildings, and to rebuild and repair those which had been destroyed by the ravages of time and war. Alfred the Great, the founder of Oxford University (872—900) and a patron of the arts and sciences, devoted much attention to architecture. It did not escape his observation, that in the buildings completed in his reign, that unity of purpose was wanting, which is so

necessary in architecture. During the reign of Athelstan, many skilful architects came from foreign lands especially from France and Germany,¹ where at this time, the art of building had already made some progress.

The German customs in England. As had been formerly the case, so in later times, the construction of all religious buildings in England was under ecclesiastical supervision. Among those especially noted for their architectural skill was Dunstan, a Benedictine monk, Archbishop of Canterbury (946), Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, and Ethelbald, Bishop of Winchester. From the sixth to the ninth centuries many British monks travelled to Germany, in order to propagate the Christian religion, and we frequently find them in different parts of Europe, engaged in the erection of Churches and monasteries. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, and at the beginning of the fourteenth, German architects and workmen were invited to come to England and Scotland, so that there was a constant communication between the architects of England and the continent.

The German element had already been introduced among the English Masons, when the Normans became masters of the country, and the Danes and Saxons had usurped all crafts and trades. This peculiarity became even still more marked when the Gothic (Saxon) style, which as we have shown, was originally the peculiar secret of the German Stone-masons, began to be adopted in England. There is now scarcely a doubt that a large proportion of German workmen were employed in the construction of the Gothic edifices of England, erected during the fourteenth century, and it is even supposed that the principal Architects were German Masons. The constant recurrence of such names as Schaw, J. Swalwe, Stephen Lote, W. Ambler, Joh. Bald, J. Beyst, Rob.

Brekeling, Derlyng, Evers, Felter, Fubrig etc. seem to furnish testimony of the fact; all ecclesiastical buildings were erected under the authority and management of the Bishops, and the architects themselves played a very subordinate part, having to cede their renown as Artists to their patrons. Therefore were the names of the Architects but seldom mentioned.

When we take into consideration the very large number of extensive buildings erected during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in England and Scotland, which must have required numerous craftsmen and many years for their completion, we must arrive at the conclusion that the native artisans could not possibly have sufficed for the work. This is admitted by all the English historians. "In every country where the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope was acknowledged", says Br. Stephen Jones¹⁾, in accordance with Br. Laurie, "there was a continual demand, particularly during the twelfth century, for religious structures, and consequently for operative Masons"..... "There was no kingdom in Europe where the zeal of the inhabitants for Popery was more ardent, the King and nobles more liberal to the clergy, or the Church more richly endowed than in Scotland. The demand therefore, for elegant cathedrals and ingenious artists must have been proportionally greater here than in other countries, and that demand could be supplied only from the trading associations on the Continent. When we consider, in addition to these facts, that the Society monopolized the building of all the religious edifices of Christendom, we are authorized in concluding that the numerous and elegant specimens of Architecture which still adorn various towns in Scotland were erected by

¹⁾ Encycl: London, vol. XIV. S. Mossdorf, *Mittheilungen* pag. 156.

foreign Masons¹⁾, who introduced into the island the customs of their order."

And again the London Architect Wyatt Papworth remarks: (L. c.)

"Bearing in mind the very great numbers of foreign workmen who settled in this country before and during the sixteenth and the very early part of the seventeenth centuries, bringing with them the trade traditions and usages of the German, Flemish, and Dutch provinces; we may think that these workmen joining some of the Friendly Societies they found existing, have probably formed the foundation for the above recorded meetings."

It appears therefore certain, that the German „*Steinmetzen*" did travel to England and Scotland, and that they brought with them and introduced among the English Masons the peculiar usages and customs of their Lodges.

The English Masons. As in the case of the German Stonemasons, so did the English Masons at an early period form fraternities or associations, the members of which recognized one another by secret signs and tokens. But the latter were never so free and independent as the former, and were continually more or less under the surveillance of the government, possessing merely the right to assemble in a body, to levy contributions from their members, choose their Masters and Wardens, and hold their regular meetings and banquets. Meetings were held regularly, wherever buildings were in the course of erection. Their Lodges were at sunrise, the Master taking his station in the East, and the Brethren forming

¹⁾ Preston, Illustrations of Masonry; 15 Edit, page 12" says: "The Lodges in the very earliest times", were under the guidance of foreigners, and were therefore seldom visited. He here refers to the sixth century, but on page 128 he continues: „many forsigners came to England, who introduced the Gothic style of architecture".

a half-circle around him. After prayer, each craftsman had his daily work pointed out to him, and received his instructions. At sunset they again assembled after labor, prayer was offered, and their wages paid to them. In stormy weather, the craft assembled in a convent-hall, or some other sheltered place, but in fair weather their meetings (Lodges) were held in the open air, generally on the top of the hill, where no one could listen to their proceedings ¹⁾.

Before opening the Lodge, guards were stationed to keep off eavesdroppers and to prevent the uninitiated from approaching. When the Lodge took place in the open air, this was scarcely possible; but more practicable in rainy weather, when the meetings were held in covered buildings. The old Masonic expression "it rains", formerly used to denote the approach of a listener, but now almost obsolete, is derived from the punishment inflicted on an eavesdropper when caught, namely to be placed under the eaves of the house in rainy weather, until the water ran in at his shoulders and out at his shoes.

The word "Free mason", Free-stone-mason (one who worked at the free-stone, ornamental stone, in contradistinction to the rough-mason, the common mason) occurs for the first time in the Statute 25. Edward III. (1350). In this and in many subsequent Acts, the Freemasons are treated like all the other guilds; the rate of wages is fixed by law, and they are even sometimes forbidden to leave their places of residence without the permission of their lords, or of the authorities; being considered as bondsmen of the soil. As early as 1360 "Congregations, chapters, regulations, and oaths," were forbidden among them, and this ordinance was subse-

1) "Biograph. Britann". X. p. 590. — „Biog. of Wren”.

quently renewed and stringently enforced. Hence we see, that they were not the favorites of kings, princes, and nobles, which the historians of Freemasonry would so gladly claim for their *Grand Masters*, but the law seems rather to regard them as assembling merely for the purpose of obtaining an increase of their wages; their secrets and their exact meaning remaining unknown to all the world. In 1389, it was enacted that, in case of resistance, the Justices of the Peace might call in the assistance of the Sheriff of the County, or the Mayor of the City, or the Alderman of the town; they must therefore have been present at their Quarterly Meetings. The most ancient Constitution of 1427, and Anderson following its lead, attempt to turn this circumstance into an honor for the Fraternity, leading us to suppose that these various officers were present in the capacity of initiated brethren. But we cannot believe that, at that period, amateurs could have been present as Accepted Masons, or, as honorary members. Now and then possibly, those patrons, who were nominated by the King to superintend the erection of buildings might have been present at a meeting, but they had certainly no knowledge of the secret customs and usages of the craft¹).

1) In 1558 immediately after her accession to the throne, Elisabeth revived a decree which had been formerly passed, forbidding all unlawful and rebellious meetings; if then the incident mentioned by Masonic historical writers as occurring December 27th 1561 be true, viz: that Elisabeth was desirous of breaking up a Meeting of Freemasons, which took place at York, but was prevented by Lord Sackville who was present, becoming their security with the Queen, yet it does not necessarily follow, as has been assumed, that he was present as an Accepted Mason, but he may have been at the winter Quarterly Meeting of the St. John's Festival, as an enthusiastic amateur of the Art of Architecture, which history pronounces him actually to have been. (Kloss, *die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 299.

In 1495 all artisans and workmen were again forbidden to use "liveries, signs, and tokens". In 1548 all the building crafts were permitted to freely practice their art, in all the kingdom; but this license was again revoked in the following year, except so far as concerned the city of London. It is evident therefore, that the Freemasons were at all times considered as a mere guild, and were as such subject to the laws relating to the guilds.

Masonic legislation in England and Germany. That the English Freemasons and German Stonemasons were actually branches of the same Fraternity, can no longer be doubted, more especially when we consider the striking resemblance which exists between the old English Constitutions and the Regulations of the German Steinmetzen. The Principal points in which they differ are in the duration of the term of apprenticeship, the English Statutes requiring *seven* and the German *five* years' service, and the necessity the German Masons were under, as soon as they became journeymen, of travelling for two or more years, before they could be made Masters; while in England the apprentice, having faithfully served his allotted time, could at once become a Fellow-craft and then Master, without further probation, provided his skill and means sufficed, and that he inspired the Master builders with confidence in him. The German Masons were, in a great measure, more free and independent than their English brethren, who were continually under the supervision of the government; the latter were however more solicitous concerning the mental advancement, the artistic development, and the moral worth of their apprentices than the former. As strict morality was made such an indispensable condition to be observed by every member of the Lodge, the Fraternity have exercised a great and salutary influence over the middle

classes, by the spread and maintenance of these principles. Within the fraternity itself, there appears to have been during the whole of the Middle ages, only one form of initiation, one kind of ceremony observed by the Stone-masons in Germany, as well as by the Freemasons in England; all the Brethren were on an equal footing, and the Master only meant that member of the craft, who was elected by vote, to preside in the Lodge. The three degrees of apprentice, fellow-craft, and master, were only applied in reference to their art. The apprentice engaged to acquire the knowledge essential to his calling. A pass-word was given him, that he might obtain entrance into the building which was being erected. His work consisted in having to learn every thing relating to his art, and in aiding its development by his personal exertions: when his progress was manifest, and he had behaved himself in all respects discreetly, he was chosen as a fellow-craftsman; single pieces of work were given him to perform, and he was appointed instructor to some of the apprentices. When he could undertake the erection of a building without assistance, he was made a Master. The design of the building was sketched out by the Master (Architect) himself, who either superintended the work, or else provided some other Master (Surveyor) to conduct it. Admittance into the Fraternity and the promotions therein, were all attended with their properly appointed ceremonies, all being carried on by word of mouth. — The customary forms, signs, and pass-words in use had all to be learned by heart, to prove their being real members of the order.

“These three significant elements”, remarks Br. G. Kloss, “the equality of the members of the guild, the solicitude for their improvement in the technical part of their art, the strict regard paid to the moral conduct of

individuals, have been the solid basis on which the permanent progress of the guild in England is founded; though it may be that they have not effected much towards the advancement of the magnificent works characterising the period of the middle ages, when architecture was at its height. These characteristics of the English masonic legislation, assured to the guild the possibility of renewing their strength at any time, — the guild did not consist only of the Stone-masons, but included likewise the whole company of builders — and the fortunate circumstance that they could never be incorporated by the State into any exclusive society with selfish aims, (those rare cases when they may be found united to a single town, can scarcely be reckoned) enabled them to form combinations with other corporations, and with persons of different ranks and corporations having architectural skill, and a predilection for building. By these means, they always had it in their power to acquire fresh knowledge, and as according to the natural course of all human efforts, the period of the total decline of the architecture of the middle ages, would have caused them to sink into complete insignificance, the support of this adventitious element from without, taken from the best intelligence of the whole of the English nation gave them fresh vigor, and like the Phoenix they sprang into new life and appeared on the great stage of the world, under the form of modern Freemasonry.”

2. The constitutions of the English Masons.

The English Stone-masons, like their German brethren, wrote down their laws from time to time, in which perpetual reference can be traced to the constitutional laws of a similar date. The most ancient of the documents, as yet known to us, is that of the antiquarian Halliwell,

a Non-Mason, which he found in the British Museum under the form of an ancient parchment manuscript¹⁾ in duodecimo, and to quote the words of the discoverer: "could not have been written later than the latter half of the fourteenth century" (1356—1400); but Brother Kloss²⁾ is of opinion that it was written between 1427—1445 — and he founds his belief on the result of the decrees of Parliament from 1425—1427 (L. c. p. 270) and thinks; and probably he is in the right, that the Halliwell document could not have been written before the publishing of the laws of 1427, nor after those of 1444—1445.

This document contains besides its general title (*Hic incipiunt constitutiones artis Geometriae secundum Euclidem*) 790 lines in old English verse; first comes (Line 1—86) the ancient Legend, then in two divisions, the laws in fifteen articles, and fifteen additional resolutions, these latter entitled "plures constitutiones". The lines from 471—496 are especially significant; they are headed "Another adaptation of the art of Geometry", for they probably contain the first copy of the Masonic laws. The concluding portion is the Legend of the „four crowned Martyrs“, and some moral instruction to those to whom the Manuscript should be read. This appeal to the saints in the German guild the „*vier Gekrönten*“, also to be found in the German constitutions, must be regarded as a most decided proof of the identity of the German and English Stone-masons, and of their having one common parentage. But the

1) The early history of Freemasonry in England by James Orchard Halliwell. London, 1840. Translated into German a) by Br. Asher: Hamburg 1842. b) Hermann Marggraff. c) Also a translation of the same is in the *Latomia*, vol. I.

2) L. c. page 282.

Findel, History of Freemasonry.

English document is superior to the German one, as in Article 15, the pure moral element "implicit truth" is commanded, which is not mentioned in the German one. Still older than the Halliwell Constitution are the two Constitutions of the Masons of York¹⁾, one of the year 1370, the other of the year 1409.

2) The next in date after Halliwell's, is that of Br. Matthew Cooke, published in London²⁾. The Editor says — apparently with reference to inquiries made concerning the date of the Manuscript — from the characters and the kind of abbreviations made use of, he concludes that it originated in the latter half of the fifteenth century. As the ancient manuscript itself specifies the source whence its citations were drawn, viz: from the "Polychronicon" of Caxton, printed in London in 1482, we are so far certain with regard to the period when it was committed to writing, that it could not have been before this year. The Cooke-Baker document must then have been written between the years 1482—1500.

The Introduction runs thus, somewhat differing from those known to us: "Thanked be God: our glorions ffadir" &c. It contains no invocation to the Trinity, but only a Prayer of Thanksgiving to God, no mention of esteemed Kings and Princes as protectors of art; Freemasonry is designated as the "Science of Geometry". — The legend of the guild is related somewhat in detail and at times with such a complete knowledge of chronology and history, that it is a proof, that those criteria cited by Brother Kloss (L. c. pages 16 and 18) of the extreme antiquity of the document in the *Gentl. Mag.*

1) See *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*. Page 181 and 198.

2) *The History and Articles of Masonry* (Now first published from a M. S. in the British Museum) &c. By Matthew Cooke. London 1861. R. Spencer. — (Brit. Museum Add. M. S. Nr. 23, 198. See also Prefacs. Page VII.

are wholly unsupported. In this ancient constitution of Cooke's, the articles are numbered, while the peculiar initial word "and" (= Item in the German Documents) at the beginning of single sentences, and "and also" are wanting: in like manner the "Points" are numbered. The "other" duties, which Euclid is supposed to have supplied, are not in it. In no other document, which has come to our knowledge, is St. Adhabell mentioned, who it is said converted St. Alban. The number of Articles is nine. — A similar document, alike in the beginning and the end, in the hand-writing of Wm. Reid Secr. to the Grand Lodge in 1728, was in May 1864 offered for sale by the Bookseller, Th. Kerslake in Bristol. — All other constitutions are of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

3) Of the one published in the Gentleman's Magazine, James Dowland, who sent it to the Magazine, remarks, it was "most probably written in the earlier part of the seventeenth century", but "very likely copied from a much more ancient Manuscript". — With this document do most of the Manuscripts known to us agree, excepting only in a few unessential and unimportant particulars; as for example a scroll of the Lodge of "Hope" at Bradford, also one in York of the year 1704, the Landsdowne Manuscript, one of Laurie's (Appendix VII page 457) &c.

4) The Harleian Manuscript No. 2054, in the British Museum, in the hand-writing of Randle Holmes. — Br Woodford¹⁾ has a copy of it. This document was found in Chester, and was the property of the Chester guilds. — At the end of the Manuscript are the names of the Brethren received into the Fraternity

¹⁾ Sandys in his short view of the History of F. M. London 1829, transfers it to the latter part of the seventeenth century.

with what each had to pay as Entrance fee (give for to be a free Mason), and which was generally 10 or 20 shillings, but varied as some only paid 5 sh. others 20 sh.

Among other things it is said there are "several words and signes of a free Mason to be reveiled" &c., which may be communicated to no one, except to the Master and fellows of the said society of Freemasons. So help me God.

Where in other Manuscripts it is written *Tunc unus* &c. it is here said "Here followeth the worthy and godly oath of Masons".

5) A document is recorded in an Inventory of the York Lodge of the year 1630 (Lost).

6) The Sloane M. S. No. 3849 in the British Museum signed by Edward Sankey, sexto die Octobris A. D. 1646.

It does not contain the words "*Tunc unus*" &c., and states that the wages granted by St. Alban to the Masons were 3 sh. 6 d.

7) The Sloane M. S. No. 3323 in the British Museum written by Thomas Martin in the year 1659.¹⁾

8) The Preston M. S. placed by him from 1685—1688, and another by Krause in the time of William III.

9) The constitution to be found in the Archives of the Union Lodge of York of the year 1693. It is written on a long and narrow strip of paper, legible, but in ancient characters. — The title runs thus: "1693. Brother Geo. Walker of Wetherby to the Grand Lodge of York 1777." — (Therefore Br Walker presented it to

¹⁾ Br. Woodford has copies of both the Sloane M. S. S. Br. M. Cooke in the *Freem. Mag.* I. p. 31. has wrongly marked both these Manuscripts as "*Copies of the Landsdowne No. 98*". Neither of them are verbatim copies, but variations upon the Landsdowne and Gentl. Mag. manuscripts.

the Gr. L. in the year 1777.) The beginning is torn and incomplete, but the contents are nearly exactly like those of the so-called York Constitution¹⁾: "The might of . . . Father . . . Heaven and wisdom . . . thro' the goodness of the . . . be with us . . . at our beginning and give . . . to governe our lives that we may . . . eternal joyes." It then continues: — Seven liberall sciences of the which &c. The conclusion is thus: "Those be the Constitutions of the noble and famous history called Masonry made and now in practice by the best masters and fellows for directing and guiding all that use the said Craft, scripted by me vicesimo tertio die octobris, Anno Regni regis et reginae Gulielmy et Marie quinto anno domini 1693.

Mark Kipling."

"The names of the Lodg" at that time were: William Simpson, Christopher Thompson, Anthony Horsmann, Christopher Gill, Mr. Isaak Brent — Lodg Ward.

10) The constitution to be found in the archives of the Union Lodge of York of the year 1704. It is legible and written on parchment, and — with the exception of a few unimportant differences — it is almost word for word like the one in the *Gentl. Mag.*

The title is: "The constitutions of Masonrie. 1704" — and before this: "An Anagram upon the name of Masonrie, Robert Preston to his friend Daniel Moulton upon the art of Masonry as following. — Then follows the Anagram, which I could not decipher.

The following is the Introduction: The might of the Father of Heaven, together with the Wisdom of the blessed Son, through the grace of God, and the favôr of the Holy Ghost, three Persons in one Godhead, be with us at our beginning and bestow upon us grace so to

¹⁾ See Krause, *Kunsturk.* II. p. 58.

govern ourselves in this life, that we may attain to his Blessedness, which will never end. The conclusion:

“And also that every Mason shall perform his works truly and not slightly for his pay but serve his Lord truly for his wages. And also that Every Master shall truly finish and make an end of his works whether it be by tax or by Journey (viz) by Measure or by Days if he has his pay and all other covenants performed to him by the Lord of the works according to his bargain. These Charges that we have now rehearsed to you and to all other here present which belonged to Masons you shall well and truly keep to your power so help you God and by the Contents of that Book. Amen.

Script nono Die Septembris Anno etc. A. D. 1704.”

11) The Manuscript in the possession of Mr. Wyatt Papworth of London of the year 1714, bearing the inscription: “In the Lord is all our trust” and almost word for word like the copy in the *Gentl. Mag.*, so that Mr. Papworth has copied from it the conclusion which was wanting in his Manuscript.

12) The Copy given in “The secret history of Freemasonry; London, Briscoe, 1724. 4. P. 1—27.

13) Cole’s Editions: a) The one engraved in copper and dedicated to the Grand Master, Lord Kingston, 1729: — b) Second Edition, London, Creeke and B. Cole, 1731. — c) The Editions printed in 1751, 1754 and 1762. . . .

14) The copy in Hiram or the Grand Master Key &c. London, 1764. 2 Ed. 1766.

15) The Landsdowne M.S. No. 98. which Mr. Orch. Halliwell marks with the date 1600, and with which the two Sloane M.S. correspond almost exactly. According to Bro. Cooke’s statement it was first printed in the *Freemasons Magazine* Febr. 1794, and again in 1858, IV. p. 343.

16) The Harleian M.S., No. 1942, printed in the *Freemasons Quart. Review*. 1836, p. 288. Br Kloss says touching it (L. c. 20): It is written in the modern language of the age to which it is ascribed. The text is nearly the same as that upon which the one in the *Gentl. Mag.* is founded, only it is frequently more concise in its terms. For in the former copies, the laws are divided into general and special duties, here however they follow each other consecutively, and are numbered from 1—25. Those bearing the title, — “The new Articles” from No. 26—31, were, from what Anderson says in his *Book of Constitutions* (1738) received by the Grand Master of St. Albans in his statutes, made Dec. 27. 1663. By this we can calculate the period of the subsequent edition of this Harleian Manuscript, which in its 31st and last article contains, curiously enough, the formulary of the oath, administered to the candidate for Freemasonry.

Besides these, Hutchinson in his “*Spirit of Masonry*,” 1775, p. 98 speaks of a Manuscript in the possession of Mr. Wilson of Bromhead in Yorkshire, which is said to have originated in the time of Henry VIII.

The so-called York Constitution we will consider in the next Paragraph.

3. York and the Edwin Legend.

In the York constitution published ¹⁾ by Br. Krause, which we must enter upon more fully, it is said that Architecture was brought into Britain by Italian and Gallic Architects; King Athelstan is supposed to have delivered over to his ²⁾ youngest son Edwin a licence for the Freemasons, “that they might have a freedom

1) *Kunsturkunden*. 2 Ed. II Vol.

2) Other accounts call him his nephew or brother.

and power to regulate themselves, for the promotion of art, because he (Edwin) had taken upon himself the Charges and had learnt the customs." — It is said further he had summoned Gallic Masons, who came and composed a general Lodge, of which he appointed them surveyors, and having brought with them many writings and records, some in Greek, some in Latin, and some in French, including one from the holy St. Alban, from the contents thereof that assembly did frame the constitutions and Charges of an English Lodge; and ordained that hereafter all Fraternities of Masons should be framed according to this model.

"Behold now your Protector in the person of the pious Prince Edwin, who according to the spirit of the royal command, will animate and admonish you, not again to fall into those errors, which have been already committed. For this purpose all the Masters, and Grand Masters of all the Lodges shall meet together once a year, to give him information, concerning the buildings in progress and to take counsel together as to the alterations to be undertaken in the work. He has therefore convened you here in York (it is said in the year 926), and the Grand Master must rehearse the laws before you, which have been found in ancient and reliable reports, and have been carefully examined and proved, for they are necessary and good to be observed" &c.

About Edwin's death the statements are as varied as those concerning his relationship to Athelstan; one tradition affirming that he died peacefully in the year 938, while according to another he met' with a watery grave. We consider this Legend¹⁾ as worthy of being preserved and therefore communicate it.

¹⁾ It is poetically treated in: "Prince Edwin's Legend. Three Masonic-Ballads". — (By Dr. Gust. Schwetschke.) Halle, 1858. 4. — Preston

Alfred, a distant relation of the Royal house, hated the King, wishing to exalt himself to the throne. He formed a conspiracy apparently in Edwin's favor, which was discovered. After strict inquiry it was proved that Edwin knew nothing of the matter, and was perfectly innocent, yet the danger from which the King had with difficulty escaped, made him suspicious. Designing men nursed these suspicions, by all kinds of reports of what they pretended to have noticed. Whilst Edwin was devoting himself heart and soul to the duties of his office, journeying from one building to the other, encouraging the workpeople by his presence, his proceedings were described at home to the King, as preparations for a secret design, his object being to win over to himself the strongest power in the nation, that he might by their assistance, when a favorable opportunity offered, seize upon the throne. With faces full of suspicion, these men reported the daily increasing number of the Free-masons, their secret meetings, and their excessive attachment to their Patron.

Fear at length induced the King to adopt violent measures, to get rid of his dreaded rival, and he brought this about, in such a way, that it might appear as if Edwin had met with an accident.

The King invited him in all love, to enter a ship with him. At a short distance from the shore, he caused the unfortunate Prince to be suddenly seized. He was taken to a leaky boat without any rudder, and left to the mercy of the waves. It was in vain that Edwin declared his innocence, begged that a strict inquiry might be made, and conjured the King by the sacred name of

(l. c. p. 132) disputes the historical worth of this Legend and declares it opposed to Athelstan's character, citing in evidence the *Biogr. Brit.* p. 132. 133.

brother to do him justice; the waves bore the boat farther and farther, and his cries of anguish died away in the distance. Despairing of being rescued, he sprang overboard, and sank to rise no more.

The York Constitution. Let us now turn to the so-called York Constitution. — It was first published by Br. Krause in his valuable work ¹⁾. “*Die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden der Freimaurerbrüderschaft*” bearing the title: “The ancient York Constitution accepted in the year 926, or the deed of the laws of the Lodges in England; translated into Latin by an Englishman in 1807, from the original preserved in York Lodge, and again from Latin into German by Br. J. A. Schneider in *Altenburg*, in the year 1808, and accompanied by many explanatory remarks, by the author”. This document, as will be seen by what follows, is, all things considered, most interesting; its age, under the form in which it is given us by Krause, as well as its genuineness, is more than doubtful. — But more of this hereafter.

This York Constitution consists of three parts: an introduction like a prayer, a short history of architecture that is to say of the “Legend of the Guild”, from the most ancient mythic ages, till the time of Athelstan, and the peculiar statutes, which form the basis of the laws of the Society of Architects. The most important passages out of the second division bearing upon the subject before us, have been already touched upon above ²⁾, the two other divisions we will give more fully. — The introduction runs thus:

“The might of the Father of Kings, with the wisdom of his glorious son, through the grace and the

¹⁾ II. Vol. 2. Edition p. 1 &c.

²⁾ In the introduction to this Paragraph, and in “the Legend of the Guild”.

"goodness of the Holy Ghost, there bene three persons
 "in one Godheade, be with us at our beginninge, and
 "give us gráce so to governe us here in this mortall
 "life livinge; that wee may come to his kingdome that
 "never shall have endinge."

Then follows the history of Architecture in two subdivisions, first that of foreign countries and then of Britain, at length the following:

The laws and Duties of Prince Edwin which were submitted to his Brother Masons.

1) The first charge is, That yee shall be true men to God and the holy church, and to use no error or heresie by your understanding and by wise men's teaching.

2) That yee shall be true liege men to the King, without treason or any falsehood, and that yee know no treason or treachery, but yee shall give knowledge thereof to the King, or to his counsel;

3) Yee shall be obliging towards all men and as far as yee can establish true friendship with them, nor mind when they are attached to another religion or set of opinions.

4) Allso yee shall be true each one to other, (that is to say) to every Mason of the science of Masonrye that bene Masons allowed, yee shall doe to them as ye would that they should doe to you; should any Brother have trespassed against the craft, or against one of the Brethren, all his fellow masons must stand by him, to make compensation for his trespass, that he may grow better.

5) Yee shall keep truly all the counsellis of Lodge and Chamber, and all other counsellis that ought to be kept by way of Masonhood, and to keepe the signe from every man that is not a Brother.

6) And also that noe Mason shall be in thefte or theevishe, for as farr forth as he may weete or know; that yee shall be true to the lord or master that yee serve, and truely to see and worke for his advantage

7) Yee shall truely pay for your meat or drinke wheresoever yee goe, to table or bord: Also, yee shall doe no villany there, whereby the craft or science may be Slandered.

8) That no mason take on him no lord's worke, nor any other man's, unlesse he know himselfe well able to perform the worke, so that the craft have no slander; also that noe Master take noe worke, but that he take it reasonable, soe that the lorde may be truly served with his own goode, and the Master to live honestly, and to pay his fellows truely their paie as the manner is.

9) That no master or fellow supplant others of their worke; (that is to say) that if he hath taken a worke, or else stand master of any worke, that he shall not put him out, unless he be unable of cunning to make an end of his worke.

10) And no master nor fellow shall take no apprentice for less than seaven yeares. And that no master or fellow take no allowance to be made mason without the assent of his fellows, at the least six or seaven.

11) And that the apprentice be free-born, and of limbs whole as a man ought to be.

12) Also that no fellowe blame another, if he knowe not himself better how to doe it, than he whom he blameth.

13) And also that noe fellowe within the Lodge or without mis-answer eyther ungodly or reprovably without reasonable cause; and that every Mason shall reverence his elder and put him to worshippe.

14) Also that every Mason be obedient to the rulers and patrons of the Order of Masonry, and performe willingly, what they are bid.

15) That every mason receive and cherish strange fellowes when they come over the countries, and give the signe, and set them on worke, if they will worke, as the manner is. He shall help his needy Brother, when he knoweth of his need, as the manner, an it be within half a mile about him.

16) Also that no Master or fellow shall receive in to the Lodge any other, that is not made a mason, that he learn to make no molde nor squyar nor rule to noe layer, nor set noe layer within the lodge, ne without, to hew or molde stones.

These are the charges which yee shall keepe, so helpe you God, and your holydome, and by this booke unto your power. What in the future may be found goode and usefull, shall be written down and by the rulers and patrons be made known, that all the Brethren may truely hold and keepe them.

Krause considers this document as genuine. — The external proofs he gives of its genuineness are: a) the testimony of Br. J. Stonehouse of York; b) Anderson, whose statement in the Book of Constitutions agrees almost entirely with that in the York document; c) Preston, who in his Illustrations on Masonry declares that it still exists; d) the speech which was held Dec. 27th 1726, by the Junior Grand Warden of the York Lodge &c. In reference to the interior evidence of its genuineness, besides the exactness of the historical data, he points to the contents themselves. — “With regard to its contents and form, they are both conceived according to the spirit of those times; it is exactly the language and mode of expression used in the 10th century (?). The evangelical tone of its commencement, the purity of its doctrines free from all papistical tendencies, and especially from all dogmas, and

the spirit of oriental christianity which imbues it, leave us without a doubt concerning the authors, as we find, in the 10th century, under the name of the Culdees, christian Mystics and teachers of church doctrines, in England; Scotland, and Ireland, whose writings agree with the convictions and sentiments contained in the York Constitution”

Kloss on the other hand, founded his doubts of the great antiquity of the Krause Document therein: a) that in the speech delivered in York Dec. 27th 1726, several important points in the document are not once mentioned; b) that a document bearing a much more ancient date, has attached to it one of a much more modern date than that of Krause, viz: the document produced in the reign of King William III.; c) that in it are wanting those articles which are to be met with in all other ancient Manuscripts, in accordance with the acts of Parliament of the period, and with the spirit of the times, especially those articles relating to the observance of the marriage vow, and those warning them against thieving, and the receiving of stolen goods; d) that in it alone, opposed to all other Manuscripts, are very clear intimations of the degrees of Apprentice and Master.

“The pains taken” very justly remarks Kloss, “to reject so many articles, because of their immorality, in which the Preston MS. took the lead, and the Harleian followed in its steps, and afterwards William’s, makes the antiquity of the York Document on this account very suspicious” It is well known and proved, that just those passages which are wanting, show that it cannot lay claim to such very great antiquity, for later when men of education of all ranks considered it discreditable to allow such ancient Guild laws to be read aloud, this was sufficient motive to leave them out entirely.

Kloss supposed that the Latin translation which obtained the sanction of Stonehouse¹), was prepared before 1806, and upon this occasion an ancient Manuscript extant, was remodelled from Anderson's Book of Constitutions of the year 1738, for both refer to the "Noachides". It is somewhat remarkable that Anderson's book of Constitutions contains features which are only to be met with in the so-called York Constitution; wherefore even Kloss himself cannot forbear the observation: "The very striking peculiarities to be met with alone in Anderson and in the Krause Document, would lead us to conclude that the two have made use, either of the same Manuscript, or at least of Manuscripts most extraordinarily similar". Both Anderson and the York Constitution, mention Carausius, both cite the circumstance that he gave the Masons two instead of three pence, both, like Plot and Cole, denote Edwin to have been Athelstan's brother, whilst Preston and the Harleian Manuscript, describe him as his son.

As a matter of course the historical portion of this constitution is equally to be regarded as a legend, as well as that contained in all other documents of the kind. To this may be added the account of the establishment of a Grand Lodge, and of the general masonic assembly held at York at such a very early period, for which the ancient Masons had neither time nor money.

We are entirely of Kloss's opinion touching the antiquity of the York document, when instead of placing

1) That Manuscript which was composed in the ancient vernacular tongue of the country, written on parchment, and preserved in the archives of the most venerable Society of architects of this town, and the contents of which are nearly exactly the same as the Latin translation above mentioned. — This is certified by me. York, in the year 1806, Jan. 4. (Krause, K. Urk. II. p. 101.)

it in the year 926, he brings it down to a much more modern date.

In Germany this document occupied a very prominent place even down to our times, and had much influence, while Krause, Schneider, Fessler, and many more, considered it as genuine, indeed as the most ancient extant.

As the dispute about this Document was carried on chiefly on account of this Latin translation, the "Society of German Masons" sent the author of this work to England in May 1864 to discover the original. — This journey was but negative in its results. The reasonable objections to be made to its genuineness may be arranged in the following order: 1) The original of the translation of Krause has as yet never been found in England. 2) There is no mention made of any General Assembly nor of the Constitution drawn up under Edwin (or Athelstan) in the Fabric Rolls of York Minster published by the Surtee's Society (Durham 1859). 3) The learned Antiquary and Historian of York, - Br. Drake, in his speech in 1726 does not say a word of an original Constitution or of Krause's Document. 4) In the Minutes of the year 1761 about the "re-opening of the Grand Lodge of York" there is no reference made to it, nor in the written Protest against the Grand Lodge in London. 5) In the Inventory extant in 1777 about the Archives of the former Grand Lodge, it is not specified either. 6) About ten years ago, one of the Berlin Grand Lodges made diligent inquiry about this Document of Krause's. Thereupon the present Treasurer and Past Master, Br. Cowling, in vain made searching investigations of the librarian of the Minster, and of two most celebrated antiquarians, who most decidedly doubted its existence. 7) Br. Stonehouse, who supports this pretended Latin translation, is entirely

unknown in York. 8) In the year 1806 an “architectural Society” in York did not exist. And if “summa societas architectonica” be the same as Grand Lodge, neither did that exist at that period. 9) The ancient Constitutions already known agree with each other in some particulars, and are therefore an indirect testimony against it. Consequently there can scarcely be a doubt that there does not exist a Masonic Constitution of the year 926. Should however an original be found similar to Krause’s translation, yet it could lay no claim to be called a York Constitution.

D. The first germ of a general confederacy including all mankind.

I. Introduction.

Germany has to thank Henry the Fowler (“*Heinrich dem Vogelsteller*”) for the regulating the just rights of the citizens, and awaking in them a spirit of industry, and in England Edward III. (1327—1376) brought these things to still greater perfection. It did not escape his penetration, that of all branches of industry Architecture was the one that was pursued with the greatest order and zeal, as likewise an excellent public spirit prevailed amongst the architects themselves, who on all occasions behaved as good and obedient subjects. He ascribed this perfection, and most justly so too, to the laws laid down by the Freemasons. Being a noble patron of the arts and sciences, he was solicitous that the ancient fundamental laws of the Frater-

nity should be revised and improved, and he also patronised the Lodges. In his reign John de Spoulee, called the Master of "Giblim", rebuilt St. George's Chapel. In 1363 a decree was issued, to compel every artist and handicraft to keep to some one profession (mystery), whatever he thought proper to choose. At this time, says Preston, the Lodges were numerous. He also gives (L. c.) the following, which is worthy of notice:

"An old record of the Society runs thus: "In the glorious reign of King Edward III, when Lodges were more frequent, the Right Worsh., the Master and Fellows with consent of the lords of the realm (for most great men were then Masons) ordained:

That for the future, at the making or admission of a brother, the Constitution and the Ancient charges should be read by the Master or Warden.

That such as were to be admitted Master-Masons, or masters of work, should be examined whether they be able of cunning to serve their respective lords, as well the lowest, as the highest, to the honour and worship of the aforesaid Art, and to the profit of their lords; for they be their lords that employ and pay them for their service and travel.

The following particulars are also contained in a very old MS., of which a copy is said to have been in the possession of the late George Payne, Esq., Grand Master in 1718:

"That when the Master and Wardens meet in a Lodge, if need be, the sheriff of the county, or the mayor of the city, or alderman of the town, in which the congregation is held, should be made fellow and sociate to the Master, in help of him against rebels, and for upbearing the rights of the realm.

That entered prentices, at their making, were charged not to be thieves or thieves-maintainers; that they should

travel honestly for their pay, and love their fellows as themselves, and be true to the King of England, and to the realm, and to the Lodge.

That, at such congregations, it shall be inquired, whether any master or fellow has broken any of the articles agreed to; and if the offender, being duly cited to appear, prove rebel, and will not attend, then the Lodge shall determine against him, that he shall forswear his Masonry, and shall no more use this craft; the which if he presume for to do, the sheriff of the county shall prison him, and take all his goods into the King's hands, till his grace be granted him and issued. For this cause principally have these congregations been ordained, that as well the lowest as the highest should be well and truly served in this Art aforesaid, throughout all the Kingdom of England. Amen, so mote it be!"

In the reign of Edward's successor, Richard II., William of Wykeham, the patron of the Masons rebuilt Westminster Hall.¹⁾

2. The Examination.

In the third year of the reign of Henry VI. (1425), the Freemasons were forbidden to assemble by act of Parliament.²⁾

It runs thus: "Whereas, by the yearly congregations and confederacies made by the masons in their general assemblies, the good course and effect of the

¹⁾ Mr. Wyatt Papworth, Architect, has in a Statement called "the management of English architecture in the Middle Ages" (see Free-Mag. 1860, vol. II., page 89) expressed a doubt whether Wykeham were a Freemason, adding: He believed, that the Masons of that period had none other than such secrets as pertained to their art.

²⁾ See Anderson's Const.-Book. Cooke, Instit. III. p. 19. Mossdorf, p. 154. — Preston, 1. c. p. 141.

statutes of labourers be openly violated and broken, in subversion of the law, and to the great damage of all the commons; our sovereign Lord the King, willing in this case to provide a remedy, by the advice and consent aforesaid, and at the special request of the commons, hath ordained and established that such chapters and congregations shall not be hereafter holden; and if any such be made, they that cause such chapters and congregations to be assembled and holden, if they thereof be convict, shall be judged for felons; and that the other masons, that come to such chapters or congregations, be punished by imprisonment of their bodies, and make fine and ransom at the king's will".

It was a long time before it was rightly understood why such a very strict act should have been passed, and many an author was inclined therefore to charge the Masons with political intrigues.* But on comparing this law with other Parliamentary Statutes, as Kloss has done (p. 275 &c.), the unsubstantial nature of the charge is manifest. The Statute of 1360—1361 mentions the prohibition of confederacies of Freemasons, Masons, and Carpenters, but the whole tenor of it shows that this referred principally to the infringement of the regulations concerning wages, which in the Statute of the year 1425, is clearly expressed in words.¹⁾ Anderson says notwithstanding, that under this king, the Masons had much encouragement, and that nothing leads us to suppose that this act of parliament either at that time or under any other king was ever put in practice, and Preston informs us that in spite of this severe law, lodges were held in different parts of the kingdom. Masonic traditions do not afford much information to solve this difficulty; it may be explained in the following manner.

¹⁾ Compare also the statute of 1349 (23. Edward III.).

The Batt¹ Henry VI. was a child of eight months when Parliament. his father died in 1422, and left him as an inheritance England, together with France, which had been conquered as far as the Loire. The dying king appointed the Duke of Bedford Regent of France, and his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Regent of England. The care of the young king's person and education¹⁾ was entrusted to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, the Duke's Uncle. The office bestowed upon him did not satisfy the Bishop. Haughty and intriguing, he aspired to the government, and hoped by neglecting the education of the king, to keep the guardianship of his person the longer in his hands. This priest, on account of his riches, was a very dangerous person, for he did not scruple to make use of bribes, and wanted not followers and agents, who helped him to carry out his schemes. From his nephews and heirs presumptive he did not anticipate much resistance, but he was mistaken. The animosity between uncle and nephew daily increased, so that at length it threatened to lead to a civil war.

Early one morning the bishop, accompanied by his archers, horsemen, and as many of the country people as could be hastily assembled, attempted to enter the city of London by the bridge, in order by a sudden surprise to make himself master of the government. Contrary to his expectations he found the Regent prepared to receive him. Humphrey esteemed and encouraged the municipal trade, and was generally beloved by the citizens, therefore he found in them powerful supporters, they watched over his interests as if they were their own. The Duke was made acquainted with the proposed attack, the night before it occurred; im-

¹⁾ See Preston, l c. page 143.

mediately, the Masons and citizens of London armed themselves. The gates of the city had been closed, to prevent any traitor from warning the enemy. The city at daybreak wore as peaceful an aspect as if not a soul were stirring. But scarcely had the Bishop's troops arrived at the gates of the town, when they were suddenly attacked on several sides at once. A fierce encounter ensued, and a fearful massacre would most likely have taken place, had not Chichely, Archbishop of Canterbury, hastened to the scene of action, and by his presence and eloquence, endeavored to appease the fury of the contending parties. At length he succeeded in his mediation, and it was agreed, the matter should be referred to the award of the Duke of Bedford.

That very same day the Bishop transmitted his case to the Duke then in Paris, seeking to win him over to his side, by pretending, that Humphrey designed to seize upon the person of the young king, and then assume the supreme power. The Duke of Bedford hastened his return and restored peace. The Bishop thought to throw off the heavy charges laid against him, by accusing the Masons of having attacked him when he was making a peaceful entry into the town. The abandoned rabble, he said, had long striven to undermine the faith and prejudice the just rights of the Church. The Masons, encouraged and patronised by Humphrey, were enabled to compel the lords of the works to give them high wages, easily permitting themselves to become instruments in Humphrey's hands, to carry out his schemes of vengeance.

In their secret meetings their enterprize was planned, and each conspirator had his part assigned to him. In them Humphrey had an armed power ever ready to overturn the government, whenever a favorable oppor-

tunity should offer. The attack just made had only been undertaken to put the strength of the confederation to the test, and the Bishop was convinced that the worst might be feared from them.

By such cunning and shameless subterfuges did Beaufort attain his end, and help himself out of this difficulty. If his representations did not obtain implicit credence, yet at any rate they were calculated to raise suspicious doubts. A tyrant cannot feel unalloyed confidence even in his own brother, and takes notice of the slightest evidence of any thing like treachery. The event which had just taken place, evinced most clearly the existence of an agitated party amongst the people, by whose means Humphrey possessed considerable superiority whenever he desired it. Following the wellknown maxim "*divide et impera*" the Duke of Bedford determined to weaken the influence of the most powerful, and for this purpose made a scape-goat of the Masons.

The Duke of Bedford reinstated his brother in all his rights as Protector and Regent of the kingdom, testifying at the same time his disapproval of the independent arming of the Masons, and causing the Parliament to forbid their Meetings. The Bishop on his part made use of all the means, which his influence and riches offered him, to have the prohibition couched in as harsh terms as possible. The members of Parliament though apprehending the indignation of the people at large, saw themselves compelled to pass these acts. The two factions having but little confidence in each other, they each took their servants with them to Parliament, who armed with bats and clubs, stationed themselves at all the entrances. These precautions adopted by each one unanimously, as though agreed on beforehand, gave occasion to much ridicule; the Parliament was called "the Batt Parliament."

When the dispute was adjusted, and the Duke of Gloucester had reassumed the office of Regent, he did not venture to overthrow these acts of Parliament, as thereby he would only have excited the ill-will of the constitutionalists, and would have placed new weapons in the hand of the enemy. But he never permitted the law to be carried into execution, and though it was not repealed, yet it was unnoticed. The Freemasons had the less to fear, because the Archbishop of Canterbury, mentioned above, was their friend and Patron. One branch of the episcopal power kept the other in check. To avoid giving public offence the general meetings were for a time suspended, but the Lodges remained in full activity.

We must leave it undecided, whether these meetings for the increase of wages, were the same as the regular Lodges held according to the usual custom of the *Bauhütten*. Anderson, in his edition of the Book of Constitutions of 1738, has quoted the Register of William Molart ¹⁾ Prior of Canterbury (which however since the appearance of the work, has nowhere met with confirmation) whom he says mentions that an honorable Lodge of Freemasons was held in that town in the year 1420 under the patronage of Henry Chichely, Archbishop, whereat were present: Thomas Stapylton Master, a Warden, fifteen Fellow-Crafts, and three accepted apprentices. "We are inclined to think" says Wyatt Papworth, "that the lodge, or whatever it may be called, is simply the staff formed to carry on the works at those cathedrals, as already shown at York, and were quite distinct from the trade guild or company which

¹⁾ William Molash, Prior from 1428—38 was esteemed for the assistance he rendered during the rebuilding of the Cathedral, for his liberality, and the purity of his life. Woolnoth, Canterbury.

might have been in existence in those towns at the same periods. In fact, each cathedral had its own staff of permanent workmen, and "took on" additional hands whenever the edifice was to be added to, or to be rebuilt. In my previous paper I explained that the household of the monarch comprised an office for carrying out royal works; and many of the King's masons have been mentioned herein. A Guild of Masons was undoubtedly in existence in London in 1375, 49th Edward III., when an enactment was passed by the whole assembled commonalty of the city of London, transferring the right of election of all the city dignitaries and officers, including members of Parliament, from the ward representatives to the trading companies; a few members of which were directed to be selected by the masters or wardens to attend Guildhall for election purposes. A list of the number of persons chosen by the several mysteries to be the Common Council the next year, 1376, shows that the companies sending members were increased from thirty-two to forty-eight; they sent 148 members; the masons sent four members and the freemasons two members, thus establishing the fact of two societies. It is stated by my authority (Herbert, *Hist. of the Twelve Gr. Livery Comp. of London*) that the latter, the freemasons, merged afterwards into the former, the masons; the time of this amalgamation, however, is not named, but it may perhaps have occurred between the above date of 1376 and that of 1421—2, 9th Henry V., for in a document in the possession of the Brewers' Company, of that year, the masons stand 29th on a list of 112 companies, while the freemasons are not mentioned. Halliwell instances a single statement, that "a company of Undermasons was formed in London, 12th Edward IV." 1473, fifty years after the date of the above-named list. The incorporation of the Masons' Company in London is some-

times stated as having taken place as late as 1677 or 1678, but this date is without doubt the period when its charter was renewed by Charles II. It is worth noting that Stowe remarks, "they were formerly called free-masons."

It is apparent from a law published in the 15th year of the reign of Henry VI. (1436—1437) that there were fraternities existing at that time, who were judicially proceeded against. This law runs thus: "Whereas the masters, wardens, and people of the guilds, fraternities, and other companies incorporate, dwelling in divers parts of the realm, who make among themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances, as well of many such things whereof the cognizance, punishment, and correction all only pertaineth to the king, lords of franchises, and other persons — and made for their singular profit and common damage to the people." Therefore has been ordained: All such wardens are to bring their letters patent to the justices and others, where such guilds, fraternities, and companies be, for their approval. A subsequent act of Parliament of the year 1495 (Henry VII.) speaks of: "Ordinances which were enacted for the punishment of rioters and the unlawful assembling of corporations and the like, who in an unlawful manner confer and receive liveries, signes, and tokyns" &c.

Anderson's and Preston's works contain the unauthenticated and scarcely credible statement that king Henry himself (1442) was initiated into Masonry; Preston even adds, he presided in person over the Lodges, and nominated Wm. Wanefleet, Bishop of Winchester, Grand Master, which is certainly a mistake, as at that time it was not customary to call any one by the name of "Grand Master."

The Examination. Upon this piece of information and upon the Masonic Legend of the Guilds is based a certain

composition, which it must be owned is cleverly got up, and which for a long time was regarded as a most important document, but is now proved not to be a genuine one. It appeared in the year 1753 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and is said to have been first printed at Frankfurt o. M. in 1748; but of this printed publication, as yet no copy has been found any where, neither is it very likely that a deed of the like importance should reach England by way of Germany. However, it found admittance in the book of Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England, and in many other masonic works. In Germany, Brothers Krause and Fessler especially made it known, by having it printed in their works, with explanations. In Krause's "*Kunsturkunden*" (Vol. I.) it is called: "The most ancient catechism (lecture) concerning the origin, nature, and aim of the Fraternity of Freemasons, being a copy taken in 1696 of the Manuscript in the hand-writing of King Henry VII., preserved in the Bodleian library in Oxford, generally named the Freemasons-Trial, or Examination".

The following is the history of this ancient and fabulous Document. This Manuscript in the King's hand-writing is said to have remained concealed in the Archives of some convent till the year 1536. About this period, Henry VIII. appointed the Monasteries to be searched, and commissioned John Leyland, a learned man, to examine and save such books and records as were valuable among them. Leyland is said to have found the Manuscript in a bad state of preservation, to have copied it, and then given it to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Here however it again lay hidden, till it was discovered by the celebrated Locke in 1696, and a copy of the same sent by him to the Earl of Pembroke with notes of Locke's own attached to it. The letter supposed to have been written by Locke, precedes

the Manuscript; this latter is thus headed: "Certayne Questions, with Answeres to the same, concerning the Mystery of Maçonrye; writtene by the hande of kinge Henrye, the sixthe of the name, and faythfullye copied by me Johan Leylande, Antiquarius, by the commande of his Highnesse".¹⁾

1) We will here communicate a few passagea from this "Examination":

The second question in which it is asked where the science of Masonry began, is thus answered: "Ytt dyd begynne with the fyrste menne in the este, which were before the ffyrste menne of the weste, and comynge weatlye ytt hathe broughte herwyth alle comfortea to the wyld and comfortlesse".

To the fifth question amongst other things it is said, the Maaons had only kept back such secreta which "wythouten the techyngea to be joynedde herwythe in the lodge, oder aoche aa do bynde the freres more atrongelyche togeder, hey the proffytte and commodytye comynge to the confrerie herfromine".

Question 6th: Whatte artea haueth the maçonnes techedde mankynde?

Answer: The artea agricultura, architectura, astronomia, geometria, numerea, musica, poesie, kymistrye, governmente, and relygyonne.

Question 8th: What dothe the maçonnes concele and hyde?

Answer: Thay concelethe the arte of fyndynge neue artea; thay conselethe the art of kepynge acrettes &c. and at laast "the akylla of becommynge gude and parfyghte wythouten the holpyngea of fere and hope; and the universelle longage of maçonnea.

Question 10th: Dothe all maçonnes kunne more than odher menne?

Answer: Not so. Thay onlyche haueth recht and occaayonne more than odher menne to kunne, butt manye doeth fale yn capacity, and manye more doth want industrye, thatt ys per necessarye for the gaynyng all kunnyng.

Question 11th: Are maçonnea gudder menne than odhera?

Answer: Some maçonnes are not so vertuous as some odher menne; but, yn the mosta parte, thay be more gude than they woulde be yf thay war not maçonnes.

Question 12th: Doth maçonnes love eidther odher myghtylye as beeth sayde?

Answer: Yea verylyche, and yt may not odherwise be: For gude menne and treu, kennyng eidher odher to be soche, doeth always love the more as thay be more gude.

Krause and Fessler¹⁾ considered this document as a genuine one; the former however was somewhat at a loss to account for its form and origin, and acknowledged, that the language was more ancient than that of the fifteenth century, and that the Questions and Answers were well-weighed and systematic to a most remarkable degree. He got over these difficulties however, somehow or other, as well as the superstitious passages contained in it, yet for all that, confesses the possibility, that at some period or other this document may be declared as spurious.

The first who declared this document to be "counterfeit" and "dust and nothing but dust" was G. E. Lessing.²⁾ The Manuscript itself does not exist³⁾ and is nowhere to be found. Leland's copy has in vain been sought in the Bodleian Library, and Dallaway with great justice calls attention to the facts that 1) it could scarcely be possible that there ever existed a copy in the hand-writing of the King, as at that time there were but few men of high rank who could write legibly; 2) that neither in Locke's letters nor in his works is there any mention of his initiation into Masonry. In the Manuscript catalogues of Leland and Bodley, the Manuscript in question is not mentioned, which also makes it very suspicious. Further, against the genuineness of this "Examination" W. Keller has cited the following: a) First the contents. What is become of the secret knowledge, spoken of (Quest. 8) and what proof have we of their ever having possessed it? It looks very much as if this deed had been got up at the time of the appearance of the High

1) See Fessler's complete works; Freiberg 1807 vol. III. page 127 &c. and page 157 &c., as also his „*Versuch e. krit. Gesch.*“ III. Part., where-in is his controversy with Lessing.

2) See "Ernst u. Falk, *Gespr. f. Freimaurer*" 5. Gespr.

3) See Dallaway, Discourses, p. 429.

Degrees, the more surely to ensure their being accepted in England. How well they succeeded in this aim, is proved by the Royal-Arch-Degree springing into life soon afterwards, having been prepared by the so-called ancient Masons. — b) Had the Masons possessed secret knowledge at that time, the well-known natural philosopher El. Ashmole, a great friend of alchemy, would after his initiation in 1646, have regularly visited the meetings, and not several years afterwards, and then only once. — c) That it was just in the reign of Henry VI., whom Shakspeare calls an “effeminate prince like a School-boy” that the strictest laws were issued against the Masons and their meetings, and these laws were not repealed. Finally d) the Halliwell Constitution does not agree with this one, and the Editor has in vain sought in the Bodleian library for such a document.

There is no reliance whatever, therefore, to be placed on any assertions, based on this spurious document; they all crumble to dust. Not even in England does any well-informed Mason of the present day believe in the genuineness of this bungling composition.

Before pursuing the History of Freemasonry in England further, we will first glance at the position it occupied in Scotland.

3. Scotland and the Legend of Kilwinning.¹⁾

The early history of this country is lost in the misty haze of legendary lore. It is not till the fifteenth century, that we can obtain the least reliable information touching

¹⁾ We here transcribe what Kloss says in his “History of Freemasonry in Scotland” 1150—1786, who has especially drawn his information concerning the ancient history of Freemasonry from Anderson, from the descriptions in the *Freem. Pocket Comp.*, 2. Ed. Edinb. 1763 and from *Calcott's candid Disquisition*, London 1769.

the fraternity. From the statements of Anderson and Laurie, it seems evident that at a very early period, the Masons had either voluntarily resigned, or had been deprived of their ancient right of electing their own functionaries, and of administering justice in their own courts of judicature. At their head they had a Patron, who though elected by the Fraternity, yet it was at the suggestion of the Crown, being taken from the nobility or superior clergy, and their choice confirmed by the sanction of the King. These Patrons were empowered, to adjust any differences that might arise either among the Masons, or between the Masons and their employers, and since the reign of James I. (1430) they had received an annual sum of four pounds Scot, and likewise a fee at the initiation of every new Member, in right of their office. Two Charters which Laurie¹⁾ publishes, prove that it was not till James the sixth ascended the English throne, and appeared to have lost his interest in Freemasonry in Scotland, that the Scotch Fraternity chose William Sinclair of Roslin, his heirs and successors to be their Patrons and Judges. In the first of these deeds, (which bears no date, but appears to have been written soon after the Union of the two Crowns), it is expressly stated that the appointment of William Sinclair was with the advice and consent of William Shaw, surveyor to his Majesty, who had most likely been commissioned to do so. The second Deed bears the date of 1630, and is merely a confirmation and repetition of the first, which was destroyed with other Documents by fire in the Castle of Roslin.

The Pocket Companion and Calcott remark: "William St. Clair, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, Baron of Roslin,

¹⁾ See Laurie's *hist. of F.-M. and the Grand-Lodge of Scotland*. 2. Edit. 1859 and Merzdorf's Translation. Cassel 1861.

received a letter of grace from James II. (1441) appointing him to this office. By his presence he animated the Lodges to fresh vigor, spread the knowledge of the art, and built that Master-piece of Gothic architecture, the Chapel of Roslin. The Masons then began to exert a beneficial influence throughout the whole country; and many stately and noble buildings were erected by Princes and Nobles, during the time Roslin was Grand Master. Another Document made this office hereditary to the heirs and successors of this William St. Clair in the Barony of Roslin, in which noble family it has continued without interruption, until within the last few years. The Barons of Roslin have ever since been the Patrons of the Masons" &c. "They held their grand courts, or in Masonic language, their Grand Lodge met at Kilwinning in the Western county, where it is asserted that the Masons of Scotland first held regular and permanent Lodges; indeed, we are assured that in this place the royal art first made its appearance".

Both the above-mentioned Deeds clearly demonstrate the decline of Masonry in Scotland, and the ignorance of the Brethren there, during the first half of the seventeenth century. With ingenuous candor they accuse themselves of incorrigibly bad-conduct, and the greater part of the Masons commissioned by the different Lodges to draw up the Deeds, were not even able to write, but were obliged to have them drawn up and signed in their names, by a notary. Under such circumstances it was impossible that the Fraternity at that time, could have commanded much respect in Scotland; and this may be the reason why — with the exception of the Patrons nominated by the King, and the Judges and Overseers appointed by them — there is no mention of any accepted masons, till about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Masters of the Lodges, who were deputed

to sign the deeds, before referred to, were all Working Masons, and most probably all the Lodges then consisted of such members.¹⁾ Neither in the Copland nor Roslin deeds is there mention made of any others than, Patrons, Protectors, and operative Masters; so that these appointments must not be thought to be connected in any way with the later institution of Grand Master and Provincial Grand Master, as Anderson, Laurie and some others consider.

It was not till the close of the sixteenth century, that persons who were not Masons by profession, were accepted in the Scotch Lodges. For example in the year 1641 Robert Moray, Quarter Master General in the Army, was elected Master Mason in the Lodge of St. Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh. It is very doubtful whether the Fraternity, as Laurie states, held their regular annual meetings at Kilwinning, or as Anderson says, in Stirling and Aberdeen — for it is but natural to suppose that there were but comparatively few masons, who could bear the expence of such a journey once a year.

Every Legend must have some particular spot to point to, as the place where it originated, otherwise being but a creature of the brain, it quickly vanishes; but with regard to this Legend, there is no necessity to enquire too closely into its historical foundation.

Kloss remarks that the inventors of Masonic Legends were so blind to what was immediately before their eyes, and so limited in their ideas that, instead of connecting them, with the period of the Introduction of Christianity, and with the monuments of Roman antiquity, which were either perfect or in ruins before them, they preferred associating the Legends of their Guilds with

¹⁾ This is confirmed by Calcott in an admonitory remark. S. Kloss, *Hist. of Scotland*, page 263.

some tradition or other. The English had the York Legend, reaching as far back as the year 926. The German Mason answers the question touching the origin of his Art, by pointing to the building of the Cathedral of Magdeburg (876); and the Scotch Mason refers only to the erection of Kilwinning (1140). That more recent Masonic authors give credence to such tales, and relate them again with all seriousness, is inexcusable. Any ancient Scotch Chronicler could have pointed out edifices employed for Christian worship of an earlier date; as for example in Aberdeen 1017, in Dunsinnan 1040 &c., but Legends are stubborn things, when they have once forced themselves into a locality. Anderson speaks very cautiously concerning Kilwinning. The Pocket Companion and Calcott refer to the Kilwinning Legend more in detail, but with equal circumspection, and behold, a whole generation later Laurie relates it with great circumstantiality, subjoining to it many customs and regulations which it can be proved were not known till after the year 1716; and very recently an attempt has been made to honor Stirling¹⁾ with venerable antiquity and a Masonic Order of Chivalry. If the Lodge of Kilwinning had documents announcing her great antiquity, she would certainly have produced them in the year 1743. Laurie says on this point: "The minutes of the Lodge of St. Mary's Chapel, which is the oldest Lodge in Edinburgh, reach as far back as the year 1598; but as they record only the ordinary proceedings of the Lodge, we cannot derive from them any definite information respecting the customs and condition of the Fraternity". And in another place: "A letter

¹⁾ See *Bauhütte*, 1860 Nr. 14 and 16 and in *Freem. Magaz.* 1860, the supposed ancient Constitution of the Lodge of Stirling, communicated by Br. Dyson.

was read from the Lodge of Kilwinning complaining that they were only placed second on the Roll, while, being the Mother Lodge of Scotland, they were entitled to the first place. The Grand Lodge decreed that as the Lodge of Kilwinning had produced no document to show that they were the oldest Lodge in England, and as the Lodge of St. Mary's Chapel had brought records bearing the date of the year 1598, the latter had an undoubted right to continue first on the Roll".

"The conduct of the Grand Loge on this occasion in no way contradicts what has been stated in the general history respecting the antiquity of the Kilwinning Lodge. It was well known and universally admitted that Kilwinning was the birth-place of Scottish Masonry; but as the records of the original Lodge were lost, the present Lodge at Kilwinning could not prove that theirs was the very identical Lodge, which had first practised Freemasonry in Scotland".

After reading these weighty passages, we must ask with Kloss, what reply is to be given to the Fable of the so-called Scottish Degrees, and every thing relating to them? In what direction have the alleged secrets of the original Lodge of Kilwinning wandered, to which these Scotch degrees seem to refer? And in what did these secrets consist? How poor must have been the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1743, in rightly constituted and enlightened Brethren, who it might be imagined ought to be well-acquainted with the higher degrees, and capable of mounting the pulpit and expounding the source whence this supposed Masonic wisdom flowed, and instruct their untutored brethren in the Grand Lodge concerning it! And even as late as 1804, how ignorant was Laurie himself of the secret history of the Order! The fact is that neither he nor the Grand Lodge of Scotland, recognized the so-called Scotch degrees, nor the fable of the origin

of Scotch Masonry at Kilwinning, and the secrets originating therefrom; and both were perfectly in the right.

4. England in the period of Transition.

(From 1600—1716.)

The history of Freemasonry in England in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by no means abounds in important outward events — Preston, with the exception of the names of the leaders in the Fraternity, and the enumerating of certain buildings, knows of nothing worthy of being specified — yet for the internal development of the Brotherhood it was of the utmost importance.

The Augustan Style. Until the sixteenth century, the Saxon (Gothic) style of architecture prevailed in England and in the North generally. In Italy however in the commencement of the fifteenth century they had returned to the Augustan style, whence it afterwards made its way to England.

Several British travellers when journeying in Italy admired the recently erected works of art there, and on their return to their native country, reported concerning them, as well as brought drawings of them. The then Patron¹⁾ of the Freemasons (up to the year 1567), Sir Thomas Sackville, devoted the whole of his attention to this object and induced many men of fortune and taste to undertake similar journeys, having the like purpose. Still more would have been accomplished, had Elizabeth shown any taste for architecture.

Inigo Jones. She died unmarried and was succeeded by James I. in 1603, the son of Mary Stuart, who reigned over both kingdoms. This King when in Scotland showed a great love for this art, and as his mother had brought

¹⁾ Preston l. c. page 154.

Architects with her from Paris, he became, through them, intimately acquainted with the spirit of the newly-revived Roman style of Architecture.

About this time William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke returned from his antiquarian researches in Italy. A very talented young painter of London, Inigo Jones, had accompanied him on his travels. His zeal was kindled by the splendid buildings of the school of Palladio, he devoted himself especially to study them, and to him we owe the introduction of the Augustan style of Architecture into England, which almost entirely superseded the Gothic style. On his return to England he was appointed General Surveyor of the royal buildings, which were being constructed, and under the auspices of the King was elected Patron of the Freemasons, over which he presided, between the years 1607—1618. The Lodges were constituted upon the model of the Italian seminaries of instruction. He invited ingenious Italian artists to England, and distributed them among the different lodges. In the presence of the King he laid the foundation-stone of the Banquetinghouse at Whitehall, and it is said, introduced many eminent, wealthy, and learned men into the Fraternity as honorary members, and at the same time formed regular lodges of instruction.¹⁾

The Quarterly Meetings. The customary, general, annual Meetings, for the purpose of ensuring uniform progress in all the Lodges, did not satisfy him, and they were therefore at his suggestion, appointed to take place every quarter. In this way did the quarterly meetings of the Chief-Lodges first originate, which are still retained, notwithstanding the different aim and purpose of the Free-

¹⁾ This communication as well as what precedes it, is supposed to have been contained in a Manuscript by Nicholas Stone, which was burnt in 1720.

masonry of the present day. The days fixed upon by Jones: were June 24th — Michaelmas Day — December 27th — and the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary (March 25th). The festivals, including the Banquet, lasted from noon to midnight; however they were afterwards shortened, being found inconveniently long. The meetings were no longer held in the halls of the Cloisters, but in Hotels.

Consequences of the
Introduction of the new
Style.

The working-masons who shewed but little skill, were gradually kept at 'a distance from the Lodges and sent back to their respective Guilds, and those pupils who displayed a more receptive turn of mind were greatly encouraged; they alone were patronised by the heads of the Fraternity and entrusted with the construction of public buildings. In this way Inigo Jones and his successors established a complete revolution in the character of English Architecture, as already mentioned, and in the place of the Gothic style spread the knowledge of the modern imitation of the ancient Roman style, called Renaissance. Instead of the buttress, plain walls with pilasters were seen; instead of the pyramids ambitiously rising towards heaven, a drooping Italian cowl was set upon the top of the fragile little tower; the tall slender pillars, which supported the arched roof of the church, disappeared, and ornaments of tasteless scrolls supplied their place.

Thus did German art, so honored and revered, sink to the tomb, the Fraternity on this account, undergoing a mighty revolution; the first visible consequence of this change, was that the ancient Church symbols, which formed the principal part of the secret instruction imparted in the Lodges, lost their practical worth. Added to which, the study of ancient classic authors had caused Philosophy to soar into new and unexpected regions, the investigation of physical science had opened a

wider field of thought, and since the Reformation all ecclesiastical and social relations generally had experienced a complete transformation. Mankind were anticipating in advance the silent efforts of the Stone-Masons. The liberal religious opinions held by them concerning the dogmas and discipline of the church, the tyranny of the Papal See, and the immoral lives of the priests, which they had before only ventured to express in those biting caricatures, the so-called marks, introduced into their buildings, they could now openly and publicly avow; there was no longer any necessity for secrecy. The consequences which the stormy contests between the religious parties gave rise to, the temperate frame of mind encouraged by the Reformation, did not afford that animation to the exercise of their art, which they had formerly possessed. It is easy to conceive that under such discouragements the bond uniting the Brotherhood, became less and less binding.

In the mean while however, circumstances had intervened, which in their consequences proved to be of immense importance, in paving the way to the establishment of the present institution, and opening a new era in the history of the Fraternity.

Accepted
Masons. Hitherto the Fraternity, with the exception of the ecclesiastical and secular Patrons of the craft, was composed wholly of actual workmen, masons, stone-cutters, and carpenters. Towards the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, persons who were not operatives, began to be admitted as members of the Freemasons' Fraternity, thereby infusing into it intelligence, fresh life and vigor; this it was alone which saved the institution from sinking into oblivion. The records of St. Mary's Lodge, at Edinburgh, which is acknowledged as the oldest lodge in Scotland, inform us that Thomas Bosswell, Esquire, of

Auchinleck, was chosen as Warden of the Lodge in the year 1600, and that Robert Moray, Quartermaster-general of the Scottish Army, was made a Master-Mason in 1641. It also appears from the Diary of the learned antiquary Elias Ashmole that he was made a Mason in a Lodge at Warrington, Lancashire, the 16th October 1646, as is indicated in a Manuscript written by himself,¹⁾ but he did not there find, what he most likely sought, an occult science; for it was not till the year 1682, that he again attended a Lodge. These are the three oldest authentic names of non-operative members of the Fraternity. Subsequently, according to Preston, after the Earl of Pembroke had been placed at the head of the Fraternity, many learned, wealthy, and eminent men, were admitted to the society, and contributed not a little to give it an entirely new character. They were distinguished from the working Masons by the appellation of accepted Masons. At this period those additional clauses were annexed to the "Old Charges", which had nothing to do with the working masons.

The influence of these additional members was sensibly felt in various ways; for though perhaps they did not assist the working masons, in the erection of their buildings, yet their wealth, education, social position, and political influence were beneficial to the Institution. They introduced new views, new necessities, and above all a reforming, progressive element into the lodges, which in the course of the seventeenth century, especially towards its close, became more and more imbued with the spirit

¹⁾ In Ashmole's Diary we find the following. "I was made a Freemason at Warrington, Lancashire, with Colonel Henry Manwaring by Mr. Richard Penket, the Warden, and the fellow-crafts, on 16th October 1646. — In the *Biographia Britannica* he is alluded to thus: "on 16th October, he was chosen as a member of the ancient and venerable society of Freemasons, which he considered as a mark of great honor."

of the age, and with the a meliorations resulting from more careful culture.

Political views. In consequence of the Civil wars, which for a time overthrew Royalty and set the whole country in a state of ferment, proving particularly unfavorable to the arts, Freemasonry could not but suffer; with regard to the assertion, that the Mason's in the time of Cromwell, took an active part in the political¹⁾ events of the period, it can only be said, that there is not the slightest foundation for such a declaration, and that it belongs to those creations of the brain, which are adopted without any proof. It could have been no easy matter, to substitute all of a sudden entirely different motives of action, and completely to transform the whole institution, without exciting remark and stirring up opposition in the Fraternity; the members, doubtless differing in their political opinions, added to which, the Lodges were far too few in number, to enable them to engage in any very comprehensive or important, political undertaking. We must not suppose that at that time the whole country was covered by a net-work of Lodges, well organised and working in combination! The Meetings

¹⁾ It is said (and even Brothers Fessler and Schroeder shared in this belief, which they sought to establish by the explanation of the Scotch degrees) that after the beheading of Charles I. in 1649 many of the nobility were admitted into the Fraternity, that they might there in a secure place of concealment endeavor to bring about the re-establishment of monarchy and the restoration of the fugitive prince. The oath of initiation was through their means made more severe and solemn in its tone, the ceremony of admission altered, and the degrees of fellow-crafts and Masters created. All the symbols adopted by the latter bore political allusions. On the accession of Charles II. (1660) Freemasonry received the name of "Royal-Art" out of gratitude for the services rendered, and more in the like strain. Others again are of opinion that only the Scotch Masons were in the service of the Crown, but that the English Masons were made use of by Cromwell.

of the Masons at that stormy period, took place less frequently and were attended by but few members; the fraternity had lost its attractive power, and the ancient ceremonies were to many, divested of all their charms. These few general observations confirmed by Masonic History may be sufficient for the refutation of the views cited above, we have however a still more decided proof of the fact, that our forefathers remained faithful to their vows strictly forbidding all political discussions in their assemblies, in the letter¹⁾ of Dr. Knipe of Oxford, to the editor of the biography of Elias Ashmole. It is there said: "There is no doubt to be made, that the skill of masons, which was always transcendently great even in the most barbarous times; their wonderful kindness and attachment to each other, how different soever in condition; and their inviolable fidelity in keeping religiously their secrets, must expose them, in ignorant, troublesome, and superstitious times, to a vast variety of adventures, according to the different fate of parties, and other alterations in government. By the way it may be noted, that the masons were always loyal, which exposed them to great severities when power wore the appearance of justice, and those who committed treason punished true men as traitors. Thus, in the third year of Henry VI. an act passed to abolish the society of Masons, and to hinder under grievous penalties, the holding chapters, lodges, or rather regular assemblies; yet this act was afterwards virtually repealed, and even before that, King Henry and several lords of his court became fellows of the craft. During the period of civil discord which succeeded, the Freemasons in this kingdom bore the general name of Yorkists, and as they had

¹⁾ Preston's, *Illustrations &c.*, page 160. — See Ashmole's life in the collection of the Lives of remarkable men. IV Vol.

obtained special favor from Edward VI. so did likewise the sagacious Henry VII. deem it more advisable to declare himself a great friend of the Masons, and urge upon their acceptance a large number of his friends, than by ill-advised persecution to make them his enemies, as has been done by some of his ancestors, so that his own emissaries were never wanting in their Lodges. As this society is very ancient, indeed it even reaches further back than any Documents extant, it is no wonder, that in its history many Fables are to be met with, and according to my judgment a cunning author would have employed his time far better in throwing light on the history of St. Alban, or on the death of Prince Edwin, as both subjects would completely have exercised his ingenuity, than in undervaluing as he has done, the merits of a society, of whose institutions and adventures he seems to have known little enough, and with whose history and bearing Mr. Ashmole was far better acquainted, and at the same time perfectly satisfied" &c.

Dr. Plot. The "cunning author" here mentioned is Plot, Professor of Chemistry, and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, a Non-Mason and most decidedly hostile to the Fraternity, who in his natural history of the county of Stafford, ¹⁾ makes the following interesting remarks touching the customs of the Masons of that period. In it we may notice that he attacks the Ancient Constitutions, already known to us, consequently his knowledge is derived from the same source as that of Brother Anderson. Plot writes: "Among the customs prevalent in this county they have one viz: the receiving of people into the Fraternity of Freemasons, which seems to be more frequently the case in this moor-land district

¹⁾ The natural History of Staffordshire by Robert Plot. L. L. D. keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, &c. Oxford, 1686, page 316.

than anywhere else, though however I have noticed that the custom is more or less general throughout the whole country; for I met with persons of the highest rank, who thought it no scorn to belong to this society.¹⁾ Nor indeed had they any cause to do so, if the Fraternity possess the antiquity and consequence ascribed to it, in the large parchment volume in their possession, containing the legend of the Guild and the laws of the Masons. This history is not derived alone from the sacred writings but also from profane history especially, having been brought to England by Saint Amphibalus, and first communicated to Saint Alban, who made Masonic laws, and was appointed paymaster and inspector of the royal buildings, giving them charges and establishing usages as he had been taught by Amphibalus. These were afterwards confirmed by King Athelstan, whose youngest son Edwin was a great friend to Freemasonry, himself subscribed to the laws, learned the ceremonies, and received a charter from his father. He arranged the meeting of the Lodges at York, and ordered that all the ancient books belonging to their craft should be likewise brought, and from these he formed laws and ceremonies, as seemed to him adapted to their then circumstances. These laws are some of them written down in the parchment roll or volume, and thus was the Masonic craft established in England. Herein is also recorded that these laws and rituals were afterwards read by King Henry VI. and his counsel, and approved of by them, both for the Master and fellows of this most honorable craft.

“When any one is admitted into this society a meeting or Lodge (as it is called in many places) is

¹⁾ We shall soon find, that the Fraternity had risen materially since 1666.

convoked, which consists of at least five or six of the elders of the confederacy; they and their wives receive a present of gloves from the candidate and are entertained with a collation of some sort, regulated according to the usages of the place where they may happen to be. At the close of the repast, the ceremony of initiation begins, which consists principally in the communicating of certain secret signs, whereby they recognise each other any where, and are therefore sure of protection wherever they may travel; for when any one appears, and makes these signs to any member of the society who is an accepted Mason, though mutually unknown to each other, yet is the latter compelled to attend the summons, in whatever company or in whatever place he may be, should he have to descend from the top of a Church steeple¹⁾ to do so, (whatever disadvantage or prejudice he may incur) he must find out what his wants are and assist him; for example if he is in want of work, he is bound to supply him with some, or in case

1) Plot has two sources whence he has derived his communication, viz: a copy of the old Constitutions and a Manuscript of the signs and usages of the Freemasons. This latter authority is most probably in the British Museum in the volume entitled: "*Soundry Papers and Notes on Natural History*", Sloane M. S. Nr. 3329, which originated at the end of the 17th Century, and most assuredly is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the ritual of the Society of Free and Operative Masons of England (see Appendix C.). As this volume is almost exclusively devoted to physical science, and as there is also in the volume a catalogue headed "Dr. Plot's Catalogue" and further Plot in his natural history of Staffordshire (1686), agreeing with our masonic manuscript, mentions that five or six Brethren form a Lodge, and that the Freemasons upon recognising certain signs, were compelled to hasten to one another's assistance, "should they even have to descend from the top of a church steeple", an expression to be found nowhere else, I have come to the conclusion that the said M. S. was found amongst the papers which Plot left behind him, on his death, and was one of the fountains whence his communications on Freemasonry were derived.

he cannot do this, he must furnish him with money, or support him in some other way, until work is found for him. This is one of their articles; and another is, that they should give to the Masters the best advice in their power, and make known to them the fitness or unfitness of the materials in use, or should they discover any fault in the carrying out of the building as given in the place, they should modestly point it out to them, that Masonry be not dishonored; and many such regulations which are generally known, and which I have my reasons for considering as far worse than these, as bad perhaps, as the history of the craft itself, for I know of no other so false or loose as is this one" &c.

Afterwards Plot attacks the Edwin Legend, as well as the assertion that Henry VI. approved of the laws and usages of the Masons, which however we will omit here.

Before resuming the thread of our historical narrative, it is necessary to contemplate more closely the agents which especially effected the transformation wrought in the Fraternity of Freemasons. These agents were, besides the spirit of the age and the tendency of literature in general, the writings of Comenius, Bacon, Dupuis, and the pamphlets and meetings of the Rosicrucians.

England in the 17th century. In order completely to understand this period of history we must endeavor to place its principal features clearly before us. The whole spirit of the English nation had at this period taken a new direction, preparing itself as it were, to cast aside its ancient superstitions, and to cultivate the rich fields of natural philosophy. This resolution to throw off every burdensome yoke, introduced by Bacon in philosophy, and by Cromwell in politics, soon pervaded the entire generation.¹⁾

¹⁾ See Th. Buckle, History of Civilisation in England.

The desire of the people to submit their opinions to the ordeal of a thorough investigation, spread rapidly under the reign of Charles II., and was universally manifested every where, and in all things. Opinions, which for centuries had been regarded as indisputable truth, were overthrown, because they rested on a wrong foundation. It had availed but little, that Galileo had knelt before the Inquisition, his whole soul being greatly agitated, and had there solemnly abjured his inward conviction, touching the motion of the earth, as erroneous and contrary to the teachings of Holy Writ; for the earth, together with Galileo and his judges, was rolling its onward course. Bacon's empirical philosophy was improved upon by Hobbes, and Cartesius' idealism founded on speculation, by Mallebranche, and more especially by that intelligent and acute reasoner B. Spinoza. About this period scepticism arose, which afterwards developed itself into Deism. Just at the time when the sceptical chemist Robert Boyle was engaged in his philosophical researches, Charles II. founded ¹⁾ the Royal Society with the avowed design of prosecuting effectually the advancement of natural experimental philosophy, and of establishing certain, and correcting uncertain theories in philosophy. As a necessary result of the bold, investigating, and reformatory spirit which had thus seized upon the three great domains of theology, science, and politics, the great legislative reforms which marked the reign of Charles II. sprung into life. The censorship of the press was abolished, personal liberty assured, and finally the Act of Toleration was passed (1699). The great questions referring to religious and political free-

¹⁾ Mitchell erroneously says in his *History &c.*, vol. I., pag. 212, that the Royal edict referring to this Society was issued in favor of the Freemasons.

dom, which abroad were fought out with weapons of iron and steel, were here being simultaneously battled for, with spiritual weapons. But when at last the din of war, and of civil discord had died away, it became apparent, that even in its very midst a delicious fruit had been ripening, viz: the longing desire after the attainment of inward peace, from which as a necessary consequence the society of Freemasons is descended.

The Rosicrucians. Besides the current of events just pointed out there were others, likewise tending to the same end, and to which we can find a solution by observing the characteristics of the age. Since the time of the crusades, a fondness for mystery and mystic science, imported from the East, had crept into almost every branch of European social life. In England too, there was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Arabian Mysticism, a compound of Physics, Theosophy, and Magic, Chemistry and Alchemy, Astronomy and Astrology, which had been taken up with great eagerness. Had not astrological chimeras found a support even in Tycho de Brahe himself! With regard to Alchemy, its earliest adherents were of opinion, that their art could only be acquired by supernatural inspiration, and that it could be historically proved, as having been known to the first inhabitants of this earth. Authentic historical proof, however, is first to be found four centuries after Christ, when the opinion arose, that from bodies which contained neither gold nor silver, these precious metals might be produced by art. Towards the close of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth century, several associations were formed, partly for religious purposes, and partly for the transformation of the precious metals, as for instance the followers of Theophrastus Paracelsus, the Rosicrucians and other sects. Some few individuals were before their age, and being deep

reasoners had risen above the superstitions surrounding them, but the results of their superior enlightenment were by no means common property. The hypercritical investigations of the Rabbis and of the New-Platonists, found numerous friends; the most extravagant superstition was, even by the well informed, regarded as a subject demanding curious inquiry; theosophic phantoms of the brain, mixed up with the freest and most unscrupulous of religious opinions, found credence everywhere.

The origin of the society of the Rosicrucians may have been in Germany about the year 1600. The first written account concerning it appeared in 1614. Their principal work entitled: "General Reformation of the wide world, together with the *Fama Fraternitatis* of the esteemed order of the Rosicrucians, addressed to all the learned men and crowned heads of Europe" (Cassel, 1614) was followed by a perfect inundation of writings on the Society of the Rosicrucians (see Kloss, Bibliography, page 176 Nr. 2430 &c.). In the "*Echo*"¹⁾ published in 1615, the laws of the Rosicrucians are communicated for the first time. In the "*Fama Fraternitatis*" or "discovery of the Society", the fabulous history of a certain Christian Rosenkreuz is related, who collected in the East a great treasure of the deepest mysteries, which were found in his tomb 120 years after his death.

¹⁾ Echo of the esteemed order R. C. highly favored by God, i. e. "Exemplary Proof" &c. (Kl. 2455), wherein all kind of ancient mysteries are treated of, which Jesus is said to have imparted to his disciples, and these again to others. We consider this work as somewhat important on account of the origin of the Swedish system. Notwithstanding the dash of the order of Knights' Templars observable in it, yet it is essentially founded on the order of the Rosicrucians; the more ancient manuscripts of this order agree most remarkably with this one, and we imagine that the founder of the system, while working it out, must have relied almost entirely upon such antecedents.

Inspired by his spirit, the fortunate discoverers had founded the order of the Rosicrucians, hoping by its means to spread the blessed doctrine into every land.

Val. Andreae. A Suabian clergyman, the learned and intellectual Valentine Andreae, born 1586 and died 1654, wrote a Satire entitled the "Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreuz" (Strasburg 1616), directed against the mad freaks of the Alchemists and the Rosicrucians, which they did not understand, however, but took it all in as Gospel.

This book teeming with Theosophy and Alchemy, had most unprecedented success, and in a very short space of time went through four editions. The Rosicrucian order was here so beautifully embellished, that the desire to be initiated in it, increased every where, especially in the Rhine country, which was the chief seat of the society, and the members did not then cease to be duped, even when the author himself drew aside the curtain, and declared ¹): "It was all a joke, people had been sufficiently hoaxed, and the farce was at an end." His other writings "*Turris Babel*" and "*Mythologia christiana*", wherein he most unmercifully ridiculed the Rosicrucians, passed away without effecting their object; the order having been once established, was not to be dissolved by satirical writings; only they sought to defend themselves against similar attacks in future by somewhat altering the name of the Firm. F. R. C. instead of meaning *roseae crucis* was explained thus: *Fraternitas Roris Cocti*, i. e. Society of boiled dew, being only another name for the Philosopher's Stone. About the year 1620, Andreae founded a "christian Fraternity", with

¹) The solution to the riddle, which the author reserved to himself, lay in the choice of the word "*Rosenkreuz*", which had reference to his family seal — a St. Andrew's Cross with four Roses — and which he chose as the symbol of his fictitious mysteries.

a view to the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline, and to turn the thoughts of christian theologians from the quibbles of the schools, to vital religion, that of the heart and of action. For a long time he was esteemed the real founder of the Rosicrucian order.

From Germany this theosophic and hermetic Society spread itself rapidly throughout Holland, Italy, and England, some pointing to a certain Christian Rose, others to C. L. von Bergen, as their founder. If the credulous were honest followers of the hermetic sciences, the more cunning amongst them in default of the Philosopher's Stone, sought as an indemnification to rob the credulous. The faithful Urf (Orvius), in the preface to one of his works, has frankly exposed the cunning doings of these Rosicrucians. But the most melancholy examples even, were not sufficient to open the eyes of the people.

In England the soil had been well prepared for the Rosicrucian seed, by Dr. Rob. Fludd, commonly known as a *Fluctibus*, a London Physician, and the chief oracle of the British mystics and theosophists. The *Fama fraternitatis* immediately on its appearance, awakened such enthusiasm in him, that from that hour he became the champion of the Rosicrucians and defended them in special apologetic publications (1616). He differed from it though in one point, he did not trace the order back to Christian Rosenkreuz, but to a very ancient symbol indeed: "the cross of Christ stained by his rose-red blood".

Bacon, Dupuy & Comenius. The writings of Bacon, Dupuy, and Comenius, could not have done otherwise

than exercise an influence upon Freemasonry, and contribute to its final transformation. Dupuy's celebrated work, "History of the Condemnation of the Templars", which had appeared in 1650, made a great noise in the world, and was republished in 1685. drawing public

attention to the usages and regulations customary in that order of chivalry which had once been so celebrated, and on its decline so notorious, and wherein doubtless was much that was congenial and which could be turned to account. Bacon's work "the New-Atlantis" contained unmistakable allusions to Freemasonry, so that Br. Nicolai was misled to the adoption of that now completely refuted opinion, that Freemasonry owed its origin to this novel¹). It is however especially remarkable that the German scholar Joh. Amos Comenius (born in 1592 at Niwnitz in Moravia, died in 1671, and was in England in 1641) in his *Opera didactica* has passages which are word for word like those in Anderson's book of Constitutions. From Fulneck, the principal residence of the Moravian Brethren, where Comenius was preacher and teacher, he went in 1627 to Lissa, whence he obeyed a summons inviting him to England, where his *Prodromus Pansophiae* had appeared in 1638, that he might place the schools there on a better footing. The matter was debated in Parliament; the civil wars however, compelled him to quit England. His works, notwithstanding, were much read at that time, and after his death, his philanthropic doctrines, and his cosmopolitism, found entrance everywhere. His *Panegesia* is, as he himself says, "A deliberation, dedicated to mankind in general, concerning the improvement of human affairs".

1) Bacon therein speaks of an island called Bensalem and a secret society. The island of Bensalem is described as a territory well known to mankind, but Solomon's Temple, and the occupation of the college of the six days of Creation, are supposed to be unknown to the rest of the world and only revealed to the initiated. The members of the college find in the sea a sacred chest of cedar-wood, out of which springs forth a green palm-branch, and in the chest were found the books forming the Bible. The Elder, King and Lawgiver, will not consent that the secrets of this Island be betrayed to strangers. The Members of the college are called brethren &c.

Deism. The last, and at the same time most decisive agent in accomplishing the transformation of Masonry, was that intellectual movement known under the name of English Deism, which boldly rejected all Revelation and all religious Dogmas, and under the victorious banner of reason and criticism, broke down all barriers in its path. Peers of the realm fought in the ranks of the Deists, as well as the simple artisan. Every thing that civilization and learning, sagacity and fertility of thought could offer, was at that time employed in the struggle for and against Deism, its chief supporters being Toland, Collins &c. and the period when it flourished the most, is exactly pointed out by the Act of Toleration, passed in the year 1689. It cannot be denied that there is to be found a certain spiritual connection between this movement, and the Fraternity of Freemasons, as it afterwards appeared; this connection strikes you with great force in Toland's "*Pantheisticum*" when you come to the description¹⁾ of the Socratical society and their feasts. The liturgical form of the brethren of the order of Socrates, begins thus:

Question: Have the uninitiated been removed?

Answer: The doors are closed, and every thing is in due order.

Ques.: Under what auspices do we open this Society?

Ans.: Under the auspices of Philosophy.

Ques.: To whom must this Assembly, to whom must all our thoughts, words, and actions be continually devoted?

Ans.: To the threefold aim of the wise: truth, freedom, virtue &c.

¹⁾ See "*der englische Deismus und die Freimaurer-Brüderschaft*" by Dr. Merzdorf, in the *Bauhütte* 1860, page 338.

Influence on the doctrine and customs. This intellectual Revolution must necessarily have exercised an important influence on the Fraternity of Masons, and we cannot doubt that it contributed essentially to its final transformation from an operative to a universal, speculative, society.

At such a time, as this, when it was tottering to its fall, it must have been very sensible to outward influences, and much that was new, and foreign to the original institution, may have crept in unperceived. The commingling of the "accepted" with the working Masons, which we remarked upon in a former paragraph, must also have had a very important influence on the Fraternity, on account of the superior education, wealth, and social position of the former class. These "accepted" brethren now brought forth from the ancient guild-chests the mouldering records of the Lodges, and revived the old traditions; usages, and customs of the fraternity, rejecting what seemed to them unsuitable for the age in which they lived, or else remodelling to make it suitable. This occurred in the latter part of the seventeenth century from 1650—1700. At any rate, the Catechisms (rituals) in use having been transmitted orally, had given rise to several various readings as well as some alterations, and most probably too, the three grades in the profession were incorporated, at that time, into the fraternity as the three degrees. From the Sloane M.S. (Appendix C.) it is unequivocally proved, that there already existed sufficient indications on which subsequently to found the three degrees. But we will leave this question undecided. With regard to the actual history of the interior working of the Lodges themselves at that time, we must rest satisfied, with these general intimations, as the information concerning its outward forms is so exceedingly scanty. Let us now resume the thread of

our narrative, as we have been somewhat anticipating events.

Laws of 1663. Once more before that important step above mentioned, of religions toleration was taken, the Masons bestirred themselves. On the 27th December 1663, a general assembly¹⁾ was held, at which Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Alban's, was elected Grand Master, who appointed Sir John Denham, knt, his deputy and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Christopher Wren²⁾ and John Webb, his Wardens.

Among other regulations made at this assembly were the following:³⁾

1) That noe person of what degree soever, be made or accepted a Freemason unless in a Lodge of five⁴⁾ members, whereof one to be a Master or a Warden in that limit or division where such Lodge is kept, and another to be a craftsman in the trade of Freemasonry.

2) That noe person hereafter shall be accepted a Freemason, but such as are of able body, honest paren-

1) Preston, l. c. page 161 and Freem. Quarterly Review 1836, page 288.

2) Halliwell remarks in the 2nd Edition of his "Early History &c." that Wren (according to an old Manuscript in the Royal library) was not initiated into Freemasonry until May 18. 1691. Anderson here, as well as elsewhere, has made alterations, conformable to the spirit dominant in the Grand Lodge.

He was commissioned by it under Crawford in 1735, to note down the ancient Patrons of the Masons, and especially the former and present Grand Masters and wardens, so as to afford to the modern arrangements something like an historical basis; accordingly in his edition of the Book of Constitutions of the year 1738, he transformed the former Patrons into — Grand Masters, and the Masters and Superintendents into Grand-Wardens, and the like, which were unknown until the year 1717.

3) We give these regulations as they are found in the Harleian Manuscript, that being, according to Kloss, the most reliable text.

4) Anderson has here made use of the expression, "except in a regular lodge".

tage, good reputation, and observers of the laws of the Land.

3) That noe person hereafter who shall be accepted a Freemason, shall be admitted into any Lodge or assembly until he hath brought a Certificate¹⁾ of the time and place of his acceptation, from the Lodge that accepted him, unto the Master of that Limit or Division, where such Lodge was kept; which sayd Master, shall enrol the same in a roll of parchment to be kept for that purpose, and shall give an account of all such acceptations at every general Assembly.

4) That every person who now is a Freemason shall bring to the Master a note of the time of his acceptation, to the end the same may be enrolled in such priority of place as the Brother shall deserve, and to the end that the whole Company and fellows may the better know each other.

5) That for the future, the sayd Society, Company, and Fraternity of Freemasons, shall be regulated and governed by one Master²⁾, and the assembly and Wardens, as the said Company shall think fit to appoint at every yearly general Assembly.

6) That noe person shall be accepted a Freemason, or know the secrets of the sayd Society, until he has first taken the oath of secrecy hereafter following:

"I, A. B. doe, in the presence of Almighty God, and my fellows and Brethren here present, promise and declare, that I will not at any time hereafter, by any Act or Circumstance whatsoever, directly or indirectly

¹⁾ Here for the first time do we find the order that a Mason must be provided with a Certificate, a written legitimation.

²⁾ Anderson has instead of this "Grand Master" and "so many Wardens" &c. and instead of the 6th Art. of the Harleian Manuscript: "No person shall be accepted unless he be above 21 years of age."

publish, discover, reveal or make known, any of the secrets, priviledges, or Counsels of the Fraternity or fellowship of Freemasonry which at this time or any time hereafter shall be made known unto me; so helpe mee God and the holy contents of this book."

Sir Chr. Wren. In 1666, when Thomas Savage, Earl of Rivers, was Patron of the Masons, the few Lodges then existing, partially revived, in consequence of the demand created by the great fire of London, which destroyed one hundred churches, and thirteen thousand houses. Sir Christopher Wren, surveyor-general of the royal buildings, and a celebrated architect, not only drew up the plan for the rebuilding of the city, but superintended the work and the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1667 to 1675. El. Ashmole, who since his initiation had not visited any of the Lodges, records in his diary of March 10th 1682 that he appeared in a Lodge in London. "I was" he continues "the senior fellow among them, it being thirty-five years since I was admitted. There were present, beside myself, Mr. Thomas Wise, Master of the masons' Company, and seven more old freemasons." Anderson says that Wren¹⁾ was made Grand Master in 1685 which however was impossible as it was not till 1691 that he was initiated. Most probably he was, in default of some high Patron, chosen as President of the Society, in which office he took so little active share, that he was quite passed over when the Grand Lodge was founded in 1717, which in consideration of his great reputation would certainly not have been the case, had he shewn any special zeal in behalf

¹⁾ Even in England those who are not Freemasons doubt about Wren's having been Grand Master, and consider Halliwell's statement as the correct one. See *Freem. Mag.* June 1859, page 1005, and "*Building News*" of May 20th.

of the Fraternity. Wren outlived the founding of the Grand Lodge; he died at the age of 92 in February 1723.

During the building, the old Lodge of St. Paul's, (afterwards the Lodge of Antiquity) met regularly, but even then the people manifested an uneasy spirit, and a new party arose disputing about the possession of the throne, which again disturbed the social intercourse existing between those employed in erecting the public buildings. In 1688 James II. fled, and William of Orange ascended the throne. During his reign social intercourse was kept up between the Lodges; but after his death, in 1702, they again decreased. The city of London arose anew from its own ashes, St. Paul's Church was almost completed; foreign architects by degrees left the town, and gave up their connection with the Lodges. For a long time there had been no meeting of the Lodge at York, as most of the members were engaged on the buildings in London.

Extension of the Society. Masonry during the reign of Queen Anne made no very considerable progress; which even Preston concedes; on the contrary, it gradually declined. Sir Christopher's age and infirmities drew off his attention from the duties of his office, and the number of the brethren had become so much reduced, that, in order to prevent their total extinction, a proposition was made, and afterwards agreed to, "that the privileges of Masonry should no longer be restricted to operative Masons, but extend to men of various professions, provided they were regularly approved and initiated into the order."

Here then we are at the end of Ancient Masonry. The operative Masons, who for a long time past had been gradually decreasing in numbers, now acknowledged, by the above resolution, that it was out of their power, as operative Masons, to continue the existence of their

fraternity any longer; they had fulfilled their mission, by carefully preserving their ancient laws, traditions, and ceremonies, and transmitting them as an heritage to the Grand Lodge of England.

The long contemplated separation of the Freemasons from the operative guilds was now speedily carried into effect, and the Institution made rapid strides towards complete and perfect transformation. From the materials, slowly, surely, and regularly prepared, far back in the medieval twilight of the Middle Ages, carefully cherished and handed down to posterity by the old building associations of Germany and England — arose a new and beautiful creation. Modern Freemasonry was now to be taught as a spiritualizing art, and the fraternity of operative masons, was exalted to a Brotherhood of symbolic builders, who in place of visible, perishable temples, are engaged in the erection of that one, invisible, eternal temple of the heart and mind.

The History of Freemasonry.

First Period.

(From 1717—1783.) .

A. England.

1) The Establishment of modern Freemasonry.

The small remnant of the ancient "*Bauhütten*" formed partly of operative Masons, and partly of the friends of architecture or of accepted Masons, dragged on a miserable existence at the beginning of the 18th century. The Stonemasons, having completed the buildings they had begun to erect, were dispersed, some of them taking up any employment they could find, and many of the „accepted" Masons, it is said, busied themselves with Rösicrucian philosophy, i. e. with Alchemy and Theosophy, which however by no means promoted social intercourse. These too dispersed themselves, whenever they thought they had found a way to carry out their schemes for themselves alone. The York Lodge and the Lodges in the South of England, which besides were by no means numerous,¹⁾ had scarcely resumed their former appearance, when they decreased to such a degree that there were only very few indeed left. As early as the reign of James II., says Preston, Masonry was very much neglected, and even after this period no visible progress was made, the annual festivals seemed entirely to have died out.

¹⁾ Anderson and Preston both agree in this.

Thus matters stood with regard to Masonry, when in the year 1714 king George I. ascended the throne. There were notwithstanding many noble minds of all creeds, and differing in their religious and political views, who wearied with the fierce contests to which party spirit had given rise, were yearning for a haven of rest, where they might find that repose and strength, which should fit them for a superior sphere of activity. Besides, the "accepted" Brethren among the Freemasons, would doubtless feel most sensibly, the danger threatening the Institution, which had been promoted by them, and would cherish the fervent wish to reform and reorganise it, in accordance, with the spirit of the age.

Establishment of the
first Grand Lodge.

This then took place forthwith as several Brethren united for this purpose, for example King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden &c. At their head was Dr. J. Theophilus Desaguliers, who was a very celebrated natural philosopher, Member of the Royal Academy of sciences, and who afterwards became one of the most active members of the Fraternity. He was chosen Court Preacher¹⁾ to the Prince-Royal and holder

1) Desaguliers was a calvinist, whilst Anderson was a preacher in the English High Church.

John Theoph. Desaguliers was the son of a French Protestant clergyman, and was born at Rochelle in 1683. After the Edict of Nantes, he with his father came to London in 1685; afterwards he finished his education at Oxford, and in the course of time attained considerable notoriety as a mathematician and natural philosopher. In 1705 he gave a course of public lectures on experimental philosophy. In 1717 he was appointed chaplain to the Prince of Wales, at London, where he carried on his lectures, and acquired great celebrity. Persons of all classes of society attended his lectures. (Buckle in his work on "History of Civilisation" calls him the first, who popularized natural philosophy.)

His fame by this time had spread throughout Europe. In 1723 he was commissioned by Parliament to devise a plan for heating and ventilating the house of commons, which he effected in a very ingenious manner.

of several benefices, to whom the King often showed marks of favor, liking to discourse with him upon natural philosophy, and likewise by the King's order Desaguliers gave regular lectures to the royal house upon experimental philosophy. Geo. Payne, a learned antiquarian, was his chief supporter, as was also Dr. James Anderson, a theologian.

After the preliminary tasks assigned to the committee had been settled and approved, the four Lodges of London united, viz: those which met, 1) At the Goose-and Gridiron Alehouse in St. Paul's Church-yard; 2) At the Crown Ale house, in Parker's lane, near Drury-lane; 3) At the Apple-tree Tavern, in Charles Street, Covent Garden; 4) At the Rummer- and Grapes Tavern, in Channel-Row, Westminster. In February 1717 at the said Apple-tree tavern above mentioned, some old Brothers met and having voted the oldest Master-mason then

In 1730, by invitation of the Dutch mathematicians, he visited the Hague, and there and at Rotterdam spent a year. He died 1743.

There are some occurrences in the life of Desaguliers, which merit particular attention, as having exercised a peculiar influence on the Masonry of his day. His love of mechanics, and the prominent part which that science plays in operative Masonry, no doubt induced him to become a member of the fraternity. He soon, however, found that the brethren could teach him nothing. On the other hand the spirit of toleration which he found prevailing among the members of the fraternity, peculiarly grateful to one who had himself suffered from religious intolerance, inspired him with the idea of reconstructing the society on a basis which should unite together in harmony those who were divided by religious and political schisms. In carrying out his plan, he was materially aided by the high position he occupied in society, and by the wide-spread acquaintance he enjoyed. As a French refugee, he was of course a zealous Protestant, and this fact must have influenced him in making alterations in the ritual of Masonry, in which several changes were made subsequent to the revival of 1717, for the purpose of divesting it of some of the lingering remnants of Romanism." (See: Masonic Eclectic, vol. I. Nr. 4.)

present into the Chair, they constituted themselves a Grand Lodge, *pro tempore* in due form, and forthwith revived the Quarterly Communications of the Officers of Lodges, resolved to hold the annual Assembly and Feast, and then to choose a Grand Master among themselves till they should have the honor of a noble brother at their head. Accordingly on St. John Baptist's Day, June 24¹⁾, the brethren again met, and by a majority of hands, elected ²⁾ Mr. Anthony Sayer, Grand Master of Masons, who being forthwith invested with the badges of office and power by the said oldest Master, and installed, was duly congratulated by the Assembly, who paid him homage. Capt. Joseph Elliot, and Mr. Jacob Lamball, carpenter, he elected Grand Wardens.

The most important step had now been taken for the due conservation of the Institution. Then it was that Freemasonry, as it is understood at the present day, dawned into existence. Retaining the spirit of the ancient Brotherhood, their fundamental laws, as well as their traditional customs, yet were all united in resigning Architecture and operative Masonry to the station to which they belonged. The customary technical expressions, which were excellently well-suited to the symbolic architecture of a temple, were retained, but figuratively, and withal bearing a higher signification.

The fraternity of Freemasons was now separated from Architecture, forming an association having purely social aims and therefore capable of spreading itself to all quarters of the globe: it became the common property of all mankind. The moral edifice to be erected, should,

¹⁾ This day has since been celebrated everywhere as the day of the anniversary of the Society of Freemasons.

²⁾ See Anderson and Preston l. c. as also: Kloss, History of Freemasonry in England, Ireland and Scotland, drawn from authentic documents &c. Leipzig, O. Klemm.

like to the material edifices of the Masons, have the general good of all mankind in view; the improvement of the members of the fraternity should manifest itself by their growth in self-knowledge, voluntary activity, self-government, as well as in the practice of all the virtues; the society should make men of all conditions better citizens, more zealous in the discharge of their official duties, better fathers, husbands, and friends. Freedom of will is here presupposed as a necessary possession, for being free from great vices, passions, and prejudices, is the only thing to make a man capable of receiving superior cultivation, or leading him gradually to the attainment of perfection. "A Mason," say the Old Charges, "is obliged, by his tenure, to obey the moral law; and if he rightly understands the art, he will never be a stupid atheist, nor an irreligions libertine. But though in ancient times masons were charged in every country to be of the religion of that country or nation, whatever it was; yet it is now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves, that is, to be good men and true, or men of honor and honesty, by whatever denominations or persuasions they may be distinguished; whereby masonry becomes the center of union, and the means of conciliating true friendship among persons, that must otherwise have remained at a perpetual distance."

Thus the idea of Freemasonry is as sublime and magnificent, as it is true to itself, rooted and grounded in the very being of Man.

The Union of Unions. Such an universal association was most essentially necessary. Amongst all men of generous minds, capable of practising self-denial, and wishing to promote the general good of all mankind, there is a secret affinity; they resist all exclusiveness,

and wish to enter into a bond of love with any one having the like inclination. All other associations depending upon similarity of calling, or of rank, upon political opinions, patriotic sentiments, or religious creeds, suffer more or less from exclusiveness. Against all these and similar partition walls, is an association required, which shall possess a code of laws embracing as wide a range as possible, having regard alone to the inward worth of the individual; an association which shall stand above all others, removing or ameliorating all that is prejudicial, and guarding it from becoming an object of hatred, contempt, and persecution. This union of unions, which unites all good men into one family, in which the principle of equality together with brotherly love, i. e. love of the human race, is the predominant one, and the end and aim of all its moral influence on others, this is Freemasonry. Its unity does not depend upon the mere binding by oath; but an alliance voluntarily entered upon is one of pure love and friendship. A warm loving heart, and a fixed purpose to strive after what is good and right, is the only solid possession, upon which Masonry founds happiness, the firm neutral basis, where every variety and difference of opinion is made to accommodate itself, in the struggle after the knowledge of the truth, the cultivation of the beautiful, and the practise of virtue. In this association, which unites all parties and denominations, and reconciles all opposing interests, can man fulfil those duties imposed by all religions. The zealous activity of the Grand Lodge caused Masonry to develop itself rapidly in England, and it immediately met with a favorable reception in Europe, and all other parts of the World.

Among a variety of regulations which ¹⁾ were pro-

¹⁾ Preston transfers this regulation respecting the constructing of new lodges to the first meeting, but this resolution was first taken some-

posed and agreed to at this meeting, was the following: "That the privilege of assembling as Masons, which had hitherto been unlimited, no longer rested in the power of the Fraternity generally, but that every lodge to be hereafter convened, except the four old lodges, at this time existing, should be legally authorised to act by a Warrant from the Grand Master for the time being, granted to certain individuals by petition, with the consent and approbation of the Grand Lodge in communication, and that without such Warrant no lodge should be hereafter deemed regular or constitutional.

In consequence of this regulation, some new Lodges were soon after convened in different parts of London and its environs. The Masters and Wardens of these Lodges were commanded to attend the meetings of the Grand Lodge, make a regular report of their proceedings, and transmit to the Grand Master from time to time, a copy of any bye-laws, they might form for their own government, that no laws established among them might be contrary to, or subversive of, the general regulations, by which the fraternity had been long governed.

It was at the same time¹⁾ resolved that the privileges granted to the four old Lodges should be continued to them for ever. In consequence of which, it was signified in confidence to these Brethren: "That every privilege which they collectively enjoyed, by virtue of their immemorial rights, they should still continue to enjoy; and that no law, rule or regulation to be hereafter made, should deprive them of such privilege, or encroach on any landmark, which was at that time established, as

what later in 1723. Formerly a sufficient number of Masons met together within a certain district, had ample power to make Masons, and discharge all the duties of Masonry, without any warrant or Constitution.

¹⁾ See Preston, Illustr. 15. Ed. p. 183.

the standard of masonic government." The four old Lodges then agreed to extend their patronage, countenance, and protection to every new Lodge which should be hereafter constituted agreeably to the new Regulations of the Society. Matters being thus amicably adjusted, the Brethren of the four old Lodges at large, considered their attendance on the future communications of the Society as unnecessary, thereby giving the other Lodges tacitly to understand, that they trusted implicitly to their Masters and Wardens, resting satisfied that no measure of importance would be carried without their approbation. The officers of the old Lodges however soon began to discover, that the new Lodges being equally represented with them at the Grand Lodge, in process of time would so far outnumber the old ones, as to have it in their power, on a future occasion, by a majority, to subvert the privileges of the original Masons of England, therefore with the concurrence of the Brethren at large, they very wisely formed a code of laws for the future government of the Society. The annexed conditional clause was added, in which it was agreed that the Grand Master for the time being, his successors, and the Master of every Lodge to be hereafter constituted, should engage to preserve and keep sacred and inviolable in all time coming. Every annual Grand Lodge has an inherent power and authority to make new regulations, or to alter these, for the real benefit of this ancient fraternity; provided always that the old landmarks be carefully preserved; and that such alterations and new regulations be proposed and agreed to at the third Quarterly Communication preceding the Annual Grand Feast, and that they be offered also to the perusal of all the Brethren before dinner, in writing, even of the youngest apprentice; the approbation and consent of the majority of all the

Brethren present being absolutely necessary to make the same binding and obligatory."

1718. George Payne, the second Grand Master, was elected June 24th 1718; he felt the importance of inquiring into the history of the association, which had just stepped forth with renewed vigor and activity; therefore he earnestly desired that the Brethren would bring to the Grand Lodge any old writings or records concerning Masons and Masonry, to shew the usages of ancient times; and in consequence of this general intimation, as is recorded in the book of Constitutions in this same year, several copies of the Gothic constitutions were produced, collected, arranged, and digested.

1719. On the 24th of June 1719, another Assembly and Feast was held, when Brother Th. Desaguliers was unanimously elected Grand Master. The Lodges were now ¹⁾ visited by many old ²⁾ masons who had long neglected the Craft; several noblemen were initiated, and a number of new Lodges were constituted. At the feast of his installation, Th. Desaguliers introduced the old, regular, and peculiar toasts or healths of the Freemasons.

¹⁾ Anderson and Preston.

²⁾ Such old Brethren, who had long neglected the craft, could not have been numerous, and it was impossible that the Knights Templars or any former knights of Freemasonry could have been perpetuated amongst them, especially as they were not united in Lodges, and the treacherous nature of their memory must be taken into consideration. "If these individual remaining brothers", says Kloss "History of Freemasonry in England," page 28, "delivered up between the years 1716—23, any very especial mystery, which however would have to be proved by original documents; yet it could not be a tradition coming from the Mother Lodge of all the Freemasons on the continent, but a totally different communication, founded neither upon the ancient regulations, nor the old charges.

The general regulations. George Payne, who on the 24th of June 1720, amid the "customary expressions of mirth, love, and concord", was re-elected, revised, arranged, and digested the decrees of the Grand Lodge hitherto issued,¹⁾ and formed the groundwork of that inestimable collection of the thirty-nine General Regulations, which in 1721 were approved of by his successor. Anderson however was commissioned, "to compare these with the ancient Documents and very ancient customs of the Fraternity, to arrange and digest them, and to prepare them for the use of the Lodges in and around London and Westminster." These general Regulations, called "ancient regulations", in contradistinction to those which were afterwards added, were made to suit the organisation of the Grand Lodge. The single Lodges had to sacrifice some of their former independence, which signified the less, as at first the Grand Lodge was composed entirely of representatives from the Lodges. These Regulations are destined partly for the better arrangement of internal affairs, partly for the purpose of doing away with certain abuses which had crept in, partly also they regarded the ancient customs, whose revival had been considered as necessary. We communicate these Regulations in the Appendix.²⁾ This year the fraternity sustained an irreparable loss, for several valuable manuscripts, (regulations, charges, secrets, and usages) particularly one written by Mr. Nicholas Stone, the Warden under Inigo Jones, were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers, who were alarmed at the threatened proposal of making them public.

St. John's Day 1721. In June 1721 John, Duke of Montague, was elected Grand Master, the first chosen from the nobility. We here subjoin from the Book of

1) See Book of Constitutions, from 1723 and 1738.

2) See Appendix E.

Constitutions the description of this St. John's Festival, because it is the first one communicated by Anderson. It runs thus: "Grand Master Payne, and his Wardens, with the past Grand Officers and the Masters and Wardens of twelve Lodges, met the Grand Master Elect at the Queen's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Churchyard, where the Grand Lodge was opened in ample form; having confirmed the election of Brother Montagu, several gentlemen were initiated into Masonry, and among the rest Philip Lord Stanhope, afterwards Earl of Chesterfield. From the Queen's Arms the Grand Lodge marched in procession in their clothing to Stationers' Hall in Ludgate street, where they were joyfully received by one hundred and fifty Brethren, properly clothed. After grace had been said, they sat down to an elegant repast, according to ancient masonic usage, and regaled themselves with all cheerfulness and joy of heart. When the feast was concluded, and grace had been said, the past Grand Master Payne made the first procession round the Hall, and having returned to his place, he proclaimed aloud James Duke of Montagu, his successor for the ensuing year, and having invested His Grace with the ensigns of his office, installed him in Solomon's Chair, placing himself at his right hand, while the assembly acknowledged the authority of the Duke with all due homage, and joyful congratulations at the re-establishment of Masonry in all its splendor.

Immediately afterwards the Grand Master Montagu, as if quite unpremeditatedly, nominated Dr. John Beal, deputy Grand Master, who was invested and installed by Br. Payne in the Chair of Hiram Abiff to the left hand of the Grand Master. In the same manner His Grace appointed Jos. Villenau, Master of the Festivals¹),

¹) There were at that time no Stewards.

and Thomas Morrice, a Stone-mason, to be Grand Wardens, who were invested and installed by the past Grand Wardens, and received the customary salutations and congratulations."

When the Grand Master Montagu, with his Brethren in Office, had made a second procession round the Hall, Brother Desaguliers made an elegant oration¹⁾ on the subject of Masonry. Perfect concord and harmony, the effect of brotherly love, prevailed, and then the Grand Master thanked Br. Villenau for his able manner in which the Festival had been arranged by him, and commanded him in his capacity of Warden, to close the Lodge at the proper time."

The Constitution. On the 29th of September the same year, Brother J. Anderson was commissioned to revise, arrange, and digest the Gothic Constitutions, old Charges, and General Regulations, and from them to devise a Constitution which should include what was contained in the ancient Books generally, but at the same time altered to suit the different circumstances²⁾ in which the Fraternity now found itself. Anderson worked so expeditiously that on the 27th of December of that same year, it was concluded, and handed over to a Committee of fourteen learned Brethren, who by command of the Grand Master, were to make their report upon it. On the 25th of March 1722, the Committee reported to the Grand Lodge, that they had perused the Manuscript of Brother Anderson, containing the History, Charges, Regulations, and Master's Anthem, and after some amendments had approved thereof, whereupon the Lodge begged the permission of the Grand Master to allow the whole to be

1) It is greatly to be regretted that this important speech is unknown, and most probably is lost to us for ever.

2) The order he received runs thus: "You are to order and arrange the ancient Gothic Constitutions upon a new and better system."

printed. On the 17th of January 1723, it was delivered over to the representatives of twenty Lodges, who were connected with the Grand Lodge. When it had been accepted and approved of by these, it appeared in print in the same year under the title of "The Constitutions of the Freemasons &c." London, 1723.

Before entering more fully into the contents of this book, we must mention a division which arose among the Brethren, immoderate ambition being the occasion, which however was soon happily adjusted.

In the beginning of January 1722, the Duke of Montagu was chosen again as Grand Master for the following year. The Duke of Wharton and his adherents were highly displeased at this, it having been intended to put up the latter Duke as a candidate. Therefore the Duke of Wharton caused himself to be proclaimed Grand Master, in an assembly which he had convoked for this purpose, a choice which of course was greatly disapproved of by the regular Lodges, it being considered by them as contrary to their constitution. But to avoid disunion, the Grand Master Montagu called together a meeting of the Brethren, and resigned his office in favor of his opponent¹⁾, who however fully sensible of the impropriety of his conduct, publicly acknowledged his error, promising in future a strict conformity and obedience to the resolutions of the Society. Then he was regularly invested and installed in the presence of the representatives of twenty five Lodges, and concord and harmony again restored. Desaguliers became his Deputy Grand Master.

1) The Duke of Wharton, at that time twenty two years of age, was an eccentric person, and extremely ambitious. Some years afterwards, when his fortune had become much impaired, he retired to Spain, became a Roman Catholic, and ended his restless career, in a Spanish Monastery, in the thirty second year of his age, March 31st 1739.

On that very same day, January 17th 1723, in which law and order obtained such a signal victory, Freemasonry acquired a fresh security for its permanent duration, for Bro J. Timson, Grand Warden, presented to the Brethren a printed Copy of the new Book of Constitutions, which was then approved and confirmed by twenty Lodges.¹⁾ "Then indeed," says Anderson, "did Freemasonry flourish, being possessed of Union, Concord, and numerical strength. Many of the nobility and gentry of the first rank, were desirous of being admitted into the Fraternity, together with many learned men, merchants &c., who found that a Lodge is a safe and agreeable resting-place after the severe discipline of hard study, or the fatigues of business, free from political and party strife. Consequently the Grand Master saw himself obliged to constitute more²⁾ new Lodges, visting them regularly every week accompanied by his Deputy and Wardens."

The above-mentioned Constitution has been ever since regarded as a most important Document, as the legal foundation in fact of the Fraternity of Freemasons, under the form it should retain in the future. That the laws and regulations therein contained, were really those which were found in the ancient Documents, and in use up to that period, the official character of the Book of Constitutions itself is a sufficient security on the one hand, as well as the repeated assurances of Anderson and Desaguliers, that every thing was retained that was really ancient and authentic in the old Constitutions, and on the other hand the full and complete investigation of Kloss, who compared them with the old

1) Touching the names of those who signed the Book of Constitutions, as well as the extract from the minutes of the year 1723, see Kloss, History of Freemasonry in England, page 45 &c.

2) He formed eleven new Lodges in London.

Constitutions themselves, has established it beyond a doubt. The Grand Lodge of England was fully entitled to propose the fundamental laws to the fraternity, for she was the first regularly organised masonic association on the whole terrestrial globe.

This first edition of the Book of Constitutions, which is the most remarkable and the rarest, contains, on little more than 100 pages in quarto, besides the dedication written by Br. Desaguliers, the following: 1) A brief history of Freemasonry from the creation of the world, i. e. a history of Architecture taken from the Legend of the Guilds; 2) The fundamental laws called the old Charges; 3) The ancient general Regulations, compiled by Br. G. Payne, to which is annexed 4) the Approbation of the Book. Lastly come four masonic songs.

The well instructed Freemason ought to know these fundamental laws and old regulations, therefore we subjoin them complete, in the Appendix D.

The Duke of Wharton was followed in his office of Grand Master by Lord Dalkeith, and to him succeeded in the year 1724 Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, under whose administration the Committee of Charity was instituted, which had been proposed by his predecessor in Office, and had met with general approbation (Nov. 21st). — This Committee of Charity has a general fund at their disposal for the support of faithful Brethren, who have met with reverses of fortune or become poor and which since its foundation by twenty seven Lodges on the 25th of November 1729, has done an immense deal of good,¹⁾ and our English Brethren

¹⁾ Several thousand pounds are distributed annually, and yet the funds have, especially within the last few years, considerably increased, through the annual contributions of the Brethren. For a more complete

have a right to be proud of this institution. It soon became of essential use, in maintaining legal authority in the Grand Lodge, and is so to the present day.

The resolution passed by Brother Lord Paisley on the 27th of November 1725, was a very important one, and of great assistance in the propagation of Freemasonry (New Regulation 13): "The Master of a Lodge together with his Wardens, and the requisite number of Brethren, assembled in due form, can create Masters and Fellow-Crafts", as before this, only the Grand Lodge had had the right to confer these two degrees.¹⁾

The Brethren were now in possession of their past History. "Their ancient fundamental laws were formed from those ancient Constitutions, which were then laid aside, their old regulations supplied those deficiencies in the fundamental laws, which it was impossible to have conceived would become necessary, and arranged the outward intercourse to be maintained between the Lodges; the new regulations prove that continual progress according to the spirit of the times, has always been had in view, without infringing the ancient landmarks; the newly established Charity fund was a means of uniting the somewhat separate interests of individual Lodges; it was then, and has been ever since, a most effective aid in carrying out one of the three chief aims of the association, viz: relief in time of need. As the administration of the affairs of the different Lodges became more arduous, the Grand Lodge conferred upon individual Lodges authority to advance Fellow-Crafts and Masters, as they might judge fitting and right. The passing of this resolution was the same in effect as declaring Free-

account of this institution see Preston Illustr. p. 194, and Kloss's Hist. of Freem. in England, page 58.

¹⁾ At that time only a very small number of Brethren had obtained the degree of Master. See Kloss, l. c. page 60 and 61.

masonry to be of age, and capable of acting independently, and the duty was imposed upon her of no longer confining herself within the narrow limits of her native town, but of spreading herself over the whole surface of the globe, and as a preliminary movement in this direction, we find her in 1725, establishing her first Lodge in Paris. Since this period she has well deserved that adorning epithet, so fittingly bestowed on her, *Masonry universal*; for she became an association into which all upright and honorable men and of good reputation might enter, and there united by the bonds of brotherly love, mutually assist each other in the constant practise of truth and virtue, having in view the fulfilment of their momentous calling, the uniting of what was divided." (Kloss.)

Ritual and Degrees. With regard to the Ritual we know, that in the first period of the existence of the Grand Lodge, it was very short and simple. Originally, it seems, there was but one degree of initiation in the year 1717; the degrees or grades of Apprentice, Fellow, and Master were introduced just before the year 1720. Before this the Master was merely a Fellow-Craft, chosen from among his brothers and Fellows, to preside over the Lodge, and give them necessary instruction for their work.¹⁾ The XIII. Old Regulation of the year 1720 states that: Apprentices must be admitted Fellow-Crafts and Masters only here, i. e. in Grand Lodge. This Regulation shows, that the three degrees were then in existence. As we have seen, the Grand Lodge arrived at full perfection only by degrees, by returning to the ancient customs and Regulations. It is therefore not impossible that she first introduced the three degrees in

¹⁾ "And also he that were most of conyng schold be governor of ye werke and scholde be callyd maister &c." The History and Art. "The most expert of the Fellow Craftsmen shall be chosen or appointed the Maester" &c. Anc. Charge V, 1723.

the year 1720, or perhaps only improved upon them. We must not however, therefore come to the conclusion, that other secrets and higher degrees were likewise unknown to the Freemasons of that period. The ancient Masons, as well as the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland, had at first only the three original degrees; higher degrees were nowhere in existence. On the other hand it is just possible, that the three degrees were known in former times, but as the Masters and Fellow-Crafts were comparatively few in number, therefore no mention was made of them. It is highly probable, that the ritual of both degrees, i e. fellow-craft and master, especially that of Master, received very considerable additions between the years 1720—23.

The Gormogones. At the end of this paragraph we will just mention a Society which was founded about the year 1724, from very equivocal motives, and known under the name of the Gormogones,¹⁾ and against which, most probably until the year 1725, many of the laws issued by the Grand Lodge were directed. The names and birth-places of the persons belonging to this order were written in cipher, and it is said the order was brought by a chinese Mandarin (a Jesuit Missionary?) to England, it being in great repute in China (Rome), and had as well as Freemasonry, a secret of a very extraordinary kind. "The only subject of conversation, which was expressly forbidden, was the politics of their own country." From this we perceive clearly, that this Society could have nothing to do with Freemasonry, the latter forbidding all political discussions. It appears that it still existed in the year 1730, and held a chapter at the

¹⁾ See Kloss, 1 c. page 90.

Castle-Tavern, London, subject to the "Sub-Oecumenical-Volgi" (the supreme chapter) in Rome or Paris; in the year 1738 however, it was dissolved. Brother Kloss supposes, and not wholly without foundation, that these Gormogones may have been an attempt of the Jesuits, by the help of the Freemasons' ceremonies, to win the credulous over to Catholicism, and to regain their lost dominion in England. Most likely the notorious Ramsay, the inventor of the so-called higher degrees, and an adherent of the Stuarts, had something to do with the matter.

2) Further development of Masonry in England.

(1726—1753.)

The first Grand Lodge held after the accession of his Majesty George II. to the throne, the first King, who in all the meetings of the Masons was honored after the manner¹⁾ usually adopted by them, took place on the 24th of June 1727, the Earl of Inehiquin, Grand Master. At this meeting it was resolved to extend the privilege of voting in Grand Lodge to Past Grand Wardens, that privilege having been heretofore restricted to Past Grand Masters by a resolution in 1724, and to Past Deputies by another resolution in 1726, and the propagation of Freemasonry beyond the precincts of London was favored by the installation of Provincial Grand Masters. In the year following (1728) Lord Colerane being Grand Master, Dr. Desaguliers moved, that the ancient office of Stewards, whose co-operation had been very much wanted at the three previous festivals, should be revived; their number was restricted to twelve, to be elected annually.

¹⁾ Scott, pocket companion.

Masonry continued to increase perceptibly. Lord Colerane granted a Constitution to a Lodge in Madrid, and his successor James King, Lord Viscount Kingston, nominated Brother George Pomfret the first Provincial Grand Master of Bengal (India). January 29th 1730 Kingston delivered over the Hammer to his successor the Duke of Norfolk, being desirous himself to travel to Ireland, where in Dublin, April 6th 1731, in a properly constituted Grand Lodge, he was elected Grand Master, in due form. No Grand Lodge had up to this period existed in Ireland.

The Furniture of a Lodge. The Grand Master last mentioned presented to the Grand Lodge, the veritable ancient sword of Gustavus Adolphus, and of the brave Duke Bernhard of Weimar from Venice, which was ever after used as a Sword of state, and thus the first desire was excited to possess outward adornment; soon afterwards, in 1731, the resolution was passed, that "No one except the Grand Master, his Deputy, and his Warden, should be permitted to wear their jewels in Gold fastened round their necks by a blue riband, and white leather aprons with blue silk" &c. In this year there appeared, for the first time, surreptiously, the ritual of the Grand Lodge in Prichard's "Masonry dissected," which we will hereafter examine more closely.

Privileges of the Stewards. When Lord Lovel, afterwards Earl of Leicester, was installed Grand Master on the 27th of March, the Fraternity received a mark of distinction, between the 14th of May, and the 24th of Juni 1731, which in its after-effects was of immense service in causing the greater spread of the association, as well as for the greater esteem which in consequence, was universally vouchsafed to it, viz: the initiation of his Royal Highness Francis, Duke of Lorraine, afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany and

Emperor of Germany, which took place at the Hague, by a deputation from the English Grand Lodge, amongst them Desaguliers.

Of the resolutions which were passed at this period, we especially note the following, that all the past Grand Masters and Deputy Grand Masters were nominated perpetual members of the Committee of Charity, that they might furnish a more exact knowledge of the necessities and merits of the applicants. Again, the Minutes of the Quarterly Meetings were no longer copied down in writing, but engraved in copper and sent to the individual Lodges; on the 2nd of March 1732, it was agreed on the motion of colonel Pitt, a Steward of the Grand Lodge, that in future each Steward should have the privilege of nominating his successor at every subsequent Grand Feast, which unfortunately led to the formation of an aristocracy within the Lodge, and paved the way to the most melancholy dissensions.

The Committee of Charity. Under the Grand Master Lord Viscount Montagu (1732) great tranquillity reigned, and Freemasonry was in such a flourishing condition that in London alone eighteen new Lodges were established, and seven in different parts of the kingdom, in the course of the year. The Earl of Strathmore succeeded (1733), during whose administration we first meet with Brother John Ward, amongst the Stewards, who was likewise Grand Warden, and whose name appears everywhere in the annals of Masonry, where a truly masonic action was to be performed. Towards the close of the year (December 1733) the privileges of the Committee of Charity were so materially extended, that the Grand Lodge, to a certain extent, voluntarily delivered over to them the residue of that independence which had been left to it, in the passing of resolutions. This innovation, viz: the extension of the Committee for the

administration of the Charity Fund, into a Meeting of Master Masons, on whom power was conferred to make arrangements of the greatest importance, and to prepare new resolutions, which not alone virtually annulled the authority vested in the Grand Lodge, but likewise greatly endangered the equality of the Brethren in the different Lodges. Under Brother Strathmore the first regular Lodge was founded in Germany.

Innovations. In the course of the year 1734, when the Earl of Crawford was Grand Master, who was especially zealous in the cause of Masonry and of the Charity, Brother James Anderson was ordered to prepare a new edition of the Book of Constitutions for the press, materials for which he had in readiness. It did not make its appearance till 1738, most likely delayed in consequence of the grievous events which like a storm were gathering around the Fraternity, threatening to disturb its peace, and which were sought to be averted by the passing of the resolution (New Regulation VIII.) against the illegal conventions of Masons, "who have lately met secretly and to the discredit of the Society have initiated persons into Masonry on small and inadequate fees." Every one taking part in those irregular initiations should not be permitted to hold office, nor participate in the Charity Fund. While Crawford was Grand Master he appointed three Provincial Grand Masters, one for Lancashire, a second for Durham, and a third for Northumberland, which Preston looks upon as an encroachment on the jurisdiction of the Lodge of masons in the city of York, but he is decidedly in the wrong. The fact is entirely overlooked, that in the year 1734, there were already five Lodges in Lancashire and Durham, constituted in 1729 by the London Grand Lodge, as also in Scarborough, in the county of Yorkshire, which might, long before this, have raised the dissatisfaction of the

York Lodge. We will hereafter more attentively consider the Lodge of York; for the present we have more innovations to take note of, which most undeniably were the cause of the dissensions, which afterwards broke out. We mean the extraordinary privileges, which in 1735, under the Grand Master Viscount Weymouth, were granted to the newly created Stewards' Lodge, which was permitted to send a deputation of twelve members to the Grand Lodge, having the privilege of voting as individuals, and wearing distinctive aprons and ribands, as it was resolved that in future all the Grand Officers should be elected out of that body. The office of Steward, which was a very expensive one, became, by this means, a system of favoritism, in which the aristocracies of nobility and wealth had the preference, though totally opposed to the liberal spirit of Masonry. The Grand Lodge, says Kloss,¹⁾ first introduced into Masonry that axiom, so abundantly practised in the so-called higher degrees, that the more largely a brother contributes, the greater his weight in the Lodge. The red color, adopted by the Stewards, may be traced to the same spirit, as this color had been likewise used by the so called Scottish degrees since 1740. Before the year 1731 this color was unknown amongst the Masons. This unjust preference shown to the Stewards excited loud but righteous indignation among the Brethren, and such a disturbance ensued, that Ward had to get up and make a speech calling for "Decency and moderation." The Fraternity, meanwhile, continued the work of organisation, and on the 6th of April 1736 John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, Grand Master, John Ward being in the chair, a regulation for the despatch of business containing ten articles, was proposed by him, and afterwards incorporated in

¹⁾ L. c. page 131.

the Book of Constitutions, as New Regulation 40, and as a proof of its well-tested judiciousness, Dermott accepted it unaltered in his Code (Regulation 28).

New Edition of the Book of Constitutions. The year following 1737 the Society was greatly honored, when under the Grand Master, the Earl of Darnley, in a Lodge held for the purpose at the Palace of Kew by Brother Desaguliers, Prince Frederick of Wales was initiated a Mason. He unfortunately died in 1751, just at a period, when he might have been of infinite service to the Fraternity. In the Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge January 25th 1738, the new book of Constitutions was again submitted, approved of, and orders issued for its being printed.

But as its completion and publication was delayed till the end of June of that year, the Grand Master, the Marquis of Carnarvon, afterwards Duke of Chandos, who had been appointed in the interim, was obliged likewise to signify his approval, as Br. Wharton had done before him.¹⁾ By order of the Grand Lodge it was dedicated to Brother Frederick Prince of Wales. The names of Brothers Desaguliers and Payne, are a sufficient guarantee that in this edition, there is but little altered of the ancient traditions of Freemasonry, as well as the manner in which the ancient Charges themselves are conceived, of which only No. I, II, IV, 2 have undergone slight alterations. In Charge IV 2. one passage, displeasing to the Grand Lodge of Ireland respecting Catholicism, which may also not have been quite agreeable to some English brethren, was left out; Charge II. was curtailed to suit the period, when the Book was

¹⁾ See the sanction in the Book of Constitutions itself, as also Kloss' Hist. of Engl. page 138.

compiled, and Charge I. in accordance with the ancient statute, and by virtue of the authority vested in the Grand Lodge was so far altered, that by appealing to the articles of Noah against every ecclesiastical confession of faith whatsoever, it clearly demonstrated that Freemasonry would engage in no religious controversy of any kind. This Edition was translated in 1741 into German, and in the beginning of the century, when an authentic history of Freemasonry was greatly needed, it became the leading star to guide mankind to a clear knowledge of true Masonry. Under Carnarvon two Provincial Grand Masters were constituted, one of which was in the West-Riding of Yorkshire.

About this time many irregularities are supposed to have arisen.

We can now occupy ourselves exclusively with the examination of these events, as the time from 1740—1754 is wanting in any occurrence of general interest, and every thing bearing any reference to the development of Masonry in Russia, Germany, America &c. will be treated of in the history of the Craft in these countries respectively. We will only just remark very briefly a prohibition issued in the year 1741, forbidding all publicity to any thing relating to Masonry, and in the following year a caricature appeared, representing a mock Masonic procession, which led to a resolution being passed, that public processions should be discontinued, and that the laws of the Committee of Charity were collected in 1747. As the Grand Master W. Byron was long absent, the Grand Lodge was for five years, until 1752, without a President, and doubtless during this Interregnum many abuses crept in, which were certainly not very conducive to the proper development of Masonry in England. The numerous new regulations which were introduced, caused dissatisfaction, as the rights of indi-

vidual Lodges were more and more encroached upon, and the Grand Lodge was made gradually to assume the character of an independent and arbitrary power. A sort of hierarchy had arisen in the Lodges; circumstances had materially altered many things; the annual Feast, which had been originally a great day of reconciliation, had degenerated into a revel.

3) The Lodge of York, and the so-called „Ancient Masons“.

Many masonic authors tell of various abuses which had crept in between the years 1739 bis 1772, upon which however no clear and satisfactory light can be thrown. The year 1739 is usually regarded as the one in which they first appeared, though this is not exactly correct; for the new sect, which under the name of the ancient Masons caused so much trouble, did not arise till a later period, and have been erroneously associated with events of an earlier date. We think we can trace these irregularities to three different causes, viz: first the unauthorised initiation of individual Masons, then the critical relations with the York Lodge, and finally the innovations of the sectarians.

Irregular
initiations.

The ancient Constitutions of the Masons which had been drawn up many centuries previously, had been a binding law to all Lodges, until they were superseded by the Book of Constitutions which Anderson had compiled at the instigation of the Grand Lodge in the year 1723, and introduced in their place. Only twenty Lodges, however, ratified them, five Lodges would not accede to or sign them. Many members of the ancient fellowship of Masons had not attached themselves to any Lodge whatever, and amongst those who had, there were many Brethren who greatly desired a return to the old Constitutions and former

independence. This occasioned many of the Brethren who had retired from the Lodges, and several isolated Masons, of their own authority and contrary to the existing laws, to undertake the initiation of Members, and to form Lodges, against which irregularities energetic measures were taken by the Grand Lodge. The exertions made in this direction were successful; by the 29th of January 1731, the before mentioned refractory Lodges had either vanished entirely, or had joined the rest of the Society. No more thought was bestowed upon them. The book of Constitutions gave the assurance on the 29th of January 1731, that the irregular Lodges had returned to their allegiance.

The York Lodge. In the shires and counties the ancient Lodges of the operative Masons seem for a long time to have taken no notice of the Grand Lodge of London, perhaps because the metropolis had not previously acknowledged the right of the architectural corporations to establish themselves where they chose. Whether they continued to exist long after the new organisation of Freemasonry, we do not know. The York Lodge is the only one of whom it is known: yet it numbered but few Members and exercised no influence whatever. From a document in the Archive of the Union-Lodge of York, still extant, written on a narrow strip of parchment with the superscription „*Minutes*“, it appears, that from 1712—1730, there was a Lodge at York, which between 1712—16 had only one, or at most, two yearly meetings, and that from 1717—21 there were no meetings held at all. It is impossible to ascertain whether they had continued to meet uninterruptedly from the thirteenth century up to this date, or what had been their fate all that time; Preston's account is in many respects inexact. They permitted the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England without opposition; and

even quietly looked on, while the Grand Lodge in 1724 formed a regular Lodge at Durham. ✱ Yet this circumstance, as well as the growth of the London Grand Lodge, seems to have stimulated the Brethren of York to bring more life into their Lodge. From 1722—23 only three meetings had taken place; in the years 1725 and 1726 they suddenly displayed such activity that they met eleven and thirteen times. The revivifying element in the York Lodge was Br. Drake, the celebrated antiquarian, whose initiation took place in 1725.

The title "Grand Master" was at first, from 1712—23, not applied in York, the chairman styling himself "President". When Anderson's book of Constitutions became known, a change was made. In the Minutes of the 10th of August 1725, William Scourfield is mentioned as Worshipful Master, and Brothers Marsden and Reinoldson as Wardens. In the Minutes of the 27th of December 1725 however, Br. Ch. Bathurst was unanimously chosen Grand Master and made Brothers Drake and Pawson, Wardens (these two had only been initiated in the September of that same year), Mr. Johnson his Deputy, Scourfield, Treasurer, and Inigo Russel, clerk, for the ensuing year.

This day, December the 27th, the Society marched in procession to Merchants-Hall, where after a Great Festival, a Grand Master was elected. The speech of the Junior-Warden ¹⁾ (of *Grand-Warden* no mention is made in the Minutes) is not to be found, as no minutes were taken of the Festival of Dec. 27th 1726, leaving a rather long interval unnoticed, though we have a notification of the Festival previous, viz. Dec. 22.

¹⁾ A Speech delivered to the W. and anc. Society of free and acc. Masons at a Grand Lodge, held at Merchants-Hall in the City of York on St. John's Day, Dec. 27th 1726. By the Junior Grand Warden London 1729 (1727).

Before making any further remark upon this year 1725, so memorable for the Lodge of York, we must record that whereas, previously, the Meetings had been held in private houses, in 1725 they were transferred to hotels (*Star Inn* and *White Swan*); further, that at first the appellations *Society and Fraternity* (also *Company*) of *free Masons* was made use of, in the Minutes of July 21st 1725 we for the first time read the expression: „*Society of free accepted Masons*“; that previously it was the initiation of *Persons*, but from 1725 of *Gentlemen* and that finally in 1722—23 Brethren seem to have attended the Meetings as visitors.¹⁾ The fact, that they had first to undergo an Examination before they were admitted, proves that the usages and catechetical formula of the York Lodge must have been identical with the one used by the Grand Lodge of London. In the year 1725 the title „Grand Master“ was adopted in York, and Brother Drake for the first time delivered a speech, because he ²⁾ had heard that in most of the Lodges in London, and in many other parts of the kingdom, it was customary to deliver a lecture at each Meeting, either upon Geometry or Architecture. In consequence of the great liberality of Br. Bathurst, a festivity took place for the first time, and also in this year a kind of Constitution consisting of nineteen articles was sketched out, which, under the title of „*Old Rules of the Grand Lodge at York 1725*“ still exists²⁾,

1) In the Minutes of Jan. 10th 1722—23 it is said: „At the same time the following Persons were acknowledged as Brethren of this ancient Society: Ed. Winwood“ &c. And of Feb. 4th: „At the same time and place the two persons whose Names are underwritten were upon their Examinations received as Masons, and as such they were accordingly introduced and admitted into this Lodge.“

1) See the speech quoted above.

2) The introduction runs thus: „*Articles agreed to be kept and ob*

on a large sheet of parchment, signed by eighty nine Brethren.

Br. Drake, in accordance with the Grand Lodge of London, in his speech held in 1726 calls brotherly love, relief and truth, the three great characteristics of the association.

Relying upon the Legend of the Guild he says that the first Grand Lodge ever held in England was held at York. "This is sufficient to make us dispute the superiority with the Lodges at London: but as nought of that kind ought to be amongst so amicable a Fraternity, we are content that they enjoy the title of Grand Master of England; but the *Totius Angliae* we claim as our undoubted right." This passage proves

served by the Ancient Society of Freemasons in the City of York and to be subscribed by every member thereof on their Admittance into the said Society."

We here transcribe some of these Articles:

- 1) Inprimis that every first Wednesdays in the month a lodge shall be held at the house of a brother according as their turn shall fall out.
- 3) If any brother appear at a Lodge that is not a Subscriber to these Articles, he shall pay one shilling.
- 4) The Bowl shall be filled at the monthly lodges with Punch &c. All Bread, Cheese, and Tobacco in common &c.
- 7) Timely Notice shall be given to all the Subscribers, when a brother or brothers are to be made.
- 8) Any brother or brothers presuming to call a lodge with a design to make a Mason or Masons without the Master or Deputy &c. for every such offence he shall forfeit the sum of five pounds.
- 9) An hour shall be set apart at each Lodge to talk Masonry.
- 14) No Person shall be admitted as Brother of the Lodge, but after having been strictly examined.
- 15) No more persons shall be admitted as brothers of this Society, that shall keep a public house.
- 16) These articles must be laid on the table at the meeting of every Lodge, that the Members may make use of the same, and the clerk shall read them aloud, when any new Brother is made,

that in 1726 the York Lodge lived in peaceful union with the Grand Lodge of London; as does another, that at that time persons were present who were not employed in building but yet were accepted Masons, viz: where the speaker turns to the working Masons, and recommends them to read through the Constitutions, and then to those, "that are of other trades and occupations, and have the honor to be admitted into this Society", and last of all to the "*Gentlemen*", who are recommended to attain to "some knowledge of the arts and Sciences". Here not alone the enemies outside the Lodge are intimated, but also false Brethren within. It most manifestly points to Br. Scourfield and the schismatical Lodge formed by him, concerning which the Minutes of July 6th 1726 communicate the following: "Whereas it has been certified to me that Mr. Wm. Scourfield has presumed to call a Lodge and make Masons without the consent of the Grand Master or Deputy, and in opposition to the 8th Article of the Constitutions, I do with the consent of the Grand Master and the approbation of the whole Lodge declare him to be disqualified from being a member of this Society, and he is hereby for ever banished from the same."

"Such members as were assisting in constituting and forming Mr. Scourfield's Schismatical Lodge on the 21th of the last month, whose names are John Carpenter, W. Musgreve, Th. Albanson, and Th. Preston, are by the same authority liable to the same sentence, yet upon their acknowledging their error, in being deluded and making such submission as shall be judged requisite by the Grand Master and Lodge at the next monthly Meeting shall be received into the favor of the brotherhood, otherwise to be banished as Mr. Scourfield, and their names to be erased out of the Roll and Articles."

We will here observe that Scourfield was formerly chairman of the Lodge, but at the last election was chosen only Treasurer.

Dec. 13th 1726 a Lord, Viscount Irwin, was sworn (not initiated) into the Fraternity. After the minutes of Dec. 22nd of the same year, a considerable space is left in the page, and then follow the minutes of June 21st 1729, wherein it is said, two Gentlemen were received into the St. John's Lodge, and their election confirmed by vote: Edw. Thompson, Esq., Grand Master, John Willmers, deputy Grand Master, G. Rhodes and Reynoldson, Grand Wardens. The Grand Master on his part appointed a Committee of seven brothers, amongst whom was Drake, to assist him in the management of the Lodge and every now and then support his authority in removing any abuses which might have crept in. The Lodge however was at its last gasp, therefore the Committee seem to have effected but little; for May 4th 1730, it was found necessary to exact the payment of a shilling for all officers of the Lodge, who *did not make their appearance*, and with this announcement the Minutes close. The "Mother Lodge" as Drake calls it, — at this period she was a childless mother, i. e. having no daughter Lodges —, which in 1726, "was sufficiently awakened and animated by the consoling presence of many a worthy son", but now, as the officials must actually be threatened with the terrors of the law, to compell them to appear, the York Lodge ceased to hold any Meetings.

But it must not be supposed that all the activity of the Freemasons in York was put a stop to, on this account; for even in the year 1734 many Brethren at their own request, received in London a charter for the institution of a Lodge at York (Crawford, Grand Master in the South). Another Lodge was constituted in the West Riding of Yorkshire by the London Grand

Lodge in 1738.¹⁾ "Since that circumstance" says Preston, "all correspondence between the two Grand Lodges has ceased," an assertion which lacks foundation; and most likely he has been mistaken in the period of time, for we find in the year 1767 a most friendly correspondence going on between the two Grand Lodges.

After the ancient York Lodge had remained a certain time inactive, it was reopened March 17th 1761 by six of its former surviving Members under the name of *Grand Lodge*. How far they were entitled to assume this designation, is, as we have seen from the foregoing history, more than doubtful, and was entirely founded upon the legendary and improbable tale that a "general assembly" had taken place formerly in York. A Grand Lodge in the modern acceptation of the term had never taken place at York, and the isolated or Mother Lodge, which dates from a very early period, had until the year 1730 neither made nor constituted any other Lodge, and it was not until the publication of the London Book of Constitutions in 1723, that it laid any claim whatever to the appellation Grand Lodge of all England. Even then the name Grand Lodge was previously only an empty title.

The remark to be found in the Minutes of the Archives of the Union Lodge begins thus: "The Ancient Independent Constitution of Free and Accepted Masons belonging to the City of York, was this day revived by six surviving Members of the Fraternity, who opened the Grand Lodge at the house of Henry Howard in Lendall: when it was further agreed that it should continue to be held for the future there only,

¹⁾ The publishers of the London Book of Constitutions of the year 1738, Ward and Chandler, had also a business in York. (See, the title of the Const. Book.)

the second and last Monday in every month." Grand Master Br. Francis Drake; Deput. Grand Master Br. George Reynoldson; Grand Warden Br. G. Coates and Thomas Mason, and Brothers Chr. Coulton and Martin Crofts. Eleven Brethren, visitors, assisted at this Meeting, of whom Br. Tasker was made a Member of the Lodge, and Grand Secretary of the same. Br. Howard too joined, and five candidates were proposed. These were initiated May 23rd, and advanced into the second degree, May 11th. Br. Mayer was raised Master Mason. (Before this no mention is made of second and third degrees in the York Minutes.)

At the opening of the Lodge there were made certain Rules and Orders to be inviolably observed. These Minutes do not offer much worth communicating. June 8th a Br. Preston was present, June 13th a Br. Calcott. In the year 1762 a Br. Morrit was Grand Master; after a banquet partaken of by all present the Lodge was opened. Jan. 31st 1764 Freemason Glees and Songs were purchased for the use of the Lodge. In the years 1765—67 Br. Palmes, Grand Master, Fr. Agar, Deputy Grand Master; Br. Drake is seldom mentioned.

A correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England in London in the year 1767, proves that the York Lodge was then on the best of terms with the former. Br. Lambert, Grand Secretary at York, wrote to Br. Spencer, Grand Secretary in London, that the Lodge No. 259 in Stonegate, York, which was established under the Constitution of the Grand Lodge in London has been discontinued, and that the most ancient Grand Lodge of all England, which has been a working Lodge in this town from time immemorial, is now the only Lodge there. Br. Lambert further stated: "This Lodge acknowledges no superiors and owes subjection to none; she exists in her own right, giving Constitutions

and Certificate, in the same way as the Grand Lodge of England in London has asserted her claims there from time immemorial. Her Charity Fund she distributes herself according to true Masonic rules. The seal of the Lodge is three royal Crowns, with the superscription "*Sigillum Edwini*" &c. Doubtless the Grand Lodge of London will pay all due respect to all the Brethren made by this Lodge, who has always shown all due respect to the Brethren who work under the Constitution of the London Lodge. It will always be the endeavor of this Grand Lodge to promote the honor and dignity of Masonry in general, for she is most cautious whom she admits as Members, and never initiates a Mason, but on true and worthy motives. In all that appertains to the general good, and especially that of the Fraternity at large, this Grand Lodge is ever ready to work in concert with the one in London, and demonstrate all proper respect for any information or advice she may impart. The Grand Master &c. send brotherly greeting."

From December 1767 the Minutes were more regular and complete, the Secretary Br. Lambert received for his careful assiduity in the duties of his office the sum of five guineas.

July 31st 1769 Br. Atkinson, a visitor from Ripon, requests a Constitution and permission to open a Royal Oak Lodge in Ripon, which was unanimously granted. Br. Atkinson was appointed Chairman, Br. G. Dawson senior Warden.

Another Constitution was granted Oct. 30th 1769 to Brothers Cateson, Revell, and Ketar for the Lodge "Crown" at Knaresborough, after these Brethren had been advanced to the degree of Master at that same Meeting.

In December 1770 a procession to the Church of

St. John took place, where a Brother preached from the text "God is love"; Br. Sir Th. Gascoigne was appointed Grand Master. Many Brethren from York as well as the Daughter Lodges of the Grand Lodge, established at Ripon, Knaresborough, and Inniskilling were present at this Festival. Charitable gifts were bestowed upon Institutions and upon individual brothers.

In 1774 Br. Preston became a Member pro tempore; Br. Stapilton Grand Master. At the end of the Minutes, which are brought down to Dec. 12th 1774, there is a Catalogue of Effects &c. of Jan. 1776. A list of Members reaching to the year 1773, contains the names of 124 Brethren; another list is brought down to the year 1778.

The Lodge appears to have existed up to this period, but only vegetated, not flourished; at any rate, we must say, the fact, that in 1777, in York, the newly established Union Lodge, which still exists, being constituted by the Grand Lodge of England, and not by her, casts an unfavorable light upon her. Nevertheless she opened a communication with the Lodge of Antiquity, and was upon the point of granting, or perhaps did actually grant her a Constitution. The roughdraught is still existing and is of the year 1778; the petition is signed by sixteen brethren from London, amongst whom is Br. W. Preston.

Of the year 1779 there exists the roughdraught of a very remarkable manifesto, throughout which the Grand Lodge of the so-called York Brethren, in London, is confounded with the regular Grand Lodge. This Manifesto is said to have been printed, after having been brought under the consideration of a committee of Brethren (Smith, Lakeland, Parker, Woley). Among other things we find therein: "And whereas not only all the printed Histories of Masonry, but also the Old

Records, testify that the Masonic government of this kingdom was established at the City of York." Then follow extracts from Preston, and the incident, which occurred in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The regular Grand Lodge, which was formed in London out of the four ancient Lodges, was called Nominal Grand Lodge, and erroneously stated of her, that she bore the name of Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons. The Manifesto refers to a passage in the Constitution Book of Northouck published in 1784 (probably in an earlier edition), which says: "The ancient Masons of York had only one Lodge which still exists; there are however but very few Masons in it, and it will most probably soon be dissolved." This dissolution, as likely soon to take place, is called in question, though it subsequently actually occurred. From the whole contents of the Manifesto it is very apparent, that the authors knew nothing at all of the former fraternal alliance between the York Lodge and the regularly constituted London Grand Lodge, which friendship is particularly dwelt upon in Br. Drake's speech in 1726, and in the letter of 1767, nor did he know anything of masonic affairs in London altogether. In another place it is said: "York, where the original laws and the true Tenets of the Masonic System have been and are inviolably maintained," whilst in London, "they have adopted measures altogether arbitrary and repugnant to the principles of the Masonic Institution, whereby the true spirit of free Masonry in the South of England has been subverted." The Lodge of Antiquity is therein pointed out as the "only regular Lodge in London", and then follows: "We have authorized and empowered the Master, Wardens, and Members of the said Right Worsh. Lodge of Antiquity, to assemble and act as a Grand Lodge of free and accepted Masons, for all that part of England situated south of the river

Trent." This would be the first example of the installation of one Grand Lodge by another! The confusion of ideas the author of this Manifesto displays, which however never seems to have been published, is only to be accounted for in this way, that on the one hand the Lodge of Antiquity brought an action against the regularly constituted Grand Lodge of England (*moderns*), and the York Lodge on their part having heard, that there was in London a Grand Lodge, which was called the Ancient York Masons, declared it to be an unlawful usurpation. That the Lodge of York never stood in any alliance or connection whatever with the so-called ancient Masons, is beyond a doubt, and Br. Kloss's expositions¹⁾ on this point, are proved to be perfectly correct.

The Royal-Arch degree was introduced into York in 1768, but the order of Knights-Templars in 1780. Br. Woodford says, that the latter most likely existed somewhat before this date, though not long before; the copy of an original Constitution for "a Lodge of Knights of the holy tabernacle of Jerusalem" with alterations and proposed improvements, still exists.

The so-called Ancient Masons. An examination into the first beginning and development of a Society of Freemasons in England, bestowing upon themselves the title of Ancient Masons, most decidedly opposed to the Grand Lodge of London, established in 1717, and the Masons supporting it, who were contemptuously called Modern Masons by these pretended Ancient Masons, presents one of the most difficult problems to solve,

¹⁾ Kloss, History of England. Treatise on the Ancient Masons. Page 321.

which an inquiry into the condition of Freemasonry during the last century, has to offer; and yet it must not be passed over, firstly because the history of the fraternity would not be complete without it, and secondly, because at the commencement of the present century, this question was made a matter of searching inquiry by many honorable and sagacious Brethren in Germany, and has exercised a most important influence upon the subject of Freemasonry in general.

We will begin our recital with an account, furnished by Preston, adding thereto the result of Kloss's researches. The former says: "A number of dissatisfied Brethren, having separated themselves from the regular Lodges, held meetings in different places, for the purpose of initiating persons into Masonry, contrary to the laws of the Grand Lodge. These Seceding Brethren, taking advantage of the breach, which had been made in the friendly intercourse between the Grand Lodges of London and York, on being censured for their conduct, immediately assumed at their irregular meetings, convened without authority, the character of York Masons. Measures were adopted to check them, which stopped their progress for some time, but, taking advantage of the general murmur spread abroad on account of some innovations that had been introduced, and which seemed to sanction an omission of, and a variation in, the ancient ceremonies, they rose again into notice. This imprudent measure of the regular Lodges, offended many old Masons; but through the mediation of John Ward, Esq., afterwards Lord Visc. Dudley and Ward, matters were accommodated, and the Brethren seemingly reconciled. This, however, proved only a temporary suspension of hostilities; for the flame soon broke out anew, and gave rise to commotions, which afterwards materially interrupted the peace of the Society."

“Lord Raymond was succeeded by the Marquis of Carnarvon in May 1739; and under his lordship’s auspices the Lodges were numerous and respectable. Notwithstanding the flourishing state of the Society, however, irregularities continued to prevail, and several worthy Brethren, still adverse to the encroachments on the established system of the institution, seemed to be highly disgusted at the proceedings of the regular Lodges. Complaints were preferred at every succeeding Committee, and their conferences were fully employed in adjusting differences and reconciling animosities. More secessions taking place, it became necessary to pass votes of censure on the most refractory, and enact laws to discourage irregular associations of the Fraternity. This brought the power of the Grand Lodge in question; and, in opposition to the laws which had been established in that assembly, Lodges were formed without any legal warrant, and persons initiated into Masonry for small and unworthy considerations. To disappoint the views of these deluded Brethren, and to distinguish the persons initiated by them, the Grand Lodge readily acquiesced in the imprudent measures which the regular Masons had adopted, measures which even the urgency of the case could not warrant. Though this had the intended effect, it gave rise to a new subterfuge. The Brethren who had seceded from the regular Lodges immediately announced their independence, and assumed the appellation of Ancient Masons. They propagated an opinion, that the ancient tenets and practices of Masonry were preserved by them: and that the regular Lodges, being composed of Modern Masons, had adopted new plans, and were not to be considered as acting under the old establishment. To counteract the regulations of the Grand Lodge, they instituted a new Grand Lodge in London, professedly on the ancient system

and, contrary to their duty as Masons, under that assumed banner constituted several new Lodges, in opposition to the regular established authority. These irregular proceedings they pretend to justify under the feigned sanction of the *Ancient York Constitution*; and many gentlemen of reputation, being deceived by this artifice, were introduced among them, so that their Lodges daily increased. *Without authority from the Grand Lodge in York*, or from any other established power in Masonry, these refractory Brethren persevered in the measures they had adopted, formed committees, held communications, and even appointed annual feasts. Under the false appellation of the York Banner, they gained the countenance of the Scotch and Irish Masons, who placing implicit confidence in the representations made to them, heartily joined in condemning the measures of the regular Lodges in London, as tending, in their opinion, to introduce novelties into the Society, and to subvert the original plan of the institution. The irregular Masons in London having thus acquired a nominal establishment, noblemen of both kingdoms, unacquainted with the origin of the separation, honored them with their patronage, and some respectable names and Lodges were added to their list."

Thus far Preston. Br. G. Kloss in the treatise "On the ancient Masons" mentioned above, has closely investigated the subject, and the following is the result of his researches. First of all, it seems contrary to all known historical precedent, that any subject which from the years 1739—42 was a controverted point, should have been identical with the Ancient Masons, who appeared ten years later. Those changes and alterations in the ancient customs, of which the Grand Lodge of England was accused, were: 1) The introduction of various colors in the dress of the Masons (March 17th

1731); — 2) the establishment of the Stewards' Lodge and the privileges accorded to them, viz: that the Grand Officers were elected out of that body; — it must be owned innovations totally opposed to the Masonic spirit of Equality, but by no means a sufficient reason for causing disunion in the Fraternity. On the 28th of June 1739, there were no particular changes made in Freemasonry, neither was there at that time any other Grand Lodge, nor any other regular Lodge in London. The book of Constitutions assures us, that Dec. 12th 1729, the refractory Masons had submitted themselves. The English Grand Lodge was in 1751 on the very best of terms with the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and the Grand Lodge of Scotland had in 1740 given no cause for dissatisfaction, in masonic matters, for in this year, she proposed to the English Grand Lodge mutual correspondence. When Ward was Grand Master, from 1742—44, there reigned complete peace in the fraternity; the English Grand Master Keith (1740) and Strathmore (1744), both natives of Scotland, had been previously Grand Masters in Scotland, and had seen no cause to refuse to fill the same office in London. The separation was however near at hand; Fiefield d'Assigny wrote a book ¹⁾ in 1743, which is now not known, wherein he very much recommends to the English a higher degree which was nearly related to the Scotch degrees known on the Continent; the war in Flanders, from 1741—48, brought the English and French Masons into closer proximity, who had then an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the newly devised, so-called high degrees; and with the invasion of the Pretender Charles Edward Stuart, 1745—46, an

¹⁾ I have, in vain, sought the book in the British Museum.

offshoot was probably transplanted into Scotland. The seeds thus disseminated, had the more time to thrive, as the Grand Master Byron, from 1747—52, was constantly absent from the country, and the Grand Lodge became completely powerless, as no regularity in the business was observed. The Grand Lodge of 1747 made some alterations in the outward forms, and though they were but trifling, they caused the publication of the "Thinker upon Freemasonry" and other controversial treatises in 1752, and in 1755 the war-cry of the dissentients, was sounded "Universal Masonry", and Equality of all Brethren in the Lodge, exciting to revolt, and pointing to the Royal-Arch-Degree in the background as the reward. In the year 1756 Dermot wrote the Book of Laws *Ahimian Rezon*, for these seceders, and in 1762 they had their own ritual, which was made known and circulated, as well as the degree of "Pastmaster", which had been created. They had, however, no Grand Master of noble birth, and the number of their Lodges scarcely amounted to five; at length in 1772 the Duke of Athol became their Grand Master. This put the finishing stroke to their apostasy; and the Grand Lodge of the so-called "Ancient Masons" received a formal recognition from the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland.

Br. Jethro Inwood, Provincial Grand Chaplain for Kent, in a curious composition,¹⁾ dedicated to the Duke of Athol, mentions the subject, and most decidedly pronounces against the so-called York Masons, by describing their origin as "of yesterday".

The ancient and
the new English
system.

This disunion in the English Fraternity, which lasted till 1813, caused two different

¹⁾ Masonic Union, an address to his Grace the Duke of Athol. London 1804.

systems to arise, the so-called old English or York system, and the new English or London system. One benefit accrued to the Fraternity from these dissensions, that much valuable light was thrown upon the History and Constitution of the English Brotherhood, which without these might probably have long remained hidden to us.

The two systems differed in their rituals or initiatory customs. The Apprentice's Catechism by Prichard contains the work of the English system, and therefore the *most ancient* masonic ceremonial in use. Prichard testifies to the simplicity and brevity of the more ancient Liturgy, when he says: "In our times Masonry is not composed of Artificers, as was the case under the original system, when there were only a few catechetical questions necessary, to enable any one to judge if a man had sufficient skill as an operative mason. The expression "free and accepted Masons" (as it is at present), was first heard within the last few years" &c. Until the appearance of the so-called "ancient Masons", the customs contained in Prichard's Masonry dissected, were the only ones practised by the Grand Lodge and her daughter Lodges, which is confirmed by numerous hints and allusions in English writings and speeches.

The *more modern* Ritual, i. e. that of the so-called Ancients, is to be found in three works not published before 1762, viz: in "Jachin and Boas" &c.¹⁾, "The Three distinct Knocks" &c.²⁾, and "Hiram or the Grand Master-Key" &c., which all agree together. We repeat, that the simpler one, catechism of the Moderns, is the more ancient, but that of the Ancients is the more recent; the former contains only 92 Questions, and to most

1) See Kloss, Biblgr. No. 1887.

2) L. c. No. 1888.

of them quite short Answers, the latter, on the contrary, has 108 Questions, and the Answers much more in detail.

4) The further development of Freemasonry.

(1754—1783.)

We have been somewhat anticipating events in our former section, therefore we must now retrace our steps. In 1754 we see the Marquis of Carnarvon at the head of the English Fraternity, with Br. Thom. Manningham as Dep. Grand Master, who clearly saw the threatening danger, and took precautions accordingly. As many Lodges in the Land had their name on the matriculation book, though they had long ceased to work as Lodges, and others, having the patents of Constitution received from the Grand Lodge, might easily pass over to the camp of the enemy, a resolution was passed June 27, 1754, Manningham in the chair, "that every Brother was according to his ability to make inquiries as to the conduct and bearing of the country Lodges, and hand in their statements at every Quarterly Meeting; and that all such Lodges, concerning which no satisfactory report could be made, should have their names erased from the list." This resolution was in many places carried out. Further, it was determined at the instigation of Br. J. Scott, that a new edition of the Book of Constitutions should be prepared, i. e. Anderson's book should be revised, and supplied with the necessary changes and additions; the officers of the Grand Lodge and other Brethren well-informed upon the subject, formed a Committee for this purpose. In this new edition, conducted by Br. Entick (1756) which like the former one, immediately received the sanction of the Grand Lodge, a return was made to the "old Charges" contained in the Constitution book of 1723, as the fundamental laws of the ancient, genuine

Freemasons, thereby doing away with the alterations which had been adopted since the last publication in 1738. Previously in 1754, Scott had these "ancient Rules" of 1723, printed in his edition of the "Pocket Companion."

The Schism. Carnarvon was very active in the cause of the Fraternity, and under his direction several resolutions were taken, to avert the threatening storm, or to render it ineffectual, but it was too late. The Deputy Grand Master, Manningham, brought an accusation against "certain Brethren, who had formed and assembled themselves into a Lodge, denominating themselves ancient Masons, wishing thereby to put a stop to their proceedings". The further consideration of the subject was postponed until the next Meeting, with the hope that the refractory brethren would voluntarily submit themselves, but as these persisted in their disobedience against the decision of the Grand Lodge, their Lodge No. 94 in Ben Jonson's Head, was erased from the Lodge books, and it was enacted that none of the members could be admitted as visitors in any regular lodge, and further, that from henceforth all certificates should be sealed with the masonic seal, and signed by the Grand Secretary. Thereupon ensued the disputes with the so-called ancient Masons.

During the three years that Carnarvon was Grand Master, forty lodges were constituted, and nine ¹⁾ Provincial-Grand Masters, whilst during the five years' administration of Lord Aberdour from 1758—62 no less than thirteen Provincial Grand Masters were created. His successor, Lord Ferrer in 1762, took but little interest in the business of the Grand Lodge, so that under his auspices the fraternity lost some of its credit. It is worthy of notice that Laurie remarks, that in this year

1) For South-Carolina, South-Wales, Antigua, North-America, Barbadoes, Cuba, Sicily, Germany (J. A. Hinüber), Chester.

1762, a writing to the Grand Lodge of Scotland was addressed from some Brethren in London desiring from her the patent of a Constitution. It was determined to refuse this request, "lest by complying they might interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge." The so-called ancient or York Masons received then, at that time no support from Scotland.

Lord Blaney was chosen Grand Master, May 8, 1764, and filled the office three years. During this period seventy-one new lodges were established, and twelve Prov.-Grand Masters¹⁾ nominated; a new Edition of the book of Constitutions was undertaken in 1767, and the Brotherhood honored by the initiation of the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland. The Duke of York was likewise made a Mason in Berlin in 1765. A proposal was made to raise a subscription to supply the Grand Lodge with furniture, but without success.

The plan of
Incorporation. The Duke of Beaufort succeeded Lord Blaney, April 27, 1767, and Preston remarks that Masonry flourished under his Grace's patronage. In the beginning of the following year, the Grand Lodge of France seemed desirous of opening a correspondence, which met with a favorable hearing, and towards the end of the year, a plan was brought forward for the incorporation of the fraternity of Freemasons by Royal charter. Br. Dillon, deputy Grand Master, gave notice, that the Grand Master Beaufort wished it should it meet with the approbation of the Grand Lodge; he showed the advantages resulting from such a measure, and a plan for that purpose was submitted to the consideration

¹⁾ Amongst the number was Thom. Dunkerley for Hampshire. He is often mentioned with distinction in the Annals of English Masonry, being one of the chief supporters and promoters of the higher degrees in England.

of the Brethren, who cheerfully agreed to it. He likewise informed them, that he had submitted to the Committee of Charity a plan for raising a fund to build a hall and purchase jewels, furniture etc. for the Grand Lodge, independent of the General Fund of Charity; the carrying of which into execution would be a proper prelude to an incorporation. His motion, consisting of seven articles, was accepted, and his plan for the "raising of a fund to build a hall" was printed, and transmitted to all the Lodges on record. From the return of the different Lodges it appeared, that one hundred and sixty-eight had voted for the incorporation, and only forty-three against it, and the majority carried the day. In 1771, a Bill was brought into Parliament by the deputy Grand Master Charles Dillon, for incorporating the Society by act of Parliament; but on the second reading of the Bill, it being opposed by Mr. Onslow, at the desire of several of the Brethren themselves, who had petitioned the House against it, Mr. Dillon moved to postpone the consideration of it sine die; and thus the grand design of an incorporation fell to the ground. Br. E. G. Müller, Master of the Caledonian Lodge, a contemporary of Dillon's, speaks of him in the following terms. He is writing to Br. Gogel in Frankfort: "We are wofully plagued with Jesuits. Dillon, who abjured his religion a short time ago, that he might get elected into Parliament, and his father confessor de Vignoles, have unlimited power in the Grand Lodge, which they maintain by innumerable intrigues, and an excessive abuse of the influence which Dillon's position of Dep. Grand Master affords him." — "He wearies the patience of many upright Masons, who oppose him, disgusts others, employs force to expel those who will not suffer themselves either to be wearied out, or disgusted, when the welfare of Masonry is at stake and blinds the rest" etc.

Freemason's Lord Petre was chosen Grand Master in
Hall. 1772, when several regulations were made for the better security of the property belonging to the Society, and a committee appointed for the purpose of building a hall. Preston received the sanction of the Grand Lodge, for the publication of his book, "Illustrations of Freemasonry", which favor had only been vouchsafed to the book of Constitutions. It was proposed and agreed to, that a correspondence should be opened with the Grand Lodge of Germany at Berlin (1773); the book of Constitutions had the new laws and regulations added to it in an Appendix (1775), and the publication of a Freemasons' Calendar determined on in 1776. Previous to this in 1774 that spurious degree of Masonry, called Royal-Arch, had found its way into England. In the mean while the foundation stone of the Hall was laid in solemn form, May 1, 1775. The building went on rapidly, so that May 23, 1776, the Hall was dedicated in masonic form to Masonry, Virtue, and Universal Charity and Benevolence, in the presence of the Grand Master Petre and a brilliant assembly of Masons. "It is to be regretted", remarks Preston, "that the finances of the Society will not admit of its being solely restricted to masonic purposes."

The Lodge of The activity of the so-called Ancient Masons,
Antiquity. who assembled under the patronage of the Duke of Athol, again drew upon themselves the attention of the Grand Lodge, and April 7, 1777, it was determined, that "they were not to be countenanced, or acknowledged by any regular Lodge or Mason, working under the sanction of our authority". G. Montagu, Duke of Manchester, soon became Grand Master, during whose administration, the tranquillity of the Society was much interrupted by private animosities and discussions, arising among the members of the Lodge of Antiquity (No. 1),

on account of some of the proceedings of the Brethren of that Lodge, wishing, as it would seem, to come to an open rupture with the authority to whom they owed allegiance; for without previous permission of the Grand Lodge, they marched in full masonic costume to St. Dunstan's Church, and back again to the Mitre Tavern, which was justly regarded by the Committee of Charity as a violation of the regulations passed in 1754. The Lodge of Antiquity, which had now for more than sixty years, been a participator in the resolutions passed in the Grand Lodge, and like the four ancient Lodges had renounced all claim to former privileges, suddenly appealed to these immemorial privileges, setting them in opposition "to the supposed uncontrollable authority of the Grand Lodge." The spirit of party became so violent, that the original cause of dispute was totally forgotten, and a new subject of controversy was only too gladly seized upon. Namely, the Lodge of Antiquity had expelled some of its members for irregular proceedings, and the Grand Lodge ordered them to be again received into the Lodge, which the Brethren most determinately refused to do, declaring every Lodge to be competent, to direct its own members, and to punish for the infringement of its laws.

After matters had been agitated to the extreme, the Lodge decided that through the proceedings of the Grand Lodge an encroachment had been made on the ancient constitutions of this Lodge, and it was determined, to withdraw its sanction from the Grand Lodge, and to discontinue the attendance of its Master and Wardens as representatives at the Committees of Charity and Quarterly Communications. The Lodge then assumed that authority, which in the course of time, it had voluntarily resigned, published a Manifest in its own vindication, and avowed an alliance with the Lodge of York. This

state of things continued, till the Grand Festival in 1790, "when unity was restored, effected by means of our well-known principles, and by a real friend of genuine Masonry, the past master William Birch." The Lodge of Antiquity had never been very closely allied with the so-called "ancient Masons."

The Royal-Arch-Degree. Henry Frederick, duke of Cumberland, was nominated Grand Master, May 1, 1782, but in his absence, the Earl of Effingham was appointed acting Grand Master. During his administration a new Edition of the Book of Constitutions was prepared for the press (1784), and what is somewhat remarkable, (most likely private motives were the cause), when Br. G. Smith applied for sanction to publish his work on the "Uses and abuses of Masonry" it was refused him, though, as has been already mentioned, Preston, and Hutchinson too, for his book the "Spirit of Masonry", had both had it accorded to them. The latter, it is true, owed this favor to his having disseminated amongst the English Masons, those mystical tendencies, introduced by means of the Royal-Arch-Degree. Since the introduction of this degree in England, (for example in the Constitution book of Northouck) the expression "Order" became generally used, instead of the former customary ones of "Society" or "Brotherhood."

The Royal-Arch-Degree, now the fourth degree in England, is in its essential elements decidedly French in its origin, receiving a somewhat different form in England, with additions from the higher degrees, then flourishing on the continent, (Knights of the Burning Bush, Red Cross etc) and adopted by the schismatic "Ancient Masons", adherents of Dermott, who himself testifies, that this degree was first introduced into England by the Grand Lodge of the Ancient Masons. Ramsay calls the French *Royale Arche* the *Non plus ultra* of Masonry,

and these "Ancient Masons" boasted of their bungling composition, as the "summit and perfection of ancient Masonry". But they are quite in the wrong; for in truth this degree of the Royal Arch, having but little genius in it, and still less good taste, was fabricated from a confused medley of passages from the Bible, drawn both from the old and new Testament, from history and fable, from religious dogmas, and masonic tradition; the unprejudiced observer cannot here discover the true principles of freemasonry either in their primitive purity, or comprehensive fulness, nor is there any improvement in the outward form or ceremonial, but only a falling off from the substantial groundwork of Masonry, as it once stood.

Br. G. Kloss fixes the date of the introduction of the Royal Arch into England, in the year 1744, though more probably it was not until 1752, and is of opinion, that the English first became acquainted with it, during the Austrian war of Succession, between the years 1741 to 1742. In the year 1766 the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, in a letter addressed to the Provincial Lodge of Frankfurt o. M. dated June 7, calls the Royal Arch, "a Society, which we do not acknowledge, and which we regard as an invention, designed for the purpose of introducing innovations amongst the Brotherhood, and diverting them from the fundamental rules which our ancestors laid down for us." However, it appears to have made its way into the Grand Lodge of England between 1772—74 partly in consequence of the election of a Grand Master from the nobility, the Duke of Athol, by the so-styled Ancient Masons in 1772, and this Royal-Arch was to be regarded as a counter-balance against their power, a means of retaining their own Brethren, and of attracting others to join; partly in consequence of the influence exercised by the

members who had left the Gr. Lodge of ancient Masons. When the union of the two Grand Lodges took place in 1813, the original Grand Lodge made the concession to the other, to recognise the Royal-Arch-Degree. Since then it has belonged to the system of the united Grand Lodge, yet in such a way, that all Royal-Arch-Chapters work under a *Grand Conclave* separate from the Grand Lodge.

It is perfectly certain, that the Royal-Arch-Degree was not known and practised in England until the middle of the eighteenth century, as there does not exist any earlier Warrant of a Royal-Arch-Chapter, bearing a reliable date.

The Royal-Arch color is red, as that of the St. John's degrees is blue, and as the red color was first introduced into Masonry in 1730, when the Stewards of the English Grand Lodge were permitted to wear red ribands, and aprons lined with red, as a mark of distinction, we may conclude that before this, a Royal-Arch-Chapter nowhere existed. The red riband adopted by the Ancient Masons, in their new degree, was an imitation of the stewards of the English Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge of the self-styled Ancient Masons, had, in those previous events which had occurred in London, influenced the Grand Lodge of Scotland to espouse their cause, therefore it was not surprising that the Royal-Arch-Degree soon found a footing there likewise. Br. Laurie, who does not consider the R.-A. to be older than the year 1729, says in his history, page 429: "Beyond a mere assertion, there is no evidence of any kind of its existence in this country previous to 1743. The Minute-book of the Stirling Royal-Arch-Chapter commences at that date." If this date be really correct, which there is some reason to doubt, then it is clear, that this degree was known in Scotland, before it reached England. The denomination

Royal-Arch for the Lodges No. 77 in Glasgow, and No. 93 in Stirling was for the first time printed in Edinburgh in the Freem. Pocket Companion in 1763. "The Stirling Royal-Arch-Chapter," says Laurie, (L. c.), "is certainly the oldest in Scotland, none of the others having evidence of their being instituted until some years afterwards, — some holding Charters from Ireland, and others without any authority.

The Royal Arch did not certainly make its way to Ireland before 1751, perhaps even later; in America we first find it in 1758, and in Germany about 1780 for a short time.

There are many disclosures concerning this apocryphal degree in a pamphlet entitled: "Abstract of the laws of the society of Royal Arch Freemasonry," probably of the year 1787. On the Title page is this inscription round an ark: "*Nulla salus extra*" which Br. Bode, who was always haunted by the ghost of a Jesuit, supposes referred to some church, "beyond whose pale there was. no salvâtion", and therefore imagined that this degree must be in some way connected with the Jesuits. — The first paragraphs of these old laws of 1782 of this degree, have the following:

I. "That according to ancient usage, a full Chapter of this highest degree of Masonry must consist of the following persons, viz: three principals, who in assembled chapter are to be all three regarded as its head, two secretaries, two sojourners, and seventy-two members of the council.¹⁾ No legally constituted chapter of this supreme degree, can be composed of more officials, the attendants forming no exception to this rule &c."

¹⁾ The order of Asiatic Brethren is likewise regulated by a *Sanhedrim* of seventy-two initiated. — Both orders are very similar in their tendency.

II. "None shall be admitted into this degree, but men of superior minds and highly cultivated, sincere, generous, noble-minded, and true friends of mankind, and who have passed through the three probationary degrees of Masonry,¹⁾ having presided at some Lodge. These must, according to the rules, be proposed and recommended by two or more members of the chapter, elected by ballot, and the choice confirmed by the general sanction. No Brother admitted under twenty three years of age, unless he be the son of a member of a chapter &c."

III. "The three Principals, and all who have ever held this office are addressed as "Most excellent" and the other officials as "excellent"."

IV. "The officers must appear at the Chapter clothed in their jewels, and the rest of the Brethren must wear the staff, the badges of their orders, and every thing appertaining thereto &c. — Z (Zerubabel) having his robe of scarlet turned up with purple, and black fur; H. (Haggai) &c. — the secretaries white surplices with red scarfs &c." ²⁾

The Legend of the Order is in the time of the second building of the Temple.

In 1782 a "supreme Royal chapter of Jerusalem" announced itself in London, by a pompous adress, "wherein," as Fessler remarks, "there are every where indications of the cabbalistic, theosophical wisdom of the "Brethren and Knights Initiated from Asia", together with the scientific leanings displayed by the "Philalethes".

1) The three degrees of Masonry are perfectly independent of any other, and include within themselves the whole of Masonry; therefore they cannot be probationary degrees or gradations, but rather every thing superadded or appended thereto, is contraband and illegal.

2) Similar vestments are prescribed to be worn by the Asiatic brethren.

B. Ireland.

1730—1751.

The sources whence we derive the History of Freemasonry in Ireland, are so scantily supplied, that we are not able to do more than furnish a few particulars.

Before the year 1730 its history is enveloped in complete darkness; but from accounts handed down to us we are led to conclude that in that year Freemasonry began to struggle into existence.

Anderson and Mitchell refer to certain edifices and their artificers, constructed in by-gone centuries, proving however nothing more than that there were in this country a few active operative Masons, the fraternity being introduced by Scotch emigrants from the north and conquering English from the South. The founding in the year 1726 of a Provincial Grand Lodge at Munster by the English Grand Lodge, mentioned by Mitchell, we may be permitted to doubt, as we find no official documents to confirm the report. We know however, most assuredly, that those brethren living in Ireland in the year 1730, most probably under the patronage of Lord St. George, established a Grand Lodge of their own, in Dublin, and elected a nobleman as Grand Master, Lord Viscount Kingston, "just one year after his Lordship had been chosen Grand Master in England." "He has," continues Anderson, "introduced the same constitutions and ancient customs. Brethren of noble birth have annually succeeded to his place in Solomon's chair; and the Grand Lodge of Ireland is firmly resolved, to persevere in spreading a knowledge of the noble science of Geometrie and the Royal Art of Masonry."

The same year there appeared¹⁾ in Dublin the Constitution book of the Grand Lodge, which was merely a revisal of Anderson's work of 1723. The Old Charges are the same as in the English edition, with the exception of Charge VI. 2, where the passage unpalatable to Roman Catholic prejudices has been omitted.

Lord Kingston was also Grand Master the following year. In 1732 Br. John Pennell was chosen Grand Secretary, and Br. Nettervill, who had been hitherto Deputy Grand Master, was made Grand Master, choosing Br. Lord Visc. Kingsland to be his Deputy Grand Master, the Grand Lodge itself nominating the two Wardens. During the administration of the Grand Master Lord Viscount Mountjoy (1738) a committee of charity was formed by the Grand Lodge. At the election in 1740 Mountjoy announced to the Brethren, that he had instructed his Deputy Grand Master Callaghan, to nominate a Grand Master.

Of the three candidates whom Callaghan proposed, Arthur St. Leger, Lord Viscount Donneraile was elected, who however, like many of his predecessors, took but little active interest in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, so that the real direction of the affairs of the Irish brethren was entrusted to the Deputy Grand Master. The nominated Grand Master, upon vacating his office, proposed Baron Tullamore as his successor, June 3rd 1741, who was accordingly duly installed June 24th, in the presence of Mountjoy, several Brethren of rank and standing, and the Masters and Wardens of thirty regular Lodges. In 1744 the office of Grand Master was offered to Lord Viscount Allen, which he accepted, and promised the Grand Lodge "that he

¹⁾ The Constitutions of the Freemasons, containing the History, Charges, Regulations etc. Dublin. J. Watts, 1730. Edited by J. Pennell.

would make it his chief object to promote their prosperity, unity, and harmony. After Allen's death in 1745, the Brethren solicited several former Grand Masters and others of the nobility to take the chair; but were every where met by a refusal, some alleging their official engagements as a reason, and others their constant absence in foreign countries, but very likely the real objection was, that the nobility found but few men of their own rank amongst the Brethren, or that these latter were too little educated to attract them. At length an application was made to the founder of the Grand Lodge, who could not possibly allow the work of his own hands to be left uncared for; and he being a kind and loving brother, always anxious to promote the cause of truth, charity, and virtue, promptly expressed his willingness to forward the prosperity of the Institution. He was elected October 15th 1745, though absent, and never made his appearance in the Grand Lodge.

As the number of Lodges and their consequent distance from one another increased, the necessity of a separate conference was felt, wherein the heads of the different Lodges could deliberate. The late Grand Master Wyvill, the then Grand Master Lord Kingsborough, and his Deputy, with the Grand Wardens, and other Brethren of distinction, therefore assembled in a regular Lodge in 1749, were joyfully received by the discouraged Grand Lodge, and had the name of Grand Master's Lodge bestowed upon them, receiving from the other Lodges and their representatives, equally important privileges as those conceded to the Stewards' Lodge in London. In 1750 it was determined to erect a building for their Meetings. In 1751, a new book of Constitutions for Ireland ¹⁾ appeared, from which the preceding state-

¹⁾ The Book of Constitutions, for the Use of the Lodges in Ireland, by Ed. Spratt. Dublin 1751.

ments have mostly been extracted. It is dedicated to the Grand Master Kingsborough, and Spratt remarks therein, among other things: "The unceasing visits paid, and frequent lectures on Truth, Justice, and Morality, delivered by your Lordship's worthy and noble-minded predecessor, reanimated the drooping spirit of the Lodges in this kingdom. It was he, who encouraged the Brethren to make a collection for our poor and distressed members; and your Lordship, like another sun, beaming with humanity, benevolence and love following in his footsteps, is laying the foundation of such a superstructure, as in all human probability will not only aid in advancing the prosperity of the Fraternity, but likewise confer honor on the promoters and designers of the same. After having remarked that "he is only the conscientious editor and faithful transcriber" of Anderson's work, and that a Committee had been appointed by the Grand Lodge, at which he was called upon to preside, "to compare the customs and regulations in use amongst ourselves, with those of the Brethren in England"; he continues further: "But as no essential difference was discoverable, but such directions as were necessary for the regulation of a Stewards' Lodge (such Lodge being unknown with us), therefore these directions were left out &c."

"It may be justly affirmed," remarks Spratt in another place, with which observation, as we are unable to procure any further information¹⁾, we will close this recital, "that Freemasonry has in the last three years up to 1751, attained the highest degree of perfection, yet arrived at in Ireland, as may be seen by the return

¹⁾ An application and entreaty made by the author both in England and Ireland, concerning any particulars which might be furnished respecting Ireland, was completely disregarded.

of many Brethren of long standing, who had absented themselves from the Lodges, and had for several successive years, taken no active share in the proceedings, yet now unanimously lend their support to the strengthening of the Institution. Lodges which have become too numerous for special meetings, have, like the industrious bees, formed themselves into new and regular lodges, for the better carrying out of their designs; many worthy Brethren, in various parts of the kingdom, have applied to the Grand Master, to obtain his sanction to their meetings."

C. Scotland.

(From 1736—1783.)

When Freemasonry was introduced into Scotland, cannot be stated with any certainty; it flourished there during the middle ages, as is evident, from the remains of numerous immense edifices, which are still to be seen. Laurie ascribes its introduction to the wandering fraternity, who erected the Abbey of Kilwinning. As before stated ¹⁾, this assertion depends solely upon a Scottish Legend of the Fraternity, deserving no more credit than the Legends of other English or German Fraternities.

The Establishment of the Grand-Lodge. There is no doubt that at the time of the union of the four London Lodges into one Grand Lodge, some lodges still existed in Scotland. The flourishing condition and rapid development of the English Grand Lodge, under the direction of a

¹⁾ See Scotland and the Legend of Kilwinning. Page 110.

Grand Master, awakened in the Scotch Masons the desire to introduce a similar constitution, and so avert the threatened decline of their order. The office of Patron being hereditary in the family of Sinclair of Roslin, was an obstacle to this design, which was however soon removed, by William Sinclair himself, a genuine Mason, who inherited the virtues, but not the riches of his ancestors; for being compelled to dispose of his estate ¹⁾, and having no children, he was anxious that the office of Grand Master should not be vacant at his death; therefore he assembled the Lodges in Edinburgh and the neighborhood, October 15, 1736, and represented to them the utility that would accrue to the Order, by having a nobleman or gentleman of their own choice as Grand Master, and intimated his intention to resign into the hands of the Brethren every title to that office which he at present possessed. In consequence of this representation, circular letters were despatched to all the Lodges in Scotland, inviting them to appear, to concur and assist in the election of a Grand Master. On St. Andrew's Day November 30, 1736, thirty-two Lodges appeared, — at their head St. Mary's Chapel-Lodge, then the Lodge of Kilwinning, and amongst others one of the Journeymen-Masons in Edinburgh, and having heard the deed of resignation ²⁾ of William St. Clair, Esq.,

¹⁾ Pocket Companion and Calcott's *cand. disq.*

²⁾ I, William St. Clair of Roslin, Esq., taking to my consideration that the Masons of Scotland did, by several deeds, constitute and appoint William and Sir William St. Clair of Roslin, my ancestors and their heirs, to be their patrons, protectors, judges, or masters; and that my holding or claiming any such jurisdiction, right, or privilege, might be prejudicial to the Craft and vocation of Masonry, whereof I am a member — do therefore hereby, for me and my heirs, renounce etc. Written at Edinburgh November 24, 1736. (This deed of resignation does not contain a word about a Grand Master!) It may be found printed in full in Laurie's Hist. of Scotland.

read, proceeded to the election of another Grand Master; when, on account of the zeal which William St. Clair, Esq., of Roslin, had always shown for the honor and prosperity of the order, he was unanimously elected to that high office, and proclaimed Grand Master of all Scotland. Captain John Young was made Deputy Grand Master, who filled this office till 1752, and John Macdougall Grand Secretary, till 1754.

At the first Quarterly Communication, which was held in St. Mary's Chapel, Jan. 12, 1737, all Lodges which were not regularly constituted ¹⁾, were enjoined to apply for new Warrants, and those which had been properly constituted, were required to exhibit their patents to have them confirmed. Almost all the Lodges applied for new Warrants, and by this ready and voluntary renunciation of their former rights ²⁾, they evinced their steady adherence to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and acknowledged their willing submission to its jurisdiction and power. The Grand Lodge had ordained that a fee should be exacted from every person, who had been already initiated into the order, or might hereafter be initiated, for the purpose of establishing a Fund, for the relief of indigent or distressed Brethren;

¹⁾ Laurie, History of Freemasonry and the G. L. of Scotland, 2. ed., Edinburgh, 1859, p. 100 etc.

²⁾ The regularly constituted lodges, and all other subsequently constituted ones, did by this act, voluntarily renounce any pre-supposed former rights, and none of them presuming upon ancient constitutions, reserved any especial privileges to themselves, not even the so frequently mentioned Lodge of Kilwinning. Kloas remarks "Should this last have divulged her pretended secrets, and disseminated them in Europe, unknown to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, such a proceeding would only have merited contempt, and she could not exonerate herself from the imputation of treachery against the new Fraternity, which in such a case might be justly laid to her charge". But this did not occur; for still in 1817 she recognised no higher degree. See *Freem. Mag.* 1865. Nr. 294.

the Lodge of Kilwinning petitioned that this fee should not be required of the operative Masons, as many of them experienced difficulty in raising their share of the contributions demanded by their respective lodges. This application of the Masons of Kilwinning was however rejected, and the Grand Lodge decreed, that all who refused to pay their entrance-fee, should receive no aid from the Charity Fund.

It had long been customary among the Freemasons to hold their principal assemblies, June 24, St. John Baptist's Day; it was now resolved by the Grand Lodge, for many reasons, that the annual election should no longer be held on that day, but November 30, the birthday of St. Andrew, the tutelar Saint of Scotland. This was carried out the following year, when George, Earl of Cromarty, was chosen Grand Master (1737). In the course of the year, it was enacted, that all those Lodges, holding their Warrants from the Grand Lodge, should be enrolled according to seniority, which should be determined by the dates inscribed on their patents. From this, it is apparent, that in Scotland, as well as in England, there were Lodges, independent of the Grand Lodge.

In the preceding year, it had been determined, that the Grand Lodge should out of the funds at her disposal, pay a certain number of workmen, then employed in building an Infirmary in Edinburgh, if the Committee would, on their part, engage to reserve a room in the edifice, for the reception of a few infirm Masons, who should be recommended by the Grand Master. Circular letters were in consequence addressed to all the Scotch Lodges, requesting their co-operation in this benevolent and necessary work. Liberal donations were received; and Aug. 2, 1738, the foundation stone of the Royal Infirmary was laid, at which the Lodges in Edinburgh,

and its neighborhood, together with their Grand Master, were invited by the committee of the Board of Works, to be present. Laurie (p. 102) gives a circumstantial account of the procession, at which the Brethren appeared in full masonic costume; the festivities were closed by a splendid Banquet, in the evening, for the benefit of the Institution, which was numerously attended. Before the close of the year, it was reported to the Grand Lodge, by the Managers, that out of gratitude to the Society of Freemasons, for their countenance and aid in the erection of the Royal Infirmary, it had been unanimously agreed upon by the committee, that distressed and infirm Freemasons should always find ready admittance into any of the dormitories of the Hospital; in 1745 one room was appropriated to their especial use.

That the junior Grand Lodge saw no cause to bear any ill-will towards her elder sister, is evident, from her resolving in 1740 to enter into correspondence with her; likewise two of the Grand Masters of Scotland, John, Earl of Kintore, 1738, and James, Earl of Morton, 1739, were a few years later, both chosen to fill the same office in England. Since the establishment of the Grand Lodge, the principles of the Craft had been so rapidly spread through every part of the kingdom, that in 1738 it was found expedient to appoint Provincial Grand Masters over particular districts, who were empowered to convene general meetings, and to take cognisance of every thing relating to Masonry, within their jurisdiction. Alexander Drummond, Master of Greenock-Kilwinning, was therefore appointed Provincial Grand Master over the western counties of Scotland. Earl Kintore presented £ 10 to the Charity Fund; succeeding Grand Masters subscribed the same sum, as had done their predecessors, Cromarty and Morton.

The oldest Lodge. Nothing of any especial importance took place during the administration of Alex. Earl of Leven (1741), nor during that of his successor William, Earl of Kilmarnock, who was beheaded in 1746; for espousing the cause of the Pretender; various sums were subscribed to the Royal Infirmary, and numerous widows, and indigent Brethren were relieved out of the Charity Fund. In the year 1743, James, Earl of Wemyss, Grand Master, a letter was read from the Lodge of Kilwinning, complaining that they were registered the second in the list, and being the Mother-Lodge of Scotland, they were entitled to the first place. The Grand Lodge decreed, that, as they had not been able to produce any documents, to prove that they were the oldest Lodge in Scotland ¹⁾, and as the Lodge of St. Mary's Chapel could shew records bearing the date 1598, the latter had an undoubted right to continue first on the roll. The next few years were particularly barren in events, although the invasion of the Pretender was not without its influence on Masonry; at any rate, it is surprising that for the space of three years, no nobleman was elected Grand Master ²⁾. Alexander Drummond, mentioned above, had taken up his residence in Alexandretta in Turkey; in 1747 he obtained full power for himself, and any whom he might nominate to establish Lodges in any part of Europe, or Asia, bordering on the Mediterranean, to superintend the same, and transmit an account of his proceedings to the Grand Lodge. Drummond was the first Provincial Grand Master nominated abroad.

1) The documents belonging to the original Lodge have been lost.

2) Grand Masters: 1746 William Nisbeth, Esq. — 1747 Francis Charteris, Esq. — 1748 Hugh Seton, Esq. — 1749 Thomas Lord Erskine. — 1750 Alex. Earl of Eglinton. — 1751 James Lord Boyd. — 1752 George Drummond.

The funds of the Grand Lodge, were in 1749 much impoverished, by numerous payments made to indigent Brethren, but her power was greatly extended by the erection of new Lodges, and by the confirming of old Warrants ¹). Another important step was the return of the Grand Lodge to the ancient custom of choosing her own Grand Master, for until 1751 she had always nominated a successor. Lord Boyd (1751) had neglected doing so, therefore a committee was appointed, whose judicious choice gave general satisfaction.

While George Drummond was in office, the foundation-stone of the Royal Exchange, in Edinburgh, was laid, in the presence of the Grand Master and many of the Brethren of the neighboring Lodges, at which ceremony the officers wore their badges of office, and all Masons were in full masonic costume. Three medals were inserted into the stone, which was gradually lowered, with the inscription underneath, three regular pauses, or intervals, being observed; the Grand Master deposited the Masonic implements one after the other upon the stone, pouring on wine and oil, and corn ²), uttering with each deposit appropriate sentences. A banquet in the evening closed the festivities of the day, convincing those who assisted at it, of the power and influence of the Fraternity.

We may pass rapidly over the events of the next few years, as they offer nothing of importance or of general interest.

Persecutions. After the Grand Election in 1754, when James Forbes, Esq., was Grand Master, and D. Dalrymple,

¹) Probably those Lodges which had remained separate from the Grand Lodge, since 1736.

²) This ceremony was then practised for the first time, but afterwards it became a custom. The Grand Lodge of England first observed it in 1775.

deputy Grand Master, upwards of four hundred Brethren walked in procession by torch-light, from St. Mary's Chapel to the High School; it was ordained also in this year, that the Quarterly Communications should take place on the first Mondays in February, May, August, and November. The Associate Synod, which in 1745 had attempted to disturb the peace of the Fraternity, and were especially suspicious about the oath administered to Masons, recommenced hostilities in 1755, by drawing up a list of foolish questions, decreeing that those who refused to answer them, should be debarred from participating in religious ordinances. This decree was printed in the August number of the "Scots Magazine" 1757, a reply to which appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine of October, entitled an "Impartial Examination of the Act of the Associate Synod", in which the cause of Masonry is worthily and forcibly advocated; and thus the matter ended.

In 1762, when Charles, Earl of Elgin, was Grand Master¹⁾, a petition was presented by several London Brethren, applying for a warrant, which was, however, refused, as "the Grand Lodge of Scotland did not wish, by a grant of the kind, to interfere with the authority vested in the Grand Lodge of England". In 1755, she likewise declined to mix herself up in the differences,

1) Grand Masters: 1753 Charles Hamilton Gordon, Esq. 1754 Sir James Forbes. 1755 and 56 Sholto Charles, Lord Aberdour. 1757 and 58 Alexander, Earl of Galloway. 1759 and 60 David, Earl of Leven. 1761 and 62 Charles, Earl of Elgin. 1763 and 64 John, Earl of Kellie. 1765 and 66 James Stewart, Lord Provost. 1767 and 68 George, Earl of Dalhousie (the practice of granting diplomas was introduced into the Grand Lodge, in his time). 1769 and 70 General J. Adolphus Oughton. 1771 and 72 Patrick, Earl of Dumfries. 1773 the Duke of Athol. 1774 and 75 David Dalrymple, Esq. 1776 and 77 Sir William Forbes Bart. 1778 and 79 the Duke of Athol. 1780 and 81 Alex., Earl of Balcarras. 1782 and 83 David, Earl of Buchan.

then agitating the London Grand Lodge, although the so-styled "Ancient Masons" in their disputes with the regularly constituted Grand Lodge, had submitted the matter to her for arbitration. While Sir W. Forbes was Grand Master in 1778, there was a Grand Funeral Lodge held Feb. 14, in consequence of the death of William St. Clair, in which Sir W. Forbes in a Funeral Oration of some length, enumerated the virtues and merits of the deceased. Above four hundred of the Brethren were assembled on this occasion. The constitution of the Grand Lodge in Scotland differs but very slightly from the constitution of the modern English Grand Lodge; the same may be said of the "Charges" which are, in a few points, somewhat more stringent. As for example in Edinburgh and its suburbs, twenty-one Brethren were necessary to form a Lodge, and in the country, seven.

Calcott particularly notices the energy, dignity, and decorum, which characterised the proceedings of the Fraternity in Scotland, and it certainly redounds to the credit of the Brethren in that land, that even at that time, they had, what in England down to the present day was a rarity, buildings especially appropriated to masonic meetings, or else spacious rooms set apart for the purpose, in private houses.

D. France.

From 1725—1783.

1) The Introduction and development of Freemasonry in France.

It is impossible to determine with any certainty, the period of the introduction of Freemasonry into France, as the accounts handed down to us, are very contradictory, varying from the years 1721, 1725, 1727,¹⁾ and 1732. In an historical notice of the Grand Lodge of France, addressed to her subordinate Lodges, there is a statement²⁾ specifying, that Lord Derwentwaters, squire Maskelyne, a lord of Heguerty, and some other English noblemen, established a lodge in Paris in 1725, at Hurre's tavern. Lord Derwentwaters is supposed to have been the first Grand Master, and this Lodge is said to have been the first, which received a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England. It is recorded that other Lodges were established, by these same authorities, and amongst others the Lodge d'Aumont (*au Louis d'Argent*) in 1729, in la Rue Bussy at Landelle's tavern, the documents bearing the date of 1732, as that of their foundation. Anderson in his book of Constitutions makes no mention of the former lodge, but only of the latter. The Lodge *l'Anglaise* at Bordeaux (No. 204) had an

1) See *Sceau rompu*, 1745, and Rebold, *histoire de la Franc-maçonnerie*. Paris, 1851.

2) Thory, *histoire de la fondation du Gr. Or. de Paris*, 1812, p. 10. Thory and the Grand Lodge copy one account, viz: that of the celebrated astronomer, Brother de Lalande, in the *Encyclopaedia* (1773).

English constitution granted ¹⁾ it, either in 1732, or in 1746, and in 1735 Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, obtained permission to assemble a Lodge in his castle d'Aubigny in France, at least so says Anderson's Book of Constitutions.

The laws against Freemasonry. The introduction and first development of Masonry in France, was very silently carried on, as nothing was heard of it, till the year 1736.²⁾ Lalande says that in this year Lord Harnouester was chosen Grand Master of the French Masons, by the four Lodges at that time existing, and Lalande calls him the first regularly chosen Grand Master. At first only the nobles solicited and obtained admittance into the Lodges, and as long as this was the case, Freemasonry remained unmolested; but when the middle classes began to take an interest in it, and the Lodges were gradually formed of less immaculate materials, the expediency of suppressing them altogether, began to be debated. Louis XV., — urged thereto, as it is alleged, by his Father Confessor and his mistress, — published an Edict in 1737, in which he declared that, as the inviolable secrets of the Masons, might cover some dreadful design, he prohibited ³⁾ all his loyal subjects from holding any intercourse with them. All Freemasons belonging to the nobility were forbidden to appear at court. But instead of being discouraged by this prohibition, curiosity was only the more awakened.

¹⁾ This is according to the register of the English Grand Lodge in London; see also *Calendrier mac.* of the year 1851, and Kloss, History of Freemasonry in France, I, p. 21, and with regard to the improbability of the date 1688 (a secret sign of the order), p. 23 &c.

²⁾ The "*Gründlichen Nachrichten*" published between 1738—40 tell us this, as does also, "*Der sich selbst vertheidigende Freimaurer*", 1744.

³⁾ See the "*Gründlichen Nachrichten*" cited above, as well as the other pamphlet.

Lodges were assembled in secret, and the number of candidates for initiation increased daily. The wealthy Englishmen, resident in Paris, warmly defended the cause, nor could they be easily intimidated. One of them had the temerity, boldly to announce publicly, that a Lodge would meet for the purpose of electing a Grand Master.

This aroused the vigilance of the Police, who Sept. 10, 1727, surprised some Brethren, assembled at the house of the Wine-merchant Chapelot, who had had the usual entrance to the Meeting room walled up, and had caused a concealed door to be made. He was condemned to pay a fine, and the Lieutenant of Police, Herault, published the Ritual, which was found amongst the confiscated papers. Notwithstanding this, the Lodges continued to be held, as many tavern-keepers were made Masters of Lodges (unfortunately the Warrants could be purchased!), and for a small indemnification, were willing to run all risks.

Such Masters of Lodges as these of the French Masons, could not do otherwise than introduce an element into Freemasonry, somewhat derogatory to its dignity, as their chief care was to provide good cheer. We will not stop to determine whether the masonic appellations for the different things used at table originated at this period, and were then perfected according to the rules of art; suffice it to say, that those who assumed the lead, at these Lodges, were not of much account, and that the masonic meetings degenerated into assemblies, wherein excess was frequently practised, for the number of the initiated was more considered than their personal worth, and any candidate was accepted if he could only pay the admission fees. The educated Mason kept himself aloof, and Freemasonry became the object of public reprobation. An opera dan-

cer, named Salé, invented a dance, called the Freemason's dance, performed by 3×3 persons in the garb of shepherds.

The royal prohibition did not produce any very great effect, for we find it announced in a Newspaper of Feb. 12, 1738, that the Freemasons gave a Grand Festival at Luneville, June 24, at which Harnouester resigned his office of Grand Master, and the Duke of Antin was chosen in his stead. Anderson's Book of Constitution, 1733, tells us that the laws, duties, and regulations of the French Brethren, were in all important particulars similar to those of the English. The brethren worked then, as in 1740, and even later in the three St. John's Degrees alone.

The papal bull. The flame of persecution, which was kindled in France, was not confined to the country, where it originated, as we shall find as we proceed further in our history. It was the Papal See especially, which threatened its very existence, June 25, 1737, the Pope and his Cardinals Ottobone, Spinola, and Zondedari held a conference at Rome, to which the Inquisitor of the holy office at Florence was summoned, and April 28, 1738, a formidable Bull was issued by Pope Clemens XII., beginning with the words "*In eminenti apostolatus specula*" wherein the authorities, both secular and ecclesiastic were forbidden on pain of excommunication to enter the society of Freemasons, or to propagate or favor their cause, either in their houses or palaces. In France, where, probably in consequence of several public manifestations of the protection of Frederick the Great of Prussia, &c., a less determined opposition had been shown to Freemasonry among the upper classes, this Bull ¹⁾ was not registered, nor passed into a law, where-

¹⁾ Extracts from this Bull are to be met with in several masonic

fore the French Fraternity did not consider either this one, or the one issued some years later by Benedict XIV, as binding in their country.

The association of the Moppees. One of the results of this Bull, was the institution of a new association called the Mopses, which was followed by many other similar attempts of the kind. The customs of this society are contained in a work entitled "*L'ordre des Francmaçons trahi &c.*"; it is said to have originated in Germany (Cologne), in order to taste those delights of Freemasonry, which had been threatened by the pope. All the members were of the Roman Catholic persuasion; instead of an oath, their word of honor was taken, and several of the Princes of the German Empire were Grand Masters of the Order, into which women were admitted as members.

Ramsay and the High Degrees. Thory asserts that in 1742 similar signs of degeneracy appeared in Paris, where de Chambonnet originated the Order of "*la Félicité*", into which men and women were admitted; and to judge from the documents preserved, good order and decency were not very carefully maintained. A branch of this order went under the name of "*l'Ancre*", but like its predecessor it soon died out. The Police attempted, though unsuccessfully, to divert attention from the Freemasons, by establishing the "venerable order of the patriarch Noah" in 1735—42, a purely Romanist institution, which did not by one single allusion intimate that the Masons derived their origin from the Crusades, but which bore the stamp impressed upon more recent orders of chivalry.¹⁾ The soil in which this mass of vanity

works; but the whole of it we only found in Ehrhardt's brief history &c., (Latin) and in "*Notuma nicht Exjesuit*".

¹⁾ Further particulars to be found in Kloss, France, page 43, 44.

and presumption was produced, was a consequence of the overburdening the Lodge with incompetent members, and the ease with which the apprentices could be advanced to the degree of Master, as well as the fact that warrants were sold to undeserving masters of Lodges &c. The French Masons soon had had enough of masonic ceremonial, but the intrinsic merit of Masonry itself they had not an idea of; for they were, because of their vanity and partiality for ceremonies, ribands, and the like outward marks of distinction, only captivated with the mere husk of Masonry. Innovations found ready admittance. Michael Andr. Ramsay, a Scotchman, in a speech¹⁾ delivered by him in the year 1740, encouraged these alterations, in every way prejudicial to Masonry. He opened the door to the so-called high grades, of which the injurious effects notwithstanding the utmost exertions of genuine Freemasons, are felt to this very day. We have to thank him for introducing the Legend of the Crusades into Masonry, for he endeavored to prove its connection with the Orders of St. John of Malta. The Hospitallers

1) Speech delivered by Mr. de R., Grand Orator of the Order, on the occasion of the reception of the Freemasons, see *Atmanach des Cocus*, 1741, and Lenning's *Encyclopaedia*, III. vol., p. 195 &c., where the speech is printed in full.

M. A. Ramsay, a Scotch Baronet, born in 1686, died in 1743 at St. Germain-en-Laye; he resided chiefly in France, where he was known as an historian, and obtained some reputation for his "Travels of Cyrus". In 1709, the celebrated Archbishop Fénelon, converted him to the Roman Catholic faith, and in the year 1724 he was tutor to the two sons of the Pretender Charles Edward, accompanying them to Rome, where he probably conceived the idea of enriching Freemasonry with his new system of "*les hauts grades*". It has been stated more than once, that he was in London in 1728, to lay the foundation of this new masonic system, but Kloss contradicts this; he was only once in England, and that in 1730, to receive the degree of Doctor of law.

or Templars are not here noticed, though in his "*Relation apologique*", Ramsay often speaks of them disparagingly. The necessary qualifications for admittance into the Order, he says, are — "enlarged views of the human race, strict morality, inviolable secrecy, and a taste for the fine arts." He adds: "It is necessary to revive and disseminate the ancient maxims, which adapted to man's nature human and divine, have formed the basis of our institution"; — "our forefathers (!), the Crusaders, assembled in the Holy Land, from all Christendom, wished to unite in a Fraternity embracing all nations, that when bound together heart and soul for mutual improvement, they might, in the course of time, represent one single intellectual people." To compass this end, this order joined itself to that of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, afterwards known by the name of the Knights of Malta. "We have," he says in another place, "three divisions in our order, novices or apprentices, fellows or brethren of the order (*projetés*), and preceptors or perfect masters (*parfaits*)."

Ramsay's corrupt seed, which was sown broadcast, without any proof to support it, soon met with enthusiastic supporters. A few years after this speech had appeared in Paris, in the *Sceau rompu* 1745 in answer to a catechetical question, the following was surreptitiously inserted; "that therefore the Lodges were dedicated to St. John, because the Knights (!) Masons, had in the holy wars in Palastine, joined the Knights of St. John." The historical blunder contained in Ramsay's speech, would soon have been rectified by the Maltese order, and no more would have been heard of it; but the names which were found in the Knight of the East, in the Scotch degree &c., gave occasion to the elaborating from them the High Degrees. Ramsay pronounces the famous word Kilwinning in Scotland, and the promise

which it held out of reviving the order, was in the then state of things, only too alluring. From his speech, and from his conferences with Mr. de Geusau, it is easy to perceive, that Ramsay had in view the collecting of money in favor of the Pretender, as well as the forming a more select body among the Brethren.

There can be no doubt, that here we have the source of the high grades.

Abbé Pérau's book, which appeared in 1742, called "*Le Secret des Fr-Ms.*", knows no higher degree than that of Master Mason, neither does Travenol's catechism (1744). Yet even then mention was made of a reducing the number of Lodges, of a great work of "reformation, which had been long contemplated," and of the adoption of new signs. Nov. 30, 1744, the Lodge "of the Three Globes" in Berlin, made positive proposals for an alteration in the signs of recognition. Thus the initiative was given to a change in existing forms, and this paved the way to the introduction of the high Degrees.

Count of Clermont, Grand Master.

The Duke of Antin, died in Paris, Dec. 9, 1736, aged 36. He left behind him a confederacy without any reliable centre, nor any intimate alliance existing among its brethren. Duke Louis of Bourbon, Count of Clermont, succeeded him as Grand Master. He was chosen by the Masters of sixteen lodges, and was installed Dec. 27, at the same time that a new lodge was formed, "*La Concorde*".

The new Grand Master, upon whom all the hopes of a reformation in the fraternity were set, had a difficult task to perform. He¹⁾ was required to cause a more strict examination of the candidates for initiation,

¹⁾ Vide *Franc-Maçonne*, 1744, *Parfait Maçon*, and Thory, *hist.*, as well as Kloss, France. Page 54 &c.

to do away with the iniquitous sale of Warrants, and the extravagant expenditure at the festivities, to put a stop to ignorance, regulate the administration of the funds, in short, put an end to all prevailing abuses, and restore the royal art to its former condition of splendor and renown. A picture of the then condition of the Lodges may be formed from the fact, that there were no minutes taken of the proceedings of the Lodges, that the Masters of the same (mostly fixtured), disposed and regulated every thing just as they chose, without acknowledging any authority, and empowered any and every body, to preside at the lodges. Before the year 1744, it had become a common practise to prepare false documents, and to distribute Warrants bearing erroneous dates, attributing to themselves an origin, as far back as the year 1500, — an employment which in after years, was most successfully pursued elsewhere. The superior authorities, it would seem, did not exert their power and influence, and at first count Clermont was prevented by the court from actively exerting himself in behalf of the fraternity. The re-establishment of some degree of order, was sought to be effected by the Grand Lodge of France assuming the name of *Grand Loge anglaise de France*, and publishing a book of masonic laws, the first ¹⁾ edited in France. It consisted of twenty articles, nineteen of which are taken from the English Book of Constitutions of 1723 & 1738, accommodated to the different circumstances of the French Lodges; the twentieth Article contains this

1) "General regulations, taken from the minutes of the Lodges, for the use of the French Lodges, together with the alterations, adopted at the General assembly of the Grand Lodge, Dec. 11, 1743, to serve as a rule of action for the said Kingdom." — This important document translated into German, may be found with annotations in the "*Zeitschr. f. Freimaurer*", Altenburg, 1836.

singular and important regulation: "Whereas, for some time past, several brethren, calling themselves "Scotch Masters", declare and lay claim in especial Lodges, to certain rights and privileges, of which no trace is to be found in the ancient archives and usages practised by lodges, spread abroad over the whole surface of the earth, therefore the Grand Lodge, for the preserving of that peace and harmony which ought to prevail amongst Freemasons, does hereby declare, that such Brethren, unless filling special offices in the Grand Lodge or other Lodges, shall not be more highly esteemed than other apprentices and fellow-crafts, and shall be distinguished by no other particular marks or badges than these latter." These regulations have been compared by us, the Dep. Grand Master of the Lodge in France, with the original. La Cour, dep. Grand Master.

This official communication is a convincing testimony to the fact, that the so-styled Scotch Freemasonry originated about this time, and further inquiry sufficiently proves, that no genuine documents can be produced, to certify that before Ramsay's mischievous speech in 1740, there existed any so-called high degree on any spot of the earth whatever. A passage in the "*Parfait Maçon*", published in 1744, perfectly agrees with what we have just quoted. It says: "Those Masons, calling themselves Scotch Masters, affirm that they form a fourth degree. As this form, differing from Masonry, in many particulars, begins to meet with approval in France, it will not be distasteful to the public" etc. This book contains the first elements of the degree of "Knights of the East", though under another name.

The beginning of the High degrees. So far every thing is perfectly clear; but the exact details of the origin and introduction of the high degrees, have not yet had suf-

ficient light thrown upon them, probably because there are no records existing. Ever since the banishment of the Stuarts from England in 1688, secret alliances had been kept up between Rome and Scotland, for to the former place the Pretender James Stuart had retired in 1719, and his son Charles Edward was born there in 1720; and these communications became the more intimate, the higher the hopes of the Pretender rose¹⁾. The Jesuits played a very important part in these conferences; regarding the reinstatement of the Stuarts, and the extension of the power of the Roman Church, as identical, they sought at that time to make the Society of Freemasons subservient to their ends. But to make use of the Fraternity, to restore the exiled family to the throne, could not possibly have been contemplated, as Freemasonry could hardly be said to exist in Scotland then. Perhaps in 1724, when Ramsay was a year in Rome, or in 1728, when the Pretender in Parma²⁾ kept up an intercourse with the restless Duke of Wharton, a Past Grand Master, this idea was first entertained, and then, when it was apparent, how difficult it would be to corrupt the loyalty and fealty of Freemasonry in the Grand Lodge of Scotland, founded in 1736, this scheme was set on foot, of assembling the faithful adherents of the banished Royal family in the high degrees! The soil, which was best adopted for this innovation, was France, where the low ebb to which Masonry had sunk

1) Vide A. von Reumont, the Countess of Albany, 2 Vol. Berlin, 1860, Decker. 1. Vol. page 61.

2) L. c. Vol. I. page 67 it is said: "The intrigues and journeyings between Paris, England, and Rome, still continued: Statesmen, noblemen, negotiators, and adventurers travelled backwards and forwards; we find the Pretender at Parma in an interview with the extravagant duke of Wharton etc."

had paved the way for all kinds of new-fangled notions, and where the Lodges were composed of Scotch conspirators and accomplices of the Jesuits. When the path had thus been smoothed by the agency of these secret propagandists, Ramsay, at that time Grand Orator, (an office unknown in England) by his speech completed the preliminaries necessary for the introduction of the high degrees; their further development was left to the instrumentality of others, whose influence produced a result somewhat different from that originally intended. Their course we can now pursue, assisted by authentic, historical informations. In 1752, Scotch Masonry, as it was denominated, penetrated into Germany (Berlin) prepared from a ritual very similar to one used in Lille in 1749 and 1750; in 1743, Thory tells us, the Masons in Lyon under the name of the "Petit Elu" invented the degree of Kadosch, which represents the revenge of the Templars. The order of Knights Templars had been abolished in 1311, and to that epoch they were obliged to have recourse, when after the banishment of several Knights from Malta in 1740, because they were Freemasons, it was no longer possible to keep up a connection with the order of St. John or Knights of Malta, then in the plenitude of their power, under the sovereignty of the Pope. A pamphlet entitled, "Freemasonry divested of all its secrets" published in Strasburg in 1745, contains the first glimpse of the strict Observance¹⁾, and demonstrates how much they expected the Brotherhood to contribute towards the expedition in favor of the

¹⁾ Point 6 of these Charges says: "Whereas you have promised to manifest all due submission and obedience to the Order in every particular, and if needs be, shed your blood in her behalf, so likewise are you bound in case of urgent necessity and for the welfare of the Order, to contribute the tenth part of your yearly income for the use and benefit of the Society."

Pretender. Another important document ¹⁾, which Kloss read in the form of a manuscript, and which must have been written before 1751, does not only trace back Masonry to Palestine and the Crusades, but likewise mentions several high degrees: "It is well known that the Order was at first known only in the three first degrees. There are indeed Lodges, such as that of the Lodge Barnabal at Montpellier, for example, which would acknowledge no other degree than these three; but for those very reasons, which I wish to allege in the Scotch degree, it has been proved, that the order has at all (!) times consisted of nine degrees, which however have only come down to us gradually, and that we might receive this inheritance, some zealous Brethren have penetrated into the very heart of the island of Albion, the sanctuary of these sacred degrees. They are: apprentice, fellow-craft, master, perfect master or Irish architect, master elect, Scotch apprentice, fellow-craft, and master, and knight of the East." In Schroeder's "Materialien", and in Fessler's "critical history of Masonry" this composition is to be found remodelled, most certainly after the year 1751; but in both editions not a word is said about the knights Rosecroix (*Chevalier de Rosecroix*). But the Scotch-Jacobite *Chapitre primordial of Rosecroix* at Arras, pretends to have received its constitution on the fifteenth day of the second month of the year 1745, from the hands of Prince Charles Edward himself, before his expedition into Scotland, "as a tribute due to the Masons of Arras, for their many proofs of charitable sympathy, manifested during the six months he was resident amongst them." If there were reliance ²⁾ at all

1) Historical treatise upon Freemasonry, for the use of the St. John's Lodge at Metz. Origin of the Order etc. See Kloss, France I. p. 72—74.

2) Reumont does not mention that Charles Edward was in Arras at that period; he seems to say that he resided in the strictest incognito,

to be placed in this Constitution, and it is very doubtful, whether it is worthy of any, yet the very word primordial would render it extremely improbable that there might have been a former constitution of this chapter in France.

sometimes in Paris, and sometimes at the seat of the Duke of Berwick, Fitzjames. L. c. I. Page 85.

Prince Charles Edward's expedition, undertaken to recover the throne of Great Britain, Aug. 2, 1745, which terminated fatally at the Battle of Culloden in April 1746, and the Prince's consequent flight, had drawn the attention of every one towards him. He was then in all the freshness of youth, and a really chivalric prince, and as the inventors of this fable, were looking about for an historical person upon whom to bestow the title of Grand Master of Freemasonry or Grand Master of the Knights Templars, so it came to pass that it was reported that he bore these titles. He himself, if we are to credit what Reumont states (L. c. I. vol. Page 239) did really consider himself as hereditary Grand Master in 1783, although it is well known this dignity was conferred on the Sinclairs, who had resigned it in 1736, and that King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in a meeting held Dec. 1, 1783, was by him (!!) appointed as his "coadjutor and successor in the Grand Mastership, not alone, as he himself expresses it, for the sake of his political plans, but that, with the assistance of the Lodges, something might be done towards ameliorating the condition of the then Grand Master (Charles Edward)." Previous to this, as early as Sept. 25, 1780, the King's brother, the Duke of Südermanland, had recourse to him and had received from him an official public reply: "That the complete obscurity in which I am relating your mysteries, prevent me from replying more fully, until I myself am further enlightened." Though he perhaps did not seek for enlightenment in these things, yet did he endeavor to illuminate his understanding in another way; Mahon tells us in his history vol III, he had since 1766 become addicted to drinking, and did not even visit the opera without a small bottle of Cyprus wine in his pocket. (Reumont L. c. I. vol, page 189.) In 1772 this hero of the strict Observance and of the fable of the Order, soon became both bodily and mentally little more than a ruin. His love of drink increased to such a degree, that he was intoxicated in the morning, and an old servant of his brother relates that no street porter could have been worse than he was. (Compare Thackeray, Henry Esmond.)

The "System of the faithful Scotch" in Toulouse pretends to have derived its Constitution from the same source, in 1747, in which year, it is said, Chevalier Beauchaine founded his order of "Wood-cleavers" (*des Fendeurs*) which was still in activity in 1809.

In this manner did these tares grow and flourish, and the high Degrees were the luckless result! The vivacious Frenchman gave but too willing an ear to such fantastic suggestions, introducing them into the consecrated dominion of Freemasonry. The original three degrees, the nature of which they could not comprehend, no longer sufficed them; they advanced from 3×3, to 33 and to fill up the measure of their folly, they mounted as high as 3×30. There were abundance of ribands, signs, customs, and offices; this flattered their vanity, and will continue to do so, as long as there exist persons weak enough and foolish enough, to allow their money to be abstracted from their pockets.

French Freemasonry assuming the position we have just described, it is no wonder that it was regarded with suspicion by the police, who, June 5, 1744, renewed a prohibition, which had been formerly issued against the landlords, and soon afterwards dispersed a meeting of forty Brethren. But this was all the persecution endured by the Society in Paris. As early as 1746 Prince de Conty was a zealous Mason, and in 1747 Count Clermont received the King's permission to assume the title of Grand Master. Since the introduction of the new book of laws, there were also Deputy Grand Masters, for the banker Baure, Daché, and La Cour filled the office respectively; but they had not sufficient authority to stem the torrent of abuses, which were gaining ground.

Among the pamphlets, which appeared between the years 1744 and 47, some of which praised, while others blamed the institution, was that of the Abbé Larudan,

entitled the "*Frac-Maçon écrasé*," which follows in the wake of the priests, in their attempts to impute to the Fraternity the intermeddling with political and religious intrigues, and which pamphlet has since become the chief point, upon which the perpetual enemies of enlightenment have founded their attacks ever since.

The history of the years 1750—54 offers nothing worth mentioning.

- 2) From the institution of the Grand Lodge of France, to the installation of the Duke of Chartres as Grand Master.

(1755—73.)

The disorder reigning in the Lodges in France, only offered greater facility for the establishment of new Lodges, Chapters, Colleges &c. Nov. 24, 1754 Chevalier de Bonneville had founded a chapter of the High Degrees, composed of "distinguished persons of the court and of the town," in which some elements of the order of Knights Templars ¹⁾ were introduced, and which was known by the name of the "Chapter of Clermont", because the assemblies were held in the Jesuit college of Clermont. The Jesuits too, — those pious fathers, who are always to be found fishing in troubled waters — had no inconsiderable influence on the working out of this system. The fabulous history, on which the sixth degree is founded, asserts that seven Templars, one of whom was Aumont, took refuge on the island of Mull in Scotland, after the death of the last Grand Master

¹⁾ After the three masonic degrees, and the ancient German Scotch Degree, introduced since the year 1742, there came in the rite of Clermont the three French high Degrees: *Chevalier de l'Aigle Elu*, *le Chev. Illustre ou Templier* et *le Sublime Chev. Illustre*. Vide Kloss, Fr. I, page 85.

Molay, who was burned in Paris, and had found on that island Harris, a Knight Templar, who had escaped there on the breaking out of the persecution. To save themselves from starving, they had worked as Masons, and revived the Order.¹⁾ The members of this Clermont Chapter were mostly adherents of the Pretender.

The Grand Lodge of France. In the year 1755, what had hitherto been the *Grand Loge Anglaise*, named itself the Grand Lodge of France, most probably the same day, viz: July 4, as that on which a Lodge, regularly and expressly assembled for the purpose, signified in the presence of sixty Brethren, Masters, and Wardens, their acceptance of the new book of laws. In this book, containing 44 Articles,²⁾ there is mention made of the Scotch Degrees;³⁾ from many articles it is quite clear that they were devised for Catholics, and in Art. 11 — in direct opposition to the ancient fundamental laws — it is required that the candidate shall be baptised. The statutes are provided with the mysterious seal of the Scotch Lodge, therefore we may conclude that this degree was acknowledged then. New systems accumulated everywhere. The following year even, 1756, the first, regular, high Degree Chapter for France, that of

1) Concerning this order of Templars, and its supposed propagation. See Appendix.

2) *Statuts dressés par la Resp. L. St. Jean de Jérusalem de l'Or. de Paris gouverné par etc. Louis de Bourbon, Comte de Clermont, Gr. M. etc. pour servir de règlement à toutes celles du Royaume.* Kloss, L. c. cites several articles verbatim; in France there does not appear to be any copy of it extant.

3) See Art. 23 and 42. "The Scotch Masters shall have the supreme direction of all the works; they alone can reprove for the mistakes, which may occur; they are always permitted to speak, may appear armed, and with their heads covered, and should they be guilty of a fault, can only be called to order by a Scotch mason."

the "Knight of the East", was organised, which (according to Article 7 of their statutes), declared themselves to be "Sovereign and born princes of the whole Order", and in the course of the year 1758, a new System arose, consisting of 25 degrees,¹⁾ which arrogantly styled itself "*Conseils des Empereurs d'Orient et d'Occident*," and its members were "sovereign masonic Princes". It bestowed Warrants of constitution for Lodges of the higher degrees, nominated Grand Inspectors²⁾ and Deputies for the furtherance of this so-styled "perfect and sublime masonry" throughout Europe, and organised in the interior of France several special councils, as for instance that of "*Conseil des Princes du Royal Secret*" at Bordeaux. In 1763 Pincemaille, Master of the Lodge *la Candeur* at Metz, began to publish the degrees³⁾ of this system in numbers, which the Grand Lodge, by the payment of 300 francs, in vain endeavored to put a stop to. Amongst these degrees is the "Royal Arch Degree", and also that of *Rosecroix*, invented at this period, which, according to Tschudy in his *disc. hist.*, is nothing else than "the Roman Catholic religion incorporated into a degree."

Division into two Grand Lodges. Between 1760—65 these Emperors of the East and West and sovereign masonic princes, began to be divided amongst themselves, and as both parties had long made the Grand Lodge their field of

¹⁾ Kloss gives us the names of the degrees in French. L. c. I, page 88 and in Lenning's Encyclopaedia they are in German, I, page 79. — The degree of the "Knight of the East and West" still exists, and is the 6th degree of the French system, the 15th degree of the anc. and accepted rite, and the 6th and 7th degree of the Swedish system of the Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin.

²⁾ Brother Stephen Morin received a warrant in 1761. See Kloss and Thory, *hist.*

³⁾ See Kloss, Bibliogr. No. 1893.

battle, it gave rise to divisions. In order to put a stop to this, the Grand Lodge issued a decree, Aug. 24, 1766, opposing the high degrees, and prohibiting all symbolical Lodges to acknowledge the usurped authority of the Chapters.¹⁾ A great number of Lodges had not adopted these new-fangled notions. The decree was communicated to the Grand Lodge of England, who, for the purpose of upholding the views of the Grand Lodge of France, entered into a regular correspondence with her in 1767, making an agreement together, not to confer any masonic constitution in each others' dominions. But this decree made its appearance too late to be of any use; the hostilities had already led to a separation, and to the founding of a second Grand Lodge; both parties abused each other in their publications, until the government interfered, and the Grand Lodge in 1767 commanded their meetings to be discontinued. But this did not prevent the expelled members from working in secret, so that between the years 1767—71, many new constitutions were granted, either by them, or by the assistants of the Grand Master, Chaillou de Joinville, or by the masters of Lodges. Thirteen Lodges were established in Paris and the provinces, and it is gratifying to perceive, that many of the brethren in France, had by no means forgotten their relations with England, but seemed to regard the ancient English masonic charges as still binding upon them.

The Grand Master, count Clermont, died June 15, 1771, having done little or nothing for the welfare of the fraternity. Before his dissolution the ancient brethren, of the nobility and of the parliament (*Empereurs d'Orient*) had made several unsuccessful attempts to

¹⁾ See Thory, *hist. de la fondation du Gr. Cr.* (Reprinted in the *Monde Maçonnique*, edited by Ulbach and Favre. No 7.

reorganise the Grand Lodge. The expelled brethren, the citizens (*Chevaliers d'Orient*) were not idle either; they gave out, that reforms were about to be set on foot, and managed¹⁾ to obtain an audience of the Duke of Luxemburg, declaring themselves to be the very heart and core of the ancient Grand Lodge, commissioned to secure through him the consent of Louis Philippe, Duke of Chartres, afterwards Philippe Egalité, to his (Louis Philippe's) being chosen Grand Master of France, who accepted the office, and nominated Luxemburg as his substitute. A meeting of the Grand Lodge took place June 21, 1771; three of the eldest masters, Puisieux, l'Eveill   and Le Lorrain presided, to which several of the exiled Brethren were admitted. It was determined that the decrees of banishment issued in 1766, should be repealed²⁾ and declared invalid, and that proper steps should be taken for the appointment of a Grand Master. The Grand Officers were chosen Aug. 14. of that same year, and a new constitution comprised in 53 and 41 Articles, was proposed, accepted, and signed by the Deputy-general. These articles differed from the former ones, in that the representative system was adopted, and the co-operation of all lodges for the settlement of general questions, was established by law. At the end of this most eventful year (Dec. 17.), it was resolved, that 22 Provincial Grand Inspectors should be appointed, whose office should continue for three years, and their duty be, to visit the Lodges, to watch over the execution of the laws, to regulate the purport and value of the works, and to submit to the Grand Lodge at their

1) *M  moire justif. du V  n. Fr. de la Chauss  e*, 1772.

2) The restoration of the excluded members, was not definitively pronounced until Oct. 17, consequently the minutes mentioned above of June 21. are misdated.

quarterly meetings, a written account of their proceedings. April 5, 1772, the newly-elected Grand Master, the Duke of Chartres, "out of love to the royal art" accepted the office, in order, as is stated in the formula of installation, "to concentrate all masonic energy under one single constituted authority". These documents did not refer entirely to the Grand Lodge, but likewise embraced the high degrees of the system of the Emperors of the East and West, and by this means was the way paved for the "*Souverain Conseil*" of the high degrees, to unite itself with the Grand Lodge. This actually took place Aug. 9, and thus the party of the Knights of the East was completely ignored.

The Grand Orient of France. The General-Administrator, the Duke of Luxemburg, it is true, accepted the presidency of the Lodge of the Emperors of the East, but declared at once, that he did not on that account impute any special jurisdiction, precedence, or superiority to this body above that of the Grand Lodge. At the same time that the resolution of Aug. 9. was passed, a committee was formed to take some reforms into consideration, which should obviate the evils, caused by certain abuses which had crept in, and a circular¹⁾ was issued Sept. 17. to all Lodges, ascribing the divisions to the exclusive privileges claimed by the high degrees. This sealed the fate of the Masters, chosen for lifetime. Several articles of the new statutes, which should restore to the fraternity their original prerogatives, were discussed in their meetings, held in the course of the year 1773, and March 9, the Duke of Luxemburg in the Chair,

¹⁾ See the words of this manifesto, of which Thory takes no notice, but given by Kloss L. c. page 139. The committee was formed of Brs. Bruneteau, Gaillard, de Boulainvillers, Lacan, Labady, Daubertain, de Toussaint and Lalande.

it was agreed by the Grand Lodge, that it should be called *Grand Loge Nationale*, afterwards *Grand Orient de France*. The Masters in Paris do not appear to have recognised immediately, that the privileges accorded to the Lodges in the Provinces, were opposed to their pretensions. They seem however soon to have been enlightened by Br. Labady,¹⁾ an active and intriguing man, whereupon a general meeting of the ancient Grand Lodge was convened, June 17, at which several members of the before mentioned committee were present, and a formula was drawn up, protesting against the reforms which had just been prepared. In a second general assembly,²⁾ June 20, 1773, every thing was declared to be of no force and void. "which had already passed in the National Assembly, or might hereafter be passed," and it was determined to call upon all Masons, to unite themselves to this community, and to beseech the most Worsh., the General Administrator, to take the chair in person, as had formerly been the case, and "in every particular to preserve to the Grand Lodge all its rights and privileges."

The new National Grand Lodge (Gr. Or.) in the mean while continued to work uninterruptedly, the chapters of bye-laws and regulations, which had been approved of, were printed, and a circular published, addressed to all the Lodges in the kingdom, giving a summary of their proceedings hitherto. It therein states: "The masters of the Lodges in Paris, had already acquainted you with the nomination of his Highness the Duke of Chartres to the office of Grand Master, and

¹⁾ Labady, Secretary of the Provinces, was suspended; he had a dispute with *de la Chaussée*. For further particulars see Kloss L. c. page 169 &c.

²⁾ This document is to be found in Kloss, L. c. I, page 159 &c.

the most illustrious Brother, the Duke of Luxemburg, to that of General Administrator of the Order in France. As circumstances required reforms in the administration of the order, eight commissaries had been deputed in an assembly of the Masters at Paris, specially to investigate the matter, upon which work they had been engaged during six months. The circular invitation, which you had already received, to co-operate in the installation of a Grand Master, as well as to obtain your sanction to the regulations proposed by the committee, had occasioned your deputation to come to the capital; they have made themselves known, and have convened a meeting, March 5, 1773. In a second assembly, March 8, they had accepted and by acclamation confirmed their choice of his Highness, the Grand Master, as also of the General-Administrator, and had concluded in conjunction with their Parisian Brethren, to exert themselves to promote the welfare of the Order. March 9, the body of deputies from the provinces, the General Administrator presiding, had assembled and conferred with the commissaries chosen by the Masters of the Lodges in Paris." Seven brethren with the General Administrator at their head, were sent to the Grand Master, to obtain his approbation, in which they were successful. "Whereupon the bye-laws projected by the commissioners of the Masters from Paris were submitted to the assembly, and a committee of nine Brethren appointed to examine them. The Masters from Paris, zealously desirous to work for the general benefit, assembled in five divisions, for the purpose of nominating fourteen deputies, to be their representatives in the general assembly. These, with the deputies from the provinces, and those also from Paris, who together in fact represented the whole body of the Masons in France, under the denomination of "*Grande Loge*

Nationale” have come to the fixed determination, to pass such laws, and to confer upon the Order such a system, as shall most effectually tend to suppress those abuses, which it was believed had become incorporated in the ancient administration. Their chief aim and purpose is to establish equality, and therefore have they summoned the provinces to exercise their rights and privileges in common with the administration.” Attention is then drawn to the four first chapters of the Statutes.

As the requisite nomination of new officers might disturb the harmony, their appointment is left to the Chief-Administrator, “who takes the precedence in all meetings,” and thus becomes acquainted with each member personally. Information is then accorded touching money transactions, which are to be collected and discharged by means of the constitutions, certificates, and principally by the contributions of individual Lodges, under the appellation *don gratuit*, to the now generally accepted authority called “*Grand Orient*.”

The list of the officers forming the *Grand Orient*, is composed of many brilliant names; it contains the following: Grand Master, Duke of Chartres; General Administrator, Duke of Montmorency-Luxemburg; Grand-Conservator, Count of Buzençois; the representative of the Grand Master, Prince de Rohan; Grand Orator, Baron de la Chevalerie; Grand Expert, Prince de Pignatelly, who in 1770 received from the Grand Lodge in London the patent of a Grand Master for Naples and Sicily &c.

The old Grand Lodge, on the other hand, renewed her former protest, and on the 30th of Aug. declared the National Grand Lodge, as unlawful, surreptitious, and irregular, and all Masters presiding, taking part in their decrees, were to be displaced from office, and on

the following day, the publication of a history of Freemasonry was announced in these words: "The results of the closest investigation, which will greatly contribute to put an end to the schism which has been introduced, and to undeceive such Masons, as imagine that Freemasonry is derived solely from England." Whether this history ever appeared, we do not know, but in the same year 1773 there was published the "*Mémoire sur l'histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie*," by Br. Lalande, who supported the views of the Grand Orient. This opposition of the ancient Grand Lodge threw many difficulties in the way of the Grand Orient, especially as regards the correspondence, as they themselves scarcely knew their new disciples. All the documents, registers, deeds, and all authentic memorials, had remained in the Secretary's Office of the Grand Lodge; therefore the new community could not answer any questions, put to them by lodges, touching their antecedents. The members of the ancient Grand Lodge were neither to be moved by kindness, nor by the most thundering decrees of the Grand Orient, to deliver up their memorials. The Duke of Luxemburg went¹⁾ so far, as to procure a warrant from the lieutenant of police, to throw the keeper of the seal, and several other members of the ancient Grand Lodge, into prison. But this violent proceeding did not have any other result, than increasing the enmity between them, and causing the defection of many Lodges; the prisoners were soon discharged by the police and the delivering up of the memorials was only refused with the greater pertinacity.

This was the position assumed by Freemasonry in France, in 1773, the same year as that in which in

¹⁾ Thory, *hist. de la fond.*, p. 45

England innovations and errors had crept in, through the so-called ancient Masons, and in Germany through the "strict observance".

3) From the Installation of the Grand Master, to the Introduction of the high Degrees of the Grand Orient.

(1773—1783.)

The new constitution, as did also all the resolutions passed since March 5, only awaited the approval and acceptance of the Grand Master, to give them legal force. It was therefore deemed expedient (Aug. 30, 1773), to depute four Grand Officers to go to him, and to request his ratification of the same. The Duke, however, would not receive the deputation, not so much because of his anger excited at the derisive remarks concerning his new dignity, as because he ardently wished to receive permission again to appear at court. A second attempt met with the like success, and not before Oct. 14, was the deputation admitted to an audience, which congratulated him first on the birth of a son, and then besought him to name a day for his installation. This took place ¹⁾ Oct. 22, 1773. The officers took an oath, and the Grand Master confirmed the choice of Grand Officers, as well as the new bye-laws and regulations, sealing them with his own seal. After this had taken place, he superintended the labors of the single divisions, the *Chambre d'Administration*, the *Chambre des Provinces et de Paris*, in which latter, the orator Br. Louis le Roi ²⁾ said: "The national body has con-

¹⁾ According to more ancient statements 22, but according to Thory, Oct. 28.

²⁾ Kloss, L. c. I, page 190.

fided to us the management of the capital city; masonry is therein represented by a vast number of Lodges and Masons in strange chaos and confusion: she confides herself to our care, to free her from all impurities; we remove from her every thing that is unbecoming, we reinstate honorable and worthy Masons; we inflame her zeal, we endeavor to introduce regularity in all things &c."

From the time of the installation of the Grand Master, the *Grande Loge Nationale* relinquished this appellation, and adopted that of *Grand Orient de France*. Those only were accounted regular lodges, which were provided with certificates from the Grand Orient, and the lodges had consequently to procure new warrants; a revision of the high degrees was determined upon, and a committee appointed for the purpose, but the lodges were strictly enjoined to follow the example of the chief community, and to carry on their business only in the three symbolical degrees. It is however remarkable, that notwithstanding this admonition, the Gr. Or., June 10, 1774, entertained the very anomalous idea of lodges of adoption for women.

Provincial lodges. As the holding of the meetings of the Gr. Or. in private houses, was attended with many inconveniences, an appropriate edifice was hired, one which had formerly been the Jesuit College, which they moved into Aug. 12, 1774. Br. de Lalande made the opening speech, and the Gr. Or. informed its subordinate lodges, of this event. For the purpose of lightening the burden of the enormous correspondence, on Oct. 22, 1774, they again referred to the plan before conceived, of establishing provincial lodges.

France, in accordance with one of these proposed plans, was to be divided into 32 generalities; the capital

city of each should form the chief seat of a Provincial Grand Lodge, which should consist of the presiding Masters, the past Masters, and certain deputies. The provincial lodge was to be permitted the appointment of a deputy to the Gr. Or., and the business department of the new society would be: to superintend the general condition of the institution, its labors, reforms, and the carrying out of the instructions received &c.; to be the arbiters of all disputes, which might arise between Brethren and Lodges, to provide for the election of officers at the appointed time, and for the proper transmission of the memorials &c. This plan was approved of, it is true, but met with but little support, so that only from 4—5 provincial lodges were established, of which the oldest was that of Lyons. This institution began to be regarded with suspicion by the *Gr. Orient*, therefore Dec. 29, 1810, it was entirely done away with.

In the winter, St. John's Day, Dec. 27, a most important resolution was taken, which must not be passed over. The General Administrator, the General Conservator, and the fifteen Grand Officers had received their offices for life from the Grand Master. Luxemburg now proposed, and was seconded by all those interested in the proceeding, that their offices should be held for three years, and the nomination left to the Grand Orient. The Grand Master himself professed his readiness to have a similar change made in his office, but it was not accepted. This festival was rendered worthy of being remembered by an act of masonic beneficence. Thirty-five persons, who had been imprisoned for not paying the money for their children's board and lodging, were set free, and many who for the same cause had been threatened with imprisonment, were by the settlement of the arrears due, delivered from the impending danger.

The Lodge
la Candeur. In the year 1775, as many as 132 Lodges had joined the Grand Orient, but only one single provincial lodge had been established. At the end of this year, Dec. 25, the Lodge *de la Candeur*, at Paris, in which the Marquis de Fénelon had been initiated, was consecrated by the Grand Master in person. Among the brethren who attended, one hundred of whom are expressly said to have belonged to the aristocracy, were the Duke de Choiseul, the Marquis de la Fayette, Washington's companion in arms, two princes of Hesse &c. Deeds of beneficence marked every meeting of this lodge; likewise thanks are due to it, that through its influence the persecution against the Freemasons, which had broken out in Naples, was put a stop to.

The strict Observance
in France. Brother von Weiler had, Feb. 27, 1774, received from Br. von Hund, the Grand Master of the "strict observance", the warrant as *Commissarius generalis perpetuus Visitationis*, and authority to re-establish the second, third, and fifth province of the "strict observance", Auvergne, Occitania, and Burgundy. Thereupon Weiler, having Prof. H. Bernard's ritual of the high degrees with him, translated into French, undertook a sort of missionary journey into France, where the system had taken its rise, and after the lapse of ten or eleven weeks, succeeded in winning over these provinces to adopt the system once more. The *Grand Orient*, whose chief officers secretly belonged to the "strict observance", resolved May 5, 1755, to unite themselves to these directories, and May 31 of the following year, the treaty of union¹⁾ was approved of by a very large majority. As this treaty

¹⁾ It consists of 12 articles, and is printed in Kloss, France, page 210.

however, had been contracted by masonic communities, whose ritual had been drawn up according to a foreign form, the *Rite réformé de Dresde*, a system, the real purpose and aim of which was unknown to the *Grand Orient*, and which traced its origin to a foreign source, the French national feeling was unpleasantly affected, and it was deemed by the *Grand Orient* a sufficient reason for inditing a circular epistle, stating their motives for so doing. Many lodges had before this uttered their opinions concerning this deed of union, at the very outset; the lodge at Rennes called it an unrighteous act, and demanded its abandonment, "as the *Grand Orient* was not invested with power sufficient to do so," and by degrees the dissatisfaction of the French brethren continued to spread. The provincial Grand Lodge of Lyons especially, most decidedly opposed it, in a series of pamphlets. During the negotiations in the *Grand Orient* touching the acceptance of the Scotch directories, (of the strict observance) the Grand Master, accompanied by his wife, made an imposing journey through France, which was of great benefit in confirming and increasing the authority of the *Grand Orient*. This proved to be so much the more necessary as the ancient Grand Lodge was by no means its only opponent.

New superior
communities. Shortly after this, in opposition to the foreign (German) system of Masonry, a national Scotch system was established; for the Lodge of St. Lazarus, instituted by L. Th. Bruneteau, declared herself in 1776 as the mother lodge *du Rite Ecossais philosophique* and assumed the name "*du Contrat social*". The aims of this system were very similar to those of the German Rosicrucians. At Metz was founded the chapter of "St. Theodor", which acknowledged the revised ritual of Saint Martin; at Arras there was a Scotch-Jacobite chapter; at Paris the Lodge (*A. R. i. e.*

Amis réunis) had practised since 1773 the ritual of the Philaletheans or seekers after truth, to whose secret chapters no officer of the *Grand Orient* was admitted; at Montpellier, in 1778, in the Lodge "*de la Sincérité des Coeurs*", a Rosicrucian chapter was instituted, and the Lodge of Philadelphians at Narbonne, practised the so-styled *Rite primitif*. At Rennes, Masons had united under the title "*Sublimes élus de la vérité*" &c.¹⁾ Belief in the reality of the high degrees was so firmly rooted in the French Masons, that it dimmed the vision of the most clear-sighted; so that when the idea of knights had been exhausted, they easily fell into other absurdities, such as second-sight, theosophy &c.

Cagliostro. All these exaggerations and profanations, which were the necessary consequence of the abandonment of the ancient landmarks and principles of Freemasonry, were far exceeded by the notorious Cagliostro.²⁾

This bold, unscrupulous adventurer, whose real name was Joseph Balsamo, was born at Palermo in 1743. To impetuous eloquence he united the most consummate impudence. Having acquired a certain degree of medical and chemical knowledge, after having married the beautiful Lorenza Feliciani in Rome, he travelled about, from Lisbon to Petersburg, under assumed names, such as the Marquis de Bellegrini, Count Felix, but chiefly that of Count Cagliostro, plundering all the credulous, sometimes calling himself a maker of gold, sometimes a conjurer, or a dealer in miraculous

1) See Thory, *hist. de la fondation du Gr. Or.* (*Monde Mac.* III. vol. page 553.)

2) Vide amongst others the "Life and deeds of Jos. Balsamo &c." From the law-suit carried on against him in Rome in 1790 &c. Frankenthal 1790. Also the article "Cagliostro" by the Latomia-Society in New York in the *Masonic Eclectic*, vol. I, No. 3. (1860) New York.

Findel, History of Freemasonry.

cures, to restore youth, to prolong life, and re-awaken passions, which had long died out. His disciples attained to a physical new-birth and lived 5557 years, if according to the directions, they had received, they made use once every fifty years of a cure in the country, which lasted forty days, and were bled, during full moon in the month of May, taking three grains of *Materia prima* at several times, drinking distilled water, and eating very little solid food.

What he gained elsewhere, was nothing in comparison to that, which he contrived to extract from the Freemasons. Having in 1770 been initiated into a Lodge in London, into which he was admitted with the hope of learning something from him of the Rosicrucian tenets, he passed through the three degrees in one day, initiating his wife at the same time, that she might hereafter be of use to him, he then went to Germany, where he became acquainted with the strict observance, and received instruction from Christ. Nic. von Schroeder in Theosophy and the secret sciences. Armed with all this information, and having in his possession a manuscript, he had bought in England, written by a certain George Cofton, he set about founding a new system of masonry, which was called by him the Egyptian¹⁾ masonry, and was afterwards celebrated, especially in France. He was the head, under the title of *Grand Cophta*²⁾ (Grandkopt) and his wife *Grandkoptin*. The members were styled, simply, *Kopten* and *Koptinnen*; for the order was for both sexes, he initiating the men, she the women. In the Woman's Lodge, the presiding

1) This extravagant order continued to exist from about the year 1782—88. — The Misraimic system in France (99 degrees) likewise styles its ritual, Egyptian.

2) See the *Grandkophta*. Comedy in five acts. By Goethe.

female was called the "Queen of Sheba". The advantages held out to the initiated were, the prolongation of life, a new-birth both physically and morally (the latter consisting in the attainment of original purity), dominion over the world of spirits, and the possession of the philosopher's stone. Longevity was secured by the use of strengthening medicines, and by drinking Egyptian wines, into which stimulants had been previously infused by him, and by ointments for the skin for the "*Koptinnen*". The science of Theurgy was practically exemplified on children, who having been properly trained for the purpose, were introduced into the assemblies, and there after innumerable incantations were favored with visions. The philosopher's stone he kindly prepared for his friends, charging them ten times more, than the gold, which he had put in it, was worth. In 1779, Cagliostro introduced his ritual into Mitau in Courland, founding several Lodges there, and so far ingratiating himself into the favor of Countess Elise von der Recke, that she recommended him to the Empress Katharine of Russia. However when she discovered that he was an impostor, she unmasked him in a pamphlet, which was translated into the Russian language: "Information concerning the sojourn of the notorious Cagliostro in Mitau in 1779, and of the magic arts practised by him. Berlin 1787." He then wandered to France, where he for the first time, felt himself completely at home. He became there the hero of the day; he was designated the great or the "divine" Cagliostro. Persons of rank wore his portrait, and that of his wife, in rings, snuff-boxes, and fans. The nobility pointed to his bust of marble or bronze, which adorned their state rooms.

In 1782, he appeared in Lyons, where he established a "Mother lodge of the Egyptian rite", under the title

“the triumph of wisdom” From this one, a numerous family of daughter lodges, were rapidly developed. He gained very considerable sums by conferring constitutions on these lodges, besides being well paid by all those, who were admitted members. The Parisians burned with impatience to receive the hero within their walls. At length he made his appearance, and every one was filled with wonder and delight. After such a reception, he presumed, it would be an easy thing to place himself at the head of all the lodges. But in this he deceived himself. By degrees his fraud became manifest; in the affair of the necklace, the police gave him a great deal of trouble, so that he deemed it advisable to quit France before the breaking out of the Revolution. He went to London, and thence to Rome, where he hoped to find a new field for his operations. But the Inquisition put a stop to his career; Dec. 27, 1789 he was thrown into prison. After a trial, which lasted many years, the Inquisition condemned him to death, which the Pope changed into imprisonment for life. He died in 1795.

The Mot
de Semestre. Of the further proceedings of the Grand Orient we will mention: a) the resolution of Feb. 21, 1777, which forbids the Lodges and Masons to have anything printed until they have produced their Manuscript; b) that the lawful age for the initiation of an apprentice was 21, of a Fellow 23, and of a Master 25. July 3, 1777, the Grand Master appeared for the first time since his installation, in the solemnly adorned hall of the *Grand Orient*, and for the last time too, as it would seem. “Convinced, by long experience, of the insufficiency of the means hitherto employed, to keep away spurious masons, we do not think we can do wrong, to ask the Grand Master to communicate to the regular masons a word once in six months, which will

make them known as such, to the lodges which they may respectively visit." This the Grand Master¹⁾ immediately did, and since then this *Mot de Semestre* has been communicated every half year.

Voltaire's
Initiation. In the following year 1778 the Lodge of "Nine Sisters", which had been established by Lalande, and had been quickly joined by members of superior intellectual attainments, was distinguished by the initiation of Voltaire among their number. Franklin and Count de Gebelin introduced him into the Temple; the examination related to mere moral questions, and the usual forms were dispensed with. "His initiation was a triumph for himself, and of incalculable benefit to those present." Immediately after his initiation he was transferred to the Orient, where the presiding master, Lalande, welcomed him. Many persons of distinction, amongst whom we may mention George Forster, adorned this lodge, each in his sphere, actively endeavoring to spread the knowledge of the arts and sciences. No meeting was held, without some exposition taking place, either on philosophy, history, poetry, or art, nor any in which considerable sums were not collected for benevolent purposes, and reports made concerning the appropriation of these sums. At that time lodges of adoption or Women's lodges were convened, dependent upon this and other lodges, for the purpose of collecting money for the relief of the needy.

In this year the Ancient Grand Lodge again made a move: Jan. 18, 1788, she had published a list of her officers, and continued to do so uninterruptedly until the breaking out of the Revolution. A copy of their statutes, accompanied by a circular epistle, was likewise

¹⁾ Thory erroneously fixes the date of the communication of this Parole to Oct. 22, 1773.

published, which is so much the more interesting, as from it we learn, that since 1773, none of their doings had been made public. In a simple and moderate tone, which contrasts pleasingly with that assumed by the Grand Orient, they therein strive, to establish their rights. Kloss gives this singular document in its entirety.

Towards the end of the year 1778, the Scotch directories in Auvergne and Burgundy invited to a *Convent National des Gaules* in Lyons, which assembly was actually convened in Nov. and Dec. The name of "Templars" was exchanged for that of "*Chevalier bienfaisant de la sainte cité*", and some unimportant changes in the ritual of the "strict observance" were made, without however causing any breach with this latter.

The Martinists. The centre from whence these "*Chevaliers bienfaisants*" dealt out their sublime wisdom was from the Lodge "*des Amis réunis*" in Paris, mentioned above, they on their part being enlightened by a small number of most intimate and confidential friends, formerly attached to the degree of the "*Philosophes inconnus*" but afterwards to the "Philalethes", calling their union a "divine order". The symbolic books, in which this order vouchsafed to manifest the only true light, to the masonic world, were the celebrated work: "Error and Truth" (*Des Erreurs et de la Vérité*), translated by Claudius into German, and "The true picture of the relations between God, Man, and the Universe" (*Tableau naturel etc. entre Dieu, l'homme et l'univers*). The most conspicuous disseminators of this light were the Brothers Villermoz, St. Amand, Count de Lerney, Saint Martin &c. From this latter, the adherents of this mystical-theosophic system received the name of Martinists.

L. C. de Saint Martin, born at Amboise in 1743, died at Paris in 1803, was a French officer, who made

himself known as a disciple of Martin Paschalis and of Jacob Boehme, some of whose writings he translated, obtaining for the extravagant notions of his master a favorable hearing, on account of his general knowledge and pleasing exterior. He transferred some of his ideas to Masonry, which he regarded as an emanation from the deity, forming a new system of ten degrees in two Temples. The first Temple consisted of: 1) Apprentice — 2) Fellow — 3) Master — 4) Ancient Master — 5) Elected one — 6) Grand Architect — 7) Mason of the Mystery. — The second temple embraced: 8) Prince of Jerusalem — 9) Knight of Palestine — 10) Kadosch or Saint. — This system was afterwards reduced to seven degrees, and bore the name of "*Eccossisme réformé de St. Martin*". In 1778, in the convent of Lyons, it became united to that of the French branch of the "strict observance".¹⁾

All these different chapters and lodges were independent of the Grand Orient; they refused all connection with it, and frustrated every attempt that was made to comprehend them within its jurisdiction.

All these impediments made the Grand Orient less presumptuous in her tone, or at least caused her to change her line of policy. She declared to the various masonic directories, independent of her, that it was not her intention, nor did it lie in her power, to declare herself the supreme authority of all the masonic fraternities in France; that she accorded to every one free leave, to seek elsewhere for that light, which she could not herself bestow. Her jurisdiction extended solely over those Lodges having the French ritual, and her dominion was based simply upon the free will of her

¹⁾ For further particulars of St. Martin, see "Handbk. of Freemasonry", I, 282.

adherents &c. With these and similar declarations did she seek to lull the suspicions of the Directories of the other systems. But in secret she was more than ever active in carrying out her former plan.

Triumph of the high Degrees. The mania for higher degrees, continued to be in the ascendant, and the respect shewn to such as adopted them, became every day more positive. To counteract this, the Grand Orient determined to abate some of her masonic strictness, and likewise accept the high Degrees. A revision of her system was debated on, but again abandoned, as the committees were not inclined to incorporate the high degrees, in their system. In 1782 however a commission was appointed under the title "*Chambre des Grades*", which after having been occupied five years with these degrees, submitted the result of their labors to the Grand Orient. Four high degrees were proposed, viz: *Elu*, *Chevalier d'Orient*, *Eccossais*, and *Chevalier Rose-Croix*, which being compiled from all the other degrees, were supposed to contain the quintessence of masonic science. The Grand Orient approved of the proposition, submitted by the commission, and immediately declared that these were the only high degrees, which could be accepted by the lodges under her jurisdiction. The introduction of these four high degrees into French Masonry was attended with most prejudicial consequences. Most of the St. John's Lodges regarded these regulations as an absurd innovation, and the directors and members of the high degrees, saw in it a profanation of their mysteries. Consequently the new system was everywhere rejected, and even in France very few Lodges accepted it. Notwithstanding this, the Grand Orient carried on her scheme uninterruptedly, and were so fortunate as to induce the Directors of some other systems, so far to unite with them, as to acknowledge

the Grand Orient, the chief of all the Lodges of symbolic Masonry in France, for which concession the Gr. Or. guaranteed, neither to disturb them in the practise of their ritual, nor to hinder their distributing letters of affiliation for the higher degrees of their system.¹⁾ Associations of this kind were, it is true, nothing more than mere peace compacts, but at any rate, they secured to the Gr. Orient this advantage, that, diminishing the number of her enemies, and being supported by the appeased directories, she was placed upon a more equal footing with the Grand Lodge, which in 1781 had again given tokens of existence, and in 1783 had issued to her subordinate lodges her long promised report of her doings, in the publication "*Instruction Historique*". Thus stood the two chief lodges in continued mutual opposition to each other, and to single lodges of direction, till at length the French Revolution put an end to all disputes, but at the same time snapped the bands of the fraternity in twain.

E. Germany.

(1736—1783).

1) Introduction and first propagation of Freemasonry.

The German fraternity of Stonemasons, was not in a condition to develop new vigor, nor promote the interests of Freemasonry to any very considerable degree; it vegetated in secret under the pressure of prohibitory laws, and the yoke of party spirit. But the

¹⁾ Etat du Grand Or. de France. T. IV. 2. p. 19.

broad and comprehensive signification which the English constitution imparted to the fraternity, interested every one in its favor, fulfilling the desires of all those in Germany, who were longing for the uniting of all right minded people, to practise what was right, and to carry out the ideal of earthly perfection. Among the Masons initiated in England, were no inconsiderable number of Germans of good family, who were all more or less zealously engaged in producing an entrance of the brotherhood into Germany, which became so much the easier after the election of the king of Hanover to the English throne, and the active commercial intercourse kept up between the two nations. Even as early as 1730, we find everywhere in North, West, and Central Germany¹⁾ members of the society, wherever they met, whether in their travels or in watering places, uniting together, and forming temporary lodges, which only required hastily improvised arrangements and equipments.²⁾ Their work consisted in the communication of mutual, masonic intelligence, in reading aloud the Book of constitutions, and in catechising. In 1733 the Grand Master, Brother Count Strathmore, granted permission to "eleven German gentlemen and good brethren" in Hamburg, to found a permanent lodge, concerning which however we possess no further information; it being not till 1737 that a lodge without a name first came into active operation in that town. In 1741 it assumed the title of "Absalom", after Brother Lüttmann had in 1740, received his patent of Provincial Grand Master, from England; this name it still bears; in the same year (1741) the proceedings of the Prov.

1) See W. Keller, Hist. of Freemasonry in Germany.

2) See "Freemasonry in the O. of Hannover. 1860." P. 1. Hist. of Fr. Voigts.

Gr. Lodge of Hamburg and of Lower Saxony were opened. It was the most ancient masonic Mother Lodge in Germany. Brother H. W. von Marschall, who in 1737 had been nominated by the Grand Master Darnley, Provincial Grand Master in Upper Saxony, does not appear to have displayed especial zeal in the cause.

Freemasonry first enjoyed consideration and a firm footing in Germany, when the highly-gifted Crown-prince, afterwards King Frederick II. of Prussia, was initiated. Without his influence, Masonry in Germany would have hardly met with support, nor have been very extensively disseminated; this example soon induced many other German princes to do as he had done. These persuaded the nobility around them to join, and thus it happened, that at the close of the Seven years' War, it was regarded as a mark of noble birth or of high breeding, to belong to the Fraternity.

Upon occasion of a visit¹⁾, which Frederick William, accompanied by the Crown-prince, paid to the Prince of Orange at Loo, in Geldern, the conversation during dinner, turned upon Freemasonry. The king, who had already heard of it as an English invention, but in consequence of his orthodox views on religion, and of the distrust excited in his mind towards it, by the clergy, could not tolerate it, spoke of it slightly and harshly; while Count von Lippe-Bückeburg, who was present, defended it with such ingenuous ardour, that the Crown-prince soon expressed a wish, to be received into a fraternity, which owned amongst its members, men who were such sincere lovers of truth. The Count raised difficulties, and represented to him

1) See "Freemasons Library. Berlin, 1792. 3rd Edition. I. Piece." Page 57; — "*Der Ziegeldecker im O. von Altenburg. Von Lützelberger.*" 1836. 9. Piece.

the danger to which such a step might expose him. But nothing daunted Frederick, and it was therefore agreed that on his return his initiation should take place at Brunswick, and a Deputation of the Hamburg Lodge "Absalom" was ordered to be there in readiness. Brunswick was the place chosen, as it was hoped that, as many strangers were present, it being the annual fair, the initiation might the more easily be concealed from the cognisance of his suspicious father. The less his parent durst know of the matter, the better pleased did the son become with the inauguration, which was consummated on the night of Aug. 14, with closed doors, in the presence of Brothers von Bielefeld, von Oberg, von Löwen, von Kielmannsegge, von Lippe-Bückeburg &c., according to the ancient usages.¹⁾ The initiation of his companion, Count von Wartensleben, took place immediately afterwards. About four o'clock in the morning, this memorable deed was concluded. Very soon after his return home, a lodge was secretly organised in the castle of Rheinsberg, and the number of members made privy to the transaction was augmented, and when, in 1740, Frederick ascended the throne, he himself wielded the hammer, and conducted the first work with his own hand at the castle in Charlottenburg, June 20. In that same year Sept. 13, at his instigation, a new Lodge was established in Berlin, which was called "*zu den drei Weltkugeln*" (the three Globes), and in 1744 it was advanced to be the Grand Mother Lodge. The King assumed the office of Grand Master, and continued to bear the title, even though during the Seven Years' War and the cares that government entailed on him, he was prevented from attending

¹⁾ Frederick had begged to be treated like any other person. See Keller, *Deutschl.*, page 182.

to his masonic duties; but in 1747, for the actual transaction of business, a vice-Grand Master was nominated, the Duke of Holstein-Beck, when the statutes were revised, a suitable place for their meetings engaged, and the finances regulated.

Francis I. What the protection of Frederick the Great had been for Freemasonry in Prussia, was in like manner secured in Austria by the favor of the Emperor Francis I. Born Dec. 8, 1708, he was in 1731, when Duke of Lothringen, first made an apprentice and then a fellow, at the Hague, the Duke of Chesterfield in the Chair, and afterwards became Master, in London, under the name of "*Brother Lothringen*."

His wife Maria Theresa looked with disfavor on the Fraternity, but it throve notwithstanding, and many Lodges were silently formed in the capital of the Austrian dominions, as also in Prague, and other towns. Imbued with the spirit of his times, it is true, that Francis shewed but little taste for the homely simplicity of Freemasonry, being far more inclined to the absurdities of Alchemy; still however we do not find him only at his crucible, but wherever he could be active in Freemasonry. He zealously promoted the cultivation of the fine arts, shewed toleration in religion, relieved the poor, and more than once placed his own life in peril, when he endeavored to rescue the unfortunate ones from perishing, at the conflagration in Vienna, and at the inundation of the Danube. To the tutor of his highly gifted son he wrote: "My son shall be instructed in history in such a way that the faults and evil deeds of the monarchs of the earth, shall no more be concealed from him, than their virtues." When in 1737 he assumed the government of the Duchy of Tuscany, he not merely put a stop to all persecution of the Freemasons in his dominions, but took their part against the clergy.

New Lodges. In the rest of Germany the Institution advanced much more rapidly. The Margrave of Bayreuth, who had been initiated in Berlin, founded, in 1741, the Grand Mother Lodge of "The Sun" (*Zur Sonne*) at Bayreuth, whence proceeded, in the same year, the St. John's Lodge "*Eleusis zur Verschwiegenheit*"; Brother G. L. Mehmet von Königtreu, who had been initiated in Hamburg, established 1744—46 the Lodge "Frederick" in Hanover, which is still in operation; Brother von Rutowsky, Lieut. General, and subsequently Provincial Grand Master in Upper Saxony, had formed several lodges in Dresden in 1738 and 39, whence, in 1741, proceeded the present Lodge of "Minerva of the three Palm trees" in Leipzig. In the year 1742 at Frankfurt o. M. the Lodge of "Unity" appeared, and there shot up around many spurious lodges, which was the more easily effected, as many Warrants of lodges were handed over to individuals, and a solid controlling central point was wanting.

All the German lodges, at first only knew the three St. John's degrees; the Constitution book of the Grand Lodge of England was the base of their operations, and was considered as their only Statute-book, though, most assuredly, there soon arose the necessity of having by-laws to meet the peculiar exigencies of certain localities. The Ritual, which Prichard had published in his work "Freemasonry dissected", was taken as a rule of guidance, and was joined by way of appendix to the translation of the English book of constitutions, which had appeared at Frankfurt o. M. in 1741 and 42. As at first, in many places, only Masons were made, the initiation into the Fraternity did not immediately confer the right of being admitted members of a lodge; this often took place only when they had received the Master's degree and after it had been put to the vote.

The single lodges being very independent, it was most natural, that they should dispose their affairs as seemed best in their own eyes, which much disturbed the harmony of the whole. The various rituals in use are thus easily explained.¹⁾ Greater intellectual activity in the lodges, could not be looked for, while these general initiations and advancements continued, though the Lodge in Naumburg required from its members the acquisition of useful knowledge, and the handing in of at least one written lecture during the year, while in Brunswick in 1763, masonic meetings were convened weekly, for the purpose of learning and advancing the royal art. That in this earlier period, persons from the upper ranks more especially joined the society, is manifest from what has been already stated; unfortunately it was only the opulent, who could share in the business of the lodges, as on account of the small number of members, the frequent and even magnificent donations demanded and bestowed, and the really splendid banquets which took place, it was altogether a very expensive undertaking. It seems too that from the very beginning, the lodges themselves preferred looking to the higher classes and rich merchants for support, rather than to the people and the citizens; as for example, in Brunswick²⁾ it happened that a tradesman wishing to be made a Mason, was supported by the nobility among the members, but rejected by the citizens.

As the Brotherhood were bound to pay more regard to the disposition and worthiness of the applicant, than to his high birth, this exclusiveness was unpardonable,

¹⁾ See Eckstein, Hist. of the Freemasons lodge in Halle; Merzdorf, Hist. of Freemasonry in Oldenburg; Lachmann, Hist. of Freemasonry in Brunswick; Polick, Hist. of Freemasonry in Mecklenburg &c.

²⁾ See Lachmann, L. c. page 15.

and moreover, the healthy practical good sense of people from the middle ranks of life would have preserved the lodges from many errors, into which in the succeeding years they fell.

2) Further spread and development of German Masonry.

Scarcely had the high degrees taken root in France, when, with all their attendant evils, they were surreptitiously transmitted to Germany. But before examining further into its introduction and advancement, we will first dwell upon the propagation in Germany, of Masonry in general.

Berlin. The Grand royal Mother Lodge "*zu den drei Weltkugeln*" (of the three Globes) in Berlin, imitating the example set them by the Grand Lodge of England, organised a Stewards' Lodge, to manage the financial affairs of the society. This occasioned great luxury to be displayed at their festivals, exhausted the treasury, and was an inducement to members joining, who did not prove a desirable acquisition. To prevent persons unlawfully constituted, from sharing in the business of the lodges, a new sign was adopted, and communicated to the other lodges. Hamburg and Frankfurt agreed to do the same, and the latter, as an extra precautionary means¹⁾, gave to its members in the way of certificate, an impression of the seal of the Grand Lodge, on the reverse of which the names of the Master and Wardens were recorded. But neither this arrangement, nor another proposition made by Brother von Heinitz in Brunswick in 1762, that all regularly constituted lodges should enter into correspondence, ever met with general approbation. As the King

¹⁾ See Keller, L. c. page 102.

could not, for want of time, pay much attention to the affairs of the Lodges, and the Vice Grand Master Holstein-Beck was dead, the Great Mother Lodge had in 1755 no superintendent; although the revised statutes prohibited any fresh election of officers before Michaelmas, yet the senior master Brother Sarry made preparations in May for nominating a Vice Grand Master, and the choice fell on Brother von Rammelsberg. This conduct caused a rupture: many of the Brethren protested against the proceeding, and the Lodge "*la petite concorde*" constituted in 1754, by the Mother lodge, declared the election unlawful, renounced all fellowship with the others, celebrating the feast of St. John in Charlottenburg, and all the solicitations of the Mother Lodge proved of no avail. In the mean time, Brother von Rammelsberg performed the duties of his office to the satisfaction of all, and in a spirit of brotherly love. A Lodge of French brethren formed in Berlin, in 1760, obtained permission in the following year to include Germans among its members; they changed their name to that of "*de l'Amitié aux trois Colombes*", and at a proposal, made by one of the Chairmen of the Grand Mother Lodge, Brother von Printzen, they declared themselves willing to unite with the two other Lodges in Berlin. The Lodge "*la Concorde*" likewise expressed her readiness to do the same, provided a less circumscribed constitution were accorded her, that she should be considered as the eldest daughter Lodge, and that the Lodge "*la Félicité*"¹⁾ founded by her in Magdeburg, should be recognised as regularly constituted. Therefore May 20, a general lodge of officers was held; the plan submitted to their consideration by Brother von Printzen, (highly esteemed both as a man and a Mason), was

¹⁾ Now called "*Ferdinand zur Glückseligkeit*".

accepted, and a superior masonic tribunate, composed of one Grand Master and two Grand Wardens, was appointed, for the purpose of settling any disputed questions, which might arise. This institution did not long continue to exist, and the endeavors of the Mother Lodge, to draw her daughter lodges into closer union with herself, were also fruitless. However, from 1763—64 several new lodges were formed, in Aschersleben, Hirschberg, Danzig, Stettin &c.

Hanover. The lodge „Frederick” in Hanover did not make immediate use of the Warrant, granted her in 1744, but it first came into active operation in 1746, for the ecclesiastical court of that town had instituted an inquiry¹⁾ against the Theologian Kirchmann, who had been initiated in Harburg, and it had forbidden all clergymen to belong to any fraternity whatever, which proceeding raised considerable distrust in the mind of the public. In consequence of this, the existence of a lodge was at first kept as secret as possible. In the year 1747, the lodge „Frederick”, with the approbation of the Prov. Grand Master Lüttmann, established a so-called deputation lodge²⁾ in Göttingen, bearing the same name, but which however³⁾ in 1753 was dissolved; the very active new Master in the chair, Br. Hinüber conferred a warrant on Brother J. F. R. von Spörcke, for the establishment of a deputation lodge in Vienna, May 22, 1753, which likewise remained in operation only for a few months. In the year 1755, the lodge broke off its relations with the one in Hamburg, and

1) See „Freemasonry in Or. Hannover. Page 3.

2) The members did not compose a separate lodge, and had to transmit their entrance fees to the Mother lodge, but had the right to make Masons.

3) See Spangenberg, Hist. notice of the Lodge “Augusta” in Göttingen, 1860. Page 3.

Br. Hinüber received from London full power to open a Provincial lodge, with the right of electing its own Grand Master. It was opened Aug. 18, 1762.

The business of the lodges, if a very short period of time is excepted, was carried on in the German language, and only in the three symbolic degrees; although between 1750—53, even these were seldom practised, yet the Brethren occupied themselves in a most praise-worthy manner, in the performance of deeds of benevolence. The war, which had broken out, and had overrun the streets with the enemy's troops, completely put a stop to work, until 1758, as all masonic meetings, "with the enemies of their country" were to be strictly avoided.

Frankfurt o. M. By the Frankfurt o. M. lodge, one was formed at Marburg, as well as one in Nürnberg, in 1761, called "*Joseph zur Einigkeit*"; but of the inward working of these lodges here and elsewhere, not much can be communicated. In 1763 the lodge "*Zur Einigkeit*" revised its laws, and it was determined that from henceforth work should be carried on alternately in the German and French languages, and that in future the Secretary should, as often as time permitted, read aloud some portion of the laws, that the Brethren might become acquainted with them, and act upon them.

Germany in the 18th century. The fact that the first German lodges chiefly bore French names, and carried on their business in the French language, is not difficult of explanation, when the public, and especially literary circumstances of the age are taken into consideration. In the middle of the century, Latin was the universal language of the learned, while French was the colloquial tongue in general use among the higher classes, of which the Fraternity was chiefly composed. The German language and literature, still succumbed to the

overweening influence of foreign nations, and had scarcely begun to aspire to a more advanced cultivation, or to aim at national self-reliance. The general culture of the people was unsatisfactory; intellectual life everywhere was struggling and seeking new paths, nor did public life offer any thing especially attractive. In the field of politics, the rotten and decayed machinery of the constitution seemed only to be waiting for a shock from without, which was not long in coming, to fall to pieces entirely; in the single states, the governments were all-powerful, with hardly any limit set to their encroachments; of a healthy tone of mind, or of any self-dependence, there was scarcely a trace to be met with; in the mercantile department it is true, some substantial efforts were being made, but there were innumerable difficulties to fight against, and but very equivocal, partial, and self-interested support, vouchsafed on the part of the governments; in social life, there was more solicitude and good will displayed to ameliorate the industrial and agricultural interests, and to remove other serious evils, than judgment manifested in choosing means to effect this; in the lower classes, dulness, coarseness, and incompetency were almost universal; the separation between the upper and middle classes was most strictly marked; there was corruption and depravity at the courts, and a well educated middle class only just springing into being. The state of civilisation in the beginning of the 18th century was barbarism, smeared over with a little French varnish, from which not even the learned scholar was wholly free. Leibnitz, one of the founders of modern philosophy, who was desirous of making science more available in every-day life, and not confined to the studio, had as little power to pierce through all this, as had Thomasius, who declared war against the superstition prevalent in

his day. In two departments however, religion and music, a better spirit held sway, and by degrees the germs of a more vigorous life were discernible in other things. Lessing appeared, suggesting and transforming in every direction, a beacon light in the literary atmosphere; Kant laid the foundation of a new epoch in philosophy; when Frederick the Great ascended the throne, the oppressed state of Germany suddenly received fresh material for complete reconstruction. This great King, both military chief and philosopher, saw and understood the calamities which were the characteristics of his century, and sought as far as lay in his power, to bring suitable remedies to ameliorate them; like a sublime meteor, he arose in the political horizon, dispersing light and elasticity throughout the world, the real hero of enlightenment. He gave his people freedom of the press and of doctrine, animated the industrial arts, advanced science, won the esteem of foreign countries, and inspired his own people, and finally all Germany, with confidence and proper national pride. He was likewise the main pillar of German Freemasonry; to his protection we are chiefly indebted, that it struck root and thrived on German soil.

Acceptation
of Freemasonry
in Germany. Though Freemasonry in Germany found much sympathy and approval from some, yet there were others again, in whose minds it raised only suspicion and mistrust, invective and persecution. The Church and state above all looked upon this new and mysterious institution with envious jealousy, and sought its annihilation. Catholics were suspicious of it, because it came from hated protestant England, the protestant clergy deemed it redolent of Deism and hostile to christianity and religion in general, and the popular superstition found delight in inventing and propagating stories of its dealing in magic and witchcraft, &c

The veil of secrecy which was thrown over their meetings, and the close reserve, observed by its members concerning their proceedings, led to the conclusion, that there was something suspicious and criminal in their designs, while the first of the old charges, expressly stating that no particular profession of faith was required to qualify the candidate for initiation, drew upon them the reproach of coldhearted indifference. Although, at that period, but few passages were known out of the Book of Constitutions, or of the Freemasons' songs, and these few were but partially understood, it was foretold from them, "the unspeakable troubles which would assail the orthodox believer, the beginning of which tribulation was now before the door." It was boldly asserted in 1742: "But this will I maintain, that the Freemasons are really naturalists, who in public shew only a lukewarm regard for religion, and in private mock and despise it, who deny, that the commandments of God are binding on man, yoking themselves with unbelievers, erecting an altar of their own, and casting off their allegiance to God." Other writers called all Freemasons "Independents, Deists, and Libertines", and such like names. There were however some amongst the Non-masons, who were well-meaning and impartial judges. Thus for example, in 1754, Ehrhardt L. c. p. 105, pronounced it as his opinion of the first § of the ancient charges: "These words clearly prove, that in this society, religion is not at all discussed. If from this fact, we are led to the conclusion, that because able men were initiated without regard to their religious opinions, that therefore no notice was taken of religion, I apprehend we should be very wide of the mark. The real fact of the case seems to be, that they wish to accord to every man perfect freedom of conscience in matters of religion."

Not, because they regard all doctrinal points with supreme indifference, but because they wish every accepted form of worship whatever, to stand on its own merits. And can any thing be more just than this? They only insist on the command "Love thy neighbour as thyself", and this must be an active love, the chief attribute of which is to be patient with the erring. Even supposing some persons should be admitted into the order, who honor and worship the Almighty in an erroneous manner, yet does the society bear patiently with their errors, without in the least approving of them."

3) German Freemasonry in its deepest humiliation.

As in England, so likewise in Germany, the simple yet comprehensive symbols used in Freemasonry, at first played a very subordinate part; no attempt was ever made to explain their meaning, but it was deemed sufficient to confine the work of the lodge to reading aloud the Constitution book and the catechism. Amongst the German Masons, there were most likely many, who, rightly comprehending the aim and purpose of the institution, only regarded the emblems and hieroglyphics, either as very secondary adjuncts, or as an agreeable method of separating the more select circle of the Fraternity from the great whole, and as a means of uniting them more closely together, or enabling reflective minds to penetrate into deeper truths, and of stirring up each individually to the performance of worthy deeds. Many however were not satisfied with these bare hints, and the origin of the Fraternity and its connexion with the working Masons, of which circumstance the brethren of rank were ashamed, having fallen into oblivion, the symbols begun to have a meaning attached to them,

which however could not be done, without lapsing into many errors. The very simplicity and homeliness of these fundamental rules, gave occasion to the supposition, that a great secret must be involved in them, which was only revealed to a very select few, amongst the initiated. This supposition was greatly strengthened by Ramsay's well known speech and its reference to the Crusades, and it was further heightened by the close intimacy kept up between Germany and France, especially by means of the apostles and masonic emissaries, who accompanied the French troops and diplomatists to Germany in the Seven Years' War, and poisoned the atmosphere of our Lodges. This mania for superior enlightenment caused investigations to be made in England and Scotland; but the answers, which were received from the two Grand Lodges, denying the existence of the high degrees, did not have a tranquillising effect. Every one was absorbed in ancient Manuscripts, inscriptions, and such like trash, and each for himself, in his own way, saw in them just what he sought: the Alchemist found his universal remedy and solvent; the visionary, cabalist, or professor of the mysteries of Jewish traditions, and the theosophist described the threefold curse of hell, the unveiling of the secrets of the universe, of prophecy, and the revelations in the Apocalypse; the hypercritical historical investigator — the continuation of the ancient heathen mysteries, of the Gnostics, the Knights Templars, and the order of the Rosicrucians. Cunning deceivers employed this love of the marvellous, and desire for occult wisdom, for their own purposes, manufactured systems of all kinds and degrees, for all wants and necessities, and in every possible direction, offering their wares for sale, and obtaining of the credulous Frenchman and the unsuspecting German, and subsequently in Sweden,

England, and America, a good price for such goods. Every braggadocio had his adherents in the last century, and every apostle his disciples. As distinct, historical information, touching the origin of Freemasonry, was not to be had, the illusive prospect of discovering in Scotland the source of the "high" degrees, gained almost universal credence. In order fully to comprehend the entanglements, in which the masonic brotherhood were now involved, we have only to figure to ourselves, that besides the struggle for greater enlightenment, freedom, and knowledge, alchemy and mystic philosophy, blossomed with unchecked luxuriance. Whilst unsparing critics were endeavoring to demolish all the strongholds of romantic delusions, yet at the same time a long succession of eccentric phenomena, and romantic events, marked the whole course of the 18th century. Great and noble characters, poets, philosophic reasoners, and artists, meet us side by side with adventurers and charlatans of every description; in the midst of deeds reflecting honor on humanity, we descry monstrous excrescences of frivolity, mysticism, artifice, and low cunning. We must not therefore be surprised, when we find all these elements in the lodges, and the more so, because a society, which does not know its own history, is never safe from abuse. Besides the modern Knights Templars, we see the Jesuits, the Rosicrucians, and the Illuminati &c. disfiguring the fair face of Freemasonry.

The Jesuits. Many masonic authors, who were fully cognizant¹⁾ of the events of the period and knew

¹⁾ Knigge in his excellent work: "Contribution to the history of modern masonry in nine discourses." Berlin, 1786. P. 53 &c.; Nicolai &c.; Bode, who saw Jesuitism in every thing, is not even here referred to. In the French lodges, in the decenniums before the break-

exactly all the incidents occurring, positively assert that then and still later the Jesuits exercised a pernicious influence, or at least endeavored to do so, upon the fraternity. These assertions are not entirely without foundation, for the pious fathers love to interfere with every thing; especially when we reflect, that many of the systems and new emblems then bursting into life, most unmistakably point to the priests, as well as the certainty, that at the time when the Order of the Illuminati was originated, they really did succeed in penetrating into the Bavarian lodges — yet for all this, we must receive such reports very cautiously, and seek for proof for whatever we find asserted. Jesuits were not always active, where it is affirmed that traces of their handiwork were visible, and in most cases, where proofs of their interference were undeniably apparent, it was not the Order in general, which had been at work, but only individual members of it, and friends of the society. If Jesuits could obtain the good-will of the fraternity of Freemasons, they would doubtless not care to place obstacles in its way, as the former could never know, whether in the future they might not make some use of the latter. Fessler, who knew the Jesuits intimately, expresses his opinion pretty freely in many places, of how wrong it is always to be suspecting Jesuitism, and laughs at such for their suspicious.

Scotch lodges. The first distinct trace of French influence on German masonry, we find in Dresden, where masonic names were very early given to members. The first Scotch Lodge (*l'Union*) originated in Berlin, in 1742, from members of the Lodge "the three Globes"; then followed one in 1744, in Hamburg, which Brother Count

ing out of the Revolution, there were a great number of clergymen, and in England the Gormogones.

Schmettau established, and soon afterwards a second was formed "Judica"; and at length one at Leipzig in 1747 (Apollo), and in 1753 at Frankfurt o. M. (*la Sincérité*). All these Scotch Lodges seem to have been but little visited, and not to have exercised any very considerable influence on the St. John's Lodges; but from this period ¹⁾ we may date the use of the appellation "*hochwürdig* (right worshipful)" in the rough minutes of the lodges, instead of the more simple one of "*ehrwürdig* (venerable)". St. Andrew being the patron Saint of Scotland, and of the Lodges, the new degrees manufactured in France were called not alone Scotch, but St. Andrew's degrees.

While the German lodges on the whole remained attached to ancient and genuine Freemasonry, some few brothers longed ardently for new resolutions, for reports from Scotland, and for the attainment of higher and secret knowledge. With these, adventurers such as Rosa and Johnson found a ready reception.

Ph. Sam. Rosa. Before the war Baron H. W. von Marschall had been initiated into Freemasonry in London, and afterwards at St. Germain-en-Laye in France, he was consecrated by the adherents of the Pretender, in the masonic order of the Temple, and it was this Brother, who transplanted this order to Germany. After an adventurous life, chiefly passed in foreign countries (France, England, and Denmark) he in 1749, established in Naumburg the Lodge of "the three Hammers" to which he imparted the high degrees, as he had received them. When however he penetrated more closely into their purport, he declared himself dissatisfied with them, transferred the Lodge to Br. von Hund, withdrew

¹⁾ Keller, L. c. P. 118.

entirely from any participation in Masonry, and died in 1762 or 1759. This first attempt met with but little success. That made by the Marquis de Lerne, who went to Berlin as a prisoner of war, taking with him documents from the Chapter of Clermont, succeeded better, for he, in conjunction with Br. von Printzen, established a chapter of his own. Phil. Samuel Rosa, who was first Counsellor of the Consistory and superintendent¹⁾ in Anhalt-Cöthen, but since March 20, 1737, had been created rector of the cathedral of St. James, and had been initiated in the Lodge of "the three Globes", was made use of by this chapter, as a messenger to spread the knowledge of Masonry, and being a most engaging, captivating and crafty man, he partly succeeded in doing so. Br. von Printzen made him perpetual General Legate of the Grand Chapter in Jerusalem²⁾, and armed with the right of establishing

¹⁾ Ph. S. Rosa, born at Yaenburg, was on account of an intrigue with Widow Hankewitz in 1743, displaced from office, upon which he took to the making of gold in Jena, Vienna, Halle, and Potsdam. He sojourned some time in Halle, and was chosen deputy Master, and W. M. of the lodge there. In the year 1754, he cheated the privy chamberlain, Fredersdorf, in Potsdam, of pretty considerable sums, by pretending, that he could transform metals without the aid of fire or coals; for that the *prima materia* of gold, was to be sought in the sun-beam &c. When Fredersdorf discovered the fraud, and would not draw forth any more money, Rosa, being in debt, had to take to flight. The conferring of the high degrees, he made use of as a lucrative way of earning a livelihood, and is said to have assured his brethren in Rostock &c. that St. Christopher would bring them the sum of 199,000 ducats in the current coin of the realm. — See Lenning's *Encycl.* III, p. 239 &c.; Br. F. A. Eckstein's, *Hist. of Freemasonry in Halle.* 1844. P. 36 &c.; Br. Polick, *Hist. of Freemasonry in Mecklenburg*, I, p. 25. *Hist. of the Lodge Charles of the three Griffins*, in Greifswald, by Trep-tow & Looae. 1863. P. 11 &c.

²⁾ Rosa called himself *Eques hierosolymitanus, magister Prior capituli Halensis, legatus capituli Hierosolymitani Berolinensis supremi et primi nationis Germanicae.*

subordinate institutions, he travelled through a part of Germany, went to Stettin, Riga, Rostock, Greifswald, Königsberg, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Brunswick, Hamburg, Dresden, Bayreuth &c., and made himself at home, wherever he came. Wherever it was possible, he gave instructions in his arts, of compounding and preparing abortive medicines, and the like, and practised them himself too pretty freely, and when he was found out, he absconded. Over the chapter of Zion, in Jena, founded by him in 1744, he exercised great influence. In Halle he remained till 1765, even after the affair with Johnson. What ultimately became of him is unknown. — A new ignis fatuus began to shew its light.

Johnson. In September of the year 1763, a quite unknown person made his appearance in Jena under the false name of Johnson, who by sheer impudence obtained immense sway over men's minds. Who this man originally was, long remained problematical, until Br. Dr. Eckstein in Halle (L. c. p. 48) proved that he was an adventurer of the name of Leuchte, who had been a long while employed at the Mint in Bernburg, practising alchemy besides, but had afterwards entered a Württemberg Volunteer corps, had been made prisoner, and conveyed to Berlin, and having obtained his liberty, had gone to Jena. In his wanderings he probably acquired the information necessary to play his part. He passed himself off for a Grand Prior, sent by the heads of Freemasonry in Scotland, to institute reforms in the German lodges, and asserted that the fraternity was nothing else than the order of Knights Templars propagated in secret. In Jena, to "the sound of military music" he caused the Berlin warrant of the hierosolymitan Grand chapter to be torn in pieces, the seal cut off and burned, then he commanded Rosa to be brought before him, humiliated him, and even blinded the eyes

of Hund, who began to doubt of his mission as Grand Master. In a Grand Chapter in Naumburg, Nov. 11, 1763, these proceedings were communicated to all the lodges, and a general meeting proposed in Altenberge, near Jena, to which they were invited by Johnson, May 15, 1764. Many lodges sent in their constitutions, several members came, and were received with revel and riot, proselytes were admitted, and as Johnson pretended that Prussian emissaries lay in wait for him, brethren, fully accoutred, were appointed as sentinels, and the rest ordered to assemble on preconcerted signals. Johnson having delayed to impart that higher knowledge, to which he had pledged himself, a general mistrust was excited. When von Hund, at length, became convinced that Johnson had nothing to communicate and that he had cheated several brethren of large sums of money, he accused him in round terms. Johnson was completely at a loss, he begged for a delay of 24 hours, to free himself from the charges laid against him, which were granted, and which he wisely employed in securing a hasty flight. Feb. 24, 1765, he was seized in Alsleben; some brethren in Weimar had him confined in the Wartburg, where his maintenance and his sentinels were paid for out of the treasury of the Order; he died in 1775.¹⁾

The well-meaning brethren, who in Altenberge had recommended blind obedience, were not only deceived, but likewise plundered of their money; they sighed in secret, with the exception of Professor Woog in Leipzig, who gave a circumstantial²⁾ account of the extortion.

Of Johnson's declarations we will communicate the

¹⁾ See the articles Johnson and Convent of Altenberge in *Handb. der Freimaurerei*.

²⁾ See the paper written by Prof. Woog in the *Journal für Freimaurer*. Vienna; 5786. III Year. 3 Quarter. P. 147.

following, taken from Woog's account, which will amply suffice. "The Grand Prior had said, that the Grand Master von Hund commanded 26,000 men, for he had from the Order several thousand lousd'ors yearly; round about the convent a high wall was erected, which was guarded day and night; the English navy was in the hands and under the direction of the Order, which likewise possessed manuscripts written by Hugo de Paganis; their treasury was only in three places in the world, in Ballenstädt, in the icy mountains of Savoy, and in China; whoever drew upon himself the displeasure of the Order, perished body and soul." But enough of this! Let us now turn to the Rosicrucians.

The new or German order of Golden Rosicrucians. The Rosicrucian order of the 17th century¹⁾ differs essentially from the more modern one of the 18th century. The aim, at first, of this latter was nothing less, than the support and advancement of Catholicism; when this religion manifested a determination, entirely to repress liberty of thought, and the healthy development of man's reasoning faculties, by a systematically planned, and obstinate opposition to the march of intellect, the Rosicrucians soon enlarged their designs likewise to check if possible, the progress of this widely spreading enlightenment. In the year 1714, S. Richter published a book in Berlin, under the name of *Sincerus Renatus* (the truly reconverted): "A true and matured preparation of the philosopher's stone, by the order of the Golden Rosicrucians", wherein laws were communicated, which bear unmistakable evidences of Jesuitical intervention. For instance the 2nd article says, that Papists can no longer be excluded from the order. In the 25th Article, all newly

¹⁾ See p. 128.

admitted members, shall have seven tufts of hair cut off their heads, which amounts to about the same quantity as that of which the Romanist clergy were shorn, to produce the Tonsure. Further, each member shall practise inviolable secrecy, and be obedient to "a sacred assembly". But the Order was not fully perfected, till the latter half of the 18th century (after 1756), and that in the South of Germany. Dr. Schleiss of Löwenfeld, at Sulzbach in Bavaria, called Phöbron in the order, and Dr. Doppelmayer of Hof, were stars of the first magnitude in this new order; besides these two, we may mention: Schrepfer in Leipzig, Keller in Ratisbon, and F. J. W. Schröder in Marburg, but above all Wöllner in Berlin.

J. G. Schrepfer. The first who became publicly an apostle of the new Golden Rosicrucian order, was John George Schrepfer, a native of Nürnberg. In 1768, he opened a Café in Leipzig, and established there a so-called "Scotch" lodge, in which, by his ghosts and apparitions, he deceived many of the credulous, and even some men not entirely devoid of understanding. He affirmed that he was in the possession of many more important secrets¹), than any German lodge had; which nation he abused in no measured terms, and pretended that he had been deputed by the superior masonic authorities, to destroy the system of the strict observance. His chief art consisted in the exorcising of departed spirits. One of Schrepfer's most zealous disciples was Joh. Rud. von Bischofswerder, who first served in the Prussian army, and then became lord chamberlain to Charles, Duke of Courland, a most enthusiastic Freemason. The Duke sent him May 31, 1773,

¹) See Schlegel's Journal and Supplement of his intercourse with Schrepfer. Berlin and Leipzig, 5806.

with a power of attorney, to Schrepfer, to inquire into the new secrets ¹⁾. Brother von Bischofswerder was not a visionary enthusiast; but fond of good-living; he had studied in Halle, and most likely saw through Schrepfer's designs, but wished to learn from him how to call up spirits, to make gold, and to prepare an ointment, which should ensure youth and strength.

Happily Schrepfer's juggling tricks were not long played off upon the credulous; he was overwhelmed with debts, and in dread of being unmasked and punished, so he shot himself Oct. 8, 1774, in the Rosenthal, near Leipzig.

From a letter written by Schrepfer himself in 1774, to a Prussian clergyman, we learn, that he was an emissary of that power which worketh in darkness (the Jesuits!). This letter was published in 1786, in the July number of a Berlin monthly publication. Schrepfer was only 35 years old at the time of his death.

Schroeder had, in a very mysterious ²⁾ manner, through some unknown alchemist, become acquainted with the order of the Rosicrucians, and the three ³⁾ first degrees in it, and strove zealously to promote its propagation, until he lost his teacher, or rather the address of the person to whom he was to write. Of Keller in Ratisbon, Fessler had received accounts, "from very reliable sources," out of which we cull the following. Keller, it is said, knows Schrepfer's doings most minutely; but in his opinion, they are all evil and objection-

¹⁾ From communications received in writing from Br. Puhlmann. M. D., W. Master of the Lodge "Teutonia" in Potsdam, who has in his possession the will, the minutes of the opening of the same, and several original documents in writing, referring to the same subject.

²⁾ See Lenning, *Encycl.* III, page 345.

³⁾ The order had nine degrees, like the Swedish system.

able in the highest degree. In Naples and especially in Padua, there were people who carried on the good work; France would have nothing to say to it; Cyprus was well-disposed towards it, but had nothing to do with Sweden; what Gugomos says of it, is false, and the man was a great deceiver. Real science consisted in the knowledge of nature, and how we could be brought nearer to its Creator. The Urim and Thumim was the acquaintance with the threefold supernatural light, whereby one could investigate the origin of all things, the past, the present, and the future. The aim and purpose of the order, is besides the study of natural philosophy, the universal association of all nations.

Wöllner. The exertions of the heads of the high order of the Brotherhood in southern Germany, caused it to take root in Lower Germany, especially in Hamburg. In 1773 it appeared in Silesia, in 1777 in Berlin, and soon afterwards in Potsdam, which it made its head-quarters. The high order regarded the three degrees of Freemasonry only as conferring a right of entrance, and the members boasted¹⁾ in their writings, of being immediately descended from the more ancient Rosicrucians, of possessing all their secrets, and of preserving amongst them the only solution to the symbols in Freemasonry²⁾; consequently they looked upon themselves as the legitimate heads of the order.

1) See Lenning, *Encycl.* III, p. 260 etc. and Knigge, *Contribution to modern history.* P. 119.

2) The explanation of the hieroglyphics of the three masonic degrees, in accordance with the spirit of the "highly enlightened" Brotherhood, is to be found completely and edifyingly stated in the secret history of a Rosicrucian, p. 245 etc.; the fictitious history of Freemasonry invented by this order, may be read in the "Compass of the Wise". Berlin, 1782. Page 23 of the preface.

During the war, von Bischofswerder became acquainted with the Crown Prince, Frederick William, and gained his confidence. By his influence in 1782, Wöllner was appointed professor of political science to Frederick William, and initiated into the order of the Rosicrucians. As Bischofswerder shunned placing himself too prominently forward, the very able Wöllner put himself at the head of the new order, and bore in the three different degrees the three several names of Chrysophiron, Heliconus, and Ophiron. He entered ¹⁾ into correspondence with the members at a distance, and greatly promoted the extension of the order. He was especially fortunate in winning over Frederick William, and entrapping him to become a member.

He was initiated in 1782 under the name of *Ormesus magnus*, and the intelligence of the event was communicated to all the brethren, with a command to offer up solemn prayers and intercessions, for "a most useful member, who under the name *Ormesus* had shortly before become actually attached to the order".

As soon as this important acquisition was known in Berlin, open war was waged against the pernicious doings of the Rosicrucian obscurants: In the "*Berliner Monatsschrift*" edited by Biester and Gedicke, the order was declared to be the invention of the Jesuits; in it was collected together all the evidence of the attempts, which had been made at proselytising from 1783—86, and others were encouraged to contribute what they knew on the subject, so that similar information poured in from all sides. The supremely enlightened fraternity were so imprudent, as to publish a refutation, written by Wöllner, under the name T—y. A discontented

¹⁾ This is to be found in the written manuscripts communicated by Br. Puhlmann, M. D.

brother, a Herr von Reibnitz, took the opportunity, in the August of 1785, in the same monthly publication, to lay bare the effrontery of the order, and the way in which they played the fool with their followers, and so effectually, that if we except the remarks about the Jesuits, nothing could be said in reply.

The Crown Prince was attached heart and soul to the institution; after he ascended the throne, in 1786, Wöllner ¹⁾ obtained great influence in state-affairs. The Order was not only exposed to attacks from without, but bore within itself the seeds of its own destruction. It looked gloomy and dubious enough, even in its chosen place of residence, and when it became incontrovertibly evident, that the order would never succeed in subjugating the German Lodges to its yoke, a command, in 1787, came from Southern Germany, enjoining a cessation of all its active proceedings, just at a time, when the credulous were anticipating the

¹⁾ Joh. Christ. Wöllner, born May 19, 1732, studied theology, was appointed in 1759 preacher on an estate near Berlin, and afterwards a canon in Halberstadt. In 1786 he received from King William III. of Prussia the situation of privy consellor of finance, and was raised to the aristocracy, for the King wishing to oblige the unknown chiefs of the order, thought he could not do this better than by bestowing marks of distinction upon their superior director. In 1788 he became minister of state, and was placed at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. He conducted the whole of the business of the order, while von Bischofswerder did the same for the Rosicrucian Lodge in Potsdam. Wöllner assumed the name of "*Eques a Cubo*" in the order of the strict observance. Self-interested, and with inordinate ambition, yet was his social life blameless. He was a conscientious follower of the orthodox church, though its discipline did not satisfy him. The notorious religious edict of July 9, 1788, was cunningly introduced by the unknown chief i. e. by Wöllner. Br. Puhlmann, M. D., says of it: "I can point out exactly how it originated; it belongs to the Rosicrucian order. — After the King's demise Wöllner received his dismissal; he withdrew to his estate Gross-Riez. where he died Sept. 11, 1800.

last and most important disclosures of that new and general plan, which had been promised them. In the North, the Rosicrucians held up their heads a short time longer, till at length, after the Prussian crown had changed hands, it died out there too, in 1797—98.

The consecrated Knights
and Brethren from Asia.

Before bringing this paragraph to a close, we must notice one other branch of the Rosicrucians, which likewise threatened to corrupt the Lodges, for like the stem of which it was an offshoot, it was mystic and alchemistic in its tendency, viz: the Asiatic brethren, or Knights and Brethren of St. John the Evangelist from Asia. The founder or rather propagator and chief apostle of this sect was the gentleman of the bed-chamber, and counsellor of the Duke of Coburg-Saalfeld, Baron Hans Heinrich von Ecker and Eckhofen, who was assisted by an Israelite, named Hirschmann, in the remodelling of the ritual. This latter, in the Asiatic order called *Ben Bina*, introduced the cabalistic and talmudic elements, which the ritual contains. Ecker had been made a Freemason and Rosicrucian before this, and for the latter order had in 1779 written, "A collection of the masonic speeches of the ancient system of the Golden Rosicrucians;" which body had however expelled him for failing in obedience, trust, and peaceful behaviour. In revenge he founded the Asiatic Order, and published the pamphlet: "The Rosicrucians unmasked, by Master Pianco. Amsterdam (i. e. Nürnberg), 1782."

The entire system of this order, which was in no degree better than that of the Rosicrucians, was made up of the two probationary degrees, of the seeking and suffering, and then the higher degrees 1) the consecrated Knight and brother, 2) the wise Master, and 3) the royal priest, or the perfect Rosicrucian, or the degree of Melchisedek; from these latter were selected the

secret heads of the fraternity. The synod or sanhedrin had to pass sentence according to the code of laws to which it had vowed obedience; at its head were the chief of the order, the Grand Master (*Chacham hakchem*, i. e. wise priest), the chief-vicar of the synod, and the chief chancellor of the order. The organisation of the whole was exceedingly complicated. The order proposed to itself to further the unity, well-being, and happiness of mankind throughout Europe, which was the reason, that the religious creed of the candidates was not enquired into. The youthful Knight, and brother to be initiated, according to the deed of subordination drawn up by the most learned directors of the seven invisible churches in Asia, had to vow perfect submission and implicit obedience to the laws, and to remain faithful to them all his life, not to inquire, by whom the secrets were conveyed, whence they came now, or might come in the future. The book "*des Erreurs et de la vérité*" was held in much honor, and warmly recommended by the order.

Before the convention of Wilhelmsbad, Ecker had established several Asiatic colonies, and many of his most intimate friends were won over to the system, Duke Charles of Hesse too; in Hamburg, he appeared, as if sent by a National Congress in Grünstadt, as a regularly constituted deputy Grand Master, and established there a Melchisedeck Lodge, into which persons were admitted, who were not Christians. Amongst other places, he did the same in Berlin; in spite of all his endeavors, to induce a larger number of Lodges, to join the association, but very few were anxious to surrender themselves to him for the promised revelation of the meaning of all the masonic hieroglyphics. Gradually, there arose from different sides, many voices against the Asiatic system and its founder; even its

joint-founder Hirschmann complained, because the promises which had been made him, were not fulfilled. After the death of its author (1790) his work crumbled to pieces. — Further information respecting this subject may be found in: "Münter's authentic history of the knights" &c. (1787), in "*der Asiate in seiner Blösse*" etc. (Bremen, 1790), and especially in „*die Brüder St. Johannes des Evangelisten von Asien*" &c. (Berlin, 1803.)

4) The Illuminati.

German Freemasonry had indeed a difficult school of experience to pass through, towards the close of the 18th century: not merely from the abuses which had crept into it, but from the dangers, which threatened it from without. Against their will, as had been the case with the Rosicrucians, they were drawn into associating themselves in a dangerous and unnatural way with the order of the Illuminati.

Origin of Illuminism. Illuminism (i. e. the secret society of the Enlightened, at first called also Perfectionists), was first originated in the year 1776 by Adam Weishaupt, Professor of canon and natural right at the university of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, for the purpose of opposing moral depravity, civilising the members, and securing the general improvement of mankind. Weishaupt was born in Ingolstadt, in 1758, and educated by the Jesuits. He was an enlightened man, who had the general interests of all mankind at heart, and therefore an eye-sore to the Jesuits, who after the dispersion of their order in 1773, endeavored to insinuate their emissaries into every seminary of education, and to supplant other teachers. He knew exactly, what was going on, and being well aware of the principles and proceedings of these followers of Ignatius Loyola, he

could not do otherwise than entertain many just misgivings. He therefore employed his professorship, and the general good-feeling shown towards him, to form an opposition party, in 1775. That this could not be done publicly, was very natural. Whereupon he assembled his auditors in private, as if to a repetitorium, contrived to enter with them into a free discussion of philosophical subjects, recommended them to read Bayle and others, and accustomed them to consider the public events of the day, with a critical eye. He enjoined on them circumspection and secrecy, promised them still higher information, and styled them the Enlightened, or the Illuminati. This club of Students received an addition to its numbers, by the accession of some new members abroad, and by the establishment of branch Schools in Eichstadt and Munich, and a regular organisation was imparted to it by the adaptation of masonic rites and Jesuitical rules. A secret community was thus constituted, the purpose¹⁾ of which was "to make the perfecting of the reasoning powers interesting to mankind, to spread the knowledge of sentiments both humane and social, to check wicked inclinations, to stand up for suffering and oppressed virtue against all wrong, to promote the advancement of men of merit, and in every way to facilitate the acquirement of knowledge and science." In another place Weishaupt declared, that the order wished to institute important discoveries in every branch of science, to ennoble the members, to form great men, and then to secure to them the reward of this growth in perfection, even in this world. Among other things, a peculiar reckoning of time (the Persian),

¹⁾ See Original manuscripts of the Illuminati, discovered by counsellor Zwackh and printed by particular desire. 2 vol. Munich. Vol. I. page 27.

was introduced, towns and members had feigned names assigned them, selected from ancient geography and history. For example: Bavaria was called Achaia; Austria — Egypt; Tyrol — Peloponesus; Munich — Athens; Vienna — Rome; Ingolstadt — Eleusis, also Ephesus &c.; Weishaupt was named Spartacus, Zwackh — Cato, Hertel — Marius, Costanzo — Diomedé &c.

At first the order had no connection what-
 ever, with the Freemasons. Neither Weishaupt himself, nor the earlier members of his society, were Freemasons. Weishaupt was, in 1777, in the Lodge "Theodor of good counsel" in Munich, first made a Freemason, Zwackh in the year following, at Augsburg. From that time forward, a union was sought to be effected with the Fraternity of Freemasons to make it subservient to the purposes of the Illuminati. In Munich and Eichstadt, regularly constituted lodges were established to be seminaries of the new order.

In 1780, Diomedé, the Marquis de Costanzo, was despatched to Northern Germany to create ¹⁾ societies of Illuminati. The Marquis made there the acquaintance of Baron von Knigge, who when a young man, had been initiated in a lodge of the strict observance in Cassel, but had been far from satisfied ²⁾ with it. Knigge was gained as a disciple, and devoted himself zealously to it, and confiding in Weishaupt's assurances,

¹⁾ See Fessler's critical history (M. S.), Vol. IV, Division 12th, which almost entirely coincides with Krause's treatise in Lenning's Encl. Vol. III, page 84 &c., as also Schmieder, Hist. of the Illuminati in "Jeder, Allotria".

²⁾ He called the Freemasonry of that period (1779) "absurd juggling tricks" and already some time before joining the Illuminati, meditated reforms. — See Knigge's correspondence with Prince Charles of Hesse, communicated by Fr. Voigts in the "Asträa", 1850, page 160 &c.; 1851, page 176 &c., and 1853—54.

he deemed it ancient and fully developed, without in the least surmising, that through him it was to receive light, form, and stability. In Nov. 1780, he entered into correspondence with Weishaupt, and each letter received, augmented Knigge's enthusiasm and zeal for the Illuminati. In the most considerable towns, in the five circles of Germany, which were apportioned him, many men of repute, learned, and of known probity were admitted as "Minervals", and received the right to initiate. Soon he was beset by several hundreds of men, all demanding to be taught of him, to have their inquiries satisfied, and to be advanced by his means. The degree of Illuminatus minor, which had been worked out by Weishaupt, did not long suffice the wants of these inquirers. Knigge then requested of Weishaupt, a full statement of the whole system, and received for answer, the avowal that the order as yet existed only in his brain; that merely the lower classes, the seminaries had been set up, in a few catholic provinces; but that he had collected the most magnificent materials, for the formation of the high degrees; that Knigge being the most able man for the purpose, whom he had yet met with, he would impart to him all the contents of his papers &c. and besought him to come to Bavaria that they might take counsel together, on all these important points.

When Knigge was 29 years old, in Nov. 1781, he commenced his pilgrimage to Bavaria, and became on his journey thither, acquainted with the greater part of the disciples, attached to the order.¹⁾ When the two met, it was settled, that Knigge should elaborate the whole system, even to the highest mysteries, that they

¹⁾ See Philo's (Knigge's) *endliche Erklärung und Antwort*. Hannover, 1778. The best and most credible account, written on the subject.

should enter into connexion with the masonic lodges, and that every effort should be made to secure for the Illuminati, an ascendancy in all lodges, whatever their systems. In the Wilhelmsbad convention, about to be opened, Knigge likewise received authority to communicate his discoveries to upright men well-informed on the subject, whose accession to the order might be reasonably expected &c. Yet not many joined, as before admission, the necessary papers were required of him, to legalise his proceedings. Almost all the deputies from the lodges however came, desiring to be initiated. To their request, he did not accede immediately, but made them sign a declaration, binding them to secrecy. Amongst those who thus came was Bode, who was present at the Convention in the capacity of deputy from Duke Ernest of Saxe-Gotha, and who was commissioned to carry out the new Lodge-system, which had just been devised. It was Knigge's most ardent wish, to win over this man for the Illuminati, and he succeeded. After the close of the Convention, he was initiated under the name of *Amelius*, as far as *Illuminatus minor*, and Bode was desirous of doing all in his power, to promote the welfare of the order.

J. J. Bode. John Joach. Christ. Bode, was born Jan. 16, 1730, in Brunswick, became a counsellor in Hesse-Darmstadt, and celebrated for his translations of English humoristic writings; for a long time under the name of *Eques a lilio convalium*, he was a zealous promoter, but afterwards an active assistant in causing the downfall, of the strict observance.¹⁾ Knigge describes him as a man of fine understanding, and of an inquiring

¹⁾ He was first a shepherd's boy: then a musician, a printer, and a bookseller. He died in Weimar, Dec. 13, 1793. For a fuller account of him see: *Handbuch der Freimaurerei*, Vol. I, page 115.

turn of mind; and adds, a great deal of the good, that was in the strict observance, may be attributed to his influence; he was sincere and upright, without dissimulation, a seeker after truth, and with the exception of the one point, that he saw signs of Jesuits and Jesuitical influence everywhere, free from visionary enthusiasm. He liked to play a prominent part, and was stormy and violent. After having convinced him that no "priestcraft, or idiotic influence of the kind", lay concealed in Illuminatism, Knigge communicated to him his associations, plans, opinions, and designs, as well as his knowledge of the History of the Fraternity of Freemasons. Bode was then made *Illuminatus major* and *I. dirigens*, and in a formal agreement promised to work faithfully and earnestly for the well-being of the order, to procure for it a preponderating influence in the new system in the Freemasons' lodges, and to impart to the chiefs of the Illuminati, all he knew touching the origin and history of Freemasonry and the Rosicrucians, a promise, which he most assuredly would have fulfilled, if the order, bearing within it, as it did, the seeds of dissolution, had not foundered.

The first cause for this, was the rupture between Weishaupt and Knigge. The latter had worked out the whole system, and submitted it to the approval of the Areopagites, and after long delay and deliberation, had at length introduced it into his district. He then indeed set to work earnestly and successfully, trusting most implicitly to the other Areopagites acting in a similar manner, and maintaining the covenant in all points. But Weishaupt singly and alone made alterations and additions, and sent them to the Provincial Directors commanding their insertion. On this account, as well as because of their different opinions on religion, on the ritual arrangements, and on the government of the

order, Weishaupt and Knigge were so at variance, that the latter withdrew from all further participation in the matter.

The system of Before investigating the causes which led to the fall of the order, let us examine its whole system more closely. The order was divided into three chief divisions, each having many different sub-divisions:

- A) Seminaries: 1) Probationary; — 2) Novitiate; — 3) Minerval; — 4) *Illuminatus minor*; — 5) Magistrate.
- B) Freemasonry: 1) Symbolic: a) apprentice, b) fellow-craft, c) Master; — 2) Scotch: a) *Illuminatus major* or Scotch Novice, b) *Illuminatus dirigens* or Scotch knights. (Both have appeared in print.)
- C) Mysteries: 1) Inferior: a) Presbyter, or Priest degree, b) *Princeps*, or Regent degree; — 2) Superior: a) *Magus*, b) *Rex*. (These two degrees have never been worked out.)

In the Novitiate, the candidate did not become immediately acquainted with the whole community, but with only one single member of the same, a director, who superintended his studies, and exacted implicit obedience. This director assisted his pupil, when he required help, and promised him a good appointment in the state, in the future. No dangerous maxims were divulged, but rather many were supplied with fresh motives for diligent study. After the probationary degrees, came the masonic degrees, in which all useless members were detained, and only such as showed especial aptitude were advanced in due time.

The seeds of its ruin lay in the constitution of the order, which Weishaupt had modelled from the social forms of the Jesuits. The maxim, that the end sanctifies the means, had been adopted by him, only he wished to employ for good those same means, which the Jesuits applied for evil. This despotic constitution was not only contrary to the real intention of its founder, but likewise practically unattainable, in the position the members assumed to the association. A kind of auricular confession was introduced (account given of the progress made in morals and enlightenment) and a perpetual espionage, and communication of the result of these observations made to the invisible superiors, which gave rise to a prying, inquisitorial spirit, to distrust and hypocrisy. No money was required on admittance, and on reaching the Regent degree, all former promises and oaths were cancelled and remitted, which as Knigge remarks ¹⁾, was a proof of the uprightness of their intentions, but cannot justify nor undo, all the moral evil, which the previous ill-treatment, they had to endure, was calculated to produce on them mentally. Under this ritual, good and equitable men could not long remain united; if unassailed by persecution from without, on the part of the government, the order must have died out of itself.

Another principal cause of the inward decay of the order, was the manner in which it was disseminated; contrary to the wish of its founder ²⁾, incapable and

¹⁾ Philo's *endliche Erklärung* etc. Page 117 etc.

²⁾ Weishaupt's instructions respecting the Initiations were:

"Whoever does not close his ear to the lamentations of the miserable, nor his heart to gentle pity, whoever is the friend and brother of the unfortunate; whoever has a heart capable of love and friendship; whoever is steadfast in adversity, unwearied in the carrying out of whatever has been once engaged in, undaunted in the overcoming of diffi-

unworthy men were chosen, who entertained either selfish or exaggerated expectations of the association, and brought disgrace upon it. Some of them even inclined to what was positively evil and wrong, as may be gathered from the examination reports. These vicious members, most assuredly would have in time poisoned the institution, founded upon so much nobler motives, and with far superior aims, and have rendered it prejudicial to all mankind, unless a stop had been put to it in some other way.

Abolition of the Order. This was however soon brought about. The Jesuits having remarked, that the new association was directed against them, did all in their power, to find out what they could about it, and then opposed it. They made use of a very simple method to do this, causing some of their number to be admitted as members of the Illuminati, and that confidence might be reposed in them, declaimed against the Jesuits, the more quickly to penetrate as high as the Regent degree. As soon as this was attained, they showed themselves in their true colors. In 1783 the bookseller Strobl, Canon Danzer, and Prof. Westenrieder, were the first to denounce the Illuminati and Freemasons, whereupon June 22, 1784, all secret associations whatever, were prohibited by royal edict. The Freemasons and Illumi-

culties; whoever does not mock and despise the weak; whose soul is susceptible of conceiving great designs, desirous of rising superior to all base motives, and of distinguishing itself by deeds of benevolence; whoever shuns idleness; whoever considers no knowledge as unessential, which he may have the opportunity of acquiring, regarding the knowledge of mankind as his chief study; whoever, when truth and virtue are in question, despising the approbation of the multitude, is sufficiently courageous to follow the dictates of his own heart, — such a one is a proper candidate." See the selection from the statutes in the "*Handbuch der Freimaurerei*" under "*Illuminati*"

nati obeyed, and closed their Lodges. Soon afterwards secret denunciations were issued, called warnings and prohibitions (by Father Frank and Kreitmayer), and Weishaupt was dismissed from his office, banished, and forbidden to attempt any defence. Utzschneider, Cosandey, and Grünberger, who had retired from the order, but had long manifested a personal spite towards several of the Illuminati, and had secretly informed against it, were summoned as witnesses before a secret tribunal. The most violent persecution was the consequence, in which not the slightest shadow of right or justice could be descried. Many most estimable men, who had not high rank and family influence to fall back upon, were either summarily dismissed without a legal hearing, or banished the country, or imprisoned. Weishaupt fled, and found an asylum with the generous minded Duke Ernest of Gotha, in whose service he remained to the end of his days. The Jesuits and the Gold- and Rosicrucians in Bavaria, who hated the Illuminati, triumphed at the successfulness of their machinations, at the fall of the order¹), and at the persecution, its members had to undergo.

The order was composed of no inconsiderable number of members; about 2000, amongst whom were many clever, learned, and highly esteemed men.

5) The strict observance and Stark's spiritual order of Knights Templars.

Let us now resume the thread of our narrative, which we have been somewhat anticipating.

¹) After its dispersion many writings about the order, were published, which in "Kloss, Bibliography" No. 3211—3275 (page 241 etc.) are mentioned by name. See also "Catalogue of the books of the Lodge "Pythagoras" in Brooklyn". New-York, 1850. Page 110.

von Hund. Baron von Hund, born in 1722, was indisputably the most active instrument in spreading the masonic order of the knights templars in Germany. He was a rich nobleman from the Lausitz, an upright and well-meaning man, of moderate understanding, vain, and fond of adventure, who at 20, was admitted into the Fraternity, probably by French brethren ¹⁾, in 1741, and thus brought in contact with the English refugees living in France. Whilst residing in Paris, he received intimations of the existence of the order of Knights Templars in the Scottish islands, and firmly believing in their genuineness, permitted himself to be nominated Grand Master of the 7th province. After his second residence in Paris, he returned to his estates, and there, in 1743, with several of the Brethren, who were well-known to him, he began to work, and June 24, 1751, he established the Lodge "of the three Pillars" in Kittlitz, which forthwith became associated with the Naumburg Lodge.

Many brethren of rank were made Knights, under the vow of the strictest secrecy, and were addressed in the order by their noms de guerre. According to the plan of operation, accepted by the convention in Unwürde in 1755, and obeyed by the new Grand Master, the number of the Templars was sought to be multiplied, by inducing the then existing lodges to join them, and from these choosing the best members to be made Knights, and means were at the same time reflected upon, how to increase the funds of the order.

In the mean while, Johnson had appeared, and had given the affair a new turn. Von Hund declared

¹⁾ See Keller, L. c., p. 120. (*Maurerhalle*, 1843, I. 44.) We will here remark that von Hund's visionary fancies and his love of display, led him to become a member of the Roman Catholic Church.

Johnson's history of the continuation of the order of Knights Templars and of the real aim of Freemasonry perfectly correct, but that Johnson had not been sent from Scotland, and no one, excepting himself (von Hund), the actual Grand Master of the order in Germany, had the right to bestow the high degrees. "He¹) had as yet kept in the back ground, but now considered it his vocation to appear publicly in Freemasonry, and invite the Brethren, to fulfil their duty, by listening to his instructions." This occurred in 1764, and his coming forward thus, excited as much surprise as joy and hope. Steps were taken to bring about the re-establishment of the 7th province (the order was divided into provinces); knights were dubbed, chapters formed, and von Hund under the name of knight of the sword (*Eques ab Ense*) was acknowledged Grand Master. As the members of this new system had to render unqualified obedience, it was called the strict observance, whilst the lodges which remained faithful to the English Rite, were called the late observance. The followers of the former styled themselves "great" Masons, whilst the latter were scarcely recognised as Freemasons, until they had their initiation confirmed by joining the strict observance.

The ritual, which underwent many changes, was a compound selected from all sorts of forms, and according to this the initiations were consummated by the Knight of the sword (von Hund). To the three masonic degrees were added, 4) the Scottish Master, 5) the Novices, 6) the Templars, who were again subdivided into the three classes of the *Eques* (knight), *armiger* (armour-bearer) and *socius* (confederate). As the new system satisfied the requirements of both the ambitious

¹) Knigge, L. c., p. 65.

and the lovers of mystery, or as Br. Bode observes, accommodated itself to "the weakness of human nature", and as besides seven young princes were induced to become members, the strict observance was soon the predominating system in Germany. This was the easier of accomplishment, because at that time Johnson was irritating men's minds, and the Clermont-Rosa chapter creating great dissatisfaction. Many persons, otherwise sound in judgment, seem to have taken up with these extravagant notions; each contaminated the other, and real masonry, i. e. the simple "Old Charges" thereof, appeared to be forgotten. The lodges were invited to join, and most of them did so, won over chiefly by the influence of the clever, eloquent, and worldly-wise Br. Schubart von Kleefeld (*equus a struthione*), putting their signatures to an "act of obedience",¹⁾ which made them mere tools in the hands of their unknown superiors.

Division. The whole jurisdiction of the order extended over nine provinces: Aragonia, Auvergne, Languedoc, Leon, Burgundy, Britain, Lower Germany (including Poland, Liefland, and Kurland), Italy, and Greece. As most of these provinces showed themselves in a short time, unwilling to accept the Rite, it was determined to make another division. Thus: 1) Lower Germany with Poland and Prussia, 2) Auvergne, 3) Occitania (? Languedoc), 4) Italy and Greece, 5) Burgundy and Switzerland, 6) Upper Germany, 7) Austria and Lombardy, 8) Russia, 9) Sweden. The Grand Lodge of direction was at Brunswick, presided over by the

¹⁾ See this act in G. F. Menge, *Geschichte der Loge „Pforte z. T. d. J.“* in Hildesheim. 1863. P. 81. — They bound themselves to show ready and implicit obedience, the most abject submission, and to the renunciation of their allegiance to the duties and customs of the late observance.

Grand Master Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, from 1782—1793, and to him succeeded Prince Charles of Hesse. Each province had its Grand Master, a provincial chapter, and many priors, prefectures, and commanderies &c. Secret superiors (high or unknown superiors), were said to guide the order, their designs being kept as secret as were their names and persons from the Brethren of lower degrees.¹⁾

Consequences of the strict observance. The sad consequences caused by the introduction of the strict observance were soon visible in the German lodges; the knights looked down haughtily upon the brethren of lower degrees, and the Lodges, which declined to accept the innovations, and would not join, as for instance those in Frankfurt o. M. and Anspach, were pronounced as spurious; indeed, disunions and petty jealousies were apparent amongst their own brethren.

The Lodge "of Unity" in Frankfurt, even after some few brethren of that place had associated themselves to Schubart, behaved in such an exemplary manner, that we have every reason to bestow upon them our especial regard. They remained stedfast to their former way of working, and the more effectually to ward off all attacks, they imparted to their Lodge the official character of a Mother Lodge. Br. Gogel succeeded after much trouble, in having it patented by the London Grand Lodge as the Provincial Lodge of the upper and lower Rhine and Franconia. The greater to increase the confusion, other new systems arose. For example many disappointed brethren in 1767, separated themselves and, with Br. Köppen at their head, formed

¹⁾ The S. I., i. e. Superiores Incogniti (unknown superiors) has been translated by many masonic authors — who suspected Jesuitism everywhere in *Societas Jesu* (Society of Jesus).

the system of the "African Builders (*Afrikanische Bauherren*)", ¹⁾ which found admittance in Silesia, but was as short-lived, as the order of the "Asiatic Brethren". Köppen's example was afterwards followed by Zinnendorf, who brought the Swedish Rite into Germany.

The financial scheme. In many places, as for example, in Hamburg and Mecklenburg, the strict observance met with easy admittance, while in others, as in Brunswick and Hanover, many objections were raised, which the indefatigable and energetic emissary, Br. Schubart, successfully removed. Having been nominated subprior, which brought him in considerable profit, he employed

1) The system of the "African Builders" was founded on a fictitious tale of an order, and proposed as its aim the study of the history and different degrees in Freemasonry, and other secret orders. That this system could not spread further, was on account of its learned tendency. Only Scholars and artists could become members, and the transactions in the chapters were carried on in the Latin language. Its regulations were similar to those used in the Academy of Paris; its symbols were cumbersome and senseless. Its chief defender and supporter was Charles Frederick Köppen, born in Berlin in 1734, and royal Prussian Paymaster and Canon in that town; he died July 11, 1798. He it was, who wrote the fabulous "*Crata Repoa*" or consecration of the Egyptian priests. Berlin, 1770. One of the most important secrets was the interpretation of the word "*Hiram*" when spelt backward: *M(alay)*, *A(trocissimo)*, *R(aptus)*, *I(gue)*, *E(ntaetus)*, *H(ugo de Paganis)*. Fessler says, the system consisted of seven degrees, which he names differently to Lenning in his Encyclopedia, which latter we have adopted. According to Lenning there were five degrees or courses of study, preceding the initiation into the interior of the order, viz: 1) *Menes Musae* or apprentice in the Egyptian mysteries, — 2) the consecrated, — 3) the Cosmopolite or citizen of the world, — 4) the Boeotian or Christian philosopher, — 5) the lover of truth. The interior of the order 1) *Armiger*, 2) *Miles*, 3) *Eques* — is said never to have been organised. In 1787 this association ceased to exist. For a further account see "the order of the African Builders revealed. Constantinople (Berlin) 1806."

his activity and persuasive eloquence to such good purpose, that he everywhere secured adherents. One important element at work in effecting this, was the financial scheme, which was to make the poor knights rich. It was proposed, that out of the money levied on initiation and promotion &c. together with the sum of 500 Thalers, deposited by every knight, a fund should be formed to increase a thousandfold by investing it in commercial speculations, and by laying it out in mortgages. This should be expended in paying the salaries of the higher officials, and conferring on each Templar dividends or life-rent annuities. This financial plan, however, was never realised.

The spiritual
Order of Knights
Templars. Whilst von Hund, in conjunction with Schubart and Jacobi, was debating the possibility of retaining the cosmopolitan or chivalric branch of the order, a new branch (nominally spiritual) arose quite unexpectedly in 1767, asserting that it was in possession of the true secret. Br. Stark, then rector in Wismar, afterwards chief preacher at the court in Darmstadt, wrote to Hund, who had been everywhere soliciting for new disclosures, because helpless and lacking ingredients, had eagerly stretched out his hand, to grasp the offered assistance, and entered into connection with the so-called clergy, their plan being far from developed, as at present it was merely an idea in Stark's brain.

John Aug. von Stark, born at Schwerin, Oct. 29, 1741, had studied at Göttingen, and been made a Freemason in a French military lodge. In 1763 he became Professor in Petersburg, where the Melesino Rite (system) flourished, in which possibly he was inaugurated a member. He there became acquainted with the interior of the strict observance¹⁾; perceiving its weak-

¹⁾ See Fischer, *Masonry in Russia*, under Empress Catharine II.

ness and being a clever man, possessing much general information and great ambition, he was easily led to eliminate from it, the idea of reviving the spiritual branch of the order. By means of this new invention, he anticipated not only playing a prominent part in the order, as he himself expresses it, "personally exercising an influence, and enjoying equal privileges with the knights and commanders," but likewise surreptitiously introducing catholicism into the masonic association, to which religion he had been secretly converted in Paris. He thought to find among the brethren in Petersburg some, to aid him in his scheme, for which reason he continued to keep up relations with them, even after his departure for England, and his residence in Paris, 1765—66. In Wismar he joined the lodge of the "three Lions", which had been established by the Rostock Lodge; he filled the office of junior warden, and won over Brothers von Vegesack (Worsh. Master) and von Böhnen to listen to his scheme. His system is far more reasonable and possesses greater intrinsic worth, than the one of the Grand Master von Hund. Besides the three masonic degrees, it had four higher grades, viz: 1) the junior Scot, 2) the Scotch Master, or St. Andrew's knight, 3) the Provincial Capitular of the red cross, 4) the Magus, or knight of purity and light, which had again five subdivisions, ending in Levites and priests. Stark called himself *Archimedes ab aquila fulva*, and chancellor of the clergy, and spread the intelligence, that the clerical brethren, having remarked with delight the happy success which had attended the secular branch of the order, felt desirous of uniting themselves with it, and thus put an end to the exclusive system practised by the superiors. Hund first communicated with the

1) Proceedings in the case of secret Catholicism. Berlin, 1787.

provinces, to secure their approbation; but as they were long in affording this, he sent Br. von Prangen, who was enthusiastically prejudiced in favor of the clergy, at his own expense to Wismar, in 1768, in order as is stated in his official despatch, "to treat in detail with the spiritual knights as our plenipotentiary, about all and every thing relating to the system, in our province and theirs likewise." Prangen, and his secretary Jacobi, went by way of Güstrow to Wismar, where they had a meeting with Br. von Raven (Prefect of the strict observance), who had already been gained over to the cause by Stark, and the Conference was opened March 8. Both, Prangen and Jacobi, were initiated into the spiritual science, which it is true was not perfectly satisfactory, but was temporarily received, in the hope of further revelations, and on the 22nd upon condition of the future approbation of the Grand Master, the formal union of the two branches was pronounced. In that same year Stark journeyed to Petersburg for the second time.

The Convention
of Kohlo.

It was everywhere felt, that the strict observance required better regulations, and these were not to be expected from the Grand Master, therefore a meeting of the directors of the system was agreed on, which took place in June 1772, in Count Brühl's castle, at Kohlo, in the Lausitz. To the surprise of many, Br. von Raven from Mecklenburg, whom Stark had induced to join, was one of the number, and had brought with him a treaty of union between the clergy and the strict observance, and, though neither Stark nor Raven vouchsafed any revelations, this treaty was unhesitatingly accepted. The Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, who had joined the association, was nominated *Magnus Superior ordinis* and Grand Master of all the united Scotch Lodges, while von Hund, after having been once more made to swear on his word of honor

and his sword, that he was a legitimate superior, remained only Grand Master of the lodges in Upper and Lower Saxony, Denmark, and Courland. The appearance of power; at least, was willingly accorded the Grand Master, especially the disposition of the ceremonies and titles, as the resolutions determined on were but little to his taste ¹⁾. A complete severing of themselves from the secret superiors was much desired, and in the future only superiors of their own choosing were to be acknowledged, and laws were to be passed by vote. .

Although Br. von Hund only possessed the shadow of power, and his authority was everywhere disputed, yet he was persuaded to disseminate the strict observance, even beyond Germany. For this purpose, Feb. 27, 1774, he bestowed upon Br. von Weiler (*Eq. a. Spica aurea*) a warrant as General commissary, with authority, to re-establish the system in the 2d, 3d, and 5th Provinces (France), which was accomplished in a short space of time. In the convention of Brunswick (1775) he met with a check in his career, but this did not intimidate him from continuing his journey to Italy and establishing a chapter in Turin.

The Brunswick Convention. In the convention of Brunswick which lasted from May 22nd to July 6th, 1775, and was assembled for the accommodating of several matters, especially for the uniting of the different parties, Br. von Hund found an opportunity of indulging in his love of outward pomp and show. With their Grand Master at their head, the deputies of 23 lodges walked in full procession, from the hall of the order, which as 26 German princes belonged to the masonic fraternity, was most brilliantly adorned for the occasion.

¹⁾ See (Bode) „Some questions and considerations, laid before all German brethren” and „*Allgem. Handb. der Freimaurerei*”, I, p. 194.

All the Prefects had most urgently required from Br. von Hund some satisfactory proof of being sent by some lawfully constituted authority, that they might come to a correct understanding as to who the unknown superiors were. He declared, that in 1743 he had taken the chair in a foreign lodge in Paris, and had there become acquainted with several Scotch brethren, and adherents of the Pretender; from them he had received his first idea of the higher degrees in Freemasonry. Lord Kilmarnock in the presence of Lord Clifford, had made him a Templar, and introduced him to the Pretender. This latter was not expressly pointed out to him as the Grand Master of the Order, but he was given to understand as much. He had afterwards received a Warrant bearing the signature George, and had corresponded with well-known and also secret superiors; the chief of his letters had been addressed to Old Aberdeen. After his nomination to the Grand Mastership of the 7th Province, he had, on the death of Brother Marschall, received his matriculation book of the order, which he produced. This however contained nothing but the division of the order into nine provinces. Two letters which he showed as the latest intelligence from the Grand Chapter, contained in incomprehensible, ambiguous terms, almost the opposite of what they were intended to confirm. He asserted moreover, that he was not bound to vouchsafe all these explanations to the Masons, neither would his oath allow of his saying any thing further.

This information and his insufficient warrant, did not tend to allay the apprehensions of the more intelligent brethren; confidence in him was completely lost, he had played his part.¹⁾ To restore greater unity to

¹⁾ Hund died Nov. 8, 1776 in Meiningen.

the whole, the seat of government of the order was removed to Brunswick, and it was resolved that two Grand Lodges should be held annually, which should consist of the ancient Scotch chief master, and deputies from the single lodges. The lodges of the strict observance called themselves thenceforward, "the united German lodges."

Gugomos. The spiritual Knights Templars had promised in Brunswick to be more explicit in their communications. While men were anticipating these most eagerly, a new impostor appeared upon the scene, a gentleman of the bed-chamber von Gugomos.* This fellow — he was a member of the high degrees of the strict observance under the name of *Eques a Cygno triumphante* — had the effrontery, to invite the directory of the order, in a circular epistle¹), to a convention at Wiesbaden, to receive from him the commands and instructions of the most honorable and esteemed superiors. He promised to administer a complete new order of Knights Templars, and that those incorporated in it, should be put in possession of the secrets of the most mysterious of all sciences. Expectation was again at its highest pitch. Although Br. Bode had warned every one against him, as a "coxcomb and boaster, in whom no reliance could be placed," yet many brethren appeared at the summons, among whom were the Rosicrucians, Wöllner, Bischofswerder &c., also the Prince of Hesse and the Duke of Gotha. Gugomos called himself *Dux*, high Priest of the holy altar of Cyprus, and delegate of the high superiors, and promised the brethren mountains of gold; but he opened the meeting with the delivery of such a pack of nonsense, that any unprejudiced person must have seen through it all. Notwith-

¹) See "Signatstern" 3 Part. Berlin, 1804.

standing he found some who believed in him. Those present had to bind themselves by new conditions, and to subscribe their names to an extremely stringent covenant; they must suffer themselves to be locked up, fast for many hours, and then answer the most dreadful questions. The more reasonable among the brethren perceived the imposition, and therefore insisted on his producing, without further delay, the necessary evidence of the truth of his mission. Gugomos had recourse to all sorts of subterfuges, and escaped, as secretly as he could, out of Wiesbaden. In 1781, he confessed that all his propositions had been the invention of the devil, and acknowledged that he had been employed by wicked men, to carry out their evil designs. It is affirmed that Gugomos owned, that Jesuits had worked upon him till he had played this comedy, that Freemasonry might be scattered to the winds.

End of the spiritual Branch. As the spiritual Knights Templars would not divulge their secrets, and at the same time their declarations and intimations agreed with those made by many others, it was resolved, that the desired light should be attained without their aid: the Grand Master, Duke Ferdinand, commissioned Br. von Wächter to go to Florence to the Pretender, and there make diligent search for the invisible superiors. He was said to have returned thence, laden with treasure, it is true, but without the longed-for revelations; he was obliged to own, that the Pretender knew nothing either of the Order of Knights Templars, nor was he a Freemason.¹⁾ The spiritual branch had lost all hope after Hund's death, of being believed in any longer, and the more so, because the Swedish system, which was just becoming known, placed many obstructions in their path, and

¹⁾ See page 224, Note.

because their founder Stark was suspected of being in league with the Catholics ¹⁾, and many brethren became convinced that the whole thing was an invention of Stark's. From Mitau, where Stark had been from Easter 1777—1781, he kept up a connection with Prince George Augustus of Mecklenburg ²⁾, as also with the Hessian princes, which latter procured him the appointment of chief-chaplain in ordinary in Darmstadt, where he remained till his death, March 1816.

While the helpless strict observance was Association with Sweden. Convention of Wolfenbüttel. for ever seeking the pure fountain, whence issued their system, the Swedish brethren most unexpectedly announced themselves to be in possession of sure and reliable information, which under certain conditions, they were willing to communicate to their German brethren. One of these conditions was, that the Duke of Südermanland, who in Sweden had the highest rank, which the order had to bestow, that of *Vicarius Salomonis*, and was likewise longing to obtain complete control over all the German lodges, should be chosen Grand Master of the seventh province. A union was sought to be brought about, and the deputies on both sides, in Hamburg, paved the way for it, but confirmation from the prefects was wanting, as a clear explanation of the office of Grand Master was considered as imperatively necessary, first of all. The Grand Master, Duke Ferdinand notwithstanding, carried his point, in the Convention in Wolfenbüttel in 1788, and the union appeared to be effected; yet such extremely stringent measures were taken by

1) This suspicion was well-founded, as is proved by documents in the possession of Br. Dr. Eckstein in Leipzig. Stark's funeral service was conducted according to the Roman Catholic ritual.

2) See his letter to him: Fessler, crit. hist. IV. — Signatstern, III Vol.

the Germans to present the introduction of any arbitrary power, that this proving exceedingly distasteful to the proud and headstrong Duke of Südermanland, occasioned another plan to be devised. Some prefects protested against this, Berlin and Silesia deserted, and others maintained a complete reserve, but yet the union took place in September 1779. It was of no long duration, for in Germany it was regarded with the greatest mistrust, especially as Duke Ferdinand after having himself been to Sweden to obtain further information, came back with the assurance that he had seen and heard nothing, but a few unimportant additions and changes in the history of the order, and some empty ceremonies, but no genuine documents, nor a word of all that had been so freely promised.

The strict observance was upon the point of giving up the ghost. Before hearing sentence of death pronounced by her own mouth at the Wilhelmsbad convention, we will after a short retrospective survey, turn our attention to a new system, that of the Grand Lodge of Germany, practising the Swedish Rite, which was introduced into Germany between 1770—1775, and exercised a powerful influence on German Freemasonry.

Let us survey the events we have just related once more, and we shall be aware, that the predominant feeling is one of deep regret; particularly if we direct our chief attention to the outward form these errors assumed, we may perhaps be inclined to turn from them with aversion. The Lodges in many places were but scantily visited by their members, as of course the brethren could not get accustomed to the new regulations; the work of the Lodge was spiritless, lacking life and animation; expositions or lectures delivered by individual brethren, were mostly confined to festive occasions; the necessary discipline was not maintained at the initiations,

for position and fortune unfortunalety guided the choice; vote by ballot (at least in the strict observance) was not the custom, but questions were simply put to the vote. If we take all these circumstances into consideration, and dive deep down into the heart of that period, which was one of gradual progress, we shall see everywhere an earnest striving after improvement, a burning desire after the knowledge of the truth, a profound, positive, active movement in the Fraternity, to comprehend the actual design and purport of Freemasonry, and of the sources whence its history was derived; we shall see with what zeal most of them were inspired, and with what devotion and perseverance they served the Brotherhood. We know what sums of money were expended and time sacrificed by the Brethren, to improve the condition of the Lodges in every possible way; not only were brethren in distress relieved, together with their widows and orphans, but to other needy individuals, assistance was extended. Duke Ferdinand especially dispersed large sums with a liberal hand, partly for benevolent purposes, partly on impostors for the revelation of their pretended secrets. Many brethren took journeys at their own expense, for masonic purposes. The Lodge in Brunswick of "Charles with the crowned pillar", established a school in 1770 in which the pupils were instructed free of expense in drawing, French, mathematics &c., and which has been of immense benefit to many; the lodge in Prague founded an orphanage to John the Baptist in 1773. During the great dearth in the year 1771, many families in the Erzgebirge in Saxony suffered the extremities of famine; many were almost starved to death; the poor children were in want of the most necessary clothing, and instruction in the schools was almost entirely suspended. The Dresden Lodges, which had on many previous, cri-

tical emergencies, given the most convincing proof of the masonic turn of mind,¹⁾ set a subscription on foot to assist in checking the general misery. The brethren contributed so liberally, that in 1772, 400 thalers were received every month, which did not include the numerous donations in wearing apparel and provisions of all kinds. The first collection amounted to 6398 Thalers, with single subscriptions of 30, 50, 60, 90, and 100 Thalers. — The sum total was 17,000 Thalers. — The expressions of pure philanthropy with which the assembly of the united Lodges of the "three swords", and the "true Friends", was solemnly opened Jan. 17, 1772, were carried out in practice. They were these: "To relieve the wretched, rescue the suffering, defend the innocent, and render mankind as happy as possible, this ought and must be the chief and constant aim of every man, but more especially of every sincere and genuine mason." — The institution for poor and orphan children which was then founded, became afterwards, when the charitable originators were encouraged in their labor of love, by the most signal success, "a work which was most intimately connected with Freemasonry", and for the continuation of the same in perpetuity, a building was set apart for the purpose, and as it was stipulated, that only children belonging to the Protestant religion were to be admitted, and as Masonry honored every form of religion, a sum was set apart every month, for the education of catholic children." This is now the flourishing "Freemasons Institution" in Friedrichstadt, Dresden.

¹⁾ See, "Collected report of the Benevolent Funds for the Freemasons in Electoral Saxony from January 17, 1772 to 1775". This unpretending little book is the most brilliant memorial of masonic activity.

6) Zinnendorf and the Grand Lodge of Germany (Swedish Rite).

In that period of time so favorable to the foundation of new systems, viz: shortly before and after 1760, a new masonic Rite arose in Sweden, exactly suited to the necessities of the Brethren there, formed upon the basis of the strict observance, and of the order of Heredom, a clever union of Templarism and Rosicrucianism, a branch of which was transplanted to Germany by Br. von Zinnendorf¹⁾ in 1766. This brother had shown himself dissatisfied with the strict observance on account of the delay in communicating the knowledge of the spiritual order, although shortly before he had been active in effecting its union with the Grand Lodge of the "three Globes"; he had incurred much blame for the manner in which he administered the funds of the order in Berlin, and thus drawn on himself the displeasure of the Brethren, and

1) John William Ellenberger, who subsequently was adopted by a gentleman called Zinnendorf, whose name he bore, was born in Halle, Aug. 10, 1731, and for a time a member of the lodge "Philadelphia" of that place. He removed to Berlin, became there army surgeon and head of the medicinal corps, and joined the lodge of the "three Globes", and at first was a zealous follower of the strict observance, and Grand Master of the Scotch Rite in his lodge. Together with his exertions in masonry, he engaged in all kinds of speculations, and carried on a trade in wine, tobacco, and butter, nominally for the benefit of the Royal art. His absolute disposal of the funds of the order, and his perpetual refusal to hand over his accounts, occasioned Brothers Bode and Schubart to institute a strict investigation of the same in 1766, in consequence of which Zinnendorf withdrew from the strict observance in May 1767, and immediately afterwards sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him. His official career was not wholly free from reports which did him little honor; and his character does not appear in the most favorable light. He died June 6, 1782.

made his position precarious. Through the mediation¹⁾ of Brothers von Olthoff and Dr. Schopp in Stralsund, he had become connected with the Swedish brethren, and he determined to send secretly Br. Baumann, his friend from Halle, in 1765, to bring the ritual from Sweden, as he hoped to learn from it something about Freemasonry. The money (1100 Thaler) required for the journey, he took, without hesitation, from the funds of the chapter entrusted to him, and did not restore it again. Brothers von Gadebusch, Professor in Greifswald, and A. L. Kölplin M. D. procured for him the necessary documents²⁾ from the Scotch Grand Master of the Stockholm chapter, Charles Frederick von Eckleff, though in what manner is not very clear, but it is presumed not very honorably. Zinnendorf had scarcely obtained possession of them, when he declared the strict observance an imposture, and "senseless mummeries not having the least connection with Freemasonry", and signified his intention of establishing a new system on his own authority. Possessing both talent and energy, intriguing, and unscrupulous in the means³⁾

1) Speech of Brother von Nettelbladt of the year 1820. See Lennig's Encycl. III. p. 663.

2) See also: "Möller, history of the Lodge "Charles of the three griffins" in Greifswald, 1823." p. 15.

3) Zinnendorf's contemporaries judge him very severely. Schubart von Kleefeld calls him a "humbug" and an unprincipled man, and cites actions to prove this. The Grand lodge of Sweden in an official declaration of May 12, 1778, pronounces him to be an "insolent impostor, whose cunning, restless, and vicious spirit kindled dissension and sedition among the German brethren." See on this subject: "Feseler, critical history. IV. Vol. — and above all the *Freimaurer-Zeitung* of 1848, Nr. 9 and 10. "Contributions to promote a right estimation of the Freemason system and ritual of Zinnendorf." This information is derived from authentic sources and has been elaborated with rich and abundant masonic acumen.

he employed, he succeeded in attaching to himself some few followers, among them persons of note, which was the easier, because of the dismemberment and helplessness of the German lodges at that period, and very opposite to the strict secrecy and peculiarly felicitous organisation, characterising his own system. It cannot be denied, that he was the first who amidst the errors prevailing in his day, offered German Freemasonry in substance, and in form, especially, something better than they then had. His system soon became known. In the year 1768, though standing alone an isolated and prohibited brother, "by virtue of the power dwelling within him", he founded the lodge "Minerva" in Potsdam; in the year following he established in Berlin, the lodge of the "three Golden keys", over which he presided until his death; in Stettin brothers von Arnim and von Gohl promoted the work, as did Brothers von Sudthausen and von Rosenberg in Hamburg; so that by 1770 not less than twelve Lodges had adopted the Swedish ritual. — As these all felt the necessity of having some constituted authority to regulate their work, and to prevent deviations from their dogmas, they united June 24, 1770, and erected a Grand lodge, with the somewhat pompous title of "Grand Lodge of all the Freemasons of Germany" and in Brother Nettelblatt's words: "according to the precepts of Freemasonry in general, and after the pattern of the Grand lodge of England" (!?)

Connection with
the Grand Lodge
of England.

As it was indispensable that Zinnendorf should have some sanction given to his proceedings, he eagerly solicited a union with the Grand Lodge of England, of which Zinnendorf's followers afterwards spoke in such a depreciating way. For this purpose his adherents chose a Grand Master, he himself contriving that their choice should fall on a certain

Martin Krönke (Master of the Mint), who nominated him his deputy Grand Master. Zinnendorf addressed a letter, March 29, 1771 to the Grand Lodge of England, begging for an acknowledgment and confirmation of those rights and privileges, which the Grand Lodge of Germany, partly in virtue of certain sublime degrees, and partly in consequence of a warrant of Constitution received from Sweden, claimed as their due. Zinnendorf likewise addressed a letter to Br. de Vignoles in London, Oct. 29, in which he assured him that the "Royal York" Lodge, constituted from London, had already declared her readiness to unite herself with the Grand Lodge of Germany, which however the said Lodge knew nothing at all about. The reply received from England was to the effect, that the Grand lodge of that country could enter into no negotiations with the so-called Grand Lodge of Germany, until she had the assurance, that it and the brethren composing it, were regularly constituted Masons, made by the "Royal York" lodge. To obtain a surreptitious testimony of the kind required, was no great difficulty to Zinnendorf. He came Jan. 8, 1772¹⁾ into the "Royal York" lodge, produced his Constitution warrant written in cipher,²⁾ read a French translation of it aloud, and de-

1) See the "Minutes" of the Lodge "Royale York" of this day in Fessler's crit. hist. IV.

2) "In a form which appeared to us according to rule", as it is said in the Minutes of the Lodge R. Y. The real contents and character of this warrant we will leave undecided; it was most certainly of no force and irregular, it being got up and signed by nobody but Eckleff, who had to resign his office in Sweden, when his transactions with Baumann and Zinnendorf became known; Brother Mumssen is of opinion (L. c.) that he completely guided Zinnendorf. Eckleff did not give Zinnendorf all the documents of all the degrees; consequently the system was imperfect. Mumssen writes (Aug. 20, 1802) "That Z. did not receive these sacred treasures in a legitimate manner, is manifest from several circumstances.

manded permission to make use of the room in which the Lodge was held, on Friday the 10th, for an apprentice lodge of reception, to which all the members of the Royal York Lodge were invited. This request having been granted, Zinnendorf and his brethren of the "three Keys" appeared Jan. 10. in the Lodge Chamber, and carried on therein an initiation of apprentices in the German language. The minutes were conducted apart, by one of Zinnendorf's brethren acting as secretary, and inserting without its being perceived a loose sheet of paper in the Royal York Minute book, and after it had been signed by all the members of the "Royal York" Lodge present, it was secretly taken away to serve as a perfectly valid testimonial of the recognition of Zinnendorf by this Lodge, and with this intention sent to London.¹⁾

The Grand secretary Heseltine gave the "Royal York" Lodge an account of Zinnendorf's Swedish deceptions, but no decisive steps were taken. Whilst complaints and protestations were being made, and minutes being taken, Zinnendorf had the field all to himself. He gained over Prince Louis George Charles of Hessen-Darmsadt, who was chosen Grand Master, and as such presented himself to the London Grand Lodge. The name of a Prince at the head of an association²⁾ which before had met with but little approbation, disarmed all scruples. April 19, 1773, the Grand secretary Heseltine³⁾ made proposals of friendly union and inter-

But from whom he afterwards received more of the like kind, I know not. I only know, the pinnacle of the pyramid was wanting, without which it could not possibly be represented as being perfect.

1) See Fessler. L. c. — Also "The whole of the secret societies" Leipzig, 1805. p. 170.

2) The Grand Lodge at that period numbered 18 Daughter lodges.

3) Fessler accuses him of corruption.

course between the Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin, and the former unanimously accepted the propositions, totally ignorant as they were of the circumstances of German Freemasonry. In consequence, Nov. 30, 1773, the agreement was drawn up and prepared.

This agreement in some measure increased the respect shown to the new system outwardly; but the Lodge "Royal York", which had put itself under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Germany, after a few years separated itself from it; the other provincial lodges had yielded no subjection to her, and the Grand Lodge of England, after having obtained an insight into the real state of affairs in Germany, withdrew their warrant (1786).

Besides this contract with England, the Grand Lodge of Germany succeeded in acquiring the protectorship of the King of Prussia, June 16, 1774; she likewise endeavored to secure the exclusive right of revising for the press, all works referring to Freemasonry, so that without her approval nothing masonic should appear in the newspapers. But the ministry happily would not consent to this. Sept. 30, Zinnendorf himself was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Germany, which became after this more arrogant and intolerant than ever. In the following year Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Gotha, presided, but resigned his office Dec. 21st 1776, because he could not agree with the other officials. After so many disappointments, he would have nothing more to do with any lodges whatever. Br. von der Goltz succeeded him as Grandmaster.

Extension of the Gr. Lodge of Germany. The Grand lodge of Germany extended its sphere every year, so that in 1778, 34 Lodges were under its jurisdiction, and provincial lodges were

established in Austria, Silesia, Pomerania, and Lower Saxony. The provincial lodge in Russia worked after the same ritual, though not connected with it. The only way to explain this accession of strength, is to reflect on the perplexing questions, which had arisen in German Freemasonry. The hope of becoming acquainted with the long ardently desired masonic revelations, through the higher degrees of this system, could alone have induced independent lodges, to put themselves in subjection to this superior authority, which demanded even more implicit obedience, than did the strict observance; their treasures of knowledge and science, were confided only to the very highest officials, but the lodges were deprived of all independent action, and blind submission demanded of them.

Sweden. A severe blow was dealt them in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Sweden. The trouble taken by the Duke of Südermanland to secure to himself the position of Grand Master in Germany, and the complaints which members of the strict observance laid to the charge of Zinnendorf, compelled the Duke, to speak out his opinion pretty freely. In 1777 Brothers Oxenstierna and Plommenfeld came to Germany in the capacity of deputies from Sweden, and gave to Zinnendorf the following deed, from the *Chapitre illuminé* in Stockholm. "We the undersigned Grand Master, first and second commanders, and high officials of the chapter in Stockholm, declare for ourselves individually, and for all brethren officials generally, superior and inferior, and all knights of this same chapter, that the warrant of constitution, which was accorded by Br. Eckleff to Br. Zinnendorf, is without the knowledge or approval of one single individual of this chapter. As this warrant is totally illegal, it will be regarded by us, as if it had never been administered; therefore, after well weighing

the representations and remonstrances of our enlightened, sublime, and most honorable Brethren of the seventh province, we do not scruple to expunge, revoke, and annul the aforesaid Constitution.

Given at our Chapter of Stockholm,
April 27, 1777

Charles, Duke of Südermanland.

Signatures.

Zinnendorf, aware that this declaration could not remain concealed from the lodges, communicated it himself in a circular epistle. The prohibition it contained, forbidding Swedes to take any part in the work of the Lodge, was executed in Berlin, and in most of the country lodges, with uncommon severity, so that even needy Swedish brethren were refused assistance. Whereupon the Grand Lodge of Sweden issued a declaration, in which Zinnendorf is charged with being a fomenter of disturbances, and an insolent calumniator of the Swedish Grand Master. It is likewise stated therein: "By the blackest falsehood and deceit, he contrived to make it believed, that he enjoyed the favor and support of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, in all his masonic undertakings whatever. To this act of profanation, he added the still more abominable one, of forbidding all the members of the lodges in which this madman presided, from offering that assistance to the Swedes, which all good Freemasons are bound silently to render to each other. After such an assertion as this, it is needless to warn all brethren imbued with a true masonic spirit, to be on their guard against fraudulent and pernicious notions of the kind, and to resist the illegal attempts of this deceiver, by

making his foul deeds fully known, in all rightly constituted lodges."

Stockholm in the Gr. Or. of Sweden, May 12, 1778.

By command of the supreme heads of the Order.

Signatures.

The Grand lodge of Germany vouchsafed no reply to this. The severe measure still remained in force, that all other Masons were forbidden to join their lodges. This made many of the lodges to mutiny. The lodges in Austria at once declared war, and the lodge of the "Black Bear" in Hanover separated itself from her, which example was followed by many others. In the Silesian lodges, the Prince of Hohenlohe, provincial Grand Master, at their head, the seeds of discord were sown by von Haugwitz, the mystic, who rejected the higher degrees of the Grand Lodge of Germany, and it was with difficulty, that Br. von Geusau could restore order.

After Zinnendorf had quitted the service of the government in 1779, he made use of his leisure to travel to Sweden, to procure the documents, which he had not; however he did not succeed in this. Restless and with unabated zeal he presided over the Grand lodge of Germany from June 24, 1780, till his death, which occurred June 6, 1782.

The system of the Gr. L. of Germany. That which the Zinnendorf lodges gave out as very ancient, genuine, and improved Freemasonry, to be practised and made known, was what Br. Baumann had obtained illegally from Eckleff in Stockholm, and incomplete as it was, had brought to Berlin, where Zinnendorf had it translated by a Swedish jeweller. It was not till Zinnendorf's death, that the Grand lodge of Germany got possession of the

Swedish documents in a perfect state, probably in 1798 or 1818.

The whole system consists of 9 degrees (respectively ten), in three divisions:

- I. The St. John's Lodge with three degrees: Apprentice, Fellow, Master.
- II. The St. Andrews or Scotch Lodge with two degrees; viz. 4) the St. Andrews apprentice and fellow, and 5) the St. Andrew's master.
- III. The Stewards' lodge or the chapter, having: 6) the familiar brethren of Solomon, Knights of the East, in the Orient of Jerusalem; — 7) the Knights of the West; — 8) the St. John's familiars; — 9) the St. Andrew's familiars.

Besides these 9 degrees, there is still another division, which might be called the tenth degree, consisting of the "most illustrious and enlightened" brethren architects (knights and commanders of the red cross), to whom the government of the order is confided. At their head is as *Vicarius Salomonis*, the wisest master of the order, who has entrusted to him the interior economy (instruction and ritual), composing the superior court, as has the Grand Master the exterior administration of affairs, in virtue of his office of leader of the Grand Lodge. Only the Master of the order, with the advice of his highest officials, has the right to make any changes in the mode of working.¹⁾ To preserve unity in the daughter lodges, the illustrious familiar brethren of the highest degree have the duty imposed upon them, of attending to the symbolic degrees, and strictly watching that no deviations be made in the rituals.

¹⁾ See von Selasinsky, Master of the Order, *Vorträge für Joh.-Lehrl.* (Lectures for St. John's Apprentices.) Berlin, 1855.

The Swedish system has a specifically Christian character, in the construction generally, and especially in the so-called high Degrees. The ideal of the lodge is the communion of the Christian congregations in the days of the apostles. The Stewards' lodge (the chapter), in contradistinction to the St. John's masons, therefore celebrates, Dec. 27, the Festival of St. John the Evangelist. In the higher degrees of this system appear symbols, which are totally heterogeneous and exceptional to the character of Freemasonry, as for example, the Lamb of God, which "taketh away the sins of the world", or the crown, or the spur and the sword. The crown, it is said, "shows their acquaintance with St. Andrew's lodge; for the crown signifies the ornament of wisdom;" the sword "points to the prerogative of the St. Andrew's Lodge, and that greater power (!!), which will be vouchsafed to the presiding master, because with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other, he must watch over the work, and defend it, if need be." The breast of the members of the higher degrees, is adorned with St. Andrew's cross, because St. Andrew was the first disciple, who followed the true master.

The second division of the order (the Scotch Lodge), gives historical instruction, which is not without interest, but deviates considerably from the authentic history of the fraternity. The legend of the order of the Grand Lodge, follows the error of most of the masonic systems which arose about that period, from 1735—1770, viz., that the origin of genuine Masonry is to be found not in England but in Scotland.¹⁾ Without taking into con-

¹⁾ *Ueber Alter und sittl.-relig. Character etc.* (About the age, and moral and religious character of the ancient and genuine Freemasons.) Circular letter by J. J. Misipporus. Bremen, 1855.

sideration, that this hypothesis is disputed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland herself, and has no reliable authority upon which to rest, it is completely refuted as may be seen by any one who will take the trouble to study the accredited history of Freemasonry in England and Scotland.

The Grand Lodge of Germany further assumes, that in the building fraternities of the middle ages, besides their art, a secret science¹⁾ was carried on, the substratum of which was a real Christian mystery, serving as a preparatory or elementary school and stepping-stone to that and the St. John's masonry, which latter was not a mere system of moral philosophy, but closely allied and connected with this mystery. It was conceded, that the Freemasonry of our days (St. John's Freemasonry), sprang from the building fraternities of the middle ages, but at the same time asserted that in the early ages there existed a secret society which strove to compass the perfecting of the human race, precisely in the same manner, and employing similar means, as did the Swedish system, which in fact only followed in the wake of its predecessor, being concealed in the building fraternities, so that our society did not rise from them, but made itself a way through them; the secret science, the mystery, was very ancient indeed. This mystery formed the secret of the higher Degrees of the Rite, which were not merely kept hidden from the rest of the confederation, but also from the members of the inferior degrees of the system itself. This mystery was fully confirmed by documents, which the

¹⁾ See F. L. Krüger, Master of a lodge in Bützow: "Upon the relation between the Gr. Lodge of Germany and ancient English Masonry" in the *Bauhütte*, 1859, No 46, p. 362 etc.

Grand Lodge of Germany had in its keeping. Among these documents was the supposed testament of Molay, the last Grand Master of the Knights Templars, a fable, to which we will refer hereafter.

This secret legend ¹⁾ is the same as that of the Carpocratians, which is that Jesus chose some of the apostles and confided to them a secret science, which was transmitted afterwards to the priests of the order of Knights Templars, and through them to the Building Fraternities, down to the present Freemasons of the Swedish Rite. The legend of this propagation is poetic, and garnished with a few historical facts, but on the whole — untrue.

The Swedish system teaches, that there have been men of all nations, who have worshipped God in spirit and in truth, and surrounded by idolatry and superstition have yet preserved their purer faith. Separate from the world, and unknown to it, this wisdom has been preserved by them, and handed down as a mystery. In the time of the Jews, they had made use of the Essenes, in which sect Jesus was brought up, and had spent the greater part of his life. Having been instructed by Him in a more perfect knowledge of holy things, they had, amidst persecution, taught in silence that, which had been committed to their keeping. At the period of the Saracens and the Crusades they were so greatly oppressed, that they must ultimately have sought for protection from without. As fate however would have it, seven of them, Syriac Christians, pursued by unbelievers, near Bastrum, were rescued by the Knights Templars, and afterwards taken under their protection. When they had lived there for a certain

¹⁾ See: *Das Ganze aller geheimen Ordens-Verbindungen.* (The whole of the secret associations.) Page 227.

time, they begged for permission to dwell with the Canons or prebendaries of Jerusalem, as the life there led, agreed better with their own inclinations and habits. This was accorded them, and Andreas Montebarrensis effected a union of these Syrians with the canons, to whom, out of gratitude, they imparted all their science, and so completely did they make the priests of the order the depositaries of their secrets, that they kept them and handed them over to others under certain conditions. Thus this secret knowledge, which was continually being added to, lived on in the very heart of the order of Knights Templars, till its abolition. The clergy were dispersed, with the persecution that ensued, but as the secular arm did not touch them, as it did the knights, they managed to rescue many of their secret writings, and when the knights sought refuge in Scotland, they founded a chapter at Aberdeen, the first Prior of which was Petrus de Bononia. The science was disseminated from this place, but very cautiously, first to Italy, then to the extreme North (Sweden and Russia?) and France. In Italy the Abbot Severin had been the guardian of the true science.

An attempt made by Henry von Nettersheim, previous to this, to found a spiritual chapter in Germany, had been unsuccessful, till at last it was brought about, at the end of the eighteenth century.

The Swedish system, both on account of its supposed origin, and its doctrine and constitution, differs in many respects from actual Masonry.

We have striking and most convincing proof in the names of the degrees, the symbols, and the whole contents of the Scotch and Stuart lodges, that this system originated in the middle of the 18th century in the French high degrees, especially in the order of Heredom.

The name "Scotch Lodge" does not reach farther

back than the year 1740; the name "Andrew degree" can not have arisen earlier than the year 1736, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland declared St. Andrew the patron Saint of the country, in the place of John the Baptist; — the red color is an imitation of the Stewards' lodge in London, whence probably is also derived the denomination Stuart's Lodge. The Swedish system asserts that it has a mystery derived from Christ. This fable, which makes the Swedish system a rival to the Roman Catholic Church, is not older than 1715, and first makes its appearance in the book entitled "Echo of the enlightened fraternity of the estimable order of the Rosicrucians." The higher degrees of the Swedish Rite correspond in a very remarkable manner with those of the more ancient Rosicrucian order, therefore it is most natural to suppose that their founder, when working out the system, made free use of the books of that order. The fiction that Freemasonry, like the Swedish system, consisted of nine degrees, first appeared in 1751, in the publication: "Historical treatises upon Freemasonry, for the use of the St. John's Lodges in Metz." Wherein it is said: "For reasons, which I can produce in the Scotch degrees, it is proved that the order has at all times consisted of nine degrees" &c. These nine degrees are: Apprentice, Fellow-craft, Master, perfect master or Irish architect, Master elect, Scotch apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Master, and Knight of the East." Here we have the first elements of the Swedish system, in the names for the 4—6th degrees, and the designation "Architect" Afterwards there arose in France the appellation "Knight of the West", the seventh degree of the Swedish system. The binding them to implicit obedience towards their superiors the Swedish system took from the strict observance, as well as the division into nine provinces. Thus we can follow

out in detail the elements of which it was composed, and the sources whence it originated. The history of Freemasonry in Sweden, especially the life of the Duke of Südermanland, furnish us with still further material.¹⁾ In the ritual of the Swedish system, the answer is to be found, that the Master and the Wardens give the Lodge form, the Secretary and the Orator, improve it &c. This passage can only be taken from the period after the year 1723, as the office of Orator, even now not in use in England, and a Master of the ceremonies were, before that, not customary. The function of Orator is of French origin, as is the Swedish system itself.

In conclusion we will add a few remarks upon the system of the Grand Lodge of Germany, made by some Brethren, who knew it from their own observation.

First of all James Mumssen, M. D., from 1777—79 Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin. He writes Aug. 20, 1802: "It is perfectly inexplicable to me, how such a sensible man, and such a lover of truth, accustomed to reason and investigate matters through the medium of philosophy and mathematics, can devote himself body and soul to the preservation of an order, which even if it were once estimable and respectable, seems now to be needless and

¹⁾ We need only, for example, refer to the history of the lodge of "the three Griffins" in Greifswald, founded by the Grand Lodge of Sweden (published by Treptow and Loose), and particularly the documents subjoined; in the documents of earlier date there is not a trace of the phraseology and the pretensions, subsequently found in the Swedish system, but abundantly in those of a later date: The conclusion to be drawn is sufficiently evident. In one of these Documents Br. Oxenstierna is designated as "Grand chancellor" of the "Grand Orient" of Sweden, and "Commendam" are spoken of, the Swedish system is so plainly stamped with the French die, that it is not very well possible to dispute its intervention.

superfluous. Castillon¹⁾ is above the prejudices of the common herd, and I rely so far in him, that I do not imagine he would advance any thing from caprice, stubbornness, or base motives, which his reason told him was false. The many oaths and promises (of the higher degrees) about a secret which after all is nothing, ought to have induced him to suffer the matter to sink quietly into oblivion."

"Zinnendorf imagined he was in possession of the Palladium, or else so near having it, that he was justified in taking upon himself the office of Steward of God's mysteries. Some honorable brethren believed similarly for a time. They were wanting in discernment. He must at last have found out that he had been deceived, but he never confessed it.

As to myself, I shall endeavor to remain faithful to the duties of the apprentices, neither would I censure what ought not to be censured. I am however disgusted with all these unnecessary and in many respects ridiculous ceremonies,²⁾ which perplex the mind, are a waste of time, and lead to error. It appears to me, they might have long ago united to better purpose, have done away with all ropes and halters,³⁾ and not have fought with such bitterness for an empty husk, even though it were studded with gold and precious stones by the skilful artificer's hand" &c.

Brother Henry Voss, the poet and famous translator, writes to Mumssen: "I have been disappointed.

1) Br. von Castillon, then his deputy, was from 1782—89, and from 1799—1814, himself Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Germany.

2) Many sagacious brethren of the present day, members of the High degrees of the Grand Lodge of Germany, judge in the same way.

3) Symbols in the High degrees of the Grand Lodge of Germany.

Findel, History of Freemasonry.

In eleven years, I ought to have a more perfect knowledge of the inmost penetralia, where the secret is said to be, and of its invisible guardians; but this is all I know, that these documents, which I had to make known to the uninitiated, to prejudice them in favor of our sect, were nothing more than a well got-up farce. How can a secret worth knowing, be in the hands of guardians, who keep themselves, their origin, and above all their doctrine, a profound secret? You were at a loss to answer the objection which I raised years ago, viz: how it was possible that a sect which called itself free, could adopt in its creed, the most abominable subjugation of the intellect. One must be fascinated to no small degree, not to discover very quickly that such a principle tends to establish hierarchy, the most hateful of all tyrannies. And on what are these pretensions to such slavish subjection founded? Of what use is a secret confederation, fortified by so many oaths, and why this multitude of symbols, which are ever increasing the farther you penetrate, and which are made to have a moral application, through some arbitrary twisting of their meaning, as if I were to attempt expounding morally the chaos on my writing-desk."

General profane history, and the History of Freemasonry in particular, lead to the well founded and firm conviction, that the pretended documents of the Swedish system were false and smuggled in, and could not endure the test of a public examination.

7) German Freemasonry down to the Wilhelmsbad Convention.

The principal events in the German lodges have been mostly discussed in the foregoing sections, so that I shall only have a few additions to make here.

Berlin. The Lodge *de l'Amitié*, which had for a long time, kept up but a very slight connection with the Mother Lodge, had at length by degrees, entirely separated itself from it, and since the initiation of the Duke of York (1765), had adopted the name of "Royal York, of Friendship". Through York's mediation it had a constitution bestowed upon it, by the English Grand Lodge, to which it was faithful, till it joined the Grand Lodge of Germany, remaining however but a very short time connected with it. Zinnendorf's exertions did not remain quite without an influence upon the strict observance, and consequently upon the Lodges in Berlin too. To oppose this, Prince Frederick Augustus of Brunswick was invited to be the National Grand Master in 1772, who founded a so-called ancient Scotch provincial directory; and the Mother Lodge of the "three Globes" assumed the name of the "Grand National Mother Lodge of the Prussian State". But neither this, nor the augmentation of the Lodges working under her, availed to create for her a firm and assured position, as her finances were in disorder, and notwithstanding many attempts, it was found impossible again to unite in real brotherly love with the Grand Lodge of Germany. A decided improvement for the better, was however apparent when, in 1775, Wöllner took the lead in the Grand Lodge of the three Globes, with the title of Ancient Scotch Chief Master. At length he succeeded in restoring order. This brother¹⁾ possessed a remarkable talent for the administration of affairs, united to a lively interest in every thing appertaining to the Lodge, which owes to him more than to any other Master, its flourishing outward condition. He soon won the confidence of the National Grand Master, Prince Frederick, as well

¹⁾ See "History of the Grand Lodge of the three Globes", p. 50.

as that of the whole Fraternity. Wöllner began the duties of his office, by completely sinking into forgetfulness all the quarrels which had taken place, especially putting a stop to those between Brothers Krüger and von Zinnendorf, content to allow by-gones to be by-gones, and the past be forgotten. He then turned the attention of the Brethren to the administration of the Lodge, wherein he was greatly supported by Brothers Marschall von Bieberstein, Gause, Hymmen &c. He appointed for the regulation of the financial affairs, a general conference of the officials, and all the officers of the Mother Lodge and her Daughter Lodges in Berlin, met together, presided over by the Chief Master. He likewise disposed the Grand secretary's office. With the Lodge "Royal York" he entered into very friendly relations, new daughter lodges were established, and the former vague position, they bore to the mother lodge, was in 1777 exchanged for a more substantial one, by their sending representatives to the Mother Lodge. As Wöllner leant more towards Rosicrucianism than to the Templarism of the strict observance, which latter rapidly diminished in importance, a gradual separation from the united German lodges was the consequence, which became publicly known on the nomination of the Duke of Südermanland to the Grand Mastership. The Mother Lodge declared to the Directory of the order in Brunswick in October 1779, that if Sweden were desirous of maintaining an amicable alliance, she for her part was ready to consent, that German and Swedish brethren should now, as ever, be admitted reciprocally into each others' lodges, and their certificates be respected. To carry out this, no especially close alliance was necessary, which they indeed did not seek to secure. As they did not wish to be regarded as any thing else than simple Freemasons, they could

not possibly have any thing to do with the choosing of a Grand Master for the higher degrees of the strict observance, especially in the person of a foreign prince.

In consequence of this declaration, the Grand Lodge did not henceforward partake in the masonic conventions.

Frankfurt o. M. The English Provincial Grand Lodge in Frankfurt o. M., which had been restored in 1766, did not, in spite of all the measures taken to effect it, permit herself to be drawn into this general whirlpool; she resolutely repulsed every attempt made to win her over to the strict observance, though she received but little support from her German sister lodges, but heavy accusations of heresy were, in consequence, heaped upon her. About the end of 1768, Brother Möhler took the guidance of the provincial Grand Lodge, but in 1770 Brother Gogel again assumed the presidentship, and as the new warrant for the provincial Grand Master had been made out in his name, he retained it till his death. That she refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the new Berlin Grand Lodge, as the contract, agreed upon between this latter and the Grand Lodge of England, required that she should, we have already mentioned. She decidedly protested¹⁾ against this arrangement, as having been entered into without her cognizance. The Grand Lodge of England, in its blindness, refused all redress to her old and faithful daughter, and in a letter dated Dec. 1775, again declared, that it "persisted in considering the contract made with Berlin as binding", and as it vouchsafed no further reply to the letters of complaint received on the subject, a declaration of their independence on the part of the Frankfort provincial Grand Lodge, was the ultimate result.

¹⁾ Keller, L. c., p. 165.

Austria. Freemasonry was never properly developed in Austria. The first Lodge opened in Vienna in 1742, "the three Cannons", was again broken up in the following year. Though Francis I. belonged to the fraternity, yet his wife Maria Theresa strictly prohibited Masonry in 1764, but the association worked in secret notwithstanding, both in Vienna and Prague. In this latter town, where in 1776 four Lodges were already established, the brethren showed themselves in public in 1778, on the occasion of the laying the foundation-stone of an Orphan Asylum, to St. John the Baptist, Br. Count von Kunigl having first suggested the idea in 1773. In the reign of Joseph II., beginning in 1780, new lodges arose, for this enlightened monarch did not place any obstacles in the way of the exercise of the peaceful Royal Art. In Vienna most of the Lodges worked under the constitution of the Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin. The provincial lodges then existing in Bohemia, Hungary, Transylvania, and Austria, established at a meeting in Vienna in 1784 a Grand Lodge of Austria, the Count of Dietrichstein, Grand Master. The Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin, which did not approve of this independent spirit, despatched Br. von Sudthausen to them, to induce the brethren to be better affected towards her, and he so far succeeded that von Dietrichstein permitted himself to be regarded as merely a provincial Grand Master. In 1785 however, the Provincial lodge again declared its independence.

The Convention at In conclusion, let us return once more to
 Wilhelmsbad. the strict observance, which found itself greatly embarrassed. The fountain of masonic wisdom had been in vain sought in Scotland and Sweden, the high Degrees were not satisfactory, of the real history of Freemasonry but little was known, and Templarism was become wearisome. To increase the vexation, Stark

in his indignation at not having been successful with his spiritual order, publicly exposed the whole system of the strict observance in an angry treatise entitled: „Stone of stumbling and rock of offence” &c. (Germany, 1780.) Distrust and discontent prevailed everywhere. In this dilemma serious measures of reform were set on foot.¹⁾ Steps were taken to promote a general convention, and all zealous Brethren were stimulated to place before their superiors, motions, having for their object a more judicious regulation of the system, and the restoration of Freemasonry to its legitimate aim and purpose. After the Grand Master, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, had in several circular epistles notified the subjects to be discussed, and summoned all the dioceses to investigate them, and to bestow on their deputies unrestricted power, the convention at length took place. It was opened at Wilhelmsbad, near Hanau, July 16, 1782, the Grand Master in the chair. Its purpose was to inquire into Freemasonry generally, and its bearing to the order of Knights Templars, and the invisible superiors.

The Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin had not sent any deputies to the convention, nor did any make their appearance from Sweden; the Grand Lodge of the three Globes in Berlin, or rather the members of the Scotch Lodge “Frederick of the golden Lion” (Wöllner), had contented themselves with despatching an epistle²⁾, wherein they invited them to join the Rosicrucians (this epistle was quietly deposited among the other documents); deputies were sent from Upper and Lower Germany, France, Italy, Austria, and Russia; Knigge represented the Illuminati.

¹⁾ See Philo's (Knigge's) final Declaration etc. — Knigge's Beytr. etc — Lenning's Encycl.

²⁾ See extracts from this in Keller, L. c., p. 192 and 93.

The convention was lengthened out to thirty sittings, and the most varied opinions were broached. Brother Dittfurth of Wetzlar asserted that the proofs to evidence its being derived from the order of Knights Templars, were very unsatisfactory. The purport of the order was not to revive Templarism, which was ridiculous and childish at a time, when an enlightened monarch like Joseph II. was going about to suppress the still existing orders. Brother Bode proposed such alterations as were suitable to the spirit of that age, and as were conformable to the Christian religion. After much dispute, there seemed to be a majority in favor of the adoption of the system of the French brethren, the "Beneficent knights", and it was resolved to change their ritual to agree with this system. It was laid down as a rule, "that the connection between the order of the Temple was maintained by means of historical instruction, imparted in an especial class of the order, which at the same time was charged with the regulation of the inferior degrees, and had the name "Beneficent Knights" bestowed on them; and that all Prefects and Provincials had it entirely at their own discretion, should especial circumstances demand it, and if it could be done without prejudice to the whole confederation, to leave this degree entirely on one side, and make no use of it at all."

Thus then the strict observance was nominally abolished. Many Brethren left the convention dissatisfied, and the new system which had been adopted by but few, crumbled to dust in a few years.

But much had been won; the ancient structure was in ruins, and it was permitted to vigorous and active workmen, to clear away the rubbish and erect a new building on more solid foundation, and with better materials. We will in this second epoch from 1784—1813,

follow the course of German Freemasonry in its struggles for reform, and its more prosperous augmentation and diffusion.

F. Masonry in the North.

a) The Netherlands.

In Holland (the Netherlands), as we read in the "Freemason's Library" (Berlin 1792), there were before the year 1735, several lodges formed by England. In the Hague there were a Dutch and an English lodge, and in Amsterdam an English and a French one, which worked much good in secret. But this intelligence has not hitherto been confirmed; it is much more likely that up to the year 1731 at least, no Lodge existed there; for when the Emperor Francis I. was initiated, a deputation of English Brethren was summoned to the Hague. Not till Sept. 30, 1734, did a regular meeting of the Lodge of the Grand Master of the united provinces, take place, under the guidance of Br. Vincent de la Chapelle; who may be therefore regarded as the originator of Masonry in the Netherlands. From this lodge several daughter lodges were formed when the States General conceived a suspicion, that possibly under the pretext of Freemasonry, a confederacy had been entered into in favor of the House of Orange, which might be prejudicial to the government. The constitution book was very narrowly examined into, which Br. L. Dagrán handed over at a judicial trial occasioned by some newspaper report touching Freemasonry, and

all meetings were prohibited¹⁾ as there was much in them that was deemed obnoxious, which prohibition was repeated by the magistrate of the town of Amsterdam. The Lodge in Amsterdam, notwithstanding, continued to hold its meetings, but in secret. When the senate heard of this, they commanded the immediate breaking up of the whole lodge. The next day the Chairman and his two wardens were brought before the assembled council, where they took their oath, that the Freemasons were peaceful subjects, faithful to their country and its sovereign ruler, that they lived in the strictest unity, and abhorred hypocrisy and deceit &c. That it was not possible they could divulge the peculiar customs and secrets of the fraternity; but they solemnly affirmed, that they were neither opposed to the laws of God nor man, and that they were willing to initiate a member of the council into their mysteries to convince them of this. Whereupon the Brethren were permitted full liberty, and the secretary of State²⁾ was sent to be initiated into the society. His favorable report did not alone incline the councillors to toleration, but induced them to become themselves Freemasons. The truth of this communication may be reasonably doubted; but thus much is certain, that the States-General quietly abandoned their aggressive treatment; doubtless deferential consideration for the Emperor Francis influenced their conduct. Afterwards when the clergy, who had long persecuted the order, refused absolution to those who had joined the society (1752), the State protected the Brotherhood, signifying to the priests that they were not to reject any Freemason, if in other respects an honest man.

¹⁾ For further particulars see Fr. Library. Nr. 1. p. 35 &c.

²⁾ L. c. p. 37. Likewise adopted by Laurie.

The Dutch Lodges at first only worked the rite of the Grand Lodge of England, a French translation of their book of constitutions having appeared there in 1736. The Lodge in the Hague assumed the name of "Mother lodge of the Royal union" and to her active exertions Masonry in Holland chiefly owes its dissemination. She also gave the first inducement to the establishment of the great national lodge of the united Netherlands, by convoking the fourteen Dutch lodges, who came together Dec. 27, 1756, Br. Lewis Dagrán in the Chair, and which assembly determined the formation of the Grand Lodge, just mentioned. Br. von Aerssen-Beyeren of Hogerheide, was elected first Grand Master of this community. Count Christian Fr. von Bentinck succeeded him Aug. 6, and in June 1759 Br. Carl Baron von Boetzelaar, who filled this office for the unexampled period of 39 years. A new book of constitutions came out in 1760, during his administration, which materially assisted in consolidating Freemasonry in the Netherlands. It was through his mediation that the Grand Lodge effected their independence from the Grand Lodge of England, for April 25, 1770, an agreement was drawn up, by which the latter formally acknowledged the independence of the Grand Lodge of the United Netherlands, only stipulating that they should not establish any Lodges in England, nor in the English possessions. An alliance entered into with the strict observance in 1780, led to the installation of a national chapter in Holland, of which Prince Frederick of Hesse Cassel was the Grand Master, and beside which the Grand Lodge however continued to flourish.

b) Denmark.

The light of Freemasonry was first¹⁾ kindled in Denmark in 1743, when a Baron G. O. Munich with four other brethren, founded a lodge in Copenhagen. He pretended to have received a warrant from a Lodge in Berlin, which invested him with the power to establish a lodge. He himself assumed the office of Chairman, and the first work was the initiation of the Russian ambassador T. A. Korff, in whose house the work of the Lodge was for a long time carried on. On Jan. 13, 1745, this Lodge took the name of St. Martin. Yet it cannot be regarded as a regularly constituted Lodge, for in her first meeting she declared, she required the sanction of the Grand Master. This sanction seems not to have been received till six years afterwards.

Probably, in consequence of this want of legalisation, three brethren separated themselves from this lodge, in its first masonic year; two of them Br. Arbien, and Br. G. Nielsen, ecclesiastical counsellor, who died in 1799, but at that time governor of the pages to the Crown Prince, erected a new lodge "Zorobabel", which was joined by several brethren from Helsingör. Br. Nielsen was chosen chairman, May 26, 1744, who actively employed himself in procuring a regular constitution. A certain Br. Henrichs had undertaken to apply to England, for the same. But as the answer was long in coming, a proposition signed by all the brethren was sent to the Grand Master of the district of Lower Saxony, Br. Lüttmann of Hamburg. But as this step too was without result, the Grand Master of England, Lord James Cranstoun, was solicited for a constitution by

¹⁾ See Hist. of Freemasonry in Denmark, by Br. Dr. Charles Otto, Prof. and Chairmaster in Kopenhagen, in the *Bauhütte* 1859 p. 340 &c.

twenty brethren. In the mean while a Br. Greiff came to Hamburg, and without being authorised by the other brethren, procured from Br. Lüttmann a constitution, *ad interim*. At length in Oct. 1745, a proper warrant was drawn up by Br. Lord Cranstoun.¹⁾ This day has ever since been kept as the anniversary of the foundation of the lodge.

In the year 1749, the lodge "St. Martin" received its constitution from the then Grand Master, Lord Byron,²⁾ at the time, that Br. Count Danneskiold Laurvig was chairman to this lodge. Both Lodges conducted their work amicably together, from 1765, in a common room at Br. Marschall's, until they united into one lodge, under the name of "Zorobabel of the North Star". Until Nov. 11, 1778, they conducted their work in the German language; but as the number of the brethren increased, they felt the necessity of having a place, where they could work in the Danish language, Nov. 18, of that same year, an especial lodge was opened under the appellation "Frederick of the crowned hope" for the German language, while the Lodge "Zorobabel" continued to work in the Danish language. Both lodges performed their work in the same room and at first according to the rite adopted in the Grand Lodge of England. This country afterwards kept pace with Germany in Freemasonry, and therefore did not remain free from the agitating influences, errors, and disappointments of the different systems; the strict observance found entrance, and the act of obedience was signed by brethren in Copenhagen (Prefecture Binin). At first, the lodges mentioned in Copenhagen were the only

¹⁾ See "Kloss, Freemasonry in England" &c. p. 154, which agrees with this.

²⁾ Kloss, L. c. 159.

ones, then came one in Altona, and one in Odensee, under the Grand Master Ferdinand of Brunswick, and then later under the Landgrave, Charles of Hesse. After the convention of Wilhelmsbad, the system adopted there ("the Benevolent Knights"), was introduced under the guidance of Br. Captain Moth, and business transacted in this rite till the year 1855.

c) Poland.

Unhappy Poland, in great measure made so through the fault of her own people, did not succeed either in Freemasonry. It began to be known there in 1736, but in consequence of the papal Bull, it was publicly condemned from the pulpit. However from 1742—49 many more lodges arose¹⁾ in Wiesniewitz, Lemberg, and Warsaw. In Warsaw especially, the lodge of the "three Brothers" was in a flourishing state, and in 1762 entered into a closer connection with the lodge of "the three Crowns" in Königsberg, but afterwards fell into decay. Not till the reign of King Stanislaus Augustus, was any real pains taken to place it on a better footing, which happened in 1766. Br. Count Aug. Moszynski (Grand en-sign of the realm) was at its head, but in October of the same year, on the arrival of Count Fr. Al. Brühl, from Dresden, the office was transferred to him. For the purpose of introducing new statutes, the Count closed the lodge, and opened a new one Jan. 12, 1767, under the name of the "virtuous Sarmatian", connecting with it a chapter of the high degrees ("the four perfectly united nations"). After Brühl's departure, Moszynski again took his place, and under his leadership the lodge

¹⁾ See Lenning, Encycl. III. Page 105 &c. „*Chronologische Nachricht*" etc. from a brother in Warsaw.

became a Grand Lodge in 1769. Moszynski was chosen Grand Master. This new superior assembly afterwards founded the lodge of the "virtuous Traveller", in Eperies, in Hungary, and two new lodges in Warsaw, in the German language "the three Brothers", and in the French language the "Concord". — After having informed the Grand Lodges abroad of her installation, she received from London the confirmation necessary to constitute her a provincial Grand Lodge.

In this year she founded several new lodges in Bialystock, Lemberg, Marienburg, and Danzick, (three Stars). On the first division of Poland, the work of the Grand Lodge was interrupted in the following years, but when Count Brühl returned to Warsaw in 1773, it was recommenced. He introduced the ritual of the strict observance, and founded the next year the Lodge of "the three Helmets", which constituted a daughter lodge of the same name in Cracow. All these Lodges acknowledged the heads of the united Lodges in Germany, and Count Brühl as plenipotentiary of the same.

The Lodge of the "Good Shepherd", at the head of which was Br. Count Hülsen, received Feb. 6, 1780, from the Grand Lodge "Royal York" in the name of the Grand Lodge of England, a constitution, made out in the name of Catharine of the "North Star", several members of which seceded and formed a new lodge working according to the Ritual of the strict observance. Besides these there was in Warsaw a French Lodge also, (perfect silence) under the Grand Orient of France. To get over the difficulty of the difference of custom, and to attain to greater unity and harmony, pains was taken to establish a Polish provincial Grand Lodge, which those who belonged to the strict observance, and the French lodges sought to prevent. Nevertheless the Lodge "Catharine of the North Star", which

had in the mean while divided itself into three parts, received in August¹⁾ 1781, from the Grand Lodge of England, a constitution, assuring to her the usual rights accorded to a superior masonic brotherhood, above all others in the country. As this was drawn up in the name of Br. Hülsen, he undertook to conduct it, till Dec. 27, when Ignatius Potocki was unanimously chosen Grandmaster of all Polish and Lithuanian Lodges. When this superior assembly had been arranged, the opposing lodges laid out their work; the opening of the Grand Mother Lodge of Poland was immediately announced to all foreign Grand Lodges, and steps taken to sketch out a plan for the long desired statutes and laws. The statutes, which agreed with those in Anderson's Constitution book, were Jan. 7, 1783, submitted for approval, but not accepted as binding, and for the present a committee was charged with their alteration. Count Potocki suddenly took a journey, causing a delay in the work just begun, although G. Wilkorski, as Dep. Grand Master, filled his office most zealously. The building about to be erected was superintended by the representatives of the thirteen then existing lodges, under the presidentship of Br. Francis Woyna, so that March 4, 1784, the installation of the Grand Lodge really took place.

d) Russia.

Freemasonry found entrance in Russia in the year 1731. In the English Constitution book of 1738, Captain John Philipps is mentioned as Provincial Grand Master, and General Br. J. Keith his successor in office, in 1741, though even as early as from 1732—34, this latter is said

¹⁾ Mean time Cagliostro in Warsaw 1780 endeavored to introduce his Egyptian Freemasonry, but did not succeed.

to have been at the head of a lodge in Petersburg. At that time probably the meetings were held very secretly; for there is no account of any existing lodge there, till 1750, when in Petersburg the lodge "of silence" worked, and in Riga, the lodge of the "Northstar" was erected.¹⁾ Under the Empress Elizabeth (1740—62) Br. Böber, who was afterwards Grand Master, informs us, Freemasonry became more in vogue; but the meetings were but seldom, and in secret, "in the loft of some out of the way, retired house." Great zeal and harmony however reigned amongst the brethren. The Emperor Peter III., is said to have presented the lodge of "Constancy", Consul Selly, Chairman, with a house, and himself conducted²⁾ the masonic work at Oranienbaum.

In 1765 a peculiar masonic system flourished in Russia, known under the name of the Melesino rite. Melesino was by birth a Greek, and Lieut. General in the Imperial army: "he was a man of talent, and could conduct the affairs of a lodge in four different languages, with equal fluency". The rite³⁾ named after him, consisted of seven degrees, the three masonic and four high degrees, (4) the dark vault; 5) the Scotch master and knight's degree; 6) the Philosopher's degree; 7) the grand priest of the temple or the spiritual knighthood. Besides this system the English one was practised, and a Grand provincial Lodge (of England) planted in Petersburg worked in it. The *Freemason's Calendars* for 1777 and 78 (London) give the following account of this: The first regular Lodge, which was established in the vast Empire of Russia, was the lodge of "perfect

¹⁾ See *Latomia*, XXI Vol., Page 114.

²⁾ See F. A. Polick, in the "Bauhütte", 1862. Page 156 etc.

³⁾ See *Zeitschrift für Freimaurerei*. Altenburg, 1823. I. and *Handbuch der Freimaurerei*, II. Page 306.

unity", constituted June 1771, in Petersburg. The Chairman and most of the members, were English merchants residing there, who conducted this new institution with great regularity and activity. As many Russian nobles were masons at the period of the establishment of this lodge, at their request they received from the Grand Lodge of England in 1772, a warrant for his Excellency John Yelaguin (Senator), to become Provincial Grand Master in the Russian empire. This gentleman exercised his office with such success, that many excellent lodges were erected in Petersburg and other places. The aristocracy of the kingdom did not alone aim at the encouragement of the Royal art, but also undertook to fill official posts in the Grand Lodge and in the individual lodges; the provincial lodge, as well as the Grand Lodge are on the point of erecting a Masonic hall, wherein they may hold their assemblies."

In 1783, twelve working lodges having different rites, formed themselves into one Grand National lodge, their Grand Master was Yelaguin. Under Br. von Reichel's guidance, these lodges adopted the documents of the Swedish system; it is not very likely, as is asserted, that Natter brought these deeds with him from Florence, in 1740.

Further accounts of this period, and even later, may be found in a book of travels, ¹⁾ which says: "The Russians engaged with violent zeal in the promotion of this association, which required to be checked, the more so, as the real aim was but little regarded, for they preferred occupying themselves with convivial amuse-

¹⁾ „*Flüchtige Bemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Petersburg über Moscuwa etc. im Jahre 1805*“ Von Georg Reinbeck, kgl. Württemberg. Hofrath.

ments, costly trifles, and even with financial speculations. Here under the alluring veil of secrecy, they had an opportunity of killing time, indulging in their taste for show, by adorning the higher and highest degrees, and many found therein the means of filling their empty purses. Initiations were eagerly consummated, without considering any thing but the collecting of the fees; how these were appropriated but little was known." — "This propagation of Freemasonry, though so imperfect, exercised an advantageous influence on social life, bringing the different Grades of society into more immediate contact, laying the foundation of that greater sociability, which is a distinguishing and favorable characteristic in the aristocratic Russian, and disseminating principles, which were not without a beneficial effect on the moral character generally." — "Amongst these, (the foreign lodges) there were some, which were certainly calculated to win golden opinions for Masonry, and to work profitably towards the intellectual culture of its members." — "The society rose to a fulness of splendor, only attained in England and Sweden. There was a building erected, entirely according to masonic views; the existence of the lodges was generally known; institutions in their name were everywhere established; indeed one brother was buried with masonic honours. When king Gustavus III. of Sweden was present, something very nearly resembling public festivals was arranged, which the King and several of his suite attended. That Catharine did not distrust this society, is apparent from all this occurring in her immediate neighbourhood, without her seeming to take any particular notice of it.

c) Sweden.

Freemasonry came to Sweden by way of France, as a spiritualizing and refining art¹⁾ about the year 1735. The Governor Count Axel Ericson Wrede Sparre, who had been initiated in Paris May 4, 1731, and had subsequently visited lodges in Italy,²⁾ erected the first lodge in Sweden in 1735, of which however but little is known. Probably she discontinued her operations in consequence of the royal decree of Oct. 21, 1738, forbidding the Freemasons to meet on pain of death. This prohibition was soon rescinded, and thus Masonry was, in 1740—45, again tolerated. It soon enjoyed so firm a footing, that the Brethren had no scruple, in publicly acknowledging their existence. This was in 1746, when Gustavus III. was born, and in 1753, the year of the birth of the Princess Sophie Albertine, on which festal occasions they had coins stamped to commemorate the events. In this same year, 1735, the Swedish lodges laid the foundation-stone of an orphan asylum in Stockholm, which without any assistance from the state, was built by the voluntary contributions of the Brethren, and has ever since been the principal channel, into which the beneficence of the Brethren flows. Besides which the Lodge "Solomon" in Gothenburg erected a Vaccination hospital in Gothenburg.

Jan. 2, 1752, a lodge was established in Stockholm under the name of "*la loge auxiliaire de St. Jean*", their

1) As a practical art, it had long before been exercised by the Stonemasons of the middle ages, who had erected the gothic buildings in Sweden. "Ancient manuscripts" says Br. Dr. Otto, "expressly state, that Freemasons (Stonemason fraternity) held meetings at Stockholm and Lund, in the reign of Queen Margaret." See "*Bauhütte*", 1860. P. 239.

2) The first Lodge was founded in Florence 1733; the so called masonic high degrees, were then unknown in the world.

first Master being Major Count Charles Knutson Porse, and in a few years, another lodge was flourishing¹⁾ there, the *loge de la cour* and several others, all in a very prosperous condition. Spurious lodges, which tried to force themselves into notice, were speedily suppressed; on the other hand the Clermont high Chapter met with approval 1754, as most likely before this they had only worked according to the English rite.

In 1762, Baron Saltza was Grand Master. King Adolphus Frederick addressed a letter to him September 7th, wherein he declared himself the Protector of the Swedish lodges, adding, that he was prepared to become Chief of Freemasonry, and to share in the arrangement and the costs; he waited for the details of the further knowledge necessary. In 1763, Baron Charles Fr. Scheffer, senator, was legally constituted Grand Master of the Realm. In a document signed by him, Freemason brethren are spoken of, but not knights, so that most probably the Swedish system²⁾ had then no existence.

In 1765 the English Grand Master Lord Blaney gave to Br. Charles Fullmann, secretary to the English embassy in Stockholm a warrant as Provincial Grand Master for Sweden, dated April 10, 1765, and signed by the Deputy Grand Master John Salter, empowering him "to initiate Masons, and constitute and preside at lodges in all due form, whenever opportunity offered" &c. It is further said in this warrant³⁾: "He, the said Charles.

¹⁾ *Almanacs des Francsmaçons, Amsterdam, 1757—58 and 63.* Lenning, *Encycl.* III.

²⁾ See Treptow and Loose, *Geschichte der Loge in Greifswald*. P. 69. In a document of 1800 however, the Swedish lodges are denominated the "true", and the 7th and 9th provinces are mentioned, and also Freemason knights, a High Chancellor and Commendams.

³⁾ See Kloss, *England*, Page 187, where the warrant is printed in full.

Fullmann Esq. shall be especially careful, that each and every member, of each lodge he may constitute, be made a regular mason, and that he observe, keep, and perform all the precepts, commands, and regulations contained in the book of constitutions, (with the exception of such, as in any Quarterly Meeting or in any other general Meeting are or may be annulled") &c. The Grand lodge of Sweden did not therefore at that time, assume any special rights to herself, to erect any new lodges, inasmuch as she recognised the English Grand lodge as the representative of genuine Freemasonry.

At the same date as that of this warrant, Br. Schubart (*Eques a Struthione*) came to Sweden, to introduce the strict observance there, which however met with but slight sympathy, as a similar work of invention had been already imported there from France. In Sweden, as everywhere, the Brethren were dissatisfied, therefore — when striving for real masonic illumination, which they would not seek in Anderson's book of constitutions — they were desirous of reform, and easily accessible to innovations. This disposition of mind King Gustavus III., who was himself a Mason, and actively sympathised in the propagation and consolidation of the confederacy, most probably took advantage of, to work out a new system from the rich material collected during his journeys, as well as that previously acquired, a system, now known under the name of the Swedish, and as already mentioned, a mixture of Freemasonry, Templarism (strict observance), and Rosicrucianism.¹⁾

Swedenborg. Most likely, Swedenborg, the mystic and visionary, used his influence in bringing about the new system, at all events, he smoothed the way for it. Im-

1) See the section touching the Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin.

manuel Swedenborg, born at Upsula, Jan. 29, 1688, and from 1716 Swedish assessor to the Royal Mining College, was an eminent scholar and metallurgist, making himself known by his writings in philosophy and physical science. An unbridled imagination led him away from the path of science, to metaphysical chimeras, and theosophic extravagances. In 1743, he asserts that he had a vision from on high, calling on him to instruct mankind in the true worship of God, their condition after death, on the spiritual interpretation of the holy scriptures &c.; and this phantom induced him in 1747 to renounce his profession and entirely to devote himself to the contemplation of higher matters. He was in constant communication with spirits, whom he questioned concerning things hidden from mortals &c. His doctrine of the new and heavenly Jerusalem¹⁾ unfolded in his writings, where Christianity is supposed to be displayed in all its original purity, supported as it was by the practice of those immaculate principles laid down by himself, obtained for him a number of adherents, and a remarkable celebrity in Sweden, England, Germany, Holland, and Russia. After his death in 1772, regular theosophic Societies and Swedenborgian communities arose, quietly disseminating their doctrines over several parts of Europe, and were not without their influence, it is said, over some few lodges.

It has been frequently asserted that King Gustavus III. did not serve the Fraternity out of pure love, but that he had likewise some political aims to carry out, and remarks of his own would seem to justify this supposition. With the help of the Brotherhood, he endeavored to set himself free from the troublesome

¹⁾ In one degree of the Swedish rite the new Jerusalem is painted on a carpet, having twelve gates.

tutorship of the states of the Empire, for this purpose employing the middle class against the nobles. He attained his end in 1772, when the majority, contrary to all former precedent, granted the King, whatever he wanted.

The Swedish
system.

The Swedish system may thank him for its rise and cultivation. Even before his first journey he was always reflecting, how he could enrich his mind with masonic science, and came back with the necessary material for the transformation of the Brotherhood, i. e. with the Rituals of the order of Heredom and others. The foundation of the new system is undeniably French, directing the thoughts to Metz and Rouen. In 1777, in consequence of the active support of the King, who had not neglected the matter on his second journey either, the Grand Chapter Illuminé was perfectly accomplished at Stockholm, and the Duke of Südermanland appointed in it *Vicarius Salomonis*. In 1780 the Grand lodge of Sweden was revived, and the above named prince chosen Grand Master, and installed with all due honors. More than 400 brethren, with the king at their head, assembled in the Hall of the Exchange, in Stockholm. The king assured the Grand lodge and all lodges acknowledging its jurisdiction, of this protection, confirmed to them by a diploma legally prepared, and in full conclave invested the new Grand Master with an ermine mantle. From this time forward Freemasonry in Sweden has met with marked consideration.

Before this time the lodges of that country had written to Germany, stating that they were in possession of the real secret, and knew the secret superiors, and that they were willing to communicate their light, if the German lodges would nominate the Duke of Südermanland as their Grand Master. Facts, however,

clearly demonstrate that this prince himself did not believe in what they said, and that their knowledge of supposed superiors was all a fabrication; for at that period, 1780, they had sought them in Italy, of the Pretender¹), and received from him the well known answer, that he was profoundly ignorant of any thing of the kind. How little Duke Ferdinand found in Sweden, has been already effectually shown.

The division of the system into nine degrees and their names, we have communicated above, as well as that they built upon a fictitious history of some order. Towards the end of the last century, the fable of this supposed ancient mystical society with its romantic termination, was related and promulgated as the foundation and substance of "genuine ancient Freemasonry"; this is comprehensible, when we reflect upon the love of the mysterious so prevalent in those times.

To the honor of the Swedish Fraternity it must be allowed, that they for their part never boasted so much of their secrets and the infallibility of their teachings, and never alluded to them in such pompous terms as was done by the Grand Lodge of Germany from 1772 down to our days. If we allow that the Swedish system was inherited from some Christian mystery, originating in the age of the Apostles, continued in the order of Knights Templars, and from these to the Building fraternities, whence it was transmitted to the Grand lodge of Sweden — what result does the reflective mason draw from all this? of course I presuppose, that the presumed continuation of the Templar mysteries, which however accurate investigation rejects as unhistorical, be correct. First, that the Templars, who had joined the Building Fraternities, had special secrets, which were not exactly

¹ See Remark. Page 224.

like the teachings and customs of the Freemasons; secondly that the name of Freemason was only bestowed on the members of the building lodges, but not on the Templars, who, unaware of the existence of the Freemasons, disseminated their own mysteries, and only made use of the building lodges as convenient places of concealment; thirdly that Freemasonry and Templarism (Christian mystery) have ever been two different things, their respective followers forming two different societies; 4thly that the enlightened ancestors of the Swedish system, the Templars from the 14th—18th centuries, acted basely, because they did not give any thing in return for what they received; for the teachings and customs of the Freemasons they ought to have offered their Christian mysteries. They formed a state within a state in the very heart of the building fraternity, and constantly made use of a regularly formed society, for unworthy purposes to serve their designs. Therefore, the Templars sneaked into the building or Freemason lodges like the Jesuits, Illuminati, and other societies un-masonic in their character, went through the lodges for a certain time, accommodating themselves comfortably to their institutions, in order to separate themselves from them at their pleasure, and lay claim to the name as their exclusive property. How these noble ancestors of the Grand lodge of Germany continued to impart their mysteries in and by means of the lodges of the 14th—18th centuries; how, where, and through what members this society different from the Freemasons' fraternity, prolonged their existence, we know not. History is perfectly silent on the subject, and the Swedish system does not vouchsafe us any information, because the history is to them secret; and for very substantial reasons. That which is somewhat obscure to us, is the circumstance, that these Knights-

Templars deemed it advisable to propagate their secrets and ancient mysteries in silence besides and above the lodges, for more than four hundred years and then in 1760 they themselves suddenly made them public. If from the 14th—18th centuries they had a Grand Lodge, a ritual, nine degrees, a chapter, a wisest master of the order, and knightcommanders of the Red cross &c., why did they not continue to pursue the same secret course towards the world and the Lodges themselves in and above which they were placed? Even if in 1760 it was more compatible to their interests, publicly to announce their existence to the masons, why did they not do so before; in London in 1717, in France in 1725, in Ireland in 1730, in Scotland in 1736, not before 1760 in Germany. If they were really in possession of ancient and genuine Freemasonry, why did they not instruct their brethren, the speculative masons, in the period between 1717—1760, or at least allow them to feel they were in error? If the Knights and holders of the high degrees, had promoted the advancement of the members of the building lodges in the chapter, that they themselves might maintain their position, then would the system have been spread abroad before 1717, and its existence better known. And if this were not so, how could it have continued to subsist through several centuries? As long as these questions remain unanswered, and this riddle is not satisfactorily solved, masonic history will possess the undoubted right, and will consider it a sacred duty in the cause of truth, to declare the history of the order of the Swedish system a tissue of lies and frauds. Besides this fable of the order, which is partly supported by authentic history, though not connected with Freemasonry in all the facts and records adduced, partly also by false and forged documents, there is likewise read aloud in the higher degrees the "*Regula*

pauperum Armigerorum sanctae civitatis, commilitonum Christi Templique Salomonici Magistrorum", which rules from No. 1—72 are printed word for word in Gütler's "*historia templariorum*", but the paragraphs succeeding these, are of Swedish manufacture. St. Andrew and St. John are there described as being the disciples of John the Baptist, only for the purpose of showing, that what was taught on the initiation of a knight of the East, was very ancient indeed. It is there said that St. Andrew, after whom the Scotch lodge is named, was at first an apprentice (disciple) of John the Baptist, until the real master was pointed out to him, with the words: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world". He then asked him: Rabbi, where dwellest thou? Upon which the superior master replied: "Come and see!" Andrew went and saw his new master, and followed him into — the lodge. —

The highest division of the order (something like a tenth degree), is formed of the most enlightened brother architects or knights and commanders of the Red Cross (R. C.), to whom is confided the government of the order, their number neither falling short of nor exceeding nine, unless the *Vicarius Salomonis* gave especial permission. These nine architects are 1) the Grand guardian of the crown, 2) the Grand master of the lamp, 3) the Gr. M. of the sword, 4) the Gr. M. of the square, 5) and 6) the Gr. M. of the temple, 7) the Gr. M. of the standards, 8) the Grand Chancellor, and 9) the Grand treasurer. Their initiation¹⁾ can only take place on a Friday and at midnight; their principal duties are: 1) during their whole lives they must wear on their breast the red cross of the Templars; 2) daily to call to mind that they are mortal, and every evening

¹⁾ Fessler, *Krit. Gesch.* IV.

before going to sleep to repeat devoutly, that prayer of St. Bernard, "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon me"; 3) to fast every Good Friday till sun set, and then eat three pieces of bread dipped in oil, with salt, but at the ordinary evening meal not to eat lamb or pigeon; 4) never to permit the least infringement of the laws, customs¹⁾, precepts or ceremonies of the order.

Notwithstanding the extreme stress laid in this system upon its immutability, they could not from time to time refrain from changing and amending many things. Even to this day there are some sagacious brethren and members of the high degrees, who are convinced, that like all man's handiwork, it has much need of improvement. But all alterations in detail will here be fruitless and unavailing; any substantial and effectual progress in the Swedish system can only then be made, if the things which are the Church's, are rendered unto the church, and those of Freemasonry, are rendered unto Freemasonry, if ceasing to remain separate and distinct from the union of all unions, she relinquishes the high degrees and the fabulous history of the order, and returns to ancient, authentic, genuine, and regularly constituted Freemasonry.

1) Br. von Nettelblatt says L. c.: "On the day of consecration our fathers and masters pronounced the solemn oath, that they would rule with love and zeal, would not swerve from the laws, and would preserve the doctrines and customs of the order inviolate and unaltered."

G. Freemasonry in the South.

a) Switzerland.

The pillars of our Brotherhood were first erected in Switzerland by Br. George Hamilton, Esq., who, as English provincial Grand Master, in 1737, established a provincial lodge in Geneva, under the name of "*Grand Loge de Genève*".¹⁾ Many other lodges sprang up from this one, in and around Geneva. Two years later the lodge of "*la parfaite union des étrangers*" was founded at Lausanne, chiefly composed of English nobles. They received their warrant of constitution signed by the Duke of Montagu, Febr. 2nd, 1739, direct from the Grand Lodge of England, and as in other places, several Lodges were opened, in the Waadtland, which at that time owed allegiance to Bern, the Lausanne lodge was advanced in the same year to be a superior masonic authority (*Directoire helvétique roman*).

Masonry had scarcely begun to flourish, when here as elsewhere, the fraternity was slandered and persecuted, so that in 1740 they published in a Zurich newspaper (the Brachmane), a public refutation of the calumnies uttered against them. Notwithstanding this, in 1743, the government in Bern ordered that all the lodges in the country should be closed. The Waadtland lodges did not long submit to this ordinance; for March 3, 1745, a second command went forth from the inferior

¹⁾ See Dr. Th. Zschokke, "*Umriss der Freimaurerei in der Schweiz im 18. Jahrhundert*", in the "*Asträa* for 1849". Page 226 &c. Further: Heldmann, "*Die 3 ältesten geschichtl. Denkmale &c.*" P. 522 &c., and Lenning, *Encycl.* in many passages.

court, summoning every one, known as a Freemason, to break off from all connection with the confederacy. Whoever was initiated, or visited the meetings, should pay a fine of one hundred Thalers, and forfeit his situation and salary. This prohibition founded solely on supposition and false statements, deeply wounded the Swiss masons. They ¹⁾ had, therefore, a respectful answer printed in Frankfort and Leipzig, in 1746, in which they defended themselves from all the charges brought against them by the government. This publication produced great excitement in Bern, and effected this result, that the superiors exacted from their officials the promise, not to attend any masonic meeting within the jurisdiction of Bern, but the decree was not carried out any farther. All the lodges in Waadtland however, remained closed for nineteen years, till at length in 1764, the old Lodge of Lausanne again revived, and by degrees the others too awoke in succession to new life. But after five years again a judicial decree caused the discontinuance of all masonic work. On occasion of the marriage of the Princess Carignan, when many influential foreign brethren were present in Lausanne, a fresh impulse was given to the Lodge "*Parfaite union*", only for a short time, it is true, for in the following year the old prohibition was fulminated against her.

While Freemasonry was being subjected to these vicissitudes in Waadtland, it flourished undisturbed in Geneva, and was further planted into German Switzerland. From the Grand Lodge in Geneva, one was formed in Vevey (*l'Union helvétique*) and 1771, one in Zurich (*la Discrétion*), which at first worked in the French language, but two years later in a simplified form of the German ritual.

¹⁾ Zschokke, L. c.

This last mentioned lodge was not the only one in German Switzerland. In 1765 the *Modestia* had been constructed in Basel, by German brethren, according to the system of the strict observance. In 1775 the Waadtland lodges were again permitted to work; they however abandoned the English system, in which they had worked hitherto, and took up with the strict observance. In the same year, the high degrees were introduced into the Basel lodge, which the Swiss Lodges had hitherto forborne to meddle with; in consequence of this, she raised herself from the position till now assumed of a Commendam, to a prefecture, which rank was likewise bestowed on the *Parfaite Union* in Lausanne. Both Lodges were the seats of masonic superior authorities; with the name of Scottish directories, having the province of Burgundy under their jurisdiction, the provincial chapter of which, held its sittings at Lyons. Both the Swiss directories took an active share in the Congress in Wiesbaden.

The Swiss lodges were spared the deplorable errors and impositions, with which German masonry was visited, although there existed amongst them a difference of ritual and of language. Suddenly there awoke a strong desire, to be more intimately bound together, when in Lausanne, in 1777, one Sidrac, to the great regret of the brethren, erected a spurious lodge. In the above mentioned year a conference took place in Basel, to which, besides those of the Waadtland lodges of the strict observance, representatives were sent from Zurich, who worked after the English rite. Amongst other things, it was determined in this assembly, that of the two masonic superior administrations of the strict observance, the one should be the representative of the German division, and the other of the French. The former, in Basel, was called Swiss Directorium of

Scotch Masonry, the other in Lausanne, *Directoire écossais helvétique roman*. The longer they existed, the more sensibly was the necessity everywhere felt, of exterminating the numerous errors and abuses, which had acquired the upper hand, and of restoring to the royal art its pristine simplicity and purity. For this purpose, in 1778, the French lodges attached to the strict observance, met at the congress in Lyons, to which the Swiss directories likewise sent representatives. A Statute book for the order (now the rectified Scottish Rite) was brought forward, the *Code Maçonnique*. This Congress effected for Switzerland, the following: it was raised to a *Subpriorat*, and Basel was recognised as a Prefecture; the Swiss Directories had many important privileges conferred on them, as for example, an independent freedom in the disposal of their funds, and the right to constitute or rectify lodges in Switzerland, independent of the provincial superiors, but not out of their own land.

In the following year, 1779, after the lodge *Modestia* in Zurich had adopted the Scottish Rite, a provincial chapter of Switzerland was convened in Basel, wherein Zurich was chosen to be the seat of the German directory of the rectified Scottish Masonry of Switzerland, and Br. Diethelm Lavater, M. D., installed as Subprior of Helvetia.

The *Directoire du rite etc. rect. helvétique roman* in Lausanne had, in the mean while, been unsuccessful in their attempts to disperse Sidrac's spurious lodge. To effect this, they were, in 1780, obliged to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Grand Lodge of Geneva, and together they brought about the annihilation of this irregular lodge. The members then some of them entered the Lodge of St. John, in Lausanne, some the Lodge *Parfaite amitié*, which had been founded in 1778, by

the students of the Academy of that place. In this latter lodge the former spurious Masons sowed the seeds of discontent and mischievous dissension, so that a decree of the Academy in 1781 ordered the lodge to be closed. The aristocracy of Bern, unfavorably disposed from the very beginning to an institution, which endeavored to restore that equality, originally the inheritance of every man, in 1782 eagerly seized on this pretext, to prohibit the exercise of Freemasonry in their country, after it had been tolerated and had flourished there for seven years.

The *Directoire helv. roman*, under whose guidance were not alone the Waadtland lodges, but likewise fourteen others, most of them in the Italian States, in order to accommodate themselves to this decree of the government, declared that all the lodges within the jurisdiction of Bern were dissolved. The directory itself set an example of obedience by suspending all its meetings. They had however chosen a directorial committee of three members, to regulate their affairs, and these being furnished with the necessary authority, conducted the correspondence, which had to be subscribed in symbolic characters. Grand inspectors were likewise empowered by them, to conduct those foreign lodges under their jurisdiction.

The Swiss Directories also sent representatives to the Wilhelmsbad Convention; at their head was the ancient Scottish Grand Master, Dr. Lavater. The revised rules and rituals were here introduced, but on the whole this convention had not any special lasting consequences for Switzerland.

b) Italy.

As Scotland, for a long time, was esteemed the seat of the High degrees, so was Italy of the unknown

superiors, and the source, whence originated secret masonic wisdom. Here flourished architecture, as in so many other countries, in the earlier ages. The fraternity of builders here held their meetings, and practised their ceremonials. It may be accepted as a fact, that the German lodges and German artistic usages were planted here. Thus for example, Rumohr says in his "*Italienischen Forschungen*"¹⁾, that without seeking them, you are constantly stumbling in different places upon the traces of German artists, who in the 13th and 14th centuries found appointments and employments, as at that period German taste in painting and architecture was being imitated all over Italy. Further, as has been already shown, Rosicrucianism early found entrance there. Freemasonry, in the present meaning of the word, did not strike root in Italy before 1733, neither has it, since then, been able to fix itself firmly in the soil. The first lodge in Florence was called together by Br. Charles Sackville, Duke of Middlesex, in that same year, and in his honor, the brethren had a medal struck, by Lorenz Natter. At first²⁾, the Fraternity was known under the name of "*Compania della Cucchiara*" (Company of the Trowel), and afterwards they assumed the appellation of *Franchi Muratori*. The initiation of the Grand Duke Francis, caused Freemasonry to thrive there, so that in 1735, lodges were erected in Milan, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Venice, and Naples. But in 1737, the last Grand Duke of the house of

¹⁾ See II. Part, Berlin, 1827. Page 143. — The same: Page 167, where it is said: "He (Vasari) had obtained intelligence, concerning the influence of the architects and stonemasons of Germany, on many of the buildings in Italy, which I have multiplied by several authentic examples."

²⁾ The "*Freimaurer-Bibliothek*" quoted: Acta hist. eccles. Vol. I. Appendix, page 114.

Medicis, John Gasto, published an edict against the Freemasons. However on his death, which occurred soon after, they continued¹⁾ to meet, and his successor patronised them. Fresh persecutions arose from Rome. Livorno being a free port, the lodge there was composed of the population of the place, consisting of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, and this excited the suspicions of the Papal See, who feared lest unbelief would be aided and abetted by them; the *Congregatio de Santo officio* therefore instituted a strict inquiry, the result of which was, as already mentioned, that Pope Clement XII. issued the well-known Bull against the Fraternity in 1738. When the government at Florence received this, it was immediately despatched to the Grand Duke at Vienna, to obtain instructions how to act. Francis wrote back, that in order not to offend the Papal See, they were to accept the Bull, but not to carry it into execution, and in case of necessity, to decline acknowledging the Pope's right to interfere at all. Every lodge, which conducted itself quietly and with propriety, should remain perfectly unnoticed by the government. Notwithstanding this, the clergy in Florence succeeded afterwards, by their various intrigues, in obtaining an order, to commence judicial proceedings, according to the very letter of the Papal bull. In consequence, May 19, 1739, Br. Crudeli was unexpectedly attacked in his own house, seized, and taken to the prisons of the holy office.²⁾ Happily an influential brother had carried off his masonic papers to a place of safety in good time. Besides this brother, many others were arrested, and in all haste, before the Grand Duke could be made acquainted with

¹⁾ See *Freimaurer-Bibliothek* I, page 45.

²⁾ The *Freimaurer-Bibl.* cites a passage from the Europ. State secretary, 52. Part.

the state of affairs, the torture was applied, to extort their secret from them. But all in vain; the prisoners were soon set at liberty, and once more, the Inquisition was disappointed in its design of extirpating the order.

Venice. We have but very scanty, unsatisfactory intelligence, touching the dissemination and efficiency of Freemasonry in Italy, and now and then even these slightly reliable intimations fail almost altogether. In Venice, in 1738, the Lodges were closed, but secretly re-opened. The English book "*Jachin and Boas*" under No. 438, mentions the lodge "Union" in Venice, as having been founded by the English Grand Lodge, Nov. 27, 1772.

Naples and Sicily. Of all the Italian States, Freemasonry had most to suffer in Naples and Sicily. Several lodges had long been at work in this kingdom, composed¹⁾ of men of known worth, who filled the first offices at the court, and under government, when King Charles III. of Spain, who then ruled over Naples, interdicted all Masonic meetings by royal edict. He was however, afterwards reconciled to the Fraternity, so that when Benedict XIV. published his bull, he did not only protect the Masons, but confided the education of the heir to the throne (Ferdinand IV.) to one of the brethren, and then made him the prince's confessor.

In the year 1754, several brethren came together,²⁾ and at first worked under the authority of the lodge of Marseilles. In 1760, they received a constitution from

1) See *Geschichte der Schicksale der Freimaurer in Neapel*. Frankfurt, 1779. — *Wiener Journal für Freimaurer*, 1785, I. Quartal, P. 70, Lecture of Born, after: *Histoire de la perséc. etc.* Londres, 1780. (Reprinted — in an English translation — in *Freemason's Magazine*, 1861. No. 85 &c.) — Lenning, *Encycl.* III.

2) See circular epistle of the Great National Lodge in the Kingdom of both Sicilies, of Dec. 1775. Lenning, *Encycl.* III.

the Grand Lodge in Holland. A few years later, the lodges there, taking courage from their favorable outward condition, and from the daily increasing number of the masons, induced the Grand Lodge of England to constitute them a provincial Grand Lodge. In a general assembly, convened with the approbation of the then Grand Master *Principe di Caramanica*, the Masons of Naples taking into consideration, "that it was no longer suitable", that in this free nation, they should work under foreign superintendence, and that moreover the English Brethren did not conduct themselves "as good and true superiors should", therefore it was resolved, to construct a Grand National Lodge of their own, called *del Zelo*, and to join the united lodges of Germany (strict observance). Four Lodges worked under her in the capital, viz: *della Vittoria* (established Feb. 27, 1764, Br. Carracioli, W. Master), *dell' Uguaglianza*, *della Pace*, and *dell' Amicizia*, one in Messina, another in Caltagirone, and in Catania and Gaeta. Besides these there were two lodges in the capital, working after the English rite, which were looked upon as spurious lodges by the National lodge.

Whilst the number of the Lodges increased in both kingdoms under the superintendence of the Grand Master *di Caramanica*, and Freemasonry flourished, whilst the names of the most considerable statesmen added brilliancy to the list of members, Ferdinand IV. ascended the throne. The prejudices which his minister Tanucci had endeavored to instil into his mind against the Fraternity, seemed at first, to find the less acceptance with him, from their meeting with direct contradiction in the conduct of many men of tried integrity, whom he knew to be Masons. Indeed the report was circulated, that the King himself wished to become a member of the Fraternity. Unfortunately this gave occasion to a per-

secution being set on foot against the Craft. Tanucci, whose greatest ambition was to set up an impenetrable wall of separation between the King and his people, made use of every expedient to induce the King to sign a decree, prohibiting all masonic meetings whatever, and commissioning the Junta of the state, to proceed against transgressors of this edict, as disturbers of the public peace, and guilty of offending Majesty.

This decree was publicly proclaimed; the brethren in Naples were astonished at the unexpected intelligence, but they were passive and obeyed; the Grand Master forbid all work. "This adverse fate", he says in an official address of Dec. 6, 1776, "has not been induced by a single inadvertence on the part of our true brethren, but more probably by the imprudent and offensive conduct of those schismatics, who having been seduced from their allegiance by the *Duca della Roca*, and the *Principe di Ottoboni*, do most foolishly and reprehensibly work according to the English constitution. We, on the contrary, having profited by this emergency, to arrange our legitimate work with greater accuracy, have yielded implicit obedience to the royal command, believing this to be the most favorable opportunity, for removing from our society, all such elements as we consider prejudicial to the practice of those virtues, required of a genuine Freemason."

This decree however, did not satisfy the Minister, for with the assistance of a venal hireling, G. Pallante, he hoped to compass the entire annihilation of the order. G. Pallante, by means of a stratagem, caused a kind of lodge to be convened, at which several non-Masons assisted, and then had all who were present seized. The trial took a different turn to what he had expected. He then made use of another expedient. When at the festival of St. Januarius in 1776, the blood of the saint

would not flow, he commanded hired women to parade the streets, crying out, the holy man refused to work the miracle, because the city was infested with the plague of Freemasonry. The people became so furious at hearing this, that attempts were made to demolish the houses of the brethren. The zeal of a mason, named Liroy, added fuel to the flames, for he wrote a defence of the brethren, but couched in such violent terms, that the pamphlet was burned by the public hangman, and Liroy himself banished from Naples. The brethren, wherever they could be seized upon, were imprisoned in order afterwards to be executed. All of a sudden, in the hour of the sorest need, events took a more favorable turn. Queen Caroline, a daughter of Francis I., heard of these persecutions, and all the artifices employed by Pallante, to carry out his treacherous designs. It was represented to her that, as her father had been a member of the community, his memory was aspersed by the practice of such severity. Caroline protected the oppressed masons, the persecutions ceased, and the prisoners were released. The Parisian lodges, more especially *la Candeur*, sent the Queen an address of thanks, and her name was celebrated in all lodges.

Confident that at least, at court, Freemasonry was favorably regarded, and protected by the wise Queen, the Brethren again began to assemble. On St. John's Day 1776, Br. Diego Naselli de Principi was unanimously elected National Grand Master, he having previously held the office of subprior in the chapter of the strict observance, established by Br. Weiler in 1777. The former gave the Fraternity such general satisfaction, that the members of the independent lodges were induced to follow their good example, and submit to the jurisdiction of the national lodge and her ordinances. Several new lodges were established. Br. Fel. Liroy,

who had been banished on account of his apologetic vindication of the order, had in the mean time been received in Paris, with loud rejoicings, had been nominated honorary member of the Grand Lodge of Holland, and returned to Naples laden with honors.

The legal prosecution opened against the Fraternity had extended over a period of several years. At length, Jan. 28, 1783, Tanucci, who in the mean while had been deprived of his office of minister, had himself to inform the President of the Junta, that the King had issued an order, commanding the examination of the accused persons to be abandoned, and they themselves set free, but with this addition "that as the sect of Freemasons might become suspicious to the state, and prejudicial to religion, the Junta should keep a strict and vigilant watch over any thing that might occur, referring to so momentous a matter, and report upon it accordingly."

c) Spain.

In Spain, the country of religious martyrdom, Freemasonry was likewise subjected to the most terrible persecutions. The first lodges were there — according to Anderson's constitution book of the year 1738 — founded by Lord Coleraine in Gibraltar, 1727, and in Madrid (the lilies), in 1728; in 1739, Br. Jacob Cummerford, Captain, was nominated Provincial Grand Master of Andalusia, by Lord Lovell, Grand Master of England. But in 1740, instigated thereto by the papal bull, Philip V. promulgated an edict against the brethren, and several members of the Madrid lodge were thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition, and condemned to the galleys. Notwithstanding this, Masonry continued to exist in secret, and spread itself rapidly throughout the

entire land. In 1751, Benedict XIV's anathema, and the ambition of a monk caused the persecutions to be revived. Father Torrubia having returned to Spain from his travels, and being inflamed with the desire to play a more conspicuous part than that of a preacher of religion, hoped to attain this end, and probably with it the see of a bishop, if he could succeed in exterminating Freemasonry from the dominions of his Catholic Majesty.¹⁾ Being censor and reviser of the Inquisition, the twenty thousand familiars with which the holy office spied out every nook and corner of the kingdom, were at his beck and call. In order to carry out his nefarious scheme, Torrubia made use of a real Jesuitical expedient. In 1751, he was, under the assumed name and character of a secular priest, initiated into Freemasonry, after having first obtained from the papal Grand Penitentiary, dispensation and absolution from the oath of secrecy to be exacted from him, became intimately acquainted with the subject in all its bearings, and then appeared at the highest tribunals of the Inquisition in Madrid with the most dreadful accusations²⁾, against "the abominable institution of Freemasonry", producing an exact list of the lodges existing in Spain (97?), and the names of their members. Many thousands were then arrested and brought to a painful trial, Ferdinand VI. publishing a decree, in which he declared, the "so-called order of Freemasons, as dangerous to religion and good government, and prohibited it in his dominions under pain of his royal displeasure, or whatever other punish-

¹⁾ See *Vienna Journal für Freimaurer*. 1. Series. 2. Quarter. — Lenning's *Encycl.* III. — *Eylert, die Märtyrer der Freimaurerei Spaniens* Weimar, 1854. P. 11.

²⁾ This accusation in full, may be found translated into German by Br. von Sonnenfels, Professor in Vienna, in the *Vienna Journal of Freemasonry*. I. Year. 1784. 2. Quarter. Page 183. &c.

ment he should think fit to impose on the offenders &c. Llorente in the 4th. Vol. of his *Histoire crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne trad. par A. Pellier*, in his account of the process instituted against the French merchant Br. Tournon, in 1757, gives us an idea of how very cruelly this law was administered.

But for all this some lodges were held in secret, especially in the colonies, for example in Havanna, where out of courtesy to the foreign merchants there, the meetings of the lodges were quite publicly held.

d) Portugal.

The history of Freemasonry in Portugal is limited to the mention of two events, first the establishment of a lodge in Lisbon in 1735, by the Grand Lodge of England, Br. G. Gordon being commissioned to perform the same, and of the efficiency and fate of which, nothing is known; and secondly the history of the cruelty practised by the Inquisition against the founder of a second lodge. Concerning this latter occurrence, we follow a statement delivered by Br. Chevalier von Born, in Vienna.¹⁾ "There is a land," he says, "wherein the light of day never penetrates, the inhabitants of which wander about in perpetual darkness, and must give themselves up unconditionally to the direction of guides, who proud of their owlish eye-sight, accompany them through the obscurity, and presume to show them the right direction. These pilots through the eternal gloom, which there reigns supreme, have no more interesting employment, than that of extinguishing every

¹⁾ Vienna *Journal für Freimaurer* 1785. 2 Quarter. — Born on his part quotes the writing "*Procedures curieuses de l'inquisition de Portugal contre les Francs-Maçons*" (Haag, 1745).

ray of light, which may unexpectedly be let in, and render their assistance unnecessary. This land is Portugal, that Paradise of the monks, that seat of ignorance and prejudice, and the theatre of superstition. Some of our Brethren have sought to introduce Freemasonry here, to scatter the seeds of enlightenment, remove from some few Portuguese the chains which education and fanaticism have encircled around their understanding, and teach them to familiarise themselves with the sparks of light, which the all-wise Creator has infused into every man."

Brothers Coustos and Mouton, were they who undertook to perform this praiseworthy but dangerous work. John Coustos, a protestant from Bern, was a jeweller, and had settled in Lisbon, where he met with Br. Mouton, a jeweller from Paris, and in conjunction with him and a few other brethren had essayed to found a lodge, of which Mouton became the master. Their work had however scarcely begun, when Mouton and soon afterwards Coustos (March 14, 1743) through treachery and cunning fell into the claws of the Inquisition. Coustos was thrown into a dark prison and threatened with the most dreadful punishment, if he uttered a tone of complaint. At the end of five days, his hair was cut off close to his head, and he was conducted before his judges, a band of bloodthirsty monks. Coustos protested most solemnly that he had no idea, how he could possibly have offended the Inquisition, unless his belonging to Freemasonry could be reckoned against him as a crime, an association which had been the means of making him acquainted with men of worth and probity, but who could by no means become dangerous to religion, because they did not interfere with religious affairs, but lived at peace and unity with men of all creeds, exercising benevolence towards people of

all denominations. The accused was now called upon to declare the origin, aim, form of government, and secrets of the order; further to confess what Portuguese or foreign Catholics he had seduced and precipitated to eternal ruin, to what poor in Lisbon alms had been dispensed, and to reflect seriously, that he would most sensibly diminish the punishment to be awarded him, if he would become a convert to the Catholic faith. Coustos replied with that firmness and resolution, which were so suitable to a Freemason. With regard to the alms bestowed, he said, that the liberal gifts of the Brethren had always been showered upon the most needy and deserving of those who had presented themselves. That his religion was too dear to him for him ever to barter it away, in exchange for life and liberty. After this declaration he was thrown into a still deeper subterranean dungeon, and at the expiration of many weeks of imprisonment — was condemned to endure the punishment of the torture. For three successive months he was repeatedly brought out to be put on the rack, being strapped down at full length and burnt, so that not a joint in his body remained whole and untouched, and when the Inquisitors had quite exhausted their cruelty, without in the least shaking his firmness, he was summoned to an Auto-da-fé, to hear his final sentence. He there met with his friend and brother Mouton, who had been already put to the torture, and being a Catholic, was released, while Coustos was condemned to become a galley slave, for four years. He would here have infallibly succumbed under severe labor, if Lord Harrington and the Duke of Newcastle had not interceded for him, and obtained his liberty upon the plea of his being an English subject.

Of the operations of any other lodges, no intelligence has been received, but in 1776, Major *d'Alincourt*

and *Oyres de Ornelles Paracao*, a noble Portuguese, was seized at Lisbon, for being a Freemason, and imprisoned for fourteen months.

H. America.

The first historical reliable announcement of Freemasonry in America, is to be found in Boston, although there are, it is true, intimations¹⁾ that a Lodge existed in Philadelphia before this. Unfortunately the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, has never taken any steps, calculated to afford an authenticated record to go upon; the regular documents do not reach further back than to 1786. It is asserted, that as early as the year 1732, a Lodge in Philadelphia held its meetings in the "Tun Tavern" on the east side of Water street. The Fraternity in Savannah, Georgia, are of opinion that at that period,²⁾ if not earlier, Freemasonry had found entrance there. The first authority empowering the dissemination of Freemasonry in America, was accorded in 1730 by the English Grand Master Th. Howard, Duke of Norfolk, to Br. Daniel Cox, to become Provincial Grand Master of New-Jersey; yet nowhere can reliable testimony be found, that Lodges were originated by him.

A few years later the Fraternity were firmly established in Boston, which town may be regarded as the mother of American Freemasonry.

April 30, 1733, Br. Henry Price,³⁾ received a war-

¹⁾ See "*Triangel*". Ed. by E. Röhr. 7th Year. No. 2. Page 10.

²⁾ L. c. and Mitchell, history of Freem. Vol. I. page 477 &c.

³⁾ L. c. and Mitchell, history, v. I. p. 482, as also R. Morris, his-

rant, signed by Lord Viscount Montagu, Grand Master of Masons in England, appointing him Provincial Grand Master of New-England, with full power and authority to nominate his Deputies, and to unite those brethren residing in America, into one or several lodges, as he should consider expedient, or wherever opportunity offered. July 30, of that same year, the new Grand Master proceeded to open a provincial Grand Lodge in Boston, under the title of St. John's Grand Lodge, and from this one, through the exertions of the above-named Brother and his successor, Br. Tomlinson, several lodges originated in Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, Antigua &c. It is of course understood, that all these lodges acknowledged, that they adopted the Rite of the Grand Lodge of England.

One year after the appointment of Br. Price, and when his authority had met with recognition throughout America, he constituted a lodge in Philadelphia, the first W. Master of which, was the subsequently so celebrated Benjamin Franklin. From his printing press was sent forth in 1734, the first book ever published in America on Freemasonry, viz, an edition of Anderson's book of constitution. A letter of his addressed to Br. Price dated Nov. 28, 1734, has been preserved in which it is said (see "Triangel"): "In the Boston newspaper we read an article from London, which informs us, that by a decree of the Grand Lodge, held in August last, Mr. Price has been empowered to establish lodges any where upon the continent of America, which report we

tory of Freemasonry in Kentucky, p. 1. These two works, together with some other sources, we have followed the most closely. In the last mentioned work, there is a complete impression of Price's warrant of constitution. This brother was an emigrant according to Morris. He lived as a merchant in Boston, and died at Townsend, May 20, 1780.

hope is true, for we wish him success, from the very bottom of our heart. Although this has not been communicated to us, in a regular way, yet we believe the intelligence to be true, and deem it our duty, to submit to your lodge, that which according to our judgment is necessary to raise and strengthen the interests of Freemasonry in this country, (whereunto the approbation of a superior authority appears to be necessary, to give the requisite weight and authority to the records and resolutions of our lodge) viz: a warrant or charter, accorded by the worshipful Mr. Price, in virtue of his appointment received from England, wherein the privileges now enjoyed by the Brethren in Pennsylvania, are confirmed to them, i. e. the holding of a Grand Lodge once a year, the power of electing their Grand Master, Wardens, and other officers, for the administration of the affairs of the whole Fraternity in this country, with complete authority and jurisdiction according to the rules and customs observed by the Masons, and that the Grand Master of Pennsylvania shall only resign his seat, when the Grand Master of all America is present" &c.

In Boston many so-called ancient masons had, by degrees, assembled themselves, who did not join the lodges then existing there, but petitioned the Grand lodge of Scotland for a constitution, which was accorded them. Whereupon they established a lodge in 1752, (the same year in which George Washington was initiated a Mason, in the Fredericksburg lodge, Virginia), the St. Andrews Lodge No. 82, and of course transplanted the dissensions prevailing in England and formed two opposing camps, over the ocean. As notwithstanding the persecution of the elder Grand Lodge, for the mere sake of the name they bore of "Ancient Masons", they throve and flourished, they did all in

their power, to found other lodges according to this rite. The members determined upon demanding a constitution as a Grand Lodge, which the Grand Master of Scotland was only too willing to grant. At a meeting of the Brethren at the festival of St. John the Evangelist in 1769, Br. Joseph Warren received from the Earl of Dalhousie, then Grand Master of Scotland, a warrant signed by him, nominating the said brother provincial Grand Master of the so-styled ancient masons in Boston, within a circuit of a hundred miles, with which office he was formally invested at that same meeting. The name of this highly esteemed Brother was fully qualified to impart power and influence to the new Grand Lodge. The above document was followed by another in 1773, extending his jurisdiction over the whole continent of America. While Freemasonry was thus circulating throughout every part of the country, the two Grand Lodges, in Boston, were working under different systems, showing enmity towards each other, and yet each increasing in power, till at length, in 1775, the American war of independence broke out, putting an end to all strife and dissension, but at the same time suspending the activity of the lodges and the Grand Lodges.

Not till 1776 did the Brethren, scattered asunder by the war, assemble again in Boston. Many old friends were wanting. Many had been left on the field of honor; Warren too, the brave soldier and distinguished citizen, had fallen at the battle of Charlestown, July 17, while fighting for freedom and his native land. The office of Grand Master in one of the Grand Lodges was thus made vacant. In order to fill up this vacancy, and to animate and reorganise the Grand Lodge, the so-called Ancient Masons summoned a meeting for the first time, March 8, 1777, in which Br. Joseph Webb

was chosen Grand Master, and the Grand Lodge declared to be the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and independent of Scotland.

After the conclusion of peace in 1783, the St. John's Grand Lodge again recommenced work, but was far behind her more energetic sister, until they became one in 1792. Long previous to this, the disadvantages arising from the existence of two Grand Lodges, close to each other, had been sensibly felt; therefore a strong desire prevailed to restore harmony, confidence, and brotherly feeling, by uniting them into one. Br. Webb especially, eagerly desired the union, as indeed his chief aim was to further to the utmost of his power the cause of Freemasonry in America. He edited a masonic manual called the *Monitor*, wherein he followed Preston's teaching, which is the more praiseworthy, as at that time neither Preston's Illustrations nor Anderson's constitution book, had been placed in the hands of the American masons.

Besides these Grand Lodges with their daughters, there had been established during the war, Lodges of colored people, which worked separately. It was long doubted whether these were legally constituted, until Br. Dr. R. Barthelmess of Brooklyn, demonstrated from the history of their first beginning, that such was the case, so that their recognition can no longer with any show of reason, be withheld. Br. Barthelmess says¹⁾: At the beginning of the war, the English endeavored, and not wholly unsuccessfully, to win over the Indians and negroes. We find in the lists of regiments many names with "Black" or "Negro" marked against them. The damage inflicted by the Indians on the American sol-

1) „Die Logen Farbiger in den Ver. Staaten.“ *Bauhütte* 1861. p. 2 &c.

diery is well known. The prospect of obtaining their freedom, induced many slaves, especially in the south, to join the British standard in great numbers, during the war, or at its close, to withdraw from the land of slavery, and to emigrate to such parts as remained under England's jurisdiction, Nova Scotia, New-Brunswick, Canada &c. Neither must it be forgotten that the Americans themselves made use of the colored population for their own purposes. In almost every New-England State, whole battalions of freed colored men fought against the English and the German hired troops in their pay, with great bravery and steadiness; a black regiment from Rhode-Island, composed of 400 men, behaved themselves in a most laudable manner, against 1500 Hessians at Red Bank.

"Many reports agree on this one point, that the African Lodge was constructed in 1775; it is very probable, that the regiments then garrisoned in Boston, admitted colored persons into their lodges, from political motives, and that these brethren in combination with such as had been made in England, animated these lodges. It is also possible, that the African lodge, which had before the year 1784 carried on her work separate from the whites, had become possessed of a dispensation, through some military lodge or other, as was the case in the regiment composed of English and Germans Anspach-Bayreuth, which formed a lodge called "Seybothen" in New York, who afterwards assisted in setting up a Provincial lodge in that town, in 1781."

An article in No. 4, Vol. 14th of the "Masonic Journal" mentions that, in 1775, the African lodge was formed of English troops, and draws a very favorable picture both of it and its president.¹⁾

1) See *Amerik. deutsche Jahrb. für FrMr.*, 1859—60. p. 98.

In a speech delivered June 24, 1828, by Br. J. T. Hilton, Grand Master of the African Grand Lodge in Boston, and in another in 1853, by Br. Delany, in Pittsburgh, it is expressly remarked, that the Colored lodge of Boston had applied to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, petitioning for a constitution, but had been dismissed with a refusal. Consequently if they wished to carry on the lodge, according to the rules and regulations laid down by the craft, they found themselves compelled to prefer their request to some foreign lodge, (for from any American lodge, they had nothing better to expect, than from Massachusetts) and did so, at a period when two Grand Lodges existed in the state, and the Grand Lodge of England was ignorant of any declarations of independence on the part of the American Provincial lodges, and when the recognition of what was termed the "right of district" had never been heard of. The Grand Lodge in London (*modern Masons*), "the source of light", as Prince Hall calls her in the first letter of his, which I obtained a sight of (1784), did not for a moment hesitate to comply with the wishes of the petitioners, and on Sept. 29, 1784, granted them a charter No. 459, which was signed by the Grand Master R. Holt, and the Grand Secretary William White. At the end of this document may be found the acknowledgment of the Grand Secretary, of the payment of the legal fees, bearing the date: Feb. 29, 1787." ¹⁾

All the doubts which were started on several sides, and even entertained by the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Br. Ch. W. Moore,

¹⁾ This charter is printed verbatim in *Mirror and Keystone*. Philadelphia vol. VIII. No. 37, p. 439"; "Freemason's Monthly Magazine ed. by Ch. W. Moore, Boston, Vol. XIX. 4. p. 122"; and in Röhr's *Jahrbücher*, Vol. IV. p. 96 &c.

touching the genuineness of this charter, all the subterfuges, to which the foreign correspondence-committee in the Grand Lodge of New York had recourse, to prove that the assertions of the African Lodge were incorrect, all fall to the ground, before this correspondence of Br. Prince Hall which I now hold in my hands, written at the time, and upon this very subject, as well as the writings of other brethren both American and English.

The whole of Hall's letters, even those registered in his Journal, which Br. Barthelmess produced, are published in the "*Bauhütte*" (1861. P. 4 &c). They not only show the fallacy of the acceptance of the opinion, that the Grand Lodge of England very shortly after granting the charter, withdrew it, but also go far to prove, that if any slackening of the intercourse between the two, were perceptible, it originated on the part of the Grand Lodge of England.

Pennsylvania. The first Lodge in this State was, as has been before said, founded by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in Philadelphia (1734), and their first president was Benjamin Franklin, who was born at Boston, Jan. 17, 1706, and therefore at that time just starting upon his brilliant career, in the course of which he rose by his own merit and genius, industry and energy, from a simple printer's boy, to be a renowned scholar, a distinguished statesman, and the ideal of a true patriot. Of his deeds as a Freemason we unfortunately know but little; so much however is certain, that he was completely devoted heart and soul, to the Fraternity and its pure unadulterated teachings, and that during his sojourn in Paris, he visited the lodges there. His whole glorious life, so worthy of imitation, was a constant, practical application of the principles of Freemasonry.

June 20, 1764, the Grand Lodge of England constituted a Provincial Grand lodge of Pennsylvania, and

Br. William Bell was nominated Prov. Grand Master. This Prov. Grand Lodge is said to have been in active operation, until the breaking out of the war of Independence, but reliable and exact information is wanting. In the year 1779, the brethren, Br. General Washington being present, celebrated the winter festival of St. John's Day, in Philadelphia, on which occasion Br. William Smith was made Grand Secretary, and commissioned to make a collection of laws, for the regulation of the Grand Lodge. He submitted these to the approval of the Grand Lodge, Nov. 22, 1781, which accepted them; they were an abridgment and adaptation of Dermott's "Ahiman Rezon". In 1780 an idea was started, probably with the intention of becoming perfectly independent of foreign countries, the realization of which, future generations will strive to accomplish, viz: the establishment of a General American Grand Lodge, to which the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania gave the first encouragement, by proposing General Washington as first General Grand Master, and inviting the Grand Lodges of Massachusetts and Virginia, (this latter was formed Oct. 30, 1778,) to co-operate in the work. The project was very coldly received, so that it was soon abandoned.

New York. There is but very little certain intelligence concerning the early history of Freemasonry in the state of New York; it¹⁾ appears that before the establishment of the Provincial Grand lodge in 1782, most of the Lodges there were military or field lodges. It is true, that even as early as 1737, the English Grand Master, Lord Darnley had authorised the construction of a Provincial Grandlodge in New York, but this permission

1) See Röhr's *Amerikanisch-deutsche Jahrb.* 1856. Page 191 &c. and Mitchell, history I. vol. page 502 etc.

was not taken advantage of. Afterwards, constitutions were conferred, partly by the same Grand Lodge, partly by the Irish, by the Grand Lodge of the so-styled Ancient Masons in England, and the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, (*Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons*), for the founding of lodges in the province of New York, but during the Revolution most of their works were suspended, with the exception of the field lodges.

In 1781, many of the brethren applied to England for a warrant for the erection of a Grand Lodge, and this indeed, to the Grand Lodge of the sectarians. By what means the brethren became possessed of this Original Constitution, will long remain a mystery, for the searching and meritorious enquiries¹⁾ of Br. F. Gust. Finke, in Brooklyn, have proved almost to a certainty, that it was a forged one. This close, critical investigation has made thus much pretty evident, that the person represented as having drawn up the Patent, viz: John, third Duke of Athol, was not Grand Master at the time cited, and still less likely to have brought it about "in the seventh year of his Grand mastership". Neither does this charter contain, as is customary, the signature of the Grand Master, but of the Grand Secretary, and in the minutes of the London Grand Lodge of the so-styled ancient Masons, there is no mention of the bestowal of a constitution for the founding of a Provincial Grand Lodge of New York.

In virtue of this very equivocal Constitution, dated Sept. 5, 1782, nine lodges assembled Dec. 5, 1782, three town, and six military lodges, in one Grand Lodge. The brethren of the lodge of the regiment "Seybothen"

¹⁾ The early history of the Original Charter of the Grand Lodge of New York. Critically examined by Br. F. G. Finke. New York, 1856. G. B. Teubner.

(Ansbach-Bayreuth) were Germans, and at their head was their chairman, Max von Streit. — Soon after the declaration of the Independence of the United States, this Provincial Grand Lodge released herself from her state of dependence, and declared herself independent.

The High De- Until the year 1762, the American brethren
grees. knew but the three St. John's degrees of genuine Masonry; but about this period Stephen Morin, an Israelitish Brother from Paris, arrived, with a cargo of ribands and stars, and the new rite of the "sovereign masonic princes", and sowed the weeds of the High degrees, which grew up luxuriously and wildly exuberant, and was destined to retard and choke the growth of all good masonic seed. Before his departure in 1761, he had been appointed Grand deputy inspector by the Parisian "*Conseil des Empereurs d'Orient et d'Occident*", and had been charged especially by this conseil to spread the knowledge of the twenty-five recognised high degrees, on the other side of the Ocean. He not only did this, but he induced the brethren, to raise the number of these degrees from 25 to 33. This spurious order of Masonry received subsequently the name of "Ancient and accepted Rite", or "Scottish Rite" In the "*Extrait du livre d'or du Suprême Conseil du 33^{me} degré en France (Paris, 1808)*" it was asserted that Fredrick II. of Prussia had, in 1786, had the higher degrees and the masonic constitutions of the ancient rite revised, and to the twenty-five recognised degrees, had caused eight new ones to be added, and appointed a superior council to the thirty-three degrees. This fabrication has been since, and is still, echoed by the credulous believers in this rite, although any one at all conversant with the subject knows, that Frederick the Great did not then, nor indeed during the last fifteen years of his life, take any immediate, active interest in the Lodges. (See Appendix.)

I. Masonic Literature.

The literature of the doctrines, customs, regulations, and history of Freemasonry, especially of more modern times, is as important and interesting, as it is most undeniable that it has worked both favorably and unfavorably in the development of Freemasonry. We see from it, not only how "since the existence of the association many of the best, most efficient, and intelligent men have been urged to push forward in their course, and indeed its opponents themselves numerous as they have been, have only helped to promote the dissemination of this cosmopolitan brotherhood", but we may also perceive, what sort of a spirit has animated the brotherhood at different times, and what steps in advance, or retrograde have been taken in their intellectual struggles. It is true that the literature of the period treated of, is neither very wide in its range, nor of much intrinsic worth. We shall here therefore only confine ourselves to a few select works, and to a mere hasty and general glance at their contents.

The first work of any consideration which appeared in print, therefore may in some degree be regarded as breaking the ice for masonic literature in general, is Anderson's book of Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England, the first edition of which appeared in 1723. This and the following editions contain the most important and reliable source of information of the rules and regulations in Freemasonry, and also of a portion of its history. For a time though it was deprived of that consideration and weight which were its due, when the masonic errors crept in. "When", as Kloss remarks, "the strict observance, which originated in the French

High Degrees, was forced upon the German brethren, whether they would or no, snatching away from them every memento of their descent from England, and giving them instead the ridiculous fable of their origin from Masonry in Scotland. Above all it was necessary, to represent the Constitution book as suspicious and not to be depended on in order to make room for the precepts of the High order, in the seventh province. The systems which arose immediately after the fall of the strict observance, found it likewise to their interest, to turn aside the brethren from their guiding star, the constitution book, which would have brought them back from the path of error; and although whatever seemed to them serviceable for their systems, was culled out of it, and appropriated to themselves, yet they endeavored to diminish its value by falsely asserting, that it had been tampered with, and written in cipher. Not till the commencement of the present century, when a sincere and honest study of the authentic history of Freemasonry was set on foot, was recourse had to the worthy old book, and the principles of genuine Masonry were found recorded within it; although it is to be feared, that generation after generation will pass away, before all honest and candid brethren will return to the ancient unadulterated Freemasonry of the year 1723."

To begin with the writings published in England first — we will mention another source, whence the History of Freemasonry is derived, viz: "the Pocket Companion and history of Freemaçons" by Scott, which appeared in 1754, and contains much valuable intelligence, not stated in the constitution book. An offshoot of this last mentioned book, is the Statute book of the innovators, the so-called ancient Masons, which is principally elaborated from Anderson's edition of the year 1738: "*Alhiman Rezon, or a help to all that are*

(or would be) *free and accepted Masons, containing the quintessence of all that has been published on the subject of Freemasonry, by Laurence Dermott; London, 1756*". This work,¹⁾ is properly speaking a collection of single treatises, and in the whole little more than a violent polemic discussion against the regularly constituted English Grand Lodge; it was for a long time, and portions even to the present day form, the basis on which the American brethren work.

Of the teacherous writings appearing at that time, which were only solicitous concerning the outward condition of the association, we will cite: "The Grand Mystery discovered" and "The secret history of Masonry" 1724—25, "Sam. Prichard, Masonry dissected, being an universal and genuine description of all its branches" &c. (1730), and the works which appeared later, "Jachin and Boas or an authentic key to the Door of Freemasonry" &c. and "The three distinct Knocks" &c.

Finally we must call to mind three English works, viz: W. Calcott, candid disquisition of the Principles and Practices of Masonry (1768), Preston's Illustrations, and Hutchinson's Spirit of Masonry, which latter have been translated into German. In the work, "Spirit of Masonry in moral and elucidatory lectures; London, 1776", Hutchinson, who for many years had been chairman of a lodge, declares that his intention was to explain first of all the origin of Masonry, the cause of its different regulations, the meaning of its symbols &c.; then he touches upon the mysteries of the ancients, the decorations of the lodges, the ornaments worn by the Masons, the Temple at Jerusalem, the charitable gifts &c.; in another part he endeavors to oppose the idea that the origin of the Fraternity was to be found in the

¹⁾ Krause, *Kunsturkunden*, II.

confederacies of working masons and represents Masonry as a Christian institution. Indeed so far does he go in this point, that he confines the delights and privileges of Freemasonry only to such Christians, who believe in the doctrine of the holy Trinity. This direction which he takes, completely contradicts the spirit of genuine Freemasonry, so that Fessler could say with justice, that one must read Hutchinson's spirit of Masonry, to know, what had been made of Freemasonry, by an immense number of men, who did not know what use to make of it. Even an English non-Mason, an author, calls Hutchinson "a Mystic among Mystics", and an "arrant heretic in the order, who broaches new opinions, for the sake of letting in dissensions among the brethren." As has been already said, this book was employed by the spurious masonic high Degree "Royal Arch", which then was gaining ground every day. The Grand Lodge of England, if she intended to remain true to her principles, ought not to have given her sanction to this work, written in such a partial spirit.

Of *Preston's Illustrations of Masonry* the first edition appeared in 1775, which was soon translated into German, by J. H. Chr. Meyer ("*Erläuterungen der Freimaurerei*"; Stendal, 1776). The book then only consisted of a few sheets, and its contents¹⁾ were not of any considerable worth. The later editions, which followed the first in quick succession, were essentially amplified and greatly enlarged, so that the book as it now is, is a rich fountain whence to draw masonic information. The first section contains an exposition of the excellency of Freemasonry; the second a description of

¹⁾ See the criticism of the 2nd German Edition in „*FrMr-Bibliothek*“ 2nd Section. P. 127 etc.

the ancient ceremonies, a report upon certain legal provisions, instructive lectures &c.; the third, the so-called "Trial", remarks upon Pythagoras, &c.; the fourth, the most circumstantial and important, is a history of Freemasonry in England; a collection of odes, anthems, and songs conclude the whole. This work was not alone recommended as a guide by the Lodge of Antiquity, in which the author was chairman, but has been adopted in nearly all English lodges, as a most indispensable masonic compendium.

William Preston was born July 28, 1742, in Edinburgh,¹⁾ of wealthy parents, and received in that town his first instruction. His love of ancient literature attracted the notice of Th. Ruddiman, the celebrated philologist, so that upon the death of Preston's father, he made him his Secretary, while at the same time he was entered apprentice to the printing business of his brother, Walter Ruddiman. When however Th. Ruddiman lost his sight, the effect of too persevering study, he employed young Preston to read aloud to him, and copy his works, which while it prevented his progressing in the art of printing, yet enabled him considerably to augment his general knowledge. In 1760 he went to W. Strahan, a printer in London, in whose service he worked for thirty years, latterly as a corrector of the press, carrying on at the same time his own scientific works.

He was initiated as a Mason, in the Lodge "the White Stag" (under the Grand lodge of the Ancients), and between 1764—67 was joint-founder of the Caledonian lodge No. 180 (under the Grand Lodge of England, as in the mean while Preston had become aware

¹⁾ See Fessler's collected writings etc. III. p. 215 etc. and Lenning's Encycl. III. p. 123, as well as the Preface to Preston's Illustrations.

of the irregularity of the Ancients). From this epoch in his existence, he spared neither cost nor labor, to increase his masonic erudition, and having a very extensive acquaintance with Masons in his own, and foreign countries, and being likewise a very diligent inquirer, he soon became everywhere known as a highly-gifted Master of the Art. May 21, 1772, he arranged in the Lodge of the "Crown and Anchor" a solemn assembly of brethren of note, and there delivered a lecture upon Masonry in general, which met with universal applause.

He speaks of his own efforts in the cause thus: "Being determined to effect a thorough reformation in the craft, I, in combination with Brethren of congenial minds, have persevered in endeavoring to correct the irregularities which have crept into our meetings, and to place before the brethren in all our assemblies, a perfect model exemplifying the beauty and utility of our masonic bond. We begin our work by vindicating the binding nature of the ancient laws and statutes of the order, which have through neglect been suffered to fall into oblivion. In order to impress on the members, the faithful discharge of their duty, we have written out the most essential portions of the teachings of the fraternity, and that others may be encouraged in promoting the project, we have laid it down as a general rule, that at every lawful meeting, one or more of these fundamental rules should be read aloud, and such passages as seem in the least obscure, should receive especial explanation. The useful hints, which we shall elicit by this proceeding, will gradually enable us to improve our design till at last we shall succeed in bringing all the plans which now compose the three lectures, into a connected form.

After having brought his masonic system into order, he issued invitations to a regular course of lectures upon

the different degrees of Freemasonry, which were held by him in 1774. In all the Lodges, in which his name was inscribed, he was so happy as to inculcate in the members, obedience to the laws and regulations of the society. By these means the subscriptions for charitable purposes, were much more considerable than heretofore. The Lodge of Antiquity, upon the first visit which he vouchsafed them, elected him their Master, which office he had held six years in the Lodge of Philanthropy. During his administration, the number of members sensibly increased, and the revenues of the Lodge improved accordingly. In the dispute which, in 1779, arose in the Lodge of Antiquity, with the Grand Lodge, Preston sided with his own Lodge, and was therefore, with his friends, excommunicated from the society. After a lapse of ten years, in 1790, the Grand Lodge, having instituted a fresh inquiry into the cause of dispute, re-admitted the members, including Preston, to their lodge, and to participation in all masonic privileges. When a member of the Grand Lodge, he elaborated the General Regulations, animated the correspondence, and for the benefit of the Charitable fund, published a "History of remarkable events", in the Freemasons Calendar. Subsequently he gave out his "Illustrations of Freemasonry", his principal work, the materials for which he had been long in collecting, which is one of the best and most extensively known works in the masonic literature of England.

France. The whole history of French Freemasonry of this period presents us with a very sad picture, its literature likewise appears in no better aspect, reflecting the spirit and temper of the times. Any thing like a work of importance on the subject is not to be met with; on the contrary we become acquainted with scarcely any thing else but treacherous and disputatious writings

or such productions as Ramsay's well known speech, which were only calculated to mislead, confuse, and perplex their readers; thus for example, we have: "*Le Secret des Franc-Maçons*", by *Abbé Perau*, (1742), *Travenol's Catechism* (1744), *Sceau rompu* (1745); *Parfait Maçon* and *Franc-Maçonne* (1744) and other similar pamphlets, of which but few are instructive or worth citing. Most of them we have already touched upon in the course of our history. The "*Franc-Maçon écrasé*", by the *Abbé Larudan*, which appeared in 1747, is worthy of especial notice; as Kloss remarks, he inclines to the same opinion as the hierarchy, who have attempted to soil pure, unadulterated Freemasonry, with vile suspicions imputing to it political and religious aims. This book has this unenviable distinction, that to this day, it is from these muddy waters, that the mystics and eternal enemies of light shovel out the slime with which they defile Freemasonry. Even as late as 1840, Herr Carl von Haller did not scorn, to bring this book out of its well-merited oblivion, into the light of day. To it the history of Freemasonry owes that false statement, that in Cromwell's time Masonry intermeddled with politics, with the intent to place the Stuarts again on the English throne, a statement which can only be repeated by those who know nothing at all of the real history of Freemasonry." There is likewise included in this work, a ritual of the Scottish degree, entitled *les Architectes*, the carpet of which, with a few changes, is the same as that of the Scotch degree of the strict observance.

Of the later French productions we will only advert to the notorious one, which caused great excitement in its day: "*Des erreurs et de la Vérité, ou les hommes rappelés au principe universel de la Science. Par un ph. inc.*" (By *St. Martin*) 2 Ed. 1781. Not alone in France was it esteemed by individual brethren, as gospel,

but even in Germany it was regarded as a genuine literary treasure of masonic science, and especially recommended by the spiritual Knights from Asia. Br. Claudius, the "*Wandsbecker Bote*" translated it into German, though, as he himself acknowledged, he could not understand it. Br. Kreil in the Vienna "*Journal für Freimaurer*" (1st. Year, 4th. Quarter p. 55 &c.) has spoken very fully of the work of this unknown philosopher. He has made extracts from it, in which he cites the fundamental and main points in it, and pursues its history to the most ancient times, "to make it apparent through what systems the ideas of the author have wandered, what part these systems have played, and what modifications they underwent, before they reached him." Then he attempted to show their worth and their worthlessness, the information we may draw from them, and what was erroneous or one-sided in their teachings. With regard to its contents, the author (St. Martin) does not intend to supply any system, but to give the key to all the allegories and mystical fables of the ancients, the source of all religious and political institutions, and a model of the laws which should regulate the universe as well as single persons, and without which no real science could exist.

Br. Kreil utters his opinion in the following words: „Never has an author taken such advantage of Malebranche's long previously discovered doctrine of the power the imagination exercises over men of weak minds, for collecting in writing such ideas and hypotheses, as are peculiar to the author or inherited from others, together with every kind of metaphysical nonsense, he shamelessly asserts them to be very truth, referring the reader to the same, with most unexampled arrogance. He discovers, it is true, the contradictions to be found in the systems invented by men, but who

does not do so? From this we are led to the conclusion that we often err; but the author has done so little towards solving the problem, and separating truth from falsehood, that we every where find him imperceptibly coupling conjecture and fact, throwing over the whole a dim twilight, and then not adducing it in the shape of a supposition, but maintaining it as an incontrovertible important truth, and such a truth indeed which not to know he affirms, entails punishment."

One other artifice, by which our author has above all others sought to create for himself a name with the multitude, is that he brings in his opinions, as if they agreed entirely with that view taken of the Bible by the people, and with finger raised, he assumes the attitude of one who has in his pocket the only key to those secrets, which the people have been taught and regard as sacred. A still more severe judgment is passed on the book by Nicolai, who following in Bode's wake, with Gedike and Biester also perceive Jesuitism and Jesuitical schemes in the entire work.

Germany. What we have said of the masonic literature of France, will apply equally well to Germany; for the more perfect writings of a Bode, a Vogel, a Herder &c. belong, in tone and expression, to a more recent date. But one performance of the kind stands out prominently like a ray of light: Lessing's "*Gespräche über Freimaurerei*". But of this more hereafter. Of the pamphlets written in defence of the Fraternity, when it was attacked, we will mention: "Ehrhard's *kurzgefasste Geschichte und gerettete Ehre des erlauchten Freimaurer - Ordens*" (Coburg, 1754), inquiries concerning the origin and the locality where the order first became known, founded upon masonic and antimasonic writings of the period, by a Non-mason, whose judgment is impartial, just, and benevolent; and the "*Aoplogie des Ordens der Freimau-*

rerei". By Br. *** (Joh. A. Baron von Stark). Newly revised edition (Berlin, 1778). The first edition of this book appeared in 1769. Three years subsequently, it was republished in two different places, nearly at the same time, and after the lapse of a few years, there was again a new edition, and a translation into the Swedish language. In 1778, a revised and enlarged edition was printed, which with very slight claim thereto, was welcomed by a reviewer in the Freemason's Library, as a classic work.

Knigge calls most of the works which appeared previous to and in the year 1783, and most justly too, "as either extremely insignificant in their character, or else as frauds". "A neophyte in Freemasonry forms, out of the few hieroglyphics which, without any explanation, are placed before him, and left for him to reflect upon, an ideal of his own, and having no knowledge of the thing, gives us his hasty undigested thoughts, about the nature of the order, as if these were genuine indications of its inner worth. Another patches up a few mystical, incomprehensible whims and fancies, and tries to palm them off upon us, as integral portions of the Royal Art. Finally there are a number of masonic books, which are merely written, to cast suspicion upon other systems, in order to recommend one system alone as the only true one."

The first person, who in this period of darkness, investigated and sifted the character and purpose of Masonry to its very depths, and expressed his opinions to perfection, was our G. E. Lessing, whose "*Ernst und Falk, Gespräche für Freimaurer*" (Wolfenbüttel 1778)¹),

¹) See *Ernst und Falk etc. historisch-kritisch erläutert von Dr. J. F. L. Th. Merzdorf*. Hanover, 1855. Herein are all the records known of Lessing as a Freemason.

is one of the best things which have ever been written, upon Freemasonry, taking exception however to his hypothesis concerning the origin of the order, which has been long refuted. The plan of these masterly „*Gespräche*” Lessing had most probably prepared, before he was initiated into the Fraternity, in Hamburg.

Zinnendorf, who had heard of Lessing’s intention, addressed a letter to him, to induce him to relinquish the idea of publishing his „*Gespräche*”. But fortunately, Lessing did not allow himself to be deterred from his purpose, by such an eccentric person as Zinnendorf. Before having them printed, he submitted them to the inspection of Masons and Non-masons of known discernment and penetration, who knew how to appreciate them; they met with universal approbation, and assisted most essentially in spreading just views on the subject of Masonry.

A still deeper and comprehensive view of genuine Freemasonry, does Lessing take in his „*Nathan der Weise*”, a production which we will not further discuss here. —

Masonic periodical literature first began to develop itself at the close of the period, we have been reviewing. The first of the kind was “Bode’s Almanack or Pocket Book for the Freemasons of the united Lodges” (1776—1779), a publication which is often quoted, and of which Kloss says, that within the compass of its four unpretending volumes is “enclosed a perfect literature of Freemasonry”. — The “*Freimaurer-Bibliothek*” in eight volumes (Berlin 1778—1803) has followed in the wake of this almanack, and also the “*Freimaurer-Zeitung*” which appeared in Berlin in 1783.

A retrospective view.

When trying to present to our view a general idea of the course of the development of Freemasonry, from 1717 to 1783, our eye can only rest with complete satisfaction, upon the first thirty years of its existence, the happy period when it was in its infancy, that glorious epoch when Freemasonry was first founded, cultivated, and propagated, the time when inward peace and unity prevailed. — Being more universal in its tendencies than other confederations, embracing all mankind, and aiming at promoting their moral, spiritual, and physical advancement, it ought to have from, the very beginning, insisted upon the recognition of the inviolability of the general laws of the order, upon complete unity on essential points, and the maintaining the dignity of the institution in all its purity, though in every thing else leaving its members perfect freedom and independence. The mother lodge of England had, on the one hand, been guilty of great neglect, and had grievously sinned, while on the other hand many events had combined to retard its progress. The Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland were formed without the co-operation and participation of England, and without there existing a friendly understanding between them, and this was not a favorable omen for their labouring together in one

common cause, for their unity of spirit, nor for the healthy development of the fraternity. Nor had the society long existed before a deplorable schism broke out in the Brotherhood; for a second Grand Lodge by the schismatic "ancient Masons" was formed in England, and a severing element sprung up in the very heart of this "union of unions". Further disturbances did not fail to make themselves felt. In France first of all, there shot up that baneful seed of lies and frauds, of vanity and presumption, of hatred and discord, the mischievous high Degrees, the misstatement that our order was allied to that of the Templars, and existed at the time of the Crusades, the removal of the old Charges, the bringing in surreptitiously of a multitude of symbols and forms, which awoke the love of secrecy, knighthood, and in fact every thing tending to poison Freemasonry, was let in with the high Degrees. We have noticed how luxuriously the tares grew, and how quickly they spread into Germany, Russia, Sweden, and even to Scotland, Ireland, and England, deteriorating from the dignified worth of Freemasonry, hindering the advance of improvement, and everywhere causing and fostering dissension and discord. Lodges and Grand Lodges arise and vanish, systems appear and disappear, connections are made and broken; the Grand Lodge of England, who herself formed her own constitutions on hierarchical principles, and thus in many respects deteriorated from its worth, vouchsafed to recognise connections, and allies with Grand Lodges, which stood on quite another foundation to what she did, with other aims and purposes, and unable to adduce any proof of the lawfulness of their origin; in a word — obscurity, ignorance, and confusion, and sometimes even delusion and manifest cheating. "Not perfectly agreed amongst themselves as to what they desired, sometimes striving after one thing,

sometimes after another, now involved in the absurdities of mysticism, alchemy, and theosophy; now sunk in a miserable cloud of petty secrets, and as much dazzled with its light, as if they were that genuine wisdom, which they so much needed; sometimes branching out into wide-spreading boughs, and then again uniting in the bonds of friendship with unworthy companions, all this forms as melancholy an aspect, as can well be conceived. It assumes the appearance of a restless struggling and contending without any plan, only to exhibit themselves in an agreeable light, in the eyes of the uninitiated and thus conceal from themselves their own extreme wretchedness. Nowhere combination, solidity, or real vitality. ¹⁾ It is much to be lamented that at that time there was no well-conducted, generally circulated masonic periodical. The spirit of Freemasonry was not however entirely extinguished; sociability was at least nurtured, benevolence practised, here and there, the desire to improve was visible, the germ of what was excellent and genuine carefully sustained by single individuals, and the outward form at any rate preserved, so that notwithstanding all the ill usage it had to undergo, the pith remained whole and unscathed. "The fraternity concealed in its symbols, moral and social principles, which enclosed the germ of a new society more noble in their ideas, and in secret paved the way for the establishment of the same. These were ideas of liberty and justice, of equality and fraternity, of association and consolidation; ideas, which had for their aim the bringing out in the people a more perfect and manly feeling, far superior to that which governed the world in general;

¹⁾ Speech of Br. J. Schuderoff in "*Neues Journal für FrMrei*" I. 3. Altenburg, 1819.

ideas, the results of which were an appreciation of man's moral worth, his conscience, reason, and reflecting powers, a mine of wealth peculiarly his own, the keystone to which lay in his rights as man."

"To remain true to these principles, to disseminate them, from generation to generation, from country to country, handing them down to posterity in religious worship and symbols, this was the mission of Freemasonry, which she attained to at this epoch, by means of her heroic zeal, firmness, and constancy, and surviving every persecution." (Ausonio Franchi).

Notwithstanding the intrusion of the high Degrees there, England, which gave birth to Freemasonry, upheld the institution, comparatively speaking, in its greatest purity; the old Charges remained there untouched, she felt conscious of the universality of the Brotherhood, and of the legality of the lodges. In Germany and France, the confusion was extensive and penetrated deeply, only that in Germany, Masonry never sank so low, as for a time was the case with her neighbours, and Germany was likewise the first to gather her strength together, and to set about radical reform both within and without. After the introduction of the Templar-Rosicrucian system into Sweden, she did not submit to any further innovations; her organisation was firmly established, and as the single lodges enjoyed but little independence, the King being at their head as masonic Pope, or master of the order, surrounded by a college of cardinals, (Brother architects) and provided with unalterable teaching, the Swedish fraternity rejoiced in as profound a peace and repose as in olden times had fallen to the lot of the Catholic Church, with which this system was united in spirit. Freemasonry in general assumed, in each country, a different character, according

to the peculiar disposition of the nation, which then became expressed in the forms and arrangements of the institution. This however was not in itself wrong, but only in so far as community of purpose suffered by it.

In the second part of this work, we shall become acquainted with the period of the purifying and refining of Masonry, of its return to its ancient simplicity and genuineness, the period of reform and progress, both within and without. Union and reconciliation, a deeper recognition of the true meaning of Freemasonry, an ardent longing to know the real history of the order, and to assist in the ennobling and improvement of the same; the sovereign sway of mind over matter in their works, and the purification of the form, from all that was extraneous and heterogeneous, proposals of improvement emanating from the superior authorities, i. e. from the Grand Lodges, and the successful struggle for more liberty and independence by individual brethren and Lodges, these and the like, are the characteristic signs and principal aims of the Fraternity, especially in Germany, in the period between 1784—1813, and thence down to the present time.

Thus the alliance of free Masons is not founded upon external forms or dogmas of any kind whatsoever, but simply upon the pure edifying union of men of independent principles, combined for the purpose of promoting the most sacred interests of mankind. Men of worth and renown have gradually been brought to acknowledge, that if the Fraternity is to remain faithful to its original design, and to fulfil its sublime task, it must valiantly press onward, perpetually freshening up its regulations, correcting its judgments, improving and enlarging its works, by the restoration of the strictest and severest unity in principle, being inspired to all

this, by love, that fountain whence issue all our voluntary efforts for what is good and right: this then is the summing up of the whole: Union in essential matters, liberty in every thing unimportant and doubtful, love under all circumstances; one bond, one universal law, one Brotherhood in spirit and in truth!

History of Freemasonry.

Second Period.

From 1784—1813.



Introduction.

In the history of the world, as one nation drops off, another takes its place, so is it likewise in the history of Freemasonry; one takes upon himself the task of promoting its further culture, where another having fulfilled his mission has just laid it down. The important position acquired by England in the former period, belongs to Germany in this one.

To England belongs most indisputably the merit of having spiritualized and elevated operative masonry to one of the liberal arts, and established the fraternity under its present form, by bringing prominently forward the idea which it has ever possessed, even when first instituted, and propagating this both far and near. It is the fate of every thing human, that the perfect realisation of its ideas, is never attained all at once. In essential particulars, England remained steadfast to the stand originally taken. With sober perseverance and practical aptitude, she kept firmly to the simple and moderate views laid down, yet while especially reverencing the principle of usefulness, the English neglected to grasp Masonry in all its depth and comprehensiveness, to work out a superior mental refinement of the doctrines, customs, and usages; they were not deeply interested in investigating its history, and struggling to

restore that brotherly unity which had been lost. This work was given to Germany to perform, and we shall see hereafter, how she fulfilled it. In consequence of the manifold errors and convulsions, with which we are already acquainted, she was compelled to deliberate and to investigate deeply; early habituated to scrutinise with the closest attention, with a spirit ever young, she found out for herself, the ultimate purpose of all knowledge; accustomed to rise above every inaccessible height, borne aloft on the pinions of superior intelligence, to the German Brethren was conceded the developing the yet unfolded bud of Freemasonry into full blossom.

In former periods we saw how a spirit of centralisation had loosened the bonds of the confederation; we shall in the succeeding epochs see how this radiating principle became its most characteristic and distinguishing feature. In former periods all the members of the order, assembled more or less closely around the mother Lodge of all Masons, the English Grand Lodge, as round a general centre, and thus the unity of the fraternity was in some measure kept up. But there was wanting to this masonic unity that most necessary accompaniment — liberty, which is as indispensable a requisite, as is that other component part of a confederation, love. It is true that the price required for the attainment of this liberty, was the renunciation of unity. The principle of propagation was powerfully supported, partly caused by outward circumstances, and the universal desire for independence, and this, as we shall see further on, found expression in the provincial Grand Lodges separating themselves from the English Mother Lodge, and in the formation of independent Grand Lodges, especially in America and Germany.

A. England.

At the period of which we are now about to treat, the English fraternity held firmly to the general laws and regulations binding on the order, but energetic, intellectual vitality was wanting. The work in the Lodges was a matter of form; it was very rare indeed that any thing like zeal, or superior intelligence was brought to bear upon it, and in most lodges, no heed was given to the dignity and solemnity which were its due; masonic matters were but imperfectly understood; sufficient circumspection was not observed at the initiation of new members, so that disturbing and injurious elements found admittance into the brotherhood; the lodges were little more than social meetings, having a good moral tendency. Acts of benevolence formed a prominent characteristic in English masonry at that time, as it does likewise to this day.

The order of Heredom. Under these circumstances, it is true that the three St. John's Degrees remained undisturbed; but close by their side throve tares, viz: the High degrees. To the Royal Arch Degree, which was practised in some few places, was added a Grand Chapter of Harodim in London, Jan. 4, 1787.¹⁾

¹⁾ Harodim, also Heredom and Herodom, from *haeres* = heir; in the high degrees it is asserted that there exists a mountain of this name in Scotland. — In France this order was introduced in the year 1786. In different parts of Europe it has been neither favored nor propagated.

Preston says, when speaking of this degenerate offshoot: "Although this order is of ancient origin (??) and was favorably received, yet before this period there is no authentic statement of the legal establishment of any such society in England." "The mysteries of this order, are peculiar to the institution; the instruction imparted by the chapter, comprehends every branch of Masonry, and represents the Craft in a perfect and complete form. The Grand Chapter is conducted by a Grand patron, two vice-patrons, a superior director, and two assistants, with a council, composed of twelve respectable fellows, who are chosen once a year, shortly before the festival of John the Evangelist." Tradition relates that Robert Bruce established this order, shortly after the battle of Bannockburn, from the residue of the Templars, who had joined themselves to him. A month after the installation of this Chapter, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cumberland in the chair, was initiated into Freemasonry, Feb. 6, 1787, who then Nov. 21, of that same year, introduced his brother, the Duke of York, into the same lodge. This gave to the lodge exterior lustre, which it is true, was but transitory, however an imperishable monument was erected by the Brethren, by the founding of a benevolent institution.

The Freemason's Br. Chevalier Barthol. Ruspini, a zealous Girls' School. Mason, had about this time sketched out a plan for the establishment of an asylum and school for female children and orphans of impoverished Brethren. As he could not succeed in making his brethren interested in the matter, he applied to the Duchess of Cumberland, who warmly advocated the cause, and recommended it to the notice of the Royal family and the nobility generally. To her patronage is owing, that the Royal Cumberland Freemasons' School was founded in the year 1788, and soon was in a most flourishing

condition. The following year fifteen children were provided for in the establishment, and in 1793 the manager of this benevolent institution, having received voluntary contributions from the fraternity in England, and also from India, was in a position, considerably to augment the number of pupils, and to set about building¹⁾ a spacious school-house for the reception of one hundred children. This splendid school has prompted to the erection of similar institutions for the sons and widows of indigent or deceased Masons.

The Prince of Wales,
Grand Master. When Cumberland was Grand Master, almost all the scions of the Royal house became Freemasons, a circumstance which caused extreme delight to the English brotherhood in general, as in England there has always been from time immemorial, much too great stress laid upon the accession of royal and influential personages. Feb. 10, 1790, Preston relates the Grand Lodge was informed that Edward, Duke of Kent, and Augustus Frederick, subsequently Duke of Sussex, were made Masons, the latter in the Berlin lodge "Royal York", the former on his travels at Geneva; whereupon it was unanimously determined — though not much to the credit of the community — that they should be clothed with the vestments of Grand officers, and in processions should take the rank of Past Grand masters. At the grand Festival, in May, the Grand Master Cumberland was accompanied by his nephews, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence, and surrounded by more than 500 brethren. On this occasion, the members of the lodge of Antiquity were reinstated in their rights, after an exclusion of ten years. When the Duke of Cumberland died, the Prince of

¹⁾ For the statutes of this school see *Preston's Illust.*, Page 273, and *Mitchel, History*, I, page 287.

Findel, *History of Freemasonry*.

Wales was chosen Grand Master in his stead, to the inexpressible delight of the fraternity, Nov. 24, 1790, but not installed in office, until May 2, 1792. The lodges in the town and in the country vied with each other, in proving their attachment to the new Grand Master, their obedience to the laws, and their readiness to uphold the government and its legal commands, whence emanated that inestimable blessing of freedom, which was productive of such essential happiness to all people; and materially assisted in the spread of those principles, which were the characteristics of the masonic fraternity, viz: charity, brotherly love, and concord.

Address to the King. As a consequence of the events which occurred in France, differences also began to arise in England, and here and there the seeds of anarchy and confusion were sown, so that most of the corporations in the kingdom considered, it would be a good opportunity to memorialise the King on the subject, and make known the sentiments of the friends of their country, and of the faithful adherents to the laws; and this example was followed by the masons. Accordingly the Grand Lodge determined unanimously, Feb. 8, 1793, to present an address to the King, through their Grand Master, the Prince of Wales, which actually took place, and was most graciously received.

Libels against the Fraternity. It is difficult to understand why the Grand Lodge, who was perfectly justified and might have been satisfied with declaring her adhesion to the government and its laws, should have made use of this opportunity to express her political feelings likewise, by giving vent to her thoughts upon the form of government adopted, and upon certain political points, which proceeding was thoroughly opposed to masonic principles; at any rate this is an example, which ought not to be imitated, but which unfortunately was the case in

France, on a still more inappropriate occasion, some years later. Every deviation from the fundamental laws of the fraternity, every interference with political affairs is dangerous, and will in time work mischief; for their opponents are only too glad to have a handle to seize hold of, and that they were full of suspicions, is proved sufficiently by the writings of the period, writings which were nothing more than pitiable productions of fear and ignorance, but nevertheless, though ephemeral, they made a noise in the world from the very impudence of their accusations and calumniations. "The circulation which these writings enjoyed," says Preston, "excited general uneasiness, and for a time hindered the advance of the Society in Europe." The works of which we are now speaking, are the Abbé Barruel's, "*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme*", 1797, which was translated into English in 1798 by Robert Clifford, and in 1800 under the title "Memoirs of the History of Jacobinism" (*Denkwürdigkeiten etc.*), it appeared in the German language, and the work "Proofs of a conspiracy carried on against all religions and forms of government in Europe, in the secret assemblies of the Freemasons, Illuminati, and reading societies, by John Robison, Professor of natural philosophy in Edinburgh" (1797; English, afterwards translated into German, going through three editions). Both agree together, in essential particulars, maintaining, that long before the French Revolution, a threefold conspiracy existed on the continent, viz: the compassing the subversion of all religions, the downfall of kingdoms, and the destruction of all order in domestic life. The conspirators, among whom the Illuminati were especially understood, had employed the Lodges of the Freemasons, as their principal tool, and their agents were everywhere actively at work, to bring about their purpose. It is much to be lamented, remarks

Preston, when speaking of Robison, that a man who lectures on Natural Philosophy, and of whom his countrymen entertain the best opinion, should be the author of a work, which reflects so little credit on his mind and disposition, or on his information and judgment. If we were to strike from his book all idle gossip, and every thing which rested on bare surmise, what remained would be too unimportant, to deserve a second thought. In an appendix to the 2nd edition¹⁾, the Professor, imitating the Abbé Barruel, has chosen to except the English lodges from the reproach of being evil-disposed towards the government. He admits that their meetings are harmless and inoffensive, and acknowledges that they practise the virtue of benevolence enjoined on them by their order. But this is merely a subterfuge; for from the whole contents of his book it is evident, that his intention is, by these extraordinary accusations to sound the trumpet of alarm in the ears of his Majesty's ministers. We perceive however, that notwithstanding the condemnations he hurled against the Masons, not one of her illustrious patrons was induced to leave the society. On the contrary, Earl Moira at a meeting of the Grand Lodge, June 3, 1800, when alluding to the above libels, said: "that the wicked statements, which had been irregularly propagated, could never for one moment be tolerated, under any lawfully constituted authority whatever." "We therefore most expressly declare, that not only have such lax opinions not the least connection with the fundamental doctrines of Masonry, but that it is diametrically opposed to that law, which we regard as the foundation stone of the lodge, viz: Fear God and honor the King! While we confirm this solemn assurance, what more undeniable

¹⁾ Preston, Illustr.. p. 304, and Mossdorf, *Mittheilungen*, p. 198.

testimony could we adduce, than the fact, that so many of the illustrious members of the Royal family have been initiated into the order, are perfectly well aware of its aims, and most intimately acquainted with each single branch of its administration under the Grand Lodge of England?!"

"It is also proved," continues Preston, "that his Majesty's ministers did not entertain the slightest suspicions of the followers of Freemasonry; for when, July 12, 1799, an act of Parliament was passed, for the more effectual suppression of associations having insurrection and high treason for their aim, a clause¹⁾ was especially inserted in favor of the Freemasons, their lodges being excepted from the punishment, threatened in the act. The brotherhood soon found an opportunity of returning their thanks for this favor, by offering their congratulations on the occasion of his Majesty's happy escape from the hands of the assassin, Hadfield.

Union of the
two English
Grand Lodges. Under the favorable influence of the Grand Master the Prince of Wales, and the indefatigable exertions of the Earl Moira, the augmentation of the order in England, exceeded that of any preceding years. Unfortunately however, the separation and discord between the two Grand Lodges, the so-styled "Ancient" and the regular Masons, still continued, but happily this was to have an end, in the commencement of the following century. Many of those Ancient Masons,

¹⁾ It runs thus: "And as it has been long a custom in this country, for certain societies, calling themselves Freemasons, to hold Lodges, their meetings being for the most part for benevolent purposes, it is hereby ordained, that nothing in this act extends to the meetings of such society or lodge, which before the passing of this act, assembled in the customary manner, under the above mentioned appellation, and in conformity to law and good order, in force among the said Society of Freemasons."

who had deserted from the Grand Lodge, had probably before the close of the century, either resigned Masonry altogether, or were dead; time had probably done her part, in blunting the edge of their grievances. That which had commenced with a violation of faith, had become a law, when the deed was an accomplished fact; on the great stage of the world, the eyes of all were directed to great political events, which induced some well-disposed persons to desire a reconciliation, and cautiously feeling their way, take the necessary steps for the accommodation of the unfriendly relations borne towards each other. The younger brethren had however inherited the animosity of their fathers; therefore years elapsed before the spirit of genuine Freemasonry asserted her right, and triumphed over self-will and vanity.

The first steps towards reconciliation were taken by the original Grand Lodge of London, Nov. 20, 1801, as we read in the *Masonic Union* of 1804; a complaint was laid before the Grand Lodge, against Thomas Harper and others, by the Right Honorable the Master of a very highly esteemed lodge, under the Constitution of the ancient lodge of England, for supporting a society calling itself ancient Masons, and assuming the chief offices in the same, and acting in direct opposition to the laws of the regularly constituted Grand Lodge. This complaint occupied the Grand Lodge for a considerable time, nor did she have recourse to more stringent measures, till she found that milder ones were unavailing.

Mr. Th. Harper received permission to read his defence. He was given to understand, that his conduct would make him amenable to the laws of the Grand Lodge, and that if he did not discontinue membership with the irregular community, the laws would be put in force against himself and his friends, and they would all

be expelled. This declaration made him entreat the forbearance of the Lodge for three months, and in his own name, and that of his friends, he solemnly asserted that if the Grand Lodge would accord him this respite, they would exert themselves to the utmost, to effect the union of the two societies, which was so greatly to be desired. His request was immediately granted, and at the next meeting of the Grand Lodge, Feb. 4, 1802, the complaint against him and his friends was rescinded, and that no impediment might stand in the way of the desired object, a committee was formed of Lord Moira and other highly esteemed brethren, who should pave the way to the proposed reconciliation. Lord Moira became one of the committee, and declared that the day that the union was effected would be one of the happiest of his life, and that he was authorised by the Prince of Wales to say that His Royal Highness would be ready warmly to welcome all Masons in the kingdom, without making any difference.

As a man of honor, Harper was now bound to do all in his power to bring about a union, but unfortunately this "sneak", as the before mentioned paper calls him, did exactly the contrary, for he not only endeavored secretly to prevent the same, but likewise made use of his official position, to frustrate a conference upon the subject, by forcibly breaking up the meeting, when a movement was brought forward for the discussion of the question. He and a few others, his colleagues in office in the schismatic Grand Lodge, were fully aware, that their official dignity would cease, should the union take place; therefore they were not satisfied with the steps already taken, but ascribed to the ancient Grand Lodge and the regularly constituted brethren, views and principles which were as unfeeling as they were false. Even in the name of the Grand

Master Athol, steps were taken to keep up the hostility, and widen the breach.

Feb. 9, 1803, it was announced to the Grand Lodge that the irregular Masons persevered in their contumacy, and that far from seeking to be again accepted in the community, they had not even made a single movement towards effecting a union. Whereupon their conduct was declared to be reprehensible in the highest degree, it was enacted that the laws of the Grand Lodge should be exercised against them in full force, and it was unanimously declared that the said Thomas Harper should be expelled from the Society, and further: "that wherever there was the slightest rumor, in the future, that a regular Mason visited or patronised a Lodge or meeting of persons calling themselves Ancient Masons &c., that not alone would the laws be enforced against them, but their names would be erased from the list, and all the lodges under the constitution of England would be made acquainted with the circumstance."

Feb. 12, 1806, Lord Moira from the chair¹⁾ announced, that during his last sojourn in Edinburgh, he had visited the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and had employed the occasion, to give them a detailed statement of the extent and extraordinary influence of this present Grand Lodge, as well as the origin and position occupied by the so-called Ancient Masons in England, who held their meetings under the protection of the Duke of Athol; that the Brethren of the Grand Lodge of Scotland had declared, that they were but indifferently informed concerning these matters, as they had ever been of opinion, that this society, the Grand Lodge of England had not existed so very long (!!) nor were its numbers very considerable; but that now having

1) Stephen Jones, whom we here copy word for word.

been convinced of their mistake, they had the greatest desire to be more intimately acquainted, and to enter into a correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England. Thus the first step to secure the desirable end, was taken, and as a proof of the sincerity of their intentions, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, was unanimously chosen Grand Master of Scotland.

The Grand Master further communicated that the Grand Lodge of Scotland had expressed their deep regret that dissensions existed among the English Masons, and that those lodges assembling under the patronage of the Duke of Athol, had withdrawn themselves voluntarily from the protection of the old Grand Lodge; but they hoped that measures would be taken to bring about a reconciliation, and those lodges, which now assembled in an irregular manner would return to their allegiance, and be again received into the Fraternity. Upon which he had replied, that he was almost convinced that the Grand Lodge was prepared to acquiesce in any proposal, which might be suggested to secure a union; it is true, that as the proposals which they had made three years previously had been rejected, it was not compatible with the honor and dignity of their illustrious Grand Master, to make any further advances, but that they were nevertheless ever anxious to promote the welfare of the whole community, and at all times accepted with pleasure the mediation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. It was then determined to signify in an address to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, how desirous they were that the closest relationship should exist between the two Grand Lodges, and that to further this, the presiding Masters and Wardens of the lodges in Scotland working under the Grand Lodge, should, whenever they came to London, upon producing the necessary testimonials, take their seats in this Grand Lodge

and enjoy the privilege of voting with the others, whenever occasion offered.

Nov. 23, 1808, the acting Grand Master informed the brethren, that he had received a communication from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, in which they testified their approval of the declarations pronounced of the principles of this Grand Lodge, as avowed to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and likewise expressed a wish to be connected with this Grand Lodge in any special occasion, should it serve to afford that support to the dignity which a representative body of the whole brotherhood ought to maintain over each individual lodge. The Grand Lodge of Ireland passed their word of honor, "neither to favor, nor accept as a brother, any person, who should be expelled from the Grand Lodge of England for violating their masonic laws. It was thereupon determined, that the officiating Grand Master should be solicited, to intimate to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, the warm brotherly feeling which had been excited in this Grand Lodge upon the receipt of their friendly communication.

April 12, 1809, things were so far advanced, that the Grand Lodge resolved, it was no longer necessary, to carry out the measures, which had been resorted to in 1739 with respect to the irregular masons; but that all lodges should be only impressed with the necessity of returning to the ancient landmarks of the society. This then may be looked upon as the preliminary act in the long wished for union of the so-called ancient and modern masons.

After the death of Bart. P. Parker, Dec. 21, 1811, the Prince of Wales was pleased to bestow the office of Deputy Grand Master on his brother the Duke of Sussex, who was then Master of the Lodge of *Antiquity*, and when the Prince became Regent of the United

kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the etiquette of his high position seemed to require of him to resign his office of Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex was unanimously chosen to fill this important post. The Prince Regent however accepted the title of Grand patron of the Brotherhood.

It was soon apparent that the Duke was bent, both heart and soul, on accomplishing the work of reconciliation and satisfying the ardent desires of the brethren. At the head of the so-called ancient Masons was the Duke of Athol. It is conjectured that this latter Duke was soon, through the powerful representations of the royal Grand Master, most thoroughly convinced how very desirable it would be, to effect a union of the two bodies, the natural goodness of his heart, and his benevolent disposition materially aiding in guiding his judgment. To remove all obstacles from the path, in the most amiable manner he resigned his seat of Grand Master, and recommended the Duke of Kent, who had been made a mason under his jurisdiction, as his successor. This latter was then elected and installed in his post, and assured the brethren on this occasion, that he had undertaken this office, principally with the view of promoting more effectually the object which his illustrious brother had so much at heart.

Treaty of union. And this did at length actually take place. The two brethren devoted themselves most zealously to the work; they consulted with three of the most distinguished brethren on either side, and finally accomplished their purpose, „*the union between the two Grand Lodges of England*”, which articles may be found in Preston's Illustrations, as also in the article by Stephen Jones. These were signed in Kensington Palace, Nov. 25, 1813, and ratified by both Grand Lodges, Dec. 1, 1813.

With a view of carrying out the fifth Article, a meeting of the two Grand Lodges was convened Dec. 1., 1813, when the articles of union were submitted to inspection, and were met by the brethren with masonic applause. The articles were unanimously ratified and confirmed. Whereupon the lodge of reconciliation was constituted; the two Grand Masters signed the deed of union, and both of them attached their great seal to it, the Grand Secretaries on both sides, signing their names below the seal. The Master and wardens of the Lodge of reconciliation, were selected from the brethren who had belonged to the *Modern Masons*.

The United Grand Lodge of England. On St. John's Day, Dec. 27, this important transaction was consummated, in a general assembly, and the reunion of the old Freemasons of England after their long separation was celebrated with great solemnity. The Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, had not had time to send the deputies who had been invited on the occasion, but despatched friendly letters of congratulation, which were read aloud by two of the brethren, that from Scotland by Brother Laurie, and from Ireland, by brother Graham. Br. Dr. Hemming, one of the masters of the lodge of Reconciliation, delivered with a loud voice, the charges, which it had been thought expedient to draw up, and these were responded to by the whole fraternity. The Duke of Kent resigned his office of Grand Master, after having fulfilled the purpose, for which he assumed it; at a motion from him, seconded by Br. Wash. Shirley, the Duke of Sussex was chosen Grand Master for the ensuing year, and having appointed his officers, and received the homage of the brethren, declared the Grand Lodge to be legally opened. When the Grand Lodge was summoned to partake of some refreshment, the cup of brotherly love was placed in the Grand Master's

hand, when he drank the health of the brethren, proposing as a toast "Peace, Good faith and Brotherly love throughout the whole world," and then sent the cup round. When again summoned to work, the brethren resolved in a respectful address to apprise the Prince Regent of the joyful union which had been accomplished; the brothers Kent and Sussex received the thanks of the Masons, for their successful exertions, in re-establishing peace among the brethren, which joyous event the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland were speedily to be made acquainted with. And then the brethren worked harmoniously together for the first time, in the newly constructed *United Grand Lodge* of the ancient Freemasons of England; the odious animosity between the so-called ancient and modern Freemasons, belonged henceforth to history alone, and the friendly and proper spirit, which was to be hereafter the characteristic of the Craft of Freemasonry, triumphed victoriously over the former controversies, and peace, joy, and concord prevailed!

A great work was accomplished, though as Br. Krause laments, it was not precisely like the new birth which took place in the year 1717.¹⁾ The Ritual, charges,

1) See *Neues Journal für FrMrei.* Altenburg, 1816. I. 3. P. 532, wherein he says: "If the United Grand Lodge, established in 1813, in London, meant to have laid the foundation of an advancement, similar to the new-birth which was developed in the existence of the Brotherhood, in 1717, this new-birth, and this progress, ought to have been conceived in the following manner. First and foremost, a clearer, more perfect, and more scientific statement of the nature of Masonry, and of the masonic fraternity, in its entirety, as well as its structure; and the results would have been seen in the purification, improvement, and the more imposing form assumed by the exterior appointments of the social organisation. To realise and attain these essential benefits, it would have been necessary to purge it of all mystery, love of ostentation, and pompous ceremonial, and establish a more perfect code of laws, a more

and regulations, underwent a thorough investigation. With regard to the new ritual, we cannot deny that a certain degree of noble simplicity was retained, but at the same time we must acknowledge that to conciliate the so-styled Ancient Masons, far too much of their Ritual was embodied in the new one; as for instance in the first degree the word of the fellow-craft, and vice-versâ. A return was made to the old charges of 1723; they are to be found in all copies of the new book of constitution, clothed in a phraseology more suitable to the times, but still retaining their meaning and most essential terms, while the original basis, on which Freemasonry was founded, was triumphantly maintained and once more clearly expressed; i. e. the insisting more on the individual worthiness of the candidate for initiation, than on the particular creed he professed to follow.

B. Scotland.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland and the lodges under her, continued to move on in the even tenor of their way, without interruption, and working according to the laws of the craft, until the end of the last century.

exalted ritual, and above all a more genuine, authentic, historical, well-ordered, practical working system." — These expectations have however not as yet been realised by the new Grand Lodge of London; for she has not alone retained the ancient restrictions and impediments, which obstructed the progress of the society, but has actually imposed new regulations, which may conduce to bring about an exactly contrary result.

There is therefore not much of general interest to be related of this period; those events recorded by Br. Laurie ¹⁾ are confined to the names of the Grand Masters, of the newly-established lodges, ²⁾ the solemn laying of foundation-stones, the appointment in the Grand Lodge; that no other Master, but the elected Grand Master of Scotland, should assume the title of Grand Master, the opening of a brotherly correspondence between the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Berlin in 1786, and the like. August 1, 1791, the Grand Lodge declared, difference of political opinions, was no impediment in the way of masonic fellowship, and that the lodges must put this regulation in practice; in 1797 and 1798, addresses of congratulation were forwarded to the King, on the occasion of the naval victories of Camperdown and the Nile.

The Grand lodge and the Act of parliament. At the Quarterly meeting held Aug. 5, 1799, allusion was made from the chair to the Act of parliament issued for the more effectual suppression of insurrectionary movements, in which it was declared illegal for any society to exact an oath from its members, or a promise in form of an oath, or any of the like declarations, which had not been permitted by law, but it remarks at the same time, that under certain restrictions, an exception is made in favor of the Freemasons. After the Grand Lodge had taken this act under their serious consideration, they unanimously resolved, that they, as the head of the masons in Scotland, from whom all the other regular lodges derived their right to assemble, by letters patent, were in duty bound, to

¹⁾ Laurie, History of Freem. and of the Grand Lodge of Scotland etc. 2 Edit. page 137. —

²⁾ 1784. Royal Scotch Lodge at Petersburg — 1795, Pyth. Kil-winning in Antigua — 1787 *la douce harmonie* in Aix in Provence — 1788 in Rouen and Marseilles.

make stringent regulations for the better observation of this law, a law which, silencing as it did all calumniators, and being an honorable testimony to the purity of intention of the Brotherhood, could not be otherwise than very flattering to them. They therefore recommended to all lodges, the strictest adherence to these regulations, which ordained that two members should appear before the justice of peace, or some other magistrate, and there take oath, that the Lodge in question had existed before the issuing of the said Act, under the name of a Freemasons' lodge, and according to the rules laid down in this kingdom for the direction of such Freemasons' lodges &c.

As the Grand Lodge is responsible for the orderly conduct of the Scotch Masons, holding of her, though, convinced that almost without exception, their behavior is entirely consonant to the principles of the Craft, yet anxious to guard against every intrusion on their ancient and respectable order or upon its established customs and forms, have unanimously resolved: 1) That every Lodge holding of the Grand Lodge of Scotland shall, within six months from this date, apply for a certificate from the Grand Lodge; which certificate shall bear an express renewal of power to hold masonic meetings, under her sanction and authority; and which shall not be granted without production of evidence to the Most Worshipful, the Grand Master, his Deputy, or substitute, that the act of Parliament above mentioned has been literally complied with. And every lodge which shall not, within the said space, demand and obtain such certificate, shall be expunged from the Grand Lodge Roll, having consequently no right hereafter, by its presiding officers, or by proxy, to sit or vote at their meetings, and being deprived of all future protection of the Grand Lodge. 2) That the said certificate shall be subscribed by the

Grand Master, &c. and have the seal of the Grand Lodge appended thereto &c. — — 5) That the names of all lodges who have so obtained certificates shall be annually transmitted to one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and to the Lord Advocate of Scotland. 6) That the foregoing resolutions be printed, and copies transmitted to all lodges throughout Scotland, holding of the Grand Lodge, that none may pretend ignorance thereof &c. 9) That a copy of these resolutions be also transmitted to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free Masons in England. &c.

According to the wording of this Act it would appear as if only such Lodges as were existing before the passing of said Act, could now be tolerated or authorized. In 1799 this question came under consideration in consequence of a petition for a Charter, as considerable doubts were raised, how far the Grand Lodge could now grant Charters. It was therefore directed that a case be made out by a committee formed of their members, and laid before the Lord Advocate of Scotland, for his opinion, and if needful to take the necessary steps in parliament to preserve to the Grand Lodge their privileges. In this memorial it was stated that upon the occasion of the resignation of their first Grand Master William St. Clair, he transferred all the rights and privileges he had enjoyed, to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which they, since 1736, had actually practised by means of warrants.

The privilege of granting Charters is not only coeval with the institution of the Grand Lodge itself, but was enjoyed even at a much earlier period. But while, on the one hand, it is necessary for the existence of the Grand Lodge, it has, on the other hand, been the principal source by which the fund for the

poor has been supported. It never could be the intention of the legislature, to deprive the Grand Lodge of Scotland of that privilege, without which all Masonic meetings in this country must soon come to an end. If the clause in the act of Parliament is to be strictly interpreted, in the place of its being an exemption in their favor, Masonic Societies will be in a worse situation, than any other Society in the country.

To this memorial, the Lord Advocate, Lord Dundas replied, (Jan. 1800) that he did not know why the act was so anxiously limited, but that the legal construction was unquestionably what had been stated, and he was of opinion that after July 12, 1799, the Grand Lodge had not the right to create new lodges, unless by a direct application to parliament, to entitle them to do so. It was then moved and carried that full and ample powers should be given to the same committee to take such steps, as they think proper for application to Parliament, for obtaining the great objects in view. Numerous meetings were held, but with no effect, till 1806, when the Grand Lodge agreed, upon the recommendation of the Earl of Moira, to adopt the practice of the Grand Lodge of England; viz: to assign to new Lodges the numbers and charters of Lodges that had become dormant or had ceased to hold regular meetings.

Against the High degrees. To oppose the high Degrees, which pretended to trace their origin to Scotland, the Grand Lodge declared May 26., that the society only sanctioned the Three Great Degrees of Masonry, of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master Mason, and that other descriptions of degrees and the like innovations which had crept into this country, and were inconsistent with the purity and true principles of the order, were prohibited. This resolution was printed, and a copy

thereof sent to every lodge in Scotland under their jurisdiction. Laurie has a remark on this head, referring to a circular epistle received from America in 1802: The spirit of the Illuminati, which prevailed, and the numerous authorised degrees, which amounted to about fifty, have been reason sufficient, to excite the contempt of the Scottish Masons, who have prided themselves on having preserved Freemasonry for many centuries in its original simplicity.

Following the example of their English brethren, the Scottish brethren likewise showed their loyalty by sending an address to the King (1800) on the occasion of his Majesty's happy escape from the attempt upon his life. In the following year, the attention of the Brotherhood was requested for a fresh division of Scotland into different provinces, which was accomplished; at the same time directions for the regulation of the conduct of the Provincial-Grand-Master were agreed upon. Nov. 2, of the same year, the Grand Lodge granted to Br. Laurie their sanction to his publication of his History of Freemasonry, especially of Scotland, and authorised the Grand Secretary and Grand Clerk, to furnish the author with the records, and all the writings and material in their power.

Union with the
Grand Lodge of
England. The Earl Moira, the Grand Master of England, paid the brethren in Scotland a visit, Nov. 30, 1803. From this period, says Laurie, we date the origin of that fraternal union between the two Grand Lodges, by which Freemasonry has received additional strength and vigor, and has been preserved in these kingdoms, in all its primitive purity and simplicity. And while its influence is diffused from the British Empire to every corner of the world, we trust that it will continue to be, as it has ever been, the bane of despotism and oppression, — the enemy of superstition and fana-

ticism — the promoter of civilisation and good order — the friend of uncorrupted science, of true benevolence, and unaffected piety.

The Mother Lodge
Kilwinning. In Scotland as well as in England, a sort of Masonic supreme power was formed independent of the Grand Lodge, by the Mother Lodge Kilwinning¹⁾, which for some time disturbed the peace and concord of the Brotherhood; the said dispute was as to the right of granting charters. These differences were happily accommodated by a committee of both lodges, Oct. 14, 1807: The Mother Lodge Kilwinning renounced all right of granting charters, and came into the bosom of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, together with all her daughter Lodges; she then was placed at the head of the Roll of the Grand Lodge the in virtue of the same had as great an interest in the management of the funds of the Grand Lodge, as the other lodges now holding of her. The Master of the Mother Lodge Kilwinning for the time should be ipso facto Provincial Grand Master for the Ayrshire district. This treaty of concord was approved of by the Grand Lodge, Nov. 12., of the same year, and shortly afterwards ratified and confirmed by the said Mother Lodge Kilwinning.

As the Grand Lodge had no Masonic Hall, in which to hold their meetings, a motion was brought forward by Brother Sir John Stewart Bart., recommending a subscription to be commenced for the purpose, which motion was unanimously agreed upon, a committee was appointed, the subscription list opened, and great success attended the undertaking. Two years later (1809), Br. W. Inglis, Deputy Grand Master, Alexander Laurie,

1) See also "France" the section upon the order of Heredom of Kilwinning.

and J. Bertram, on the part of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, purchased the St. Cecilia's Hall for £. 1,400 for the purpose of converting it into a Freemasons Hall. Nov. 2. of that year, it was solemnly consecrated in the presence of the grand officers, numerous deputies from the Daughter lodges, and Earl Moira.

At the beginning of the year 1800, the attention of the Grand Lodge was much occupied in suppressing an attempt made by Dr. John Mitchell, Worshipful Master of the Caledonian Lodge, Edinburgh, to induce this and other Lodges, to throw off their allegiance to the Grand Lodge. After long and serious deliberation, and much violent recrimination, Dr. Mitchell and the other ringleaders were expelled from the society, for their highly unmasonic conduct, and copies of the sentence of expulsion, and the grounds thereof, were circulated amongst all the Lodges in Scotland, and sent likewise to the Grand Lodges of England and Ireland, who cordially approved of these measures, and congratulated the Grand Lodge, on the noble stand she had made, not only in defence of her own authority, but also for the firmer establishment of the old land-marks, and the general welfare of the fraternity. Mitchell's sentence of expulsion was never remitted; but in 1813, Br. J. O. Brown and others, on their petitioning for re-admission into the Brotherhood, had their request granted.

In conclusion, we will notice the *Grand Lodge Reporter*, which in 1809 on the motion of Br. Laurie was given out every year, and was of universal benefit; it is a circular letter, specifying the Grand officers annually elected, the moneys received, the charters granted, the expelled members, and new laws and regulations — also the copy of the articles of union between the two English lodges, which was laid on the table at an

extraordinary meeting of the Grand Lodge, Dec. 20., 1813, on which occasion congratulatory addresses were conveyed to the Grand Lodge of England upon this auspicious reconciliation.

C. France.

1) From the introduction of the High Degrees of the Grand Orient, to the French Revolution.

(1784—1793.)

Whilst the Grand Orient of France was in vain endeavoring to compel all the lodges to unite under her jurisdiction, and thus out of all the Masons in France to form one family, and while its chamber of degrees was exerting itself in the unthankful and unsuccessful work of investigating and altering the High Degrees, the chapters commenced the work of reformation, when on a motion of Br. Roëttiers de Montaleau the Rosicrucian chapter with seven lodges under her, established of her own absolute authority a *Grand Chapitre Général de France*.

This was to form a centre “for all the sovereign chapters then existing in France, or hereafter to exist.” For a more simple working out of the High Degrees, a committee was appointed, and Br. J. P. Graffin chosen Grand Master. In October, the new Grand Chapter-General was accused of wishing to place herself upon an equality, or rather of assuming a superiority over the Grand Orient; to which the former replied, she had been established only with a view to promote the greater

welfare of the Grand Orient, and was most willing to become one with her. The propriety of this union was already under consideration, when suddenly the physician Humbert Gerbier de Werschamp appeared with three Charters¹⁾ as a guarantee of his being the only legal possessor of a Grand Chapter of France. One of these Charters is a certificate appointing Gerbier *Très-Sage* of the Grand Chapter and keeper of the patent of constitution for life, bearing the date, Feb. 6., 1760, of the Lodge, "*la parfaite Union*", while this lodge was not constituted before June 15., 1761; the other Charter is a deed of constitution for a great Rosicrucian chapter in Paris, stated to have come from the East, "the sanctuary of Edinburgh" of the year 1721, consequently at a period, when no lodge existed in France; and the third is a certificate drawn up under the auspices of the Duke d'Antin, June 23, 1721. Br. Kloss says (L. c. 296): "Without laying too much stress upon the anachronism that the Duke d'Antin drew up the certificate, he not having been a Grand Master of France till 1738, the very fact that in 1770 the singular date of 1688, being that of the flight of James II from England, first appears in it, would induce a very close investigation of the document. The error, "Burnet, Secretaris", may lead to the supposition that a Dutchman assisted in the work; as just at that epoch, there existed in Holland a society who forged false documents, to whom may be likewise ascribed the so-styled Charter of Cologne."

If among the members constituting the Grand Orient, there had been any well informed Masons, having but a very slight amount of critical acumen, they would soon have discovered that Gerbier's documents were

¹⁾ These Charters are to be found in *Thory, Hist. etc.* p. 129 and Kloss, „*Gesch. d. Freimaurerei in Frankreich*", I. p. 248 etc.

forgeries, and have treated them with the contempt they deserved, instead of exalting them into legal acts, and conferring on them the power to establish a *Chapitre Métropolitain*; unfortunately it was felt, that no legitimate charters were extant, and under the pressure of circumstances, they accepted willingly the documents thus offered to them. March¹⁾ 24, 1785, a contract was concluded between the newly erected grand Chapter General, and Gerbier's Grand Chapter of France, by which both were blended into one inseparable chapter. Gerbier resigned his right to the Charters and delivered them over to the Archives; and in return for this he was made honorary Grand Master. The Grand Orient, who saw in all these transactions great danger to the continued recognition of their supremacy, hastened to consummate a union with the General Grand Chapter, which was brought to pass in 1787, so that together they formed one great indivisible whole, the seven chapters abiding however under the name *Chapitre Métropolitain*.

The order Heredom of Kilwinning. On former occasions the Grand Orient had not been wanting in opponents, so neither did they now. The Ancient Grand Lodge came forward to announce the existence amongst them of a Rosicrucian Chapter, since 1769²⁾; many Rosicrucians at Rouen formed themselves into an independent chapter there. The Lodge "*Ardente Amitié*" turned to Scotland, and received from the *Grande Loge royale de Heredom de Kilwinning* the warrant of a provincial Grand Master for all France for their Master Jean Mathéus, dated May 1, 1786.

¹⁾ According to Jonaust, hist du Gr. Or. de Fr. p. 231. Sept. 24.

²⁾ The Rosicrucian degree (*Rosecroix*), Kloss asserts (L. c. Page 300—301), did not appear before 1760, and all the working out of these degrees in all their various modes occurred between 1762—1790.

This Grand Chapter for the order of Heredom described the *Grand Chapitre Général* as "an illegal assembly of irregularly constituted Masons", and established a new one, independent of the Grand Orient, which latter negotiated for a union, but in vain. The installation of the Chapter at Rouen, was followed by the establishment of a similar one in 1787, in connection with the *Loge du Choix* in Paris, &c., and by July 4, 1788, there were in all nine Chapters.

Concerning the mysterious history of the royal order of Heredom, Kloss communicates the following account, partly extracted from Clavel's *Histoire pitt.* and partly from a letter written by the Royal Grand Lodge in Edinburgh to Br. Mathéus in Rouen. The Royal Grand Lodge of Heredom or St. Andrew's, in Edinburgh, declared, she had existed from time immemorial, and had assumed the title of Royal lodge, because the Kings of Scotland had, in former times, presided in person.

They now regarded the King of Great Britain as their Grand Master; long before 1720 or 21, untoward circumstances compelled Freemasonry to remain in obscurity, and the Royal Grand lodge had been long sunk in a deep sleep. In 1736, Sinclair de Roslin established the Great St. John's lodge in Edinburgh, and conferred on her his right of inheritance.

The Grand lodge assumed the simple appellative of Lodge of the St. John's Order, having been founded by a Master only, whose authority extended to the third degree, and therefore she could merely work in the symbolic degrees, and never got any farther. It was not for several years after 1736, that the Grand Lodge emerged from the cloud (yea, came down from the clouds), which had so long enveloped her. She displayed

more ability, occupying herself principally with the higher degrees, leaving symbolic masonry to the St. John's Grand Lodge, whose members were afterwards advanced to the Royal Grand lodge, previous to being initiated into the high degrees.

In Clavel's history, it is said: The royal order of Heredom of Kilwinning is a Rosicrucian degree, having many different gradations in the ceremony of consecration. The kings of England are *de jure*, if not *de facto*, Grand Masters; each member has a name given him, denoting some moral attribute. In the initiation, the sacrifice of the Messiah is had in remembrance, who shed his blood for the sins of the world, and the neophyte is in a figure, sent forth to seek the lost word. The ritual states, that the Order was first established at Incomkill, and afterwards at Kilwinning, where the King of Scotland, Robert Bruce, took the chair in person, and oral tradition affirms that in 1314, this monarch again re-instated the Order, admitting into it the Knights Templars who were still left. "The Royal Order, according to this Ritual, which is written in Anglo-Saxon verse (?), boasts of great antiquity. But too much stress must not be laid upon this circumstance, for it is well known, that the English, like the Germans, possess their false masonic documents &c." "The only records handed down to us, from the earlier history of the Order, are contained in four folio volumes, in which are the minutes of the meetings of the lodges, the most ancient of which is of the year 1750. There had existed from time immemorial in London a Grand Provincial Lodge, which met at the Thistle and Crown Tavern, in Chandos-Street. In the ninth year of its existence, Sir Robert Secours was provincial Grand Master. Other Chapters had been formed from this one, from "time immemorial". A fourth was estab-

lished in London, Dec. 11, 1743, another at Southwark &c. These statistics are at the beginning of the first of the four Volumes of the minutes, just mentioned." There follows immediately upon this, the intelligence that, July 10, 1750, the Provincial Grand Lodge granted a Warrant to William Mitchell, Fidélité &c. About this time, she discontinued her work in the Lodges, and bestowed her Archives upon the Great Mother Lodge of the Royal Order in Edinburgh. The Grand Lodge in Edinburgh seems, likewise, to have long lain dormant, until in 1763, she determined again¹⁾ to set to work. Br. Mitchell assisted in bringing this about, and his name actually appears in the written catalogue of the Great Mother Lodge in Edinburgh. We must also take into consideration, that she either took down no notes of her former operations, or that her books were lost; as from the year 1763, the minutes of her proceedings were registered in the same volume of minutes, immediately after the minutes of the Grand Provincial lodge of London. This circumstance might lead us to conclude, that the royal order did not reach farther back than the year 1763, and that the preceding occurrences were fabricated for the purpose

¹⁾ Which means to say, that in 1763 the ritual of the order was drawn up, that the system might be set going in good earnest. Its history is all an invention, and the word "again", is nothing but a pious raud, to establish its claim to antiquity. — About this period, likewise (1763) the Swedish system arose. — We remark further, that the Grand Lodge formerly knew nothing at all about the existence of this order of Heredom, that W. A. Laurie in the first edition of his work, the "history of the Grand Lodge of Scotland", has not mentioned the circumstance, but in the 2nd edition pages 93 and 94, he slightly touches upon it, remarking, that this order, "is not much thought of in this country, but flourishes in France." In a note he adds, if we follow the fable and tradition of the order, we must suppose that in 1739, they were again at work, and held regular chapters in Edinburgh.

of giving antiquity to the order." In 1769, she requested of the civic authorities permission to use, free of cost, the room granted to the St. Egidius Lodge. She founded her request upon the trouble and expense the Grand Lodge had bestowed upon the revival of the ancient order of Freemasonry in Scotland, in the capital of the mother country.

The conventions of the Philalethes. Let us now, after this digression, resume the thread of our history, retracing our steps a few years, and we shall perceive, that several single lodges, like the chapters, began to act of their own accord and independent of the Grand Orient, this latter having neglected to instruct the brethren, in the aim, purpose, and most effectual way of perfecting Freemasonry. This was principally done by the silently progressive Lodge of the Philalethes (Searchers after truth), *des Amis réunis* in Paris, which appointed two conventions, to be held in the capital, for the purpose, as it was stated in the invitations, of "consulting upon the masonic system of instruction, and by comparing views and opinions on the most important points, enlightening each other upon the principles, doctrines, advantages, and real purpose of Freemasonry, regarded as a science." The system of the Philalethes, after which the lodge just mentioned worked, had been formed in 1773, by Brothers Savalette de Langes, de Tavannes, Court de Gebelin &c., and consisted of 12 Classes or degrees: 3 St. John's degrees, 4. Elect, 5. Scotch knights, 6. Knights of the Orient, 7. Rosicrucian, 8. Knights of the Temple, 9. Unknown philosophers, 10. Sublime philosophers, 11. the Initiated, 12. Philalethes or Masons of all degrees. Many brethren from Germany, Switzerland, and other countries, accepted the invitation, others, for example, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, St. Martin, and Mesmer, took no interest in

the matter. No particular result was effected on either side; a number of varied opinions and questions were agitated; there was much coquetting with theosophy, cabalism, magic, and the like mysteries, and even with that meteor of the day, Cagliostro, and what was at first begun in all good faith and sincerity, being deemed of value, was at length abandoned for its unworthiness. The first convention lasted from Feb. 15, to May 26, 1785, the second from March 8, to May 26, 1787; the inclination for hidden and secret science was still more apparent in the second convention than the first. The Chairman had also reason to complain of a want of zeal. J. Ch. Bode in his paper published April 3, *Essai sur l'Origine de la Francmaçonnerie*, warned the Brethren against these secret arts, but as may be supposed, all in vain.

The Grand Orient till the cessation of her activity. What further the Grand Orient performed before the breaking out of the revolution, is of no great consequence. She could not wholly pass over in silence the claim, put forth by the ancient Grand Lodge, of having the oldest Chapter, so she replied to it in 1787; in the same year, she also distributed amongst her lodges a plan for drawing up some new statutes, which Nov. 13, 1780, were examined, and only required the confirmation of a committee, but which on account of political occurrences, they never received. Further a prohibition was issued, commanding no masonic meetings to be held in taverns and hotels, and in 1789, it was ordained, that no card-playing should be permitted in any of the places where the lodges met. In 1788 the Grand Orient only corresponded with the Grand Lodges of Vienna, Poland, Naples, and Sicily, and with the Provincial lodge of the Austrian Netherlands; this was the period when the society was in its most flourishing condition in France,

for there were no less than 513 Lodges all in full work.¹⁾

Before recounting the last events which occurred prior to the dissolution of the lodges, it may not be irrelevant to supply a few remarks on the position assumed by the French Brotherhood with respect to the Revolution.

The French Revolution. The reproach laid to the charge of Freemasonry, by her opponents, that she was the cause of the Revolution, we may pass over, not only because it is well-known that the discussion of religious and political questions was always strictly prohibited by statute in the lodges, but also because the origin of that event in the history of the world, has been long traced to the political and social causes, which gave it birth. In like manner we may, with a good conscience, leave unanswered that accusation brought against the Grand Orient by Robison, that she had enjoined on the Brethren in 1789, the promotion of the cause of the revolution, the more so, as Kloss has called it a vile slander, proving it to be such from historical records. The only way in which the Grand Orient manifested her political sympathies was, when she addressed a circular epistle, Nov. 9, 1788 (see Jouaust, L. c., page 243), to the Lodges, calling upon them to collect contributions for the purpose of making a present to the National Assembly, in the name of Freemasonry. It cannot for a moment be doubted that Freemasonry, which was benevolent in her aims, fully recognising the dignity of man, and the weight of the three fundamental rules accepted by her as law, viz: liberty, equality, and fraternity, greatly assisted in preparing the way and

¹⁾ See Kloss, I, p. 322. Br. Rebold says in *Histoire* etc., p. 167, that in 1789, there were in France and her colonies 689 lodges and chapters

favoring the advancement, of those improvements set on foot in the state, and the perfecting of philanthropic views for the establishment of the everlasting and inalienable rights of mankind; and this indirectly, and unconsciously, by virtue of her extremely free and democratic constitution, and the influence, which the silent but practical working out of her principles and regulations effected upon the corrupt elements, which poisoned political and social circles. It was most natural that the first pacific measures the Revolution passed, the declaration of the rights of the citizens, and all those things, which were regarded as the earnest of better times, were also hailed with joy by the greater part of the French brethren, as well as by Europe generally.

The period from 1790—93. As has been said, masonic work ceased almost entirely during the Revolution; the Mother lodge of the Scottish rite put a stop to all work, July 1791, after, as Thory and Jouaust inform us, it had been since 1788 but indifferently carried on, throughout the whole of France. In 1791, continues the first named author, "almost all the lodges in the Kingdom were closed, and the Masons in the provinces suffered persecution. Nevertheless the Grand Orient constituted two or three lodges in this same year. The Ancient Grand Lodge of France discontinued working, and its members were dispersed." Still the Grand Orient between the years 1791—92 issued several circular epistles and constituted new lodges. Feb. 24, 1793, in the second year of the French Republic, the Grand Master, the Duke of Orleans declared his abandonment¹⁾ of Freemasonry publicly, in these words: "I was initiated into Freemasonry at a period, when no one could have foreseen our Revolution, for this society is a kind

¹⁾ See this declaration in Kloss. France I, Page 328.

of picture of equality, just as I have joined the parliaments, which presented to my mind a kind of picture of freedom. But now I have left the shadow for the substance." — "As I do not understand of what combinations the Grand Orient is formed, and am besides of opinion, that in a Republic, especially when it is first established, no mysteries, nor secret meetings should exist, I will no longer mix myself up with any thing that has reference to the Grand Orient, or is allied to Freemasonry." Signed: L. P. J. Egalité. This declaration, which was the offspring of fear, is the more contemptible, as it laid Freemasons open to the suspicions and denunciations of the committees.

The Grand Orient declared, Aug. 8, 1793, that they accepted the resignation of the Grand Master, but would postpone indefinitely the election of his successor. The head of the former Grand Master, the Duke of Orleans, had fallen under the axe of the executioner Nov. 6, and many Freemasons, especially the members of the lodges *du Contrat Social*, *des neuf Soeurs*, of the lodges of Bordeaux, had experienced a similar fate. Notwithstanding this and the general dissolution of the lodges, still many members of the Grand Orient continued to keep up the business of the lodge throughout the years 1793 and 94.

2) From the re-establishment of the Grand Orient to the appearance of the American Scottish Rite.

(1795—1804.)

Whilst thrones and kingdoms and other consecrated institutions, the work of centuries, were being hurled to destruction, it was Freemasonry alone, which amid the storms of the revolution and the horrors of the

Reign of Terror, was preserved intact. Three lodgse, *Le Centre des Amis*, *les Amis de la Liberté*, and *de Saint-Louis de Martinique*, maintained the sacred fire, for they worked on without interruption or fear. When the two latter were questioned, concerning the existence of the Grand Orient, they did not reply, for, though the Lodges were composed of members who had belonged to the Grand Orient, the Brethren did not consider themselves authorised to answer in its name, and this silence led to the conclusion that that authority had ceased to exist; however, no new Grand Orient was established, and it was determined to continue to work in silence. It was not till 1795 that Br. Roëttiers invited to the formation of a new masonic centre.

Roëttiers It was Alexander Louis Roëttiers de Mon-
de Montaleau. faleau, who, by his clever and courageous conduct, prevented the total dissolution of the French Brotherhood.

Br. Roëttiers, born in Paris in 1748, had been director of the Mint. He was first initiated in the Scotch Mother Lodge in Marseilles, made a member of the committee of the Grand Chapter for the revision of the High degrees, in 1784, and in 1792 Master of the Lodge "*Amis réunis*", just when they were attempting to gather their scattered members together. In 1793 he became a member of the lodge *du Centre des Amis*. From April 7, 1780, he had been admitted into the Grand Orient, and after Tassin had fallen by the guillotine in 1793, he was appointed president of the *Chambre d'Administration*, the most important and influential community, attached to the Grand Orient. The same fate seemed to threaten him, as that suffered by his predecessor, for he was imprisoned as a suspected person. He however remained in communication with his brethren, and regulated their proceedings from his prison, until

the 9th Thermidor put an end to the Reign of Terror, and set him at liberty. Thenceforward he zealously served the cause of Freemasonry till his death, Jan. 30, 1807.

Mercadier. One other fellow-labourer in the erection of the Grand Orient was Mercadier, a physician and accoucheur, who was born at Montauban in 1735, and was the founder of numerous lodges and chapters. He has had well-deserved encomiums bestowed on him for the great assistance, he rendered to the history of the Freemasonry of that period, by writing down his masonic experience and every thing in which he took an active part, between the years 1806 and 14. It was he, who, during the Reign of Terror, gleaned all the information he could, concerning the existence of the superior authority, and kept up a close intimacy with Br. Roëttiers. This latter, as already noticed, in 1795 invited many Worsh. Masters and zealous influential Masons, to form a new centre of Freemasonry.

Revival of the Gr. Or. and its union with the Grand Lodge. The Masons who had been convened together, were elected members of the Grand Orient, and a circular epistle was despatched to several lodges in the Departments, who immediately joined the new order. Br. Roëttiers was¹⁾ to have been nominated Grand Master, but he was too modest to accept the honor, and contented himself with the title of *Grand Vénérable*. His greatest wish was to unite all the Rites in the Grand Orient, and to effect a junction with the Ancient Grand Lodge, which in October 1796, had again resumed work; this was not so difficult of accomplishment now that the chief element of discord, the pride of the nobility, the bureaucracy, and the military was humbled, and that only

¹⁾ Thory, Hist. dn Gr. Or. (Monde Mac. III. p. 609.)

Masters, and they were few in number, were present, who could not be dismissed. The Ancient Grand Lodge too was quite exhausted and almost forgotten. There were but few brethren now, on either side, which greatly facilitated the transaction, so that in May 1799 the treaty ¹⁾ was signed, and one only Grand Orient of France was proclaimed. Thus this struggle, which had lasted so many years, was at length brought to an end, and brotherly concord once more restored. On June 28, the Feast of reconciliation was solemnised at the same time as the St. John's Feast, Roëttiers in the Chair. The Grand Orient soon attained to its former flourishing condition: Even as early as 1800, it had 74 working lodges, which in 1802 had increased to 114 lodges. The composition of another statute book for this new form of Masonry was begun with earnestness, and in 1801 it was ready (*Statuts de l'Ordre de la Francmaçonnerie en France*).

We must not forget to mention that the lodge *l'Océan français* had the catechism of the three degrees of Masonry printed for its members in 1800, and that, one year later, the Grand Orient had the ritual of the St. John's Degrees, as well as the four higher degrees, published for the use of the Lodges and Chapters, thus setting an example of having the rituals made public, which proceeding has been repeatedly imitated since.

The Scottish philosophic rite. It was not long, before the newly established harmony seemed to be again threatened, and this time it was through the revival of the ancient rival of the Grand Orient, the Scottish philosophical rite

¹⁾ See Thory L. c. page 617, and Kloss L. c. I. page 352. The Masters who could not be dismissed, held their positions for nine years; both societies were united, and likewise their Archives &c. It is remarkable that the high Degrees were not mentioned in the treaty.

(*du Rite Écossais philos.*), which title was adopted by the Lodge *St. Alexandre d'Écosse* (1801). This system, said to be descended from the Rosicrucians, was established in 1776, and had authorised this lodge, legally to assume the supremacy, for the laws of the most ancient lodge in the capital, ought of necessity to assert a supremacy over the others, and the Lodge *du Contrat social*, which in 1807 had been embodied in the Lodge *St. Alexandre d'Écosse*, had entirely agreed to this. Thory says: "Had she been dissolved unexpectedly, and had there been no other Lodge in Paris, to supply her place, then the eldest lodge in the Department would have taken on itself the title and authority of the Scottish Mother Lodge, and so on. If the Mother Lodge of the philosophical Rite had wished to confer this Rite on any masonic corporation, she could only have effected it, by obtaining the unanimous consent of all the lodges in this system, without exception; for they were all, without distinction, invested with authority, one after the other according to the period of their creation. — The system comprehended the following degrees: 1) Apprentice; 2) Fellow-craft; 3) Master; 4) Perfect Master; 5) Elect philosophical knight; 6) Grand Scot; 7) Knight of the Sun; 8) Knight of the luminous ring; 9) Knight of the white and black Eagle; 10) Grand Inspector general.

Br. Thory. Claude Antoine Thory, one of the most intelligent Masons in France, was born in Paris, May 26, 1759, of which town he became Mayor, and the leader of the system mentioned above, giving himself infinite trouble to infuse into it a philosophic spirit, and to give it harmony and importance, for which purpose he revived that which had been begun and immediately undone in the Lodge *du Contrat social*. In his capacity of Grand warden, he made a rich collection of masonic

deeds, books, pamphlets, drawings, medals, antiquities, &c., and carefully ordered and arranged them to the best of his ability; his two historical works *Histoire du Grand Orient de France* and *Acta Latomorum*, were filled with large extracts drawn from these.

The dispute with the Scots. The harmony and agreement was disturbed by another element, viz: the Scottish. In the lodge *Réunion des Étrangers*, the members of the Scotch degree one day appeared in most extraordinary masonic costume, at which the officiating committee of the Grand Orient remonstrated in the most decided manner. Whereupon an inflammatory correspondence was begun between the Grand Orient and this lodge, and this asperity was augmented by the Scotch Br. Firmin Ant. Abraham, who was far too much inclined to Alchemy, and to speaking untruths. He addressed a circular letter, in 1802, to the Scotch, in which he complimented Scotland on being the cradle of Freemasonry, and summoned the dispersed Scottish Brethren to a second fraternal warfare. Scarcely had his summons resounded abroad, when an assembly came together, to pass resolutions concerning their farther mode of proceeding; they were supported by the Scotch lodges at Douay, Lille, &c. The Grand Orient offered some resistance to these doings, as they had also formerly endeavored to hinder Abraham from dabbling in the High Degree Rituals. Happily the feeling against this Scotch element was not confined to the Grand Orient; the voice of disapprobation sounded likewise in the lodges.

Before closing this section, we must not omit to mention a Revision of the Statutes made in 1803, as well as the important resolution passed Aug. 5, of the same year, that the officials, both superior and honorary, who had vanished during the Revolution, should be again re-established. It was thought to secure to

the Grand Orient the protection of the consular government by calling upon the higher officials and the general of the republic to become mediators; the greater part of these were members of the Craft, and their continued sympathy and interest in the confederacy was sought to be secured.

We have received from several lodges the undoubted evidence of many traits of masonic beneficence, as also the assurance that in various ways, there was much done to advance the cause of Freemasonry. The wars, which from the year 1805, drew the attention of the nation to foreign affairs, sometimes depriving the lodges of their most zealous members, may have hindered the further development of this pleasing flight of masonic activity.

3) From the appearance of the American Scotch Rite, to the Restoration.

(1804—1814.)

We have already called attention to the fact that a certain Brother Stephen Morin received from the Emperors of the East and the West, in 1761, a warrant, authorising him to establish all over the New World, perfect and sublime Masonry of the 25 degrees, and to nominate inspectors, and that these 25 degrees were, in America, increased to 33 degrees. This ritual was thence retransplanted to France, when it received the party word "ancient and accepted" Scotch rite. Br. Bégue-Clavel, who in virtue of his holding the 32d degree, was long an adherent of this system, communicates to us the following¹⁾: "Every thing brought forward in the

¹⁾ Compare also: Rob. Folger, *The anc. acc. Scottish Rite. A full History.* New-York, 1862. This work contains a quantity of deeds;

present day tends to prove, that the *Rite Ecossais anc. et acc.* is not older than the year 1801, when it was established by five Jews: John Mitchell, Frederick Dalcho, Emil de la Motta, Abraham Alexander, and Isaac Auld, who merely for the furtherance of their mercantile transactions had portioned out amongst themselves the offices of a Great Commander, Lieut. Gr. Commander, &c., and kept the whole administration of the same in their own hands; that at that early period of their existence, the degrees were not clearly defined, and that the Rite did not assume its present permanent settled form till 1802.. From this we may perceive, how it was possible for the *Supr. Conseil* of Charleston, to indite a circular epistle, Dec. 4 of that same year, containing an account of the establishment of the Rite, and the number of the degrees in it, without specifying in what manner this pretended ancient rite had been delivered to them, or how it was connected with similar systems of the kind. In that same year (1802) Count de Grasse and several other brethren from the French islands in America, received warrants, entitling them to found a *Supr. Conseil* of this rite in St. Domingo, or any other place where they thought proper, with the exception of the United States of America, and the English Antilles. This *Supr. Conseil* is the only one, which figures in the *Annuaire* of the *Supr. Conseil* for 1803."

Br. de Grasse-
Tilly and his
warrants. In the beginning of the year 1804, that
"most enlightened" brother, Br. Hacquet arrived in Paris ¹⁾ with one Charter drawn up in New

the author proves, that the Scottish Rite could not have reached farther back, than the year 1801, that the *Rite de Perfection* was increased from 25 to 33 degrees, and that the *Suprême Conseil* at Charleston was illegally constituted.

¹⁾ See *Mémoire du Fr. Vassal*; — Cordier, *Histoire de l'Ordre*

York, appointing him Grand General Inspector, and a second one nominating him *Deput. Grand Maître métropolitain de Héredom*. This system, which must not be confounded with the Order of Kilwinning at Rouen, worked only in the ancient 25 degrees, up to the *Prince du Royal Secret*. Acting in conformity to the powers, with which he was invested, he established in Paris a *Conseil* of the high Scottish Degrees, in the Lodges *la Triple Unité* and *Phénix*, as well as a Grand Consistory of this rite for France in general. Three months after Hacquet's arrival, Br. *de Grasse-Tilly* likewise appeared in Paris, from America, with the title of Sovereign Grand Commander, invested with power from the constitutions of the year 1786, to found *Suprêmes Conseils* in those states and kingdoms, where they did not as yet exist. His first care was to procure partisans to assist in establishing a *Suprême Conseil*. To attest his claims, he had what he called a golden book, containing however nothing more than a copy of the authorisation and charter of Morin of the year 1761, the charter drawn up for himself¹⁾ in 1802, the constitution of 1762 of the Princes of the royal secret in Bordeaux, having 35 articles, and that charter in 18 articles, fabricated in America, but supposed to have originated with Frederick the Great in 1786, &c.

The declarations of Br. de Grasse excited great astonishment in the French masonic world. Whilst some, hankering after new mysteries, eagerly followed this rising star, others deemed it more advisable, to examine the matter more closely. When these latter tested the signatures of the Charters in the possession of de Grasse,

Maç. en Belgique, Mons, 1854, Page 543 and 603. — Kloss, France, I. Page 415 etc.

¹⁾ See this Charter in full in Kloss L. c. Page 412.

the only well-known name amongst them was that of his father-in-law, de la Hogue, the others were totally unknown. It was further matter of surprise that the signature of Br. Isaac Long, who had initiated de Grasse, in 1797, should be wanting; and how came it that de Grasse, who was in the army, and on that account might be summoned at any moment, did not have his certificate drawn up immediately after his initiation in 1797, instead of waiting till Feb. 21, 1802.? Other objections were raised: 1) that the *Conseil*, whence originated this charter, had not itself taken the name of *du Rite ancien et accepté*; 2) that the charter did not contain any authorisation to erect a *Supr. Conseil*, etc.

The Ancient and
accepted Scottish
Rite.

The whole Rite with its 33 degrees ¹⁾ is derived from statutes and regulations, drawn up in Bordeaux and mentioned above, which are printed in full in *Sétier's Recueil des Actes du Supr. Cons. de France*, Paris 1832, where are likewise to be found the Constitutions, Statutes, and regulations for the direction of the Supr. Conseil &c., nominally of the year 1786, and supposed to have been signed by Frederick the Great. In a document published by the *Supr. Cons.* March 5, 1813 (Notice touching the Free-Masons, and of the erection

¹⁾ 1—3 App., Fellow craft, and Mstr.; 4) Secret Master; 5) Perfect Master; 6) Intimate Secretary; 7) Provost and Judge; 8) Intendant of the buildings; 9) Elect of nine; 10) Elect of Fifteen; 11) Sublime Knight Elected; 12) Grand Master Architect; 13) Royal Arch.; 14) Perfection; 15) Knight of the East; 16) Prince of Jerusalem; 17) Knight of the East and West; 18) Sov. Pr. Rose Croix de H.; 19) Grand Pontiff; 20) Gr. Master of all Symbolic Lodges; 21) Patriarch Noachit, or Prussian Knight; 22) Prince of Libanus; 23) Chief of the Tabernacle; 24) Prince of the Tabernacle; 25) Prince of Mercy; 26) Knight of the Brazen Serpent; 27) Commander of the Temple; 28) Knight of the Sun; 29) Kadosh; 30, 31 and 32) Prince of the Royal Secret.; 33) Sov'gn Grand Inspector General."

of the *Supr. Cons.* of the 33rd degree,) there is the following bare-faced statement in the midst of many similar historical blunders: "Charles Edward, the last descendant of the Stuarts, was at the head of ancient and modern Masonry. He nominated Frederick II., king of Prussia, successor and Grand Master. Frederick particularly protected Freemasonry, it was the especial object of his care. At that time the *Rite écossais anc. and acc.* consisted only of 25 degrees, of which the last was the Prince of the royal secret. Innovations and controversies, which took their rise in Germany in 1782, inspired him with apprehension, lest Freemasonry should become a prey to anarchy and confusion, caused by some who under the name of Masons degraded and profaned it, and threatened its destruction."

"When Frederick, in 1786, felt that he could not expect to live much longer, he formed the resolution, to deliver over the Sovereign Perfection of Power, with which he was invested, to a *Conseil of Gr. Inspectors Gen.*, which on his demise could take upon themselves the guidance of the higher order of Masonry, agreeably to the existing constitution and statutes. May 1, 1786, he raised the degrees of the *Rite écossais*, which till now had been limited to 25 degrees, to 33. He gave to the 33rd degree the appellation of Mighty and Sovereign *Grand Inspecteur Général*. The power vested in this degree, to be employed in the government and guidance of the Rite, was concentrated in a sovereign chapter, called *Suprême Conseil etc.*

May 1, 1786, Frederick regulated the constitutions and laws of this latter (*the Gr. Insp. Gen.*)"

We need not here enter upon any very circumstantial refutation of this fabrication, as this was thoroughly and officially effected by the most competent of com-

munities, the Grand Nat. Mother Lodge, "of the three Globes" in Berlin ¹⁾).

Introduction of the Rite écossais and founding of the Supr. Conseil. When de Grasse arrived in Paris, with indefatigable zeal, he employed himself with the bringing in of his thirty three degrees. As his scene of action he chose the Temple of the Scottish Mother Lodge of the holy Alexander. In the course of the month of September till Oct. 20, he raised several Masons to the 33rd degree, from whom he then formed a provisory *Suprême Conseil*. Oct. 12, he called together the Grand officers of the Rite, who united and established a Grand Consistory, and appointed for the 22nd a general meeting of all the members of the Rite, for the purpose of constructing a Grand Lodge. At this assembly there was actually one established for all France, called the: *Grande Loge Générale écossaise de France*, the place of meeting being at Paris. A Grand Master and 49 Grand dignitaries were appointed, and de Grasse-Tilly was called upon to represent the Grand Master.

They immediately busied themselves with the preparation of a book of laws, and Nov. 1., the new Grand Lodge announced its existence in a grandiloquent circular epistle.

The Grand Orient, which was threatened again by this circular epistle and by the secret machinations of the adherents of this spurious Masonry, hastened to remove, if possible, the impression it might produce, by publishing a list of its newly appointed grand honorary officers ²⁾, which was most joyfully received by the lodges and Chapters.

1) See, Appendix: "The spuriousness of the Order of the Scottish Rite."

2) Prince Joseph Napoleon, Grand Maaster; Prince Louis Napoleon, Deputy Grand Maaster; Marshal Masséna, Grand Administrator; Duke of Choiseul-Praslin, Grand Conservator; Marshal Murat, senior Grand-Warden.

Union of the
Scottish Grand
Lodge, with the
Grand Orient.

To avoid any schism in French Masonry, it was proposed to unite the two; Marshal Masséna on the part of the Grand Orient, and Marshal Kellermann on the part of the Scots, opened the conference in November; and when the foundation was laid, the two rulers of their systems, Roëttiers and Pyron, (this latter was Grand Orator in the Scotch Lodge) came to an agreement. Dec. 3, 1804, the day after the coronation of Napoleon, at midnight, in Marshal Kellermann's palace, the treaty of union was signed, (the Concordat). The Grand Orient therein declares, she considers it expedient, to concentrate all masonic enlightenment in one centre, and having this aim in view, to accept every Rite whatsoever. Therefore all Lodges shall in future enjoy the advantage of a unity of government, the *Grand Chapitre Général* shall pass sentence upon all applications for the constitutions of Chapters, and compose the *Gr. Conseil* of the 32rd and *Supr. Conseil* of the 33rd Degrees. Dec. 5, the ratification of the treaty was determined on, the convened Grand Scottish Lodge introduced into the Gr. Orient, and the treaty of union sworn to, by de Grasse-Tilly's taking the hands of Br. Roëttiers, and vice versa. The *Supr. Conseil* was constituted Dec. 22. But all the Lodges were not satisfied with this union, and several, more especially the Chapter *de la Trinité* in Paris, openly avowed their displeasure. Br. Pyron, who, in consequence of the union, was threatened with the withdrawal of certain monies, which he reckoned upon ¹⁾, plotted against the Gr. Orient and the copy of

1) Pyron denounced his opponents for some difference of opinion which existed between them; this led to a masonic law-suit, and finally to his exclusion.

the agreement published by the Scotch was only partially in accordance with the original document.

Joseph Napoleon as Grand Master, Cambacérès as Deputy Grand Master. In order to counteract the evil which the course adopted by Pyron was likely to occasion, and likewise to procure for the Grand Orient the protection of the Emperor, Br. Roëttiers induced the Gr. Orient to send a deputation to the Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, Cambacérès, to request of him his favor and patronage, April 27, 1805. The reply he made was, that his Majesty had instituted an inquiry into the subject of Freemasonry ¹⁾, and as he perceived that their highly moral aim and purpose were worthy of his favor and protection, he had determined to accord them the same, and to bestow on the Masons a prince of his House for their head, who should be the interpreter of the faithfulness, reverence, and attachment 'of the Gr. Orient to his person. Mercadier relates, that while Napoleon was Consul, he seems to have wished to abolish Freemasonry entirely, "unless means were found of uniting the divided Rites." Upon the representations of Brothers Masséna, Kellermann and Cambacérès, who apprehended that too strict measures might serve to estrange many able and good men, he „consented that his brother Joseph should be Grand Master, upon condition that Br. Cambacérès should become his substitute, and in

¹⁾ If the Emperor Napoleon was a mason, (which is asserted by the French Masonic authors of the period, and Kloss too considers it as very likely,) before he became Emperor, he ought properly speaking to have been well acquainted with the Institution and its tendencies, without making any special inquiries on the subject. A remark made by him in privy council is worthy of note, where the question was brought forward as to the legal recognition of the Gr. Orient. "No, no, if Freemasonry is protected, she is not to be feared; but if she is authorised, she will become too powerful, and might be dangerous. As she now is, she is dependent upon me, I do not wish to be dependent on her."

conjunction with Br. Murat take complete superintendence of every thing. The Gr. Orient, satisfied with this result, hastened to acquaint her lodges with the success of her application, and in consequence Prince Joseph was chosen Grand Master, and Br. Cambacérès and Murat joint assistants."

While the Emperor approved of the nomination of the three Grand Masters, and protected the Grand Orient — (the representative system of the Grand Orient better suiting his governmental plan, than the mixture of oligarchy and aristocracy in the *Suprême Conseil*) — the Grand Orient received a hint to support their original form of government; which they did when July 21, 1805, they established the *Grand Directoire des Rites*, which exercised control over the rites practised in the Gr. Orient, and was especially engaged in directing the instruction, and investigating the science of Freemasonry, but was not permitted to interfere with the regulation or government of the order. The abolition of the concordat so much desired by their lodges and chapters, was now contrived by the Grand Orient, while the *Suprême Conseil* declared the concordat to be abrogated, the Grand Scotch Lodge re-established, and the *Rite anc. et acc.* independent of the Gr. Orient. The Gr. Orient, says Br. Kloss, would never have ventured upon this step without Cambacérès, who was the interpreter of the Emperor's sentiments. This consent was made known to all the world, when Cambacérès was, Dec. 13, 1805, installed as the first assistant Grand Master, promising again at the same time the imperial protection, and assuring them of his own active interest in the working of the Gr. Orient, and he himself was not only present at the St. John's Festival, Dec. 27, 1805, when this triumph was celebrated, but likewise took the Chair at the Banquet given in honor of the event.

This then was the most brilliant outward epoch in the history of Freemasonry in France. The protection of the higher powers caused, as is always the case everywhere, many people to desire initiation into the order; whoever wished to be well thought of at court, joined the lodges; those most nearly allied to the throne, of course filled the principal official posts of honor. "When the star, which had attracted them to join the lodges, went down and sunk, the Grand Orient owned jurisdiction over 886 working lodges, and 337 Rosicrucian chapters. The *Supr. Conseil* and with it the Scotch system, could never at any time boast of being under the protection of the court." — The commands of the Ruler had imposed peace upon the disputants, which, as long as he held sway, remained almost entirely without being disturbed. Joseph Napoleon bore the title of Grand Master, though he never appeared in the Grand Orient. (He was never even a Freemason.) Neither is Murat's presence anywhere noted down officially. Both had their public career to occupy them fully, and were mostly absent from Paris. But on the other hand Jean Jacques Régis Cambacérès, Lord Chancellor, born Oct. 15, 1752, died March 8, 1824, lent his name to every Masonic transaction, and accomplished the task given him by the Emperor, viz: the prevention of the outbreak of all new hostilities. — "The individual Lodges, which were partly independent of the Gr. Orient, and partly connected with it through the *Directoires des Rites*, did not neglect to offer him the chief offices of dignity in their assemblies, all of which he accepted with great readiness." The first move in this direction was made by the *Supr. Conseil*, who July 1, determined to confer on him the dignity of Sovereign Gr. Commander, which position Grasse-Tilly had resigned a month previously, in favor of Cambacérès.

The New Templars.

The discord which existed between the Grand Orient and the American Scotch system, offered a most favorable opportunity, to profit by the newly awakened interest in the Order of the Knights Templars¹⁾, to found on this the *Ordre du Temple*, which originated in the Lodge "*les Chevaliers de la Croix*", pretending they were actually the continuation of the ancient order, and had nothing whatever in common with Freemasonry. In the year 1806, numerous circular epistles announced the existence of this society. They sought to substantiate²⁾ their antiquity and their descent by cleverly forging a document, the charter of Larmenius. C. M. R. de Chevillon, one of the founders of this order, is the first whose signature to the document can be pronounced as genuine; the others who were privy to this secret, were Brothers Ledru, Decourchant, Abbé Leblanc, the imperial librarian &c. In 1804 the highly respected physician Bernard Raymond Fabré de Palaprat was chosen Grand Master.

"From all this," says Clavel, "it is clear, that the erection of the french Order of the Knights Templars is not more ancient than the year 1804, and that it cannot lay any legitimate claim to being the continuation of the so-called society of *la petite résurrection des Templiers*, nor did this latter either, extend back to the ancient order of Knights Templars. That they might play out the comedy with the greater appearance of truth, assisted by their documents and their relics, the society of modern Templars divided the world into

1) Murr. in 1803 re-published the form of initiation of the ancient order of Knights Templars, which had previously been found and edited by Münter, and Zach. Werner made use of it as the text of his drama "*Die Söhne des Thales*" (1803). Renouard's "*Templiers*", a poetical work of art, but historically untrue, was first performed in 1805.

2) See Appendix: "The Templars".

provinces, priories, and preceptories, which they portioned out among the members. They required from the candidates for initiation proofs of their belonging to the nobility, and when they could not do this, they themselves ennobled them.

"They acknowledged that they were followers of the Roman Catholic faith, and at different times refused to consecrate Protestants. In 1806 or 1807, the Grand Master purchased at a second-hand bookseller's on the quay, a Greek manuscript of the 15th century, containing a copy of the Gospel of St. John, which in many points differed from the Canon, accepted by the Roman Catholic Church. This manuscript had a kind of introduction or Commentary bearing the title "Leviticon", which put it into his head to incorporate it with the doctrines taught by the Templars, and thus transform the society, which till now had been strictly orthodox, into a schismatic sect." In 1808, the Order solemnised the day of Molay's decease in the Church of St. Paul and St. Anthony in Paris, and there seemed no disinclination, to play a somewhat public rôle; but they however soon thought better of it, and withdrew into obscurity. There was no lack either of disputes, separations, and reunions amongst these Templars. The arrogance of the four vicars general gave the Grand Master¹⁾ enough to do; for as they were denominated lieutenant governors of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and had nothing to say in those countries portioned out to them, they wished at any rate to be heard in Paris. In 1812 open war was declared on both sides,

¹⁾ See the excellent work by Wilcke upon the order of Knights Templars, Vol. II, page 377 etc. At page 381 there is an account of the regulations and secret doctrine of the Paris Templars. See also: Appendix.

and a general convention appointed in 1813, had scarcely the power to calm them. The invasion of the allied armies in 1814, caused peace to be made.

Further incidents. We will only just shortly allude to the further events occurring in the *Supr. Conseil* and Grand Orient up to the year 1814. In 1810 Br. de la Hogue, the father-in-law of de Grasse, aided by Brothers Antoine and Marguerittes, established a *Suprême Conseil pour l'Amérique*, nominally that they might find temporary employment in France, and as soon as circumstances permitted, plant the standard of Scotch Freemasonry in the French islands in America. — In the following year 1811, the *Supr. Conseil de France* bestowed on itself a new organisation, by raising the number of its members to 27, including the sovereign Grand commander, and separating them into two divisions, an administrative and an executive. The former formed a Grand Consistory, and the latter had the bestowal of the degrees above eighteen.

The Grand Orient published, in 1806, a new book of laws, which remained in operation during twenty years; in 1807 the lodge and chapter *les Philadelphes* at Narbonne, constituted in 1780, according to the *Rite primitif*, joined them, and in 1813, the before mentioned *Supr. Conseil pour l'Amérique* applied for permission to be united with them, but the examination of their claims was put off to the following year. The events of 1814 were the occasion of a complete transformation of the Grand Orient; Cambacérès sent in his resignation, and the *Supr. Conseil* was dissolved.

D. Germany.

1) The Grand Lodge of Germany (Swedish Rite) in Berlin.

The shadow which was cast over German Freemasonry in the period just treated of, was not wholly removed even in our own times, but with all its degeneracy there were still manifold tokens, giving promise of a new and better life. It is true that in some lodges incapacity and vacillation continued to hold sway for some time longer, and a remnant of the strict observance maintained itself till the death of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, July 3, 1792, but the more general the spirit of reform became, the more its development assumed a firm and solid basis. A circular epistle which appeared March 18, 1783, addressed by the Provincial lodges at Frankfort o. M., and Wetzlar, inviting to the establishment of a confederacy, which should revive the Royal art of Freemasonry (the eclectic union), greatly tended to stir up this desire for reform. To this succeeded the declaration of the Grand Lodge of the "three Globes", and still more recently the glorious reformation, proposed and carried out by Brothers Fessler and Schröder, of the Royal York and Hamburg Grand lodges.

There was only one Grand Lodge, that of Zinnen-dorf, which did not sympathise in the general movement, but kept firm to the point to which she had attained, and the regulations she had once laid down. She had originally inherited the spirit and essential form and substance of the strict observance, she arrogated to herself the possession of ancient and genuine Freemasonry, and did not alone strive to confirm and

extend her power, but likewise to attain complete dominion, an aim which she assuredly thought to compass, in the then feeble condition of the craft. Although she greatly needed a well-organised constitution, and the key-stone of the building, the apex of the system, and Sweden had broken off all connection with her, and the Grand Lodge of England had annulled the covenant entered into with her, yet she assumed an appearance of great assurance, boldness, and audacity.

The English Grand Lodge having determined in 1786, once more to assert her ancient rights, the Provincial Lodge of Hamburg and Lower Saxony were re-instated in their former old privileges, from March 10, 1740. The Zinnendorf Grand lodge was provoked at this, and therefore immediately prohibited the Brethren in Hamburg from visiting the united lodges, refusing to acknowledge the Provincial lodge of Lower Saxony, and the representative of the English Grand Lodge, Br. Gräfe. The latter communicated this circumstance in a circular epistle to all the Lodges connected with London, saying: "that the Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin, by their conduct, their want of fraternal sentiments, their intolerance, and illiberality in all their actions, &c., had rendered themselves completely unworthy of the countenance and protection of the said superior Grand Lodge, that he saw himself necessitated, by virtue of his office, and in the discharge of his duty, not to regard the above notified Grand Lodge of Berlin, any longer as a genuine and regular lodge of Freemasons &c." This sentence was ratified by the Grand Lodge in London, and the Grand Lodge of Germany protested against it, it is true, but without any effect.

Since the death of Zinnendorf, Br. von Castillon had been Grand Master in this Grand Lodge; in 1789,

he resigned his office into the hands of Br. von Beulwitz. Br. von Nettelblatt (L. c.) informs us that, during the administration of the latter, this Grand Lodge succeeded in gaining some landed property, which is possessed by them up to the present day.

After the demise of Br. von Beulwitz, the government of the Grand Lodge was again placed in the hands of Br. von Castillon in 1799. "The time came, which we none of us can turn to without grievous pain. The pressure of the Napoleonic despotism, which weighed upon all, could not be without effect upon the order in general. The Grand Lodge of Germany saw the necessity of suspending all work from 1807 till the beginning of 1809, its connection with her daughter lodges was broken off, and many severed themselves entirely from the parent tree. The noble Castillon lived to hear the shout of exultation uttered for a liberated Fatherland. Most indefatigably did he set to work, in the midst of these calamities, to diminish the evil, to keep up the intercourse with the daughter lodges at a distance, and to oppose all illegal demands. With the two other Grand Lodges in Berlin (the Grand Lodge Royal York had in the mean while been recognised), he concluded a close and intimate alliance in 1810, for the maintenance of legal conformity in German Freemasonry. He died Jan. 27, 1814. The proposed alliance was to be composed of the three Grand Masters, and their deputies, and they were not to be looked upon as a higher order, but merely to confine themselves to the preparation and disposal of masonic affairs, which should then ultimately be laid before the individual lodges. It received the name of "Freemason alliance of the three Grand Lodges of Berlin."

2) The eclectic Union.

The first important step towards purifying and cleansing the confederation was taken in 1783, by the provincial lodge of Frankfort o M. and Wetzlar, when they addressed a general circular epistle to the German lodges, wherein they invited them to enter into an alliance with them for the purpose of "re-establishing the royal art of ancient Freemasonry". The idea of this free alliance was mooted by Br. von Ditfurth, as early as August, 1779. Br. Franz D. Baron von Ditfurth (assessor in the imperial chamber) denominated *Eques ab orno* in the order of the strict observance, was ancient Scotch Grand Master of the Lodge "Joseph of the Imperial Eagle" in Wetzlar, and for a long time a zealous Illuminatus. The interest he took in the order of the Illuminati, brought him into closer contact with the Brethren in Frankfort, and in consequence re-awakened in him an ardent desire for a reformation in the brotherhood, which assumed form and consistency in a contract¹⁾ drawn up between the Provincial lodges of Wetzlar and Frankfort o. M., and in the above mentioned circular epistle which has become the foundation of the Freemason eclectic Union.

The eclectic circular epistle. It says therein: "Freedom and equality are the groundwork of our confederacy, upon which the founders have erected a temple, reflecting nothing but credit upon themselves, but inward discord, despotism, selfishness, and fanaticism have so

¹⁾ Vide W. Keller, *Gesch. des eklekt. Freimaurer-Bundes* 2. Edit. P. 96. — The "circular epistle". L. c. P. 98 and "Latomia", Vol. XI., Page 164 &c. — Also "*Ephemeriden der Freimaurerei in Deutschland*" 1785. Page 82.

grievously menaced and deformed it, that we have thought it advisable to combine together for the purpose of imparting to Freemasonry her pristine dignity, and to re-kindle the expiring embers of brotherly concord, by uniting the Brethren in the closest bonds of friendship." With regard to all the rites hitherto made known, not one of which has as yet ever been proved, or can be proved, let us before the uninitiated as well as before the masonic world preserve a prudent neutrality, and abolish every thing which could raise a suspicion in the minds of those high in authority in the world. Let each single lodge be alone responsible for her high degrees, for they are not the business of the whole community. But above all things, my brethren, let us establish genuine Freemasonry on the simple and legitimate footing, upon which she stood not so very long ago, before all those rites and systems arose. We refrain from passing any judgment upon the worth, genuineness, and evidence of the truth of all these systems, for we are of opinion that toleration is a fundamental principle in our order; we merely content ourselves here with remarking with historical accuracy, that the introduction of the high degrees brought in those disputes and divisions, which have so materially tended to the deterioration of the order. We learn hence the incontrovertible precept, that in a society like ours, freedom and inward conviction must prevail, and that in these matters the reason and understanding must not be under slavish subjection. Let us imitate those celebrated men of antiquity, the eclectic philosophers, who without binding themselves to any particular system, culled from each one, what was the best and the most convincing, and in the same way our eclectic Freemasonry will most assuredly be the best."

The chief points of union were:

- 1) The three Masonic degrees alone were acknowledged by all the united lodges.
- 2) Each Lodge is left free to introduce as many of the higher degrees as she thinks fit, only they must not be compulsory upon the whole association.
- 3) None of the associated Lodges is dependent upon the other; they are all equal.
- 4) The Provincial lodges of Wetzlar and Frankfort o. M. form a general Directory, &c.

Brother S. Fr. Küstner, the provincial Secretary, added to the circular an introductory letter, in which the aim and tendency of the whole was briefly stated.

Declarations of ad- This circular epistle found great approval
herence to, and with some, while others were unfavorable
suspensions raised towards it. The fact that the founders of
by, the eclectic the new association were many of them
circular. members of the Illuminati, created great distrust; it was
thought on that account to be only a seminary of theirs.
But by degrees a pretty considerable number of lodges
joined, and that from all parts of Germany, from Po-
land, Naples, and Denmark. In 1789, the eclectic Union
consisted of 30 lodges, eight of whom did not wish to
have their names mentioned. It was hoped, that Ham-
burg would unite with Frankfort and Wetzlar in found-
ing this association, but she disappointed all such ex-
pectations.

The eclectic circular letter was, as Br. Keller rightly observes, the first sign of a reawakened consciousness in the German lodges, the act of emancipation which set Freemasonry free from the chains in which she had been bound; therefore the impression it made was of so powerful a nature, that most probably it would have pierced through every thing, working reformation wherever it came, if a perfect substantial whole could have

been brought to bear upon it. But unfortunately there was nothing at hand but the remodelled Rituals, which were several years previously drawn up for the Lodge of unity, and by each party making mutual concessions, were soon rendered available for the present necessity. A motion brought forward by Br. von Ditzfurth, touching the introduction of a fourth degree, wherein every thing was to be taught that could be discovered about Freemasonry, was for the present adjourned, and another proposal by the same brother, relative to the abolishing of the oath, thus following the example set by the Lodge of the three swords in Dresden, was negatived, though it was supported by very convincing arguments. A committee was appointed, to consult about a book of laws, in which were Brothers Brönner, von Ditzfurth, von Bernhardt, Dufay &c. This committee completed their task in 1788, so that in 1789, the new book of laws was transmitted to the daughter lodges. The provincial lodge "Joseph of the Imperial Eagle", had but little share in these doings, as Br. von Ditzfurth was overwhelmed with official business, and in the lodge itself, a great relaxation of activity was apparent; in 1800 she and the daughter lodge "of the three Helmets" had quite vanished, and the place where the lodges were held and their treasury, assigned to the town, to found a school with.

Renewal of the
Connection with
England.

The provincial Lodge in Frankfort found herself lonely, after she had broken off all connection with the English Grand Lodge, and though the formation of the eclectic Union in some degree relieved this feeling, yet, because of the inactivity of Wetzlar, and of the manifold envious, and suspicious

1) Vide the "declaration of the Mother lodge of the three Globes" of November 1783.

sentiments which had sprung up, she manifested a strong desire to unite herself once more to the Grand Mother Lodge of Freemasons, and the more so, because the Provincial Lodge of Hamburg had lately (1786) become more closely connected with the Grand Mother Lodge. For this purpose, the mediation of Br. A. von Gräfe, her representative in Germany, was joyfully accepted. The negotiations ended in a solid contract being made, and the Grand Lodge of England immediately prepared a warrant of a Provincial Grand Master, Feb. 20, 1789, for Br. von Bernhardt, who in the mean time had been chosen in Passavant's stead to take the lead in the eclectic confederation, giving him jurisdiction over the whole of the Upper and Lower Rhine, and the circle of Franconia, and a solemn installation took place a short time afterwards. However in order that no offence should be offered to the independent principles of the eclectic confederation, the provincial Grand Master was to be elected every three years by the Directory lodge in Frankfort, and the Lodge in London had only to confirm the choice.

Together with the description of the solemn installation, a circular epistle was published, Dec. 9, 1789, wherein the confederation defended herself once more, against the false opinions rife about her, and especially protested in the most solemn manner, against the suspicion, that in reality she belonged to the Illuminati. In many lodges great umbrage was taken at the reunion with England, so that the question was put by many, how it was possible that such a relationship could exist at the same time with the eclectic association. The lodge "Compass" in Gotha, Bode and Weishaupt at its head, went still further, for they issued a decree, without the cognisance of the Provincial lodge, wherein they declared that in consequence of the connection with England,

they should regard the eclectic Union as dissolved, and invited all to combine in founding a National Grand lodge of Germany, with a Directory subject to alteration. The proposed plan of this German Masonic association, contained the following articles: All the lodges forming the alliance, enjoyed equal rights and privileges, and on entering the same, had all an equal right to vote. The confederation, when not exceeding 27 lodges, should have at their head a Grand Lodge to transact the business of the association. But as soon as the number amounted to more than this, and they were joined by lodges from all parts of Germany, each circle should form a Grand Lodge of their own, according to the model before them. This presiding Lodge was not always to be held in the same place, but the presidency should go from one lodge to the other. — But few lodges however joined this association, which, after Bode's death in 1793, crumbled away to nothing. On this account the Provincial lodge thrust this lodge out of the confederacy, a measure, which was not approved of by all the Grand Officers, and against which the lodge "of the three Arrows" in Nürnberg protested, and themselves likewise afterwards withdrew. Besides this dispute, the Royal-Arch-Degree, which had come over from England, and into which many Brethren of Frankfort had been initiated, occasioned fresh complications. Still greater danger threatened the eclectic alliance, and the Fraternity generally, from the distrust caused by the French Revolution, and under which indeed several lodges suffered materially. Not till 1798, were the lodges again active, and in 1802 a few of the lodges of the association again showed signs of life. The lodge "of Unity" as well as the provincial lodge, were stirred up to fresh activity, by the formation of the lodge "Socrates", constituted by the

Grand Lodge "Royal York" in Berlin (1801), which latter mentioned Grand lodge had thought the lodge "of Unity" to have quite died out. This circumstance unfortunately hindered their taking part in a general union of the German lodges, which Hamburg, Berlin, and Hanover strove to effect.

The political events of the period were not without their influence upon Freemasonry; the lodge in Aix la Chapelle was compelled to join the Grand Orient of France, the lodge "Archimedes" in Altenburg declared herself free and independent in March 1804, Frankfort itself became subjected to the prince Primas, who in the capacity of Grand Duke of Frankfort, only just tolerated the Lodges; in Cassel they constructed a Gr. Orient of their own for the newly erected kingdom of Westphalia &c. But the dormant lodges again were gradually revived, and the eclectic association was strengthened by the acquisition of other lodges, as for example that of "Joseph of Unity" in Nürnberg. In addition to the irritation caused by the lodge "Socrates", which was denied recognition, there occurred, in 1808, the violent altercation between the Christian and Israelitish brethren of the lodge "*zur aufgehenden Morgenröthe*", founded by the Gr. Orient of France.

This event produced however this good effect that the two Christian lodges became more drawn towards each other, and the lodge "Socrates" joined the eclectic association in 1811. "The latter", remarks Keller, "became more and more numerous and conservative, if I may be permitted so to style the ossification in the arrangements. The highly esteemed Br. Brönner, had died at an advanced age in 1811, and he was followed by Br. Dufay, likewise an aged man, as well as his successor Br. von Leonhardi. But the life and soul of the Provincial lodge was Br. Fellner, who, when he became

Grand Master, highly distinguished himself, for he was a man of strong will and firm character, but deaf to the expostulatory warnings of such as were farther advanced in knowledge than himself. The revised rituals of the year 1812, and still more the contracts entered into by single lodges before their admission, show undeniable traces of the effect wrought by the vicinity of the so-called Jewish lodge. In the contracts it was expressly stated that only such be admitted as members, or as visitors, who were Christians — a command, which the English provincial lodge, as she was at that time, one would suppose, would be the least likely to issue." The alterations in the statute book were of such a nature, that "from the point of view from which the ancient laws were founded, the omission of these alterations would have been preferable."

3) The Grand National Lodge "of the three Globes" in Berlin.

When Duke Ferdinand resigned the dignity of Grand Master, the Grand National Mother Lodge "of the three Globes", considered the time as come, when they might set themselves entirely free from the strict observance. This was done in a printed circular letter, addressed to all the lodges, Nov. 11, 1783, in which it was signified¹⁾: that she formally and solemnly renounced the strict observance, considering herself free and independent, but that she proffered to all regularly constituted lodges of Freemasons, in and out of Germany, of each and every system, and also the lodges and brethren, known under the name of the Zinnendorff

1) See O'Etzel, *Geschichte der Grossen National-Mutterloge der preussischen Staaten, genannt "zu den drei Weltk."* Berlin, 1840. P. 58 &c.

system, the right hand of masonic fellowship, with the sincerest fraternal regard, and prayed for theirs in return." — Farther on, she observes, that the resolutions of the Wilhelmsbad convention could not be the least applicable to her case, and sent to all the lodges of Germany and the continent of Europe an invitation to honor them by keeping up a masonic correspondence in the three English degrees till now acknowledged and accepted, as well as to give the travelling brethren letters of introduction to them, which would assure these brethren at all times a loving reception.

1784—1796. The Grand National Mother Lodge would have thrust aside the now unmeaning form of administration partly hierarchical, partly military, received from the strict observance, and would have carried out still further reforms, if manifold and varied circumstances had not prevented them from so doing, and particularly the respect and consideration shown for the all-powerful minister of state Br. Wöllner, who stuck to his mystic ideas with all the obstinacy of a narrow-minded fanatic.

That much was wanting in the Lodges, and that there was much now both inconvenient and unsuitable in them, became more and more sensibly felt.¹⁾ The chief power of the order, the Directory of Brunswick, existed no longer, and the provincial directory was powerless, for the control had ceased to be immediately exercised by the National Grand Master, Prince Frederick, who was seldom in Berlin, and his ancient Scotch deputy Grand Master, Br. von Wöllner, had in the mean time become minister of state, and therefore the duties of his avocation prevented him from being very active in the lodges. This Master, who on ac-

¹⁾ See L. c. Page 61 etc.

count of his eminent services in the lodges, had enjoyed such a large amount of popularity, now lost very much of the confidence, the Brethren had once reposed in him, "in consequence of certain views he had adopted, which did not harmonise with the spirit of Freemasonry."

"The position in which the Mother Lodge saw herself placed, induced her, Jan. 4, 1794, when she was convoked through the medium of her Master, Br. Theden, to authorise a committee, to confer upon the affairs of the confederation, and to bring forward judicious proposals, which should lead to a more perfect definition of the duties and position to be assumed by the officers of the lodges." Furthermore it was resolved, that from henceforward the officers of each lodge should be elected annually by the members. Br. Theden was chosen Deputy Grand Master, Br. Burghoff, chairman of the Mother lodge, and Br. Zöllner deputy Master of the same.

Reorganisation of the Gr. National Mother Lodge. In the year 1797 began an entirely new epoch for the Gr. National Mother lodge of the Prussian States.¹⁾

In this same year, there were several favorable circumstances, which combined to render an energetic movement practicable, and which likewise promised to be attended with success.

June 30, there came together seven brethren, who were well informed concerning Masonic affairs, enthusiastically bent upon furthering the interests of the order, and whose official situations rendered them especially eligible in the like emergency, and who determined to establish in the association of the Lodges, an

¹⁾ We here copy almost word for word that official authority, already named. Page 64 etc.

independent and intellectual power, which should exercise supreme authority, that the Mother lodge should be judiciously re-organised and endowed with all her original rights and privileges, and that measures should be adopted to ensure a revision of the rituals and statutes, to purify it from all that admixture of foreign systems, which had hitherto disfigured it. —

For this purpose all the Berlin Lodges belonging to the confederacy of the three Globes, were summoned to a meeting, in which the above mentioned proposals were accepted with universal joy.

The Ancient Scottish directory. Immediate steps were taken to arrange a superior lodge of the confederation, which was to consist of seven brethren of equal rank and authority, and who were to retain the customary appellation Ancient-Scottish Directory.

The members of the Directory were elected by the whole fraternity, and, as they were all equal, the order in which they had to inscribe their names, was decided by lot.

The National Grand Master, the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, and the Deputy National Grand Master, Br. von Wöllner, both absent from Berlin, had signified their approval of the plan sketched out for the new constitution of the lodges, and were nominated honorary members of the Directory. The Directory thus constituted was recognised as such by the whole fraternity, and formed an executive and superior judicial body of Freemasons of the Grand National-Mother Lodge of the Prussian States, called "of the three Globes". The brethren elected to be Directors, were to compose the highest Inner Orient of the association of Lodges, and in this capacity, their most sacred duty was to preserve the science pure,

and free from all foreign admixtures whatever, and to preserve, increase, and spread the knowledge of Freemasonry.

The Grand Mother Lodge "of the three Globes" (in its most circumscribed sense) was now composed of all the representatives of the St. John's Lodges belonging to the confederacy, and was organised as the giver of laws and decrees.

Fundamental constitution. A fundamental constitution, elaborated in conformity with these resolutions, was Nov. 22, laid before the assembled Mother Lodge, discussed *in pleno*, accepted, and signed by all the members. A period of seven years was allotted for the revision of this fundamental constitution.

The history of the fraternity of Freemasons, the aim and design of all the systems which had arisen in the same, and the explanation of the symbols, was restricted to special degrees in the order, which however in the meaning of the word, as then understood, had not permission to breathe even the name of the High degrees, for they did not confer any special supremacy on such as had them, referring as they more particularly did to the doctrine of Freemasonry, but most certainly not to the administration or to the legislation.

The General ancient Scotch Lodge of the confederation, was one of these degrees, and those Scotch lodges existing side by side with the daughter lodges, not independent, but only delegated by the above mentioned Scotch lodge. They could only exist in conjunction with an independent St. John's Lodge, of active members, and with the consent of the St. John's Master-ship, laying no claim to control, or any peculiar privilege whatever, in the administration of the St. John's Lodge.

All these important arrangements were at that time carried out by the Grand National Mother Lodge quite in silence.

Br. Zöllner. Br. Joh. Friedr. Zöllner, *Dr. theol.*, first counsellor of the consistory and of the college in Berlin and Grand Master till his death in 1798, had very great influence upon the transformation of the Grand National Mother Lodge, having worked very carefully at its Rituals and instructions. He was born Apr. 24, 1753, at Neudamm in the Neumark, and died Sept. 12, 1804.

The Royal Edict. As a consequence of the terror the revolution had caused, and of the distrust which was awakened against the association by the libels and lampoons published against them, a royal edict was issued Oct. 20, 1798, which strictly prohibited all participation in secret alliances or societies, those daughter lodges working under the three Grand Lodges, forming however an exception. Other lodges, except such as belonged to these, were not to be tolerated. Every year the three Grand lodges must send in a list to the King, of all the members composing the daughter lodges, and the presiding members in each lodge, were responsible to the state, for the demeanor of their respective lodges. — This monopoly of the three Grand Lodges was inimical to the development of Prussian Freemasonry, and proved an insuperable barrier, hindering its progress; unfortunately to this very day it has been a monument of unfounded distrust, even under the protecting care of the Royal Br. William.

From 1799—1813. March 7, 1799, it was determined that the National Grand Master, who was annually elected, should take the chair in the Mother Lodge, but that he as well as the deputy Grand Master, must previously have been one of the seven members of the Directory. Br. Zöllner was made Grand Master, Br. Klaproth his

Deputy, and Br. Baumann Ancient Scotch Grand Master. The Statutes of the order were altered to suit the times, and communicated to the Daughter lodges in a printed form; the Grand Lodge also acquired the house still in their possession, and which was consecrated in 1800. In a circular epistle of Sept. 25, 1799, the Scottish directory informed the daughter lodges of the reforms, which had been accomplished.

After Zöllner's death in 1804, Br. Guionneau was elected Grand Master. The number of the Lodges increased apace; for while in 1800 there were only 34, in 1806 they amounted to 52. This year, after the battle of Jena, the Grand Lodge deemed it advisable to suspend their meetings; still however the superior authority assembled regularly, to keep the association, in some sort, together. In 1807, there were even Provincial lodges in Ansbach and Magdeburg, to maintain a connection between those lodges which had become foreign ones, when territory had been ceded up at the close of the war. The Provincial lodge at Magdeburg was dissolved, because its president, Count Schulenburg-Emden, wished to make a Grand lodge of it.

In 1807 four of the members of each of the three Prussian Lodges constituted a committee, to discuss all those questions, which could profit or be of use to the institution. The Grand Masters' Association was the result of this consultation, which was dissolved in 1823, but revived in after years.

4) I. A. Fessler and the Grand Lodge "Royal York zur Freundschaft" in Berlin.

The lodge "Royal York zur Freundschaft", after her separation from the Grand lodge of Germany, 1788,

worked again in her former French ritual and in the usual way, but devoid of all striving after any thing better, or of intellectual activity, as it was principally a meeting of good and honorable men, yet possessed of but a very ordinary amount of knowledge. They had, as has been already mentioned, founded many lodges, and therefore styled themselves Mother Lodge, but if the daughters sent in their contributions regularly, they do not seem to have further troubled their heads about them; their financial position was not a brilliant one, and besides the usual correspondence, minutes, and rituals, their archives contained nothing which could be of any service to the curious Mason, eager for information about Freemasonry ¹⁾ and the different systems in it. Besides the three St. John's degrees, the following High degrees were distributed by her: *Élu des neuf, des quinze et de Perpignan*, — *Écossais rouge et Éc. de St. André*, — *Chevalier de l'Orient*, — *Chevalier de l'Aigle ou Prince Souverain de Rose-Croix*, — first in French, and then in German, and the holders of the seventh degree, the sovereign Rosicrucian princes, formed a *Conseil Sublime*, which decided all questions brought forward in the St. John's Lodges. But soon all the members of the lodge were dissatisfied, and greatly desired to have something better. Just at this critical juncture a mason arose, neither deficient in talent, experience, nor in Masonic knowledge, and who seemed most thoroughly adapted to carry out the work of Reform; this man was I. A. Fessler, whose active zeal is intimately connected with the history of the transformation effected in the lodges, in the next few years, and on whom we must bestow especial attention,

¹⁾ See Fessler, *crit. History*, IV, and Fischer's *Eleusinians of the 19th Century*. Berlin, 1803. 2 Vol. Page 285.

as he occupies a very prominent place in the history of German Freemasonry.

I. A. Fessler. Ignatius Aurelius Fessler, was the son of a poor, discharged sergeant in the cavalry, afterwards an innkeeper; Ignatius was born at Czurendorf in Lower Hungary in 1756, receiving the first rudiments of education from his mother, a woman somewhat bigoted in her religious views, who in pursuance of a vow she had taken, had devoted this son to a monastic life. From his 7th to his 16th year, he visited the Jesuit school at Raab, and in 1773 entered the order of the Capuchins at Mödling, and after having taken holy orders, was removed to the Capuchin monastery in Vienna. Here, in conjunction with the prelate von Rautenstrauch and other honorable men, he exposed to the liberal-minded Emperor Joseph II., the abuses which had crept into the monasteries, both in doctrine and practice, incurring in consequence of this, and a tragedy which he wrote, called "Sidney" the persecution of his superiors. The Emperor took him under his protection, and nominated him Professor of the oriental languages, and of the interpretation of the Old Testament, in the university of Lemberg, in 1783. When the monks threatened him with legal proceedings for his tragedy of "Sidney", he was compelled to escape to Breslau in 1788, where he found a hospitable reception with W. G. Korn, a bookseller, and subsequently became tutor to the son of the Prince of Carolath. It was here that, on his own responsibility, he established the order of the Evergetes or Benefactors. This was an attempt on his part to form an order, similar in its construction to Freemasonry, and independent of Church and State, which should effect what at that period Br. Fessler deemed Freemasonry incapable of performing. But he did not succeed in his attempt, and the order was dis-

solved in 1795, without ever having actually existed.¹⁾ In 1791 he became a convert to the Evangelical Lutheran faith, married, and settled in Berlin, where, till 1806, he was employed in the South Prussian department as superintendent of catholic churches and schools, for which he received a salary. His historical works ("Marcus Aurelius", 3 Parts; 3. Editions; "Aristides and Themistocles", 2 Parts; "Mathias Corvinus, king of Hungary", 3. Editions) established his fame as an author. After the battle of Jena he lost his official position and consequently his salary. In September 1802 he had obtained a divorce from his wife, on account of her having no offspring, and for other good reasons, and in the December of that year, he married for the second time, but more happily, and having bought the estate of Kleinwall in 1803, he left Berlin, tired of the world and mankind, to plant cabbages, tend his flocks, and seek for that rest for body and soul, which he so greatly desired, but which he did not find. On the contrary, after the loss of his situation, and the increase of his family, he found himself sunk in poverty, and compelled to let his estate, and exchange it for a country residence in Niederschönhausen. Under these depressing circumstances his gallant friends Mossdorf and von Morg took him kindly by the hand, and obtained relief for him, especially from the lodges in Leipzig, Dresden, Freiberg, and even from the Grand Lodge "Royal York" in Berlin, which, as we shall presently hear, had formerly dealt hardly with him. Fessler's heart overflowed with gratitude towards his benefactors, and rejoiced that "his child, for which a short time previously not even swaddling-clothes could be procured to wrap it in, might

¹⁾ See particulars, in "Fessler's judicial disclosures of the order of the "Evergetes" in Silesia." Freiberg, 1804.

now be received without bitter tears of pain." Depressed with sorrow and care for the future maintenance of his family, some prospect of relief seemed to be opened to him in 1808, by the then Queen of Prussia, just when the post of Professor was offered him at the University of St. Petersburg, which he accepted with a yearly income of 1500 roubles, increased afterwards to 4000, when he became aulic counsellor. Unfortunately the clergy cast a shadow over his path, for they were displeased at his being appointed, and it was their intrigues, which made him resign his position. He lived for some years in Wolsk, Saratow, and in the colony of the Moravian Brethren at Sarepta, when suddenly his salary was stopped, and he in consequence reduced to great extremities, but relieved at length by the Emperor Alexander's kindness, who in 1818 paid him all the arrears of his salary. Two years later Fessler was consecrated superintendant of the evangelical community over nine Russian governments, and ecclesiastical president of the consistory at Saratow, with a considerable income. He had shown in all the different vicissitudes he had undergone, most exemplary perseverance and courage, recommencing afresh and meeting every storm with a firmness of character, which was natural to him, yet in the latter years of his life, we find that strict orthodox doctrines seemed to have usurped the mastery over his former free and liberal spirit. In 1827, the Emperor invited Fessler to take up his permanent residence in St. Petersburg, and in 1833 he had the title of ecclesiastical counsellor bestowed on him. He died at the advanced age of 82, Dec. 15, 1839.¹⁾

¹⁾ For further particulars of Fessler's eventful life see: "Fessler, retrospections of a 70 years' pilgrimage"; Br. Rhode's account of Fessler's life; — from Fessler's collected writings, 3 Vol.; — and also that

The Lodge
"Royal York". Fessler joined Freemasonry at Lemberg, and was initiated May 11, 1783, in the lodge "*Phönix zur runden Tafel*." He then devoted himself most indefatigably to the study of the science of Freemasonry, his acquaintance with experienced brethren, especially the celebrated councillor at the Gubernium, von Kortum, greatly assisting him in his researches. After his arrival in Berlin, June 2, 1796, he joined the "Royal York" Lodge, Nov. 21, of that same year; he was against his will introduced into the *Conseil sublime* and at once honored with the important charge of revising and remodelling the whole of the rituals of this lodge. He immediately perceived what a rich field this would prove for his active spirit, therefore he declared himself willing to undertake the work of reformation, commencing first of all with the three lower degrees. His unremitting exertions soon enabled him to complete this portion. Partly that he might not incur the reproach ¹⁾ of favoring innovations, and partly to prepare the Brethren, for something better and more substantial hereafter, he retained a great deal of the French ritual, hitherto in use in the lodges, but he chiefly extracted from the Prague ritual, (Swedish Rite) printed in 1794. His work met with most decided general approbation.

He then commenced working out a constitution. It is true the lodge had certainly had a collection of laws, but these were very imperfect and written in a foreign language, based upon no fundamental constitution, neither explaining the different authorities in detail, nor confining them within their natural limits. He carried out

excellent lecture by Br. W. O. Helmert in the "Latomia", 18. Vol. Page 1 etc., taken from the correspondence between Fessler and Mossdorf.

¹⁾ Fessler, crit. History IV. Section, concerning Royal York, and his works., I. Vol., Page 447 etc.

his task in a most masterly manner, though it was by no means an easy one, indeed rendered doubly difficult, from having to deal with people who, as Tacitus says, "can bear neither complete slavery, nor complete freedom." Fessler was then to begin operating upon the so-called higher degrees. But as, not even after taking immense pains, he could manage to make any sense of them, he proposed in April 1797, that they should be entirely done away with; but in vain. The proposal was unanimously rejected, and therefore, though much against his will, he was obliged to undertake the task. He could not however make up his mind, to submit his work to the inspection and discretionary mutations of the 26 members composing the *Conseil sublime*, some of whom did not even understand a word of German, he therefore agreed with the then Grand Master Br. Deloganere and his friend Darbes, to choose nine of these brothers, and form of them an eighth degree under the name of the Inmost Orient, constituting it a higher college over the *Conseil sublime*, which should in future possess full authority to decide upon all questions purely masonic, such as rituals, all doubts and difficulties about degrees &c. Fessler had prepared this eighth degree upon that of the *Chevalier sublime* of the Clermont high chapter, working out the four higher degrees likewise to agree with it. His changes and alterations were received with the most unqualified approval by the Interior Orient.

"Royal York" The "Royal York" lodge called itself Mother constitutes itself a Grand Lodge. and Grand Lodge, and was only tolerated by the government under this denomination and acknowledged as such by all the other lodges. If she should not now assume the requisite form, according to the decree expected to appear respecting secret societies, it would lead to this inevitable result, she must submit as a single St.

John's Lodge, to be under the jurisdiction of the Zinnendorff Grand Lodge of Germany or the National Mother lodge, "*zu den drei Weltkugeln*". Br. Fessler therefore took all imaginable trouble to induce the brethren of the "Royal York" lodge, to divide themselves into four special St. John's Lodges, and unite all those lodges constituted by her and still in activity, into one Grand Lodge.

After many difficulties and hindrances, he at length succeeded in carrying out his proposition, and June 11, 1798, the Grand Lodge was actually formed with seven daughter lodges, and in Potsdam the eighth was constituted. Br. Friedr. Wilh. von Sellentin presided as Grand Master, and Br. Fessler exercised the office of deputy Grand Master. When, a few months later, the royal edict against secret societies was issued, this Grand Lodge had the inexpressible joy of being accepted as one of the Grand lodges existing under the protection of the state.

The year of revision 1800, which had been ordained as such by special law, was now at hand. The revision of the fundamental laws had been confided to the then Grand Orator, Br. Rhode, who conducted this business together with Fessler, while to this latter was committed the revision of the rituals of the whole of the degrees. Fessler's most ardent wish was now, to reduce the ritual of the apprentice degree, to the most important ceremonies of the ancient ritual of initiation. When he himself remarked that he should never succeed in having this measure approved of by the interior Orient, he began his revision in August 1800, with the so-called higher degrees, by first of all proposing to abolish them entirely. He could not prevail, but had the satisfaction of metamorphosing them into five degrees of knowledge (*Erkenntniss-Stufen*.) The brethren however wished to

possess something which should look like a higher degree, therefore some sort of initiation had to be united to each degree of knowledge.

The Degrees of Knowledge. The degrees of knowledge consisted of a regular detailed course of instruction in each system of the lodges, whether extinct or in full activity, and were to end with a complete critical remodelling of the history of Freemasonry and of the fraternity of Freemasons, from the most ancient period, down to our own day. This historical instruction is divided into certain sections, and one or more such sections form one degree of knowledge. Each degree of knowledge is preceded by a sort of initiation, as has been said before, to which the ritual is nothing more than an aesthetic moral idea or mystery, defining the tendency of Freemasonry in a more or less tangible form, and animating and inspiring the hearts of the brethren with enthusiasm for the Art.

The rituals of the three St. John's degrees, must now be arranged in such a way, that nothing should be promised, or hinted at in them, which historical investigation should afterwards discover to be empty and counterfeit. This very necessary desideratum, at length apparent to the Interior Orient themselves, facilitated the apprentice degree being remodelled upon the ancient English ceremony of Initiation. The Ritual which was revised in this spirit, was delivered over to the Interior Orient, and in the night which closed the 18th. and opened the 19th. century, was inaugurated by the whole of the Lodges.

J. G. Fichte. Although the work of reform just completed, was approved of by the majority, yet all the Brethren did not regard it with approbation. Many of them did not understand Fessler; others were not especially friendly towards him, so that for some time deplorable dissensions existed, which calumnies and secret

intrigues, and the hostile attitude assumed by the Grand Lodge of Germany, considerably strengthened, and the accession to the fraternity of the celebrated philosopher J. G. Fichte, in whom Fessler hoped to find an ally, did not remove them. On the contrary, both were soon at variance, being of opposite opinions, not agreeing upon principles, though at first Br. Fichte was full of ardent zeal, "to work with Fessler in perfecting the human race", and although Fessler had been instrumental in getting him accepted into the Lodge „*Pythagoras zum flammenden Stern*", which took place in April 1800. A month or two later, in July of the same year, Fichte resigned his office of First Orator in the Interior Orient, and separated himself from the lodge before mentioned, in which he held the office of Junior Warden. This rupture, which was occasioned by the want of a proper understanding, or mutual confidence in each other, and a more yielding spirit in both, is very much to be lamented for the general interests of Freemasonry, for Fichte himself was ardently devoted to the order.

The great Free- Br. Fessler had, in the mean while, become
mason Union. allied with the Dep. Provincial Grand Master of Lower Saxony, Br. F. L. Schröder, and had eagerly seized upon an idea of Schröder's for the promotion of genuine Freemasonry, viz: the formation of a great Freemason-Union of all the Grand provincial lodges of Germany, and throughout the continent if possible, and Fessler had offered him his most active co-operation in the good work. Br. Schröder likewise communicated to him the troublesome task he had in hand, the investigation of the origin of Freemasonry and of the different rites.

Two-thirds of the year 1801 were consumed in negotiating upon this matter with Berlin, Hamburg and Hanover. When at length the idea was ripe for execution, it was solemnly announced in the Grand Lodge

Royal York" Sept. 43, 1801, that a deed of Union¹⁾ had been drawn up from the one prepared by Br. Fessler, but greatly modified. On that same day likewise the new Grand Master, Br. E. F. Klein, who had been chiefly elected at the instigation of Fessler after Sellenin's resignation, was duly installed in his office.

he Grand Lodge Now the Grand lodge had attained a height Royal York" in which commanded both respect and esteem. the year 1801. The whole Grand Lodge was a glorious building, connected in all its parts, a conspicuous temple, rich in beauty and dignity! When Fessler became deputy Grand Master in 1797, there were only three lodges under the Grand Lodge, now there were sixteen. And all this was the work of one man, whose zeal was tempered with wisdom, experience, and success; it was the work of Fessler's determined and persevering activity.

Fessler's resignation. While posterity gratefully acknowledges his meritorious exertions in behalf of Masonry, all the immediate reward he received was ingratitude. "Men of neglected education, without mental culture, but with tentorian lungs, bare-faced effrontery, and full of a spirit of intrigue, had long been the originators of all these dissensions" and had industriously kept alive the feeling of ill will excited against Fessler, and which, ruth to say, was not wholly undeserved. His character had many sharp corners and edges, which were constantly opposing their barbed surface to the wishes of the Brethren and estranging their hearts from him. For six years he had gloriously maintained the struggle against his opponents, until the Grand Master E. F. Klein, (Counsellor of justice, and a celebrated lawyer, born in Breslau in 1743, and died March 18, 1810) an uneasy spirit,

¹⁾ This is printed in Keller, "Germany". Page 225 etc. from Schroeder's Materials IV.

full of mistrust, and incapable of putting up with contradiction, declared himself on the side of Fessler's antagonists, in order to compel Fessler, who as we have just remarked, was not without his faults and weaknesses, to withdraw. When the latter remarked the spirit prevailing in the fraternity, and what he had to expect from them, he declared to the Interior Orient, that he should withdraw himself for a while; and May 9, 1802, after several disagreeable transactions, he renounced absolutely every one of the offices he had filled in the lodges, and soon afterwards tendered his complete resignation¹).

Henceforth Fessler directed his affections, and a portion too of his active zeal and his treasury of knowledge, to the lodge "*zu den drei Bergen*" in Freiberg, a lodge which at that time, materially distinguished itself, and especially by its demeanor towards Fessler has erected an imperishable monument to its own fame.

The Union of scientific Freemasons. Before Fessler had occasion to resign at Berlin, at the suggestion of his friend Fischer, he had conceived the idea of founding a great union of scientific Freemasons, by choosing a few select members and appointing them to investigate the history and character of Freemasonry, and thus to possess in the bosom of the society a depository of solid masonic science. Nov. 28, 1802, this Union was founded by Brothers Fischer, Fessler, Darbes, Tismar, Meissner, Mossdorf, and Wigand, and consolidated by a special act of Union.

"All the members pledged themselves to investigate the history of Freemasonry from its very first origin down to the present time, in all its different parts, with all its systems and retrogressions, in the most complete

1) For further particulars see Fessler's collected works, 2d Part.

manner, and then to communicate what they knew to trustworthy brethren."

"In the assemblies of the real members, there were no rituals, nor ceremonies, nor any especial vestments requisite, nor indeed any outward distinctions whatever. A common interest and the love of truth, a general aversion of all deception, treachery, and secrecy were the sentiments which bound them together, and made them feel the duties incumbent on them, without binding themselves by any special oath. Consequently all the members of the scientific union had all equal rights and obligations; they did not acknowledge a superior, or subordination to any masonic authority whatever."

"Any upright, scientifically cultivated Master Mason, a sincere seeker after truth, might join this Union, no matter to what rite or Grand Lodge he belonged, if the whole of the votes were given in his favor, and he pledged himself faithfully to carry out the intention of the founders of the order."

"Each circle of scientific masons was provided with a number of copies of the deed of Union, and every new candidate, when he signed it, became a partaker of the privileges shared in by the whole. The Chief Archives and the centre of the confederation were at first to be in Berlin.

Freiberg afterwards received full power to erect special archives, to prepare the necessary documents, and to provide every thing useful tending to spread the knowledge of the order. It did not however seem so easy to extend the union; Brethren, whose co-operation had been reckoned upon, did not join; the active working of others was crippled by all sorts of scruples and hindrances, and Fessler's purchase of Kleinwall, drew off his attention wholly from the subject.

Differences of opinion, perhaps likewise too great

egotism, caused dissensions between many members of the association and the brethren of the lodge at Altenburg. Distrust was excited in every man's breast, and instead of the enthusiasm formerly exhibited, only lukewarmness and disgust. The efforts of the Saxon lodges to form a Grand Lodge thrust the scientific union into the back ground, where it was soon forgotten, a fate which it really did not deserve.

5) Schroeder and the Hamburg Grand Lodge.

Fr. A. Schroeder in Hamburg effected a similar reformation in this town, as had been done by Fessler in Berlin. Indeed, Schroeder's was profounder, more comprehensive, and crowned with greater success, as he went to work with more singleness of heart and greater purity of intention, and his own individual character and reputation, as well as various outward circumstances, powerfully aided him in his undertaking. It was he who was destined to break triumphantly through the night of darkness, and disperse the mists of error, which obscured the true light and prevented it from penetrating to Freemasonry, and who obtained a firm basis for his successful operations.

Fr. L. Schröder. Frederick Ludwig Schroeder was born in Schwerin, Nov. 3, 1744, where his mother superintended a school of embroidery, his father having died in Berlin when he was two years old, she went first to Danzig, then to Petersburg, and lastly to Moscow, where in 1749, she married the actor C. E. Ackermann. After a short sojourn in Moscow, where Schroeder, then five years old, received ¹⁾ his first instruction, his parents returned

¹⁾ "*Aus dem Leben Fr. L. Schroeder's*" By A. F. Polick. „*Bauhütte*", 1858, No. 24 and 25.

to St. Petersburg, with their company, and thence with a troop of their own, they removed to Courland and Koenigsberg, where Ackermann in 1753 established a Theatre of his own, where his stepson elicited general applause, sometimes in the character of a boy, sometimes a girl. After remaining a short time at Warsaw, where Schroeder was sent to the Jesuit school of the place, and after a journey, during which he profited by the instruction of the actor Ast, who was skilled in languages, and otherwise very well informed, the boy, then twelve years old, was transferred to the Frederick's College at Koenigsberg, where he was equally distinguished for his industry and his spirit of independence. He still continued there, even after his parents, who treated him with unusual harshness and severity, often imperiling his life, had, on the breaking out of the Seven Years' War, taken to flight. The poor abandoned youth was first taken care of by a kind-hearted citizen of the town, and in 1758, Stuart, the rope-dancer, and his wife, hired his father's Theatre of him, and thus released him from his starving and suffering condition. Both too, with the most disinterested kindness, turned their careful attention to the cultivation of his mind, but it was Frau Stuart especially, who through her amiability and many excellencies of character, worked beneficially on Schroeder's youthful mind, and to whom he chiefly owed his proficiency in music and singing, as well as in French and English. In 1759, letters were received from his parents in Bern, summoning him to Lubeck, where his father destined him for the cloth-trade, but he afterwards went to Solothurn, to accompany them in their wanderings in the capacity of an actor and a dancer, being especially endowed by nature with great talent for the art. His performances in the Ballet in Hamburg, whither he had attended his parents, were

well received; he afterwards made a fortunate debut as a comedian, but still more was he successful as a tragedian. Upon the death of his father, he, in conjunction with his mother, undertook the direction of the theatre, and took particular pains to work out a moral and intellectual development amongst the members of this company. In 1773, he married Anne Christine Hart, with whom he lived most happily till his death, though they were childless. — In 1780 he commenced a journey, in which he practiced his art, and which was indeed a triumphal procession, whence he repaired to Vienna in 1781, returning to Hamburg in 1785, again to become the Manager of the Theatre. In 1798, being anxious for repose, he retired to his estate of Rellingen near Hamburg, till 1811, when fearing the theatre created by him might lose ground if unsupported, and agreeably to the urgent wishes of the public, he once more took upon himself its management, and continued to do so, till within a few years of his death, which occurred Sept. 3, 1816. The announcement of his decease awoke universal regret; for he was one of the first, if not the greatest of dramatic artists, and mankind had to mourn in him the death of one of the noblest ornaments of his race, adorned with many genuine virtues.

Schroeder was introduced to Freemasonry by his friend Bode, Sept. 8, 1774. He was initiated in the newly formed lodge "*Emanuel zur Maendblume*" without even going through the form of putting his admission to the vote, there being no doubt of the worth and dignity of his character. He himself soon after established a lodge "*Elisa zum warmen Herzen*", consisting chiefly of brethren belonging to the Zinnendorff system, and was appointed Master of the same, shortly after having been raised. This lodge did not however long

remain in operation. Schroeder went to Vienna, where he remained till 1785. On his return to Hamburg, his brethren showed their confidence in him, contrary to his expectations, and notwithstanding the many years he had not been an active working Mason, by entreating him to become the Master of the Lodge "Emanuel", which office he retained till 1799.

Hamburg. The Hamburg Lodges, after the dissolution of the strict observance, had no firm foundation for the soles of their feet to rest upon, and felt a longing desire for better days to appear. The arrival therefore, of Br. Augustus von Graefe, who had been appointed by the English Grand Lodge as their representative in Germany, was hailed with delight, and the treaty with the Grand lodge of Germany in Berlin, having been annulled, the former relations with England were renewed, and Br. von Exter was installed in the office of English Provincial Grand Master of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lower Saxony. The lodges which had been compressed into two, were now again divided into four, and in 1795 the lodge "*Ferdinand zum Felsen*" made the fifth. A more stirring activity was manifested after Br. Schroeder had been elected Chairman of the Lodge "Emanuel" in 1787. The revision of the laws, which had been entrusted to his care, soon after his admission, he completed in 1788, in a singularly felicitous manner, and to his praise be it recorded that he was the first of the fraternity, who in Germany went back to the primitive laws, (the Old Charges) in all their completeness, and without reservation. Nor does he deserve less at our hands for the preservation of the masonic symbols, and for the remodelling and introduction of the so-styled ancient English ritual.

When in 1789, reforms were being agitated in the Lodges in Hamburg, and it was proposed to go so far, as

to discard all masonic ceremonials, his persuasive powers were put into requisition, and convinced the brethren of the expediency of retaining them.

In 1790,¹⁾ a committee was appointed, Br. Schroeder in the Chair, for the abolishing of certain customs then in use, with a view to prevent future differences, and with this committee originated likewise the doing away of the Scotch lodges, and the restoration of the three St. John's degrees, as also the founding of a Hospital, into which Oct. 3, 1795, the first patients were admitted. After the death of Br. von Exter 1799, Br. Beckmann, M. D., was Provincial Grand Master, and Br. Schroeder his deputy. These two brethren had for their faithful friends and counsellors, who were also of great assistance in their scientific labors, the brothers von Halem and Heider &c., but above all Br. Meyer, a professor in Brahmstaedt.

The most ancient and genuine of the initiation rituals, Br. Schroeder thought he had found in the work "Jachin and Boas"; this therefore he translated into the idiom of the day, and with Br. Meyer's assistance he remodelled it, and Jan. 29, 1801, it was accepted and established. This ritual, because of its noble simplicity, soon found an entrance into many German lodges, as just at that time the amendments in the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, caused many daughter lodges to join this one, so that in the year 1811 she had already twelve working under her.

The select union. In imitation of Fessler, who first realised the idea of degrees of knowledge, in a mere scientific way, Schroeder established an historical select union

¹⁾ See, Dr. Buek's speech, on occasion of the 50 years' Jubilee of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg in 1861, in "van Dalen's" Freemason's Almanack for 1862, p. 188.

(*Engbund*), for those lodges working under the Hamburg one, and a few others, which should be composed entirely of Master-Masons, who were to employ their time in studying the different systems and degrees of Freemasonry. The select union of the Hamburg Lodges, which met for the first time October 1802, formed the centre (*Mutterbund*) of the confederacy, all united to this one by a correspondence kept up by circular letters.

The book of "Constitutions of the Grand provincial lodge of Hamburg and Lower Saxony" (Hamburg, 1801) remarks concerning these degrees of knowledge, to which a sort of initiation was necessary:

1) "Wise as it seemed to be in 1790, to abolish for ever all the so-called higher degrees, because they were a delusion, yet experience has taught us, that all the Brethren are not satisfied with the excellent teaching contained in the three degrees, but hold to this system or that as much more admirable, conceiving each one to be possessed of pre-eminent or even supernatural wisdom. In order to keep such curious, and yet well-intentioned brethren, who are sincerely attached to Freemasonry, from all visionary notions, and the innumerable bad consequences resulting from them, a degree of knowledge has been formed, admittance being decided by ballot.

2) This degree of knowledge has absolutely nothing at all to do with the government or the administration of the provincial lodges, nor of any subordinate lodges.

3) In order to remove all apprehension from the lodges, that the degree could ever encroach upon their rights, there are besides the provincial Grand Master, the Dep. Grand Master, and the Grand Wardens, also the Chairmen of the lodges, as representatives of the lodges, by the mere act of their election, all candidates in these degrees of knowledge" &c.

In consequence of the continental prohibition, Hamburg had been divided from England, and the connection with the Mother Lodge, seemed to be "doubtful and threatened danger", the Provincial Lodge therefore declared itself at the commencement of the year 1811, a separate and independent Grand lodge. Br. Beckmann was at their head in the capacity of Grand Master, while Br. Schroeder acted as his Deputy, until 1814, when upon the demise of the Grand Master, notwithstanding Schroeder's advanced age he received the call to become a Chairman, which office he retained till his death in 1816.

6) Freemasonry in Baden, Bavaria, Saxony, Austria &c.

In those countries of Germany which have not as yet been mentioned, Freemasonry underwent the most varied fluctuations of fate. Besides the transformations which were continually taking place within the lodges, there were the political changes, such as the division of the German Empire, manifold dynastic revolutions, and the inevitable transitions accompanying them. In one state, Austria, the Craft was, during this period, completely repressed and abolished.

Baden. When in 1785 an electoral decree was issued prohibiting all secret meetings in the Bavarian Palatinate, in which Mannheim was at that time included; the brethren suspended their operations. In 1805 a new lodge was opened, when things looked brighter, and the first meeting was Oct. 14, in the house of Br. Karl von Dalberg, Bart., which lodge in the following year, received the name of "*Karl zur Eintracht*".¹⁾ It was considered too hazardous to become subordinate to a

¹⁾ See, Bürmann, Mr. Archiv. Mannheim, 1809, Page 47 &c.

superior masonic power at a distance, therefore it was determined to erect a Grand Orient of Baden. The Mannheim Lodge assumed this form, and all the lodges then in Baden acknowledged the new superior power most readily, as did the Grand Orient of France in 1807, which likewise handed over her ritual to them. Prince Karl of Ysenburg was chosen Grand Master. The Grand Orient of Baden instituted the lodge "*Karl und Stephanie zur Harmonie*" in Mannheim, Jan. 17, 1809; a lodge in Bruchsal worked under this one too.

The lodges in Carlsruhe, Freiburg, and Heidelberg, entered into an alliance in 1809 under the name of "Grand Union of the country of Baden", with a directory to preside in the lodges at stated intervals, which was recognized by the Grand Orient in a fraternal manner, they "esteeming freedom and unity above every thing".

Both communities worked peaceably together till the year 1813, when the Grand Duke Karl Ludwig Friedrich prohibited all secret societies whatever. —

Bavaria. In Bavaria, unfortunately the Illuminati were the cause that Freemasonry was oppressed. After the publishing of the electoral edict in the year 1784, the lodge "*Theodor zum guten Rath*" in Munich, immediately issued a circular epistle to all its members, and all the lodges, wherein¹⁾ she defended herself against the false accusations spread abroad about her, at the same time declaring her operations suspended. From this time forward there was no lodge in Bavaria, till in 1806—10 the Prussian principalities of Bayreuth and Anspach, together with the free imperial city of Nürnberg,²⁾ fell to

¹⁾ See this verbatim in "Vienna Journal for Freemasonry" I, 3. Page 245.

²⁾ Concerning the occurrences in Nürnberg see: Geist, history of the lodge "*Joseph zur Einigkeit*" in Nürnberg from 1761—1861.

the kingdom of Bavaria. The lodges then and there existing, were tolerated under certain conditions; government officials were strictly forbidden to be initiated. A rescript of the royal General Land-commissariat in Franconia, of the year 1807, forbade all correspondence with foreign lodges, which in spite of the mild way in which the decree was carried out, was the cause of the lodge of Anspach withdrawing from her connection with the Grand Lodge "*zu den drei Weltkugeln*" in Berlin, but was by this latter constituted provincial lodge of Franconia, under the name of "*Anacharsis zum erhabenen Zweck*" This as well as many other Franconian lodges (Pappenheim, Rentweinsdorf) were dissolved in the course of time.

The Lodge "*zur Sonne*" in Bayreuth, which belonged to the strict observance, had, when the town was under Prussian dominion, in 1800, joined the Grand Lodge "Royal York" in Berlin, and was, by this latter, made into a Provincial Grand lodge, Graf von Giech, Pr. Grand Master. It was under this form that she, as a matter of course, accepted Fessler's rite, and his design of a constitution, (fundamental convention and statutes). The book of laws of the provincial Grand lodge was revised in 1810—11. At that time, the lodge in Hof, one in Fürth, and the St. John's lodge "*Eleusis zur Verschwiegenheit*" in Bayreuth, were the only ones belonging to the Provincial Grand Lodge.

Saxony. For the purpose of making the lodges in Saxony free and independent of the influence of foreign Grand lodges, and unite them more closely together, Br. von Brand, an attorney in Saxony, invited the Saxon lodges to a convention, in 1805, where an agreement was come to, upon the groundwork of the union.¹⁾

¹⁾ Vide, the speech of the deputy Grand Master, Br. O. L. Erd-

But success did not immediately crown their efforts, for it was not until 1811, that they accomplished their object, and that was at a general meeting in Dresden, where the representatives of twelve different lodges were present. The most important points discussed, were to the effect, that all idea of developing a conformity in the systems and rituals of the lodges thus united, must be quite set aside, that only the Masonry of St. John would be acknowledged, that under these conditions, a Grand Lodge of the whole country should be constructed, composed of deputies from all the lodges and finally, that this result should be submitted to the Minister, requesting him, in confidence, to lay the matter before the King. Augustus the upright, that prince, who pursued the policy of a man of honor, permitted Freemasonry an unexampled amount of toleration.

The choice of officials for the new community fell out thus: Br. von Rackwitz (first steward of the kitchen) Grand Master; Br. von Zeschau (Lieutenant general) Dep. Grand Master; Br. Winkler, Grand Secretary for the correspondence. It was decided that Schroeder's ritual should be the model on which the Grand Lodge should work. Sept. 27, 1811, the fundamental treaty was discussed and adopted.

As great freedom was permitted in the manner of carrying on the work in the lodges, those at Freiberg and Chemnitz retained the rite of Fessler, while the Lodge in Bautzen works according to the Grand Lodge "*Zu den drei Weltkugeln*" in Berlin, under which it was placed, both with regard to its ritual and teaching.

By degrees the whole of the Saxon lodges joined the union, with the exception of the lodge of "*Minerva*

mann, at the 50th Anniversary of the Grand Lodge of Saxony. "*Freimaurer-Zeitung*" 1862, No. 1.

zu den 3 Palmen" in Leipzig, which even to this day is isolated. The Lodge "*Balduin zur Linde*" in Leipzig soon quitted the union, and has remained ever since independent and self reliant, as did afterwards also those lodges in the territories allotted to Prussia, Görlitz, Guben &c., which in consequence of the well known deed of monopoly were compelled to join one of the three Prussian Grand Lodges.

Austria. We have followed up Freemasonry in Austria, to that point, when she founded an independent Grand Lodge of the country. She was the general centre of all Austrian lodges, being composed of all their different representatives, having her regular meetings once in six months, whilst the provincial lodges under her held¹⁾ their sittings every quarter, and the district lodges every week. All the proceedings were constitutionally decided by a plurality of votes.

The reign of the Emperor Joseph II. was the most fortunate period for Freemasonry in the Austrian dominions. This enlightened monarch, notwithstanding all the arguments used against it, could not be persuaded to prohibit the Brotherhood; only, he penned a cabinet injunction with his own hand, dated Dec. 1, 1785, that lodges should be alone constructed in the capital towns of his empire, and not more than three in each town; further, that the list of members, the days of meeting, the names of the Masters of the Lodges, should be submitted to the inspection of the ministerial department; but that all governments be admonished to grant all due reception, protection, and freedom to Freemasonry. This assurance of the Imperial favor was received by the Brethren with great joy; many people of note joined the fraternity. In pursuance of this order, out of the

1) See "Vienna Journal for Freemasons" III. 1. Page 193 &c.

eight Vienna lodges then existing, two new ones were formed; one bearing the name, "*zur neugekrönten Hoffnung*" the other "*zur Wahrheit*". The lodges "*zur Beständigkeit*" and "*zum heiligen Joseph*" discontinued their operations entirely. The two first named vied with each other in the faithful fulfilment of their masonic duties, and the good effects of their active exertions were visible on all sides; it was they, who originated that most excellent of masonic periodicals the "Vienna Journal for Freemasons", which spread its intellectual light in all directions, in a thousand copies every time it was edited; splendid traits of magnanimity, of cheerful sacrifice, and active support of the poor and the destitute, have been related to us of the Vienna lodges, as well as of those of Prague.¹⁾

When Joseph II. ceased to exist, the star of their prosperity died out likewise. Under the government of the Emperor Francis II., at that time of general mistrust against the confederation, there were in Vienna some members of an anti-masonic Propaganda, Professor Hofmann, formerly a Mason, at their head, who tried to throw as much odium upon the institution as possible. Francis II. caused all the lodges in Austria to be abolished. To ensure that his command was obeyed, an especial enactment of April 23, 1801, required that each civil officer of each district, should bind himself by oath not to belong to any secret society whatever, and never to be induced under any pretext to visit one.

The lodges in the Netherlands did not belong to the Grand Lodge of Austria.

Westphalia. When Westphalia had been formed into a kingdom, under the dominion of Hieronymus Napoleon,

1) See, L. c. 2 and III. 1, as also "Lewiss, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich*; Vienna, 1861", P. 32 etc.

a Grand Lodge was constructed for this kingdom in Cassel, but on account of the political events which occurred in 1813, was again dissolved.

Hanover. While the French held sway in Germany, the English provincial Grand lodge and the Lodge "*Friedrich zum weissen Pferde*" suspended operations in Hanover; nor did the brethren there take any active share in a French lodge "*Réunion des amis*", which in 1803 was established in that place.¹⁾ When the land was in the hands of the Prussians in 1806, the lodge "*zum Schwarzen Bär*" joined the Grand National Mother Lodge in Berlin, but only for a time, that by obeying the Prussian edict the works might be allowed to continue with all their brilliant success, and this they were most liberally allowed to do. In 1809, their connection was again broken off.

In 1807, the Lodge "*Friedrich zum weissen Pferde*" again opened their Temple and celebrated their St. John's festival in 1808, with their newly elected Master Count von Kielmansegge in the Chair.

When Hanover was incorporated with the kingdom of Westphalia, and intercourse with England was rendered a difficult matter, the provincial lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, after having before this accepted the rite of Schröder.

¹⁾ See "Freemasonry in O. of Hanover". H. 1859. Page 37 etc. Page 60 etc.

E. Freemasonry in the North.

a) Belgium.

Freemasonry was much oppressed in the Austrian Netherlands, and much enmity was manifested towards her, yet in all her many vicissitudes, we find in 1785, 16 lodges working under the united Provincial lodge, which did not join the Vienna Grand lodge, and among these sixteen there was one in Antwerp, four in Brussels, and three in Gent. The oldest of these was the lodge *la parfaite Union* at Mons, founded in 1721, then suspended, and again revived once more. The edict of the Emperor Joseph II. of Jan. 9, 1786, vouchsafed some degree of toleration to the lodges, but that only on condition of their confining themselves to the principal towns in the provinces. In consequence of this, most of the lodges had to cease their operations; many brethren withdrew entirely, as it was thought, the Emperor wished to make use of the fraternity to carry out his own political designs, and especially by their means to Germanise the Netherlands. The lodges were at that period composed of the Elite of the nation¹); the liberal party were largely represented; amongst others we read the names of the Dukes of Aremberg and of Ursel, and the Count La Mark, as belonging to the institution. As the demeanor of the Brethren was very patriotic and liberal, in May 1786 Joseph II. abolished all the lodges in Belgium, with the exception of three. Some however, continued to exist in secret, the Lodge of *Frères Réunis*,

¹) See Cordier, *Histoire de l'Ordre Maç. en Belgique*, p. 502 and 523 etc.

for instance, and two in Mons. On the breaking out of the French Revolution, all masonic efforts whatever were strictly interdicted. The storm which then burst over the country was not favorable to Freemasonry. The two lodges at Mons again recommenced operations in 1798; and also several lodges belonging to the *Grand Orient de France* did the same, about this time. There was no chance of the re-opening of an independent Grand Lodge during French dominion, and for this reason the few lodges still remaining, united themselves to the Grand Orient.

b) Holland.

It was completely in keeping with the national character of the Dutch, that those innovations and disputes about systems, which were rife everywhere else, scarcely intruded into the Freemasonry of Holland. At first the lodges remained faithful to the rite of the Grand Lodge of England, and only some years later did they accept the four higher degrees of French Scotch Masonry.

In 1798, Br. von Boetzelaar, in this, the last year of his life (he had Nov. 13, 1784, celebrated the 25th anniversary of his National Grand Mastership), determined to lay a new Statute book before the Brethren, which May 28, did actually take place.¹⁾ In pursuance of the laws therein prescribed, the Grand Lodge only accepted the three symbolic degrees, while the four high degrees were under a Grand Chapter, who were to be entrusted with their distribution. — In the same year, Br. Baron J. van Teylingen was elected Grand Master. Under his guidance, the number of the lodges was increased

¹⁾ See Rebold, *Histoire* etc., p. 179, and "Latomia", Vol. II, p. 186.

both in the country itself, and in their colonies. In 1801, it first occurred in Holland, that a lodge (*La Bien Aimée* at Amsterdam) held a meeting in the presence of ladies; on June 10, 1810, the Grand Lodge forbid any further lodges of adoption.

To render ineffectual the frequent accusations which were being brought up, the Grand Lodge of Holland offered a prize of fifty Dutch ducats to any one who should compose the best answer to the libellous writings of Baruel, Robison, &c. A contradiction however had before this been published by the privy counsellor Mounier in his pamphlet entitled, "Upon the supposed influence of the philosophers, Freemasons, and Illuminati on the French Revolution" in the year 1801, in German and French, edited by Cotta. In this writing all accusations had met with complete contradiction.

In 1804, Br. C. G. Bylefeld was appointed Grand Master, Br. Bosquet succeeded him in 1810, and Br. S. W. Barnaart in 1812.

In 1808 a disagreeable dispute had arisen in consequence of some arbitrary proceedings on the part of the dignitaries in the Lodge *Union Royale*, in the Hague, and which were the cause of their being excommunicated from the fraternity; but the quarrel was at length happily adjusted by the intervention of the provincial lodge of Hamburg and Lower Saxony. In the same year, the Dutch brethren erected a beautiful and noble memorial of philanthropy and beneficence, by founding an Asylum for the Blind in Amsterdam, which was completed at the expense of the four lodges in that town, without any contribution from the municipality. Br. William Holtrop, a bookseller, and Grand Orator of the Grand lodge since 1792, and W. Master of the lodge *La Charité* in Amsterdam, assisted by his deputy, Professor Vrolick, gave the first impetus to this good

work. In general it may be affirmed of the Dutch brethren, that they seized every opportunity to practice the duty of benevolence, in the largest sense of the word, and did very much for the alleviation of those in want and misery.

When Holland was united to the French Empire, the Grand Orient of France sought to extend the sphere of her jurisdiction.¹⁾ She had founded two lodges in Amsterdam, and these two did not see the necessity of recognising those lodges long previously established there, until they were acknowledged by the Grand Orient, and again these older lodges did the like, because the two more recently formed, were not appointed by the Grand Lodge of Holland. The Grand Orient continued in its course of opposition, citing the so-called right of district, as a warrant for its proceedings; asserting, that in each kingdom the fraternity only acknowledged one single Grand Orient, and that the Grand Lodge in the Hague ceased to exist, when Holland was embodied into the French empire; but that the Dutch lodges were at liberty, regularly to constitute themselves by permitting their warrant to be revised. The Grand Lodge of Holland answered, March 21, 1812, in a very becoming manner, to this indictment, by maintaining her independence, and declaring that her right to continue to exist, was derived from the past; all political convulsions had passed over her, without leaving a trace behind, and the order of her Grand Masters had never once been interrupted. Thus far had matters proceeded, when a new turn was given to the aspect of affairs in the year 1814.

We will in conclusion mention, upon the authority of Kloss (L. c., page 530), one more order, "Jonathan

¹⁾ Rebold, L. c., p. 180, and Kloss, France, I, p. 557.

and David", whose statutes and formulas appeared in 1773, and are drawn up exclusively for the use of Roman Catholics. This order still existed in Amsterdam in 1791. In its form it has no connection with Freemasonry, and from the fifth degree the name of *Confrérie Jesu* was attached; the Pope was the head of the fraternity, and a *Vicarius* had the conduct of affairs in Holland. The superior of the interior was called the superior *Vicarius* (in the Swedish system *Vicarius Salomonis*), who equally with the Pope was regarded as Christ's vicegerent.

"One might imagine" — remarks Kloss — "that the Order of Jonathan and David was the one and only means, especially employed for proselytising in Holland. But then we have besides: Songs of the order of St. Peter, with a title, page published in 1781, which even in the smallest details, refers to Rome and the papacy. A more recent alliance formed in Holland, but which must be mentioned here, was that of the *Maatschappij* of *Voorzichtigheid*, which existed even at the period of the erection of the Batavian Republic, and must have been one of the multitudinous forms which, under the direction of the Vicarius; were employed as traps to facilitate proselytism.

c) Denmark.

In 1792, the Landgrave Charles of Hesse, Danish Field Marshal and governor of Schleswig-Holstein, under the government, undertook the conduct of the lodges with the title of Grand Master, and through him Freemasonry in Denmark was formally and officially recognised by an order in council from the King Christian VII. on Nov. 2, of that year. The sole restriction it contained was, that only such lodges could be regarded as

regular and under government protection, which acknowledged the Landgrave as their superior.

Under the Grand Mastership of the prince, the system of the "Knights of benevolence" was introduced, which was included in the Wilhelmsbad Convention.¹⁾ From written reports we learn that the Lodge "*Zorobabel zum Nordstern*" in Copenhagen, was opened May 30, 1785, under the new system of working, introduced by Captain Moth. This continued to be used till the year 1855. The highly esteemed masonic author, Bishop Münter, who is especially celebrated for his history of the Order of Knights Templars, belonged to the Lodge just mentioned above.

Besides the actual business of the lodges, the society of the Chain, a sort of adoptive Freemasonry, which arose in Denmark, between the years 1780 and 1790, claimed very much of the time and strength of the fraternity, for this benevolent institution maintained almost single-handed the Asylum for the Blind in Copenhagen.

d) Sweden.

When Duke Charles of Südermanland, born Oct. 7, 1748, died Feb. 5, 1818, was Grand Master, the rage for secret alliances became so much the fashion fostered by the Duke's love for secrets and mysteries, that the brethren suffered considerably under the influence of these misty appearances. Notwithstanding the light pretended to be diffused by the so-called high degrees of the Swedish system, yet the *Vicarius Salomonis* does not seem to have attained any very satisfactory know-

¹⁾ See *Altenb. Zeitschrift f. Freimaurerei*. 1823. Page 435. — Also "*Die Bauhütte*", 1859, page 341.

ledge from it; for if he had, he would not certainly have lent such a willing ear to swindlers like Björnram and Boheman. The former had made a dupe of Gustavus III., who permitted Björnram to introduce his magic art ¹). Count Oxenstjerna expressed his opinion of him, in the Swedish Grand Lodge, in the following manner: "He seldom attended our meetings, he remained alone, in his silent abode, where unnoticed he employed himself in the study of his secret art, and very rarely did he confide even to his intimate friends the result of his investigations, agitating as he did, questions beyond the sphere of natural philosophy and soaring into the regions of the occult sciences."

Charles Ad. Boheman, born in 1770, at Jönköping, had come over to Germany in 1790, as private secretary to a traveller, and only returned thence to take possession of a large inheritance in his native country, Denmark ²), where he lived in great splendor, and performed many charitable deeds. The Duke Charles of Südermanland, who longed to hear secrets relating to the higher degrees, honored him with his confidence, therefore Boheman came to Stockholm in 1802, where he had the title of Court Secretary bestowed on him, and initiated the Duke and many statesmen of distinction into his secret society. It was thought, the young King would be entangled in his net, and such a result would most assuredly have exercised a pernicious influence upon him, and have been a general misfortune to the country. Boheman was therefore imprisoned in 1803, his papers were seized, nominally, for his having interfered in political affairs. Being banished his coun-

¹) See more minute particulars in "*Latomia*", Vol. VII, page 180 etc.

²) See "*Latomia*", Vol. VII, page 184 and "*Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*", Volume 1, page 117.

try, he wandered back to Germany. In 1812, we hear of him endeavoring to found a Lodge in Pymont, but after this nothing certain is known about him. In an official document, published in 1803, it is stated he confessed that partly from self-interested motives, and partly from a love of power, he had become an impostor.

In honor of the marriage of King Gustavus VI., who in 1793 had been made a Mason, the Grand Lodge of the country gave a feast to the poor.

A more important event, and one which proved a great matter of rejoicing was, that in 1799, a union was brought about between the Grand lodges of Sweden and England, and mutual representatives were appointed, and this in consequence of a letter from the former sent through the Swedish Ambassador, Baron Silverhjelm, dated Jan. 24, 1798, to express to the English Grand Lodge, the "sincere esteem" of their northern sister.

In 1809 the Duke of Südermanland had succeeded to the throne under the title of Charles XIII., king of Sweden, and in 1811 he delivered over to his adopted son and successor, Charles John (Bernadotte) the hammer of office, and at the same time he founded the order of Charles XIII., May 27, for the purpose, as it is stated in the deed ¹⁾ of constitution, to do honor to those virtues, which are not prescribed by law, and which are seldom offered to the notice of the public. The statutes exacted that this order, the distinctive characteristics of which were to be worn openly, should only be communicated to Freemasons; and therefore it formed the highest degree of Swedish Freemasonry. The reigning King was always to be the Master of the Order, and besides the princes of the royal house, the

¹⁾ See the statutes in the Altenb. Journal for Freemasons, Vol. I. Part. I. 1812. Page 127 etc.

order could only consist of 27 secular, and three ecclesiastical members. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that this order was bestowed as a mark of royal favor, but had no trace of the spirit of Freemasonry in it.¹⁾ Charles XIII. remained an active and zealous member of the order, and in some one or other of the degrees, always took the lead.

e) Poland.

The Grand Lodge just established, had soon a very sad loss to deplore, viz: the death of their Grand Master Andrew Mocranowski. Nov. 26, 1784, a funeral lodge was arranged, on which occasion his portrait, which was a present from Stanislaus Augustus, was exhibited.²⁾ Count Felix Potocki was installed Grand Master in his place, Feb. 2, 1785, which dignity was confirmed to him in the following year, though he took no active part in the work of the Lodges. While he was in office, a representative was sent to the Convention of the Philalthes in Paris, and the establishment of lodges of adoption was agreed upon; the sovereign Master, the superior power in the Interior Grand Orient of the high degrees, separated itself Feb. 19, 1785, from the symbolic and provincial lodges; two lodges (at Dubno and Cracow) were constituted, and connected themselves more intimately with the Grand Lodges of Naples, England, and France. When in 1788 the re-elected Grand Master F. Potocki resigned his office, Prince Casimir Sapieha, at that time marshal of the Lithuanian confederation, was chosen in his stead. But the imperial diet prevented

1) Concerning the decorations worn and the initiation of Knights, see "Latomia" Vol. VII. Page 190 and 191.

2) Lenning, Encyclo., III. Page 110.

him from sharing actively in the work of the lodges, and other zealous brethren were likewise hindered from maintaining the order, and the members of various lodges were very dejected at the melancholy occurrences in their native land in 1792, and their zeal in the good cause began to abate, therefore the lodges were dissolved in 1794, when Poland was divided between the three great powers. From this time forward Freemasonry was principally disseminated in the Prussian portion of Poland, and several daughter lodges were there founded by the three Grand Lodges of Berlin. In 1807, when the newly organized Dukedom of Warsaw was again placed under the dominion of Saxony, the aspect of Masonry likewise suffered an alteration. Several new lodges were constituted by the *Grand Orient de France*; March 22, 1810, the provincial lodge of "Catharine of the Northstar", and subsequently also the Grand Orient of Poland, were solemnly re-opened by the last deputy Grand Master, Lewis Gutakowski. In the following year, Jan. 30, 1811, he was elected Grand Master, which office he exercised but a short time, as he died in December. To him succeeded in 1812, Stanislaus K. Potocki, as Grand Master. — Unfortunately political events caused masonic operations to be again suspended; Jan. 30, 1813, a resolution was passed that all Lodges, including the Grand Lodge itself, were to be regarded as closed, until further information should be transmitted.

f) Russia.

In Russia, at this period, and even later, all possible rites were practised: the Swedish, the strict Observance, the Melesino, and the so-styled ancient English. At the head of the lodges of the Swedish rite was Prince Gaga-

rin: in the English Provincial lodge, Prince Yelaguin was Grand Master.

A few years before 1790¹⁾, the prospects of Freemasonry in this country, assumed a very dismal appearance. Besides the divisions and intricacies in the interior of the lodges, and the absence of all unity, there were apprehensions of disturbances from without, which threatened the interruption of all active opérations. The events in France, and the many adverse controversial writings at that time published upon Freemasonry, attracted the attention of the Empress Catharine II., and she considered it advisable, to make known to those around her, that she did not approve of masonic meetings. Upon which, though no express prohibition emanated from her, the Lodges were closed, but with the privity of the police, an administrative power was appointed, as it was hoped all the time, that the ill-will manifested would be of no long duration. The lodge "Apollo" in St. Petersburg worked on in silence till 1797, and after this date, united her members twice a year, at the feast of St. John, and at the celebration of the day of their foundation. The Lodge "of charitableness", (afterwards called "the crowned Pelican") likewise arranged meetings among her members, without working regularly.

When Paul I. mounted the throne, the brethren cherished the hope that the fraternity would be permitted to continue to work again as heretofore, for during his travels he had given unmistakable proofs of his favorable inclination to their Order. He had especially, through the Marshal von Medem, signified his approba-

¹⁾ We here confine ourselves to the information contained in the "history of Freemasonry in Russia", in a pamphlet, by Br. A. F. Polick, chairman of the lodge „zu den drei Sternen" in Rostock, and Lenning's Encycl. "Russia" See also "Latomia". Vol. 13. Page 150 etc.

tion of the lodges in Courland. Indeed, in Moscow, after his coronation, he had arranged a meeting of the most eminent Masons, at which he was himself present, and wherein the question, as to the expediency of reopening the lodges, was agitated. Many and various were the opinions; the Russian brethren were in favor of the movement, but the Provincial deputy W. von Ungern-Sternberg, and a few other brethren, remembering former events, opposed it. This latter opinion prevailed, and the Emperor therefore determined that, for the present, the Lodges were to remain closed, until more favorable circumstances should warrant their being opened by the above-named brother. The Emperor added: "Only write to me quite in a brotherly way, and without any ceremony", and then he embraced each one separately, and gave him the customary shake of the hand.

But for a motion in favor of the revival of Freemasonry, there did not seem any hope, for contrary to all expectation, a prohibition was issued against the Fraternity, and that without any adequate cause, as there was not any lodge in active working order.

Reinbeck explains ¹⁾ this riddle by saying, that the Emperor was won over by Count Lithar to the Maltese and their order, and that he was induced to issue the prohibition, that he might the more readily check the progress of Freemasonry. But Polick is of a different opinion, and thinks this is doubtful, and that it is very easy to explain the reason of the prohibition, if we consider the melancholy turn of mind, manifest in the Emperor.

¹⁾ Reinbeck, "*Flüchtige Bemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Moskau* in 1805.

The prohibition ¹⁾ against secret societies was renewed immediately upon the Emperor Alexander's ascending the throne in 1801, but as he was a man of very mild sentiments, the brethren might, at any rate, hope to meet with toleration. It was not concealed from the authorities, that some of the elder brethren assembled themselves from time to time, after having first handed in the deeds of their order, (the Swedish system) which had been carefully preserved. Whether he himself were a Freemason or not, must for ever remain a mystery.

In 1807, some of the brethren conceived the idea of re-opening the lodge "of the Pelican", and the following year, the plan was actually carried out, for one of the brethren having inquired of the minister of police, if the government would have any objection to the proceeding, received a favorable reply. This Lodge, in which Prince Muskin Puschkin was initiated, increased the number of its members, to such a degree, that they separated into three lodges, that of "the crowned Pelican", "Elisabeth, the patroness of Virtue", and "Peter, the patron of Truth" and the operations were carried on in three languages, (Russian, German, and French).

In the autumn of 1808, the Directory lodge "Wladimir the maintainer of Order" in Petersburg (Swedish rite) began to work, and soon afterwards two new French lodges, *des amis réunis* and *la Palestine*, working upon some French Warrants, were, at the instigation of the government, obliged to join the Great Directory lodge above mentioned. Their Grand Master was, from 1811 to 1814, Br. Böber (a privy counsellor) and after him came Prince Muskin Puschkin. A fundamental stipulation at that time agreed on, was that all united lodges should work only in one rite, and not permit any changes or innovations to

¹⁾ Polick L. O. Page 22 etc.

be introduced. After three years, these relations towards each other were disturbed by Br. Fessler, who arrived in Petersburg about that time, and was the cause of unpleasant divisions, the seeds of which may very probably have been there already. —

F. Freemasonry in the South.

a) Switzerland.

Between the years 1785 and 1789, the credit of the Grand Orient of France seemed to be in the ascendant, and several lodges in French Switzerland joined it, as for instance Carouge, Nyon &c., but more especially ten from Geneva, because of the divisions, which had manifested themselves in 1786, in the Grand Lodge there. Those seven which remained faithful to the English rite, formed an independent *Grand Orient de Genève* ¹⁾ independent of the London Grand Lodge. Almost simultaneously those lodges of the Waadtland which, in 1782, had been repressed by the Government of Berne, recommenced operations, and with them too, the *Directoire helv. roman*.

Political events, here as elsewhere, crippled the energies of Freemasonry; the meetings were less numerously attended, many lodges formally discontinued their operations, and others ceased for want of sympathy.

¹⁾ See Asträa, 1849. The lecture of Zschokke. Rebold, *Histoire*, Page 187 etc. *Latomia*, Vol. V. Page 176 etc., and Lenning, *Encycl.*

Under such circumstances as these, there was nothing left for the *Directoire helv. roman* to do, but to suspend their work in 1792; the Scottish Directory, under which only the lodge *Modestia* in Zurich worked, followed their example in 1793.

Thus then all masonic life in the whole of the confederation of the period was completely extinguished, and remained thus during the whole of those stormy years between 1793—1803. In Geneva a few lodges worked on uninterruptedly, as did also the lodge *la bonne Harmonie* in Neuenburg, which worked under the Grand Lodge “*zu den drei Weltkugeln*” in Berlin.

Scarcely had the agitated waves of the revolution abated somewhat of their fury, when the consecrated halls of the brethren of the royal art were reopened; and in that very place whence in the last century persecutions had perpetually commenced viz: in Bern.¹⁾ The reason of this is most likely the following, that during the occupation of Switzerland by foreign troops, some French officers founded three lodges. Thus in 1803, the lodge “*zur Hoffnung*” was formed in Bern, under a French constitution, the members of which rapidly increased, so that in 1805 she was joined by one of those lodges founded by French officers. In the same year, the lodge *Amitié et Persévérance* was consecrated at Lausanne.

When the principality of Neuenburg and the republic of Geneva were ceded to France, the Grand Lodge of Geneva ceased to exist, and the whole of the lodges had to place themselves under the *Grand Orient de France*, which founded new lodges in Locle, Nyon, Geneva, Basel, Lausanne, and Solothurn. Besides these there were several in Waadtland, which had been form-

¹⁾ Asträa for 1856. Page 187 etc.

ed, without having any regular constitution, and on this account were not recognised; these therefore joyfully accepted the proposal made to them in 1810 by the lodge *Amitié et Persévérance* in Lausanne, to erect an independent Grand Orient, with the name of *Grand Orient national' helvétique roman*. The rectified Scottish system of this community, was a new one, which had been elaborated by Br. Maurice Glaire, and the only one, which ever had a Swiss for its author.¹⁾

Peter Maurice Glaire, born in 1743, and distinguished for the most splendid gifts both of mind and intellect, had in 1764, arrived at the court of King Stanisł. Poniatowski in Poland, where he soon became his most intimate friend. While Stanislaus was king, he confided to Glaire his most important diplomatic missions to Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, and Versailles. To Freemasonry in Poland, Glaire held out a helping hand, for he assembled the brethren, and with them he constructed a modified Scottish rite, having seven degrees, all of a moral tendency. In 1788, on his return to his nativetown, he was appointed to the highest offices in his Canton, and subsequently to the executive directory of his native country. In Paris, in which capital he had formerly occupied the post of ambassador, he once more defended the rights of Switzerland from the aggressions of the first Consul. When in 1819 Masonry awoke to new life in Waadtland, he, then at the age of 67, founded with others likeminded with himself, the *Grand Orient helv. roman*, which adopted his rite and bestowed on him the dignity of Grand Master, first of all for three years, then in 1813, for life. He died May 29, 1819.

¹⁾ Lenning writes, (after "*Akazienblüthen*" etc.) Glayre, Rebold, Glaire and Zschokke, L. c. Glaise, which must be a fault of the press.

In 1809, the lodge of "*vollkommene Freundschaft*" in Basel, was once more in active operation, and in 1811 joined the lodge of "*Freundschaft und Beständigkeit*", which worked under a French constitution. In 1811, there arose again in Basel the directory of the rectified Scotch Masonry, and received the constitution and the records of the lodge in Zurich, which had ceased to exist in 1773. — The Swiss governor, Br. Peter Burkhard, was made Grand Master. By degrees several lodges in German Switzerland placed themselves under this directory, first the Lodge "*Modestia cum libertate*", re-opened in Zurich in 1811, and the newly-founded one of "*Wilhelm Tell*" in Aarau, which, however, in consequence of the war, was neccessitated to close its temple in 1812, but which, under the appellation of "*zur Brudertreue*", again arose in 1815.

b) Italy.

The inquisition, the priesthood, and the several measures of government were all inimical to Freemasonry's taking firm root in Italy; only during Napoleon's dominion there, had the masonic operations undisturbed success.

Lombardy. As we have already mentioned, in the reign of Joseph II., there existed a provincial lodge in Lombardy, to which however, there belonged only one lodge in Milan, and another in Cremona. Both of these had to cease working, in consequence of commands to that effect from the superior authorities. Other lodges in Lombardy had, between the years 1780—89, formed an independent Lombardian directory of the rectified Scottish rite, but which likewise had to suspend its operations in 1788. — Freemasonry lifted up its head once more a few years later. For in 1805, from a

warrant granted by de Grasse-Tilly, Pyron, Renier, and Vidal, a *Suprême Conseil* was organised in Milan for the kingdom of Italy. Prince Eugenius, viceroy of Italy, accepted the 33rd. degree, and was Grand Sovereign commander, and Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Italy, which was constructed June 20, and to which was annexed a *Grand Orient de la division militaire*, previously formed in Naples.

Venice. In Venice and in Verona lodges were erected in 1772; but neither boasted of a long existence. In 1785 the senate published an edict against the Freemasons, many of whom are said to have been banished the country.

Rome. Even in Rome, that seat of the Popes, whence issued many a condemnatory bull against the fraternity, a lodge had been constructed bearing the name "Reunion of sincere Brethren", which entered into an alliance with the Grand Orient of Paris, and the rest of the Italian lodges. In 1789, the infamous impostor Cagliostro had come to Rome, been arrested, and condemned to death, but which sentence had been transmuted to imprisonment for life. The clergy took occasion in a description of Cagliostro's life, to paint Freemasonry in the most abominable colors. The Lombardian lodges answered this calumny in a pamphlet, in which they vindicated Freemasonry in the most brilliant manner. This writing soon reached a fourth edition, and was disseminated throughout the whole of Italy, producing a most powerful impression upon men's minds, especially in Rome. As the Conclave could make no reply to it, the clergy were obliged to content themselves with buying up the copies as fast as they appeared.

Naples and Sicily. It is possible that some lodges worked here in secret at the end of the last century, but the members were few in number, and were in perpe-

tual apprehension. When Italy was under French rule, then did Masonry begin to rise. Joachim Murat, king of Naples, consented to the erection of a Grand lodge, which was opened June 24, 1809, and he himself accepted the title of Grand Master. When Napoleon fell, the persecutions against the Freemasons were renewed, both by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Under Murat's government, and perhaps not wholly without his cognisance and co-operation, a secret society was originated, which was dangerous and prejudicial to Freemasonry, because it was often mistaken for her, or else most erroneously considered as exactly similar: this society was the Carbonari (colliers). But neither in aim nor in form, was there anything in common between them.¹⁾ The Carbonari had a purely political purpose in view, viz: to bring Italy under one sceptre, and free it from a foreign yoke, in the language of the colliers themselves "clear the forest of wolves". The laws of the association accorded to each individual Carbonaro the natural and inalienable right of worshipping the superior Being, according as his own judgment and convictions suggested to him. The initiation was performed with but few ceremonies; the countersigns were different to those of the Freemasons.

Even before Murat's downfall the association, which had rapidly spread, was betrayed; in 1814 strict laws and violent persecutions were agitated against its followers, as also against the Freemasons, by Pope Pius VII., the kings of Naples and Sardinia, and the inferior Italian Princes.

¹⁾ See the "Carbonari" in "Latomia". Vol. II. Page 221.

c) Spain.

Freemasonry was much oppressed in Spain till the year 1807.¹⁾ Upon Joseph Napoleon's ascending the throne, the Fraternity, for a time at least, struck root, and that so perceptibly, that the Spanish lodges rapidly increased, and in 1809 a Grand National lodge was founded in Madrid, which, strange to say, held its meetings in the same building as that in which the inquisition had just been holding its assemblies.

In 1811, the king, in his capacity of Grand commander, founded a Grand chapter of the higher degrees, which unfortunately seem inseparable from French Freemasonry. The Fraternity flourished till the return of Ferdinand VII. Nothing seemed to this king of such immense importance as the re-establishment of the Inquisition, and in 1814, (May 14) he forbade Freemasonry, threatening all those who favored it, with the severest punishments and persecutions.

d) Portugal.

As during former epochs in the history of the order, so now likewise, did persecutions continue to attend the fraternity. The Queen commanded the governor of Madeira in 1792, to deliver up to the Holy Inquisition all Freemasons, "as being the originators of the French Revolution", which command was punctually executed.²⁾

¹⁾ It is true that in 1806 a Grand lodge, and a Grand chapter of the order of Heredom of Kilwinning had been erected by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Rouen, in Xeres de la Frontera in Andalusia, with Jacob Gordon, as Grand Master, but of the subsequent fate of this Grand Lodge nothing is known.

²⁾ See "Latomia", Bd. VIII., Page 74 &. a translation out of the Almanak do rito &c. antigo e acc. em Portugal, 5845.

But a few succeeded in escaping to New York, where they were most kindly received. Still those in Portugal in some sort kept their ground, for though in perpetual apprehension, and in spite of repeated persecutions (in Oporto, in 1795, in Lisbon, in 1796) there arose many lodges in the land, as for instance in Lisbon, Coimbra, &c. The officers of foreign ships contributed greatly to the support of Freemasonry in Portugal, by permitting masonic meetings and initiations to be performed on their ships. The frigate "Phoenix" is especially pointed out as one, on board which, in 1797 the lodge "Régeneration" was created, who had for Chairmen successively the Brothers Pope, Andr. Ign. da Costa, and José Maria d'Agular Cordova, and who on her part established five other lodges. Amongst the members were many Portuguese, who were distinguished both for their talents and their positions as citizens; the masonic superior authority was composed of six brethren, who had not alone to conduct the labors of the lodges but to guard against persecution, and to hinder and weaken its evil effects. Under the influence of the committee (*Commissao do expediente*) Freemasonry spread to every part of the kingdom.

Secret as were the masonic meetings, the brethren were not always able to escape the vigilance of the authorities, especially as in many instances perfidy, and the carelessness and thoughtlessness of foreigners greatly aided their enemies in their search. The most violent oppressor of the Masons in 1800, was the General Superintendent Diego Ign. de Pina Manique. In order to escape his snares, it was found necessary, frequently to change the place of meeting, or one portion of the members had to play at cards, and dance, whilst the others were at work; still even with these precautions, concealment was not always possible, and numerous ar-

rests took place, especially in 1806, many of them upon mere suspicion. Notwithstanding all this, a Grand Lodge was erected in 1805, (according to Lenning in 1800) and Br. *José de Sampaio*, a councillor in the upper judiciary court, (according to Lenning Br. *Égaz Moniz*) was elected Grand Master, which office he retained till 1809.

In the mean while war had broken out between Portugal and France. In 1807 the enemy's troops under the command of General Junot made their public entry into Lisbon. A masonic deputation, (amongst them Luiz de Sampaio, the brother of the Grand Master) went to welcome him at his head quarters, and entreat him to protect Frémasonry. The general received the deputation most favorably. But in December of that same year, through the incautious political demonstration of one of the brethren, the good understanding which had till then existed between the Portuguese and the French, received a terrible blow, which was never thoroughly healed. In the following year, toasts were drunk in honor of the Prince Regent of Portugal and of the National Guard. When General Junot heard of this, he ordered the Commandant of Lisbon to put a stop to the like occurrences in future. From this moment the Grand Lodge deemed it expedient to close their sittings; but this period of inaction cannot have been of long duration, as in 1809 the election of a Grand Master took place. Brother *Fernando Romao d'Ataide Teioe* was chosen.

The third invasion of the French army under General Massena was followed by a fresh persecution of Freemasonry. In September 1810, thirty of the most distinguished brethren in Lisbon were bound in chains and taken to the Azores. The activity of the lodges was by these means much lessened, and yet many Portuguese officers were initiated about this period. In

1812, J. A. de Macedo tells us, there were thirteen lodges in Lisbon. The Mother Lodge held her meetings in the convent of St. Vincent of Fora.

G. America.

The war of Independence, which separated the United States of America from the Mother Country, and made them free and independent, was also the cause of the Grand Lodges being severed from the British Grand Lodge and from the Grand Orient of France. After the war had ended, independent Grand Lodges were formed in all the States of the Union, in Pennsylvania in September 1786 in December those of Georgia and New Jersey, in 1787, New York, North and South Carolina, 1789 New Hampshire and Connecticut, 1791 Rhode Island, 1794 Vermont &c.

Massachusetts. We have already so far anticipated the development of Freemasonry in Massachusetts, that we have mentioned the union of the two Grand Lodges there, which re-commenced work in 1783. A committee was nominated by the Massachusetts Grand Lodge, Dec. 5, 1791, to negotiate a complete union with the St. John's Grand Lodge, who on their part agreed to the proposition, and likewise appointed a committee. As the condition of Freemasonry in Massachusetts was any thing but satisfactory, and the conviction was very general that the proposed union would only be for the good of the Fraternity, the matter was soon happily adjusted; as early as March 5, 1792, the committee were prepared with their report, and the articles of

agreement and the statutes which were accepted on both sides, were submitted for inspection.¹⁾ June 19, the union of the two into one single Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in Boston, was actually effected, and steps taken for the election of a Grand Master, the Br. John Cutler being chosen unanimously.

From this time forward, says Br. Mitchell, this Mother Lodge of Masonry in the United States, followed the straight path, without deviating from it, always keeping in view the welfare and prosperity of the order; she early became the star in the East to lead the wise men of that continent to the secure haven of masonic peace and masonic glory.

A general Grand Lodge of America. Seeing that the special histories of the single Grand Lodges from 1784—1813 contain, as they are reported to us, nothing of immediate importance, we prefer shortly to consider the plan proposed for founding a General Grand Lodge, which once again in 1790, was agitated in the Grand Lodge of Georgia, but after several fruitless attempts was abandoned. In 1799, the Grand Lodge of South Carolina made fresh efforts, to accomplish this desirable object, by publishing a circular epistle, Dec. 31, addressed to all the Grand lodges, inviting them to a general meeting in Washington. Each Grand Lodge should despatch three deputies. The Grand Lodge of Virginia opposed the scheme, not deeming it feasible, or possible. Unsuitable it was most assuredly, as only one superior superintending power was thought of, and in case of this being instituted, most likely instead of its proving an expression of the general feeling, and an outward bond of unity drawing the whole body together in one universal fellowship of love and liberty,

¹⁾ Vide, Mitchell, History &c., Vol. p. 492, and Rob. Morris, History, p. 20.

— they would only be united by a tie which would be both troublesome and compulsory. The subject was again discussed in 1803, but declared by the Grand lodges of Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maryland &c. as unattainable. They however recommended a meeting of the deputies of the different Grand Lodges, to maintain, if possible, a more regular connection with each other, and a greater unity in their respective working; such a meeting even as this never took place.

Further occurrences. In 1797 a convention of different Royal Arch Chapters of the Northern States took place at Boston, Oct. 24, on which occasion a Grand Chapter was constructed. In 1805, as the high degrees were more and more in the ascendant, a Grand Encampment of Knights Templars was arranged in the State of Rhode-Island, from whom seven years later emanated the Grand General Encampment of the United States.

Brother G. Washington, who had died Dec. 14, 1799, was buried with masonic honors, and a medal was struck in his honor.

In 1804, the Grand Lodge of Maryland conceived the remarkable idea, totally contrary to the spirit of Freemasonry, that nobody, within their jurisdiction, should be initiated who did not believe, that the moral code of laws i. e. the ten commandments, as delivered by God to Moses, was "God's revealed will to Man".

In 1808, there was a union in South Carolina between the two Grand Lodges of "free accepted Masons" existing there, and the "York Masons", and this union was so complete that the distinctive appellations *Ancient* and *Modern Masons* was declared to be abolished, and in the new Grand Lodge but one system of working was adopted. The St. John's Lodge in Charleston, No. 31, being more particular about the form, than

penetrated with the spirit of Freemasonry, protested against the proceeding, and several American Grand lodges, as those of Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, were so little imbued with masonic feelings, that they likewise disapproved of the events in South Carolina. In their ignorance of the history of the Order, they adhered tenaciously to the customs of the so-called York Masons, and demanded the restoration of the former state of things; indeed the Grand Lodges of Maryland and Virginia were carried to such lengths by their blind ignorance, that they forbid their daughter lodges all fraternal intercourse with the united Grand Lodge of South Carolina, and countenanced the St. John's Lodge in Charleston in their disaffection. May 1, 1809, in Columbia, 18 lodges of the so-called Ancient Masons combined to erect a Grand Lodge.

The right of district, which permitted but one dominant Grand Lodge to exist in each state, and interdicted single lodges from joining any other foreign masonic superior power, was suffered in 1809 to pass into a law, though narrowmindedness and the love of power gave it birth. We find the Grand Lodge of North Carolina preferring a charge against the one in Kentucky, for having constituted lodges in Tennessee. In this State of the Union, they constituted a Grand Lodge of their own in 1813.

H. Freemasonry in Africa, Asia, and Australia.

Freemasonry was early planted in Africa, Asia, or Australia, but it was reserved for more modern times to diffuse it more generally. The lodges existing in these quarters of the globe were one and all under the Grand Lodge of either England, Scotland, Holland, or France (at least in the period of time of which we are now treating), and therefore do they form an inseparable part of the History of the countries in question. We will, in the next section, give an account of the lodges existing in these countries, from 1814, down to the present time.

I. The Literature.

Masonic literature has, in the period of time just treated of in comparison to former periods, gained considerably both in depth and breadth; we not only meet here with a succession of solid performances, spreading light more particularly as regards the history of the Order, and exciting to renewed action but we likewise see brethren, full of intellectual vigor, and rich in knowledge, exerting themselves in every possible way to promote the interests of the Fraternity. The speeches and lectures of the Freemasons are so numerous and varied, that we must give up all thought of examining them in detail, and the rather, as we cannot conscien-

tiously set much value on them for their intrinsic worth. They were especially intended to promote and elevate the tone of the members of the brotherhood, frequently treating only of local and personal occurrences, and confined almost exclusively to such points as belonged to the broad and well trodden kingdom of morals. We will refer our readers, on this subject, to Kloss's Bibliography, Page 74 &c. —

Freemasons' songs. The Freemasons' Glees, Odes, Anthems, Songs are much more worthy of notice than their speeches.

For the purpose of promoting hilarity on their festival days, and of solemnising their feelings in their funeral lodges, to animate their social meetings, to elevate the tone of their mind when engaged in the serious and solemn ceremonies of initiation, to grace their public dinners and render them more piquant and brilliant, reminding us of the love-feasts of the Essenes and Agape among the primitive Christians, and in fact to enhance the effect of genuine masonic impressions generally, brethren gifted with natural taste have done all they could to press Music and Poetry into the service, and produce by the aid of their powerful enchantments that result, which these soothing arts invariably create in every feeling heart. In this manner there have arisen in the fraternity a great number of songs and odes suitable for every emergency, throughout the whole course of a Mason's life. Many of these songs have become generally known, while others cannot boast of enjoying a wider circulation than that of the lodges, or the immediate circle of the brethren themselves: many have been set to especial airs, composed on purpose, by well known vocalists; and other well loved melodies have had words adapted to suit them. Happily chosen selections of the better sort of these songs have

been collected and published by single lodges and Grand Lodges.

The first collection of masonic songs in Germany is the one by Br. Lenz, which appeared in Altenburg in 1764, from which many songs were subsequently chosen to swell the numbers of other selections.

Contests against
Freemasonry. When Freemasonry became more generally known and understood, a more accurate acquaintance with its aims diminished the distrust with which it was regarded; but yet there were not wanting writers who opposed it; indeed at the period of the French Revolution the struggle had grown so formidable, that much unwarrantable impetuosity was manifested, yet happily without materially injuring the fraternity for any length of time. As we have already dwelt upon the bold and unscrupulous accusations of a Baruel and a Robison, we will only here mention 1) the pamphlet by Abbé *Le Franc*: "*Conjuration contre la religion Catholique et les souverains etc.* (Paris, 1792); 2) "News of a formidable but invisible confederacy against the christian religion and monarchical kingdoms 1794; 3) by Dr. J. A. Stark, Senior Preacher at Darmstadt: "Triumph of philosophy in the 18th century" (2 Part, Frankfort, 1803), &c. Stark, Rösler, and Grolmann were the real instigators of the foul suspicions, which were so rife against Freemasonry in Germany at the close of the last century.

Writings of
mixed import. Amongst the writings of mixed import, are first of all the "Eleusinians of the century or the result of united deliberation" (Berlin, 1801 and 2; Editors P. C. K. Fischer and Fessler) a collection of masonic lectures, "which served as an introduction to the greater advancement of Freemasonry, being rich in material, pure and temperate in its discussions". Especial interest is felt for the "*Briefe an Constant*" by J. G.

Fichte, which are in it, containing a philosophic treatise upon the aim and purpose of the Masonic Fraternity. Another excellent masonic work, worthy to be mentioned next to the Eleusinians, is the Constitution book of the regular and perfect lodge of free and accepted Masons, "*Archimedes zu den drei Reissbrettern*" (of the three drawing boards) in Altenburg (1803). The beginning of this important work, which is rare to be met with, contains extracts from Fessler's attempt to form a general system of laws for the Lodges; then follows the constitution of the lodge; it concludes with an appendix, particularly important and instructive: the history of Freemasonry both ancient and modern, the history of the lodge "Archimedes", and various other papers. The real author of this work is Br. Schneider, who was assisted in his work by Brothers Lepsius, Pinder, Schuderoff, and particularly the then Chairman Pierer.

We must in conclusion mention one work more of mixed purport, for it was not without its significance at that time, inasmuch as it was the first work on Freemasonry which took a wider and more dignified view of the subject, discriminating, judging, and criticising, what had previously only been gazed upon with surprise and wonder; it is this: "The free-thinker on Masonry, or candid and ingenious letters upon important subjects in Freemasonry" (Berlin, 1793). The author, Br. C. A. Ragotzky contradicts the assertion, that the fraternity possessed certain exclusive moral inducements to act rightly; he discusses the subject of symbols, and complains of the incomplete instruction imparted to the newly initiated, who besides the usual moral advice, received historical notices having no connection, and without the documents necessarily appertaining to them. The other sections treat of the aim and design

of the confederacy, of the study of Freemasonry, the ancient mysteries &c. It is an interesting consideration, that the author, who was for many years W. Master of the Zinnendorf Lodge "*zur goldenen Krone*" in Stendal, communicates the fable of the order of the Swedish system, and makes short work with it, as it deserved. "There is no document", he says, "which unfolds the origin and motives of the Christian religion, as is done in this system, and the whole can only be regarded as a beautiful dream."

Before we pass on to the contemplation of the two most eminent masonic authors of this period, Fessler and Krause, we cannot resist inserting a few remarks touching the masonic life of three heroes in German national literature.

J. G. Herder. As we presume that Herder's life and writings are known to most of our readers¹⁾, we will here confine ourselves to a few intimations of his connection with the Fraternity. Herder was made a Mason during his sojourn in Riga, in a lodge belonging to the strict observance, "*zum Schwerdt*", in 1765—66. For a time he filled the office of Secretary in this lodge, and in 1767 delivered a funeral speech²⁾ upon the demise of the Chairman Br. Handtwig. When he returned to Germany, he did not take any immediate, active participation in the lodge in Weimar; but he received from his friend Bode intelligence of all that was going on in the masonic world; he also expressed to Schröder in Hamburg, who had submitted to his inspection his plan of the ritual of the three degrees, his full approval and acquiescence in the same. The interest he took in the

1) See amongst others: Findel, the classic period of German National literature in the 18. century. Page 180 etc.

2) Kloss, Bibliogr. No. 1311.

Fraternity, and his devotion to the cause, he himself demonstrated most clearly in the lucid and intelligent treatises upon Freemasonry which appeared in the "Adrastea" in 1801, and in the German Mercury (historical doubts of the book "Accusations" &c.), and indeed throughout his life, and the whole course of his literary career. That which should be the chief aim of all genuine Freemasons, and which characterised all that he performed in the cause, he pointed out in his "*Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*" 1793—96. The education of mankind, whose enthusiastic apostle he was, appeared to him the most divine occupation of our race; to assist humanity, wherever she needed a helping hand; or lay starving in want of either bodily or mental food, that was Christianity in his eyes, that was the genius which controlled his teaching and his life.

Wieland. In 1786 Wieland, in the "German Mercury" expressed his disapproval of the Fraternity and its errors in a somewhat decided tone, but that was at a time when he had probably heard much said against it, for he changed his views upon the subject so materially, that in the 77th year of his age, April 4, 1809, he was initiated into the lodge "Amalia" in Weimar. Soon after his introduction, on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the Lodge, he delivered a lecture¹⁾, "Observations upon the aim and spirit of Freemasonry", and a few years subsequently (1812) another, "Upon our future existence in the memory of generations yet to come."

On his 80th birthday, the brethren of his lodge gave him a proof of their love and veneration, by sending a deputation with a present of a beautiful medal.

1) See *Analekten der Loge "Amalia"* Weimar, 1810. Page 28 etc.

In the Funeral lodge which was appointed Feb. 18, 1813, on the occasion of his death, after a speech from the Chairman, Br. Ridel, his friend, Brother Goethe, then Orator, having first prefaced it with a few introductory remarks, gave a short sketch of his life. On this solemn occasion, the reigning Duke Carl August¹⁾ was present in person, the whole of the princely house and the members of the Fraternity, together with their sisters, Wieland's daughter likewise amongst the number.

Goethe. It is a well known fact that Goethe belonged to the order, and it is also evident in his works, in which are included not only his speech at the Funeral Lodge held in Wieland's honor, but also those songs which he composed on the occasion of various masonic festivities. His initiation into the Lodge "Amalia" took place June 23, 1780, when he was 31 years of age; March 2, 1782, he, together with the Duke Carl August and Br. Loder, were advanced to be Masters. From the day of his initiation, to the end of his life, he remained attached to the brotherhood, for he laid as a fitting oblation on its Altar, the purest offerings of his intellect. Those seven judicious and valuable songs entitled "Lodge" (Silence, symbolism, funeral lodge &c.), which like a flash of lightning, illuminated the innermost recesses of our community, as well as "Wilhelm Meister's *Lehr-*

1) Duke Carl August, that enlightened and excellent Prince, the noble patron of all philanthropic schemes, was initiated into the brotherhood Feb. 5, 1782, in the lodge "Amalia". His interest in Freemasonry was proved by his permitting the Lodges to re-commence their work, in 1808, after they had been suspended during several years, on account of the war. The example of the Duke, was an incentive to almost all those men of note, whom he delighted to assemble around him, becoming Freemasons. Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick intended to confer on this lodge the office of Directory, of all the other German lodges; but Carl August declined the honor. See G. Zeiss, the Grand Duke Carl August as a Freemason. Weimar, 1857.

und Wanderjahre" have been closely discussed in an excellent sketch¹⁾ "Goethe as a Freemason" by Br. Dr. G. Stern in Hamm, and explained from a masonic point of view.

June 23, 1830, the lodge "Amalia" celebrated Goethe's Masonic Jubilee, he having been fifty years a Freemason, on which occasion he wrote the poem "On the honorable fraternal festival of St. John's Day 1830."

Soon after the celebration, July 12, he wrote to his friend and brother Mason, Zelter, about the festivity, the following: "It is very polite and complaisant of you to have celebrated your Masonic Jubilee, at the same time that I did mine. On the Eve of St. John's Day fifty years ago, I was made a Mason. The brethren of the lodge have celebrated this event with the greatest courtesy, and I warmly replied to the kindly sentiments expressed in my behalf."

Nov. 9, 1832, a memorial meeting of the lodge "Amalia" was appointed for the brother, who had departed this life March 22, when the Chairman, Br. C. W. von Fritsch, delivered the following account of his zeal in the cause of Freemasonry: "For more than fifty years Goethe devoted himself to the Brotherhood, and was especially active, after the lodge "Amalia" had adopted the simple rite of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, revised by Schröder. Each event of importance, each festival of the lodge, awakened a most lively interest in his mind "so that all speeches, songs, and arrangements of any consequence were first submitted to him for examination and approval."

¹⁾ Latomia, Vol. XVIII, page 182 etc. — See likewise: *Freimaurer-Zeitung*, 1851, No. 21; 1855, No. 36, 39, 43; 1856, No. 9. — Wedekind, *Baustücke*, I. Collection, page 265. — Findel, *Classic period of German National literature*, page 199 etc. and 253.

Masonic historical inquiry. The first decided effort made in Germany to reconduct the history of the order to its original element, viz: the building fraternities of the middle ages, was in "Letters respecting Freemasonry"; Nürnberg, 1783—85, especially in the third edition by P. J. S. Vogel, *Dr. theol.* and private ecclesiastical counsellor in Erlangen, born 1753. These historical inquiries evidence a calm, impartial spirit of investigation, and a dignified, scientific bearing. Two other works are connected with this one, opening the way to a more clear and comprehensive search into history; these were; "the veil removed from Freemasonry" 1790, and "Materials for a critical history of Freemasonry by H. Chr. Albrecht." Hamburg, 1792.

"Contributions to the latest information concerning the order of Freemasons" by Knigge 1786, is a work of some consideration, because its author was himself active in the lodges, thoroughly understanding all their ramifications, and exercising an impartial judgment, therefore does he furnish the most valuable information of the events occurring in Germany. Neither is that other book, published in Göttingen in 1804, unimportant, for in many respects it is extremely suggestive. It is by J. G. Buhle, a non-Mason, and is called "The origin and the most striking passages in the history of the Rosicrucians and Freemasons" and contains in the introduction many sagacious and judicious remarks upon the treatment of the history of the brotherhood then customary, and most decidedly urges the imperative necessity of resting their statements upon well authenticated historical facts.

Although the author declares Freemasonry to be nothing else, than a more perfected branch of Rosicrucianism, transplanted from Germany to England, and in his conclusions about the history of our order, is often

very illogical, yet he undoubtedly deserves our thanks for his revealing to us a great deal worth knowing concerning the origin and propagation of Rosicrucianism. In the same year as this writing appeared, the first edition of Br. A. Laurie's "History of Freemasonry and the Grand Lodge of Scotland" was published, founded upon authentic documents, and with the express approval of his Grand Lodge. This official sanction made the work of consequence, and it is as important for the history of Scotland, as is Anderson's Book of Constitutions for England. It has dealt a mortal blow to the fictions which were circulated so freely about Scotland in the last century, and which are apparent in the high degrees even in the present day. A German translation came out in 1810 by Burkhardt, with annotations and elucidations by Krause.

The most conspicuous performances in the sphere of history, were those of Brothers Fessler, Krause, and Schroeder. Of this last mentioned we have: "Materials for the history of Freemasonry after 1723", 4 Parts, and also before 1723 (1814).

Fessler's Writings. After Schroeder, whose sober and impartial judgment led to the most lasting results, we have Fessler, whose unprejudiced eye made him with critical acumen first distinguish the true from the false, the modern from the ancient, and then by indefatigable efforts draw aside the veil, which had so long enveloped the historical and scientific portion of the order. His historical works ¹⁾ made a considerable impression, when they first appeared.

Even in his first volume, the author took a fortunate step in the right direction, viz: that of raising Freemasonry from the low sphere, in which she found

¹⁾ Touching his life and performances, see page 467 etc.

herself, and elevating her to a more worthy and exalted position. The most important part is "Attempt to establish general judicial principles for Masons and Lodges;" besides the more universal subjects treated of, the discussion upon "masonic publicity" is more particularly worthy of notice, because it throws light upon a difficult and embarrassing question; the letters subjoined at the end are so far interesting because pointing out the way in which Fessler gradually developed himself as a thinking, reflective Mason.

In the third volume of his writings "Masonic letters from Kleinwall", Fessler pronounces his opinion upon different principles and assertions formerly held, which were either misunderstood or misinterpreted, and defines his ideas as to the appearance the Fraternity ought to assume in its outward relations.

The fourth letter: "The Institutions of the lodge in K...g" and the succeeding one, contain an abridgment of a work most celebrated by Krause: "Return of Freemasonry to the lodges", or constitution and arrangements of the real and legitimate Freemason's lodge "*zu den drei gr. L. der k. K.*", wherein a model of what a genuine lodge ought to be in constitution and ceremonial, is so circumstantially laid down, that it would be quite possible to work from it.

Fessler's chief work is "An attempt to furnish a critical history of Freemasonry and the Masonic brotherhood from the most ancient times, down to the year 1802", a work which in four folio volumes was sold in written, not printed copies, to single lodges and brethren of the Interior Orient, for which, besides the price of 30 £., a receipt was required, with the promise to restore it hereafter. He rested his argument chiefly upon the distinction and evident separation between Freemasonry and the system of Lodges, and was thoroughly impressed with the idea,

that Freemasonry assisted in the realization of the kingdom of God; this was the first attempt, that had been made in the brotherhood to work out the history of the order in detail, as far as the materials at command would permit. Our most intelligent brethren thankfully acknowledge the vast fund of information, they have derived from it. It is true, that since its publication that spirit of searching inquiry has been so successfully exercised in the matter of Freemasonry, and especially in Church history, that Fessler's delineations do not suffice for the present state of learning.

Fessler's province of an author was forthwith assumed by another talented individual, and carried out, in many points, with greater powers of discernment, by Br. Krause, likewise honorably distinguished as a philosopher.

C. Chr. Krause. Krause was not shackled by the servitude which is involved in submission to incidental dogmatical authority, but only expressed his own pure convictions, the result of deep study, and scientific research; he looked upon the promotion of Freemasonry as his chief aim in life, and was desirous of bringing others likewise to regard it in a philosophic spirit. His chief work "*die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*", supplied in the history of Freemasonry a most sensibly felt deficiency of his time, and gained for himself the sincere thanks of the intelligent, reflective part of the Brotherhood. He, together with Fessler, may be regarded as the founder of the new German Literature and critical history of Freemasonry.

Karl Christian Friedrich Krause, born at Eisenberg in Altenburg, May 6, 1781, received his education partly in the school of the monastery of Dondorf, partly in Altenburg. At the University of Jena, which he visited from 1797—1801, theology was his chief study, but he

was more particularly attracted by the lectures of the philosophers Fichte and Schelling, as also by the study of mathematics. In 1801 he obtained his degree as Doctor of Philosophy, and established himself as a lecturer at the University, where he gave lectures from 1802—1804 in mathematics, natural rights, logic, naturalism &c., and wrote several compendiums. In the first year of his academical career, he was married to Am. C. Fuchs, and enjoyed thirty years of married life, leaving eight sons and five daughters to lament his loss. —

In 1805 Krause removed to Dresden, where he remained till 1813. While engaged preparing his work upon natural rights, in 1804, the idea struck him, how desirable it would be to form a universal union of all men, which should be employed solely in the consideration of matters referring to mankind generally (men, women and children), in which the development and cultivation of the faculties and powers of the human race should be the chief aim. — He imagined he perceived the germs of such a confederacy in Freemasonry, in which opinion he was strengthened by his friend J. A. Schneider, in Altenburg, who in April, 1805, introduced him to the Lodge "Archimedes". Immediately after his initiation, Krause with the most praiseworthy diligence, began to examine every attainable masonic writing, principally aided in his inquiries by the extensive information, and the well-supplied masonic library of his friend Mossdorf, and other brethren.

In the lodge "*zu den drei Schwertern*", in Dresden, he had been affiliated, and in 1808 elected to the office of orator in this same lodge, in which capacity he, in a series of lectures ¹⁾, submitted his views, with the

¹⁾ These appeared in Dresden, in 1811, under the title: "Spiritualization of the genuine symbols of Freemasonry, in twelve lectures delivered to the Lodge"

clearness and fervor of a heart penetrated with the subject he treated of; he had full permission from the brethren, to pursue his own course, without having regard in his preparations and explanations to the ritual introduced at that period. He also entered into the order of scientific Freemasons, which had been founded by Fessler.

The result of his unceasing researches and reasonings, relative to the carrying out of his idea of a union of all mankind, was given in his three documents bearing upon the royal art, which appeared in 1810. But this writing, containing as it does, the purest views on Freemasonry, giving a proof of how much persevering industry can accomplish, was nevertheless the source of many and continued persecutions, because he ventured to write openly and unreservedly, convinced as he was that a public communication was the only effectual way of bringing the truth home to the Brethren with full force.

The mere announcement through Mossdorf, that Krause's documents &c., would shortly appear in print, put the whole antiquated German masonic world¹⁾ in a terrible fright, and the Lodges in Bautzen, Görlitz, and Hamburg, condemned it before it appeared or even before it had been perused by them. Counsellor Böttiger was commissioned by a certain Grand Lodge, to offer any price asked by Krause for his book, reserving to that Grand Lodge the ultimate disposal of the work, as they should deem best: but this proposal was rejected by Krause. After the publication, which was not to be hindered, the three Grand Masters of Berlin proposed to the Dresden Lodge, to excommunicate both members,

¹⁾ Vide the article by Schauberg in the *Bauhütte* 1861, Nro. 10, and, Lindemann, "A Summary of the life and scientific teaching of C. Chr. F. Krause. Munich 1839; also Lenning. *Encycl.* II."

which idea was at first rejected with just indignation, but was notwithstanding carried out a few days later, when seven brethren threatened to withdraw entirely, if these two were not excluded. Rev. Br. Riquet and Br. Burkhardt were the only two, who protested against this unlawful proceeding, the former asserting that Krause had done nothing, but what had been done before him by many lodges and brethren both home and foreign, ever since the year 1723 — that only the most insufferable despotism and the fear of a correct understanding of the subject being disseminated could be the inducements, to hinder so honorable an undertaking. Mossdorf was turned out with Krause, though his only crime was, that before the publication of Krause's work he had endeavored to obtain subscriptions from different lodges and brethren, as indeed had been done by the whole Lodge.

The Brothers Riquet and Burkhardt voluntarily separated themselves for ever from the Lodge. Blamable as was this treatment of Krause, it might still have been excused and pardoned, had the Lodge been satisfied with letting the matter rest there, and had not the persecution been taken up and continued by single lodges and brethren. If Lindemann's report be correct, then are the sufferings of Krause, as Schauberg rightly observes, the darkest page in the history of German Freemasonry, particularly of the Grand Lodges. It was the persecutions of the Freemasons which, Lindemann says, prevented Krause from being nominated Fichte's successor in Berlin, where in 1814 Krause had settled, and afterwards in Dresden made the Minister von Einsiedel withhold a post which had been promised him. In 1821, he accompanied a friend of his, a lover of the fine arts, in a journey of five months' duration, through Germany, Italy, and France, which

was of much benefit to him, as it greatly enlarged his ideas and his acquirements. In 1823 he established himself at the High School in Göttingen, and continued to hold lectures there till 1830, though he had to contend against great bodily suffering and illness; but even here, he was not exempt from the calumnies of certain implacable Freemasons, whom not even consideration for his numerous family, could induce to leave off and cease their pursuit of him. On this account it was that he failed in obtaining the favour of the rulers of the university in Göttingen; he was passed over, and a Professor of philosophy appointed in his stead in 1829. Greatly suffering in body, and with a mind sorely oppressed with pecuniary cares, but still working incessantly, Krause at length in 1831, determined to move to Munich, because he there hoped to find very considerable assistance in his researches in science and art; he trusted that he should be under the protection of the Roman Catholic Church, be free from persecution, and find rest; possibly he might obtain a situation in the High School of the place. But even in Munich his irreconcilable foes found out a way to slander him, and in such a manner that March 17, 1832, he received a command from the police to quit Munich within a fortnight. He then turned to the minister, Prince von Wallerstein and to the King, to whom he represented his innocence and the real state of the case, and several men of known probity interceded warmly in his behalf, amongst them the philosopher F. Baader, who protested on his word of honor, his firm conviction of Krause's innocence. Permission was accorded him to remain in Munich, but only as it would seem to die there. As early as the spring of 1833, he looked upon his death as near at hand; but remained cheerful, contented, and diligent to his very latest breath. He had tried to ward off the

blow by a sojourn of four weeks at a small bathing place, called Partenkirchen, in the Alps. He died a week after his return to Munich from this bathing-place, Sept. 27, at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the evening, suddenly of apoplexy, having been engaged in writing till 8 $\frac{1}{2}$, and conversing all the time very cheerfully with his family. His last words were: "My heart, my heart! Farewell my children!" and then his spirit passed gently away, without a struggle. Krause's life and character were pure and blameless; his heart was full of love, which he even bestowed on those who were so ignorant and culpable as to despise him; he was one of the most excellent of men.

We will first take a survey of the work: "the three most ancient documents" (*Kunsturkunden*) and their bearing upon the Fraternity of Freemasons &c. (Dresden, 1810; 2 Vols; 2nd Edition, 1820. Thlr. 15) and then we will proceed to estimate it as it deserves.

The author, in an introductory chapter, speaks of the fundamental doctrines in the union of all unions, and of its relation to Freemasonry; then follows the spiritual interpretation of the symbols and customs mentioned in the three documents, and the question is answered, whether Masonry had been or ever could be made a secret of, and lastly the worth of the documents is made apparent by citing several different passages from English authors, upon the history of Freemasonry before the year 1717. The first document which he acknowledged as genuine and perfect is "The Freemason examination under Henry VI." This is followed by the second of the most ancient and genuine documents of the customs of the Lodges handed down to us in unbroken succession, being an initiation lecture, or apprentice catechism in the original English text, with a German translation, and the necessary supplements,

treatises, and remarks." In this second document Krause finds customs which in his opinion are derived from the Roman building corporations and others, similar to the customs and teachings of the Essenes, the Stoics, Vitruvius, the most ancient Christian communities, and of the Soofees in Persia. In the second edition of the work the so-called new English lecture (catechism) is inserted. As a third document, follows: "The ancient York Constitution, accepted in the year 926, from an original preserved by the Grand Lodge of York, translated into Latin by an Englishman in 1807, and re-translated from Latin into German, by Br. Schneider in Altenburg, in 1808, and illustrated with explanatory notes by the editor." The second part of the second edition contains a statement of the author's personal masonic experience, notices of the Roman building corporations, the origin and progress of gothic architecture, of the German building lodges in the middle ages, and fragmentary notices from the customs of working masons in Altenburg, &c.

His reasons for writing this work as stated by himself, are, first and foremost to enlighten the brethren upon the true history of the Fraternity, by a philological, critical, and philosophical treatment of the three most ancient documents,¹⁾ and also to invite the attention of the brethren to the idea forming the basis of this union of all unions, and prevail on them to set about a complete regeneration and transformation of the Masonic confederation. If new life were to be infused into it, then is the improvement and reformation of the

¹⁾ We have mentioned these three documents in the first part: The first is evidently a counterfeit; the second is not the most ancient catechism, but a modern edition of it, and ought properly to be called the New English one; the third document is most certainly not of the year 926.

rituals and usages indispensably necessary; for it is not a matter of indifference, what appearance the outward forms assume; it was not a change in single customs and laws that he wished to bring about, but to animate the spirit of the fraternity generally, that the whole might be penetrated with grander and more widely extended views.

The Freemasonry of the present day, he tells us, is wanting in a scientific, well organised formula; as well as systematic, genuine, social, practical efficiency, and therefore must the brethren be born anew, head and members, constitution, form and practise; the constitution ought to be free, based upon love and justice, and upon the general understanding of what is good and humane.

The importance of this work is selfevident; we have too, defined it fully in different places. Its apperance was an event; and indeed it has not been without its influence upon our own day. Every time we open it, we are surprised at the fulness and variety of its contents. Krause wrote the book more for the purpose of propagating his one principal idea, which had never been demonstrated by experience as possible, rather than to give to the public his historical disquisitions, and this it was, which was injurious to the work, laying a constraint upon single brethren and indeed upon the whole Fraternity. Another capital error is the heaviness of the style, the new fangled words, and the clumsy manner in which the whole is arranged.

Krause has been blamed and with some justice for having published the second edition of his work without reservations, whilst the first was only designed for brethren, and given out with a certain degree of circumspection.

Br. Krause began his masonic career as an author,

by the publication of his work "Four Freemason speeches" (Dresden 1809); this was followed by the already mentioned: Idea of how to form the human race into a social confederacy, intended for all those who take an interest in the higher relations of mankind, especially for Freemasons. (Dresden, 1810). "The prototype of mankind", (1811). — "Diary of man's life (1811) —" Remarks on Laurie's History. (1810).

The Masonic Press. In the interval between 1784 — 1813, the masonic press made visible progress. In England there appeared between 1793—1798: The *Freemasons Magazine*, the eighth volume was entitled: "The scientific Magazine and Freemasons Repository." In France was published between 1807—1810 the "*Annales Maçonniques par Calliot*", containing many valuable treatises. The periodical press was first in active operation in America, in 1811, when the "*Freemasons Magazine and General Miscellany*" came out. Other masonic periodicals appeared there in the year 1818.

In Germany the first rank must be accorded to the Vienna "Journal for Freemasons" (1784—1786) being the first masonic periodical worth mentioning, containing valuable contributions from Brothers Alxinger, Blumauer, Born, (natural philosopher) &c. *Das Archiv der Schwörmerei und Aufklärung* by Schütz, (Hamburg 1787—1791,) was the next periodical, succeeded by the Cöthen Pocket Book for Freemasons (1798—1805), both rich in original essays; and last of all appeared the most excellent Altenburg "Journal for Freemasons" (1804, 1805, 1812—20,) with contributions from the brethren Schuderoff, Pierer, Mörlin, Schneider, Krause, &c. It contains philosophical and historical treatises, a review of masonic works, accounts of single lodges, speeches, and poems &c. &c.

History of Freemasonry.

Third Period.

From 1814—1861.



Introduction.

The reforms which were set on foot towards the end of the last century, the inward purification, the ardent desire to effect greater improvement in, and extension of the order, still continued in the period we are now about to consider, but attended with many and varied fluctuations, and interrupted by multifarious struggles and retrogressions. A considerable increase in the number of members and of new lodges, whose numbers however again fell off soon after their formation, was accompanied by several years of alienation of spirit, inactivity, indifference, and unequivocal proofs that, instead of advancing, the society certainly declined. Whether the Fraternity of Freemasons enjoys, in this nineteenth century, that consideration warranted by the important era in which we live, whether indeed it is capable of continuing to exist, is a question not only started by non-Masons and opponents of the society, but by members themselves. And though the latter may not positively reply in the negative as do the former, yet are Freemasons generally, most determined and unanimous in their conviction that a thorough reform is imperatively necessary. The Fraternity has been developed gradually in different countries, according to the distinctive national characteristics of each

country, and influenced by the spirit of the age, has assumed not alone different forms and laws, but also different principles, and in some cases a totally opposite character, therefore the necessity of a complete modification was apparent to all those who grasped the idea of this union of all unions, and were inwardly penetrated with the true spirit of Freemasonry. Of the fraternity of Freemasons but little remained, except the name, a few forms and customs, and the universal characteristic everywhere — Charity. This radiating movement, assisted much in scattering and isolating the individual Grand Lodges, according to their respective geographical and political frontiers, where they each followed different rites, and were either not at all, or else very loosely bound together; for each of these systems professed to have different aims ¹⁾ and purposes, which they carried out with various expedients, and in an opposing spirit, so that in matters important and essential they were by no means unanimous. One single example will suffice to give an idea of this Babel of tongues: In Germany and England different words of recognition are in use in the apprentice and fellow's degrees, so that a Fellow-Craft in one country might be taken for an apprentice in the other. In the course of the period here treated of, the spirit of investigation, of critical exposure, and speedy removal of every thing that was defective and falling to decay made itself felt, while on the other hand, there existed a struggle to allay, reconcile, and unite all known contradictions.

What was said in the introductory paragraph upon England and Germany, is also true here. While England and America were especially occupied in attending to

¹⁾ See here in the separate Statute books, the paragraphs referring to the design of Freemasonry.

the outward condition of Freemasonry, permitting a rigid regard to form and ceremony to prevail, and the tares of the high degrees to be sown broad-cast, to France and Germany was committed the intellectual culture of the brotherhood. The Grand Lodges of the Swedish system (Sweden, Denmark, and the Grand Lodge of Germany, in Berlin), formed a distinct confederacy of their own, having their centre in the high degrees, and only connected with the Fraternity properly so-called, by the St. John's Freemasonry, which according to their ideas was a very subordinate and unimportant branch.

Notwithstanding the defects and weaknesses which are manifest in Freemasonry, as indeed in all human efforts, and which are apparently the only conspicuous facts resulting from its history, it has essentially contributed to promote the civilisation and welfare of the world at large, and therefore has fulfilled its glorious mission. The vital energy displayed throughout all the changes it has undergone, is a guarantee of its continuance, the many favorable sides it possesses will always make it attractive, and from the history of the period, we have now in hand, the delightful expectation is offered us, that a glorious future is reserved for it: Its golden age is not in the past, but in the future!

A. England.

The union of the two English Grand Lodges did not alone put a stop to all strife and contention, but it gave a new impetus to their operations. Under the presidentship of the Duke of Sussex, the Fraternity became more numerous and flourishing, distributing their charity indiscriminately, and preserving faithfully the ancient customs. Peace and good fellowship reigned supreme till 1818, when deplorable discord arose, between the Grand Lodge and the Lodge No. 31 in Liverpool, which latter only had originally intention of preserving the ancient laws and customs of the order, against an arbitrary decree of the Grand Master's, but in carrying out this purpose they somewhat transgressed against the limits prescribed by law and good order, and were therefore suspended. Several abortive attempts were made to bring about a reconciliation, for whom other brethren too entered the lists, amongst others the Naval Lodge in Liverpool, but in an improper manner. Both lodges were entirely broken up, and erased from the list of Grand Lodge, and this put an end to the strife.

For a few years no event worth mentioning took place; but from the year 1829 we have complaints about the indiscreet initiation of persons who confer no honor upon the society, but rather on account of their want

of means, became a burden to it. But two years later, we are informed that¹⁾ Freemasonry in the provinces was in a very flourishing condition, and that the intellectual power of the same was visibly on the increase. It was found advisable to promote the giving of lectures in the meetings, so that slothful brethren might be stirred to greater activity.

A Hall especially appropriated to masonic purposes, was completed in 1832, and the hundred years' Jubilee of the Steward's Lodge was celebrated, which events we only just glance at here, that we may dwell more at large upon the Masonic career of a brother, whose name is intimately connected with Freemasonry in England, and the transactions in the Grand Lodge in particular, and who as having first edited the Freemason's Quarterly Review, and founded the Freemason's Asylum, will retain a permanent place in the history of the English Fraternity.

R. T. Crucefix
and the Free-
mason-Asylum. Br. Robert Thomas Crucefix, a London surgeon, was born in 1797, in Holborn, and initiated into Freemasonry in the Burlington Lodge April 16, 1829, and in 1832, elected Chairman of the Bank of England Lodge, which he had joined. In 1834, he edited the Freem. Quarterly Review, and by the able manner in which he conducted it, has gained for himself much and deserved praise.²⁾ Hoping to obtain the support of the Grand Lodge, he, in one of the numbers, sketched out a plan of an Asylum for aged and infirm Masons, to which should be united a Masonic Orphan Asylum. After labouring for 16 years

¹⁾ See History of Freemasonry from the year 1829—1841. By G. Oliver. London, Spencer.

²⁾ See Freem. Quarterly Magazine, 1850, and "Latomia", XIII, page 90 &c.

in this good cause, the opposition he met with materially undermining his health, he had the satisfaction of finding that his great wish was accomplished.

In 1834, he was appointed one of a committee to revise the laws of the Boys' school, and other offices of trust were confided to him, till he gradually reached the highest pinnacle of popularity. He was most undoubtedly intimately acquainted with the constitution and the general disposition of the order, and his opinion always had much weight with the Fraternity. He had to encounter considerable opposition in 1835, in which he came off victorious, and so felicitously, that on the next election of officers, the Duke of Sussex appointed him Junior Grand Deacon. In the same year, the first step towards carrying out his favorite idea was taken, for a committee was formed, of which he was made treasurer, to consult about laying the foundation-stone.

In 1838, the Grand Master the Duke of Sussex, commemorated his occupation of the throne of the Grand Lodge for a quarter of a century; Dr. Crucefix had in 1836 moved that a testimonial of their grateful and respectful acknowledgment of the manner in which the Duke had fulfilled his high functions, should be offered, which had taken place.¹⁾ About this time Dr. Crucefix was chosen honorary member of the *Trinosophes* in Paris, also of many lodges in England and Scotland. He had likewise the satisfaction of knowing that the Grand Master had publicly signified his approval of his plan, which was soon followed by a unanimous determination on the part of the Grand Lodge, that the contemplated Asylum should be recommended to the favorable consideration of the Fraternity. After such public trans-

¹⁾ See the description of this festivity and the speech of the Grand Master in Oliver, Hist. etc.

actions the affair ought to have been considered as certain. But this was by no means the case; on the contrary, the intrigues that arose, seemed almost ready to frustrate the whole design. First of all it was apprehended, that if a new benevolent institution were established, it would injure those already existing, which was completely contradicted by the result. Br. Crucefix had in some way or other excited the suspicion of the ruling powers in the society, which was manifested in a pamphlet issued against him, though a short time before, a vote of thanks had been accorded him for his assiduity in endeavoring to establish a Life Insurance Company, and now this very thing was brought up against him. The time and thought he devoted to the furtherance of all masonic institutions, without exception, availed nothing; all his efforts met with only abuse and persecution. Small weaknesses were magnified into heinous offences, and inadvertencies into crimes. A certain Br. Jackson was his virulent opponent, and it was he who accused Br. Crucefix, of not having called two of the brethren to order for speaking disrespectfully of the Grand Master in a public meeting in which Br. Crucefix presided. The Board of General Purposes instituted an inquiry and condemned him to a suspension of six months from all his masonic functions and privileges (1840). Indignant at the treatment he had received, he did not act with his usual prudence and caution, but most unadvisedly published the proceedings, in a detailed form, in the Freem. Quarterly Review. He addressed the Grand Master, on the subject, in a letter which it would have been better, had it never been written, for he forgot his usual respectful bearing towards the Head of the Brotherhood, and thus gave his enemies a great advantage over him. In spite of his suspension, he was re-elected Treasurer to the Asylum, and nomi-

nated on the House Committee by the Governors of the Female Charity. The Board of General Purposes again summoned him to answer the new charges preferred against him, which summons he refused to obey, having given up all membership in English craft Masonry. Instead of acting up to the principles of brotherly love enjoined by the order, and re-calling the erring brother as a friend, as it is fit and proper that the wise should do, trying first, what could be effected by the eloquence of entreaty, before resorting to extreme measures, the Board moved for his excommunication from the Fraternity. Happily for the welfare of Freemasonry, the Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex, with an unbiased judgment, saw how matters really stood. Taking into consideration, what sad consequences are involved in one false step, he thought of the beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers", and by his kindly interference, healed those gaping wounds, which party spirit had inflicted. Peace and harmony were again restored, for the Grand Lodge passed a resolution, to the effect, that Br. Dr. R. Th. Crucefix having in a moment of extreme agitation, when falsely accused, addressed a letter on the subject of his alleged crime, which was offensive to the Grand Master, and having more over published the proceedings of the June meeting of the Grand Lodge, had now offered an apology, and that such being the case, there was no more ground for continuing proceedings against him.

All these occurrences induced Dr. Crucefix, to relinquish the editorship of the periodical, hitherto so ably conducted by him, and with many expressions of profound regret, he took leave of his readers. This painful feeling was shared by thousands of brethren, who for nearly seven years, had joyfully hailed every new number, sympathising and encouraging their literary

brother, in every possible way, as it had only been undertaken by him, for their instruction, and had been carried on with great integrity of purpose and with indefatigable perseverance.

While the struggle was going on, three of the London Lodges passed a public vote of thanks and sympathy to Dr. Crucefix, and many of his friends opened a general subscription, to present him with a permanent testimonial of their esteem. Nov. 15, 1841, Br. Crucefix was invited to a banquet given in his honor, when a silver candelabrum adorned with masonic emblems and with an appropriate inscription was presented to him, as a proof of their love. Harmony and brotherly concord marked the whole of the festivity.

In the mean time, Br. Crucefix had the delight of beholding the foundation-stone, laid of the Asylum so earnestly longed for, but he could not properly enjoy his triumph, for his health which had been failing, at last gave way entirely; he went to Bath, but it was of no avail, for he died there Feb. 25, 1850. His biographer and friend, Br. Oliver, praises his zeal and activity, his eloquence and all those other virtues which distinguished him as a man and as a mason.

England from 1836—1861. Every thing has gone on in England in regular masonic order, so that of the period we have passed over there is not much to relate. The year 1836 opened with a bright prospect for Freemasonry. The debt of the Grand Lodge was liquidated; the schools were prosperous; the general fund of Benevolence was efficient; new lodges were constituted in many of the provinces. In 1838 unusual activity was to be remarked. Grand meetings were holden in every part of the United kingdom, attended by the rich and talented, the nobility and clergy, and by esteemed brethren, distinguished for respectability and moral worth.

In the preceding year, the Grand Lodge began to entertain the idea of forming a Masonic Library, which should furnish the Brethren with free access to all masonic publications. Unfortunately the idea was never realised. Br. Oliver takes occasion here to remark that the expression of this wish, is an unequivocal proof, on the part of the rulers of the Craft, that the day is gone by, which prohibits the use of the pen; and that the publication of works on Freemasonry, judiciously written, promises to be of great utility. In 1840 the necessity was felt, of a revision and improvement of the book of constitutions, which though originally drawn up with great wisdom and care, yet cases were of constant occurrence for which no provision appeared in that code. The announcement of this intended revision of the Constitutions was received in the provinces with apathy, and the alterations were ultimately agreed to, without the concurrence or disapprobation of the Provincial authorities.

The disagreements which had been caused by the proceedings against Br. Crucefix, were still felt even in 1842. In the Freem. Qu. Review for 1842, it is said that the masonic spirit of persecution which originated in a small clique, removed their field of battle from the metropolis to the provinces, and there with their poisonous darts struck one of the most worthy Masons known in modern times, for he was acknowledged by all, both high and low, as the most active, learned, and efficient of England's masonic authors.

Br. G. Oliver, deputy Provincial Grand Master of Lincolnshire, had presided at the festivity given in honor of Br. Crucefix, and this made the Prov. Grand Master, Baron d'Eyncourt, in 1842 (consequently six months after the event), dismiss Br. Oliver from his office, which dismissal stirred up such a tempest of feeling in English Masonry, as has never been equalled.

From the history of more modern times, we will only mention, that upon the dispute which arose between several German lodges on the one side, and the Prussian on the other concerning the admission of the professors of the Mosaic belief to the Lodges, the English Grand Lodge decided in favor of their acceptance, thus demonstrating the universality of Freemasonry. Examples of the intolerance of the clergy against the Freemasons' lodges are very rare indeed to be met with. The laying of foundation stones of public buildings are performed in England by the Fraternity; and on such occasions, as also on the meetings of the Provincial Grand Lodges, public processions are allowed in masonic costume, with flags, bearing masonic symbols, and often accompanied by the ringing of bells.

Earl of Zetland. Since the death of the Duke of Sussex the Earl of Zetland has been the Grand Master. Br. Thomas Dundas, Earl of Zetland, entered Masonry June 18, 1830 in the Prince of Wales' Lodge, in which lodge he filled the office of Chairman. In 1832 he was Senior Grand Warden, 1839 deputy Grand Master, and 1840 after the death of the Earl of Durham, became Prov. Grand Master, and since 1844 has every year been re-elected Grand Master. Firm, but courteous in his behaviour towards every body, he has proved even in difficult positions, that he is exactly fitted for the post he fills. He rules with even handed justice, and during his administration the number of masonic lodges has considerably increased. In Parliament he represents the liberal side.

It is to be regretted that his masonic knowledge, and his views upon the present system of lodges in England, moving as it does constantly in the ancient grooves, are not more extended, so that he cannot give affairs a fresh impetus, or stamp the whole with that animation

which is so desirable. If he has not actually advanced those fatal high degrees, yet he has not done anything to repress the growing love for them, which is fast gaining ground around him. For in England now, unfortunately, besides the officially recognised Royal Arch Degree, there are the 33 degrees of the Scotch Rite, the Mark Mason degree, and all imaginable high degrees.

The different Benevolent Institutions have in the course of late years received considerable additions to their funds, and have, in consequence, increased the sphere of their operations. A proposal for greater unity in the working system was brought forward again, but came to nothing: the operations still continue to be hemmed in and embarrassed by formalism and ceremonialism, hindering a more stirring and animated intellectual life. One material improvement has been adopted: however, and that is, that several lodges by the erection of their own temples have precluded the necessity of holding their meetings in taverns, hotels &c.

The United Grand Lodge of England, under which are about a thousand St. John's Lodges, with above sixty provincial lodges, is the chief masonic community. There are besides a Grand Chapter for the Royal Arch Degree, a Grand lodge of the Mark Masters (Grand Master Br. Holmesdale), a Grand conclave of the Knights-Templars (Grand Master Sir William Stuart), and a superior Grand Council of the anc. and accepted Rite of the 33 degrees (Grand Commander: Br. H. B. Leeson).

B Ireland.

The want of any thing to relate of the history of Irish Freemasonry in the previous epoch from 1783—1813, made us entirely pass over that period, and even now at a later date, the information is so scanty that a few general remarks are all we have to offer.

In 1836, the Grand Lodge of Ireland congratulated the Duke of Sussex, on the fortunate result attending a successful operation on his eyes, restoring to him that sight of which he had been so long deprived, in answer to which the royal brother wrote a letter of thanks, assuring the brethren that he would ever strive to work for the good of the Fraternity, and to draw the bonds to brotherly love closer together between the Grand Lodges. — We have already mentioned that the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland have made it a custom of send representatives to each other. The Irish brethren have established annually in Cork a fancy dress Ball for the benefit of the Masonic Female Orphan Asylum, which in 1840 realised a sum of £ 100. This same year too, a newly erected Freemason's Hall was consecrated in Dublin, in the presence of the Grand Master, the Duke of Leinster.

The predilection for high degrees, has very much increased of late years. The Irish Rite, Br. Oliver informs us, consists of 15 degrees in 4 orders or classes, which are, 1. Class: a) Apprentice, b) Fellow-craft, c) Master; 2. Class: d) Royal Arch, e) Past Master, f) Excellent Master, g) Supreme excellent Master; 3. Class: h) Knight of the Sword, i) Knight of the East, k) Knight of the East and West, l) Knight Templar. 4. Class: m) Rosicrucian or Mason Prince, n) Kadosh or philosophi-

cal Mason, o) Knight of the Sun, p) Grand General Inspector — the 33d. degree of the Anc. and Acc. Rite.

The undue assumption of superiority of the Grand Chapter, and the Grand Consistory in Dublin, have been productive of great discord amongst the Irish Masons, which were continued throughout the year 1855. Both parties laid each other under the ban, and at first repelled all overtures to effect an accommodation, but at length through the representations of the Grand Lodge a reconciliation was effected. The cause of the rupture were the distinctions in the high degrees, and an ambitious spirit was awakened, totally opposed to the genius of Freemasonry.

May 15, 1847, one of the most gifted men of his time died at Genoa, — the Irish Agitator, Daniel O'Connell. It is not our province here to estimate his worth and services, but merely to communicate a few particulars about his Masonic life and actions.¹⁾ He was made a Mason in 1799 at Dublin, in the Lodge No. 189, and in the succeeding year was chosen Grand Master. It is certain that no one ever carried out the duties of his office with more brilliant success than he did. He himself acknowledged that he felt deeply interested in his work, and this was plainly proved by his unceasing activity. It is easy to conceive with what skill a man so highly gifted as he was, handled the rituals of the different degrees, and how attentively must the brethren have listened to that fascinating voice, which afterwards bewitched his hearers in public assemblies, in the court of justice, and in the senate, carrying them away with him; but even this zealous brother O'Connell lent an ear to the tempter, and in 1838 the insinuations of two Roman Catholic priests led him to withdraw from the

1) From the Freem. Qu. Review, 1847.

Fraternity. In a letter to the Pilot he alleged as a reason for this proceeding, that though in a former period of his life he had been a Freemason and had presided as the Master of a Lodge, that was when he was ignorant of the existence of an ecclesiastical prohibition against the Freemasons, but since he had known this, he had given up attending the meetings of the society.

The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ireland is the Duke of Leinster, who has held office for a number of years; the Grand Lodge has 300 Lodges under her, and six Provincial Grand Lodges. Besides, or rather within the Grand Lodge is a Grand Conclave of Knights Templars, a Supreme Grand Council of Rites, and a Grand Royal Arch Chapter.

C. Scotland.

We have not any very intimate acquaintance with the interior working of the Scottish lodges, and must therefore take it for granted, that it has very great similarity with the English, only that in Scotland, Freemasonry is carried on with greater intellectual energy. This may partly be attributed to the circumstance before alluded to, that the lodges were held in Halls especially appropriated to their use, and that they also had an excellent library, which Sept. 10, 1847, was greatly augmented by the rich collection of masonic books and pamphlets belonging to the late Br. Dr. Ch. Morison — a present from this brother valued at about £. 800

There were no events or alterations of any importance made at this time; the brotherhood found them-

selves ably and advantageously organised, and therefore rejoiced in the opportunity of working on in peace, without murmurings or disputings. They made themselves known publicly by their charitable deeds, or by laying the foundation-stones of some public building or other, according to ancient usage, or when on any extraordinary event in the Royal Family either joyful or afflictive, they manifested their sympathy in an address. In 1842 the Grand Lodge liberally offered the use of their Hall for the Mechanics' Institution, the first school of the kind in Scotland. — But while passing over all unimportant detail, we must refer to some few resolutions of the Grand Lodge, which were of more general interest. In reference to the act of Parliament which excepted the Freemason's lodges, when providing for the suppression of all plots and conspiracies against the government, the Grand Lodge in 1817, unanimously passed a resolution, purposing to remove from themselves all suspicion, and to preserve the Fraternity in all its purity and simplicity, viz: that the Brethren could not have it too often and repeatedly imprinted upon their minds, that the Grand Lodge only acknowledged the three St. John's Degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Master, and that therefore judicial proceedings would be undertaken against any lodge or single member who admitted into the masonic order any high or accessory degrees whatever, or adopted especial signs or crosses to indicate these degrees. In the Quarterly-Meeting May 3, 1846, the Grand Lodge expressed the same sentiment in the following terms: "The Grand Lodge of Scotland has not since its existence acknowledged any other degree, or given ear to any other secrets as connected with the St. John's degrees than those accessible to any Master-Mason, Fellow-craft, or apprentice, and she here enjoins on all Provincial Grand Masters, never to permit

the working out of any other in their provinces. The Grand Lodge further declares, that every Master Mason is entitled to be elected a Master, and to take the chair as most worshipful Master, without having any accessory degree, or any secrets belonging to the same, communicated to him; for these are contrary to the statutes of the Grand Lodge. She also signifies, that the introduction of all officers, the Master included, must be undertaken in a just and perfect Lodge, which has been opened in the Apprentice degree. Notwithstanding this distinct declaration on the part of the authorities, the fatal high degrees found entrance into the Scottish Fraternity, and exist independent of the Grand Lodge. In 1861 they even so far lowered themselves as to introduce the Adoptive-Masonry invented by Br. Rob. Morris in Louisville, and were not ashamed to intrude an exclusive degree for women, the "Eastern Star" A certain Mr. Thornton is Grand Superintendent of this degree, and a Captain T. Wilson is his Deputy.

August 3, 1829, a committee was appointed, to whom were submitted the laws and constitutions of the Grand Lodge. The work progressed but slowly, and it was not till 1835 that a printed copy of these new laws with the report of the committee was completed and assented to. The former code had been in force till 1848.

When the elections were ended, Nov. 30, 1836, the Grand Master reported, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland having now existed a whole century, at the Quarterly Meeting in August, it had been decided to celebrate this event in a manner worthy of the occasion. A procession by torch light had been determined on, and the brethren were besought to collect together at the hour appointed. The place of Meeting was the square before the Royal Exchange, and the procession was formed of 400 torch bearers, accompanied by instruments of music.

The streets and houses were thronged with spectators, and in several places blue lights and rockets were let off. The large hall in Waterloo Hotel was decorated for the event, and here the Grand officers were assembled; there were nearly 1000 Brethren, many of them adorned with the medals which had been struck in honor of the auspicious occurrence. Besides twelve Edinburg lodges, represented by their W. Masters, numerous deputies from seventeen country lodges appeared.

The answer given by the Grand Lodge to a question put by a Lodge in Canada is not without its import viz: whether emancipated slaves could share in the privileges of Freemasons, and after long reflection it was decided, that the expression "free-born" meant a person who was free at the time of his becoming a member of the lodge, his own master, and sovereign disposer of his own time and actions. This interpretation was likewise accepted by the Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Orient of France. A closer fraternal relationship was entered into by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, who through mutual representatives in 1837 united herself with the Grand Lodge of England and Ireland, in 1853 with France and Prussia, (Royal York) with which latter she had hitherto had no connection.

In 1842, a Grand Funeral lodge in honor of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex was held, the preparations for which were upon an extensive and magnificent scale. The Hall of the lodge was fitted up appropriately, and the music comprised some of the most beautiful compositions of Handel, Mozart &c. The Revd. John Boyle, Acting Grand Chaplain, pronounced the oration, which did honor to the memory of the deceased.

In conclusion we will mention that in 1837, the want of a suitable Hall for the Grand Lodge having

long been felt, a committee was chosen, and soon the foundation stone was laid, of a new Freemason's Hall. Feb. 24, 1859, the Consecration and Inauguration of the Hall took place, presided over by the Duke of Athol. Br. Laurie with this ceremony closes the principal portion of his history, pointing out how the Grand Lodge of Scotland from an insignificant beginning of 33 lodges rose to her present position of 300 Daughter lodges; that she has established a Benevolent Fund, which although dispensing relief to many a poor Brother, and giving succour to many a Widow and Orphan, is possessed of a rest fund exceeding £ 1600, and a Library unequalled by any other Masonic collection whatever.

The Duke of Athol was succeeded a short time since by the Marquis of Melville as Grand Master. Br. D. Campbell's Masonic Calendar for 1862, states the number of lodges under the Grand Lodge to be 416, (among which, it is true, are reckoned several that are suspended or inactive,) 27 home Provincial Grand lodges and 11 foreign.

Besides the Grand lodge, there are unacknowledged, but yet tolerated: 1) A Supr. Gr. Royal Arch Chapter for Scotland, their Grand Principal Zerubabel being Lord J. Murray; — 2) The Royal Order of Scotland Heredom of Kilwinning, supposed to have been re-established by King Robert Bruce in 1314; the hereditary Grand Master is the King of Scotland, Dep: Gr. Mr. and Governor is J. Whyte Melville; — 3) The General-Chapter of the religious and military order of Knights Templars, with various Grand Priories; -- 4) The Supr. Grand Council of Scotland of the ancient and accepted Scottish rite of the 33 degrees.

D. France.

1) From the restoration to the establishment of the Supr. Council of France.

(1814—1820.)

The political events of 1814 caused an interruption in masonic operations, and many lodges closed their halls, during the time the war raged in the interior of France, but soon re-opened them and celebrated the return of the Bourbons just as the Grand Orient joyfully greeted the appointment of King Louis the 'long wished for' on June 24. The Grand Orient declared all official dignities to be extinct (July 1.), and the office of Grand Master vacant. A committee of nine brethren requested the King to permit one of the princes of the Royal house, to assume the head of the Fraternity, but the request was not granted. The Grand Orient therefore thought for the present they would refrain from nominating a Grand Master, but instead they appointed¹⁾ three Grand Conservators, Administrators, Brother Marshall Macdonald, General Beurnonville, and Timbrunne, Count de Valence. Br. Roëttiers was selected to represent the three highest officials, and a circular epistle of August 25., gave the Lodges notice of these resolutions and elections.

Br. Beurnonville was chosen in Cambacérès' place, as responsible head of French Freemasonry, and with the king's consent too, who was assured by Beurnonville of the devotion of the society to his Majesty's government. Beurnonville attached himself exclusively to the Grand Orient, which he could do with the more certainty,

¹⁾ See Kloss, *Masonry in France*, Vol. II. Page 1 etc.

as since 1804 the French Masons having made themselves better acquainted with the merits of the Scotch system; adhered the more faithfully, and in larger numbers to the Grand Orient. As soon as it was announced to the Grand Orient, that they had been invested with full powers, to conduct Masonry in France, they took the necessary preliminary steps for the appointment of dignitaries, and for the printing of a Masonic Almanack for 1815. But before these were completed, Napoleon suddenly re-appeared in France, from the island of Elba, March 15, 1815, and the reign of a hundred days began, during which period, public events absorbing all hearts; there was no thought or energy bestowed upon Freemasonry. The Grand Orient, forgetting her leaning towards royalty, soon revived her former enthusiasm¹⁾ for the Emperor, and hastily reinstated the former Grand Master, whose chair she declared again vacant, after the battle of Waterloo. Upon the revival of the Grand Orient, new life was imparted to her rival.

The Scotch. As early as 1814 the Grand Orient had become aware, that the Scottish rite was endeavoring to undermine her, and therefore she felt it incumbent on her, being urged thereto by numerous lodges and chapters, to strive to obtain the lead, and to centralise all systems and all rites. The *Supr. Conseil pour la France* issued a circular letter of remonstrance, which however produced no effect. Since Napoleon's fall, this latter had much deteriorated, and had gradually shown greater signs of weakness and inactivity, so that this circular epistle was the last evidence of animation which it manifested. It joined the Gr. Orient, the Supr. Conseil of which undertook the conduct of the rites, whilst the administration of the higher degrees, i. e. from the degree

¹⁾ See Jouaust, *histoire*, p. 389.

of Prince of the royal secret, to the very highest degree was transferred to a Grand Consistory composed of 33 members, who were appointed Nov. 21. After the members of the *Supr. Conseil pour la France* had joined the Gr. Orient, this latter became the legitimate and actual depository of the Scotch rite, which was not only afterwards acknowledged in a paper issued against her, but was likewise confirmed by the founder of the *Supr. Conseil* himself; for when *de Grasse-Tilly* in the beginning of the year 1815 had returned to France after his release from imprisonment, he was satisfied with appearing on the stage with the *Supr. Conseil pour l'Amérique*, Dec. 27, and carried on a trade in the high degrees, most particularly advantageous to himself, that he might pay his debts. It was natural for the Gr. Orient to warn her lodges against such a *Conseil* as this.

The Rite of
Misraim.

Soon she had fresh cause to admonish her members against running after new phantoms. Towards the close of the year 1815, there arose in Paris and the provinces a society styling themselves the *Francs Régénérés*, who made use of masonic forms, but had political aims in view, and were soon dispersed by the police. Then there appeared the order of Misraim, a monster of Freemasonry having 90 degrees, which laid claim to the concentrating in herself all Rites, the others, one and all, being merely branches wrenched off from the Misraim parent stock.

This rite, which falsely pretended to trace back its origin to the time of the Egyptian king Menes, (Misraim) is pure autocracy; one single head reigns supreme over all the lodges as absolute sovereign Grand Master, and against whom there is no appeal.¹⁾ The rite,

¹⁾ See J. M. Ragon, *Tuileur général de la Francmaçonnerie ou Manuel de l'Initié etc.* Paris, Collignon, p. 234. — Also *Bauhütte*, 1865. No. 4.

commonly called the Egyptian, is styled by Br. Ragon most appropriately, Jewish Freemasonry, and is divided into 17 Classes, thus: A) The symbolic order embracing in 6 Classes the degrees numbering from 1—33; — B) the philosophic in 4 Classes the degrees from 34—66; C) the mystical in 4 Classes from 67—77, and D) the cabalistic in 3 Classes from 78—90.¹⁾ The chiefs and founders of this spurious Freemasonry in France were the brothers Michael, Joseph, and Marcus Bedarride, merchants from Avignon, and A. Méallet, a man of learning; this last may be regarded as the director of the system, and also as the author of the first statutes which were dated March 10, 1816. These all established in Paris a Grand Chapter of the rite, and entered into negotiation with the Grand Orient, who at first did not regard the new-comers with an unfavorable eye; these negotiations however only bred strife and dissension, caused by the unreasonable demands of the Misraimites, who besides had no documents of their foundation to produce. Dec. 7, 1817, the Grand Master Beurnonville, in an epistle addressed by him to the Grand Orient, pronounces his opinion of those irregular and unacknowledged lodges which boast of having an ancient and glorious descent, but who in their lodges work out some ridiculous ritual or other, purely their own invention. This decided declaration, which was not without effect prevented the system from spreading farther in France, though March 24, 1818, the Lodge l'Arc-en-Ciel in Paris was raised to be its Mother lodge.

The Gr. Or. opposed
to the two Supr.
Conseils.

While most of the lodges remained faithful to the Gr. Orient, still some remnant of the Scotch rite was left, strong enough to renew the

¹⁾ The names of the single degrees are to be found in Ragon L. c. and in the *Handbuch der Mrei.*, II. P. 321.

struggle, which indeed at length broke out in the very camp itself. The *Supr. Conseil* of the Count de Grasse-Tilly, saw another *Supr. Conseil* arise, whose director brought up one complaint after another against her and condemned her. This made de Grasse resign his office, and the Minister of Police *de Cazes* assumed the vacated position under the title of Grand Commander, being at the same time placed at the head of the other *Conseil* and claimed by both parties as their own. Br. Kloss remarks, that having compared the lists of the members of both, it is apparent that the whole feud was a struggle between the nobility at court and the nobility in the army, who were both well-pleased to assume sovereign control, and who likewise composed the inferior members of the high degrees, with whom the oligarchical-democratical Gr. Orient with its officials drawn from the middle-classes and its citizens extracted from the tradespeople would not accommodate itself. At length the Gr. Orient, having vainly endeavored to unite itself with one of the *Conseils*, broke the silence she had so long observed, and in a circular epistle of July 13, 1819, fell foul of both *Conseils* at once. After having therein stated the subjects of dispute between the two *Conseils*, this important passage is found at the end, which is perfectly true: "There is in France but one legitimate authority for all rites — the Gr. Orient." "Every union, every body and every individual which sets up any claim whatever against its authority, is acting irregularly."

At the end of this section we have to make mention of a prohibition issued by the Gr. Orient, against masonic periodicals; to prove, that the passion for forcibly restricting the free use of the pen, became the rage in Germany and France about the same time. On Feb. 1, 1819, the Gr. Orient published a circular epistle, wherein a decree of the statute book is pointed out as asserting

expressly, that no Mason, without the distinct permission of his lawful chief, could write, draw, or engrave any thing of the operations carried on in the interior of the lodges. Unmindful of this charge, some brethren, Joly for instance, had commenced a *Bibliothèque Maçonnique*, others, with a praiseworthy intention doubtless (Br. Ragon) had advertised the *Hermès* and (Chemin-Dupontès) the *Travaux Maçonniques et philosophiques*. The object of the two last mentioned, said the Gr. Orient would be tolerated by her, if she could be brought to bear with patience the misuse which was made of these periodical writings by others, viz: to publish the transactions going on in the interior of the lodges; she therefore forbade the publication of all such periodical writings, and requested that no one would support them by their subscriptions. — The lodges in the departments obeyed the Gr. Orient, subscribing however to the *Hermès*, under the assumed name — *Sociétés littéraires*.

2) From the establishment of the *Suprême Conseil de France*,
to the election of the Duke de Choiseul.

(1821—1825.)

The *Suprême Conseil pour la France*, which since 1814 had vanished from the scene, re-awakened to new life May 4, 1821, and as it had been acknowledged, that for the purpose of attaining to the aim proposed by the Scottish rite, a union was indispensable, one of the two *Supr. Conseils de l'Amérique* joined the *Suprême Conseil pour la France*, that the Scottish Freemasonry under the banner of the *Supr. Conseil* for France might be restored to her former associations and honors. One of the *Suprême Conseils* issued one last circular epistle as sign of life, before finally expiring, and then for ever

vanished from the stage. But the other nominated Count de Valence their Sovereign Grand Commander for life, and as many of the brethren were unacquainted with the statutes of the Order, so long a time having elapsed since they were issued (1806), Br. Jubé published a collection of the laws, *Recueil des Actes du Supr. Conseil de France, ou Collection des Décrets etc. Paris, 1832. Sétier*. Since the revival of this Grand Scottish Council, French Freemasonry has had two different and antagonistic camps.

The Grand Orient likewise busied itself with drawing up the plan for a new book of laws. Whilst the deliberations thereupon were being peacefully carried on, the rite of Misraim was again discussed in 1822. "One single fact", remarks Br. Richard, in a speech delivered at the period, "is sufficient to show what reliance may be placed in these Brethren, the Misraimites, who were very busy in raising their building to a height of 90 degrees, but forgot to write out the rituals of the three first, and not possessing the necessary documents, they had to draw them up as well as they could, and make them suit their ritual, so as to have the full number. And if the Brethren should presume to raise doubts upon the subject, it was easy to produce the original, of which perhaps they only possessed very imperfect copies. He especially pointed out how these men went about proclaiming that they were invested with the highest functions of an order, which they prized as being more sublime than any masonic rite, and forgetting the dignity of their position, travelled about in the departments, laden with their 90 degrees, which they put up for sale at any price, not only offering them to Masons, whom they tormented and oppressed, but also to the uninitiated, drawing upon themselves the attention of the police in public places, and everywhere exciting suspicion.

The Gr. Orient repeated her prohibition against holding any intercourse with the Misraimites. Kloss says, that the more you examine into these documents, still existing, the more convinced are you, that this pompously constructed system was mainly founded for the purpose of extracting money.

The *Suprême Conseil pour la France* continued to work out her own organisation most vigorously in 1832, and by founding new lodges, and affiliating herself with others, she spread and increased in power. In the place of Count Valence, deceased, Count Ségur was chosen Sov. Grand Commander, while the Duke de Choiseul became Lieutenant Grand Commander; the lodge *de la Grande Commanderie* established by the Conseil, was made into a *Grande Loge Centrale* of the Scotch rite. The Duke of Choiseul was appointed *Grand Vénérable* of this Grand Lodge, which was subdivided into three sections, the first of which comprised the 18 first degrees, the 2nd. from 19—32; and the third was administrative. The further incidents are of but little importance, therefore we may pass them over. In 1825, misunderstandings unfortunately arose in the interior of the Gr. Orient, about the statutes for French Freemasonry, which were now nearly completed, and most probably prevented the complete dissolution of the hostile Scots, who were tottering to their fall, tending to infuse courage into them, as June 29, the Duke de Choiseul was elected Sov. Gr. Commander in the place of the Duke de Ségur, who resigned because of his great age and of his declining health. A lodge was established at Bordeaux, and in Dec. 21, 1825, preparations were made for the installation of the new chief.

3) The events till the July-Revolution.

1826—1830.

The revival of the Scottish degrees gave the Gr. Orient an excuse for despatching a circular epistle, (Feb. 25, 1862) to its lodges and chapters, to warn them against the Grand Scotch Lodge. This warning was by no means unnecessary; for scarcely had the circular epistle appeared, when the feud broke out simultaneously on both sides. First of all the lodge *la Clément Amitié* in Paris, distinguished for its works and its talented members, separated itself from the Gr. Orient, declaring war against her; Jan. 7, 1827, this lodge received a constitution from the *Supr. Conseil*. In the lodge *les Rigides Écossais*, there existed a minority of the secret adherents of the *Supr. Conseil*, who made use of a dispute which arose on the election of a Master, to carry away from the lodge the constitution, the fund for the poor, the seal, and ensigns of office, and to take shelter under the banner of the *Supr. Conseil*, which did not neglect to give them a constitution likewise. The Lodge *Jérusalem de la Constance* followed the example of these two lodges. A danger, which seemed to threaten from another quarter, was happily overcome by the Gr. Orient. A youthful orator in a lodge, Br. Alphonse Signol, tried to introduce politics by making the relations between church and state the subject of a lecture and then having it printed. As the lecturer refused to recall his pamphlet, he was thrust out of the society; the Grand Orient publicly declared itself opposed to the sentiments he had promulgated, which was the more necessary, as harsh measures had begun to be put in operation against them.

The Statutes. The Gr. Orient completed an important work, which had long occupied her, the *Statuts et Règlements*

généraux de l'Ordre Maçonnique en France, which were approved of and signed by Br. Macdonald.

Negotiations
of peace. To prevent the dissensions in the French Brotherhood from breaking out into more virulent hostilities, the genuine masonic conciliatory spirit being strong in Br. Benau, one of the oldest members of the Grand Orient, induced him to take steps to unite the opponents. Nov. 30, 1826, he sent to the Duke de Choiseul anonymously a semi-official letter, calling upon him to seize a favorable moment for carrying out the work of reconciliation. To promote this, both sides appointed committees, negotiations were entered into, and proposals of union discussed, rejected, and ultimately accepted, but yet without coming to any decision. The intolerable blindness which affected the Scotch on certain subjects, for example with regard to the antiquity of their rite, their universal diffusion in both hemispheres, the superlative excellence of their works and traditions, added to their evident deficiency in genuine masonic instincts, make it no matter of surprise that the *Suprême Conseil* did not accept the well-meant judicious and most eligible offers of the Grand Orient, who during the whole course of the transaction gave most unequivocal proofs of extreme moderation and self-control. The supporters of the Supr. Council affirm that the desire to promote the welfare of Freemasonry, and to manifest their excessive toleration (at that time a password), were the only motives which induced them to attempt a reconciliation, but their love of form and ceremonial had some weight in the balance, and caused them to make the upholding of the Scottish rite their pride and boast. They ran counter to the real interests of Freemasonry, because they feared that if they accepted those propositions, "the *Supr. Conseil* would be abrogated, and the Scottish rite destroyed, involving the absorption

of both rites into that of the Grand Orient." As their exorbitant demands did not meet with a ready acceptance, they broke off all negotiations with the Gr. Orient, whereupon the members of the high degrees in the opposing camps, hastened to intrench themselves behind their fortifications. The feud broke out with renewed animosity, and many controversial writings, which had long been held in preparation, awaiting a favorable moment, followed each other in quick succession.

Charges laid
against the
Brotherhood. This lamentable state of things was made use of by the clergy to make "confusion worse confounded", and if possible set the government against the Fraternity. They established a Journal called "*L'Éclair*" which made it their principal business virulently to oppose the religious and political spirit of the times, especially Protestantism, Freemasonry, and all secret associations. Besides which they published many inflammatory brochures, sending their emissaries into the provinces, who made the pulpit a vehicle for uttering condemnatory speeches, and stirring up the people against Freemasonry.

Schemes for
destroying the
Gr. Orient. While the obscurants were thus assaulting Freemasonry from without, the Scotch were concocting schemes for annihilating the Gr. Orient altogether. On two separate occasions, very numerous anonymous invitations were issued summoning to a meeting of the Gr. Orient, which resulted in a most unusually large attendance of visitors, who interfered in the deliberations, and among other things appointed a committee of 33, some of whom were enemies to the Gr. Orient. This dangerous agitation was happily allayed by the measures adopted by the *Comité Général* called together by the Gr. Orient.

The activity in
the Lodges. Notwithstanding their perilous position, many lodges devoted themselves heart and

soul to the good cause, and developed fervent zeal in its promotion. The Lodge *Sept Écossais* arranged a distribution of prizes to animate the scholars in the Parisian free-schools. The lodge *les Rigides Écossais*, afterwards *Isis-Monthyon*, had since 1827 expended much money on bestowing rewards on such as had distinguished themselves for virtuous deeds, whether these were performed by Masons or non-Masons. The most highly esteemed and considerable of the lodges under the Gr. Orient, was that of the Trinosophists, Br. Desétangs at their head.¹⁾ The most remarkable oratorical gifts were displayed in this lodge, and the number of visitors is placed at such a high figure, as to be almost incredible, when Desétangs, Berville, or either of the Dupins spoke. Br. Nicol. Charles Desétangs, *Sous-chef à la direction gén. de l'imprimerie* till 1835, afterwards a private gentleman, was born Sept. 7, 1766, and died in 1847, had been initiated at Brest, and had in 1820 joined the lodge of the *Trinosophists*, where he was elected Master. No sooner had he entered in his office, than he turned the whole of his attention to the perfecting of the rituals, to make them harmonise with the exigencies of the times. Instead of a mere outward examination of the physical strength, his was more of a mental and intellectual kind, that the capacity of the candidate might be ascertained. His manner of conducting the work of the lodge met with approval, and was adopted by many; it had in it much that was attractive, and in many respects resembles the more simple ceremonial of the German masons. Kloss remarks that in this respect he has earned for himself the grateful thanks of French Freemasonry, and his descendants will mention his name with affection, for the purity of his daily walk and con-

¹⁾ Kloss, France, II, p. 337.

versation. — The three Lodges of the Trinosophists celebrated Aug. 6, 1830, the memorable event of the Revolution with a Masonic festival, when the re-instatement of peace and concord was loudly and earnestly demanded.

Oct. 10, 1830, the *Supr. Conseil* likewise held a feast, in honor of General Lafayette, souv. Gr. Insp. gén., and Oct. 16, the Gr. Orient assembled her lodges around her, and mindful of the national events passing in her day, appointed a festival to commemorate the accession of King Louis Philippe I. to the throne.

4) From the July Revolution, to Lucian Murat's election as Grand Master.

(1831—1851.)

The revolution in July did not exercise that influence on the outward frame-work of Freemasonry as did the events passing in 1814; Br. Macdonald, Duke of Tarento, remained the legally constituted Grand Master. Br. Alex. de la Borde succeeded him in office in 1832.

In 1838, the Gr. Orient determined, that such Brethren or Lodges as had distinguished themselves by any meritorious action or deed, or by some extraordinary services rendered to the Fraternity, should have a silver medal awarded them, also that a *maison de secours* should be erected, wherein destitute Masons might be received, having there board, lodging, and clothing free of expense, and employment found for them according to their capacity. The subscriptions for the realisation of this scheme were so numerous that in 1840, the foundation-stone of the building was laid.

For the furtherance of a reconciliation between the two contending Masonic powers in France, fresh treaties and consultations were set on foot, but they were one and all without effect; the Gr. Orient continued to maintain the illegality of the *Supr. Conseil*, and to prohibit her daughter lodges to be visited. An attempt to arrange the differences, was renewed in 1841, in a very numerously attended meeting, by Br. Bouilly, the special representative of the Grand Master. Br. Desanlis delivered a lecture upon the mutual relations of the two Grand lodges, which was received with many demonstrations of applause. Upon a proposal made by Br. Morand, a resolution was passed to the effect that the Lodges of the *Supr. Conseil* should be permitted henceforward to visit the lodges of the Gr. Orient. The brethren then paid each other visits; but yet this did not materially alter the position of affairs; the *Supr. Conseil* persisted in ignoring the validity of the diplomas issued by the Gr. Orient in the Scotch High degrees, and each of the hostile parties readily accepted such brethren as were fugitives from the antagonistic system. — In the place of Br. de la Borde, who had requested his dismissal, Br. Em. de Las-Cases was nominated Deputy Grand Master, who delivered a very conciliatory speech upon the occasion of his installation, Feb. 12, 1842. June 24, of that same year, the new Temple of the Gr. Orient was consecrated.

The number of the lodges did not visibly increase between the years 1840—45, and indeed we shall have hereafter to show that the same laxity and inactivity as heretofore, obtained the upper hand, and with the ruling powers an unfavorable feeling prevailed against Freemasonry, and a certain uneasiness arose in their minds. In several towns the Prefects demanded from the Masters information upon many points, and in 1845,

Marshal Soult, who was himself a Mason, without stating any reason for so doing, though most likely he was urged to it by those high in power, prohibited his soldiers from visiting any lodges.

Persecutions of
Masonic writers. Complaints poured in from all sides deploring the weakness and indifference displayed in the lodges, and the small amount of circumspection in the choice of members, and their consequent want of intelligence, so that in 1844 the Gr. Orient were necessitated to appoint a committee to inquire into the cause of the decline of Freemasonry in France. Astonishment and indignation were equally strongly excited about this period, at the persecutions which two distinguished masonic authors were made to endure, the Brothers Ragon and Clavel. The former had in 1839 received express permission from the Secretary of the Gr. Orient to print a work of his, "*Cours philosophique et interprétatif des initiations anciennes et modernes*", and yet three years later this very same work was declared an abominable production and proscribed by law. Br. Clavel had a complaint lodged against him by one of the lodges of the Gr. Orient, for having printed his work "*Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie*" without permission, wherein the ceremonials of the order were divulged. The author observed to the Gr. Orient, that he could not allow it the right to establish itself anew as censor of the press, and that it was a special matter of surprise to him, that a society whose mission it was to spread light everywhere, should strive to repress freedom of thought, by interdicting his making his ideas known through the press; and while disavowing the competency of the Gr. Orient, he justified his own proceedings in a public appeal to all Masons possessing understanding and feeling. He was suspended for two months and condemned to pay a fine.

From 1845—1846. The Gr. Orient could not possibly avert her threatened doom by such proceedings, and the committee she had appointed did not furnish her with any sound advice; she therefore in 1845 addressed a circular epistle to the lodges under her jurisdiction, inviting them to express their views as to the most fitting means of re-animating Freemasonry. The lodge "of Constancy" in Arras proposed that in future less attention should be paid to masonic dogmas and rituals, than to the position the society occupied to the state and in social life, to show on what points she was most sensitive, and to seek to effect a radical cure in every part. The good Brethren in Arras do not seem, on this occasion to have thought of the Old Charges at all!

Br. Clavel observes in a retrospective view submitted to the masonic Almanack of 1847, it would appear that Freemasonry in France departed more and more from those aims which it should have been their single purpose to attain. "It is true, there was no perceptible diminution in the number of the lodges, which were as numerously attended as heretofore; but the greater portion of the members were unenlightened and prejudiced individuals, the soul and vigor of masonic life fled from the centre to the utmost limits. If the Gr. Orient had bestowed upon her lodges any thing like an adequate portion of that fostering care, so essentially necessary, had she exercised the slightest amount of moral influence, had they not lost all esteem and confidence in her, a congress could not have taken place either at Rochelle¹), or Rochefort in 1846, or Stras-

1) In 1845 the Lodge *l'Union parfaite* in Rochelle summoned a congress for the discussion of interesting questions, both masonic and social. One of the questions was the relief of the poor, and another "what reforms could be set on foot in the Fraternity?"

burg ¹⁾, but would have assembled in Paris, the seat of the Gr. Orient, there, where the only true masonic congress ought to have met.

Close to the Gr. Orient, solemn and slow stalks the *Supr. Conseil*. It lacks neither intelligence nor celebrity, nor that power which rank and fortune bestow; energy is what it needs the most, zeal, and a good constitution ²⁾, without which the very best intentions are never realised. But because wanting in these particulars, she was deluded by the vain mockery which surrounded her, and this body dragged herself along with pain and difficulty, deriving advantage from the losses which overwhelmed her rival, the Gr. Orient.

The congress at Toulouse. Following the example of other Orients, the Lodges in Toulouse in 1847 summoned a Masonic congress which lasted several days. The Gr. Orient saw much reason for terror in all these occurrences, but could think of nothing better to do, than to dissolve at Lyons a council of Masons formed of 12 Masters of Lodges, who had just established a society for the support of poor children, to signify her displeasure to the Lodges at Toulouse, and to forbid those at Bordeaux to assemble another congress.

The revolution of 1848. This was the aspect of affairs in France, when the new political movement in 1848, took almost every body by surprise. In consequence of an invitation from Br. Bertrand, who had been chosen Grand Master in 1847, the Gr. Orient of France held a meeting, in commemoration of those who had fallen in February. It was likewise determined in this

¹⁾ We shall have something to say about this congress of 1846, when treating of Germany.

²⁾ The *Supr. Conseil* has shown much vacillation in the administration of its laws, but at length in 1846, sanctioned the *Règlements généraux de la Maç. Ecossaise* etc.

assembly that a subscription should be opened for the better relief of those who had been wounded in the struggle. The list was immediately headed by a contribution of 500 francs, and it was voted that an address, in the name of the French Freemasons, should be presented to the Provisional Government. March 6, a committee, composed of six of the highest officials, were elected to deliver this address. Brothers Cremieux, Garnier Pagés, Marrast, and Pagnierre, received the deputation, dressed in the masonic costume. "Although the French masonic fraternity," it says in the address, which was appropriately answered by Crémieux, "has in accordance to her statutes kept herself aloof from all political questions, yet she cannot withhold the expression of her feelings, at the grand national and social movement which has just taken place. On the banners of the Freemasons have at all times been displayed the words "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity", and when they descry these same words, borne on the standards of the French nation, they joyfully welcome in them the triumph of their principles, and consider themselves fortunate in being able to cry out, that the whole of their native land has through them received masonic consecration" &c.

The Grand National Lodge of France.

A more important result arising from the stirring political events, was the separation of the Lodge *le Patronage des Orphelins* from the *Supr. Conseil*, for the purpose of founding a grand national lodge. At a motion March 5, from Br. Juge, the founder and first editor of the masonic newspaper "*le Globe*", the following was resolved ¹⁾ upon: 1) The lodge testifies to the necessity of a controlling power over the lodges

¹⁾ We shall here only partially communicate these resolutions, where we think they have a general interest.

Findel, History of Freemasonry.

emanating from themselves, their absolute and perfect independence in the selection of the laws, by which they may be governed, and in the administration of justice over their members, with a court of appeal formed by the Grand Lodge. — 2) Each lodge will be represented by three members in the Great National lodge of France, which latter will be composed of deputies from all the lodges, who will have enough to occupy them in settling the general affairs of the Brotherhood, without nixing themselves up with the interior arrangements of the lodges. No deputy can represent two lodges at the same time; the whole of the members elect the officers of the Grand Lodge, who have annually to certify the amount of the expenses and distribute the sums amongst the lodges. — 3) All the rites, being worked in France, will be blended into one which will be called *Rite national*, in such a way that the degree of Master will include all the existing Masters' instructions. — 4) All higher degrees, which assume to be above the Master's degree, will be abolished, and their rituals placed at the disposal of the Masters. — 5) Purely political questions and religious controversies will be prohibited in the Lodges, but now as heretofore they will continue to direct their attention towards every thing pertaining to morals, or the improvement, instruction, and welfare of mankind generally, and they will devise means that in future their deeds of benevolence may be more judiciously carried out, than has been the case till now. — 6) No lecture before delivery, need be submitted for the approbation of the orator. — 7) Each member has the right to have the work of the Lodge, and of the Grand National Lodge printed, and to discuss the questions agitated in the lodges, with these reservations, to respect the public laws, to refrain from all personalities, and to keep to the usages laid down in the

ritual — &c. The Grand National lodge was to carry out this design with greater completeness: "It is hoped that all the Brethren of whatever rite or system will be present to ratify this sacred compact; may all be enlightened, all thereby benefited! Away with all rival rites; away with the high degrees; away with all inflated and empty titles! May the simple appellations of Mason, Master, Brother, for ever unite those, whom conflicting interests have far too long divided asunder into two opposing camps.

May 1, 1848, there appeared an invitation to a new convention, in order, as is there stated, that Freemasonry may take a fresh flight; for unity and a more popular constitution are indispensably necessary. French Freemasons must take precedence of all others on the face of the earth. "Impressed with this belief, a considerable number of presiding members and deputies from the lodges, and brethren of many and various rites have come to the determination to issue invitations for a general meeting, in which first and foremost, those reforms which are so indispensably necessary, will be freely discussed; — the charge of summoning and convoking this general assembly has been delivered over to an especial committee composed of nine brethren." — Besides Br. L. Th. Juge, there were in this committee, Br. Jul. Barbier, the Treasurer Br. Vanderheym, and the Secretary Br. Dutilleul.

The idea thus broached was realised; the Grand National lodge was brought about, and in December 1848 drew up a constitution¹⁾, which in accordance with the spirit of the times, "had an ultra-democratic basis"; under the name *Rite unitaire* she adopted the English ritual, and strove to unite herself with foreign lodges

1) To be found in the *Freimaurer-Zeitung*, 1850, No. 20.

more especially with the Eclectic confederacy. Seventeen lodges joined her; but she was acknowledged neither by the Gr. Orient nor by the *Supr. Conseil*. Her energy was commended, but blame was attached to her for her incautiousness in her initiations and advancements. Br Herrig, who could speak from personal observation of her work, gave a favorable judgment of her, and observed in the *Freimaurer-Zeitung*, 1851, that she had been scandalously calumniated, on all sides, and was even suspected by the police. The prefect of Police Carlier, in a letter addressed to the Grand Master Du Planty, commanded their dispersion, for being, as was affirmed, a political society. Its existence therefore was but of short duration; Jan. 15, 1851, she met for the last time, raised all the members of her daughter lodges to the third degree, published a protest, and dissolved herself, first promising most solemnly to remain faithful to her standard — progress.

Constitution of the Gr. Orient. The Gr. Orient had, in 1847, appointed a committee to revise the statutes of 1839, who immediately set to work, and as early as May sent in their report, announcing the intention which was afterwards carried out, of dividing the general statutes into two parts, the constitutional and the administrative. The revolution of 1848 did not in the least check the progress of the work, and March 2, 1849, the committee submitted their plan for inspection. April 7, the Gr. Orient issued a circular epistle for the promotion of unity and the blending of all rites, inviting all zealous Masons in France to co-operate in the glorious work; August 10, the new constitution was completed and accepted, and came into operation Sept. 3, 1849. — Dec. 13, 1850, Br. Berville, advocate general in the court of cassation (France) was elected to be first Grand Master. — After Napoleon's coup d'état of Dec. 2, 1851,

the Gr. Orient considered it advisable to close all the lodges for a while, to obviate any political agitation whatsoever, and avoid the appearance even of participation or sympathy in political demonstrations; the calumniations and accusations uttered in the ultramontane periodical the "*Univers*" may have had something to do with the adoption of this measure.

5) The Gr. Orient of France under the superintendence of Murat.

1852—1861.

The unceasing and violent articles, which appeared against the Freemasons in the legitimist and ultramontane newspapers, together with all such papers as were favorable to the government, some of which asserted, that all the heads of the secret revolutionary societies had been made Freemasons¹⁾, and therefore loudly demanded the annihilation of the Craft, were not wholly without their influence on the government; it is reported that the question was arranged for discussion in the order of the day, whether Masonic meetings should not be entirely abrogated, and much anxiety was in consequence excited. To render the existence of the Fraternity the more certain, it was thought politic to invite a prince to take office in the Gr. Orient. Jan. 9, 1852, the *Conseil du Grand Maître* declared that the moment had arrived when the Gr. Orient must have a Grand Master at its head — since 1814 no one had filled this office — and proposed Prince Lucian Murat, nephew of the Prince President Louis Napoleon. It was not

¹⁾ See "*Bauhütte*", 1861, No. 16, the correspondence of Br. Hubert, formerly General Secretary of the Gr. Or. of Paris.

considered suitable to put the question to the vote, but it was agreed unanimously that the nomination of a Grand Master was a matter of the utmost importance. The election of the Prince was then decided on.

Lucian Murat, second son of the former king of Naples, was born in Milan, May 17, 1803, and after the death of his father had removed to America, but had returned to France upon the election of a President there. In the "Triangle" (IV Year. No. 16) it is said of him, that it was well known in America, "that Murat was a frivolous individual, and lived a wild, irregular life in an obscure corner of Bordentown in New-Jersey" &c.

The day after the election, a deputation of six Grand officers, headed by the senior deputy Grand Master, Br. Berville, went to the Prince, to communicate to him the result, whereupon he declared that before accepting it, he must secure the approbation of the Prince-President. When this had been obtained, Jan. 19, a deputation was sent to Murat to thank him for his acceptance of the office, and Feb. 26, in the presence of many thousand brethren, and of deputies from more than 220 lodges, the new Grand Master was received with joyful acclamations, and solemnly invested with office. Br. Berville, on this occasion, pronounced it as his opinion, that this nomination gave the promise of bright days for Freemasonry, and from that moment a new era of regeneration had begun, an expectation which has by no means been realised. The "new era" ran but a melancholy course!

It is most true, that at first the beneficial influence of the new Grand Master was generally commended; the Gr. Orient was thought to be in a most flourishing state: the outward brilliancy of its circumstances being promoted by the purchase and arrangement in a magnificent style

of splendor, of a new Freemason's Hall, and the spiritual and intellectual condition being advanced by the reform of its inward organisation. As long as the liberal, well-digested constitution continued to be acted upon, things went on well. But in 1854, the Grand Master summoned a convention, whose task it was, to remodel the constitution, making it more despotic in its principles. The independent spirit of French Freemasonry was quenched; and within the Fraternity, inactive and blind submission was as apparent, as in the wider field of state policy without; the administration which was established in 1854, met with no decided opposition: the annual assembly and the Grand Master's council approved and ratified unconditionally all the measures and wishes, which were proposed by the officiating committee and the Grand Master; this latter was overwhelmed with ill-merited praise and infatuated encouragement, when truth and a legal, dignified opposition against arbitrary power would have been far more appropriate. The number of Lodges gradually declined.

A general Masonic Congress. The less cause there was to be proud of the intrinsic worth of the order, and the less ground for pointing out with satisfaction what had been actually accomplished by them, the more pains was there bestowed upon outward show and magnificence. When Paris became the centre of European politics, and the Industrial Exhibition made it the nucleus of Industrial speculations, there too should be concentrated the chief strength of the Masonic world. An invitation was issued entreating all Grand lodges to combine in forming a General Congress to meet in Paris, and which really did take place from June 8 to 14, 1855, though but few representatives of foreign Grand lodges were present. If this circumstance were not a proof of its want of success, the transactions and resolutions which were passed would

set it beyond a doubt; no result worth mentioning was obtained, and no effect of any moment could be anticipated from it.

In 1856, by the absolute power of the Grand Master and his council, an *Institut dogmatique du Gr. Or.* was erected, to watch over ceremonies, and to spread the doctrine and knowledge of Freemasonry amongst the Masons and — to assist the French to cover their order with glory and renown. But in spite of this institution it declined more and more from year to year, as Murat and his clique were most careful to repress all freedom, and to increase the funds of the Gr. Orient. The masonic liberty of the press was put a stop to by a special decree to that effect. The lodge "*les Enfants d'Hiram*" at Lyons was suspended, because she had ventured to blame a decree issued by the Grand Master's privy council. Another decree ordained that the assisting Brethren should be placed under the special supervision of the administration, and should have a livery bestowed on them &c.

That things could not be suffered to go on in this manner, was sensibly felt, as early as 1860; it was therefore with great eagerness that men longed for the time when according to law a new election of a Grand Master might be expected. As early as March the agitation about the coming election made itself felt. When the Grand Master declared himself publicly in the senate on the side of the Pope, that arch-enemy of Freemasonry, then the newspaper "*l'Initiation anc. et moderne*" signified herself as opposed to the re-election of Murat. The latter replied to this, by ordering the suppression of the periodical, and the suspension of the editor *Riche-Gardon*. Many of the most distinguished Masters of lodges were suspended, merely because they demanded of Prince Napoleon, (an opposition candidate) whether

he were willing to undertake the office of Grand Master.

While the public papers were thus sounding their note of alarm, the meeting of the members of the Gr. Orient took place, under the presidentship of Br. Doumet, May 20, 1861. The next day, while the brethren were occupied in their offices, a decree of the Grand Master suddenly dissolved the assembly, proroguing it till May 24; a request for the decree to be repealed, found no hearing, upon which Prince Napoleon was unanimously elected as their Grand Master. The special mouth-piece of the Grand Master, Rexés, called in the police to his aid, and an order of the prefect of police caused the election to be interdicted, and postponed the meeting of any Freemasons till the end of October. A decree couched in the same spirit was published by Murat. From this time forward began a fierce storm of protestations, controversial writings, decrees of the Grand Master, and frightful confusion, until the French autocrat himself interfered. A wretched pamphlet under the title of "the tumult in the bosom of Freemasonry" had been published by the former administrative power in the Grand Orient, full of personal invective against individual brethren, who were denounced as enemies of Christianity, as religious innovators, and socialists. The leaders of the opposition, presiding Masters in Paris (Haymann, Dr. Mitre, and Fauvety) answered these accusations in a writing entitled: "The Grand Orient of France—summoned by all Freemasonry, a memorial to our brethren of all Orients and all rites," containing a narration of the incidents which took place on the election of the Grand Master, with the documents referring to these events, and justifying the proceedings of the Fraternity, should the lodges be dissolved or voluntarily put an end to.

There is but one Freemasonry, as there is but one

humanity, and starting from this point, the authors of the memorial in question, pointed out, that in the dispute existing between the representatives of the lodges and the Grand Master, the honor of a large number of Masters, the rights of the lodges, and the first principles of Freemasonry were called in question. A short account of the events is given in a few words — for the brethren felt, it would be humiliating if they revealed all the contrivances which had been resorted to by the executive power.

One chief complaint was the disgraceful use to which the Freemason's Temple was converted: a portion of it was let to those who gave public balls and to prostitutes, so that Freemasonry, which is a school of morality, was placed in immediate connection with the orgies of vice and corruption, in a most unnatural manner, setting all order and propriety at defiance.

Another complaint was the way in which the money was expended. Collections were made on various occasions, as for example for Lamartine, for the victims in Syria, for the wounded in the Italian army &c. The reports of the Finance-committee of the Gr. Orient assure us that the money thus collected never reached its destination!

When Murat entered into office, the Gr. Orient had 500 working lodges; they had no debts, but on the contrary had a reserve capital of 30,000 Francs, and more than 10,000 Francs in cash. But during the time of his holding the dignity, the Gr. Orient had an annual deficit, which has not yet been paid up to the masonic Temple, and in 1861, there were only 269 Lodges, including the chapters.

After several interludes had been played out, the crown thought, it was time to interfere; the Emperor nominated one of his own Marshals, Magnan, Grand Master of the Gr. Orient. This decided the question!

Bernh. P. Magnan, born in Paris Dec. 7, 1791, was a clever and successful soldier, but his individual character was not rated very high; he soon proved himself to be the right man in the right place, for he wielded his sceptre of office with dignity and skill, and in a most liberal spirit. The order of Misraim united itself with the Gr. Orient, during his administration. When in May, 1864, Magnan requested the Emperor to grant the Masons their former privilege of right of election, it was accorded them, and Magnan was immediately elected Grand Master for the year 1865. He died immediately before the meeting of the legislative masonic assembly in June 1865. Br. General Mellinet was elected in his stead. The assembly just alluded to, composed of the members of all the Lodges working under the Gr. Orient, which was intended to raise and thoroughly revise French Freemasonry, did not answer the expectations formed of it, but still it must be regarded as a movement in the right direction, for they improved the constitution. The intelligent and active Masons with Br. Massol at their head, showed on this occasion of what they were capable, and won many signal moral victories; they were Brothers Rivau - Landrau (Lyons), Rattier (Brest), Mitre (Marseille), Redon, Fauvety, H. Hirsch, Andr. Rousselle (Paris), &c.

The Gr. Orient has 230 lodges under her, 19 of which are in foreign countries (Italy, Turkey, Wallachia, Uruguay, Chili &c.) and the Colonies.

The Gr. Orient has the following staff of officers: 1) The Grand Master, and two deputy Grand Masters; 2) 33 members of the council of the order, chosen out of the legislative assembly of the Gr. Orient; 3) all the Masters of Lodges or their proxies. The Grand Master is the chief executive and administrative power. There is besides a *Grand Collège des Rites, Suprême Conseil*

pour la France, which is formed only of the possessors of the 33rd degree, and bestows the degrees from 31—33.

The *Suprême Conseil de France* of the Scotch rite of 33 degrees, is existing side by side with the Gr. Orient, under the guidance of Viennet, academician, sovereign Grand Commander, having fifty lodges.

E. Germany.

1) From 1814—1836.

If we except the gallant efforts of a few individual lodges, the years from 1814—1824 cannot be numbered as the most brilliant period of German Freemasonry. Of the Altenburg Masonic periodical, which was at first the only one of its kind, there appeared one volume in 1819, after a pause of six years, and the continuation in 1823, was at a time, as we are informed in the advertisement of this continuation, when the Fraternity, assailed by storms from without, had to contend from within against a remarkable degree of indifference and want of power in its members. Br. Keller too, describes this period as one of retrogression, and points out that the free-born spirit was tried to be forced down again, and endeavors were made to compel the Brethren to submit to a censorship opposed to the spirit which should have swayed the Lodges. It is easy to conceive that these circumstances were very prejudicial to the spread and increase of the society: after 1817 some lodges revived to new life, after a long sleep, and new ones arose.

Frankfort o. M. and the Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union. The Lodge "*zur aufgehenden Morgenröthe*" in Frankfort o. M. was in consequence of political events, in 1814, necessitated to separate herself from the Gr. Orient of France, but immediately received a warrant from the Landgrave Carl of Hesse, at the same time as did the lodge in Mayence. But as the Landgrave required that the Chairman and orator should be Christians, and the Jewish members opposed this determination, the Christians left the lodge and formed a new one, under the name of "*Carl zum aufgehenden Lichte*", which received from the Landgrave not only a Warrant but also an ancient Scottish Directory. The Lodge "*zur aufgehenden Morgenröthe*", by the defection of her Christian brethren, was shaken to her very foundations, and being opposed on all sides, demanded a constitution from the Grand Lodge of England, which this latter granted without hesitation. The English Provincial Lodge of Frankfort appealed to the treaty concluded with London, by virtue of which lodges in her district could only be erected by her, and with her consent, and she therefore protested against the conduct of the Mother Lodge. This latter however remained firm to her purpose, most probably persuaded that it was unfriendly and unsociable to turn her back upon regularly constituted and faithful Brethren, without investing them with the power to continue their works. And this right she had derived from masonic fundamental laws, as well as from the turn affairs had taken; for if an infraction of the treaty had been committed, it was certainly the act of the Provincial lodge, who without previously consulting the Mother lodge, had adopted certain modifications not prescribed by law. The dispute with England led to fruitless negotiations, which lasted years, and at length to a declaration of independence on the part of the Frankfort Provincial Lodge, which since 1823 has

worked as the Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union of Freemasons.

The Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin. At the head of the Grand Lodge of Germany, in Berlin, was in 1814 Major General Joh. Friedr. Neander von Petersheiden. The first thing he did was to unite two Lodges in the newly acquired territory of Swedish Pomerania, viz: those of Greifswald and Stralsund, to the Grand lodge of Germany. In the course of time the bond uniting this lodge with the higher section of the system in Sweden had become slackened; he connected them more closely by entering into a treaty with the Grand Lodge of Sweden in 1818.

In 1819, Br. von Nettelblatt, W. Master of St. Andrew's Lodge, "Lucens" in Rostock, who had been very active in re-establishing the friendly relations with Sweden, was charged to work out, for the use of the Masters of lodges, the instructions appertaining to the three first degrees. The systematic finishing touch given to the Swedish system, is most likely his work. He was one of the best informed Masons of his time.¹⁾

In 1818, Br. J. H. O. von Schmidt was Grand Master. Under his administration and that of his successors, this system sought to spread out her branches far and near, not always through the most legitimate openings, so that she did not enjoy the favor of the German Masonic world, which however seemed scarcely to affect her either one way or the other.

The Gr. Nat. Mother Lodge "zu den 3 Weltkugeln". The Gr. Nat. Mother lodge lost her Grand Master Br. von Guionneau in 1829, he having held office 24 years, and having celebrated his 50th Masonic year, Nov. 7, 1824; he has

¹⁾ See Latomia "XXIV. Vol., 2nd. part." Contributions to the proper understanding of the Swedish system.

made his name remembered by establishing a fund for the assistance of Masons' sons, who were studying. Br. Rosenstiel was chosen in his room, who was followed by Poselger in 1832.

In 1833, the foundation-stone of a new Masonic Hall was laid, as the old one was not large enough to contain all the members; in the Directory certain reforms in the ritual were proposed, which were represented as indispensable, and were set on foot, simultaneously by several lodges, especially by the lodge "*zum preussischen Adler*" in Insterburg. The following fundamental rule was certainly the right one to go upon: to preserve to the fraternity that which time and traditional usage had rendered sacred, but yet not to hesitate to introduce such alterations which the more advanced spirit of the age rendered absolutely necessary.

Hanover, Bavaria
the Electorate
of Hesse.

The example set them by others of a declaration of independence, was followed by Hanover and Bavaria. When the Duke of Cumberland became a member of the Lodge "*Friedrich*" in Hanover, the wish was universally expressed that he might undertake the office of Grand Master in a Hanoverian Grand Lodge, and the more effectually to compass this, the Provincial Lodge of England broke off her connection with that country, and declared herself an independent Grand Lodge, Nov. 1, 1828, and was then joined by most of the Lodges of the kingdom of Hanover. The Duke of Cumberland was made Grand Master, and Br. Blumenhagen Dr., (born 1781 and died 1839,) well known as a masonic author and a novelist, was entrusted with the drawing up of the plan of a new constitution.

In Bavaria all Government officials were forbidden to become members of the Fraternity, yet notwithstanding this the lodges flourished successfully. They existed near to each other, and yet were not bound very closely

together, which made Br. von Rotenhan in 1812 attempt the formation¹⁾ of a convention of W. Masters, which should meet every quarter, and this was actually effected in 1817, greatly promoting mutual friendship, affording an opportunity of consulting upon important masonic affairs, and maintaining its assemblies uninterrupted till 1829. The Provincial lodge in Bayreuth had, at the express wish of the government, broken off its connection with Berlin, and constituted itself a Grand Lodge "*zur Sonne*"

In the Electorate of Hesse, where a Grand Lodge had been formed in 1817, masonic operations had been suspended by a decree of the government even as early as 1814.

The masonic correspondence office. To preserve unity and concord between all Masons, and to maintain and animate the intellectual intercourse of the German lodges, Brother Lechler in Leipzig started the idea of forming an institution, whose task should be, to keep up a correspondence between the lodges upon a sure and inexpensive system. The Lodge "*Baldwin zur Linde*" in 1831, issued, with this intent, a circular epistle, to inform²⁾ their German Sister lodges of the establishment of a masonic correspondence office, which they were invited to join. But a small number of lodges (42) at first supported this most beneficial undertaking, as but few sent their letters and inventories through this medium. Even the two other Leipzig lodges did not immediately join, and a most unaccountable spirit of enmity was manifested towards the youthful institution. But the faithful solicitude bestowed upon it by its found-

1) See. Geist, *kurzgefasste Geschichte etc.* Page 167.

2) See. *Altenb. Zeitschrift für Freimaurer*, 1822—33. Page 87; — 1833—34, Page 191. — 1837, Page 487. In the last mentioned series are the statutes of the two offices.

er, preserved it, and many lodges came over to it; in 1836 there were 82. — A bookseller, Br. Jonas established a correspondence office in Berlin, for the Prussian States, in 1832—33, which afterwards was abandoned; in time not only most of the German and Swiss lodges joined the office in Leipsic, but several foreign ones did the same, especially American lodges. The publications were at first only despatched twice a year from Leipsic, but now they are sent every quarter.

Signs of the times Just at this period the lodges do not seem from 1830—1838. to have been in a very flourishing condition; at least the circular letters communicate many bitter complaints of the apathy of the brethren and the decay of the fraternity, as well as joyful intelligence too of their intellectual and social condition. The brethren, it was said, were more intent upon the transformation of the outward form of social institutions, than upon exerting themselves for their own improvement. The French revolution in July had awakened a desire for civil liberty, and this, it was said, was the cause of the coldness of many of the members, while others again asserted, that in that stormy period the Freemasons justified the confidence placed in them, and that their lodges were not stained by any illegal or bold attempts to upset law and good order, or disturb the inward peace of the kingdom.

2) From 1837—1846.

The year 1837 is one full of importance to German Freemasonry; Dec. 6, 1737, the first constituted German lodge (Absalom) had been opened. The celebration of their existence for a hundred years, was to be regarded especially as a festival, in commemoration of the introduction of Freemasonry into Germany, and was solemnized under this latter aspect by the Grand Lodge in

Hamburg, a numerous assemblage of brethren being congregated. This festival tended greatly to cement the bonds of friendship between the single lodges of Fatherland and the Grand lodges. Br. Morath, who was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, took the Chair, and the five united Hamburg Lodges (Schröder's rite) acknowledged a number of brethren as honorary members, for example Heldmann, Meissner in Leipsic, Merzdorf, R. R. Fischer &c., who openly pronounced themselves in favor of continual progress, which should equal in degree the improvement and moral culture of the times. Among the members just mentioned was Br. Mossdorf of Dresden, so often misjudged, and yet deserving so well of his brethren. He was not at that time an active member of any lodge, and this honorable distinction was an act of indemnification manifested towards this deeply-injured brother, and that Brotherhood to whom he had generously sacrificed both time and intellect. Other German lodges besides Hamburg, made this day one of festivity. In Frankfort o. M., Br. G. Kloss, who was then Grand Master, delivered a speech; some remarks we will quote: "All those pleasant graces which adorned society in England and France, returned to Germany with Freemasonry, and the latter country was soon enabled to dispense with the assistance of foreigners and to make those glorious gifts the national property of her own sons.

"It is a remarkable attribute of Freemasonry, that she does not inquire after the religious belief of her disciples, but leaves this question entirely to the conscience of each individual. With most wonderful rapidity did Freemasonry spread itself in Germany, and the followers of every Christian sect hastened to her Temples and joined hands in this general alliance. A convincing proof, that Freemasonry had met an indispensable, long-felt requisite, and that in a most felicitous manner.

"It perhaps may not be irrelevant to observe, that in the first twenty years of its regeneration it was composed almost exclusively of members taken from the upper classes: military men, persons in official positions, and merchants belonged to it, but it was long before learned men joined it. Perhaps this may be regarded as a proof that the former had discovered in it a social point d'appui, whilst the latter reposing upon the ancient laurels of past ages, overlooked the stirring movement of the times which was seeking to establish a social condition of ever increasing perfection.

"The man of refined mind heightens his intellectual enjoyments by music, song, and rhetoric. Ask the learned man skilled in the art, of the quality of the music of that period, and he will tell you, that masonic musical compositions and performances were decidedly new and exceptional when compared with the style then customary in both. Many of these old masonic songs and melodies have been preserved to our day, and prove this.

"If we turn to the art of rhetoric, which through Freemasonry first came to be practised more generally in Germany, in contradistinction to that almost exclusive form of public oratory then known, — pulpit eloquence, we find a very large number of Freemason speeches which evidence the wonderful inspiration then infused into this art, transplanted from England: we find well-chosen themes, clothed according to the rules of art, draped with pleasing flights of fancy, and endowed with rich thought, often even extempore. These Freemason speeches chronologically arranged, would be a convincing proof to the candid inquirer of the benevolent, charitable, humanising, and Christian tone in which they were delivered.

"And this we may venture boldly to affirm, that the

very important services rendered by Freemasonry, in and for Germany, are: she has set up a neutral *locus standi*, on which the peace-loving Germans of all confessions may meet on terms of brotherly affection.

A well regulated consciousness of the worth of mankind, laid down with compass and rule, masonic liberty as regards the laws, masonic equality of all ranks and conditions while meeting in open lodge.

The purification of the social structure, the banishment of all coarseness and insubordination in word and deed.

The reanimation of convivial music and song. The revival of German national poetry, and the encouragement of dormant talent.

The establishment of a free, unconstrained system of elocution, thus powerfully assisting in the ennobling of German 'prose.' — —

This Festival united itself, in the following year, to one which was no less a joyous one; the secular celebration of the initiation of Frederick the Great to the Fraternity, emanating from the Grand National Mother Lodge "*zu den drei Weltkugeln in Berlin*", on the night between Aug. 14, and 15, 1838, under the conduct of the Grand Master Br. O'Etzel, as well as the Grand Lodge Royal York "*zur Freundschaft*".

German Freemasonry at the commencement of its second century of existence, had every where taken an upward flight; the complaints of lukewarmness and indifference gradually vanished, many were the grateful recognitions of the indefatigable assiduity of the members, and they were extolled accordingly.

A pleasing testimony to the love and sympathy of the Brethren were the different festivities which were celebrated by the lodges in Berlin (1840), Bayreuth, and

Leipsie (1841), Altenburg and Frankfort o. M. (1842) &c. on the occasion of their completion of the hundredth anniversary of their existence; their flourishing condition was further evidenced by the establishment of numerous new lodges, by the revival of many, whose works had long been suspended, and finally the far greater vigor shown in the literature of the Freemasons, especially in the newspaper department.

The appointment of representatives. Under the administration of Br. Cords, Grand Master in 1838, the Grand Lodge of Hamburg proposed that representatives of all Lodges should be appointed, who should sit and vote in the Grand Lodge, and report upon all important proceedings. This idea met with approval, and was soon carried into effect by the German Grand Lodges, who mutually exchanged an account of their proceedings.

The Grand Master Union in Berlin. Between the then Prussian Grand Lodges and their daughter lodges¹⁾ very friendly relations had almost involuntarily sprung up, which was manifested by a lively masonic intercourse, and by the mutual visits paid.

In order the better to stem the course of those misunderstandings and disagreements which spring up almost unconsciously in the lodges, the Grand Masters of the three Prussian Lodges viz: the National Grand Master, and the deputy National Grand Master, together with the Grand Master of Germany, Count Henkel von Donnersmark, and the deputy Grand Master of Germany, Br. von Selasinsky, who since 1838 had both filled those offices in the Grand Lodge of Germany, as well as the two Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge Royal York of Friendship, Br. Link and Br. Bever, and a Grand Keeper

¹⁾ See the history of the Grand National Mother Lodge etc., Berlin 1840. Page 98, which we copy almost verbatim.

of the Archives or Grand Secretary of each of the three lodges, Brothers Deter, di Dio, and Bier — met and founded Dec. 28, 1839, the Grand Masters' Union for mutual consultation upon important masonic questions, and for the strengthening of the friendly ties binding the lodges in Fatherland. The three Grand Lodges gave their full approbation to the erection of this Grand Masters' Union.

Initiation of the Prince of Prussia. In a conference of the Grand Masters' Union, which May 18, 1840, was held in the house of the Grand Lodge Royal York of Friendship, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Germany, Count Henkel von Donnersmark stated that Prince William of Prussia, son of His Majesty, king Frederick William III., had turned his special attention to Freemasonry, and thus having been made acquainted with the general tendencies of the Fraternity of Freemasons His Royal Highness felt a strong inclination to join himself to them, and would for this purpose submit the idea to the approval of his father, leaving His Majesty to decide for him. The king was pleased to signify his consent, with this proviso, that His Royal Highness should not belong to one Lodge alone, but to all three of the Freemasons' lodges, in the Prussian states, whatever their system, to assume Protectorship over them, and that a common proposition to this effect should be issued by the Prussian Lodges, and addressed to the Royal Prince.

The Grand Masters' Union being already in existence, there was no occasion for any delay, and it was at once determined to petition the Prince for a private audience. This was granted, and fixed for the following day, when May 22nd was selected as the day of his initiation, and it was left to the decision of the three Grand lodges, where it should take place.

To Br. Henkel von Donnersmark was confided the honor of arranging the solemn ceremonial. On the day appointed, in the Hall of the Grand lodge of Germany, the initiation was accomplished, in the presence of the Grand Officers of the three Grand Lodges, and the chairmen of the fifteen Berlin lodges.

Though the initiation of the Prince was so far of advantage to the Fraternity as it helped in making up certain differences, and provided the society with a common centre, yet it was not an absolutely necessary ingredient and had besides its doubtful side, which was, in the course of time, felt with all its weight of evil. Protection betokens submission, and such subjection can work no good to the confederation, and we must take into consideration the circumstance, that Royal brethren cannot but make their exalted position felt in the lodge, and thus affect the brotherly equality existing among the brethren.

The Constitution
of the Grand
Lodge "zu den
3 Weltkugeln."

The Grand National Mother lodge had, in 1838, revised her constitution, and made those alterations which were required by the times; in 1841, she determined — and this was progress indeed, — that the new statutes should be printed and given to each Master Mason. They were afterwards entrusted to each newly initiated Brother. An intelligent commentator¹⁾ says: "That there were everywhere rays of enlightened progress streaming through the whole, most important concessions were made to the spirit of the age and the increasing information which illuminated the brethren."

Communication
of the
High degrees.

A most important and praiseworthy step was taken at this time by the Grand Na-

1) Remarks of a Freemason (Krieg) on the statutes of the Grand National Mother lodge etc. Leipzig, 1841.

tional Mother Lodge, who even at the risk of not meeting with reciprocity on the part of the other lodges, confided to brethren of the two sister Grand Lodges the supposed secrets and the pretended treasures of knowledge of her high degrees, which compelled these latter likewise to divulge theirs. This not only at once led to a full mutual acknowledgment of the similarity of their systems, but it also paved the way to their reunion in the future.

The striving for
Unity in the
Fraternity. At a commemorative festival of the Lodge "Horus" in Breslau, the chairman, deputy Prov. Grand Master Br. Middeldorpf, made a speech on "Unity and concord in Freemasonry" ¹⁾, in which he showed, that unity accompanied by the richest variety, harmony combined with a thousand different tones, is the task assigned to Nature, so is it also the highest function of Freemasonry. This spirit of unity must permeate the whole of the Masonic brotherhood, which however by no means implies an unconditional similarity in outward ceremonial, as masonic unity especially refers to the aim of the Brotherhood which ought to be the same, viz: the promotion of the welfare of mankind. There can be but one Freemasonry, i. e. one art, which embraces a wider field of humanity than does even Church or state. The symbols in use may deviate from one another, if in essential particulars they remain the same. The Unity in Freemasonry paves the way to concord and harmony; the latter has lost ground, because the former has been lost sight of. However we regard the matter, a union is most desirable, were it only to be confined within the frontiers of one special country; it would impart new life and vigor to the Fraternity, making it strong and full of energy both within and

¹⁾ See Altenb. Newspaper for Freemasons. 1842. P. 437 etc.

without; increase its efficiency and promote its development.

Beginning of the
solving of the
so-called Jewish
question.

Towards the end of the year 1836, the question was mooted, if Freemasonry was general, and if persons who were not Christians, might belong to it. Br. Th. Merzdorf, Dr., gave a full and striking answer to this question, in a pamphlet entitled, "the symbols, laws, history, and aim of Freemasonry do not exclude any religion" (Leipzig, 1836). In September of that same year, twelve¹⁾ brethren of the Mosaic persuasion wrote to the three Berlin Grand Lodges from Wesel in a circular epistle²⁾, to submit to them the propriety of themselves and their brethren in the faith being admitted to the lodges working under the constitution of the Grand Lodges. In an especial circular letter they announced what they had done, to the daughter lodges, entreating them for their good word on the occasion. All three Grand Lodges replied in the negative; the Grand Lodge of Germany did not even style Br. Mayer brother, but Sir. The Lodge "Agrippina" in Cologne in a letter dated Jan. 24, 1838, warmly advocated the cause of the non-Christian brethren, and openly supported them in the assertion of their rights. The Grand Lodge of Hamburg not alone permitted their visits, but also had pronounced it as their decided opinion that the Israelites ought to be initiated into their lodges; the Grand Lodge of Saxony was of the same way of thinking, and when it was put to the vote in their lodges, according to the spirit and purpose of Freemasonry, the question was

¹⁾ Brothers J. Mayer in Wesel, M. Latz in Cleve, D. Herzog, Ad-Levison in Minden, A. Geber, S. Cohen in Süchteln, L. W. Hellwitz in Soest, David Binger in Süchteln, A. Romberg in Iserlohn, H. L. Hellwitz in Cologne, A. Gottschalk in Düsseldorf.

²⁾ See the Altenb. Newspaper for 1838, page 177 etc.

decided in the affirmative. The matter was likewise laid before the eclectic lodges. This induced Br. Cretzschmar to submit the question once more to a strict examination; the result was nobly and freely given by him in his pamphlet: "Systems of religion and Freemasonry examined in their mutual bearing to one another, compared with the design of the eclectic Fraternity &c." by Ph. Jac. Cretzschmar, Master of the lodge "Socrates" (Frankfort o. M., 1838). The eclectic Fraternity, in whose decision the author agrees, decided that the Israelites ought to be permitted initiation, but left it to the free will of the single lodges to continue to accept them or not, as they chose. Br. Blumenhagen's publication is conceived in the same spirit (Hanover, 1838), "Where is the Freemason's place amongst mankind?" The Grand lodge of Hanover also left it to the individual lodges to decide. This was the first step towards the solving of the question.

The disorders in
the eclectic Fraternity.

The including of the lodge "*Carl zum aufgehenden Lichte*" in the Eclectic Fraternity, before a perfect understanding had been obtained, sowed the seeds of most lamentable strife, which throve the more, because in that lodge positive Christianity was especially fostered, and in the Scotch degrees the transmigration of souls was taught; the design of Freemasonry, it was represented, was to ensure a more intimate intercourse with departed spirits, Christ, and God; indeed in a circular epistle of the year 1821, magic and mysticism are alleged ¹⁾ to be the real aim of Freemasonry.

The Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Fraternity had,

¹⁾ See R. R. Fischer's elaborate work on the eclectic disorders in the "*Maurerhalle*", IV Vol. 1845. P. 229 etc.

when engaged in remodelling her statute-book, sent to her daughter lodges a circumstantial declaration of that principle, the purely humane, one which had been acknowledged, worked out, and unanimously approved of by them, with the request, to return it, enlarged by remarks of their own that, when the statutes were finally edited, these likewise might be worked in with them. With the statute thus elucidated, most of the lodges signified themselves satisfied, but the lodge "Carl" in a circular letter pronounced her disapproval most decidedly. She declared that the Grand lodge, by bringing these forward, had overstepped the legal sphere of activity prescribed to her, and had very highly prejudiced that which of right was suitable for the lodges and which they were competent to undertake. The Grand Lodge replied to this complaint with the resolution of July 2, 1844, to the effect that the Lodge "Carl" should be cut off from the Eclectic Fraternity, because, contrary to her oath, she had been occupied with the adjustment of religious questions, had broken her treaty with the Grand Lodge by the infringement of the laws and the ritual, and had protested beforehand against a motion of the fraternity being decided by a majority of votes of the eclectic lodges.

The Establish-
ment of Grand
Lodges "zur Ein-
tracht" in Darm-
stadt.

The lodge "Carl" did not neglect to protest against these proceedings, and to entreat the Grand Lodge to forward them a statement of the grounds of complaint against them, which were communicated in a "Manifesto of the reasons which have compelled the Grand Lodge of the Eclectic Union to exclude her daughter lodge "Carl" in Frankfort from the Brotherhood." Shortly afterwards, a reply to this Manifesto appeared, which was certainly most cleverly put together, so that the superficial reader might be easily won over to think the lodge "Carl" in

the right; Br. R. R. Fischer, after closely examining¹⁾ it, discovered its weakness, and prized it for just as much as it was worth. But the step the Grand Lodge had taken, by no means met with general approbation, as it was thought the whole subject of dispute should have been more closely examined by a chosen committee, before resorting to such an extreme measure as the banishing them from the society. The lodges in Darmstadt and Mainz openly upbraided them for their conduct, and when a fruitless attempt had been made to accommodate matters, these lodges voluntarily left the Fraternity, joined the dismissed members, and with the approbation of the Grand Duke of Hesse, founded a new Grand Lodge in Darmstadt. A committee appointed for the purpose sketched out the "Outlines of a document for a society of Freemasons for Southern Germany."

This new and separate Fraternity declared²⁾ that Christian principles formed the basis on which they worked, and Masonic Equality and Liberty were the pillars on which their Temple was founded; the Ritual and Statute book, hitherto in use, were in all essential particulars retained. In March 1846, the statute book of the new Grand Lodge was completed and submitted to the inspection of the Grand Duke. He approved of it, and at once declared, that he would accept the patronage, which was proffered him. March 23, the officers belonging to the three allied lodges assembled and signified that the Grand Lodge of the society of Freemasons "*zur Eintracht*" was legally constituted, and they proceeded to elect Grand officers. Most of the Grand Lodges both German and foreign, immediately

1) See L. c. Page 328 etc.

2) See "Latomia", Vol. 8, page 30.

recognised the new sister, who was installed June 28. The Lodge "*Carl zum aufgehenden Licht*" was afterwards reunited to the Eclectic Union, and so highly distinguished herself and was so liberal in her views, that she may be looked upon as one of the best of the lodges.

Re-opening of
the Lodges in
Baden and Wür-
temberg.

Upon an order from the government in 1813, all the Lodges in the Grand Duchy of Baden were closed, and as there seemed no hope of their being speedily re-opened, many of the brethren were affiliated in the neighboring Lodges of Worms, Alzey, and Frankenthal, in which latter especially many of the inhabitants of Baden and Würtemberg were initiated. The brethren in Würtemberg surmounted ¹⁾ the difficulties in their way and founded in 1835 the Lodge "*Wilhelm zur aufgehenden Sonne*" in Stuttgart, which was followed by the re-opening of the lodge in Ulm and in 1840 that of the "3 Cedars" in Stuttgart.

In 1844 useless attempts were made to re-open the lodges in Baden, but the brethren there in the following year most unexpectedly attained nearer to the accomplishment of their wishes. In July 1845 the lodge "of the United Brethren" at Strasburg, issued an invitation to a Festival they had arranged in honor of the inauguration of the statue of Erwin von Steinbach, the architect of Strasburg Cathedral, the Grand Duke having readily granted his permission for the celebration of the ceremonial. This circumstance encouraged the brethren in Mannheim, to awake the Lodge "*Carl zur Eintracht*" to renewed activity, which occurred in 1846.

¹⁾ The request to recommence their Freemason works had been drawn up by Br. Krebs.

In the following year the Lodges in Carlsruhe and Freiburg were founded. All three lodges joined the Grand Lodge "*zur Sonne*" in Bayreuth.

3) From 1847—1850.

During the political struggles which had occurred, the German lodges had kept themselves aloof from all participation in them, and had especially striven to preserve Freemasonry as neutral ground, a peaceful retreat, pure and unadulterated. Yet the restless disquietude of the public mind could not but exercise some influence upon the Fraternity, for it brought more life and excitement into the interior of the lodges. The outcry for Reform was louder than ever, and the efforts made to secure unity in the kingdom of politics, inspired greater activity in the kingdom of Freemasonry. Their endeavors to rid themselves of the High degrees, became the more vigorous and energetic, the more they investigated the page of history, and proved without a doubt on what a sandy foundation they were erected, and what mischief they created. For the promotion of art and science, for the relief of misery and poverty — particularly during the years of scarcity 1846 and 1847 — either new institutions were founded, or those already existing were considerably improved and enlarged.

The masonic Congresses and social Festivals. The masonic congresses are a prominent feature in the history of this period, and are very remarkable demonstrations. The wish had long before arisen in the hearts of many, that a general assembly of all the lodges in Germany could be arranged, to secure greater unity in the dispersed lodges, and most unexpectedly this idea was made more practicable by the inauguration of the statue of Erwin, 1845. The brethren assembled in Steinbach, determined to hold

a yearly meeting in the month of August, which should last three days, and to summon all the Lodges to attend, for the purpose of conferring and coming to a proper understanding upon all those subjects which could promote the prosperity of the Order, draw the bonds of friendship and brotherly love closer, and keep up an active intercourse between the masonic lodges. The members of the lodge "of the United Friends" in Strasburg, issued an invitation for such a congress to take place between the 16th and 18th of August, which was pretty numerously attended, and opened and presided over by Br. Silbermann. Five questions, exclusively masonic were brought up for discussion; no debates took place.

The second Congress was held the third week in August 1847 in Stuttgart. In May the lodge "*Wilhelm zur aufgehenden Sonne*" in Stuttgart had despatched an invitation to her German sister lodges, enclosing a Programme which had to undergo terrible opposition. Some of the Brethren did not understand viewing the matter from a common-sense point of view, and attributed all sorts of purposes and designs to the contemplated assembly, or declared that it was trenching on the peculiar privileges of the Grand Lodges. The works were however continued with praiseworthy assiduity, and offered much that was interesting.

The third Congress took place in Basel, but was only visited by Swiss and Strasburg lodges, as the lodges in Darmstadt, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Carlsruhe, and Mühlhausen were prevented from attending partly from personal considerations, and partly from the breaking out of the republican movement in Upper Baden.

Other Lodges have established meetings among themselves, besides those just cited.

The solving of the Jewish disability question. The German Masons were, about this time, more or less occupied with the old disputed question whether men not professing Christianity should be admitted to sit in the lodges as members. The interchange of opinions which this question elicited, though, it must be confessed, not always delivered with that calmness and circumspection which ought to have been manifested, yet served to enlighten the views upon the subject, and brought the difficult question far nearer its solution. Several German Grand Lodges as for example the Eclectic at Frankfort o. M., the Grand National Mother lodge "*zu den drei Weltk.*" and the Grand Lodge "*Royal York zur Fr.*" in Berlin, pointed out to their daughter lodges, that they were to take special notice whether the visiting brethren were supplied with the necessary certificates, but to make no inquiries concerning their religious belief.

The outcry for Reform. The agitating year 1848 threatened single lodges, as for example those in Gera and Hildesheim, who apprehended being attacked by the excited multitude; less zeal was shown in the work of the lodge, and indeed the confederacy itself was weakened — in many places no initiations were consummated — but still the superior enlightenment pervading the majority, was also felt in the lodges. All desired ardently to see a complete alteration made. First, the Institution of the Grand Lodges was blamed, and particularly for the unjust dissensions in nine different Grand Lodges, with different constitutions, and different ways of working, and it was pointed out that because of the free privileges granted the order, no Prussian lodge could henceforth be compelled to acknowledge allegiance to three Berlin Grand Lodges. The excellent lodge "*Verschwisterung der Menschheit*" in Glauchau expressed her opinions concerning reform in this way: "Our brethren in France have taken a bold and successful step towards

the establishment of unity, which we hail with delight, and before the announcement of the deed was resounded in the German Freemason-Lodges, voices had been raised earnestly requesting that similar decisive measures might be had recourse to. We joyfully subscribe our acquiescence in this reasonable desire, because we so painfully miss the want of a right working in unison, and even the outward expressions of a correct conception of the idea. We therefore wish and pray most earnestly, that the Grand Lodges of single systems, and single lands and provinces, may accept this question for their consideration and clear the way for the carrying of it out. We shall by so doing materially promote unity and Liberty in the Fraternity.

“Unity may be endangered by unity itself, if it is sought to establish it in a partial and divided spirit, within narrow limits. Unfortunately this is already more or less the case everywhere, as Freemasonry has not alone different systems, but is as varied as the countries and nations who profess to belong to it. Let us, my well-beloved brethren, seek to equalise all these distinctions, by those expedients which the spirit of unity inspires, but not by adopting new ones! Therefore this unity after which we strive must be the unity of the whole Fraternity, but not a German or a French, or any other disjointed unity! Let us, my Brethren, erect bridges for the spiritual and intellectual intercourse of the whole world of Freemasonry. But we are far from declaring ourselves inimical to such a unity in our order which needs many members, in different parts of the world, closely bound together in an outward form in countries and states which especially promote such outward membership; and Freemason’s lodges of any single country, for example, Germany, ought first to establish an external association amongst themselves. But this first

step must not be taken, without securing that the following measures shall succeed each other in natural order, viz: that similar steps shall be taken by all Freemason's lodges, and that a continual intercourse shall be kept up between all the masonic lodges throughout the world, and this not alone for the establishment of inward and outward unity, but for the obtaining of a mutual working in common, in the future. —

“But we wish in this unity to preserve freedom — such a freedom as is the breath of life, and an imperative necessity for the upholding of a voluntary association, entered upon with purely spiritual and moral aims! May therefore the wished-for unity in the Fraternity only be realised, when all that we have just mentioned, shall remain steadily united and in active operation side by side! But there must not be a new power introduced into or over the order, not a regal government, for Freemasonry never can nor never will authorize any thing of the kind.”

The Provincial lodge of Silesia, perfectly agreed with Br. Steinbeck, their Grand Master, in his opinions stated in a pamphlet entitled: “The establishment of a General Grand Lodge of Germany”, and Br. F. Rosalino, Junior Warden of the Grand Mother Lodge of the Eclectic Union, made a similar proposition, Aug. 25, 1848: “A summons to the Grand Lodges and Lodges of Germany collectively, to issue invitations for the holding of a general Congress of German Freemasons.”

The Grand Lodge of Saxony did not rest satisfied with mere proposals, but put themselves at the head of the movement, by requesting the lodges working under her, to suggest any measures of reform which seemed the most desirable. This was attended with success, and the lodges in Bautzen, Chemnitz, Dresden, (*drei Schwer-*

ter), Leipzig (Apollo), and Zittau were especially zealous on the occasion. Though but few changes were made, and those but of little importance, to the honor of the Grand Lodge of Saxony be it said, that keeping pace with the spirit of the times, they put no obstacles in the way of progress, but sought, by constitutional reforms, to inspire the lodges with new life. The whole agitation for Reform and Unity crumbled to dust. It is true, that in the beginning of the year 1849 many voices sounded loud in this direction (Br. Leutbecher in Erlangen, the lodge in Glauchau &c.); but as the initiative was left to the Grand Lodges and political affairs damped the energies of all alike, nothing was effected, and not even an attempt was made. For instead of a progressive movement, great fears were apprehended as to the continuance of the Fraternity in Germany, and the question was raised how the lodges would have to act with regard to the politically compromised brethren, a question, which in accordance with the ancient principles of the royal art, and with the dignity of the Brotherhood has been long suitably answered, viz: that Freemasonry maintains neutrality to be her fundamental doctrine as indissolubly hers, as is brotherly love — but in a case like the present, they felt inclined to depart from it in favor of a very questionable prudence, and as we shall see, this in Prussia did actually take place.

Further Events of 1849—50. We will shortly review the other incidents occurring in 1849 and 1850; the lodges in Hof and Birkenfeld suspended their works for an indefinite period, and the lodge in Torgau, which had only just commenced operations, left their work untouched for a whole year; the lodges in Pesth (*Kossuth zur Morgenröthe*) and Vienna (*zum heil. Joseph*) had but a short existence; in Hamburg many Brethren broke off from all connection with the Grand Lodge of Germany, not

approving of their system, and formed two new Eclectic Lodges; in many lodges the diminution in their members was greater than the increase, and the number of those who withdrew their names was very considerable, many of whom altogether gave up their connection with the order, while the names of others were struck out of the lists for not paying their contribution. Masonic literature did not visibly increase, and what was printed found but few purchasers, and toward the end of the year 1850, the advocate Eckert commenced raising suspicions and complaints against the confederacy. Besides other charitable Institutions, the attempt made in Frankfort to found an Emigration Society for the protection and instruction of Emigrants on this side and beyond the Ocean, is one deserving notice, as very beneficial to the persons for whom it was intended.

4) From 1851—1865.

Scarcely had the agitated wave of public demonstration subsided, and affairs resumed their usual appearance, when the enemies of the Fraternity began to raise suspicions against its tendency and efficiency. Eckert, a barrister-at-law especially made Freemasonry the subject of the most violent attacks, and the most unfounded defamations, first in the conservative "*Freimüthige Sachsenzeitung*" and afterwards in some pamphlets; he repeated that long exploded accusation that Freemasonry was the hot-bed of all religious and ecclesiastical revolutions, and that she sought to overturn both Church and State. Preposterous as were these accusations, still they aroused the vigilance of the government, and caused many restrictions to be laid on the Fraternity. Great fears were entertained for the permanent existence of

the Brotherhood, and the superior powers introduced every possible precautionary measure, which could ward off the threatened danger. In Prussia the Edict of 1798 was brought into full force once more and again fixed twenty-five as the age for initiation. Although it had already been forbidden by law either to propose or accept any one as a Freemason, who had been accused of aiding and abetting high treason, and had not been acquitted, yet the Grand National Lodge of Berlin, most indiscreetly, sketched out a statute book, which would have incorporated the ideas of a Manteuffel into Freemasonry.

It is true the daughter lodges kept themselves clear of such monstrosities, and the plan had to be withdrawn, but it evidenced more clearly than any thing else, the prevailing tone of mind, and the wretched cringing spirit, which manifested itself in this Grand lodge, on this and similar occasions. In Leipsic there was an understanding between the three Masters of the Lodges on the one side, and the publisher and the editor of the Freemason's Newspaper ("*Freimaurer Zeitung*") on the other, they having declared the paper to be the official organ of the three lodges, it was yet subject to the strict censorship of the press, which office was exercised by the three Chairmen successively.

The accession of Princes. A favorable impression was produced on the minds of the enemies of the Fraternity, on the accession, Nov. 5, 1853, of Prince Frederick William of Prussia to the Order, who was introduced by his father, and was initiated into Freemasonry by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Germany. The noble prince Henry LXVII. of Reuss had been made a Mason in 1852, in the Lodge "Archimedes" at Gera, and his example was followed in 1857 by King George V of Hanover, and Duke Ernest II of Coburg-Gotha; the

former became the head of the Grand Lodge in his own land, and the latter of the lodge "*Ernst zum Compass*" in Gotha. The assumption of office by the King of Hanover was however no such immediate blessing, as it was purchased with too great a sacrifice. For before his initiation he commanded the lodge "*zum grossen Christoph*" in Stade, and those too in Goslar and Osnabrück, hitherto working under Prussian Grand Lodges, to join the Grand Lodge of the kingdom, urging on them and all other lodges to apostatize from genuine Freemasonry, and to accept the so-called Christian principles, which forbade the initiation of non-Christians. The Grand lodge of Hanover was also weak enough to suit their convictions to the wishes of the King. The lodge "*zum grossen Christoph*" in Stade alone preferred suspending operations, to submitting against their better judgment to unmasonic despotism.

Upward flight of
German Freema-
sonry.

The political events somewhat obscuring Freemasonry, when removed, caused a reaction to take place about this time, and this more decided impression in its favor brought on the Fraternity likewise the ill-will and jealousy of its enemies represented by Hengstenberg and his adherents in the Ecclesiastical Newspaper "*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*", which drew forth in 1854—55 several writings in return. The year 1855 was likewise distinguished by the founding of many new lodges, and the growth and increase of a more active intellectual life. It is true that the "*Bruderblätter*" published in Altenburg were discontinued, and the "*Latomia*", after sending forth one volume in 1854, underwent the same fate, but then as a compensation the Freemasons' Newspaper, under the editorship of Br. Mor. Zille, was continued, and in 1858 the "*Latomia*" re-awoke to new life and vigor, and by the author of this History, "*die Bauhütte*" was given out, which met

with unprecedented success, obtaining many contributions from able pens, which elicited for German Freemasonry more marked attention all over the continent, than it had hitherto enjoyed.

From 1859—1861. In the period from 1859—1861, the number of Brethren and lodges was considerably increased, and also masonic literature has been substantially benefited by the interesting and inherent excellence of the writings of Seydel, W. Keller, Winzer, J. Schauberg, Marbach, Merzdorf, Zille, and others. If we except a few unpleasant examples, all that has occurred both within and around the lodges testifies to the prosperous condition of the Brotherhood. In 1859 no fewer than nine new lodges were founded, and in 1860 there were five, without taking into account the existence of several older clubs or social masonic meetings, and the establishment of new ones. In conformity to the more modern system of intercourse, the single lodges of Germany became more closely united to one another, the annual Festivals in May, which took place in Kösen, Heidelberg, Bingen, Heilbronn, Ludwigsburg &c. and also the Union lodges, offered every facility in this respect. Many German Grand lodges became more nearly bound together in the bonds of brotherly love amongst themselves and with foreign Grand lodges, by being mutually represented in each other's Grand lodges. The four Hessian lodges at Alzey, Giessen, Offenbach, and Worms, which till now had belonged to the Eclectic Union, were in 1860 at the command of the Grand Duke compelled¹⁾ to join the Grand Lodge "*zur Eintracht*" in Darmstadt; but they nevertheless retained an isolated position, continuing to adhere to the principle of universality, not recognized by the Darmstadt Grand Lodge with respect to Non-Christians.

¹⁾ See the history of the annexation in the *Bauhütte* 1861. Page 60 etc.

Many institutions for benevolent purposes were established. An attempt to call into existence a general German Widows' and Orphans' Asylum failed to meet with success, but Br. Schauberg's proposition to found a Society of German Freemasons, with annual meetings in different places, was well received. On Fichte's 99th birthday May 19, 1861, the founding of it in the Lodge "*Teutonia zur Weisheit*" was happily accomplished at Potsdam, Br. Fr. Wilh. Puhmann in the Clair. The aim of this Society is the advancement of masonic science in all its comprehensiveness, and the establishment of every thing which can tend to promote the prosperity of the Order, and draw the members more closely together in the bonds of friendship and brotherly love. The whole worth and importance of this undertaking cannot be taken in at a glance, but it is most certainly admirably adapted to be of service to the Institution, and will in time become the practical representative of the unity of German Freemasonry, and the natural centre of mutual deeds of love and unremitting activity. At the end of the year 1862 the lodge "*zur edlen Aussicht*" in Freiburg im Breisgau at the instigation of Br. Trentowski, once more agitated the Reform question, which was freely discussed in the masonic Newspapers, as well as in the "Society of German Freemasons". The latter sought to create a German Masonic congress, which however on account of the opposition of the Prussian Grand Lodges, the Freemasons' Newspaper, and the general indifference upon the subject, came to nought, and even now the Reform question is not yet ripe for execution. But the excitement kept up on the subject by the society and the press, produced this effect that many Grand Lodges, Bayreuth, Frankfort o. M. &c., set about a revision of their constitutions, and at last in 1865, the Grand Lodge of Hamburg took the decisive step of changing the indirect

representation of the lodges at the Grand Lodge, for the more direct and effective one, of deputies chosen by vote, a step which must be ultimately crowned with signal success. At first many Grand Lodges (Saxony and Hanover) sought to hinder the Reform movement by gagging the Masonic press, especially by inveighing against the "*Bauhütte*", and by the reviving of forms of censorship which had fallen into disuse in Prussia, Saxony, Hamburg; and Hanover, but all in vain. — The Society of German Masons, though at its birth it had to contend against much distrust, has at length become better understood, the number of its friends and members, as well as its collections, (coins, seals, books &c.) is visibly on the increase. —

There now exist in Germany 300 St. John's Lodges. Two of them belong to foreign Grand Lodges viz: the lodge "*Carl zum Felsen*" in Altona, affiliated with the Grand Lodge of Denmark, and the lodge "*zur aufgehenden Morgenröthe*" in Frankfort o. M. to the Grand Lodge of England; — five Lodges are independent, viz: two in Leipsic, and one in each of the towns Altenburg, Gera, and Hildburghausen; — the rest of the lodges are distributed amongst the following ten Grand lodges: 1) The Grand National Mother Lodge "*zu den 3 Weltkugeln*" in Berlin with 102 lodges; 2) The Grand lodge of Germany in Berlin, with 68; 3) The Grand Lodge Royal York in Berlin with 29; 4) The Gr. L. of Hamburg with 21, (besides which she has a daughter in Brooklyn, in New York, in Joinville in Brasil, and Constantinople, in all 25; 5) The Grand Lodge "*zur Sonne*" in Bayreuth with 13; 6) The Grand Lodge of Saxony with 17; 7) The Mother Lodge of the Eclectic Union in Frankfort o. M. with 10; 8) The Gr. L. of Hanover with 23; 9) The Gr. L. "*zur Eintracht*" in Darmstadt with 8; 10) The Suprême Conseil at Luxemburg with two Lodges.

F. Freemasonry in the North.

a) Belgium.

When in 1814 French dominion ceased, the Gr. Orient in Paris likewise discontinued the exercise of supreme power there, and the Lodges in Belgium experienced the need of forming an alliance somewhere; and after manifold debates on the subject, a meeting of deputies was called together in 1817, for the purpose of establishing a Grand Orient. But it was not successful. In the same year however, Prince Frederick of the Netherlands with the approbation of the King, and in the name of the Grand Lodge of Holland, invited the Belgian lodges to lay the foundation of a general centre,¹⁾ a proposal, which after a little altercation was agreed to Dec. 11, 1817. The Grand Lodge was formed into three divisions, a superior Council, an administrative power in the northern, and another in the southern provinces, which had their several Provincial Grand Lodges in the Hague and in Brussels, appointed in 1818.

After the separation of Belgium from the Netherlands in 1830, the latter demanded to be made perfectly independent of the other. In a meeting convened February 25, 1833, in which however but four lodges were represented, a revision of the constitution was determined on, and the Lodges were invited to appoint nine deputies, who for the space of three years should compose the Grand Orient. This took place accordingly, and May 13, 1833, the representatives produced their credentials, and as there were very good reasons why it was not desirable just then, to choose a Grand Master,

¹⁾ See "Latomia", II. Page 191 and *Allg. Handb. der Frmrei.* Page 93.

Br. J. de Frêne was made Senior Warden, with the request to take upon himself the conduct of the Grand Lodge. Most of the Belgian Lodges joined this new community, who placed themselves under the protection of King Leopold, and March 1, 1835, elected Baron Goswig John A. van Stassart to be their Grand Master. This nomination was joyfully hailed by all the Lodges, with the exception of some few in Ghent, who wished to remain constant to the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands; in 1836 these were therefore declared irregular lodges. The Statutes of the Gr. Orient, which were ratified in 1838, had exclusive reference to the symbolic degrees, whilst the High Degrees, which had been introduced into the Belgian Lodges, were under the guidance of a *Suprême Conseil* of the so-called Scottish Rite, constituted in 1817.

When in 1841, Br. van Stassart resigned his office, Br. Eugène Defacqz d'Ath, a counsellor in the court of cassation, was unanimously chosen Grand Master in his place, being a man eminently distinguished for his firmness of character, sagacity and high moral virtues. Br. Theodor Verhaegen, barrister-at-law, and President of the Chamber of Representatives, was made deputy Grand Master.

Even in Belgium the brethren did not remain unmolested by their implacable foes, the Jesuits. In 1837 they were oppressed hard by the malignant and uncalled-for attacks of the Bishops, especially by the Bishop de Bonnel at Liège, against whom they defended themselves so successfully, that the masonic meetings were more numerously attended than ever, and new Lodges were formed. These manifestations of ill will gave occasion to the establishment of schools which were under the protection and superintendence of the Lodges, so that instruction might not be left entirely

in the hands of the clergy; churchyards were likewise laid out, to withdraw the brethren at their funerals from the intolerant spirit of the ecclesiastics. In 1845, the Bishop of Luxemburg once more hurled a thunder of excommunication against the Freemasons, denying to them the consolations of religion, and the minister Nothomb, an apostate from Freemasonry, and a friend of the Jesuits, openly accused the Brotherhood, alleging that the Belgian Freemasons, aided and abetted by their Grand Master Defacqz, had caused the Swiss to rise up against the Jesuits. Br. Defacqz, with the consent of the Gr. Orient, defended himself against this absurd reproach, in a letter ¹⁾ which was very widely circulated, wherein he disclosed the ambitious plans, the abominable subterfuges of the Jesuits, and the real motives of this ministerial accusation, being nothing more than an electioneering manoeuvre. The intended blow was happily warded off by this eloquent and powerful pamphlet, which excited general attention; it exercised such a remarkable influence upon the elections which took place shortly afterwards, that the minister was compelled to withdraw, and the Jesuits were driven to defend themselves. Nevertheless, both openly and in secret, did they continue to fight against Freemasonry, being desirous of usurping as much authority in the state as they possibly could. While things were in this state, the deputy Grand Master Br. Verhaegen on St. John's Festival 1854, in a speech which met with general approval, started the question: "Do you know, what you want?" giving it as his opinion that the consideration of important political questions could no longer be evaded; and that, as the prohibiting of politics and

¹⁾ See a German translation of this letter in *Latonia*, Vol. VII, page 85 etc.

religion in the Lodges, was a regulation emanating from the Grand Lodge, and not contained in the general statutes, a decree of the Grand Lodge could equally well repeal it. Verhaegen's speech soon appeared in a printed form, and excited in the Belgian and German masonic world a general agitation; most of the German Grand Lodges protested against this tampering with the fundamental principles of Freemasonry, broke off all intercourse with the Grand Orient, and actually forbid reciprocal visits to take place. The *Suprême Conseil*, which worked in the Scottish rite, independent of the Gr. Orient, did not however subscribe to these innovations, but signified to the lodges under her, her firm intention of maintaining inviolate the unadulterated maxims of genuine Freemasonry. Many lodges in consequence joined themselves to this community, with which the foreign Grand Lodges stood intimately associated, or at any rate became so shortly afterwards.

A close connection was re-established between the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands and the Belgian Grand Orient in 1861. The Lodge *l'Union Royale* in the Hague, solemnised March 13, the birthday of their National Grand Master Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, and a deputation of the lodge *les Amis philanthropes* at Brussels, with the Grand Master Verhaegen ¹⁾ at their

1) Peter Theodor Verhaegen, a man who was distinguished alike for the qualities of his mind and for his kindly disposition, Belgium's great citizen, was born in Brussels in 1796, and died in 1863, beginning his career as a barrister-at-law in 1819. He was the founder, and up to the period of his death the superintendent of the "Free University" in Brussels, and in 1837, represented his native city in the Chamber, where he labored most indefatigably to promote justice and freedom, art and science, the liberty of the press and the toleration of all forms of worship. In 1847, he founded the "*Association libérale*", over which, for many years, he exercised a beneficial influence. As President

head, took this opportunity to make a collection for those unfortunate persons who had suffered from the fearful inundations, which brought in more than 4000 francs. The Belgian Masons met everywhere with an unprecedentedly warm reception; each of them received from the Grand Master of the Netherlands, a coin, having his likeness stamped on it¹⁾, and they on their part, did not fail to show their appreciation of this attention, by inviting him to Brussels. The Fraternization Festival which was celebrated in the June of that same year, between the North and South, was a most brilliant affair, and will probably be the inducement to a more permanent brotherly union in time to come.

The *Suprême Conseil* in Brussels keeps up brotherly intercourse with the Gr. Orient there, so that the members of the latter, as being possessed of the High degrees, are considered as belonging on this account to the former.

Under the jurisdiction of the *Suprême Conseil* of Belgium were in 1860 the following daughter lodges: 1) *les amis du commerce et la persévérance réunis* in Antwerp; — 2) *les élèves de Thémis* in Antwerp; — 3) *l'union militaire* in Beverloo; — 4) *les vrais amis de l'union*; — 5) *les amis philanthropes*; — 6) *les amis de l'ordre*, all three in Brussels; — 7) *l'avenir et l'industrie* in Charleroi; — 8) *la fidélité* in Ghent; — 9) *la par-*

of the Chambers he evinced his impartiality in the most signal manner. Full of self-sacrifice when the welfare of mankind was at stake, strikingly eloquent, bold and versatile, beneficent towards the poor, Verhaegen was a popular man in the noblest and most comprehensive adaptation of the word; he was beloved by his friends and by the people, and esteemed even by his opponents. On his death he left his large fortune either to the "Free University", or to some other equally benevolent institution.

²⁾ See "*Bauhütte*", 1861, page 117 and 223.

faite union in Mons; — 10) *les frères réunis* in Mons; — 11) *la régénération* in Mechelen; — 12) *l'espérance* in Ostend; — 13) *les frères réunis* in Tournay.

b) The Netherlands.

In May, 1814, the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands summoned all the lodges under her jurisdiction, which were constituted in France, to change their warrants for Dutch ones. In the same year, Br. M. H. Reepmaker was elected Grand Master, who was succeeded in 1816 by Prince Frederick of the Netherlands. We have already mentioned what arrangement he entered into with the Belgian lodges. Under his cautious administration, the Netherlandic lodges continued their operations without any marked occurrence, while the benefits of Freemasonry, were made more accessible by the erection of new lodges, in the transatlantic colonies.

In 1816, Prince Frederick received a packet of papers, and amongst them a letter written in a woman's hand, and signed C. née von T. in which it was announced that the enclosed papers had been found amongst the manuscripts left by her father on his demise, and which had been always most carefully preserved by him; she believed he had received them from Mr. van Boetzelaar. Another tradition maintains that these papers had been long in the possession of the family von Wassenaar. In the packet, there were, together with some few unimportant writings, the following: 1) The so-called Charter of Cologne, i. e. a document, signed by 19 Master-Masons in Cologne, June 24, 1535, in cipher, on parchment; 2) The minutes of a lodge, supposed to have existed in the Hague from 1519—1638, *het Vrededall* or *Frederick's Vredendall*, and written in Dutch. If these documents had been proved to be

genuine, which was not the case, it would completely have overthrown the aim and design of Freemasonry, as well as the result of historical researches; for the aim and purpose of the Brotherhood would then have been the maintenance and propagation of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and the history of the order would have been traced farther back than the time of the Crusades. Kloss remarks: "Here it is proved that all Masons in this sublunary sphere have been, since the year 1717, employing spurious rituals, customs, and laws, while the want of genuine rituals continued to be felt, and by acknowledging the authenticity of this Cologne document, an unknown Grand Master as superior would have to be acknowledged, and the High Degrees would of necessity have to be accepted, because supported by historical tradition."

The Grand Master of the Netherlands, Prince Frederick, had copies of these documents made, sent the Latin text with a Dutch translation to all the Netherlandic lodges in 1818, and had likewise the documents closely investigated by competent judges, who immediately raised doubts as to their genuineness. Notwithstanding this, some of the lodges in the Netherlands believed in them. The first German translation appeared in Br. Heldmann's. "The three most ancient memorials of the German Freemason-Fraternity" (Aarau, 1819). In Germany, Stieglitz, Prof. Heeren at Göttingen, Krause, and Mossdorf (Lenning's Encycl.) immediately pronounced sentence against them, which was confirmed by more recent investigation.¹⁾

Immediately upon the separation of the South in 1830, a certain cause of strife arose between the Belgian

¹⁾ See Appendix upon the Charter of Cologne and the proofs of its being spurious.

and Netherlandic Lodges, which in 1837, was happily adjusted.

In 1847, several brethren in Amsterdam, Br. M. S. Polak at their head, being discontented with the state of Masonic affairs then prevailing, and penetrated with the conviction that reforms should be set on foot, requested of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands the grant of a constitution to establish a new lodge under the name *Post nubila lux*, which however was not accorded them. They continued to work as an isolated Lodge.

The Grand Lodge of the Netherlands, which in 1863, numbered 50 Lodges, 38 in the mother country, and the rest in the colonies, tolerates the High degrees, without actually advancing them. The greater number of the Lodges works in the St. John's degrees, or at most in the reformed High degrees of Prince Frederick. Besides the Grand Master, there are the following deputy Grand Masters a) for the symbolic degrees, b) for the higher ones, c) for the Master's degree, d) for the East and West portion of the East Indies belonging to the Netherlands, e) for the portion of the West Indies belonging to the Netherlands, f) for the lodges established along the African coast.

c) Denmark.

The Landgrave Charles of Hesse erected¹⁾ two high degrees in 1819, under the name of a Scotch Lodge "Charles of the Lion", and a Directory, presided over by the well-known lord high-chamberlain von Hauck.

After the death of the Landgrave, the Crown prince, subsequently King Christian VIII., assumed the Pro-

¹⁾ See C. Otto in the "*Bauhütte*", L. c.
Findel, History of Freemasonry.

tection of the Danish Lodges, and manifested such genuine love for the Brotherhood, as will render him for ever memorable. In 1848, he died and left the Protectorship in the hands of the King, who, when Crown Prince, had been initiated in the lodge "Maria of the 3 Hearts" in Odensee, and in 1841 had joined the Lodge "Zorobabel". To his zeal for Freemasonry in Denmark do the Fraternity owe their present prosperity in that country; he likewise introduced the Zinnendorf (Swedish) rite (its solemn inauguration took place Jan. 6, 1855), and promoted the union of the two Copenhagen Lodges into one, under the name of "Zorobabel and Frederick of the crowned Hope". The second division of the system, the St. Andrew's Lodge, was erected two years later in Helsingör and Copenhagen, and the third division, the Chapter, in Nov. 1864, in the castle of Fredericksborg. The Danish Grand Lodge (of the 8th province) was formed at the same period.

In the Chapter, which up to the present time only works in the 7th and 8th degrees, the King himself was Grand Master; in the St. Andrew's Lodge "*Cubus Friderici septimi*", the Police director, Br. Brästrup; in the St. John's Lodge, Br. Charles Otto, M. D.

The Grand Lodge of Denmark, which since the death of King Frederick VII. has been presided over by Br. Brästrup, numbers five St. John's lodges, which are in Copenhagen, Aalberg, Altona, Helsingör and Odensee.

d) Sweden.

Sweden has in modern times kept herself so strictly secluded from the rest of the Masonic world, that the masonic periodicals of Germany have not been for several decenniums, in a position to communicate any

thing concerning the lodges there; we must therefore confine ourselves to a few unimportant particulars.

In 1818, Prince Oscar (who ascended the throne in 1844), was made Grand Master in the Swedish Grand Lodge. During his administration, the reunion of this lodge with that of the Grand Lodge of Germany at Berlin, took place, as has been already mentioned. In 1859, after the death of Oscar I., the present King Charles XV. succeeded his father in the office of Grand Master.

Under the Grand Lodge of Sweden, whose present Grand Master is the hereditary Prince Oscar Frederick, are three provincial lodges, two Stuart lodges, seven St. Andrew lodges, and twelve St. John's lodges.

c) Poland.

The Grand Orient of Poland resumed her operations March 11, 1814, and March 12, a solemn Funeral lodge was arranged in honor of Prince J. Poniatowski, who was drowned at Leipzig, when fighting for his Fatherland. Subsequent to this, nothing worth communicating has occurred, unless we except the founding of new lodges, and the commencement of a brotherly correspondence with the Russian Grand Lodge "Asträä" in 1816. When, in 1822, a decree of the Emperor Alexander, strictly prohibited all secret societies, the Brethren in Poland, though deeply grieved, yet submissively closed their lodges, which since then have remained constantly shut.

f) Russia.

The dissimilarity of the two rites, or rather the impossibility of reconciling the claims of the possessors

of the high degrees, and the representatives of the St. John's Lodges, caused the wish to become general, that the Directory lodge should be entirely dissolved. The proposition was made, whether it would not be advisable to cancel the treaty, and permit each lodge to work under whatever ritual she chose. This proposal met with acceptance in 1815, but subject to certain limitations, viz: that only such rites should be adopted, as had been acknowledged by other Grand Lodges.¹⁾ The Lodges "Elisabeth", "Alexander", and "*des amis réunis*" remained true to the united lodges, but those "of the three Columns" in Kiew, St. Michael, and Palestine in Petersburg, Neptune in Kronstadt, and Isis in Reval (the two latter had again become active), worked upon Schröder's system. Some few lodges joined these in 1817.²⁾

With the approval of the government, two Grand Lodges, independent of each other, supplied the position formerly occupied by the Grand Lodge "Wladimir, the Patron of Order", these were, the Asträa in Petersburg, and a Provincial Lodge, which latter was faithful to the Swedish rite. The constitution of the Grand Lodge "Asträa", was founded on the principle of the toleration of all acknowledged systems, on the perfect equality of the representatives of each single lodge in the Grand Lodge, on the election of all lodge

1) See A. F. Polick, History of Russia in the "*Bauhütte*", 1862, No. 20 etc.; also "*Latomia*", XIII, page 167.

2) Br. Polick remarks that four Select Unions were in operation in Russia, viz: two in Petersburg, one in Reval, and one in Kronstadt. In 1818 they ceased to work in the Schröder system, and this was at the suggestion of the general Chapter of the High degrees in Petersburg, which had arisen in 1818, and was intended to form a central community for those superior divisions which differed from that acknowledged by the Gr. L. "Asträa"

officers by vote, and on the non-intervention of the Grand Lodge in the affairs of those lodges which had adopted the high degrees.¹⁾ Count Mussin-Putschkin-Bruce was again elected Grand Master. Polick says that in 1819, 23 lodges belonged to this Grand Lodge, whilst only 11 were working under the Provincial lodge. Amongst the lodges of this latter, there was such confusion, that in Moscow the use of two Wilhelmsbad deeds was permitted, and the Lodges disputed, which was the right one. In spite of all this, Freemasonry increased rapidly in Russia, until suddenly and most unexpectedly, a decree²⁾ of the Emperor Alexander to the Minister Count Kotschubey, issued Aug. 12, 1822, ordained that all Freemason lodges³⁾ should be closed, and no others permitted to be founded. This was like a flash of lightning in a serene sky, which struck the Russian brethren painfully and severely. The then state of Poland is alleged as a reason for this. The innocent Freemasons of Russia calmly obeyed the command of their monarch.

¹⁾ See the constitution of this Gr. L. in the new Freemason Pocket Book for 1817. Freiherg. Page 156.

²⁾ See "Latomia", L. c.

³⁾ There were then lodges in Reval, Kronstadt, Theodosia, Zitomir, Simbirsk, Pultawa, Mitau, Jamburg, Bialystock, Tomsk, Kamnick, Kiew, Moscow, Odessa, Vologda etc.

G. Freemasonry in the South.

a) Switzerland.

Many brethren of various Orients in Switzerland, ardently longed for a union of the Swiss lodges, and sometimes this wish was expressed in propositions for a general Widows' and Orphans' Fund, and sometimes in agitating the propriety of a general fund for the support of poor but talented young men. An attempt made in 1812, to unite all the lodges in Switzerland, under one superior body, was shipwrecked owing to the obstinacy of the Scottish Directory, which made the acceptance of the Scotch rectified rite the irrevocable condition of an annexation. — The lodge "*zur Hoffnung*" in Bern would not agree to this, for she found this system opposed to the pure, unadulterated teaching of the Brotherhood, and their constitution unfavorable to liberty. After the political transformation France had undergone, the Grand Orient there gave up her affiliation with foreign lodges, and the Brethren in 1816 considered it advisable to repeat their attempts to bring about a union, and were indeed even prepared to accept the Scottish rite, if the Swiss Directory, who in the place of the Grand Master (deceased) had elected in 1817, Br. Casp. Ott, and had in 1818 removed to Zürich, declared their complete independence of foreign jurisdiction. Under these circumstances the lodge "*zur Hoffnung*", which was almost entirely isolated, turned to England in 1818, and received from the Grand Lodge there not only a constitution but also a warrant to constitute herself an English Provincial Grand Lodge. Br. Peter Ludw. von Tavel of Kravningen was installed as Prov. Grand Master in 1819. In 1820, 19 Lodges were working in Switzerland, some under the

Scotch Directory, or else under the *Gr. Or. helv. roman*, some under the English Provincial Grand Lodge, and others under the Gr. Orient of France; two of these Lodges soon united themselves into one. In 1821, the masonic swindlers, the brothers Bedarride travelled through Switzerland, to smuggle in their Rite Misraim with its 90 degrees, and actually founded two lodges in Geneva and Lausanne, declared by the *Gr. Or. helvét. roman* to be irregularly constituted. In consequence disputes arose in the Gr. Or., and it came out that unfortunately the Grand Master Bergier himself had been initiated into these 90 degrees.¹⁾ He declared the Gr. Orient to be dissolved, and sought to appropriate to himself the power they had enjoyed, whereupon the Gr. Or. had recourse to the English Prov. Grand Lodge in Bern, who joyfully seized this as a pretext for the laying the foundation of an independent Grand Lodge of Switzerland. But on the other hand, after the death of the Grand Master R. Ott, the Scottish Directory in Zurich, wishing to preserve to herself certain privileges and her present system of working, declared itself against this proposal. However in 1822, a treaty of union was agreed upon between the *Gr. Or. helvét. roman* and the English Prov.-Grand Lodge, in consequence of which both communities were dissolved, and became blended into one Grand Lodge of Switzerland. They then declared themselves independent, worked according to the ritual of the Grand Lodge of England, refused to acknowledge the High Degrees, but tolerated all systems. Br. von Tavel was elected Grand Master for life. This Grand Lodge was only founded by eight lodges, but she received additional strength, as many lodges in western Switzerland joined her, and new ones were formed.

¹⁾ See Asträa 1850, Page 186 and 207 etc. Latomia. Vol. V Page 178. Rebold Histoire Page 190.

"Silently and undisturbed", says Br. Zschokke, "did these Swiss lodges continue to work till about 1829. But this long rest weakened her powers. Many complaints were heard of the lukewarmness of the Brethren, and the lodge in St. Gallen ceased working entirely. Even the Directory seemed to have fallen asleep. It kept up no communication with its dependent lodges, which latter on their part seldom gave their sister lodges tokens of their existence by fraternal circular epistles, but were satisfied with working quietly and independently in their own narrow circle, and fulfilling their duties toward the other lodges and the profane world. The rectified Scottish system did not exist anywhere except in Switzerland. There was no General Grand Master, no Superior Master of the Vth Province, no Helvetic Grand Prior, and the Swiss-Directory was nothing more than a perfectly independent community, and withdrew from all contact not alone with the foreign Grand Orients, but likewise from the Grand Lodge of Switzerland. When in 1829 the Grand Master Br. Sarasin laid down his office, and Br. J. J. Escher, President of the Court of Justice in Zurich, was chosen in his stead, it was fondly hoped, that the Directory, newly-formed in that place, would bring out greater activity in the Lodges, — but the hope was vain."

"The Grand Lodge of Bern showed much more life, for they kept up a regular correspondence with their lodges, and almost every year communicated to them interesting reports touching the efficiency of the single lodges, of the interchange of letters with foreign Orients and lodges, and of the condition of Freemasonry in general, which was calculated to strengthen their sympathies for Freemasonry, and to animate them to greater zeal in the cause."

June 14, 1830, the Grand Master Br. von Tavel

died, and then the union of the Swiss Lodges was once more made an open question, but again frustrated, partly on account of the unfavorable light in which the Directory viewed the subject, and partly because political occurrences caused great lukewarmness to be manifested. In 1836 the lodge *Modestia cum Libertate* were about to celebrate the 25th anniversary of their existence, the Brethren in Zurich seized the occasion to invite all the lodges, whatever their rites, to be present at the Festival, for the purpose of stirring up masonic life in Switzerland, and of uniting the Brethren more closely in the bonds of personal friendship. — They were of opinion, that just at that critical juncture of mental intelligence, when materialism was in the ascendant, and the views one-sided, when great demands were made on every man by his individual calling, the poetry of life, as well as the elevation of the intellectual faculties ought not to be extinguished; Freemasonry was a promoter of all that was good and beautiful, in every sphere of human life, raising the sinking courage of the fluttering heart, assuaging the sufferings of an agitated period, reconciling the diverse opinions of Brethren and confederates at variance, for in all these points and many others she exercised a beneficial influence. At this Festival, which was most numerously attended, the wish was fervently expressed, that more intimate relations might be kept up throughout the lodges in Switzerland, by the repetition of similar meetings in the future, and it was unanimously resolved to arrange such erratic gatherings of Swiss Freemasons to take place every two years. In pursuance of this resolution, such a reunion was assembled in Bern, in 1838, and in Basel, in 1840, where Br. Jung, chairman of the Lodge in Basel, did much towards the promotion of concord, and the project which he laid before the brethren, made a firm foundation whereon

was built subsequently the Temple of Unity in Swiss Freemasonry. In Basel this idea of union took firm root in the soil, for the assembled deputies formed a committee of three of the most distinguished brethren from different Orients, (Jung of Basel, Hottinger of Zurich, and Tribolet of Bern,) who were charged to collect the laws and rituals of the lodges in their native land, and to discuss the most suitable means and appropriate form of binding the Swiss lodges more indissolubly together. This troublesome task was willingly undertaken by the above mentioned Brethren, as Brother Jung said, "in the joyful hope that the work begun in Zurich and considerably advanced by the conferences in Bern and Basel, would be perfected in the next convocation in the Lodge at Locle." This hope was not realised in 1842, though at the festivals held at Locle and Chaux-de-Fonds the preliminaries of a confederacy between the Lodges was deliberated and approved of by almost all the lodges in Switzerland.

The great and important work of preparing a rough draught of the statutes of the Grand Lodge, was undertaken by Br. Gysi-Schinz in Zurich, who with indefatigable perseverance soon completed his work, and handed it over to the lodge for their approval. When these latter had signified their assent to the project, it was despatched to the Scottish Directory, and to the Administrative council in Bern, who both bestowed on it their unqualified approbation, and immediately expressed their readiness, to resign the authority vested in them in favor of the new Grand Lodge about to be founded. At length, June 11, 1843, seven brethren from Basel, Bern, and Zurich, formed a committee in Aarau, and when they had signified their approbation of the project, it was immediately printed in the German and French languages, and sent to all the Swiss Lodges, acknow-

ledging the rectified Scottish and English systems, and these latter by accepting it unconditionally, testified their willingness to join the confederacy.

June 22, 1844, was the day appointed by the Lodges in Zurich and Winterthur for the Festival, to which the Swiss Lodges had been invited. Delegates from the lodges in Aarau, Aubonnè, Basel, Bern, Bex, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Amitié and Prudence in Geneva, Lausanne, Locle, Neuenburg, Vivis, Winterthur, and Zurich, together with the administrative council of the Grand Lodge, and the Ancient Scottish Directory, met together at Zurich, and in behalf of the lodges they represented, signed their names to the treaty of union of the newly founded Grand Lodge "Alpina". Whereupon Br. J. J. Hottinger was elected Grand Master, (he had formerly been a member of the Scotch Directory) and they completed their work by appointing a council of administration, and the officers of the Grand Lodge.

On St. John's Festival the 23rd, the handing over of their act of abdication and the installation of the Grand Master, who had chosen Br. Gysi-Schinz as his deputy, took place; Br. C. Bluntzschli delivered a most excellent memorial speech, upon the position assumed by Freemasonry to Church and State, and Br. Furrer likewise one, upon the importance of this festivity to Swiss Freemasonry. The following day the Grand Lodge was opened in due form.

The Administrative council set to work immediately to model a code of laws for the regulation of the interior of the Lodges, when in 1845 the bands of free troops which came against Lucerne, threatened to overthrow with one blow, the work which had just been begun with so much pains and solicitude, but happily the wise moderation displayed by the Grand Master averted the coming danger. After the fortunate termination of the

Sonderbund war in 1847, and after the expulsion of the Jesuits, peace was restored to the confederacy, and the Grand Lodge Alpina, which had in the mean time been every where recognised, became more firmly rooted, and bid fair to blossom abundantly, for she was but very slightly agitated by the political discords and fermentation which arose in 1856.

Br. C. G. Jung had succeeded Br. Hottinger in the office of Grand Master, and in 1856 Br. Shuttleworth, Master of the excellent lodge in Bern, was put up as a candidate in the new election, which was protested against by the heads of the Lodge *Modestia* in a circular epistle, for national pride spoke louder within them than masonic feeling; they thought, that the Swiss confederacy would lose ground in the estimation of the rest of the Grand Orient, that they would justly incur signal disapprobation, and be reproached with self depreciation, if they permitted a man who was not a Swiss to be at their head, however great his capacity for the office in other respects. The Grand Master Br. Jung asserted ¹⁾ on the other hand, that the observations offered by the members of the Zürich lodge, in their circular epistle, were not justified either by the wording of their constitution nor by the history of the Alpina; the leading idea in Freemasonry was that the Mason's Fatherland was within his fraternity; and even the alleged national disability could not be applied in this case &c. In spite of all this Br. Shuttleworth counted but seven votes, and Br. Meystre, Master of the lodge in Lausanne, was chosen Grand Master. A difference, which in consequence of these occurrences, arose between the lodges in Zürich and Bern, was happily adjusted at the ninth conference

¹⁾ Vide report on the proceedings of the 8th meeting of the "Alpina", 1856, Page 14.

of the Alpina in Lausanne, in 1858, when Br. Jung was invested with the dignity of Honorary Grand Master, and Br. Hoffmann-Preiswerk, that of Honorary Grand Orator.

May 17, 1860, Br. Hottinger departed this life, gently and peacefully, having a short time previously completed his 78th Birthday.

Switzerland displays in the present day great Masonic activity; the Fraternity is there much esteemed, and gains everywhere inward strength, and towards those without she fulfils her thrice blessed mission. The Grand Lodge Alpina now numbers 27 working lodges under her; Br. Gelpke, Professor of Theology, is her Grand Master.

b) Italy.

Between 1814—1860 we may say that Freemasonry was extinguished in Italy. The necessity felt by all the intelligent men of the nation, to free their country from the dominion of a foreign power, from the despotic tyranny of the Bourbons, and to secure to themselves a brilliant future, induced most of the Freemasons to join the political alliance of the Carbonari. If any masonic lodges were in the least active, it was in secret, and therefore remained unknown; persecuted by the clergy, and oppressed by the state — in the years 1816 and 1821 prohibitions were issued against her — the genius of Freemasonry lowered her torch, and finally extinguished it, nor was it again relit, till the great work of deliverance and concord was happily accomplished, and under the liberal government of King Victor Emanuel the practise of the royal art once more permitted. In Genoa (1856) and Livorno (1860), lodges arose under the constitution

of the Grand Orient of France. In 1859 the lodge "Ausonia" was established in Turin, and soon numerous others were founded in different towns of Italy. Measures were taken for the institution of a Grand Lodge, and for the sketching out of statutes, which were discussed in a constituent assembly held in Turin in 1861. Chevalier Nigra was made Gr. Master, and upon his resigning the office in 1863, the former Minister, Cordova, was elected. Although many lodges have joined the Grand Orient of Italy, yet by foreign lodges she remained unacknowledged, because the Italian lodges did not hold themselves aloof from politics. Interior dissensions paved the way to the speedy dissolution of the Grand Orient. In Palermo a Grand Orient had been formed by Garibaldi, which adopted the Scotch rite of 33 degrees, likewise a Scottish Grand council had been founded in Naples. The Grand Orient in Turin bade the Italian Masonic assembly meet in Florence, whereupon all the members of the leading body tendered their resignation, and then the adherents of the Scottish rite were chosen to form a committee, and were entrusted to sketch out a plan of a new constitution. When a new meeting was called, this plan was accepted, and Br. Francisco da Luca elected Grand Master and Grand Regent; Br. Mauro Macchi became Grand Chancellor. Many lodges under the guidance of the very intellectual Br. Ausonio Franchi in Milan, amongst them the excellent lodge *Libbia d'oro* in Naples, broke off all connection with the followers of the high degrees, and formed an independent Grand council of symbolic Masonry, in Milan. At a conference in Milan a fundamental law was discussed and accepted, and a Grand Council elected, with Ausonio Franchi at their head.

Under the Gr. Orient of Italy are more than 60 lodges, under the Grand Council of Milan about 20. Both

have succeeded in obtaining the recognition of several foreign Grand Lodges.

c) Spain.

Since the Napoleon era, Freemasonry in Spain has been much oppressed, and even as late as 1823, the persecution of individual members of the order, as for instance Br. Tatero, continued. Under the dominion of the Cortes, 1820, all those who had been arrested on account of their adherence to the Fraternity, were in pursuance of a decree of the provisional government set at liberty; the closed lodges were reopened, and new ones were founded; but Aug. 1, 1824, Ferdinand VII. again issued a new and strict decree against all secret communities. All the members of the Fraternity were to appear in the course of a month, and deliver over their papers, which if they failed to do, they, when in later times it was proved that they were members, would without any further ceremony be immediately hanged. All this actually took place. In 1825 the canting hypocrite and tyrant Ferdinand VII. condemned a whole lodge in Granada composed of seven Masters, to death, and sent the only apprentice, who had just been initiated, to the galleys for five years, and in 1828, this example was imitated by the court of justice in Grenada, one of the Antilles, when they sentenced the learned and philanthropic Marquis de Cavrillano to the gallows and Ferd. Alvarez de Soto Mayor to death, because both were suspected of being Freemasons. When after Ferdinand's death in 1833, the civil war broke out, and the clergy were worsted, it is true that persecutions ceased, but the Fraternity durst only meet in secret, and the participators were threatened with banishment from the country. Between 1845 and 1849,

in spite of all these unfavorable circumstances disturbing it from without, yet the Fraternity founded several lodges, and a masonic Grand Orient was established, who informed England and France of her existence, that she might unite with their lodges and their members in the bonds of brotherly love.¹⁾

The Spanish Grand Orient was known under the name of the *Grand Orient hespérique*, and acknowledged the ancient and accepted Scotch rite of 33 degrees. But they likewise recognised the lodges founded by other Grand Lodges in Spain, and permitted to brethren working under other systems, entrance into their lodges. They were located in any town situated the nearest to the residence of the Grand Master, which in the minutes penned by the Grand Master or addressed to him, was always styled *Vallée invisible*. In the statutes, which in many particulars differed from those common in Freemasonry, Spain was divided into districts, in each of which were three provincial lodges. The names of the places, where single Orients were established, are mentioned: Madrid, Burgos, Bajadoz, Barcellona, Saragossa, Valencia, Corunna, Santander, Bilboa, Sevilla, Granada, Malaga; but the names of the members of the Grand Orient were feigned ones, to escape the persecution of the civil authorities. The assembling in large numbers was avoided, so as not to excite suspicion. The statutes were signed as early as April 20, 1843, but were not in force until many years later. No lodge was permitted to possess any written documents; every six months a new pass-word was selected, and communicated to all the lodges by the Grand Orient; brethren who were strangers were only admitted, if personally known

¹⁾ See Clavel, Almanack, Paris, 1848 — Latomia, X Page 308. — Astræa, 1849. Page 252.

to the W. Master. In 1848 the Grand Orient of Spain informed the *Grand Orient de France*, that she was necessitated to suspend a French Lodge in Spain, because political speeches had been delivered there, which were dangerous to Freemasonry. Although the Grand Orient had one article in her statutes, which prohibited her from establishing lodges in a foreign country, where a Masonic superior power already existed, yet in 1849 she announced the erection of a new lodge "*La Sagesse*" in Barcellona, because she did not consider the existence of the Grand Lodge of Hesperia as a fully established fact. Upon what further befel this lodge, nothing is known; though in 1852, there was a lodge at Gijon in Asturia with a French constitution, and also one at Gracia, the Lodge of "St. John of Spain", with Br. Aurel Eybert at its head.¹⁾ This latter lodge was betrayed by its Treasurer, (who sought by this means to escape the necessity of giving up his accounts for inspection,) in conjunction with a man named Hirel from Chrissy, and April 18, 1853, was dissolved by the minister of Police, Serra Munceluz.

The whole of the members were arrested, and twelve of them were condemned to four years rigorous imprisonment, the Grand Master Eybert to seven, but the other twelve, who were not present when the Police dissolved the Lodge, were permitted to go free. Br. Eybert and the others were subsequently pardoned by Isabella II.

d) Portugal.

The Fraternity flourished in Portugal under the protection of the constitutional monarchy from 1820,

¹⁾ See: Eybert, the Martyrs amongst Spanish Freemasons in 1853 &c. Translated into German by Tröbst. Weimar 1854. Page 21 etc.

Findel, History of Freemasonry.

until the revolution.¹⁾ When in 1823 John VI. was reinstated in his kingly office, he issued a decree against Freemasonry, five years transportation to Africa being the penalty incurred; the newspapers burst forth with their attacks and suspicions against the Order and its disciples. Don Miguel was one of its most violent opponents; from the time of his being proclaimed king in 1828 till the capitulation of Evora, the gallows or the dungeon was the fate of every one known to belong to the Society. After the return of those who were emancipated in 1834, Lodges were again formed in the capital towns of the kingdom, whose peace was unfortunately disturbed by disputes. The lodges in Lisbon acknowledged, as they had previously done, the Brothers Carvalho and Saldanha as Grand Masters, but those of Porto, Brother Manuel da Silva Passos. A meeting of brethren of all the Portuguese Orients, which was arranged to settle the quarrels in 1837, unhappily led to no result. The foes of the order were however the more active, for in this same year they published a pamphlet, which ends thus: "Nations of the world, your destruction is determined on. Open your eyes, ye constitutional and absolute monarchs, and behold the scaffold, which has been selected for your throne. Open your eyes, ye who still believe in God, and see what you have to fear from the Freemasons'" &c.

The whole of these lodges worked according to the French or modern ritual. In 1837 the Scottish rite was likewise introduced, which from the year 1840 became much more general, so that in 1845 the number of the Lodges working in this rite, amounted to seventeen. In consequence of this, a fourth Grand Orient was added to the three already existing. There were: 1) The Lu-

¹⁾ Vide Latomia. VIII. Page 84 etc.

sitanian Grand Orient, properly speaking merely a provincial Grand lodge of Brasil; 2) the Irish one under the protection of the Grand Lodge of Dublin; 3) the Grand Orient of Passos-Manuel; 4) the Grand Orient of Costa-Cabral. The two latter were entirely independent. The number of the lodges was in 1845 considerable, and all practised toleration and benevolence, working zealously, to spread the dominion of reason and love, and to hinder the revival of that abominable tribunal, which tortured the body, to overcome the soul. Amongst masonic institutions, that of the Central-benevolent Council distinguished itself especially, for it extended its operations throughout all Portugal.

We have no accounts of very recent date; so much only is known, that there exists in Lisbon a Grand Lodge of Portugal and a Provincial Grand Lodge of Ireland, which are recognised by foreign Grand Lodges. Br. Dominigos Chiappori, was formerly Grand Master, succeeded by Br. Conte de Paraty.

c) European Turkey.

The first lodges in Turkey were erected by the English Grand Lodge in 1838. But they soon died out, as the Mohammedan hierarchy proved themselves foes to the Fraternity, therefore but few were initiated. Of late years several lodges have arisen in Constantinople, two French ones under the Grand Orient of France, two English ones, and a German one, with an English constitution; the German Lodge "*Germania am goldnen Horn*", Br. Georg Treu, W. Master, under the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, an Italian, and a Grecian one (Arete). An English Provincial Grand Lodge of Turkey has arisen from this English one, and from those in

Smyrna (Asia Minor), Sir Henry Bulwer, ambassador being their Grand Master, and Br. Hyde Clarke, deputy provincial Gr. Master.

H. North America.

Freemasonry in America progressed somewhat between 1814 and 1827. As the members and lodges increased, so did the Grand Lodges increase in proportion; in 1814 those of Mississippi and Indiana were formed, in 1821 Alabama and Missouri, and in 1826 that of Michigan. This rapid growth, especially in the states of New York and Pennsylvania, was not beneficial to their inward prosperity, nor was it unattended with danger from without, as it raised a suspicion, that the confederacy sought to establish political influence. In 1819 even, menaces were heard, the first symptoms of that anti-masonic spirit which, before ten years had elapsed, broke out in real earnest.

The monstrous Hand in hand with the rapid development of the Fraternity, was the introduction, and high degrees. nationalisation of the different high degree systems, which found the more ready entrance, because of the eagerness with which all innovations were seized upon every where. A general Grand Encampment of the knights Templars was effected, and through the exertions of Brothers Parker, Cross, and others, the degrees of Royal Master, and Select Master were spread about in all directions, and different Grand Councils, and Royal-Arch-Chapters were established.

The celebrated statesman de Witt Clinton, born March 2, 1769, and died Feb. 11, 1828, was chosen in

1814 to be Grand Master of the newly founded Grand Encampment of New York, and in 1816 to be General Grand High priest of the United States, and general Grand Master of the Knights Templars.

The General Grand Lodge. The idea of uniting all the Masons and Lodges of America into one common bond, was often thrust on one side, but as often taken up again. In 1822 the celebrated statesman Henry Clay was, by his Grand Lodge (Kentucky), chosen to be Grand Master, and it was he, who when speaker in the house of representatives, stirred up a Masonic convention holden in Washington, to debate the same idea. His proposition appeared to be feasible, and likely to promote the general interests of the order. It was that a General Grand Lodge of the United States should be arranged; a committee of correspondence was consequently chosen for the purpose, composed of the most eminent Masons from the different states. Most of the Grand Lodges manifested but little inclination to carry out the idea, yet the convocation of a general convention was recommended, to facilitate a uniformity of work, which for a long time and even now is the hobbyhorse bestridden by the American Grand Lodges. This uniformity in the rituals, which was neither necessary nor practicable, was also made a subject of discussion in 1842; in the General Convention summoned by the Grand Lodge of Alabama at Washington, the appointment of Grand lecturers and general consultations was recommended. In consequence ¹⁾ of this, in 1843, the deputies of 16 Grand Lodges met together in Baltimore. The result of this congress was not the union which had been anticipated. On the contrary,

¹⁾ Vide *Amerikanisch-deutsche Jahrbücher* by Röhr, 1859—60. Page 65 etc.

each deputy, on his return home, said that the manner of working which they had previously learned, might with a few changes be adapted for general use, hence greater confusion than ever arose. In 1847, a proposed constitution at Baltimore, for a superior Grand Lodge, found but little favor, because the name of General Grand Lodge excited suspicious, doubts, and fears. But when in 1853, at Lexington, Kentucky, where a meeting was held, the idea was started of a National Confederation, it met with the approval of Br. Finlay M. King of New York. To realise it, a meeting took place at Washington in 1855, composed of the members of several Grand Lodges, where it was resolved that the National confederation should be considered as a fait accompli, as soon as twenty Grand Lodges had declared in its favor. But this plan likewise suffered the fate of so many previous ones. The Grand Lodge of Maine was however not to be intimidated from agitating the question of a general Masonic congress, which took place in the autumn of 1860 in Chicago, though only attended by the delegates from eleven Grand Lodges. Certain articles of union were laid down, and a circular epistle to all the Grand Lodges was drawn up, entreating them, to join heart and hand, in supporting the proposed articles of the association. But this new attempt had a similar fate with all former ones.

The anti-masonic
storm.

The extension of the order had long been regarded with distrust, and the spark of party spirit had lain smouldering in secret, when suddenly one single event fanned it into a flame. Sept. 12, 1826, a man named William Morgan, a notorious character, who had been a short time previously arrested for debt, escaped from prison. The enemies of Freemasonry asserted, he was drowned in the Falls of Niagara by some Masons, because he had betrayed the secrets of the

Craft in one of his writings. So much is certain, that nothing positive is known of Morgan's fate — though it was maintained that he had been seen and recognised by several persons some years ago, but the enemies of Freemasonry made up the story of his murder to stir up an anti-masonic spirit, which for many years was like a devastating hurricane raging violently in the lodges, and shaking Freemasonry to its very foundations. The number of her opponents increased from day to day, and a political party arose, which compelled many of the lodges and two Grand Lodges, those of Illinois and Michigan, to suspend their operations, threatened others with the like fate, and caused many easily discouraged brethren to renounce the Fraternity altogether. Men like Stevens, Granger, Seward, Spencer &c. enflamed the spirit of strife, making use of the movement to serve their own ends; a stop was put to the propagation of the order in every part of the United States, and nothing like growth or prosperity, was seen any where. In 1843 the party of the Anti-Masons was merged in that of the whigs, and since then the number of the Brethren and Lodges has gradually increased.

New York. In 1820 two Grand Lodges were in active operation at New York, one formed of deputies from the city lodges, the other from those of the country lodges, separated from each other, but on an amicable footing, until in 1827, the attacks of the Anti-Masons induced them to unite in a treaty of union, which should never be broken. But unfortunately soon after this arrangement, and when the threatened danger was no longer to be feared, there arose between representatives of the city and country lodges, jealousies and bickerings, which every year produced more melancholy consequences, and that because of the disproportionate and unequal manner in which the lodges were represented. The

city lodges could always have their Past Masters at their post, to vote on every occasion; and thus they had an advantage over the much more numerous country lodges, and this increasing power of the former was with good reason sought to be restrained by the latter. With this end in view upon the regular annual meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1848, a motion was brought forward, to limit the right of voting vested in the Past Masters. This motion was accepted; and the regular Masonic manner in which these proceedings were conducted, laid before the lodges for their approval. But at the same time, at a quarterly meeting of the Grand Lodge, March 6, 1840, in which the lodges in the town and its vicinity were mostly represented, resolutions were passed, which were entirely opposed to the amendments of the annual meeting. Yet notwithstanding all this opposition, these alterations were put to the vote, the majority in the lodges voting for them. When the Grand Master Br. Willard made this known in the regular annual meeting of June 1848, a most unusual excitement prevailed, which it was found impossible to allay, by repeated calls to order. Alleging the resolutions passed at the quarterly meeting, the Junior Grand Warden declared that the body over which the Gr. Master presided, was not the Gr. Lodge of the State of New-York. The former deputy Gr. Master Willis was requested to preside, whereupon this latter, the Gr. Secretary Herring, and the other adherents of the party of the Past masters, adjourned to another place of meeting, taking jewels, library, and archives with them, where they chose officers for the coming year.

Thus again did a separation ensue from the contests of these two belleguerent Grand Lodges.

As no further attempts at a union was contemplated by either party, each sought to procure followers for

himself, which only Willard's Grand Lodge succeeded in doing, who were joined by most of the German-American lodges, while the Lodge "Pythagoras" placed itself under the Grand Lodge of Hamburg.

The party which had been denominated from their first Gr. Master Philipps', also Herring's party, laid all their documents with the account of these divisions before the various Grand Lodges, that these might undergo a scrutinising examination,¹⁾ but they met with scarcely any recognition any where. The Grand Lodge of England gave the initiative by dismissing the representative of the Grand Lodge. But the other working Grand Lodge under the Grand Master Willard, afterwards Evans, was even in 1853 well received by almost all the other Grand Lodges, carrying on a correspondence with them all, excepting those of Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Saxony, and Hamburg. The good understanding with this latter was not interrupted by the disputes concerning the Past Masters, but because the Grand Lodge of Hamburg had conferred a constitution on the lodge Pythagoras, and thus trenched on the so-called district rights of the New-York Grand Lodge.

The period immediately succeeding this division is so mournful a picture of unbrotherly sentiment, that we would fain pass it over entirely. In the inmost soul of these two bodies, the need of union was most unequivocally felt, but all the attempts to effect this, were of no avail. In order, at any rate, to bring the divided German Brethren more closely together, and to make the existing rupture the less sensibly felt, the German Lodges in New-York and its suburbs, founded in October 1855,

¹⁾ Vide *Amer. Deutsche Jahrb.* of 1856. The different opinions concerning the American dissensions in the *Freimaurer Zeitung* for 1851 No. 8, 10, and 25.

the Masonic Club, "Masonia", which aimed at cherishing the scientific side of Freemasonry. It was not until 1858; that the much desired union of both Grand Lodges was finally effected, an event welcomed everywhere with the most unbounded joy. On June 5, of that same year, the chief stone of stumbling was removed, by the reconsideration and acceptance of the resolutions of the former Grand Master Evans, afterwards a committee of consultation was appointed, who on June 7, came to a right understanding of the motives leading to this desire of union, whereupon the Grand officers and members of the former Philipps Grand Lodge, were welcomed and solemnly greeted by the deputies of the Willard Lodge. The "Triangle" reports, that many an eye was moist with tears, as those men belonging to one great family, yet for many years determined foes, now stood opposite to one another, extending the right hand of fellowship, resolved to lay aside all former causes of quarrel and dispute, and to permit harmony and brotherly love to prevail in their stead. It was the noble-minded, impartial Gr. Master, Br. Lewis, who softened all obdurate hearts, and taught the long repressed feelings of brotherly love to seek their proper channel in which to flow. The three first articles of the treaty of union ran thus: 1) There is but one Grand Lodge in the State of New York, and that is the one of which John L. Lewis jun. is Grand Master, whose territorial jurisdiction extends to the borders of this State. — 2) All resolutions which had reference to the suspensions and expulsions arising from the transactions known as the "Strife of 1849", are hereby revoked, and all those who on that occasion were expelled or suspended, will be formally acknowledged as members and reinstated in all their rights and privileges as Masons. — 3) All Grand Officers and Past Grand Officers of the above mentioned division shall

assume the rank and title of past Grand Masters, and be recognised as such. —

The historical Societies. From this time forward, peace has reigned supreme in the fraternity in America, and although there, as elsewhere, she has to contend against many blemishes and abuses, yet the desire of improvement is felt every where. Among other pleasing signs of progress we may notice the formation of historical societies, according to the model of similar associations in Germany. In the course of the latter years, there arose in the States of Connecticut and Ohio such societies, while the "Latomia Society" of the Atlantic Lodge No 178, in New York, had been established in October 1858. They have founded a masonic library, where may already be found many rare and valuable works and manuscripts, and this society has been brought before the notice of the brethren in a very praiseworthy manner, by publishing several excellent articles in the Masonic Eclectic.

The years 1860 and 1861. Almost universally in America of late years, they have been most careful to cherish the outward form of Freemasonry, and have spread the fraternity by numerous initiations, and by increasing the number of the lodges, by nursing the high degrees, and feeding their vanity in various ways, yet with all this there has been some striving towards improvement. The German lodges especially have led the way in this direction, having resented the oppression and the presumptuous behaviour of the existing Grand Lodges, (which "are in direct opposition to the spirit of the times in which we live, and the purely humanising and universal institution of Freemasonry"), and have endeavored to establish self reliance and self government, and the formation of every thing relating to the well-being of the order. The development of Freemasonry in that country

was disturbed and materially impeded by the breaking out of the War against the Confederates, an event, which almost induced the brethren to violate the ancient landmarks, and interfere in politics, happily however, the good genius of Freemasonry preserved the brethren from this error. Most of the masonic periodicals of that time were given up, and among the very few retained was the German "Triangle". Many of the German lodges are through the masonic correspondence office, set in communication with the whole of the brethren in America. Several Grand lodges intend to have their histories drawn up, and the greater number can boast of a large increase of new lodges, and point out the flourishing condition of their jurisdiction. It is especially pleasing to remark that the American lodges are now beginning to devote themselves more exclusively to serious study, and to oppose most vigorously the most nonsensical and mischievous nuisance — the high Degrees.

The number of the North American Grand Lodges is 39, (see the list at the end); there are about 300,000 Freemasons in all.

I. South America.

From the scanty and not altogether credible intelligence published of the condition of the Lodges in the States of South America, it would appear that Freemasonry is not in the best order, nor under the most pleasing circumstances, and chiefly because of the rampant state of the High Degrees there to be had under every variety of shade and grade.

In 1821, the lodge in Rio Janeiro divided itself into three parts, their representatives forming a *Gran Oriente do Brazil*.¹⁾ In one of these lodges the then reigning Emperor Dom Pedro I was initiated, and immediately chosen Grand Master; but when he came to understand that the lodges existing there were nothing else but political clubs, he commanded them to be closed in 1822. On his abdication in 1831, a new Grand Lodge *Gran Oriente Brazillero* was erected, which awakened the elder community to new life. Both confederations worked according to the French rite in seven degrees, and declared mutual war against each other. In Nov. 1832, the Brazilian ambassador Montezuma, founded a *Supremo gran consejo del 33 grado* which was in the next year recognised in Belgium, France, and New York.

In Joinville, the capital of the German colony Dona Franzisca, Brothers Reiss, Fellechner, and Gaspar founded the lodge "*zur deutschen Freundschaft*", with which in December 1856, the Lodge "*zum südlichen Kreuz*" united itself, working according to the system of the Grand Lodge of Germany, until the brethren, purified in the school of bitter experience, united themselves to the Grand Lodge of Hamburg in 1859. The uncertain state of affairs which had been apparent up to this time, was now changed for a more regular systematic way of working, and the ghosts of the ancient knights Templars vanished, replaced by the purer and simpler Light which Schroeder's system afforded.²⁾ At the head of the stirring and active Lodge "*deutsche Freundschaft zum südlichen Kreuz*" is in this present year (1865) Br. Dr. Ottokar Dörffel, from Waldenburg, in Saxony.

1) See Röhr, *Deutsch.Amerikan. Jahrb.* 1859—60. Page 124 &c.

2) Vide the circular epistle of the lodge of the year 1861 in the "*Bauhütte*" IV Year. Page 241.

In Peru the lodges Concordia Universal, Estrella Polar; and Virtud Union, separated themselves from the Grand Orient of Peru in 1857, on account of the haughty and despotic deportment of this latter, and formed a symbolic Grand Lodge i. e. one independent of the high degrees. Their example was subsequently followed by the rest of the lodges, chapters, and encampments; and invited the other lodges to assemble for the purpose of conferring upon the general measures to be adopted. This meeting took place Nov. 20, 1859, at Lima, where a Grand Orient of Peru was arranged, which chose a new constitution, based upon liberal principles, and at that time numbered 17 lodges and chapters.

Concerning Freemasonry in the republic of St. Domingo, the Freem. Magazine reports: Many years ago, between 1830—44, there existed several lodges here under the Grand Orient of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, for example at St. Domingo, Azua (Santiago), Seybo (Plata) &c. But when the Spanish portion separated themselves in 1844, that they might establish an independent republic, the Lodges were disbanded, and all masonic assiduity ceased, till in 1847, under the guidance of the *suprême conseil* of Paris, the Lodge "Primitiale des Grand Élus Eccossais" sprang into life. Two years later she suspended her operations, on account of political events. In 1858, several brethren at St. Domingo formed a Grand Lodge, and communicated this to all European Grand Lodges, claiming recognition. In 1859, there was again a Lodge founded at Azua, and since then Freemasonry has been in the ascendant there. Among the members we find: Pedro Santana, President of the republic, Thomas Bobadilla, President of the senate, Leon, English consul, José Dios, an official in the superior court of justice, Man. Delmart, Senator &c. The high Degrees are here, as a matter of course, zealously fostered.

The *Gran Oriente do Brazil* in Rio Janeiro numbered in 1864 about 69 Lodges; at their head was Br. de Cayrú, Grand Master.

Besides the two Grand Lodges mentioned above there exist: a) the Grand National-Orient of the republic of Venezuela with 15 Lódges, — b) the Grand Lodge of New Granada; — c) the Grand Lodge of the republic of Uruguay in Montevideo, with 17 lodges and 2 chapters; d) the Grand Orient of the Argentine Republic at Buenos Ayres; e) the Grand Orient of Haiti in Port-au-Prince.

K. Africa, Asia, Australia.

In Africa Freemasonry is known in the European colonies along the coast.

The lodges in Algeria as also in Port Louis, in the island of Mauritius, and St. Denis, in the island of Bourbon, are under the Grand Orient of France; the lodges at the Cape partly belong to England, partly to the Netherlands. The latter have a Provincial Grand Master there. At Monrovia in the Negro State of Liberia, there are lodges of colored brethren, not as yet recognised, but working under a Grand Lodge of their own.

Asia owes the blessing of Freemasonry chiefly to the English and the Dutch. In China there are lodges in Canton, Hongkong, and Shanghai, working under an English constitution. In Asia Minor at Smyrna, there are lodges in activity, one working in the English, the other in the German language; both are under the English provincial Grand Lodge of Turkey at Constantinople. In the East Indies there is an English Provincial Grand

Lodge with 75 daughter lodges; besides which there is an English lodge in Fort Marlbro in Sumatra. The Grand lodge of Scotland has eight lodges in Bengal, Bombay, and Arabia; the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands four in Java and Sumatra, and the Grand Orient of France, one in Pondichéry. Well informed Hindoos have sought and found initiation into the fraternity; in the East Indies too, two periodicals are published, the Indian Freemason and Masonic Record.

In Persia, different trials have been made at different times to spread the knowledge of Freemasonry, which came thither by way of India, or else by way of Europe.¹⁾ But she has found implacable opponents in the orthodox Parsees, as well as in the Christian missionaries, it is said too that very recently the Shah of Persia has come forth as an opposer of Freemasonry.

In Australia, since the discovery of the gold-diggings, zealous brethren there have succeeded in winning over hearts for the Royal Art, founding new lodges, and increasing those already founded, so that at present,²⁾ under the Grand Lodge of England, there are 17 lodges in New South Wales, 8 in South Australia, 32 in Victorialand, 8 in New Zealand, 2 in West Australia, 7 in Tasmania; and under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, there are 4 in New South Wales, 4 in South Australia, 10 in Victorialand, 2 in New Zealand, 4 in Tasmania; under the Grand Lodge of Scotland are, 3 in Victorialand, 1 in South Australia, 7 in New South Wales; under the

1) Persian ambassadors at European courts have been initiated into the Fraternity.

2) See Handbook of Freemasonry by Schletter and Zille, I. Part, Page 57.

Grand Lodge of California, 1 in the Sandwich Islands and 1 under the *Supr. Conseil de France*; and under the *Grand Orient de France* 1 in Tahiti.

I. Masonic Literature.

In the period between 1814 down to the present day, masonic literature has taken such a flight upwards, and is so much more widely extended, that we can but touch cursorily on most of them, dwelling at length only on the more important ones.

Bibliography. Bibliographic compendiums will sufficiently convince us of the copiousness of masonic literature, all belonging to our times. If we only contemplate the difficulties, the writer of a systematic, well ordered bibliography had to contend against, it will be easy to comprehend, how it came to pass that at an earlier date, 1776 for instance, but a scanty catalogue of books is all we have to show, and the plans¹⁾ laid down by Brothers Mossdorf, Gädicke and L. Th. Juge, never succeeded in being carried out; not till 1844, when Br. G. Kloss published his "Bibliography of Freemasonry and the secret societies in connection with her" (Frankfort), did a work of any importance appear on the subject. The author had been fifteen years in collecting all necessary material, in order to make his book

¹⁾ See *Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie* etc., by Dr. Jul. Petzhold, 1859, 7th Part, Page 209 etc., and "*Bauhütte*", 1859. No. 37, as well as the Art. "Bibliographie" in the *Handb. der FrMr.* 1st Part. Page 102. Findel, *History of Freemasonry*. 42

as perfect as possible; more than 5000 books are enumerated by him, and for the exactitude of its statements and the systematic survey it gives, its worth is inestimable. In 1856 there appeared in New York a supplement of it, "Bibliography of Freemasonry in America," by Br. R. Barthelmess, M. D., as also another work by the same brother, a "Catalogue of the Books and coins collected by the Lodge "Pythagoras" No. 1 in Brooklyn, (New York 1856), which have done much towards rendering Kloss' work more valuable and complete. The "history of the Grand lodge of Kentucky" by brother Rob. Morris likewise contains numerous interesting bibliographical notices.

Philosophy. The number of writings is but small, which view Freemasonry in a philosophic light; we will only here mention: Oliver's "Symbol of Glory, showing the object and end of Freemasonry", particularly the second lecture of the work; then by the same author: "The Theocratic Philosophy of Freemasonry, Ragon's "*Cours philosophique et interpr. des Initiations*, and his "*Orthodoxie maçonnique*," the *Études histor. et philosophiques* by Rédarès. But the most considerable production of the kind is Br. Seydel's "*Reden über Freimaurerei*" which are penned in a strictly scientific spirit, and contain the genuine philosophy of Freemasonry.

Masonic Poems. Much creditable zeal and ardor has been of late years displayed in pruning masonic song books of those antiquated pieces, which were nothing but a confused mass of paltry trash, improving them as much as possible; see for example the "Gesangbuch of the Gr. Lodge of Germany". Those which have appeared unassisted by any Grand Lodge are "*Gesangbuch für Fr.Mr.*" with several popular national melodies &c. by Br. Friedr. Erk, Düsseldorf, 1851, and Pocket song book for Freemasons, by W. Pranz. Nuremberg, 1861";

but these are only used in single lodges, so that they cannot assume the importance, as do the selections of songs published by masonic authorities. But the most celebrated of all collections is decidedly the "*Gesangbuch für FrMr.*" by Br. Menge and Tietz (Hildesheim, Gerstenberg's library 1863.) On the whole this period is not alone distinguished for the abundance of its productions, but also for the worth of its poetic effusions, whether songs, cantatas, or poems &c. The king of all masonic poets is, however, certainly, Br. Oswald Marbach in Leipsic, that talented and inspired singer, who displays such delicate taste; his songs and sayings will many of them be permanent literature, for in him are united in a most remarkable and exhilarating manner, the holy and fervid love of a Novalis combined with the naif mysticism of a poet of antiquity, and the smoothness and cheerfulness of Goethe's Muse. The successful productions of Brothers Hessemer ("*Lieder der unbekannten Gemeinde*") — Winkler in Dresden ("*des Maurers Leben*" in 9 songs) — Ludwig Bechstein (in the "*Asträ*" in different years); many songs composed by Nohr and Zöllner — G. H. Wegener ("*des Maurers Vaterunser*") and "*Maurer. Gedichte*" 2nd Edition 1861) together with the poems by Emil Ritterhaus are all deserving of special notice.

Of all the speeches possessing intrinsic worth,
Speeches in the Lodges. delivered in the different lodges, which have mostly appeared in masonic newspapers, we will only here mention those of three brethren, viz: the celebrated pulpit orator J. H. B. Dräseke, Master of the lodge "*Oelzweig*" in Bremen, from 1826—29, those of Prof. Oswald Marbach, distinguished as a poet and a scholar, and for many years Chairman of the lodge "*Baldwin zur Linde*" in Leipsic; and the best known of all, those of the late Br. O. E. Funkhänel in Glauchau. Still more

recently, the lectures of Br. Ad. Schütz in Bochum, orator of the Lodge in Schwelm, stand forth prominently, for the richness of their contents, and for beauty of form. The works of Dräseke are published in Magdeburg, 1865 by Br. A. W. Müller under the title "Bischof Dräseke as a Mason", and contain a string of costly pearls, full of masonic eloquence.

The speeches of Br. Marbach are in the "*Katechismus-Reden*" (2nd Edition) in the Minute-books (Agenda) of the three degrees, and in the very recently published work, "*Arbeiten am rohen Stein und Sylvesterreden*". Marbach in his office as Chairman was peculiarly happy in the artistic arrangement and harmonious finishing touch given to the works in his lodge, and he deserves much praise too, for the intellectual animation he imparted to the ceremonies. — Neither are his speeches wanting in these particulars, but are full of religious fervor, philosophic depth, and ingenious and effective interpretation of the symbols, therefore they will always claim a most conspicuous place in masonic literature. Funkhänel's speeches, which have never been collected till now, are especially noticeable for their ingenuousness and free-heartedness, their continual reference to the actual condition of Freemasonry, their clearness and depth, their agreeable warmth, and often too for their poetic flight. Funkhänel was one of the most celebrated chairmen, one of the noblest of men, a worthy champion of progress within the order, and a bold patron of the masonic press. —

Writings against the Order. The contest against Freemasonry was renewed even in this late period of its history, and with its usual virulence, but no great importance can be attached to it. The writings were wanting in the charm of novelty of thought or the weapons necessary to continue the conflict, and they signally failed

in effecting any thing because of their exaggeration, their accusations being monstrous, their language coarse, and it being easy to detect how illogically they defended what they themselves had asserted; besides which the position now assumed by the public towards the fraternity, is a very different one to what it formerly was; and above all, governments are now-a-days too enlightened to give ear to any accusations of the kind. — But notwithstanding all this, we must not pass over this phase of masonic literature wholly in silence; we will, however, merely mention Fr. W. Lindner (Mac-Benac, 1818) Steffens, (*Caricaturen*, II. Part, 1821), C. Ludwig von Haller (*Die Freimaurerei und ihr Einfluss*, 1840), and the writings of Hengstenberg (*Die Freimaurerei und das evangelische Pfarramt*) and Eckert.

The writings of E. E. Eckert are: 1) „*Der Freimaurerorden in seiner wahren Bedeutung, d. h. als ein Weltorden, in dem vermöge seines feinen Organismus ein Geheimbund die Revolution gegen alle bestehenden Kirchen und Monarchien etc. vorbereitet, vollführt und geleitet hat*“ (1852); — 2) *Magazine der Beweisführung für Verurtheilung des Freimaurerordens als Ausgangsquelle aller Zerstörungsthätigkeit*“ etc. (1855); — 3) „*Der Tempel Salomonis, d. h. Generalcharte des Arbeitsplanes*“; — 4) „*Meine persönliche Anklage*“ etc. (1859).

In more modern times Prof. Alban Stolz and Bishop E. von Ketteler, have appeared in arms against Freemasonry, but their assertions were completely answered by J. Venedey and Dr. Rud. Seydel. We cannot refrain from just mentioning one other writing penned in defence of the Fraternity viz: „*Adhuc stat! Freemasonry in ten Questions and Answers* by O. Henne“ (St. Gallen 1865, 3rd Edition) because with comprehensive brevity it gives a characteristic and popular idea of the history and organisation of the confederacy.

But let us turn from the opponents of the order, to its sincere friends and zealous promoters, and the first whom we here meet is a brother whose productions have ever belonged to the best amongst masonic literature; it is Br. George von Wedekind, founder of the lodges in Worms and Darmstadt, and finally private physician to the Grand Duke of Hesse. Besides pamphlets we have 1) "*Baustücke*" a reading book for Freemasons, and especially for the Brethren of the Eclectic confederacy. 1st and 2nd collection. Giessen, 1820—1821", a copious selection of treatises, speeches, songs, and single remarks; — 2) "the Pythagorean order, the societies opposing the march of intellect in Christianity and Freemasonry, Leipsic, 1820, Wedekind's chief work, in which he pronounces his opinion as to the future condition of the Brethren, with philosophic reasoning and sagacity.

One of the most learned and remarkable works in masonic literature already glanced at, is the Encyclopaedia of the Freemasons, by C. Lenning, revised and amplified by Mossdorf, 3 Vol. 1822—1828, which was preceded by a similar, but in every way inferior publication "*Freimaurerlexicon*"; edited by J. G. Gädike, Berlin, 1818." The Encyclopaedia, which has been up to this time one of the richest sources of masonic information, and an indispensable book of reference for every inquiring Mason, now appears in a second Edition, enlarged and revised under the title "*Handbuch der Freimaurerei*" edited by Schletter and Zille. (Leipzig, Brockhaus.)

Br. Friedr. Mossdorf, chancery clerk in the Dresden court of justice, born March 2, 1757, in Eckertsberga, and initiated into Freemasonry Oct. 15, 1777, in the lodge "*Minerva zu den drei Palmen*" in Leipsic, devoted himself most faithfully and with

untiring zeal to the Fraternity. He had risen superior to many prejudices which then prevailed, had industriously studied the history of the order, and had got together a rich and valuable collection upon the subject. We have already noticed the active part he took in Br. Fessler's efforts to establish a reform; he afterwards became intimately connected with Krause, with whose views he more nearly agreed than with those of any previous inquirer. Having, with the consent of his lodge, circulated the intelligence of the publication of Krause's documents, he was, by a decree of the Grand Lodge Dec. 17, 1819, commanded to absent himself from the lodge for an indefinite period, whereupon he quitted the fraternity. Besides the *Encyclopaedia*, we have of his, "*Mittheilungen an denkende Freimaurer*" (Dresden, 1818), which contains a translation of the historical treatise by Stephen Jones, with a general and comprehensive statement and extracts from "the masonic system" of Br. Krause.

We must not pass by unnoticed one other modern production viz: "*Die Tapis in ihrer histor.-pädagog., wissenschaftlichen und moralischen Bedeutung*, or History of the primitive religion, as the basis of Freemasonry, by M. S. Polak" (Amsterdam 1855). This work is an intelligent and learned attempt, but scarcely tenable, to place the symbolic system of Freemasonry upon a scientific and historical basis. The author endeavors to prove that the tracing-board contains the whole philosophic, moral, and educational system of Freemasonry; that it is a picture of the temple of nature, and that Freemasonry, (which however the author has not portrayed in all its purity) was nothing else, than ancient Sabaism or star-worship, the religion taught by Nature. Much in the same spirit, because falling back upon the mysteries of the ancients, and inclining to a barren inter-

pretation of symbols, is the Pocket Book "Alpina" by Br. Jos. Schauberg Dr. in Zurich (1859 and 1860) and especially the same author's, "*Vergleichendes Handbuch der Symbolik der Freimaurerei*" etc., i. e. "A parallel between the symbols in Freemasonry with particular reference to the Mythologies and Mysteries of the ancients" (3 Vol. 1861—1863), a work which evidences enormous industry and deep reading. The third volume contains a history of the Architectural schools and building societies in ancient and medieval times („*Geschichte der Bauhütte*").

Of other countries we will mention the writings of Br. Dr. Oliver in England: 1) "Institutes of Masonic Jurisprudence, being an exemplification of the English Book of Constitutions" (London, 1859); — 2) "The Historical Landmarks, and other evidences of Freemasonry explained" (2 vols.); — 3) "The Golden Remains of the early Masonic writers, edited by Dr. Oliver" (5 vols.), a valuable and interesting collection of lectures of notorious masonic writers like Anderson, Martin Clare, Calcott etc.; — 4) "The Star in the East showing the analogy" etc.; — 5) "A Dictionary of Symbolical Masonry, including the Royal Arch Degree" (this latter relying chiefly on Watson's translation of Gädicke's German Lexicon); — 6) "The book of the lodge", 3rd edit.; — 7) "The Freemason's Treasury" etc.

Of American masonic works we only mention a book which abounds in inaccuracies, and is full of glaring faults viz: the "Lexicon of Freemasonry" by Dr A. Mackey, Gr. Secr. of the Gr. Lodge of S. Carolina, and of French, Br. J. M. Ragon, "*Collection des 15 Rituels maçonniques*" with historical remarks.

The masonic historical investigation. Compared with former periods, the present is one in which rapid progress has been made, a firmer and more certain stand-point has been attained,

and much that is laudable has been achieved, especially by Br. G. Kloss, the worthy "Teacher of the German Masons", who by his writings has given the death-blow to the different orders in Freemasonry and to the Fable of its being the transmission of a very ancient Mystery. Of the brethren who have preceded this profound and conscientious investigator, there is Br. Friedr. Heldmann Dr., Professor of political science in Bern. He was born Nov. 24, 1776, at Margetshöchheim in Franconia, and in 1809 initiated into Freemasonry in Freiburg in Breisgau; in 1811 he assisted in establishing the lodge "*Zur Brudertreue*" in Aarau, where he was professor in the school of the Canton. When in 1816 he advertised a manual of Freemasonry, the superiors, in genuine hierarchical fashion, vied with each other to quench the spirit of light, and tried to hinder the spread of the work; the Helvetian Directory demanded to have the manuscript that it might undergo their censorship, which the lodge in Aarau, unwilling to submit the freedom of the Masons to a restraint which even those not belonging to the lodges had not to endure, positively refused to do; but as Br. Heldmann had no wish to involve the Brethren in any further troubles, he withdrew from the lodge. He found that the material he had collected for his manual, was too copious, when written down, so he gave up the idea of publishing it, and instead of it we have: "The three most ancient historical memorials of the German Freemason-Fraternity &c. (Aarau, 1819) and also the Masonic Pocket Book, "*Acazienblüthen aus der Schweiz*". In the first mentioned work, which is drawn up chiefly from Br. Krause's researches, the Strassburg stonemason's constitution was first printed.

A new epoch in masonic history began about 1840, when Br. George B. Kloss, M. D. who was a perfect proficient in this department, appeared with his works. He

had one of the best supplied and most valuable of masonic libraries, a most extensive knowledge of the history of the order, critical sagacity, a love of truth, and most unwearying industry; he produced works, all of which had a firm and solid foundation, and all proving that the requirements of science were abundantly satisfied. The learned author wished to offer to his brethren the best treasures of his collection, and in a well ordered combination, furnish material for a future authentic history of Freemasonry, therefore his books are not fluently written, and without any interesting or particular arrangement, so that they are not a subject for light reading and agreeable entertainment, but the basis of grave and earnest study.

"During a masonic career which numbered 49 years of his life", remarks Br. Meisinger, in a eulogistic speech in memory of the deceased, "and never diminished either in enthusiasm or energy, Br. Kloss repeatedly assumed the office of Chairman, in the lodge "*Zur Einigkeit*" at Frankfort o. M., which he only resigned when death summoned him, Feb. 10, 1854. His lectures chiefly historical were most attractive and enlivening; his deep reading, sagacious reasoning, and practical good sense preeminently qualified him to manage the administration and to give laws. The deceased is worthy of great praise, for the manner in which he reorganised the Eclectic Grand lodge, to which he was at different times Grand Master, and deputy Grand Master, and this in periods of peculiar difficulty. He was possessed of so rare amount of learning, and was a distinguished linguist besides; his fame as a physician was deservedly great; to all these he added a friendly, tender, good-natured disposition and much simplicity and uprightness of character. He died at the age of 66." Besides single lectures and treatises, we have

of his 1) *Annals of the lodge "Zur Einigkeit" at Frankfurt o. M.* (1842); — 2) *Freemasonry in its real meaning, proved by the ancient and genuine documents of the Stonemasons, Masons, and Freemasons* (1846); — 3) *History of Freemasonry in England, Ireland, and Scotland, from genuine documents (1685—1784)* — together with a treatise upon the Ancient Masons (Leipzig, 1848); — 4) *History of the Freemasons in France from genuine documents (1725—1830)*. 2 Vol. Darmstadt, 1852.

The second named work of Kloss, was supplied with a creditable, though not completely reliable supplement, in Friedr. Alb. Fallou's book: "The mysteries of the Freemasons, or the veiled brotherhood, constitution and symbols of the German building corporations and their real origin in the middle ages (Leipsic 1848), a work which treats of the government in the corporations of the German building societies, and of the Freemasons' fraternity, the origin of both, and their manners and customs &c., and this again receives greater completeness from the valuable work of Br. Winzer upon "the German Fraternities of the middle ages, particularly that of the German stone-masons and their transformation into the Freemason fraternity. (Giessen, 1859.)

Br. Wm. Keller, senator in Giessen, following in the steps of Br. Kloss, has deserved well of his masonic brethren for his excellent work, "History of the Eclectic Union, with an introduction to the Universal History of Freemasonry." 2. Edition. (Giessen 1857. Of this introduction an especial copy has appeared) and also his "history of Freemasonry in Germany" (Giessen 1859), which however is somewhat lacking in completeness and detail, especially of the 19th. century. Br. Keller has been also a contributor to various masonic periodicals; he has shown himself a bold champion, in all important and inter-

esting questions, and has undertaken to promote the welfare of the order.

In conclusion we must notice two highly praiseworthy works upon masonic medals, viz: the "*Numotheca numismatica Latomorum*", by Br. Ernst Zacharias. (Dresden, 1840—46) and "The coins of the Freemasons' Fraternity, recorded and described by Dr. Th. Merzdorf" (Oldenburg 1851); finally the special histories of single lodges published within the last ten years, some of which we have mentioned in the course of this work.

During this period, England has done but little to increase the historial treasures of the society; the continuation of Preston's *Illustrations of Freemasonry* by Br. Oliver and his "History of Freemasonry from the year 1829—1841, are the only works of the kind, though we must at the same time mention, that neither of the productions are supported by official documents, which support is not wanting in "Laurie's History of the Grand Lodge of Scotland," of which in 1859 a second edition appeared, brought down to the present period, translated by Br. Merzdorf.

In America, a well-meant but signally weak and imperfect attempt has been made to collect masonic materials in "The history of Freemasonry and masonic Digést, embracing an account of the Order from the Building of Solomon's Temple, its Progress &c. to 1858 &c. by J. W. S. Mitchell" (New-York, 1858). A valuable monography is „The History of Freemasonry in Kentucky &c. by Bob. Morris" (1859) and deserves honorable mention.

A history of Freemasonry in Belgium (*Histoire de l'Ordre Maçonique en Belgique, par A. Cordier* 1855) is extant, but it is by no means satisfactory, and does not come up to the most moderate expectations.

France, more than all the lands just mentioned, has

furnished us the most abundantly: A. Thory, *Histoire du Grand Orient* and *Acta Latomorum*, though his works must be read circumspectly, and Bazot remarks of them that they displayed diligence, and in general were useful compilations, but full of errors; further: *Précis historique sur la Franc-Maçonnerie, son origine, son histoire etc.* par C. Moreau; — *Histoire générale de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, par Em. Rebold, et *Histoire des trois Grands Loges en France*, by the same author. — *Histoire philosophique de la Franc-Maçonnerie, ses principes etc.* par Cherpin and Käuffmann. — “Jouaust, *histoire du Grand Orient*” (1865); but above all: “Clavel, *Histoire pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie.*” —

Masonic periodicals, annals, and Almanacks. The masonic press, throughout the whole period of the development of the order, was a most indispensable adjunct, and yet only of late years has it attained to any importance. Periodicals, chronicles, and Almanacks have arisen every where, describing the interior and exterior life of the order, with the opinions of sagacious and experienced brethren, making the agitations and struggles in the interior of the lodges more generally known among the brethren; imparting instruction upon the history of Freemasonry; animating and stirring up the lodges on every side; preserving the fraternity itself from an inane standing-still and going to decay, and finally maintaining the scattered brethren in more animated and productive communion with the whole of the brethren.

In comparison with the number of her lodges and of her members, the masonic press in England has remained strikingly in the back ground; there formerly appeared the Freemason's Quarterly Review, established by Br. Crucefix, afterwards The Freemason's Quarterly Magazine 1850—54. Since 1858 there has appeared The Freem. Magazine and Masonic Mirror, at first a

monthly, and since June 1859, a weekly periodical, which was the only masonic periodical, not even purely dedicated to Masonry, and exceptionable in many respects. Br. J. Stevenson is doing what he can to raise its tone. Besides this, there is: The Scottish Freemason's Magazine in Scotland, and the Indian Freemason's Friend and Masonic Record of Western India in India; and each Grand Lodge likewise publishes a Calendar.

The masonic press of France has much that is excellent, but most of the periodicals, even the superior ones, have only existed a very short time. We will notice *Hermès* by Br. Ragon (1819), *l'Abeille Maçonnique* by Br. Quantin (1829) — from 1825—29 no masonic periodical appeared — *le Globe Franc Maçon* by Br. M. A. Desanlis (1838), the *Revue Maç.* in Lyons and *le Lien des Peuples* by Br. E. Franchi in Marseille (1842) the *Almanack pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie* by Br. Clavel (1844) and his *l'Orient, revue universelle* (1844), *le Franc-Maçon, revue mensuelle* by Br. Dechevaux-Dumesnil and Jules Lavoine 1848, *l'Initiation* by Br. Riche-Gardon, and since 1858, the excellent periodical *le Monde Maçonnique* by François Favre. There is an official Calendar published as well, and the *Bulletin du Grand Orient de France*.

In the Dutch language there appears in Utrecht (Netherlands) the *Maçonniek Weekblad*, formerly edited by Br. Andriessen, but since his death by Br. Smit Kruisinga.

In Germany we had once the Altenburg Periodical for Freemasons, afterwards known under the name "*Maurerhalle*" by R. R. Fischer, which was followed by the same editor's Freemasons Newspaper (*Freimaurer-Zeitung*), established in 1847, and at present edited by Dr. Moritz Zille at Leipsic. We have already noticed

the "*Ziegeldecker im Osten von Altenburg*" which was discontinued, and reappeared as the "*Bruderblätter*" edited by Br. Bernh. Lützelberger (1837, 18 Parts). There has been since 1842, though with sundry intermissions, a quarterly publication called "*Latomia*", commenced by Br. F. L. Meissner, continued by Br. Merzdorf and Schletter; and since 1858 by the author of the present history, the weekly publication the "*Bauhütte*". Every year since 1824 a Pocket Book called „*Asträa*" has appeared, first given out by Br. von Sydow, then by Br. Bechstein and A. W. Müller in Meiningen, but now the latter has it entirely in his hands, and the "Calendar for Freemasons" by Br. Carl van Dalen, since 1861. The "Calendar for the Provincial Lodge of Mecklenburg", beginning with 1821, which used to appear under the auspices of Br. C. C. Fr. Wilh. Freiherrn von Nettelblatt, must not be passed over entirely, on account of the many valuable historical treatises in it, by the Editor.

In America, the masonic press had many young shoots, of most luxuriant growth; but as there "Every thing has more length, breadth, and heighth, than depth", it was accorded to but few to strike deep into the soil, and take root. Many periodicals arose and vanished like ephemeral flies. The civil war there has of late caused many periodicals to be discontinued, so that for the moment, we hardly know, which may or may not exist. The "Triangle" published in the German language by Br. Ed. Röhr, has happily weathered the political storm; the above-named brother is likewise the editor of the "German-American Chronicles" (*Deutsch-amerikan. Jahrbücher*), of which we have already 3 volumes. Among the periodicals discontinued, Br. Röhr regrets the most "*Mirror and Keystone*" published by Br. Hynemann in Philadelphia; also the one by Br. Simons in New-York, the "Masonic Eclectic", deserved to live longer, for it

had much that was good in it. A long list of discontinued American periodicals are mentioned by name in the "Triangle" 1860, No. 24, (see also "*Bauhütte*" IV. vol., Page 109). The "Voice of Masonry", an inconsiderable paper edited by Br. Rob. Morris in Louisville (Kentucky) has ceased to appear, so that at present only a few masonic periodicals exist, like the Freemasons Monthly Magazine, edited by Charles W. Moore, Boston, Mass. &c.

Review of the Grand Lodges.

1) Great-Britain.

The United Gr. L. of England, founded 1717, numbers nearly	1000 Lodges
„ Grand Lodge of Ireland „ 1730 „	300 „
„ „ „ „ Scotland „ 1736 „	300 „

2) France.

The Grand Orient, founded 1772, numbers	230 „
„ <i>Supr. Conseil</i> „ 1804 „	50 „

3) Germany.

The Great National Motherlodge of the 3 Globes at Berlin	
founded 1744, numbers	102 „
The Gr. Lodge of Germany at Berlin „ 1770 „	68 „
„ „ „ Royal York <i>zur Freundschaft</i> at Berlin	
founded 1798, numbers	29 „
„ „ „ of Hamburg . . „ 1811 „	25 „
„ „ „ of Hanover . . „ 1828 „	23 „
„ „ „ of Saxonia . . „ 1811 „	17 „
„ „ „ <i>zur Sonne</i> at Bayreuth „ 1811 „	13 „
„ „ „ of the Eclect. Union at Frankfurt o. M.	
founded 1823, numbers	10 „
„ „ „ <i>zur Eintracht</i> at Darmstadt	
founded 1846 „	8 „
„ <i>Supr. Conseil</i> at Luxemburg . . . „	2 „
Isolated (independent) Lodges at Leipzig (2), Gera,	
Altenburg, and Hildburghausen . . . „	5 „
<i>Aufgehende Morgenröthe</i> at Frankf. (Gr. L. of England) „	1 „
At Altona (Gr. L. of Denmark) . . . „	1 „

4) Switzerland.

The Grand Lodge *Alpina*, founded 1844, numbers . . . 28 Lodges.

5) Italy.

The Grande Oriente at Turin, numbers . . . 60 Lodges.
 „ Gran Consiglio at Milano „ . . . 20 „

6) Portugal.

The Grand Lodge of Portugal, (?)
 „ Prov. Grand Lodge of Ireland, numbers . . . 4 Lodges.

7) Belgium.

The *Grand Orient de Belgique* (not acknowledged).
 „ *Supr. Conseil de Belgique* at Brussels, numbers . . 13 Lodges.

8) The Netherlands.

The Groot Osten at the Haag, founded 1756, numbers . 50 Lodges.

9) Denmark.

The Grand Lodge of Denmark at Copenhagen,
 founded 1792, numbers 6 Lodges.

10) Sweden and Norwegen.

The Grand Lodge of Sweden, founded 1780, numbers . . 12 Lodges.

11) Turkey.

The Prov. Grand Lodge of England at Constantinopel.

12) United States of America.

The Grand Lodge of Alabama,	founded 1821, numbers	235 Lodges.
„ „ „ „ Arkansas .	„ 1838 „	128 „
„ „ „ „ California .	„ 1850 „	134 „
„ „ „ „ Canada .	„ 1855 „	118 „
„ „ „ „ Connecticut	„ 1789 „	57 „
„ „ „ „ Columbia (Dist.)	„ 1811 „	11 „
„ „ „ „ Delaware	„ 1806 „	12 „
„ „ „ „ Florida	„ 1830 „	40 „
„ „ „ „ Georgia	„ 1786 „	226 „
„ „ „ „ Illinois	„ 1823 „	290 „
„ „ „ „ Indiana	„ 1818 „	250 „

The Grand Lodge of Iowa,				founded 1844, numbers	138 Lodges
"	"	"	"	Kansas	" 1856 " 23 "
"	"	"	"	Kentucky	" 1800 " 311 "
"	"	"	"	Louisiana	" 1812 " 112 "
"	"	"	"	Maine	" 1829 " 93 "
"	"	"	"	Maryland	" 1783 " 37 "
"	"	"	"	Massachusetts	" 1777 " 99 "
"	"	"	"	Michigan	" 1826 " 104 "
"	"	"	"	Minnesota	" 1853 " 35 "
"	"	"	"	Mississippi	" 1818 " 239 "
"	"	"	"	Missouri	" 1821 " 189 "
"	"	"	"	Nebraska	" 1857 " 6 "
"	"	"	"	New-Brunswick	" 1856 " 22 "
"	"	"	"	New-Hampshire	" 1789 " 39 "
"	"	"	"	New-Jersey	" 1786 " 52 "
"	"	"	"	New-York	" 1787 " 413 "
"	"	"	"	North-Carolina	" 1787 " 127 "
"	"	"	"	Ohio	" 1809 " 298 "
"	"	"	"	Oregon	" 1851 " 26 "
"	"	"	"	Pennsylvania	" 1786 " 159 "
"	"	"	"	Rhode Island	" 1791 " 16 "
"	"	"	"	South-Carolina	" 1787 " 70 "
"	"	"	"	Tennessee	" 1813 " 213 "
"	"	"	"	Texas	" 1838 " 210 "
"	"	"	"	Vermont	" 1794 " 44 "
"	"	"	"	Virginia	" 1778 " 162 "
"	"	"	"	Wisconsin	" 1843 " 106 "
"	"	"	"	Washington	" 1858 " 7 "
"	"	"	"	Huron	? "
"	"	"	"	Westvirginia	? "

13) South America.

The Grand Lodge of Brasilia, numbers				65 Lodges
"	"	"	"	the Republic Venezuela, numbers 15 "
"	"	"	"	" " Uruguay " 17 "
"	"	"	"	of Mexico, numbers 10 "
"	"	"	"	Peru " 7 "
"	"	"	"	Chili " 5 "
"	"	"	"	the Argentine Republic, numbers 12 "
"	"	"	"	Haiti at Port au Prince, numbers 18 "

14) Asia.

India (Prov. Grand Lodges of England, Scotland and the Netherlands)
China (Prov. Grand Lodges of England and Scotland).

15) Africa.

Lodges under French and English Grand Lodges' Jurisdiction.

There are all over the world more than 70 Grand Lodges with nearly 7300 subordinate Lodges, numbering about 300—400,000 members.

Conclusion.

The fraternity of Freemasons has been of considerable assistance in promoting the work of civilisation, although the pages of history supply but scanty records of its usefulness, and those only single pictures, not a connected whole. Freemasonry has no reality, but to its followers. The strength of the confederacy does not lie in what it is in itself as a whole, but what it effects in its members themselves and through their means. But this is more or less withdrawn from the gaze of the inquirer, as also from the world in general; for as Lessing says, the actual deeds of a Freemason are his secrets.

Even in the most troubled period of her history, when deceit, error, and degeneracy, were her most marked features, Freemasonry has never ceased to be an incentive to noble thoughts and actions, a sanctuary where truth, freedom, and peace have found shelter and protection; and the more she returned to her original simplicity, purity, and worth, the more did she both inwardly and outwardly increase in comprehensiveness, mental depth, and dignity. But she has never yet

accomplished in the past, that which she is capable of performing, and ought to carry out, partly because at all times, and wheresoever she has struck root, she has had to struggle for existence, partly because she has in many respects deviated from her ideal, and permitted that union and concord which was her boast and aim, to be broken up into a thousand disjointed parts.

If her object is to show to the world the path to perfection, then must she of necessity strive to her utmost, first to realise what this perfection is. With this intent she must execute those reforms which the most judicious, well meaning, and solid amongst the Brethren have since the commencement of this century longed to see carried out. For the idea is indissolubly grafted into Freemasonry, that the fraternity should form one grand whole, and this cannot possibly be established by the usurpation of supreme power by any, but by a voluntary agreement and intimate connection between the majority of Masons, Lodges, and Grand Lodges.

A modern masonic author¹⁾ rightly says: "It would be a very limited and therefore undignified interpretation of the ancient institution of Freemasonry, if we now, or at any time, looked upon it as complete and perfected, and with inconsiderate resignation, sacrificed ourselves to the authoritative dogmas of one system or of one single era of cultivation, renouncing that constant development, which is the sublime fundamental principle of the system, the germ infused into her at her very existence. But on the other hand the

¹⁾ Observations of a Freemason upon the statutes etc. (By Br. Krieg.) Leipzig, 1841. Page 1.

hasty relinquishment of all tradition, the wandering up and down in the wide regions of morality and cosmopolitanism, the wantonly passing over of the positive and substantial ground-work of the ancient fraternity, is no less to be deprecated. Both extremes can only satisfactorily be accommodated along the beaten track of personal experiment."

The basis of all substantial reform is the adaptation of the constitutions to these three requisites, liberty, equality, and Fraternity, having regard, at the same time, to the spirit of the age and honor of the individual members of the order, and to the body generally; for not in the ritual, but in the constitution, is the only true and certain perception of the aim of the society to be sought. Each masonic legislative body must recognize the universality of Freemasonry, keeping in view the totality of the confederacy and the animation and vitality in its organisation, nor losing sight either of the special feature of the single lodges, i. e. their independence and self-government. The Grand Lodges are merely the executive and administrative communities, and must utter the genuine unadulterated sentiments of the lodges they represent.

Like every other sacred truth, Freemasonry cannot do without an outward form, i. e. without symbols and ceremonies, or a Rite; but this must be under the banner of its primitive form, and on the basis of its simplest and most ancient ritual, re-modelled and perfected to suit the age.

But more than all things else, it is imperatively necessary to elevate the tone of the lodges, to make the meetings more significant and attractive, to grasp a more comprehensive view of Freemasonry, with its individuality stamped on all its regulations, as well as

to quicken the force and power of masonic laws — in a word, that the real may more closely resemble the ideal, that Freemasonry may be regarded as an influential and weighty matter, in order that all single lodges may be transformed into-genuine sanctuaries of liberty, peace, light, love, and life.

Appendix.



A.

Examination of a German "Steinmetz".

Stranger. With your favor, I desire to gain admittance.

Warden. You have my permission. From whence come you?

S. I come from. N. N.

W. What do you bring with you?

S. A courteous greeting from the worthy and worshipful Craft of Masons there to the Master and Fellows of the worthy and worshipful Craft of Masons here, and to all connected with it, according to the usage and custom of the Craft.

W. Approach. What is your request?

S. I desire to have my honest name inscribed in the book of the Craft, as other honest fellows have done before me, and will also pay my *groschen*, that the worshipful Craft may be strengthened and not weakened. With your favor and permission, God bless this plan, and all who stand here around us.

W. Stranger, are you a letter-mason or a salute-mason?

S. I am a salute-mason (*Grüsser*).

W. How shall I know you to be such?

S. By my salute and the words of my mouth.

W. Who has sent thee abroad?

S. My worshipful master, my worshipful sureties, and the whole worshipful craft of Masons at N.

W. For what purpose?

S. For honorable promotion, instruction, and honesty.

W. What is instruction and honesty?

S. The usages and customs of the Craft.

W. When do they commence?

S. As soon as I have honestly and faithfully finished my apprenticeship.

W. When do they end?

S. When death breaks my heart.

W. How do we recognize a Mason?

S. By his honesty.

W. Where was the Worshipful Craft of Masons in Germany first instituted?

S. At the Cathedral of Magdeburg.

W. Under what monarch?

S. Under the Emperor Charles II. in the year 876.

W. How long did that emperor reign?

S. Three years.

W. What was the name of the first Mason?

S. Anton Hieronymus, and the working-tool was invented by Walkan.

(Perhaps corruptions of *Adon-hiram* and *Tubal-Cain*.)

W. How many words has a Mason?

S. Seven.

W. What are they?

S. God bless all honesty—God bless all honorable wisdom—God bless the Worshipful Craft—God bless the Worshipful Master—God bless the Worshipful Warden—God bless the Worshipful Society—God bless all honorable promotion here, and all places on sea or land.

W. Whit as secrecy in itself?

S. Earth, fire, air, and snow, through which to honest promotion I go.

W. What dost thou carry under thy hat?

S. A laudable *Wisdom*.

W. What dost thou carry under thy tongue?

S. A praiseworthy *Truth*.

W. Why dost thou wear an apron?

S. To honor the Craft and for my profit.

W. What is the *Strength* of our Craft?

S. That which fire and water can not destroy.

W. What is the best part of a wall?

S. Union.

B.

The Constitutions of the German Masons of Strasburg (1459).

(Extract.)

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of our gracious Mother Mary, and also of her blessed servants, the holy four crowned martyrs of everlasting memory: considering that true friendship, unanimity, and obedience are the foundation of all good; therefore, and for the general advantage and free will of all princes, nobles, lords, citieys, chaters, and convents, who may desire at this time or in future to build churches, choirs, or other great works of stone, and edifices; that they may be the better provided and supplied, and also for the benefit and

requirements of the masters and fellows of the whole craft of masonry, and masons in Germany, and more especially to avoid in future, between those of the craft, dissensions; differences, costs, and damages, by which irregular acts many masters have suffered grievously, contrary to the good customs and ancient usages maintained and practiced in good faith by the seniors and patrons of the craft in ancient times. But that we may continue to abide therein in a true and peaceful way, have we, masters and fellows all, of the said craft, congregated in chapters at Spires, at Strasburg, and at Regensburg, in the name and on behalf of ourselves and of all other masters and fellows of our whole common craft above-mentioned, renewed and revised these ancient usages, and kindly and affably agreed upon these statutes and fraternity; and having by common consent drawn up the same, have also vowed and promised, for ourselves and all our successors, to keep them faithfully, as hereafter stands writ:

a. Firstly: If any of the articles in these statutes should prove to be too strict and severe, or others too light and mild, then may those who are of the fraternity, by a majority, modify, decrease, or increase such articles, according to the requirements of the time, or country, or circumstance. The resolutions of those who shall thenceforth be observed, in accordance with the oath taken by every one.

b. Item: Whoever of his own free will desires to enter into this fraternity, according to the regulations as hereafter stands writ in this book, shall promise to keep all the points and articles, for then only can he be of our craft.—Masters as well as fellows must conduct themselves honorably, and not infringe upon the rights of others, or they may be punished, according to these statutes, on the occasion of every such transgression.

c. Item: Whatever regular works and buildings are now in progress of erection by journey work, such buildings and works shall be continued by journey work, and in no wise by task work; so that nothing be cut short of the work, to the damage of the contract, as far as possible.

d. Item: If any craftsman who has had a regular work should die, then any craftsman or master, skilled in masonry, and sufficient and able for the work, may aspire to complete said work, so that the lords owning or superintending such building may again be supplied with the requirements of masonry. So also may any fellow who understands such masonry.

e. Item: Any master may, in addition to his own work, undertake a work abroad, or a master who has no such work may likewise undertake it, in which case he may give such work or building in good faith, in journey work, and continue it as best he can or may, so that the work and progress be not interrupted, according to the regulations and customs of masonry. If a master fails to satisfy those persons who committed the work to him, and reliable information be given thereof, then shall the said master be called to account by the craft, corrected, and punished, after having been sentenced; but if the lords are not willing so to do, then may he do it as they choose, be it by task or journey work.

f. Item: If any master, who has had such a work or building die, and another master comes and finds such stone-work, be the stone-work set or not, then shall such master not pull down the set stones, nor in any wise cast away the hewn and unset stones, without previous counsel and agreement with other craftsmen, so that the owners and other honorable persons, who caused such edifice to be builded, be not put to unjust expense, and that also the master who left such work be not defamed. But if the owners choose to have such work removed, then he may have it done, provided he seeks no undue advantage thereby. — —

g. Item: Two masters shall not share in the same work or building, unless it be a small one, which can be finished in the course of a year. Such a work he may have in common with him that is a brother.

h. Item: If any master accepts a work in contract and makes a design for the same, how it shall be builded, then he shall not cut anything short of the design, but shall execute it according to the plan which he has shown to the lords, cities, or people, so that nothing be altered.

i. Any master or fellow who shall take away from another master of the fraternity of craftsmen a work on which he is engaged, or who shall endeavor to dispossess him of such work, clandestinely or openly, without the knowledge or consent of the master who has such work, be the same small or great, he shall be called to account: No master or fellow shall keep fellowship with him, nor shall any fellow of the fraternity work for him, so long as he is engaged in the work which he has thus dishonestly acquired, nor until he has asked pardon, and given satisfaction to him whom he has driven from his work, and shall also have been punished in the fraternity by the masters, as is ordained by these statutes. — —

n. No workman, nor master, nor Parli-er, nor fellow-craft, shall instruct any one, whosoever, who is not of our craft, in any part if he has not in his day practiced masonry.

o. No craftsman nor master shall take money from a fellow for teaching or instructing him in anything belonging to masonry, nor shall any Parli-er or fellow-craft instruct any one for money's sake; but if one wishes to instruct the other, they may do so mutually or for fraternal affection.

p. Item: A master who has a work or a building for himself may have three apprentices, and may also set to work fellows of the same Lodge; that is, if his lords so permit; but if he have more buildings than one, then shall he have no more than two apprentices on the afore-mentioned building, so that he shall not have more than five apprentices on all his buildings.

Item: No craftsman or master shall be received in the fraternity who goes not early to the holy communion, or who keeps not Christian discipline, or who squanders his substance at play; but should any one be inadvertently accepted into the fraternity who does these things as aforesaid, then shall no master nor fellow keep fellowship with him until he desists therefrom, and has been punished therefor by those of the fraternity.

No craftsman nor master shall live in adultery while engaged in masonry; but if such a one will not desist therefrom, then shall no travelling fellow nor mason work in company with him, nor keep fellowship with him.

g. Item: If a fellow-craft takes work with a master, who is not accepted into the fraternity of craftsmen, then shall the said fellow not be punishable therefor etc.

But if a fellow would take unto himself a lawful wife, and not being employed in a Lodge, would establish himself in a city, and be obliged to serve with a craft, he shall on every ember-week pay four pennies, and shall be exempt from the weekly penny, because he be not employed in the Lodge.

r. If a master have a complaint against another master, for having violated the regulations of the craft, or a master against a fellow, or a fellow against another fellow, any master or fellow who is concerned therein shall give notice thereof to the master who presides over the fraternity, and the master who is thereof informed shall hear both parties, and set a day when he will try the cause; and meanwhile, before the fixed or appointed day, no fellow shall avoid the master, nor master drive away the fellow, but render services mutually until the hour when the matter is to be heard and settled. This shall all be done according to the judgment of the craftsmen, which shall be observed accordingly. Moreover, the case shall be tried on the spot where it arose, before the nearest master who keeps the Book of Statutes, and in whose district it occurred.

s. Item: Every Parlirer shall honor his master, be true and faithful to him, according to the rule of masonry, and obey him with undivided fidelity, as is meet and of ancient usage. So also shall a fellow.

And when a travelling fellow-craft desires to travel farther, he shall part from his master and from the Lodge in such wise as to be indebted to no one, and that no man have any grievance against him, as is meet and proper.

t. A travelling fellow, in whatever Lodge he may be employed, shall be obedient to his master and to the Parlirer, according to the rule and ancient usage of masonry, and shall also keep all the regulations and privileges which are of ancient usage in the said Lodge, and shall not revile his master's work, either secretly or openly, in any wise. But if the master infringe upon these regulations, and act contrary to them, then may any one give notice thereof.

u. Every craftsman employing workmen in the Lodge, to whom is confided these statutes, and who is duly invested with authority, shall have power and authority in the same over all contentions and matters which pertain to masonry, to try and punish in his district. All masters, Parlirers, and apprentices shall obey him.

x. A fellow who has travelled, and is practiced in masonry, and who is of this fraternity, who wishes to serve a craftsman on a portion of the work, shall not be accepted by that craftsman or master, in any wise, for a less term than two years.

y. Item: All masters and fellows who are of this fraternity shall faithfully keep all the points and articles of these regulations, as hereinbefore and hereafter stands written etc.

z. The master who has charge of the Book shall, on the oath of the fraternity, have a care that the same be not copied, either by himself nor by any other person, or given, or lent, so that the Book remain intact, according to the resolution of the craftsmen. But if one of the craftsmen, being of this fraternity, have need or cause to know one or two articles, that may any master give him in writing. Every master shall cause these statutes to be read every year to the fellows in the lodge.

Item: If a complaint be made involving a greater punishment, as, for instance, expulsion from masonry, the same shall not be tried or judged by one master in his district, but the two nearest masters who are intrusted with the copies of the statutes, and who have authority over the fraternity, shall be summoned by him, so that there may be three. The fellows also who were at work at the place where the grievance arose shall be summoned also, and whatsoever shall be with one accord agreed upon by those three, together with all the fellows, or by a majority thereof, in accordance with their oath and best judgment, shall be observed by the whole fraternity of craftsmen.

Item: If two or more masters who are of the fraternity be at variance or discord about matters which do not concern masonry, they shall not settle these matters anywhere but before masonry, which shall judge and reconcile them as far as possible, but so that the agreement be made without prejudice to the lords or cities who are concerned in the matter.

1. Now, in order that these regulations of the craft may be kept more honestly, with service to God and other necessary and becoming things, every master who has craftsmen at work in his Lodge, and practices masonry, and is of this fraternity, shall first pay one florin on entering this fraternity, and afterwards each year four *Blapparts*; namely, on each ember-week one *Blappart* or Bohemian, to be paid into the box of the fraternity, and each fellow four *Blapparts*, and so likewise an apprentice who has served his time.

2. All masters and craftsmen who are of this fraternity, and who employ workmen in their Lodges, shall each of them have a box, and each fellow shall pay into the box weekly one penny. Every master shall faithfully treasure up such money, and what may be derived from other sources, and shall each year deliver it to the fraternity at the nearest place where a Book is kept, in order to provide for God's worship and to supply the necessities of the fraternity.

3. Every master who has a box, if there be no Book in the same Lodge, shall deliver the money each year to the master who has charge of the Book, and where the Book is there shall also be held divine worship. If a master or fellow dies in a Lodge where no Book is kept, another master or fellow of the said Lodge shall give notice thereof to the master who has a Book, and when he has been informed thereof he shall cause a mass to be said for the

repose of the soul of him who has departed, and all the masters and fellows of the Lodge shall assist at the mass and contribute thereto.

4. If a master or fellow be put to any expense or disbursement, for account of the fraternity, and notice be given of how the same occurred, to such master or fellow shall be repaid his expenses; he the same small or great, out of the box of the fraternity; if also any one gets into trouble with courts or in other matters, relating to the fraternity, then shall every one, be he master or fellow, afford him aid and relief, as he is bound to do by the oath of the fraternity.

5. If a master or fellow fall sick, or a fellow who is of the fraternity, and has lived uprightly in masonry, be afflicted with protracted illness and want for food and necessary money, then shall the master who has charge of the box lend him relief and assistance from the box, if he otherwise may, until he recover from his sickness; and he shall afterward vow and promise to restitute the same into the box. But if he should die in such sickness, then so much shall be taken from what he leaves at his death, be it clothing or other articles, as to repay that which had been loaned to him, if so much there be.

These are the statutes of the Parlires and Fellows.

No craftsman or master shall set at work a fellow who commits adultery, or who openly lives in illicit intercourse with women, or who does not yearly make confession, and goes not to the holy communion, according to Christian discipline, nor one who is so foolish as to lose his clothing at play.

Item: If any fellow should wantonly take leave of a grand lodge or from another lodge, he shall not ask for employment in the said lodge for a year to come.

Item: If a craftsman or master wishes to discharge a travelling fellow whom he had employed, he shall not do so unless on a Saturday or on a pay-evening, so that he may know how to travel on the morrow, unless he be guilty of an offence. The same shall also be done by a fellow-craft.

Item: A travelling fellow shall make application for employment to no one but the master of the work or the Parlires, neither clandestinely nor openly, without the knowledge and will of the master.

Regulations of the Apprentices.

No craftsman nor master shall knowingly accept as an apprentice one who is not of lawful birth, and shall earnestly inquire thereof before he accepts him, and shall question such apprentice on his word, whether his father and mother were duly united in lawful wedlock.

Item: No craftsman or master shall promote one of his apprentices as a Parlires whom he has taken as an apprentice from his rough state, or who is still in his years of apprenticeship.

Neither shall any craftsman or master promote any of his apprentices as a Parliurer whom he has taken from his rough state; notwithstanding he may have served his years of apprenticeship, if he has not travelled for the space of one year etc. — —

Item: Whoever desires to enter this fraternity, shall promise ever to keep steadfastly all these articles hereinbefore and hereafter written in this Book; except our gracious lord the Emperor, or the king, princes, lords, or any other nobles, by force or right, should be opposed to his belonging to the fraternity; that shall be a sufficient excuse, so that there be no harm therein. But for what he is indebted for to the fraternity; he shall come to an agreement thereon with the craftsmen who are in the fraternity.

Although by Christian discipline every Christian is bound to provide for his own salvation, yet it must be duly remembered by the masters and craftsmen whom the Almighty God has graciously endowed with their art and workmanship, to build houses of God and other costly edifices, and honestly to gain their living thereby, that by gratitude their hearts be justly moved unto true Christian feelings, to promote divine worship, and to merit the salvation of their souls thereby. Therefore to the praise and honor of Almighty God, his worthy mother Mary, of all her blessed saints, and particularly of the holy four crowned martyrs, and especially for the salvation of the souls of all persons who are of this fraternity, or who may hereafter belong to it, have we craftsmen of masonry stipulated and ordained for us and all our successors, to have a divine service yearly at the four holy festivals and on the day of the holy four crowned martyrs, at Strasburg, in the minster of the high chapter, in our dear lady's chapel, with vigils and soul masses, after the manner to be instituted.

It was determined upon the day at Spires, on the ninth day of April, in the year, counting from God's birth, 1464, that the workmaster, Jost Dotzinger, of Worms, workmaster of the high chapter at Strasburg, shall have an assembly of craftsmen in his district, when three or four masters shall be taken and chosen, to come together on a certain day, as they may agree, and what is there determined on by a majority of those who are so congregated in chapters, and who are then present, and how they may decrease or increase some articles, that shall be kept throughout the whole fraternity.

That day shall be on St. George's day in the sixty-ninth year.

These are the masters who were present on the day at Spires, on the ninth day of April in the year 1464.

Item: Jost Dotzinger, of Worms, workmaster of our dear lady's minster of the high chapter at Strasburg; Item: Master Hans von Esselingen; Item: Master Vincencie von Constantz; Item: Master Hans von Heyltburn; Item: Master Peter von Algesheim, Master at Nuhausen; Item: Werner Meylon, of Basle, on behalf of Master Peter Knobel, of Basle etc., etc.

C.

Examination of the English Masons.

Here followeth there private discourse by way of question and answer.

Quest. Are you a mason?

Ans. Yes I am a free mason.

Q. How shall I know that?

A. By perfect signes and tokens and the first poynts of my entrance.

Q. Which is the first signe or token? show me the first and I will show you the second.

A. The first is heale and conceal or conceal and keep secrett by no less paine than cutting my tongue from my throat.

Q. Where were you made a Mason?

A. In a just and perfect or just and lawfull Lodge.

Q. What is a just and perfect or just and lawfull Lodge.

A. A just and perfect Lodge is two Interprentices two fellow craftes and two Masters more or fewer, the more the merrier the fewer the bettr chear, but if need require five will serve that is two Interprentices two fellow craftes and one Master on the highest hill or lowest Valley of the world without the crow of a cock or the bark of a dogg.

Q. From whom do you derive your principall.

A. From a greatr than you.

Q. Who is that on earth that is greatr then a free mason.

A. He yt was caryed to the highest pinnicall of the Temple of Jerusalem.

Q. Whethr is your Lodge shut or open.

A. It is shut.

Q. Where lyes the keys of the Lodge doore.

A. They lye in a boundycase or undr a three cornered pavement about a foote and a halfe from the Lodge door.

Q. What is the key of your Lodge door made of.

A. It is not made of wood Stone Iron or Steel or any sort of mettle, but the tongue of a good report behind a Brothr's back as well as before his face.

Q. How many Jewles belong to your Lodge.

A. There are three the square pavement the blasing Star and the Danly tassley.

Q. How long is the cable rope of your Lodge.

A. As long as from the Lop of the Liver to the root of the tongue.

Q. How many Lights are in your Lodge.

A. Three the sun the mastr and the square.

Q. How high is your lodge.

A. Without foots yards or inches it reaches to Heaven.

Q. Hou stood your Lodge.

A. East and west as all holly Temples stand.

Q. Which is the masters place in the Lodge.

A. The east place is the master place in the Lodge and the Jewell resteth on him first and he setteth men to worke wt the masters have in the foornoon the wardens reape in the Afternoon.

In some places they discourse as followeth (viz).

Q. Where was the word first given.

A. At the Tower of Babylon.

Q. Where did they first call their Lodge.

A. At the holy Chapell of St. John.

Q. How stood your Lodge.

A. As the said holy Chapell and all other holy Temples stand (east and west).

Q. How many lights are in your Lodge.

A. Two, one to see to go in and another to see to work.

Q. What were you sworne by.

A. By god and the square.

Q. Whether above the cloathes or und. the cloathes.

A. Undr the cloathes.

Q. Undr what Arme.

A. Undr the right Arme. God is Gratfull to all worshipfull masters aud fellows in that worshipfull Lodge from whence we last came and to you good fellow wt is your name.

A. I or B. then giving the grip of the hand he will say Broth. John griet you well you.

A. Gods greeting to you dear Brother.

Another salutation is giving the masters or fellows grip saying the right worshipfull the masters and fellows in that worshipfull Lodge from whence we last came greet you greet you greet you well, then he will repley gods good greeting to you dear Brother.

Anothr they have called the masters word and is Mohebyn which is allways divided into two words and standing close with their Breasts to each others the inside of each others right ancle joynts the masters grip by their right hands and the top of their left hand fingers thurst close on y small of each others Backbone and in that posture they stand till they whisper in each others ears y one Maha—the other replyis Byn.

The oath.

The mason word and every thing therein contained you shall keep secrett you shall never put it in writing directly or indirectly you shall keep all that we or your attenders shall bid you keep secret from man woman or Child Stock or Stone and never reveal it but to a brother or in a Lodge of Freemasons and truly observe the Charges in ye Constitution all this you promise and swere faithfully to keep and observe without any manner of Equivocation or mentall resarvation directly or Indirectly so help you God and by the contents of this book. So he kisses the book, etc.

D.

The Old Charges from 1723.

I. Concerning God and Religion.¹⁾

A Mason is obliged, by his tenure, to obey the moral law; and if he rightly understands the art, he will never be a stupid atheist, nor an irreligious libertine. But though in ancient times Masons were charged in every country to be of the religion of that country or nation, whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves; that is, to be good men and true, or men of honour and honesty, by whatever denominations or persuasions they may be distinguished; whereby Masonry becomes the centre of union, and the means of conciliating true friendship among persons that must have otherwise remained at a perpetual distance.

II. Of the civil magistrate, supreme and subordinate.

A Mason is a peaceable subject to the civil powers, wherever he resides or works, and is never to be concerned in plots and conspiracies against the peace and welfare of the nation, nor to behave himself undutifully to inferior magistrates; for as Masonry hath been always injured by war, bloodshed, and confusion, so ancient kings and princes have been much disposed to encourage the craftsmen, because of their peaceableness and loyalty, whereby they practically answered the cavils of their adversaries, and promoted the honor of the Fraternity, who ever flourished in times of peace. So that if a Brother should be a rebel against the state, he is not to be countenanced in his rebellion, however he may be pitied as an unhappy man; and, if convicted of no other crime, though the loyal brotherhood must and ought to disown his rebellion, and give no umbrage or ground of political jealousy to the government for the time being; they cannot expel him from the Lodge, and his relation to it remains indefeasible.

III. Of Lodges.

A Lodge is a place where Masons assemble and work; hence that assembly, or duly organized society of Masons, is called a Lodge,

¹⁾ In the edition of the Book of constitutions published in 1738, Charge I. runs thus: „A mason is obliged by his tenure, to obey the moral laws as a true „Noachide“ and if he rightly understands the art, he will never etc. nor act against conscience. In ancient times, the Christian masons were charged to comply with the Christian usages of each country where they travelled or worked, being from all nations even of divers religion. They are generally charged to adhere to that religion in which all men agree, leaving each brother to his own particular opinion that is to be good etc. — They may be distinguished; for they all agree in the three great articles of Noah, enough to preserve the cement of the Lodge. Thus Masonry etc. —

Afterwards the ancient constitution of 1723 was once more resumed. Charge II. is in the Edition of 1738 somewhat shorter: but the same in all its essential parts as that of 1723. Charge VI. is in the edition of 1738 also shorter, and that place omitted which treats of Church Reform, and the separation of those nations from Rome.

and every Brother ought to belong to one, and to be subject to its by-laws and the General Regulations. It is either particular or general, and will be best understood by attending it, and by the regulations of the General or Grand Lodge hereunto annexed. In ancient times, no Master or Fellow could be absent from it, especially when warned to appear at it, without incurring a severe censure, until it appeared to the Master and Wardens that pure necessity hindered him.

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.

IV. Of Masters, Wardens, Fellows and Apprentices.

All preferment among Masons is grounded upon real worth and personal merit only; that so the lords may be well served, the brethren not put to shame, nor the royal craft despised; therefore no Master or Warden is chosen by seniority, but for his merit. It is impossible to describe these things in writing, and every Brother must attend in his place, and learn them in a way peculiar to this Fraternity: only candidates may know that no Master should take an Apprentice unless he has sufficient employment for him, and unless he be a perfect youth, having no maim or defect in his body, that may render him incapable of learning the art, of serving his Master's lord, and of being made a Brother, and then a Fellow Craft in due time, even after he has served such a term of years as the custom of the country directs; and that he should be descended of honest parents; that so, when otherwise qualified, he may arrive to the honour of being the Warden, and then the Master of the Lodge, the Grand Warden, and at length the Grand Master of all the Lodges, according to his merit.

No Brother can be a Warden until he has passed the part of a Fellow Craft; nor a Master, until he has acted as a Warden, nor Grand Warden, until he has been Master of a Lodge, nor Grand Master, unless he has been a Fellow Craft before his election, who is also to be nobly born, or a gentleman of the best fashion, or some eminent scholar, or some curious architect or other artist, descended of honest parents, and who is of singular great merit in the opinion of the Lodges. And for the better and easier, and more honourable discharge of his office, the Grand Master has a power to choose his own Deputy Grand Master, who must be then, or must have been formerly, the Master of a particular Lodge, and has the privilege of acting whatever the Grand Master, his principal, should act, unless the said principal be present, or interpose his authority by a letter.

These rulers and governors, supreme and subordinate, of the ancient Lodge, are to be obeyed in their respective stations by all the brethren, according to the Old Charges and Regulations, with all humility, reverence, love, and alacrity.

V. Of the Management of the Craft in Working.

All Masons shall work honestly on working days, that they may live creditably on holy days; and the time appointed by the law of the land, or confirmed by custom, shall be observed.

The most expert of the Fellow Craftsmen shall be chosen or appointed the Master or overseer of the lord's work: who is to be called Master by those that work under him. The craftsmen are to avoid all ill language, and to call each other by no disobliging name, but Brother or Fellow; and to behave themselves courteously within and without the Lodge.

The Master, knowing himself to be able of cunning, shall undertake the lord's work as reasonably as possible, and truly dispend his goods as if they were his own; nor to give more wages to any Brother or Apprentice than he really may deserve.

Both the Master and the Mason receiving their wages justly, shall be faithful to the lord, and honestly finish their work, whether task or journey; nor put the work to task that hath been accustomed to journey.

None shall discover envy at the prosperity of a Brother, nor supplant him, or put him out of his work, if he be capable to finish the same; for no man can finish another's work so much to the lord's profit, unless he be thoroughly acquainted with the designs and draughts of him that began it.

When a Fellow Craftsman is chosen Warden of the work under the Master, he shall be true both to Master and Fellows; shall carefully oversee the work in the Master's absence to the lord's profit; and his brethren shall obey him.

All Masons employed shall meekly receive their wages without murmuring or mutiny, and not desert the Master till the work is finished.

A younger Brother shall be instructed in working, to prevent spoiling the materials for want of judgment, and for increasing and continuing of brotherly love.

All the tools used in working shall be approved by the Grand Lodge.

No labourer shall be employed in the proper work of Masonry; nor shall Free Masons work with those that are not free, without an urgent necessity; nor shall they teach labourers and unaccepted Masons, as they should teach a Brother or Fellow.

VI. Of Behaviour, viz :

1. In the Lodge while Constituted.

You are not to hold private committees, or separate conversation, without leave from the Master, nor to talk of any thing impertinent or unseemly, nor interrupt the Master or Wardens, or any Brother speaking to the Master; nor behave yourself ludicrously or jestingly while the Lodge is engaged in what is serious and solemn; nor use any unbecoming language upon any pretence whatsoever; but to pay due reverence to your Master, Wardens, and Fellows, and put them to worship.

If any complaint be brought, the Brother found guilty shall stand to the award and determination of the Lodge, who are the proper and competent judges of all such controversies, (unless you carry it by appeal to the Grand Lodge,) and to whom they ought to be referred, unless a lord's work be hindered the meanwhile, in which case a particular reference may be made; but you must never go to law about what concerneth Masonry, without an absolute necessity apparent to the Lodge.

2. Behaviour after the Lodge is over and the Brethren not gone.

You may enjoy yourself with innocent mirth, treating one another according to ability, but avoiding all excess, or forcing any Brother to eat or drink beyond his inclination, or hindering him from going when his occasions call him, or doing or saying any thing offensive, or that may forbid an easy and free conversation; for that would blast our harmony and defeat our laudable purposes. Therefore no private piques or quarrels must be brought within the door of the Lodge, far less any quarrels about religion, or nations, or state policy, we being only, as Masons, of the Catholic religion above-mentioned; we are also of all nations, tongues, kindreds, and languages, and are resolved against all politicks, as what never yet conduced to the welfare of the Lodge, nor ever will. This Charge has been always strictly enjoined and observed; but especially ever since the Reformation in Britain, or the dissent and secession of these nations from the communion of Rome.

3. Behaviour when Brethren meet without Strangers, but not in a Lodge formed.

You are to salute one another in a courteous manner, as you will be instructed, calling each other Brother, freely giving mutual instruction as shall be thought expedient, without being overseen or overheard, and without encroaching upon each other, or derogating from that respect which is due to any Brother, were he not a Mason; for though all Masons are as brethren upon the same level, yet Masonry takes no honour from a man that he had before; nay, rather it adds to his honour, especially if he has deserved well of the Brotherhood, who must give honour to whom it is due, and avoid ill manners.

4. Behaviour in Presence of Strangers not Masons.

You shall be cautious in your words and carriage, that the most penetrating stranger shall not be able to discover or find out what is not proper to be intimated; and sometimes you shall divert a discourse and manage it prudently for the honour of the worshipful Fraternity.

5. Behaviour at Home, and in your Neighbourhood.

You are to act as becomes a moral and wise man; particularly not to let your family, friends, and neighbours know the concerns of the Lodge &c., but wisely to consult your own honour and that of

the ancient Brotherhood, for reasons not to be mentioned here. You must also consult your health, by not continuing together too late, or too long from home, after Lodge hours are past; and by avoiding of gluttony or drunkenness, that your families be not neglected or injured, nor you disabled from working.

6. Behaviour towards a Strange Brother.

You are cautiously to examine him, in such a method as prudence shall direct you, that you may not be imposed upon by an ignorant false pretender, whom you are to reject with contempt and derision, and beware of giving him any hints of knowledge.

But if you discover him to be a true and genuine Brother, you are to respect him accordingly; and if he is in want, you must relieve him if you can, or else direct him how he may be relieved. You must employ him some days, or else recommend him to be employed. But you are not charged to do beyond your ability, only to prefer a poor Brother that is a good man and true, before any other poor people in the same circumstances.

Finally, all these Charges you are to observe, and also those that shall be communicated to you in another way; cultivating brotherly love, the foundation and cape-stone, the cement and glory of this ancient Fraternity; avoiding all wrangling and quarreling, all slander and backbiting, nor permitting others to slander any honest Brother, but defending his character, and doing him all good offices, as far as is consistent with your honour and safety, and no farther. And if any of them do you injury, you must apply to your own or his Lodge, and from thence you may appeal to the Grand Lodge at the Quarterly Communication, and from thence to the Annual Grand Lodge, as has been the ancient laudable conduct of our forefathers in every nation; never taking a legal course but when the case cannot be otherwise decided, and patiently listening to the honest and friendly advice of Master and Fellows, when they would prevent you going to law with strangers, or would excite you to put a speedy period to all lawsuits, that so you may mind the affair of Masonry with the more alacrity and success; but with respect to Brothers or Fellows at law, the Master and Brethren should kindly offer their mediation, which ought to be thankfully submitted to by the contending brethren; and if that submission is impracticable, they must, however, carry on their process or lawsuit without wrath and rancor, (not in the common way) saying or doing nothing which may hinder brotherly love, and good offices to be renewed and continued; that all may see the benign influence of Masonry, as all true Masons have done from the beginning of the world, and will do to the end of time.

E.

The General Regulations of 1721.

General Regulations, first compiled by Mr. George Payne, anno 1720, when he was Grand Master, and approved by the Grand Lodge on St. John Baptist's day, anno 1721, at Stationer's Hall, London, when the Most Noble Prince John, Duke of Montagu, was unanimously chosen our Grand Master for the year ensuing; who chose John Beal, M. D., his Deputy Grand Master; and Mr. Josiah Villeneau and Mr. Thomas Morris, Jun., were chosen by the Lodge Grand Wardens. And now, by the command of our said Right Worshipful Grand Master Montagu, the author of this book has compared them with, and reduced them to the ancient records and immemorial usages of the Fraternity, and digested them into this new method, with several proper explications, for the use of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster.

(In subsequent editions of the Book of Constitutions, these Regulations were altered or amended in various points.)

I. The Grand Master or his Deputy hath authority and right, not only to be present in any true Lodge, but also to preside wherever he is, with the Master of the Lodge on his left hand, and to order his Grand Wardens to attend him, who are not to act in any particular Lodges as Wardens, but in his presence, and at his command; because there the Grand Master may command the Wardens of that Lodge, or any other brethren he pleaseth, to attend and act as his Wardens *pro tempore*.

II. The Master of a particular Lodge has the right and authority of congregating the members of his Lodge into a Chapter at pleasure, upon any emergency or occurrence, as well as to appoint the time and place of their usual forming; and in case of sickness, death, or necessary absence of the Master, the Senior Warden shall act as Master *pro tempore*, if no Brother is present who has been Master of that Lodge before; for in that case the absent Master's authority reverts to the last Master then present; though he cannot act until the said Senior Warden has once congregated the Lodge, or in his absence the Junior Warden.

III. The Master of each particular Lodge, or one of the Wardens, or some other Brother by his order, shall keep a book containing their by-laws, the names of their members, with a list of all the Lodges in town, and the usual times and places of their forming, and all their transactions that are proper to be written.

IV. No Lodge shall make more than five new brethren at one time, nor any man under the age of twenty-five, who must be also his own master, unless by a dispensation from the Grand Master or his Deputy.

V. No man can be made or admitted a member of a particular Lodge without previous notice one month before given to the said Lodge, in order to make due enquiry into the reputation and capacity of the candidate, unless by the dispensation aforesaid.

VI. But no man can be entered a Brother in any particular Lodge, or admitted to be a member thereof, without the unanimous consent of all the members of that Lodge then present when the candidate is proposed, and their consent is formally asked by the Master; and they are to signify their consent or dissent in their own prudent way, either virtually or in form, but with unanimity; nor is this inherent privilege subject to a dispensation; because the members of a particular Lodge are the best judges of it; and if a fractious member should be imposed on them, it might spoil their harmony, or hinder their freedom; or even break and disperse the Lodge, which ought to be avoided by all good and true brethren.

VII. Every new Brother at his making is decently to clothe the Lodge, that is, all the brethren present, and to deposit something for the relief of indigent and decayed brethren, as the candidate shall think fit to bestow, over and above the small allowance stated by the by-laws of that particular Lodge; which charity shall be lodged with the Master or Wardens, or the cashier, if the members think fit to choose one.

And the candidate shall also solemnly promise to submit to the Constitutions, the Charges and Regulations, and to such other good usages as shall be intimated to them in time and place convenient.

VIII. No set or number of brethren shall withdraw or separate themselves from the Lodge in which they were made brethren, or were afterwards admitted members, unless the Lodge becomes too numerous; nor even then, without a dispensation from the Grand Master or his Deputy; and when they are thus separated, they must either immediately join themselves to such other Lodge as they shall like best, with the unanimous consent of that other Lodge to which they go (as above regulated,) or else they must obtain the Grand Master's warrant to join in forming a new Lodge. If any set or number of Masons shall take upon themselves to form a Lodge without the Grand Master's warrant, the regular Lodges are not to countenance them, nor own them as fair brethren and duly formed, nor approve of their acts and deeds; but must treat them as rebels, until they humble themselves, as the Grand Master shall in his prudence direct, and until he approve of them by his warrant, which must be signified to the other Lodges, as the custom is when a new Lodge is to be registered in the list of Lodges.

IX. But if any Brother so far misbehave himself as to render his Lodge uneasy, he shall be twice duly admonished by the Master or Wardens in a formed Lodge; and if he will not refrain his imprudence, and obediently submit to the advice of the brethren, and reform what gives them offence, he shall be dealt with according to the by-laws of that particular Lodge, or else in such a manner as the Quarterly Communication shall in their great prudence think fit; for which a new Regulation may be afterwards made.

X. The majority of every particular Lodge, when congregated, shall have the privilege of giving instructions to their Master and Wardens, before the assembling of the Grand Chapter or Lodge, at the three Quarterly Communications hereafter mentioned, and of the Annual Grand Lodge too; because their Master and Wardens are their representatives, and are supposed to speak their mind.

XI. All particular Lodges are to observe the same usages as much as possible; in order to which, and for cultivating a good understanding among Freemasons, some members out of every Lodge shall be deputed to visit the other Lodges as often as shall be thought convenient.

XII. The Grand Lodge consists of, and is formed by the Masters and Wardens of all the regular particular Lodges upon record, with the Grand Master at their head, and his Deputy on his left hand, and the Grand Wardens in their proper places; and must have a Quarterly Communication about Michaelmas, Christmas, and Lady-day, in some convenient place, as the Grand Master shall appoint, where no Brother shall be present who is not at that time a member thereof without a dispensation; and while he stays, he shall not be allowed to vote, nor even give his opinion, without leave of the Grand Lodge asked and given, or unless it be duly asked by the said Lodge.

All matters are to be determined in the Grand Lodge by a majority of votes, each member having one vote, and the Grand Master having two votes, unless the said Lodge leave any particular thing to the determination of the Grand Master for the sake of expedition.

XIII. At the said Quarterly Communication, all matters that concern the Fraternity in general, or particular Lodges, or single brethren, are quietly, sedately and maturely to be discoursed of and transacted; Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Crafts only here, unless by a dispensation. Here also all differences, that cannot be made up and accommodated privately, nor by a particular Lodge, are to be seriously considered and decided; and if any Brother thinks himself aggrieved by the decision of this Board, he may appeal to the Annual Grand Lodge next ensuing, and leave his appeal in writing with the Grand Master, or his Deputy, or the Grand Wardens. Here also the Master or the Wardens of each particular Lodge shall bring and produce a list of such members as have been made, or even admitted in their particular Lodges since the last Communication of the Grand Lodge; and there shall be a book kept by the Grand Master, or his Deputy, or rather by some Brother whom the Grand Lodge shall appoint for Secretary, wherein shall be recorded all the Lodges, with their usual times and places of forming, and the names of all the members of each Lodge; and all the affairs of the Grand Lodge that are proper to be written.

They shall also consider of the most prudent and effectual methods of collecting and disposing of what money shall be given to, or lodged with them in charity, towards the relief only of any true Brother fallen into poverty or decay, but of none else; but every particular Lodge shall dispose of their own charity for poor brethren, according to their own bylaws, until it be agreed by all the Lodges (in a new regulation) to carry in the charity collected by them to the Grand Lodge, at the Quarterly or Annual Communication, in order to make a common stock of it, for the more handsome relief of poor brethren.

They shall also appoint a Treasurer, a Brother of good worldly substance, who shall be a member of the Grand Lodge by virtue of his office, and shall be always present, and have power to move to the Grand Lodge any thing, especially what concerns his office. To

him shall be committed all money raised for charity, or for any other use of the Grand Lodge, which he shall write down in a book, with the respective ends and uses for which the several sums are intended; and shall expend or disburse the same by such a certain order signed, as the Grand Lodge shall afterwards agree to in a new Regulation; but he shall not vote in choosing a Grand Master or Wardens, though in every other transaction. As in like manner the Secretary shall be a member of the Grand Lodge by virtue of his office, and vote in every thing except in choosing a Grand Master or Wardens.

The Treasurer and Secretary shall have each a clerk, who must be a Brother and Fellow-Craft, but never must be a member of the Grand Lodge, nor speak without being allowed or desired.

The Grand Master or his Deputy shall always command the Treasurer and Secretary, with their clerks and books, in order to see how matters go on, and to know what is expedient to be done upon any emergent occasion.

Another Brother (who must be a Fellow-Craft), should be appointed to look after the door of the Grand Lodge; but shall be no member of it. But these offices may be further explained by a new Regulation, when the necessity and expediency of them may more appear than at present to the fraternity.

XIV. If at any Grand Lodge, stated or occasional, quarterly or annual, the Grand Master and his Deputy should be both absent, then the present Master of a Lodge, that has been the longest a Freemason, shall take the chair, and preside as Grand Master *pro tempore*; and shall be vested with all his power and honor for the time; provided there is no Brother present that has been Grand Master formerly, or Deputy Grand Master; for the last Grand Master present, or else the last Deputy present, should always of right take place in the absence of the present Grand Master and his Deputy.

XV. In the Grand Lodge none can act as Wardens but the Grand Wardens themselves, if present; and if absent, the Grand Master, or the person who presides in his place, shall order private Wardens to act as Grand Wardens *pro tempore*; whose places are to be supplied by two Fellow-Craft of the same Lodge, called forth to act, or sent thither by the particular Master thereof; or if by him omitted, then they shall be called by the Grand Master, that so the Grand Lodge may be always complete.

XVI. The Grand Wardens, or any others, are first to advise with the Deputy about the affairs of the Lodge or of the brethren, and not to apply to the Grand Master without the knowledge of the Deputy, unless he refuse his concurrence in any certain necessary affair; in which case, or in case of any difference between the Deputy and the Grand Wardens, or other brethren, both parties are to go by concert to the Grand Master, who can easily decide the controversy, and make up the difference by virtue of his great authority.

The Grand Master should receive no intimation of business concerning Masonry, but from his Deputy first, except in such certain cases as his Worship can well judge of; for if the application to the Grand Master be irregular, he can easily order the Grand Wardens, or any other brethren thus applying, to wait upon his Deputy, who

is to prepare the business speedily, and to lay it orderly before his Worship.

XVII. No Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens, Treasurer, Secretary, or whoever acts for them, or in their stead *pro tempore*, can at the same time be the Master or Warden of a particular Lodge; but as soon as any of them has honorably discharged his Grand office, he returns to that post or station in his particular Lodge from which he was called to officiate above.

XVIII. If the Deputy Grand Master be sick, or necessarily absent, the Grand Master may choose any Fellow-Craft, he pleases to be his Deputy *pro tempore*; but he that is chosen Deputy at the Grand Lodge, and the Grand Wardens too, cannot be discharged without the cause fairly appear to the majority of the Grand Lodge; and the Grand Master, if he is uneasy, may call a Grand Lodge on purpose to lay the cause before them, and to have their advice and concurrence; in which case the majority of the Grand Lodge, if they cannot reconcile the Master and his Deputy or his Wardens, are to concur in allowing the Master to discharge his said Deputy or his said Wardens, and to choose another Deputy immediately; and the said Grand Lodge shall choose other Wardens in that case, that harmony and peace may be preserved.

XIX. If the Grand Master should abuse his power, and render himself unworthy of the obedience and subjection of the Lodges, he shall be treated in a way and manner to be agreed upon in a new Regulation; because hitherto the ancient Fraternity have had no occasion for it, their former Grand Masters having all behaved themselves worthy of that honourable office.

XX. The Grand Master, with his Deputy and Wardens, shall (at least once) go round and visit all the Lodges about town during his Mastership.

XXI. If the Grand Master die during his Mastership; or by sickness, or by being beyond sea, or any other way should be rendered incapable of discharging his office, the Deputy, or in his absence the Junior, or in his absence any three present Masters of Lodges, shall join to congregate the Grand Lodge immediately, to advise together upon that emergency, and to send two of their number to invite the last Grand Master, to resume his office, which now in course reverts to him; or if he refuse, then the next last, and so backward; but if no former Grand Master can be found, then the Deputy shall act as principal, until another is chosen; or if there be no Deputy, then the oldest Master.

XXII. The brethren of all the Lodges in and about London and Westminster shall meet at an Annual Communication and Feast, in some convenient place, on St. John Baptist's day, or else on St. John Evangelist's day, as the Grand Lodge shall think fit by a new Regulation, having of late years met on St. John Baptist's day; provided: The majority of Masters and Wardens, with the Grand Master, his Deputy and Wardens, agree at their Quarterly Communication, three months before, that there shall be a feast, and a General Communication of all the brethren; for if either the Grand Master, or the majority of the particular Masters are against it, it must be dropt for that time.

But whether there shall be a feast for all the brethren or not, yet the Grand Lodge must meet in some convenient place annually, on St. John's day; or if it be Sunday, then on the next day, in order to choose every year a new Grand Master, Deputy and Wardens.

XXIII. If it be thought expedient, and the Grand Master, with the majority of the Masters and Wardens, agree to hold a grand feast, according to the ancient laudable custom of Masons, then the Grand Wardens shall have the care of preparing the tickets, sealed with the Grand Master's seal, of disposing of the tickets, of receiving the money for the tickets, of buying the materials of the feast, of finding out a proper and convenient place to feast in; and of every other thing that concerns the entertainment.

But that the work may not be too burthensome to the two Grand Wardens, and that all matters may be expeditiously and safely managed, the Grand Master or his Deputy shall have power to nominate and appoint a certain number of Stewards, as his Worship shall think fit, to act in concert with the two Grand Wardens; all things relating to the feast being decided amongst them by a majority of voices; except the Grand Master or his Deputy interpose by a particular direction or appointment.

XXIV. The Wardens and Stewards shall, in due time, wait upon the Grand Master or his Deputy for directions and orders about the premises; but if his Worship and his Deputy are sick, or necessarily absent, they shall call together the Masters and Wardens of Lodges to meet on purpose for their advice and orders, or else they may take the matter wholly upon themselves, and do the best they can.

The Grand Wardens and the Stewards are to account for all the money they receive or expend, to the Grand Lodge, after dinner, or when the Grand Lodge shall think fit to receive their accounts.

If the Grand Master pleases, he may in due time summon all the Masters and Wardens of Lodges to consult with them about ordering the grand feast, and about any emergency or accidental thing relating thereunto, that may require advice; or else to take it upon himself altogether.

XXV. The Masters of Lodges shall each appoint one experienced and discreet Fellow - Craft of his Lodge, to compose a committee, consisting of one from every Lodge, who shall meet to receive, in a convenient apartment, every person that brings a ticket, and shall have power to discourse him, if they think fit, in order to admit him or debar him, as they shall see cause; provided, they send no man away before they have acquainted all the brethren within doors with the reasons thereof, to avoid mistakes, that so no true Brother may be debarred, nor a false Brother or mere pretender admitted. This committee must meet very early on St. John's Day at the place, even before any persons come with tickets.

XXVI. The Grand Master shall appoint two or more trusty brethren to be porters or doorkeepers, who are also to be early at the place for some good reasons, and who are to be at the command of the committee.

XXVII. The Grand Wardens or the Stewards shall appoint beforehand such a number of brethren to serve at table as they think fit and proper for that work; and they may advise with the Masters

and Wardens of Lodges about the most proper persons, if they please, or may take in such by their recommendation; for none are to serve that day but Free and Accepted Masons, that the communication may be free and harmonious.

XXVIII. All the members of the Grand Lodge must be at the place long before dinner, with the Grand Master, or his Deputy, at their head, who shall retire and form themselves. And this is done in order:

1. To receive any appeals duly lodged, as above regulated, that the appellant may be heard, and the affair may be amicably decided before dinner, if possible; but if it cannot, it must be delayed till after the new Grand Master is elected; and if it cannot be decided after dinner, it may be delayed, and referred to a particular committee, that shall quietly adjust it, and make report to the next Quarterly Communication, that brotherly love may be preserved.

2. To prevent any difference or disgust which may be feared to arise that day; that no interruption may be given to the harmony and pleasure of the grand feast.

3. To consult about whatever concerns the decency and decorum of the Grand Assembly, and to prevent all indecency and ill manners, the assembly being promiscuous.

4. To receive and consider of any good motion, or any momentous and important affair, that shall be brought from the particular Lodges, by their representatives, the several Masters and Wardens.

XXIX. After these things are discussed, the Grand Master and his Deputy, the Grand Wardens, or the Stewards, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Clerks, and every other person, shall withdraw, and leave the Masters and Wardens of the particular Lodges alone, in order to consult amicably about electing a new Grand Master, or continuing the present, if they have not done it the day before; and if they are unanimous for continuing the present Grand Master, his Worship shall be called in, and humbly desired to do the Fraternity the honor of ruling them for the year ensuing; and after dinner it will be known whether he accepts of it or not; for it should not be discovered but by the election itself.

XXX. Then the Masters and Wardens, and all the brethren, may converse promiscuously, or as they please to sort together, until the dinner is coming in, when every Brother takes his seat at table.

XXXI. Some time after dinner the Grand Lodge is formed not in retirement, but in the presence of all the brethren, who yet are not members of it, and must not therefore speak until they are desired and allowed.

XXXII. If the Grand Master of last year has consented with the Master and Wardens in private, before dinner, to continue for the year ensuing; then one of the Grand Lodge, deputed for that purpose, shall represent to all the brethren his Worship's good government. &c. And turning to him, shall, in the name of the Grand Lodge, humbly request him to do the Fraternity the great honour (if nobly born,) if not, the great kindness of continuing to be their Grand Master for the year ensuing. And his Worship declaring his

consent by a bow or a speech, as he pleases, the said deputed member of the Grand Lodge shall proclaim him Grand Master, and all the members of the Lodge shall salute him in due form. And all the brethren shall for a few minutes have leave to declare their satisfaction, pleasure and congratulation.

XXXIII. But if either the Master and Wardens have not in private, this day before dinner, nor the day before, desired the last Grand Master to continue in the mastership another year; or if he, when desired, has not consented: Then

The last Grand Master shall nominate his successor for the year ensuing, who, if unanimously approved by the Grand Lodge, and if there present, shall be proclaimed, saluted and congratulated the new Grand Master, as above hinted, and immediately installed by the last Grand Master, according to usage.¹⁾

XXXIV. But if that nomination is not unanimously approved, the new Grand Master shall be chosen immediately by ballot, every Master and Warden writing his man's name, and the last Grand Master writing his man's name too; and the man whose name the last Grand Master shall first take out, casually or by chance, shall be Grand Master for the year ensuing; and if present, he shall be proclaimed, saluted and congratulated, as above hinted, and forthwith installed by the last Grand Master, according to usage.

XXXV. The last Grand Master thus continued, or the new Grand Master thus installed, shall next nominate and appoint his Deputy Grand Master, either the last or a new one, who shall be also declared, saluted and congratulated, as above hinted.

The Grand Master shall also nominate the new Grand Wardens, and if unanimously approved by the Grand Lodge, shall be declared, saluted and congratulated, as above hinted; but if not, they shall be chosen by ballot, in the same way as the Grand Master; as the Wardens of private Lodges are also to be chosen by ballot in each Lodge, if the members thereof do not agree to their Master's nomination.

XXXVI. But if the Brother, whom the present Grand Master shall nominate for his successor, or whom the majority of the Grand Lodge shall happen to choose by ballot, is, by sickness or other necessary occasion, absent from the grand feast, he cannot be proclaimed the new Grand Master, unless the old Grand Master, or some of the Masters and Wardens of the Grand Lodge can vouch, upon the honour of a Brother, that the said person, so nominated or chosen, will readily accept of the said office; in which case the old Grand Master shall act as proxy, and shall nominate the Deputy and Wardens in his name, and in his name also receive the usual honours, homage and congratulation.

XXXVII. Then the Grand Master shall allow any Brother, Fellow-Craft, or Apprentice, to speak, directing his discourse to his Worship; or to make any motion for the good of the Fraternity, which shall be either immediately considered and finished, or else

¹⁾ In the bye-laws 33 and 34 instead of the inalienable masonic freedom of the lodge and the brethren composing it, being exercised in choosing their Masters for themselves or by their representatives, their rights are transferred to arbitrary will (§ 33) or chance (§ 34).

referred to the consideration of the Grand Lodge at their next communication, stated or occasional. When that is over,

XXXVIII. The Grand Master, or his Deputy, or some Brother appointed by him, shall harangue all the brethren, and give them good advice; and lastly, after some other transactions, that cannot be written in any language, the brethren may go away or stay longer, if they please.

XXXIX. Every Annual Grand Lodge has an inherent power and authority to make new Regulations, or to alter these, for the real benefit of this ancient Fraternity: provided always that the old Landmarks be carefully preserved, and that such alterations and new Regulations be proposed and agreed to at the third Quarterly Communication preceding the annual grand feast; and that they be offered also to the perusal of all the brethren before dinner, in writing, even of the youngest Apprentice; the approbation and consent of the majority of all the brethren present being absolutely necessary to make the same binding and obligatory; which must, after dinner, and after the new Grand Master is installed, be solemnly desired; as it was desired and obtained for these Regulations, when proposed by the Grand Lodge, to about 150 brethren, on St. John Baptist's day, 1721.

F.

The order of the Knights Templars and the statements of its perpetuation.

Taken from Ferd. Wilcke's most excellent and impartial history of the 'Order of Knights-Templars', 2 Vol. Halle, 1860. 2 Edit. We may regard this as the most reliable guide. This appendix refers to several sections of this work.

I.

Of all the spiritual orders of knighthood of the middle ages, the order of Knights Templars was certainly the mightiest and the most celebrated. It excites our special interest on account of its importance, its wealth, and military glory, as also for the freedom of intellectual thought indulged in by the chapter, and its sad and sudden destruction. It was founded in the year 1118 by the Knights Hugh de Payens, and Geoffrey de St. Omer, together with six other French knights, to serve as an armed force for the protection of the Pilgrims. Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem, gave the knights a house on the spot where the temple of Solomon is supposed to have been, for barracks, whence they derived their appellation of Knights Templars.

They had first to take on themselves a vow of obedience, poverty and chastity, the usual oath sworn to by knights, to live with

monkish simplicity, and faithfully to fulfil the duty they had accepted of defending the pilgrims. It being the offspring of that religious enthusiasm which made salvation to consist in the getting possession of Christ's tomb, this order offered to those amongst the nobility, who were fond of war, and devoted to the Church, the very highest gratification which was known at that period, that of fighting for their holy faith. The founders of this order found the more ready approval and imitation, they being pious, self-denying, and valiant men. Their deeds met every where with commendation; King Baldwin encouraged them to take more members into their body, and the patriarch induced them to form a society bound by a strict rule. One of the founders, Andr. de Montbarry, recommended the youthful society to Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, the spiritual oracle of his time who at once embraced their cause with fervor and success. It was he, more than any one else who effected their acceptance and conservation by the Church, procuring for them the favor of popes, princes, and people. At the council of Troyes (1128) he drew up a code of rules for them, in which to the regulations and customs already in use, much was added from the ancient ordinances of the Benedictines. These laws were at first somewhat monastic in their tendency, and it was only in the course of time that they assumed a more chivalric form.

Soon after the meeting of the council above mentioned, the order had several presents bestowed upon it, the number of its members was considerably augmented, and the original purpose the protection of the pilgrims, was extended to perpetual war against the Saracens. The donations and bequests increased so considerably, that in a period of 150 years, the order had in France, England, and Spain 40,000 commendams, and enjoyed from these an income of 300,000 pounds yearly. Whilst the knights capable of going to war went to the holy Land, and returned covered with honor, those more advanced in years remained in the west, to manage their estates there. The more the order increased in number and riches, the more it swerved from the ancient simplicity, which had at first characterised it, and from the purity of its original motives, the more envy did it display towards that other order of Knights Hospitallers, which resembled it very closely, and the greater their covetousness and ambition. Under their third Grand Master, Everard de Bar (1148—48) the difference between the convention and the Grand Master was apparent, and the course already begun, was carried out more fully, when in 1162 Pope Alexander granted to the order the independence and exclusive position, they had so long desired to acquire. They had enormous privileges granted to them; the troublesome superintendence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem was removed, the undesirable patronage of the bishops likewise and continually favored by their only supreme lord, the Pope, the order increased in haughtiness and insolence, and consequently degenerated. When at length their own clergy was formed by their spiritual knights, they completely separated themselves from connection with the church, and chose out a path for themselves. They desired ardently to take possession and reign paramount in Palestine, and to attain this end, they did not always employ the most honorable means. Where the Templars

could not command, they did not like to lend their assistance, which caused many an undertaking to come to nought, and many a battle to be lost. It was a selfish and treacherous policy, which the order pursued, as is proved by many facts cited by Wilcke; their disgraceful intrigues injured the cause of Christianity very materially, and caused by degrees the loss of many advantages which it had won already.

In the early days of its existence, the order was undeniably a school of chivalric discipline, and heroic deeds. The Knight Templar showed himself indefatigable, and intrepid, in the field, manfully bearing all hardships, never cowardly. When once he had drawn his sword, he forgot his political creed, though he never forgot to fight with bravery, for military glory was as the breath of his nostril, without which he could not exist. Death was preferred to captivity, and only under the most pressing and peculiar circumstances, did the order ransom their Knights from imprisonment. With the most generous self-sacrifice they all fought for one another. They manifested a friendship for each other, which was kept up at the peril of their lives, showing itself in the commanderies by their fraternal bearing towards each other, by chivalric intercourse, and by faithful fellowship in war. This brotherly love was complied with a fine chivalric feeling, as was indeed the custom at that most flourishing epoch of knighthood and nobility.

After the fall of Jerusalem the order withdrew to Acre, and when driven thence in 1291, went to Cyprus. But as there was not much to be effected in the East, most of the Knights obtained permission to return to Europe, remained scattered about the commanderies, and suffered the proper aim of the order to rest awhile.

With regard to initiation into the order, we may remark, that a noviciate was prescribed, but this had been totally disregarded since 1160, partly from haughtiness, and partly because the secrecy of the halls of the Temple, would not permit it. This infringement of the canonical precepts was attended with this disadvantage that many unworthy and discontented brethren were accepted; it likewise incessantly swelled the number of the aspirants. The Knight who sought for admission must be descended from a knightly family, of age and unmarried, unconnected with any other order, sound in body, and have been dubbed a knight. The initiation according to law, was solemnised in the assembled chapter, as secretly as possible in a chapel belonging to the Templars. The candidate was conducted into a room adjacent to the one in which the chapter was sitting, he was questioned concerning his constancy and his circumstances, and then if he persisted in his resolution, was led into the chapter. Here, once more, were the strictest rules of the order recapitulated, an oath was administered, and at the termination of the ceremony, the white mantle, ornamented with the red cross, the vestment of the order, was thrown over his shoulders.

The order was composed of temporal and spiritual knights, serving brethren, holders of donatives, &c. The knights formed the centre, they alone could carry out its original intentions the most effectually; they had the highest dignities and conducted the order. The Templars received a clergy of their own only with the exemption bull; but even in its most flourishing period, there were never enough

of these priests, as on account of their joining the knights, they were for ever excluded from promotion in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and as the order soon became anti-catholic in its tendencies, not even always papal, therefore every member of the clerical body did not suit the order. The clergy had to discharge the duties of priests and ministers of the order, were however, as were all the brethren, under the guidance of the superiors and their privileges were but few.

The form of government more nearly resembled an oligarchy, than a monarchy. At the head, as a leader of the whole, and especially as a commander in war, was a Grand Master, who styled himself "by the Grace of God", and was only responsible to the convention or Grand Council. Only a member of this latter council, or a provincial Master had the prospect of ever becoming Grand Master. The greatest executive power was vested in him, but it was limited by the convention, which was placed over him, and which was invested with almost the whole of the superior political of the order. Without his approval no superior office in the order could be disposed of, nothing of importance determined on, nor any thing drawn from the Treasury; he united in his own person the legal, the administrative and the executive power. The General Chapter was composed of the assembled convention of masters and most considerable brethren from every province, and though the Grand Master was nominally placed under them, yet their relation towards each other was very similar to those general councils of the Church—they were convened at the pleasure of the Grand Master and of the convention, (though but seldom of this latter) and then presided over by him. The convention was supposed to unite in itself all authority, and all the wisdom of the Templars.

We have already said how the desire to obtain power and wealth, and an envious and supercilious spirit took possession of the order, making them sometimes have recourse to culpable measures to compass their nefarious schemes, and we now refer any one who wishes to obtain further information of the policy pursued by the Templars in the 12. and 13. centuries to the 2. Vol. of Wilcke's history. The perpetual war, undertaken against the unbelievers, was gradually relinquished and a cessation of hostilities was the consequence. When no important campaign was set on foot by the western powers, and the war therefore in Palastine was scarcely worthy of the name, the Templars occupied themselves in this time of peace from 1197—1219 with their own internal affairs, amassing enormous wealth, aspiring to obtain rich and noble members for their order, extending, multiplying, and regulating their provinces in the west, laying the foundation and confirming the spiritual jurisdiction of the chapters, settling their spiritual, dogmatic and political system, awakening and calling out the Templar spirit within them for the preservation of the patronage of the Pope, whose favor they pretended to court, and for the obtaining of the goodwill of mighty princes, who should assist them in proceeding with vigilance and energy against the Knights Hospitallers who contended with them for dominion in Palestine. When the Empire of Jerusalem was on the eve of dissolution, the Templars felt more closely drawn towards the Saracens,

with whose Egyptian Sultans they had formerly been on the best of terms. They knew, that the Christian dominion would soon terminate in the East, and they were desirous that it should; for the West lay now nearer to their hearts. The order had most of its possessions in the West, therefore it concentrated itself there; sympathised and shared in every important event which took place.

In the midst of the political, religious, and intellectual movements of the 12. and 13. centuries, the Knights Templars did not stand idle lookers-on; they received and imparted. It is true that they had originated in a pious and chivalric enthusiasm of feeling, and belonged aswell to the temporal world as to the Church, but as religious enthusiasm both within and separate from the order began to abate, towards the end of the 12. century, moral depravity, licentiousness, religious indifference, and enlightenment, that dangerous enemy of the church, found an asylum with them. During the long period in which the order stood in the midst of the most stirring events, it belonged to two different hemispheres, thoroughly opposed to each other, in manners, customs, and creed, and accepted something of both these opposite usages and opinions. In the West, an inclination to the opinions of the catharists and the prevailing luxury exerted their influence upon the Templar, now become so lax in his religious views; he went to the East, communicated his liberal ideas, there imbibing, however, generally more than he imparted. Not alone the Templars, but many other spiritual orders of Knighthood, were suspected of being addicted to heresy.

The Templars did not believe in Jesus Christ, as God-man, or as the Saviour of the world, rejected the miracle of his birth, and those performed by himself during his abode on earth; did not believe in transubstantiation, the saints, holy relics, purgatory &c., Christ was in their opinion a false prophet. Thus runs the doctrine of their order: "As he assumes to be the word of God, and the heavenly Messiah, therefore do we deny him, scoff at the cross, as the wood on which he expiated his sins and offences, viewing it all as the excess of superstition." On their initiation the Templars spat upon the cross, which they had learned to despise from the Saracens, and denied Christ. The cross on their knightly-mantles, was merely the sign of their order, and was gradually turned into a simple T. John the Baptist was regarded as their patron. Following the bent of their age, they revered Astrology and Alchemy, and honored an Idol, a magic or cabalistic talisman, a head, without a name, (Baffomet), Certain girdles worn by the Knights under their clothes, were consecrated by touching this image.

The heresy in Templarism at first displayed itself only as a private opinion entertained by some of the knights, as religious indifference, and a fashionable patrician phase of superstition. The more however they deviated from their simple, religious, spiritual purpose, and resigned themselves to a selfish policy, licentious practices, and free-thinking, the more did their unbelief increase, and the more intimately did this freedom of thought become incorporated in the order. What previously had only been the belief of a few, now became the general doctrine, their customs were turned into a ritual, their simple, unassuming chapter was transformed into a lodge, a

secret teaching in dogma and ceremonial was inculcated, which most probably originated with the clergy.

The ecclesiastic form of worship was performed publicly in the chapels belonging to their order, but the Templar ceremonies were carried on in secret, commonly in the hall of the Chapter, towards break of day. The whole of the brethren attended the ordinary chapters, but from the secret ones, the unconsecrated brethren were shut out. To compel the neophyte to preserve strict silence, from a feeling of shame, he had to kiss the knight, who introduced him, on his bare navel. The principal festival, was St. John's Day, which day they appointed for their general or provincial chapters and initiations. The likeness of John the Baptist, which by many was supposed to be that of Mohammed, was hung up in the hall of the chapter. Besides the adoration of this picture, the ceremonies in Templarism were further the denying of Christ, the spitting on the cross, the worshipping of the idol and the use of the girdle. The Lord's Supper was administered in both kinds. The cup, the sacrificial lamb, the host, and two torches, were signs in use amongst the Knights Templars; the cup was likewise a symbol of brotherly love. The secret form of worship was, Wilcke supposes, introduced between the years 1250—1270.

The secret doctrine of the order has been a matter of perpetual strife, and has awakened much speculation. Their defenders doubt their having had any secrets, and especially contradict the supposition that they were heretics, but their opponents invent incredible things of them, and multiply accusations against them. The former have given themselves enormous trouble to refute these accusations, by either tampering with the history of the order, or else they must have had but a mere imperfect acquaintance with it. In the last century, when Freemasonry erroneously supposed herself to be a daughter of Templarism, great pains was taken to regard the order of Knights Templars as innocent, and free from all taint of mysticism. For this purpose not only legends and unrecorded events were fabricated, but pains was taken to repress the truth. The masonic admirers of the Knights Templars bought up the whole of the documents of the law-suit published by Moldenhawer, because they proved the culpability of the order; but few copies came into the hands of the booksellers. Moldenhawer and Münter (in his statute book) wished to follow up their one book by a second volume, in which they would have treated of the inward working of the interior of the order, but their connection with the Freemasons prevented them from doing so. Several centuries ago the Freemasons in their eagerness to obtain historical facts, permitted false statements to be palmed upon them. Dupuy had published in 1650, in Paris, his history of the condemnation of the Templars, in which he made use of these original deeds of the law-suit, proving the guilt of the order beyond a doubt. This work created a great sensation, and in 1685, 1700, and 1713 was reprinted in Brussels; a German translation appeared 1665 at Frankfort o Maine. In the middle of the 18th century, some branches of Freemasonry, wished to revive the order of Knights Templars, saying that it had never been entirely extinct, therefore this work of Dupuy's was highly displeasing to them. For more than a century it had been promulgated amongst the people, and

when they could not buy up the copies extant, they forged others. Some obscure individual, most likely a Freemason Knight Templar, either of the Jesuit chapter at Clermont, or a knight of the strict observance, published the work in 1751, in Brussels, or perhaps at Amsterdam or Paris, with several notes, additions, and documents, but so mutilated, that it does not, as did Dupuy, represent the iniquity of the order, but their innocence. "On this account", says Wilcke, all those verdicts of the Freemasons in favor of the Templars are too partial, and consequently open to suspicion; even in our own day, (as an anonymous author pretends to furnish proof!!) the belief is still prevailing, that in the higher degrees of one branch or other of Freemasonry, the genuine records of Templarism are to be found concealed; a conclusion formed upon such authority by the Nonmasons, can only excite suspicion. Any historian will confirm the assertion, that the masonic symbols, are either a very bungling invention, or else that they refer to the ancient Building lodges.

"Whoever closely follows the history of the Crusades, can not but be convinced of the political guilt of the Knights Templars. For this reason the reprehensible policy of the Templars and their licentiousness is a less disputed question, than their mysteries, because these latter do not appear in the history of the order. But certain traces of these secret teachings are not altogether wanting, and the law-suit entered into against them, unveils these mysteries to the impartial and painstaking inquirer."

When we look upon the Templars in the aggregate, the chief policy of the order at last seemed to have been to establish an aristocratic hierarchy and to strive to obtain the sovereignty of the land for themselves, just as did the Knights of St. John and the German knights. The creed of their order was Deism, the scepticism of the patrician world, invested with the Symbols of St. John the Evangelist, and mined up with the cabalistic, astrologic superstition of the middle ages. It was in advance of the ages, excited the envy of the Bishops, and its wealth, the covetous spirit of the princes, therefore a few accidental circumstances caused its downfall.

Philip IV. le Bel, of France had long been lusting after the treasures of the Templars, as he was always in want of money. His thirst of power made him hate them; for in this mighty chivalric confederacy he recognised a kingdom within a kingdom, and the more so, because he had often shown himself hostile towards them. When therefore two knights, who had been guilty of grievous crimes, were excommunicated from the order, and condemned to death, made use of the king's well-known enmity, to effect their liberation, they were received by the king with open arms having first promised that they would reveal the secrets of their order to him. In 1305 they appeared as the accusers of the order, charging it with the foulest crimes. Philip did not fail to make these communications known to the Pope, who was his creature and completely in his power, that he might consult with him as to the best measures to be set on foot against the Knights. Clement summoned the Grand Master Molay to his council, under the pretext of conferring with him upon a new Crusade. Clement, hoping to be able to put the knights upon their guard, wished that Molay should appear with

only a few followers, but, the unwary Grand Master came with his convention, treasure, and archives, to Europe thus filling the mind of the king with still greater suspicion and exciting him to undertake yet stronger measures against them. On a command from Philip all the Knights Templars, throughout his kingdom, were arrested, and a severe and tedious examination instituted against them. Some of the members voluntarily confessed their offences, but others, only when under the agonies of the torture. Many of them were burned, the Grand Master, amongst the member; the order itself was abolished and condemned by the Pope, and its extermination enjoined in all Christendom. Their property in money was collected by the kings of England, France, Spain, &c. and reckoned as the costs of the Suit. —

In the middle of the 18th. century, the report was circulated that the order of Knights Templars continued to exist, and it actually found credence. But when the order was abolished, the political tendencies of the Templars vanished likewise, their power was annihilated, and it was impossible to awake it from the dead. Besides those members who had been executed, many were in prison, and many had taken to flight and perished; some of the knights, after the abolition of their order, were set at liberty, and either entered other orders, or were provided for in different convents, and not a few wandered about in an abject state of want and poverty. The fugitive knights could not, of themselves, re-establish the order, and still less those, who had recognised and obeyed the superior powers: neither could they effect any thing in their own favor, in the order of the Knights of St. John, or in the building fraternities, for it is probable many joined these communities, and the new confederacies, which were sought to be instituted, never boasted of any vitality, and soon fell into oblivion. If the order had continued to exist until the year 1459, it would most surely have incorporated itself with the new order of chivalry which the Pope endeavored to establish on the island of Lemnos, as no better opportunity could have been offered it, of becoming known. But the grave cannot deliver up its dead. If it had still existed in the 14th and 15th centuries, it would have been discovered, and betrayed by the Jesuits. It could not have remained even a score of years concealed, still less centuries!

II.

In the middle of the 18th century, at the period, when the high degrees originated and with them the masonic hallucinations, some Masons boldly asserted, that the Fraternity of Freemasons was descended from the order of Knights Templars, which descent however finds but little credence amongst reasonable people of the present day. It was sought to authenticate the statement by the following fable: When Molay was in prison, and foresaw the downfall of his order, he made his will, in which he communicated the Secrets of the Templars. This will is supposed to have been delivered over to the Freemasons, and preserved by them. The head of the Templar clergy, Peter of Bologna, fled from prison, and took refuge with the Commander Hugh, Wildgrave of Salm, and thence escaped to Scot-

land with Sylvester von Grumbach. Thither the Grand Commander Harris and Marshal Aumont, had likewise betaken themselves, and these three preserved the Secrets of the order of Knights Templars, and transferred them to the Fraternity of Freemasons.

It is easy to prove that this tale is a mere fabrication, without examining more closely Molay's testament, which is a very bungling performance, replete with historical falsehoods. During the period of his imprisonment, Molay's position was one of such extreme oppression, that there is not the slightest probability that he could have composed his last will and testament in writing at all, still less one containing an heretical secret doctrine. How could this have remained concealed from his jailers, or indeed how could he have found an opportunity of depositing it in the hands of a faithful ally? It is true that Peter of Bologna fled from prison, but where he went to, has never been found. The Wildgrave von Salm, as we are informed by Dupuy, was not confined in prison, but the Free mason manufacturer of legends has got into a sad entanglement, when he informs us, that Peter left the Wildgrave Hugh, and went with Sylvester von Grumbach to Scotland, for Hugh and Sylvester are one and the same person; Comes Sylvester Wildgrave are his names and title, and Grumbach is the designation of his Templar commandery. Hugh von Salm likewise Wildgrave and Commander of Grumbach, never took refuge in Scotland, but after the abolition of the order he was made prebendary of the Cathedrale of Mayence.

The continuation of the Templar order was attributed to Scotland, because the higher degrees of Freemasonry, having reference in a political sense to the Pretender Edward Stuart, were called Scotch; Scotland is therefore the cradle of the higher orders of Freemasonry. Harris and Aumont are not mentioned in the real history of the order of Knights Templars. Certainly the fugitive, and heavily punished Templars, did not dream of choosing a Grand commander, and if he were called Harris, he must have been a man looked up to in the order, and his name must certainly have figured in the law-suit, but that is not the case. The last Marshal of the order is not specially named by historical tradition, but we are informed that he was left by Molay on the island of Cyprus as administrator of the order, for on this island in 1310 it was permitted to exist, as being harmless, and against them no violence was exercised. Of course some fugitive Templars found their way to Scotland, and it is equally worthy of belief that some of the brethren were admitted into the Building fraternities, but that is no reason why either the "building lodges" or the Knights of St. John, should be considered as a continuation of the Templar order, because they both received fugitive Templars; and the less so, as the building guilds were not, like the Templars, composed of chivalrous and free-thinking worldlings, but of such as cherished pure doctrines, out of love to truth and religion, which in the period after the Reformation throwing aside the secret veil which enshrouded them, became the common property of all the civilised world.

Others maintain that the chivalric order of the Templars was abolished, but that the clergy of the order kept themselves together in Scotland, and it was they who transplanted it into Freemasonry.

And yet this alone is an historical fact, that this Masonic order of Templars, as Dupuy's work proves, was invented in France by the adherents of the Stuarts, and according to Ramsay was incorporated into the Scottish degrees of Freemasonry in 1729, contaminating genuine Freemasonry, making it the butt for the shafts of those who despised the craft. These Scottish degrees or the Templar system, dates from 1735—1740, and following its Catholic tendency took up its chief residence in the Jesuit college of Clermont in Paris and hence was called the Clermont system. The present Swedish system has also something of the Templar element in it, but free from Jesuits and interference with politics; however it asserts that it has Molay's Testament in the original, for a count Beaujeu, a nephew of Molay, never heard of elsewhere transplanted Templarism into Freemasonry, and thus procured for his Uncles ashes, a mysterious sepulchre. It is sufficient to prove this to be a masonic fable; that on this pretended monument the day of Molay's funeral is represented as March 11, 1313, while the day of his death was March 19, 1313.

In Germany modern Templarism held sway, until the strict observance suffered a fall, and the healthy spirit of genuine Freemasonry assumed its prerogatives. This spurious production which is neither genuine Templarism, nor genuine Freemasonry, has never taken firm root in Germany. But the case is otherwise in France, where the people were blind and superstitious enough to believe in the fables invented about the order of the Temple.

Let us attend to what Wilcke says on this subject:

The present Knights Templars of Paris will have it, that they are direct descendants from the ancient Knights, and endeavor to prove this by documents, interior regulations, and secret doctrines. Foraisse says, the Fraternity of Freemasons was founded in Egypt, Moses communicating the secret teaching to the Israelites, Jesus to the Apostles, and thence it found its way to the Knights Templars. Such inventions are necessary to give a semblance of probability to the assertion that the Parisian Templars are the offspring of the ancient order. All these asseverations, unsupported by history, were fabricated in the High Chapter of Clermont, and preserved by the Parisian Templars as a legacy left them by those political revolutionists, the Stuarts and the Jesuits, to enable them to substantiate their claim to great antiquity. The Bishops Gregoire¹⁾ and Münter²⁾ suffered themselves to be imposed upon by these uncorroborated statements.

Gregoire informs us that, after the order of Knights Templars had been abolished, it was preserved in the order of Christ, and with these the scattered knights and their families, and all who had attached themselves to the order or had rendered it assistance, kept up a connection so that the order of the Temple had been sustained in a variety of ways. And yet it had been stated with sufficient clearness³⁾ that the Portuguese Templars did not meddle at all

¹⁾ *Historie des sectes religieuses*. Paris, 1828. Vol. II. 392—428.

²⁾ *Notitia codicis graeci evangelium Joannis variatum continentis*. Havniae 1828.

³⁾ In the above mentioned work.

with Templarism, and that the order of Christ had nothing in outward form or in its practises, which could be interpreted as identical with the order of the Templars.

The Parisian Templars are kind enough to acquaint us that Molay nominated Johannes Marcus Larmenius Hierosolymitanus as his successor, and not, as the Strict observance has it, Aumont. But Molay had not the right, according to their laws, to do this, nor the courage nor opportunity in his painful situation to nominate a successor. The assembled convention alone had the right to elect a Grand Master, and one chosen by Molay would have been the less likely to be recognised seeing that the Grand Prior of France, Hugo Peyraud's adherents were very numerous, and it has been surmised of this latter that he precipitated the overthrow of the order in France, through disappointed ambition; at least, it is certain that Peyraud, was very communicative, touching the Secrets of the order. When the order was done away with, Molay was so strictly watched in prison, that he could not possibly have dreamed of appointing a successor. Whom should he nominate, for the main props, the superiors of the order had been removed. The name Larmenius does not once occur in the documents of the trial, nor in the history of the order, and yet above 800 names are enumerated, undoubtedly the strength and main stay of the brethren. The name added Hierosolymitanus shows the absurdity of the whole contrivance. For, the inventors of this legend meant thereby to convey the idea that their hero had been actively engaged in Palestine, though it is well known that in 1291, no Templar, nor Christian had been either to Syria, or Jerusalem, for at least half a century previously.

The direct succession of Grand Masters from Molay down to the present time is to be found recorded in the *Charta transmissionis*. Besides several obscure and unknown names there are a few celebrated ones. It is possible, that the names in this list which are known the least, have really existed, but neither they, nor their renowned colleagues were ever Grand Masters of the Parisian Templars, as the list cannot lay any claim to historical authenticity till the middle of the 18th century. The quaint choice of the names given to these Grand Masters is a convincing proof that the simplicity of the middle ages had been superseded by the Masonic puerility of the 18th century.

Our new pseudo-Templars relate: Larmenius, after Molay's death assembled the scattered brethren in secret, their number being but small, so that Gregoire, prejudiced as he was, is fain to surmise, that the secret teaching was alone known to Larmenius, and when he remarked, how sadly the knights who fled to Scotland, had deviated from the original teaching of the order, and that a new order, the Scotch Freemasonry of the present day, had been founded especially for them by Robert Bruce, the ceremony of initiation being the same as that in use among the Templars, he proceeded forthwith in 1324 to excommunicate these Scotch as *desertores templi* and the St. John's knights as *dominiorum militiæ spoliatores*, which anathema was fulminated against the Scottish degrees of Freemasonry, by many of the Grand Masters of Paris, because these Scotch represented themselves as the genuine Templars. — It is easy to understand how

that this tale did not start into life, in the 14th but in the 18th century, and proves thus much, that the Parisian Templars desired to be regarded as the only descendants of the ancient Templars, and therefore they reject and repudiate Scottish Masonry in all its branches, and will not hear of such a thing as the Clermont High Chapter, or of the strict observance. The French Templars of the 18th century disclaimed all Masonic union whatever, maintaining that in them alone existed the ancient order of the Temple in an unbroken line, the ancient doctrine and ritual likewise. The proofs of this being the case, are conveyed to them in documents and relics, which are to be found in an Inventory, dated May 18, 1810, in the treasury of the order in Paris; they are these:

I. *La Charte de transmission*, also called *charta transmissionis*, *tabula aurea Larmenii*. It is the foundation deed of the new order, written of parchment, on a large folio sheed, two Columns and a half long. The outward appearance of this document is one of such extreme antiquity, that Gregoire confesses, that if all the other relics of the Parisian treasury of the order had not silenced his doubts as to their ancient descent, the sight of this charter would at the very first glance have persuaded him.

The Parisians relate that when Larmenius felt his bodily and mental powers failing, he drew up this charter in the year 1324, wherein he committed the office of Grand Master to Francis Thomas Alexandrinus, expressing his conviction that the order would continue to exist, and therefore decreed that four vicars should be chosen to assist the Grand Master. Larmenius signed this document, and his signature is succeeded by that of all the subsequent Grand Masters down to the present time, with the dates of their assuming office.

This document is a counterfeit one, and for the following reasons:

- 1) The Latin is not that of the 14th century.
- 2) The ancient Templar statutes are ignorantly and superficially treated, as no Grand Master was permitted to elect a successor. If it is attempted to excuse this disregard of the statutes because of the "disturbing events", avail nothing when meant as an excuse, for those conventions existing at that period, would certainly have asserted their right to choose a Grand Master, which would have been their undisputed duty and prerogative under existing circumstances.
- 3) This deed was quite unnecessary for the preservation of the Grand Mastership, for if a convention existed, it elected without a charter, and if no convention existed, then would the charter be of no avail.
- 4) The installation of four general vicars was the more unnecessary now, as on the period when the order was at its height, they had not needed them, at all the Grand Master having required but two assistants. But French vanity loves high sounding titles and dignities, for which reason the Parisian Templars took such delight in all the honors this order could bestow.
- 5) If the *Scoti Templarii* mentioned in the *Charta* meant the Freemasons degrees, and these at length renounced Jesuitism and political intrigue, and the Parisian Templars on the other hand, struck out a non-masonic path for themselves, while the masonic convention in Wiesbaden in 1782 excluded the Templars from Masonic lodges, then can the Anathema in the *Charta* against the scottish degrees only have been pronounced at that date, con-

sequently the document must then have been drawn up. 6) The signature of Chevillon above mentioned leads to the same conclusion, for this deed was without any doubt prepared under the rule of his predecessor, Cossé Brissac (1776—1792), it must have been delivered over to Chevillon in the hottest fury of the Revolution, in 1792, when every thing like Aristocracy, and these Templars into the bargain, were suffering persecution. For if this document, and all the signatures accompanying it, were genuine, France, since the 14th century would have seen many *tempora infesta*, which would have afforded those Grand Masters as well as Chevillon, at the period of the Revolution, the opportunity of adding any remark they chose to their signatures, which was not the case, for each signature is the counterpart of the other, Chevillon's alone excepted, that and Brissac's being the only genuine ones, and the very deviation of the former from the counterfeit signatures proving it to be a genuine one.

The manner, in which the names of these Parisian Templar Masters succeed each other, is incorrect, and an evidence of their being a fabrication. The Grand Master Everard de Bar, instead of being mentioned as entering on his office in 1149, is said to have done so in 1152, Philipp of Naplus instead of in 1166, in 1169, Otto de St. Amand not before 1171, Terricus, who ruled from 1198—1201, is placed as early as 1185. The Grand Master Walter von Spelten is wanting. Robert de Sablé only governed till 1192, not till 1196. This *Charta* makes of Hermann de Perigord (1230—44) two persons, Armand de Petragussa till 1237, and then Hermann Petragonius till 1244. The Grand Commander William de Roquefort (1244—47) is falsely styled Grand Master. In short this false statement is the *Histoire critique et apologétique des Chevaliers du Temple par B. P. J. (Père Jeune)*. 2 Vol. Paris 1789.

The names of the Grand Masters inserted after Molay's, are mostly obscure individuals. Bertrand du Guesclin 1357—81, Constable of France, certainly did not sign his name, for it is a well known historical fact, that he could neither read nor write. The name of Bernard Imbaut, from 1472—78 was unfortunately forgotten to be introduced among the signatures, and it not being thought advisable to scratch out any thing, it was omitted entirely. But were the deed genuine, Imbaut would have signed his name in the proper place. From 1705, the signatures are all of historical persons, for instance Philipp, Duke of Orleans, till 1724, Lewis Augustus, Duke of Maine till 1737; Lewis Henry, Duke of Bourbon-Condé, till 1741; Lewis Francis of Bourbon-Conti, till 1766; these all were Grand Masters of French Freemasonry; but under the last-mentioned Grand Master, the Templars separated themselves from the Lodges, and under Cossé Brissac, first formed an independent society.

If the contents of the *Charta transmissionis* is a forgery, the ancient cover can not serve to prove its genuineness, but is merely a product of French vanity and Triviality, which appear to be here playing a very harmless game, but not a very harmless one for these to whom it causes great expense and trouble.

II. In the archives of the order in Paris is shown the original of the statutes, consisting of 27 leaves of parchment in small folio.

III. Several antiquities and insignia: 1) A small copper relic in

the form of a gothic church, with inside four charred bones wrapped in a linen cloth, supposed to be taken from the funeral piles of the martyrs of the order. 2) An iron sword with a cross for the handle, on the loss of which is a ball; this is said to have been Molay's. 3) An iron helmet and visor etc.

It is not conceivable that these things should be taken as proofs of the antiquity of the order, for whoever possesses a collection of ancient armour, did not necessarily inherit them from his ancestors and on this account neither they nor he were perforce descendants of the ancient knights. Grégoire remarks upon this subject, that the guarantee for the antiquity of these articles, is only attested by their present possessors, and therefore null and void. —

We will not follow the history of modern Templarism*) any farther, as it is nothing more than a spurious masonic lodge, and Thory is quite right, when he, though personally esteeming the Grand Master Palaprat, and other members, yet pronounces it as his opinion that the whole was, „child's play and arrant nonsense.“

G.

The Charter of Cologne and the writings proving it to be a spurious.

We have already communicated something about the „Cologne document“, which was most likely put together about the close of the preceding century, we have therefore now only to add the text, and the principal tenor of those writings purporting to set forth its spurious origin.

Text from the translation by Br. Bobrik.

“For the greater glorification of Almighty God.”

We the chosen Masters of the honorable and distinguished St. John's Fraternity, or members of the Freemasons' order, heads of the lodges or „Bauhütten“ which have been established in London, Edinburgh, Vienna, Amsterdam, Paris, Lyons, Frankfort, Hamburgh, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Madrid, Venice, Ghent, Königsberg, Brussels, Dantzic, Middleburg, Bremen and Cologne, have in this thown of Cologne in the year, month and day mentioned below, assembled a chapter under the presidentship of the master of the lodge of this place, a worshipful, learned, wise & circumspect brother, who in consequence of our unanimous request has undertaken to conduct these

*) For further particulars see Wilcke, „Hist. of the order of Knights Templars.“ 2 Edit. Page 371 and o.

transactions; and make to the lodges in the above mentioned places, and to the brethren collectively who at present belong, or may hereafter join the order, the following statement.

Taking into consideration, how in troublous times, rife with civil discord, and other conflicts, we and the above mentioned Fraternities, and all brethren belonging to the Freemasons or St. John's Order, have been accused either secretly or publicly of entertaining such projects, and opinions, as are equally contrary to our sentiments singly or collectively and most thoroughly opposed to the spirit, aim and precepts of this brotherhood. It being besides generally known, that we, the members of this order, (chiefly because we are bound together by an indissoluble bond of secrecy) are the more certainly exposed to the revilings of the uninitiated & profane, and to public obloquy in general, have therefore had the following crime laid to our charge: viz: that we are desirous of reviving the order of Knights Templars, and that on this account we stood publicly accused before the world: "that we had further bound ourselves by oath as members of that order, to get back its estates and possessions, and to revenge the violent death of the last Grand Master, on the descendants of those kings and princes, who were guilty of his murder, and were the authors of the ruin of the order." For this purpose we had and excited divisions in the Church, and mutiny and rebellion, in the empires and kingdoms of the world; that we were inflamed with hatred and envy against the Pope, as the head of the clergy, and against the Emperor and all rulers; that we did not recognise the authority of any but consecrated chiefs and elected Masters of that Fraternity of ours, which is spread over the whole terrestrial globe and that we executed their secret commands, communicated by mysterious messengers in letters in cipher, and that we admitted no one into our mysteries, but those who had been bodily tormented, tried, and proved, and been made to swear an abominable oath of Secrecy.

On this account, and in consideration of all that has been here cited, we esteem it most necessary and expedient, to represent the real condition and origin of our order, and the aim of this benevolent institution, in the way in which it has been recognised and confirmed by its most distinguished members, both individually and collectively viz: the most experienced, Masters in the order, enlightened by the genuine truths which their art inculcates, and then to distribute this document composed, worked out, subscribed, and ratified by us, amongst the different chapters and lodges of our confederacy; that a perpetual witness may be at hand, of the renewal of our covenant, and of the immaculate purity of our intentions; and because of the daily growing proneness of the citizens and nations to hatred, envy, intolerance, and strife, it is much more difficult for the brethren, to retain their constitution and original form of government pure and uncorrupted, to spread themselves in different quarters of the globe, and to uphold their integrity inviolable, that then when better times dawn if not all, yet some one copy or other of this circular epistle, will be extant, which the society can adopt as a guide and rule of conduct, and by which when shaken to her very foundations, she can re-model herself, and if in danger of degenerating, or being estranged

from her original aim and purpose. She can here be led back to the true spirit, which should guide and direct her. By this epistle, addressed to all true Christians, taken from the most ancient deeds, and from the memorials existing of the opinions, customes and habits of our secret order, for the reasons aforesaid, we chosen ones, the masters of our ordres, and all having one aim viz; the attainment of the true light, we do charge all those our companions in labor into whose hands this letter may fall, by their most sacred vow: "That they never renounce this witness of the truth hereby confided to them". We likewise certify and make known to the enlightened and unenlightened world, whose welfare lies near our heart, urging us to continue our work actively and zealously the following:

A. That the Fraternity, or the order, of Freemasons which is bound together by the sacred vows of Saint John, do not trace their origin from the order of Knights Templars, nor from any other spiritual or secular order of knighthood, neither from a single one nor from several united together. It has not the remotest association with any such either directly or indirectly; but it is more ancient than any ordres of the kind, for it existed in Palestine and Greece, as well as in one portion or other of the Roman Empire, even before the Crusades, and before the time when the knights just mentioned went to Palestine. This has been proved to us from different documents and notoriously well authenticated ancient records. Our Fraternity existed at that period, when a large body of consecrated individuals, separated themselves from the contradictory ethics of the Christian doctrine, because they had had confided to them the true moral teaching, and the most legitimate interpretation of religious mysteries. For at that period of their separation it was believed by those learned and englightened individuals, who were Christians entirely free from heathen heresy; "That a religion polluted with heresy, could only cause and disseminate religious divisions and abominable wars instead of promoting peace, toleration, and love." They have therefore bound themselves by a sacred oath to preserve whit greater purity, the fundamental doctrines of this religion, so greatly promoting that love of virtue, inherent in the human race, devoting themselves entirely to the good work, that light may spring up in the midst of darkness, disperse the mists of superstition, and establish amongst mankind all the virtues of humanity, peace and general prosperity. The Masters of this confederation were called the St. John's brethren, as they had chosen John the Baptist, the forerunner of the Light of the World, the first of the martyrs, who suffered for spreading this light, as their original and exemple. According to the usage of the times, those men who distinguished themselves by their superior knowledge in their writings, were called, "Masters". These chose for themselves from amongst the most experienced scholars, companions in their labors, whence arose the name "Fellow-craft"; the rest of those summoned, but not specially chosen, being according to fashion among the Hebrew, Greek and Roman Philosophers, distinguished by the appellation of scholar or apprentice.

B. Our confederacy as formerly, so now, consists of these three degrees of apprentice, fellow-craft, and master; these latter, likewise of elect and most elect masters. All other associations and frater-

nities, which admit of other denominations and divisions of their degrees, or attribute to themselves another origin, interfering in political and ecclesiastical intrigues, and solemnly swearing to hate any one whatsoever, whether they assume the names of Freemasons or Brethren, who affirm that they are carrying out the sacred principles of St. John or of any other person, all such do not belong to our order, but are denied and repudiated by us as schismatics.

C. Amongst the teachers and masters of this order, who studied mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences, an interchange of their advance in knowledge took place, when they were scattered throughout the whole earth. This led to the selection of one, from the body of elect Masters, who should assume authority over the rest, and be honored as the most noble and sublime Master or Patriarch, but known only as such, to the elect Masters, so that this chosen one might be regarded as the visible and invisible head and guide of our order. In pursuance of this stipulation, even in our day, a superior master and patriarch actually exists, though known to but few.

After having demonstrated these facts, which we have gathered from the rich collection of ancient parchment rolls and deeds of our order, we do hereby decree and command, with the permission, approval, and sanction of our patriarch, following the text of the sacred documents, which in future will remain under the faithful guardianship of our superior and his successor, the following.

D. The conduct of our confederacy and the manner and method in which the rays of the flaming star, shall be brought home and dispersed amongst the enlightened brethren, and the uninitiated portion of mankind, is conferred upon the elect and chosen Masters. They have to guard and watch over this, that the brethren, of whatever rank and station they may be, may undertake nothing contrary to the fundamental principles of our confederacy. These directors have likewise to defend the association, and to preserve and ensure its continuance. Should it be necessary, they must even protect the institution by the sacrifice of their worldly goods, and at the peril of their lives, against all assaults and attacks from without.

E. We have no convincing testimony that this Fraternity of ours, bore any other name than that of the St. John's brethren before A. D. 1450 but as we gather from the documents, it first began to be called the Freemason's Fraternity at Valenciennes in Flanders, at the period when in some districts of the Hainault, Hospitals and Infirmarys commenced being erected, at the cost of the Brethren, for such poor people as were suffering from St. Anthony's fire.

F. Although when exercising our benevolence, we are not accustomed to have regard to any religion or any country yet have we deemed it, till now advisable and safer not to admit any into our order but such as in their profane life and in the world of the unenlightened have made a profession of Christianity. No bodily tortures are resorted to, when examining the candidates for initiation into the first degree, but only recourse is had to such tests, as will more clearly demonstrate what are the powers, inclinations, and principal characteristic of the novitiates.

G. Amongst the duties strictly enjoined, and which must be

accompanied by a solemn oath, are faithfulness and obedience towards the secular legally instituted authorities, who have command over us.

H. The introductory laws guiding our actions, and all our efforts, into whatever channel they may be directed, are expressed in the two following precepts. "Love and cherish all men as you do your brother, and your blood relations." "Render to God the things that are God's, and to Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

I. The secrets and mysteries, which conceal our purposes, are only whith this one view, to do good unostentatiously and to carry out our resolutions to the very minutest details.

K. Every year we hold a feast in honor of St. John, the messenger of Christ, and the protector of our order.

L. These and similar solemnities belonging to our order, are represented by certain signs or words, or some symbols or other known to the brethren, but differing entirely from ecclesiastical ceremonies.

M. He alone is acknowledged as a St. John's brother or Freemason, who according to law, under the guidance and superintendence of an elect Master, assisted by at least seven brethren, is initiated into our secrets, and is able to prove his initiation by the use of those signs and words of recognition, practised by the brethren. With these are included those signs and words customary in Edinburgh and in the Lodges and "Bauhütten" affiliated with her, also in Hamburg, Rotterdam and Venice, whose functions and business it is true, are carried out in the Scottish ritual, but whose origin, aim, and fundamental arrangement, do not differ from those prevailing in our community.

N. Our order as a whole is governed by one single, universal superior, but the assemblies of the Masters, which essentially compose this confederacy, must be drawn together from many different countries and states, therefore nothing is more necessary, than that a certain degree of conformity should prevail in the lodges, scattered over the face of the whole earth, like single members of one great whole, and this can be effected by means of an animated exchange of correspondence and of emissaries, who shall in all places be of one mind, teaching one doctrine; wherefore, this writing, which records the character and form of our association, shall be transmitted to all the Masters, colleges of our order, as many as exist.

For these reasons this circular epistle, of which nineteen copies have been made verbatim, has been issued, confirmed and ratified by our names and signatures. At Cologne on the Rhine, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty five, on the twenty fourth day of the month of June, reckoned according to the computation of time, styled the Christian era.

Harmanus †. Carlton. Jo. Bruce. Fr. von Upna. Cornelis Banning. De Colligni. Virieux. Johann Schröder. Hofmann 1535. Jacobus Uttinhove. Falck. Nicolaes van Noot. Philippus Melanthon. Huyssen. Wormer Abel.

2. The writings of Bobrik, Kloss, Schweischke and Vallant.

Immediately after the publication of this Cologne document, the opinions both for and against its genuineness, were many and varied, and the matter was stirred up anew, with fresh vigor, when Br. Bretschneider set on foot his inquiries as to the actual presence of Melanchthon in Cologne at the period mentioned: In 1835, a pamphlet entitled "Remarks upon the Cologne document" appeared. This was an attempt of Br. Fetscherin's, member of the lodge in Bern, to invalidate and refute by historical proofs, the doubts raised by many concerning the genuineness of this document, as if such an assembly as there described could not have taken place. But proofs of its authenticity are not adduced.

In 1839 a translation and explanation of the document appeared in the *Altenb. "Zeitschr. f. FrMrei"* (1839. 2. Part.) Kloss makes us remark the following: 1) That the passages in the introduction to the document and in the division F. relate to customs, which were not received into the French initiation ritual until 1731. — 2) That the superior masonic degrees were nowhere known till 1725. — 3) That none of the eighteen copied documents have ever been found; — 4) That the document (1535) had no need to guard against a supposed tendency, contained in the Chevalier Elû Kadosch, as before 1741—1760 no Templar degree existed. — 5) That venerandus (in the introduction) in 1535 would have been expressed by venerabilis, and that the expression *Papam pontificem maximum* would not have received the signature of Melanchthon, and the other Protestants present. — 6) That in 1535, one who was not a Christian would not have ventured to have offered himself as a candidate, to the pretended society of Freemasons, if it had existed. — 7) That some scruples cannot but be raised of the close investigator at the form of the introduction and of the conclusion, as well as the signatures, for it is striking that the chief lodges of the stone-masons in Strasburg, Zurich and Utrecht did not send any deputies etc. etc.

The writing by Br. Bobrik: "Text, translation and examination of the Cologne document" appeared in 1840; it brings the following remarks to bear upon the genuineness of the deed: 1) The motive for the the supposed meeting does not exist. — 2) The purpose of the document and the form in which it is carried out, do not agree together; for in order to refute a thing publicly, writing in cipher is resorted to, and the conceal a matter the signatures are written in common italics. Neither can we conceive any document legal without a seal. — 3) The signatures are suspicious in the highest degree. — 4) The assembly of the nineteen individuals cited is extremely doubtful; for Hermann would have preferred the town of Bonn, to that of Cologne, where he had many enemies. — 5) Melanchthon's participation is especially problematical, as well as that of the other subscribers. — 6) The records of 1637, which are cited, cannot suffice as proofs, as there is nothing to show that there existed a lodge Vredendall at that period. — Br. Bobrik is of opinion that "Patriarch" is a hint at the General of the Jesuits, especially if we transfer the forgery to the year 1816, when the Jesuits, after their restoration in 1814, began to exert their influence anew, which in Holland could

only be by indirect means. The title and the expressions congregati institutum etc. he considers as evidences of its having had a Jesuit for its author.

Br. Bellermann in Berlin raised new doubts upon the subject, by a pamphlet, only extant in manuscript, and in 1843, there appeared a fresh pamphlet against it, called: "Paleographic proofs of the spuriousness of the Cologne Freemason document of 1535." By Dr. Gustav Schwetschke. Halle.

The author remarks in his introduction, that after a careful comparison of the signature of Jacobus Praepositus at the end of the document, and the handwriting existing of his, and proved to be genuine, the most glaring discrepancy is apparent, as also the signatures of the Archbishop Hermann, and that here pointed out as his, are most dissimilar; he examines closely the way in which the document is written, and points out several differences between it, and the one generally adopted, as for instance the different characters used for u and v, which was unknown before the middle of the 16th century; and that in the Cologne cipher, the K is wanting, which letter was to be met with in all the alphabets of the middle ages. —

More recently the following authors have pronounced against it: G. H. M. Delprat in the third part of the *Bijdragen voon vaderland-sche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*. Br. J. P. Vaillant of the Hague, in an article published in the periodical "*Acacia*" (XI. 6) 1863, and called: "Eenige Opmerkingen betrefende de Keulsche Maç. Oorkonde van 1535."

H.

The Spuriousness of the so-called Constitutions etc. of 1786 of the Anc. and acc. Rite.

(Declaration of the Grande Lodge of the 3 Globes at Berlin).

These Statutes, Regulations etc. (of the anc. and acc. Scottish Rite of 33 degr.) as translated by Albert Pike, in our opinion, bore internal evidence of their spuriousness, and we have on all proper occasions denied their authenticity. The last steamer from Europe brought us the result of the investigations of the Grand Lodge of the "3 Globes" as contained in its Protocol of Dec. 19th 1861, which fully sustains us.

The Protocol as translated, is as follows:

"The Grand Master stated that W. Bro. Merzdorf of Oldenburg, the highly estimated honorary member of the Grand Lodge, had sent to the "Directory of the Order" (Bundes-Directorium) a lengthy critical examination of the Constitution and Statutes of the system of the 33 degrees.

"The collection of these Constitutions etc. has the title „Statutes and Regulations, Institutes, Laws and Grand Constitutions of the Ancient and Acc. Scottish Rite, compiled with notes from authentic documents for the use of the Order. By Albert Pike, etc. New-York 1859."

"The Grand Master then gave the principal contents of the historico-critical examination of Bro Merzdorf, and mentioned particularly that the above named Constitutions and Laws, which formed at present a basis of a system of high degrees in America, France and England were attributed to King Frederick the Great, who is said not to have issued them himself, but to have approved and signed them at the Grand Orient of Berlin, on the 25th day of the 7th month of the year 1762, and in May 1786. These documents are in the Latin, French, and English languages. The last of them, May 1, 1786, begins with the following introduction: "Nos Fredericus Dei Gratia—fecerunt" &c. The Constitutions have the following introduction: "Probante praesente, sanctiente—deliberaverunt" &c and closes with "Deliberatum, actum sancitum in Magno et Supremo Concilio" &c.

"According to the contents of these documents, Frederick the Great is said to have revised, reorganized, and increased from 25 to 33 degrees the system of High degrees in a Supreme Council held at Berlin, and which have often been the subject of critical examination, in consequence of the doubts of their authenticity which have always been uttered.

"Bro Le Blanc de Marconnay directed a letter about this subject, dated May 25th 1833 from New-York to the Directory of the Grand National Mother Lodge of the 3 Globes. He wrote as follows: "The highest tribunal of 33d and last degree of the Ancient and Acc. Scotch Rite (a Masonic authority which has extended its jurisdiction over Europe, principally France) claims to have its authority from Frederick II., King of Prussia, the said monarch having, on the 1st of May, 1786, revised the Masonic Constitutions and Statuts of the High degrees, for which he had himself given the reglements etc. Are these historical traditions founded on truth? Is there any trace to be found of such a fact? Is there any probability for their being a reality?"

"The answer which the Directory returned, on the 17th August 1833, says: "The Grand National Mother Lodge of the Three Globes was founded on the 13th September, 1740, under the authority of Frederick the Great, who was its first Grand Master. He never had anything to do with the organisation and legislation of the Grand Lodge. All that has been related of his having, in 1786, originated a high Masonic Senate etc. has no historical basis."

"Kloss attends to this subject in a long examination in his "History of Freemasonry in France" (page 409) and stamps the Constitutions and Statutes of the Ancient and Acc. Rite as "the grand lie of the Order."

"As harsh as this judgement may appear at a first glance, the Directory of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes, after repeated researches in the archives and historical collections, cannot help

sustaining it, by declaring the Constitutions and Statutes entirely false (apokryph), because

- 1) King Frederick the Great attended to Masonic affairs for only seven years (from his initiation in 1738 to 1744) and was never engaged in them afterwards. He kept himself aloof from every direct participation in them, devoting himself, with almost superhuman exertions, exclusively to the troubles and cares of government and in the command of his army.
- 2) In the year 1762 the third Silesian campaign engaged the whole of the time and activity of the King, and on the 1st of May, 1786 (the last of his life) indeed a few months only before his death (17th August 1786) he resided, a martyr to the gout, decrepit and weary of life, in his castle of Sans-Souci, near Potsdam, not in Berlin. According to the most reliable information, the King arrived in Berlin, Septem. 9th, 1785, visited his sister, the Princess Amalia, inspected his public works, and spent the night at the mineral springs to attend on the next day (Septem. 10th, 1785) the manoeuvres of his artillery. From the place of review the King returned to Potsdam. He never again came afterwards to Berlin; for, after having passed the winter in great suffering, his approaching end became no longer doubtful to his physicians in 1786, and the suffering monarch moved, on the 17th April 1786, to the castle of Sans-Souci, where he through four months suffered and died a hero.
- 3) It is, therefore, a falsehood that King Frederick the Great had convoked on the 1st May, 1786, in his residence at Berlin, a Grand Council for regulating the High degrees. It does not correspond at all to the manner of thinking and acting of the sublime Sovereign, to have occupied himself near the end of his earthly career with things which he had characterized as idle, valuesless and play-work.
- 4) The documents kept from time to time in the archives of the Grand National Mother Lodge do not show the slightest trace of the above mentioned documents or of the existence of a Grand Council in Berlin.
- 5) Of the persons who are said to have signed those documents, only Stark and Woellner are here known, the others are entirely unknown, nowhere mentioned in any of the numerous Masonic books or writings collected here.

But Stark could not have signed the documents of 1762 and 1786, for he was from 1760 to 1765 well known in England and France, and in Paris was the expounder of the Oriental manuscripts of the library. In 1766, he returned to Germany, and became Conrector at Wismar. In 1767 he was appointed Professor of Oriental languages at Königsberg in Prussia, whence he went, in 1781, as first preacher of the Court to Darmstadt. Stark declares in his book "The Accusations against Dr. Stark and his Defence: Frankfort and Leipzig, 1787, p. 83 and 245. that he had renounced, since 1777, all his Masonic connections, had not participated in any way afterwards with Masonic matters, and had been very indifferent that he did not want to answer letters of his former friends who wrote on such subjects.

Woellner had been elected in 1775 Altschottischer Obermeister and held this office until the year 1791, when he was elected National Grand Master. Nowhere in the archives can be found evidence that he took an interest in the high degrees. A letter sent to him by des Philalethes Chefs légitimes du régime Maçonnique de la R. loge des amis réunis a l'Orient de Paris, kept in the archives of the National Mother Grand Lodge, touches the meeting of a convention in Paris, on the 15th June, 1786. It is signed by Bro Lavalette des Langes. The purpose of the Convention was to be, to confer upon Masonic Doctrine, and by the concentration of lights and the comparison of opinions, to clear up the most important points relating to the principles, dogmas, advantages and the true aim of Freemasonry, viewed only as a science.

A later letter from Bro Lavalettes de Langes, received February 9th 1787 shows that the meeting of the convention had been put off to the 21st Febr. 1787. On this letter is a remark that it had not been answered.

The Grand Lodge resolves to insert this report of the Directory into the Protocol, and so promulgated it to all the Lodges."

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