



FREEMASONRY IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE. (XVII CENTURY.)

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Read 20th January, 1898.

THE Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Chester are fortunate in being able to claim two of the earliest records relating to Freemasonry. That these were the only ones is impossible, and that they are even the only two remaining is incredible. Anderson states, in the 1738 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*,¹ p. 111 :—“ This year [1720], at some private Lodges, several valuable Manuscripts (for they had nothing yet in Print) concerning the Fraternity, their Lodges, Regulations, Charges, Secrets, and Usages (particularly one writ by Mr. Nicholas Stone, the Warden of Inigo Jones) were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers ; that those Papers might not fall into strange Hands.” This statement has been discredited, but now we know, thanks to Mr. Conder’s discoveries, that Nicholas Stone was a Freemason, it is not unlikely that he possessed manuscripts of Masonry.

Little by little, information is being collected, and many points are being discussed, which in time may enable us to obtain a better conception

¹ This rare and curious book has been reprinted in exact facsimile by the Lodge Quatuor Coronati, as the seventh volume of the extra publications.

of early Freemasonry. Already a great amount of material has been printed in the *Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, and there is little doubt, if sufficient interest could be excited, and on every probable or possible occasion a careful search was made, that many scattered fragments of the history of Freemasonry would be unearthed.

Masonry was naturally at first of an operative character; the very existence, like the commencement of the guilds of masons, depended on the necessity for having buildings suited to various purposes. From this trade guild, at the same time associated with it, arose a speculative body of men; that is to say, one section was composed of the working masons who prepared the stones, and the other of men interested—at first more, and afterwards less—in the science of building. These theoretical or speculative masons joined, or were attached to the guilds or lodges, from one cause or another. In the places where no masons' company or regular incorporation existed, like those found in various cities and towns, the lodges supplied the place of the guild to workmen, as well as the masons required in the district. Many of these lodges existed, scattered over the country, composed largely of operative masons, of which one or two records still exist.

I believe there was a connection between these lodges, situated in country districts with those guilds or companies fixed in the large towns, or those lodges which remained at large ecclesiastical buildings. To this subject I have already referred in my remarks on Masons' Marks. The "assembly" of masons mentioned in the "Old Charges" enters into this subject; about it an interesting discussion will be found in the *Transactions of the Lodge Quatuor Coronati*, vols. v, p. 203, and vi, pp. 169, 173. This assembly, whether it took place once each year or

oftener, it seems to me, was clearly a meeting of masons ; and, as the text itself states, was held to regulate the affairs of the guild. To it workmen were summoned, with penalties for their absence, should they be working within a certain limit. This assembly had a Master, who possibly was the Master Mason of the district in which the meeting was held.

The office of King's Master Mason was one of considerable importance, as he had the control of the repairs and additions required in all buildings belonging to and in the keeping of the Crown. There were also Master Masons and Master Carpenters of certain cities and districts. Of those of Chester, Ormerod, in his *History of Cheshire* (new edition, vol. i, pp. 87-88), has collected a list from 1327 to 1664, one only being elected at a later period, in 1765.

MASTER MASONS, MASTER CARPENTERS, AND
SURVEYORS OF WORKS.

(Ormerod, *Cheshire*, new edition, vol. i, pp. 87-88.)

- 1327-1329, 1 and 2 Edward III.—JOHN DE ESSHEBY, parson of the Church of Pleymundestowe, surveyor of the King's works in the county. See *Chamberlains*, 3 Edward III [1329-1330], p. 59, where the following occurs: JOHN STONEHALL, parson of Plemstow. A note says that he is "called John de Essheby Parson of the Church of Pley-monestowe in Recognizances acknowledged before him" 3 May, 3 Edward III [1329].
- 1377, 51 Edward III, 20 April.—WILLIAM DE NEWEHALL, master carpenter in both counties during pleasure.
- . . . Richard II . . . WILLIAM HULPESTAN, master mason.
- 1396, 19 Richard II, 18 June.—MASTER ROBERT FAGAN, mason of the county and North Wales for life, vice William Hulpestan.
- 1398, 21 Richard II, 11 April.—ROBERT FAGAN, the same in both counties and North Wales.
- 1398, 21 Richard II, 8 April.—ROBERT SCOT, carpenter of both counties for life.
- 1399, 1 Henry IV, 20 October.—MASTER WILLIAM DE NEWEHALL the same. [Cf. 1377.]

- 1400, 1 Henry IV, 13 February.—ROBERT SCOT the same, in reversion on the death of Newehall.
- 1412, 13 Henry IV, 1 February.—ROGER DREWRY, master carpenter of the castle of Chester and in both counties for life.
- 1414, 2 Henry V, 6 October.—THOMAS DE HOLDEN, mason in both counties during pleasure.
- 1416, 4 Henry V, 22 August.—JOHN ASSER, the same.
- 1432, 10 Henry VI, 26 May.—HENRY BALFRONT, carpenter for life.
- 1433, 11 Henry VI, 1 March.—JOHN ASSER, junior, mason in both counties and North Wales, for life, on the resignation of John Asser, his father.
- 1438, 16 Henry VI, 8 May.—HENRY BALFRONT, carpenter in both counties for life. (He was afterwards one of the sheriffs of the city.) [1494, Henry Balfroont, John Walley, sheriffs, p. 212.]
- 1439, 17 Henry VI, 10 June.—JOHN ASSER, master mason, surveyor of the walls of the city of Chester.
- 1446, 24 Henry VI, 2 July.—JOHN CAMPTON, mason in the county of Chester and North Wales for life, vice John Asser deceased.
- 1461, 1 Edward IV, 24 July.—JOHN SAVAGE, armiger, surveyor of castles, manors, &c., in both counties and Denbigh for life.
- 1461, 1 Edward IV, 20 December.—WILLIAM REDICHE, master mason of the city for life.
- 1461, 1 Edward IV, 30 December.—WILLIAM FRANKLEYNE, *alias* TEMPLE, carpenter of the castle of Chester for life.
- 1463, 3 Edward IV, 12 April.—WILLIAM FRANKELYN, *alias* TEMPLE, carpenter in both counties for life.
- 1467, 7 Edward IV, 8 March.—The same.
- 1484, 1 Richard III, 10 April.—HUGH HURLETON, surveyor of works in both counties for life.
- 1484, 2 Richard III, 1 September.—WILLIAM FRANKELYN, *alias* TEMPLE, carpenter, confirmation of last appointment for life.
- 1485, 1 Henry VII, 1 November.—WILLIAM [FRANKELYN, *alias*] TEMPLE the same.
- 1494, 9 Henry VII, 12 March.—OLIVER BOLTON, the same office during pleasure.
- 1495, 11 Henry VII, 24 September.—SETH DERWALL, mason in both counties during pleasure.
- 1503, 18 Henry VII, 11 April.—The same.
- 1509, 1 Henry VIII, 18 September.—RICHARD HURLESTON, surveyor in both counties during pleasure, vice HUGH HURLETON, his father.
- 1516, 8 Henry VIII, 10 September.—SETH DERWALL, mason in both counties.

- 1516, 8 Henry VIII, 30 December.—NICHOLAS HURLE, surveyor of works in both counties for life, vice RICHARD HURLETON.
- 1525, 17 Henry VIII, 1 August.—SETH DERWALL and GEORGE DERWALL, his son, masons for life in survivorship on the surrender of the grant, 10 September, 8 Henry VIII [1516].
- 1527, 18 Henry VIII, 5 March.—OLIVER BOLTON, master carpenter of the works of Chester Castle.
- 1537, 29 Henry VIII, 14 May.—JOHN BRERETON, master in both counties.
- 1537, 29 Henry VIII, 21 December.—HUGH BOLTON, carpenter in the same.
- 1552, 6 Edward VI, 8 August.—WILLIAM BOLTON, the same for life.
- 1558, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, 26 March.—HENRY BOLTON the same during pleasure, vice WILLIAM BOLTON, his father.
- 1592, 34 Elizabeth, 13 January.—MILO MATHER, carpenter, on resignation of HENRY BOLTON.
- 1601, 43 Elizabeth, 14 November.—HENRY FLETCHER, mason in both counties during pleasure.
[Frodsham Church Books.—14 November, 43 Elizabeth, 1601, the Queen granted to Henry Fletcher the office of Master Carpenter of all her works in the county of Chester, with the usual wages and fees. All work at the castle would be done under the oversight of the bailiff, Sir John Savage, the son and successor of the late Sir John of the same name.—*Frodsham*, by William Beamont, Esq., p. 118.]
- 1602, 44 Elizabeth, 9 November.—JOHN NICOLSON the same.
[9 November, 44 Elizabeth, 1602, the Queen granted to John Nicholson the office of Master Mason of all her buildings and works in Cheshire and Flintshire, with the fees and wages to the same belonging.—*Frodsham Church Books*. *Frodsham*, by W. Beamont, p. 119.]
- 1660, 12 Charles II, 29 August.—JOHN SHAW, mason in the county.
- 1663-1664, 15 Charles II.—The same, surveyor of works.
- 1765, 5 George III, 23 August.—JOSEPH WINKLES, surveyor of all castles, &c., in the county during pleasure.

The Reformation had a disastrous effect on the system upon which the guilds of masons were based. The whole was changed. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many of the operative lodges died out, and the members for the most part were probably scattered over the whole country. Some, however, as independent bodies, survived the

storm, and lasted for a considerable period. Of course their use for ruling the trade generally of a district or town had largely, if not entirely, passed away. The speculative element lasted, and, in some instances at least, if they did not take entire possession of the lodge, they appear to have assisted in keeping it alive.

An instance of late date, in which the town guild had lost its power, occurred at Canterbury. About 1680, the joiners, carpenters, carvers, masons, bricklayers, &c., were incorporated into one fraternity. The various guilds and fraternities continued in force until the middle of the eighteenth century. Their termination was undignified. Thomas Roch, a cabinetmaker, born in Dublin but a native of Wales, having settled in Canterbury and purchased his freedom, was immediately afterwards called upon by the builders, to which fraternity he was considered as bound to attach himself, to pay the Master and Wardens £4 for dues and fees. He refused to pay, and they refused to produce their charter. The case went to Rochester assizes, and then before Lord Mansfield, at Maidstone. "Here, in 1758, the plaintiffs, who declined to produce their sham charter, were summarily nonsuited. The decision caused the general break-up of the Guilds and Fraternities, although some of them lingered on a few years longer."²

Many sources have been claimed for the origin of Freemasonry, but I think there can be no reasonable doubt that it was really the outcome of the guilds, and naturally, to some extent at least, in its earliest times followed the rules and orders in use among the operative masons. It is, however, singular that no other guild possessed a speculative or symbolical society attached in its

² *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, by John Brent. F.S.A., 1879, pp. 151, 157.

origin, if not always in its person, using a system of moral teaching, the visible symbols of which were the well-known objects used for trade purposes. It must not be forgotten, however, that the trade of masonry stood apart from other trades. A mason was not always stationary in the pursuit of his calling; he must wander from place to place. A system was therefore formulated by which he could know and be known. The labours of a master mason were rarely mechanical, like so many of the fixed trades. It required a considerable knowledge of geometry and art; for it needs far more brains and far more thought to plan and construct a cathedral, or, indeed, any building, than it does to plan and construct a bucket.

At a later period I shall call attention to my friend, Mr. E. Conder's, important discovery of the London Lodge, attached to the London Company of Masons. At this time it may be well to refer shortly to some of those interesting documents of Masonry itself that have survived in the sister counties. There can be no doubt, from the short record left by Ashmole of the lodge at Warrington in 1646, that the lodge had a previous existence, and was not a mushroom creation for the express purpose of admitting two gentlemen.

Many of the operative lodges had, no doubt, a speculative division. The natural supposition is, when a lodge of Freemasons is found in early times, that at some previous period either it or some of the members who founded it must have been connected with a lodge of working masons. I have several times advanced the theory that lodges in early times owed some kind of allegiance to another body, though perhaps only as taking their origin from central authorities.

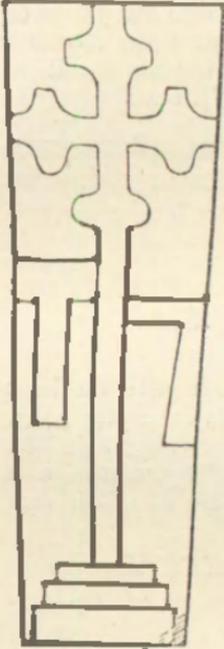
Bordering on Yorkshire, the county of splendid monastic buildings, included in the old kingdom

of Northumbria, as I pointed out years ago, it is not surprising if Lancashire and Cheshire should have their abbeys and fine churches. It may be worth mentioning that among the apprentices entered in the Masons' Company of London, as far as can be traced, but few came from the northern counties. Among these occur the names of Stanley, Shuttleworth, Hide, Bancks, Fleetwood, and Jasper son of Jasper Lathom, who was made free on the 11th of May, 1630. In 1695 there was also a Robert Latham, who became free by redemption on the 4th of May, 1693; but of these the origin is not stated.

It is worth remarking that the majority of apprentices were drawn from "counties south of the Trent;" and only a few occur from Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. The following are all I have been able to collect from Lancashire and Cheshire, but it must always be remembered that there are no records of the Company earlier than 1620:—

- 1663, 30 June.—John Tapley, son of William Tapley, of Chester, yeoman, apprentice to John Martin, Citizen and Mason of London, for 7 years.
- 1668, 7 May.—William Fell, son of James Fell, of Furness, co. Lancaster, husbandman, apprentice to William Bussey, C. & M. of London, for 7 years. He was made free, 5th of October, 1675.
- 1670, 28 June.—Edmund Holines, son of Ralph Holines, of Widford, co. Chester, Taylor, apprentice to John Martin, C. & M. of London, for 7 years.
- 1670, 1 Sep.—Edward Baron, son of William Baron, of Rufford, co. Lancaster, carpenter, apprentice to Thomas Kirkham, C. & M. of London, for 7 years.
- 1675, 22 June.—George Whittacre, son of George Whittacre, late of Burnley, co. Lancashire, yeoman, deceased, apprentice to Humphrey Adamson, C. & M. of London, for 7 years.
- 1706, 10 April.—Thomas Thorpe, son of Robert Thorpe, of Whaley, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, apprentice to Francis Dowing, C. & M. of London, for 7 years. He was made free on the 15th of June, 1713.

Many invaluable guild-records are preserved at Chester, and it is much to be regretted that the Corporation, or some body of antiquaries, has not emulated the example of the Surtees Society, who have now in course of publication the lists of all the freemen of York.



Many monuments have perished, and many may yet be discovered. My brother called my attention to an interesting stone slab in Halsall Churchyard, bearing on each side of an ornamental cross what appears to be a T-square and a set-square of large dimensions. The stone is $68\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 23 inches in width at the head, and $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the foot, the ornaments being incised. Following the custom of placing the emblems of the occupation of the deceased upon his tomb, we may fairly conclude that the emblems here refer to a builder of some importance in his time.

An indenture of agreement dated 16 Edward II (1323), between the mayor and citizens of Chester and John Clypeston, for the building of the New Tower, now called the Water Tower, still exists in a perfect state.³

There occurs in a MS. book preserved at Hale, written by William Ireland, Lord of the Manor of Hale, in the first half of the fifteenth century, a reference to the building, 2 Henry VI, 1424, of the tomb of John Leyot, rector of Malpas, in the chancel of Hale Church. It mentions John le Mason le Yrishman, who built the tower of Sir

³ "Charters of the City of Chester," *Arch. Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 358, &c.

John Stanley, Knight, at Liverpool, and John le Mason, Northernman, who built the vault of Sir Henry Norris, Knight. It runs as follows:—

(Folio 73) Idem Joh'es Layett in vita sua obtinuit unu ho[mi]nem vocat Jo'hem le Mason le Yrishman quondam unus illoꝝ qui composuerunt turrem Johis Stanley Chr [Chevalier] apud Lyu'pull & un aliu viz Johem le Mason Northeredman qui composuit Cam' in Henr Norreis Chr. & illi duo viz Johes & Jo'hes Masons composuerunt Tumbam di^{ct} Johis legot Rectoris Ecc'ie de Malepas jacent in medio Cancellio Capelle de Hale viz; die Mercurij Septimo die Marcij A^o RR. H. sexti.

John Leyot was Rector of Denforth, afterwards Dean of Chester, and still later Rector of Malpas and Bangor, and died in 1428. He built a chantry to the church of Hale, about the year 1400.⁴

For the following I was indebted to my friend the late Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.

ST. MARY'S, CHESTER.

The Chantry chapel at the end of the north aisle was built by William Troutbeck, Esq., and Joan his wife in the year 1433, and some little information is on record concerning it. The original contract for its erection by Thomas Betes, mason, is a document of much interest, and one of a class of which very few are now extant. It is as follows:—⁵

*Agreement between WILLIAM TROUTBECK Esq.,⁶ and
THOMAS BETES, Mason, for building a Chapel
at St. Mary's, Chester, 1433.*

“This endenture made bytwene William Troutebek, esquier,
“on that on[e] p'tie, and Thomas Betes, mason, on that other
“p'tie beres wittensse that the forsaid Thomas has made
“covenant and granted to the said William that he shall make a
“Chapel in the chirche yord of Seynte Marie on the Hill, on the

⁴ See also *Gregson's Fragments*, new ed., 1869, pp. 203-204; *Hale and Oxford*, by William Beamont, 1886.

⁵ Printed in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, new edition, vol. ii, p. 41. I have added the words in square brackets and the notes, in order to make it more intelligible. Since this was written, the contract has been published in Mr. Earwaker's *History of the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester*, p. 31.

⁶ William Troutbeck, Esq., Lord of Durham, which estate he purchased, was Chamberlain of Chester, 14 Hen. IV, and died between 21 and 23 Hen. VI; he was succeeded by his son, Sir John Troutbeck, Knt.—Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, p. 42.

“south side of the chauncell of the chirche there, that is to
 “wete [to wit] the est ende, the south side and the west ende,
 “contenyng the length of the chauncell there and xviiij fote
 “wide withinne the walles, and as high as hit nedes resonably
 “to be; with v faire and clenely wroght wyndowes full of light,
 “that is to say on[e] gable wyndow in the est ende with iiij
 “lightes, and iij wyndowes on the south side, ichone [each one]
 “of iij lightes, and on[e] in the weste ende, in the best wise to
 “be deviset; and iiij botras [buttresses] on the south side, with
 “a grete arche in the weste ende; and the chapelle to be
 “battellet above, like to the little closet withinne the castell of
 “Chester, with a corbyl table longynge [*i.e.*, belonging] thereto:
 “and at ayther end iij honest syngals.

“And the forsaid William shall pay to the forsaid Thomas
 “xx^{li} [£20] like as the worke goes forwarde, and also give him
 “a gowne, and alsoe the forsaid William shall fynde fre[e] stone,
 “lyme, sonde, wat’ [water], wyndelasse and stuff for to scaffolde
 “with, and such manere necessaries as the forsaid Thomas
 “nedes, and all manere of cariages that longen [*i.e.*, belong]
 “thereto; and the forsaid Thomas shall, by the ov’sight [oversight]
 “of Maester John Asser,⁸ make the chappell and all thynges
 “that longen thereto (masoncraft)⁹ honestly. In wytnesse of the
 “whch thynges to these p’sentes endentures the p’ties forsaid,
 “aither anendes other haven set to their sealx.

“Gyven at Chester the Monday next before the feste of the
 “natyvyte of Seint John the Baptist [June 24] in the yere of
 “Kyng Henry the Sixt after the conquest xj [1433].”

It is worthy of notice that the contracting mason, Master John Asser, was at the time Master Mason of the city of Chester.

For a copy of the very interesting agreement for taking down and rebuilding Oldham Church, in 1476, of which I annex a fac-simile, I was indebted (in 1884) to the late Mr. William Beamont. It is still preserved in the safe of the parish church of

⁷ This was probably a small window to be placed above “the grete arche in the west ende,” subsequently mentioned, which was to separate this new chapel from the south aisle. The roof of this chapel was probably higher than that of the south aisle, very likely as high as the chancel roof.

⁸ This John Asser may have been the architect employed by the Abbey of St. Werburgh, to whom St. Mary’s belonged, and who would have the supervision of any building there. A Roger Asser was Rector of St. Mary’s from 1464 to 1471.

⁹ This word is interlined in the original.

Prestwich, co. Lanc., copies having been printed in Booker's *Memorials of the Church in Prestwich*, 1852, pp. 88-9, and in the *Prestwich Parish Magazine* for May, 1885.

This endentur' made the iiijth day of Novemb̄r the yere of our lord A[nno] Mⁱ cccc lxxvj betwene Rauff longley pson of Prestwich upon that one pte and William Hamond Rauff Hamond & Miles Alenson masons upon that oy^r pte the pties Aforsaid ben agreed in man^r & fo^rme that folowes that is to say the said William Rauff & Miles masons haue taken upon yaim to make at Oldom A body of A Churche in man^r & fo^rme that folowes that is to say, yai shall bynde & make sufficiently iiij Arches upon Aither side the Kyrke w^t Hewen stone of mason werke eu^ry Arche of xij fote betwene the Pillers And of heght vndir the Arche xvij fote And of widdenesse betwene the Pillers ou^thwerte xx fote And at Aither end A CrosArche au^thwerte that one According to the Pillers that oy' according for A Stepull w^t ij boterasses at the west end Also on Aitherside one yling of x fote wyde from the Pillers And the wall of xii fote heght In the yling on the Southside v wyndowes that is to say upon Aither end one And upon the side iiij And iiij boterasses upon Aither cornell one And one betwene the wyndowes w^t A dur' & A porche y^rto And in the ylyng upon the Northside iiij wyndowes in Aither end one And ii on the side with iiij boterasses at Aither cornell one & betwene the wyndowes ij And A dur' y^rto And as for the wyndowes iiij of yaim eu^ry wyndow of iiij lightes And the residew of ij lightes sufficient & According to the werke All dures wyndowes boterasses pillers & gabull tables grounde tables And the Arche in the porche of hewen stone And to make all the residew sufficiently w^t wallyng stone And aft^r the grounde werke baret the said masons to laye the stone And to take the grounde werke And if it happen that y' fall any travel or disagreement betwene the said pties So that the werke be not sufficiently made then the said pties to be redressed by oy' [other] masons according to faithe & conscience ffor the which werke in this fo^rme to be made the said Rauff pson g^runtes to pay or make to be paied to the saides William Rauff & Miles in or to yay^r Assignes xxviiij li vi s viii^d of leall money in man^r & fo^rme that folowes, that is to say At the ffest of Saynt Nicholas [6 Dec.] next suyng the date of this endentur a C s And at the natiuite of Saynt John the Baptist then next Suyng [24 June] C s And so at the ffest of Saynt Nicholas [6 Dec.] yen next Suing C s And At the natiuite of Saynt John the Baptist then next Suyng C s And at the ffest of Saynt Nicholas then next Suyng C s And the remanent of xxviiij li vis viij d to be paied when yai haue fynysshed

This indenture made the ¹⁴ day of November the yere of our lord A. M. CCC. lxxv. betwene Rauff Longley pson of
 Prestwiche upon that one pte And William Hamond Rauff Hamond & miles Alenson masons upon that o^r pte the ptes aforesaid
 ben agreed in word & some that folowes that is to say the said William Rauff & miles masons have taken upon yam to make at Oldon
 a body of a church in maⁿ & some that folowes that is to say y^e shall bnde & make sufficiently in arches upon either side the
 breveln heaven stone of mason worke any arch of y^e fore betwene the pillars And of heght w^{ch} the arches y^e fore And of
 widdnesse betwene the pillars ^{with} ~~with~~ ^{xx} fote And at either end a brofarche and Roberts that one According to the pillars
 that o^r accordunt for a Stepuell w^{ch} y^e boterassez at the west end also on either side one yling of x fote wyde from the pillars
 And the wall of y^e fore heght In the yling on the Southside Wyndowes that is to say upon either end one And upon the
 side in And in boterassez upon either cornell one And one betwene the wyndowes w^{ch} a d^{ur} & a porche y^e fore And in the yling
 upon the Northside in wyndowes in either end one And y^e on the side with in boterassez at either cornell one & betwene
 the wyndowes y^e And a d^{ur} y^e fore And as for the wyndowes in of yam and wyndowes of y^e lightes And the resider of
 y^e igitres sufficient & accordunt to the werke All d^{ur}res wyndowes boterassez pillars & gabull tables grounde tabled
 And the arche in the porche of heaven stone And to make all the resider sufficiently w^{ch} walling stone and w^{ch} the grounde
 werke baret the said masons to laye the stone And to take the grounde werke And if it happen that y^e fall any treabes or
 disagreement betwene the said ptes So that the werke be not sufficiently made upon the said pte to be redressed by
 o^r masons accordunt to factis & constance for the which werke in this forme to be made the said Rauff pson g^unter
 to pay or make to be paid to the saides William Rauff & miles masons or to yam assignes / y^e fore li. vi. s. viij. of lealt
 indenture A. C. And at the statuto of Saynt Nicholas next D^ung the date of this
 Saynt Nicholas y^e next D^ung & s. And at the statuto of Saynt John the Baptist they next D^ung & s. And at
 the ffeft of Saynt Nicholas then next D^ung & s. And the remanent of y^e fore li. vi. s. viij. to be paid w^{ch} in yam
 have fennyshed yam werke And this werke be fennyshed & ended by Ester day that shall be in the y^e of o^r lord
 A. M. CCC. lxxx. Also the said Rauff pson shall fynde to the saides William Rauff & miles masons aforesaid
 Stone lime soude water sayntrees scallader & berne and bringe yam to the grounde upon his cofie And
 all o^r stuffs l^onting to the masons And to yam drafte the said masons to fynde upon yam awne cofte And to all thes
 comentes well & truly to be p^oved upon either pte the ptes aforesaid bnde yam by this indenture (In witness
 wherof the day & the y^e aforesaid)

yau^r werke And this werke be fynnysshed & endet by Estur day that shall be in the yer of o^r lord A m cccc lxxix Also the said Rauff pson shall fynde to the saides William Rauff and Miles masons Aforsaid Stone lyme Sonde water Sayntrees Scaffoldes & berne & bringe yaim to the grounde upon his coste And All o^r Stuffe longyng to the masons And to yau^r Crafte the said Masons to fynde upon yau^r owne coste And to all thes couen'tes well & truly to be pfo^rmed upon Aither ptie the pties Aforsaid byndes yaim' by thes endentures In wittenesse of the which thing to Aither ptie of thes endentures the pties Aforsaid entchaungeably haue Sette yair Sealles Yeuen the day & the yere Aforsaid.

The following agreement for the bells of the same church, from a copy lent to me by Mr. Beamont, is also interesting :—

This endentur made the xxiiij day of September in y^e yer of our Lord mcccclxxxvj wittenes y^t Raufe Langley pson of Prestwich hase resayvit by y^e bondes of John Miln John Hope . . . Ric Smyth James Neld James Mellor Robert Tayleor Philip Wild Rob^t . . . of Glodihe Edmund Leghes Nich Whitehed Rog Okedene . . . in part of yayment of xxl to the entent to bye iii bellis for Oldeme chapell to be . . . in maner & forme y^t followes y^t is to say the sayd Raufe to bye the sayd iii bellis & cape thaym nobbe yaim clapur thaym & hing thaym and make thaym redy to the rynging and if so be y^e cost come to more then xxiiij^t y^e said pson pay y^e overplus and if hit happen ye iij bellis in all costes be made xxiiij^t yen the said Raufe y^e remaynder of the said xxiiij^t to pay agayne to the . . . and oth^r xl to be payet to the said Raufe wythin half a yer after the bellis be able to be rungen And to all thes covntes to be well and dule pformed as well the said Raufe as pe said John Milne John Hope James Buckley Ric Smythe James Neld James Mellor Robt Tayleor Philip Wild Robt Okedene Edmond Leghes Nichas Whitehed and Roger Okedene y^e junr bynden thayme & Ilhone of thayme de yaim selfe in y^e hole.

For a knowledge and the use of the original I was indebted to the late Mr. J. P. Earwaker. It is written upon parchment, and the straps for the seals still remain, though the seals themselves have perished. In many instances, when a church was to be built, a contract like the present one was entered into ; few of them, however, now remain.

There is another contract, dated 1532-3, in which Thomas Sellers and Nicholas Craven contract for sixty pounds to rebuild the north and south "hylings" of Burnley Church, and eighteen buttresses, of which I have not succeeded in obtaining a copy. The original document does not specify the trade of the workmen. The north and middle aisles were rebuilt, but the south aisle remained in its original state till the year 1789. (*Papworth Sup. of Eng. Build. Trans.*, R.I.B.A., p. 112.)

In *The Civil War Tracts in Lancashire*, Chetham Society, vol. ii, p. 157, 1843, edited by Dr. Ormerod, occurs the following, with reference to Latham Hall:—

This later building—the fortress existing in 1644—is said to have furnished Henry VII, who visited his father-in-law, Earl Thomas [Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby], shortly after its erection, with the first ideas of his new palace at Richmond. It is generally supposed that its principal gateway is represented in carvings attached to the stall of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely [1506 to 1515], in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, of which he was Warden; and there can be little doubt of the carving referring to Lathom Hall (and most probably to the later hall) from the circumstance of the Stanley legend being represented in a tree, and a *rebus* of masons or stone-cutters (termed *Lathomi* or *Latomi* in mediæval Latin) approaching the gateway below, which has *two* towers and machicolated battlements.

Mr. Alfred Darbyshire has very kindly made a full-sized drawing of this very interesting bench-end, from which the annexed plate has been copied. The panel measures about 12 inches by 8½ inches, and the carving is rough and much worn. In the compartment below is a quartered arms: Stanley, Man, Lathom, and Warren.

James Stanley, Bishop of Ely and Warden of Manchester, was the sixth son of the first Earl of Derby. He died, as recorded on his brass in Manchester Cathedral, on the 22nd of March, 1515;

and this wood-carving was executed by his order. Forming a portion of the design is prominently placed the Lathom badge, inherited by the Stanleys, referring to the legend of the eagle and child, an incident in the life of an heir of the Lathom family, which is said to have taken place in Terlestowe Wood or in Lathom Park. It will be noticed that the trees, the centre one bearing the eagle's nest, form a portion of the scene, and are possibly intended to represent the wood in which the castellated mansion is situated, thus denoting the particular house intended. It will also be noticed that the eagle's nest is simply placed in the tree, without the lettering, "Oskell Lathom," as in the glass at Northenden Church (Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. 1, p. 278), as if intended to represent the legend more than the badge of the Lathoms or the crest of the Stanleys.

This carving, which is of great interest, has, so far as I am aware, never been adequately published until now. I am not only indebted to Mr. Darbyshire for the trouble he has taken to enable me to give a proper representation of it, but also for notes which resulted from his careful examination when drawing it. After describing the arms in the compartment below the carving, in letters addressed to Mr. Radcliffe, he says: "You will also observe that the first and third little men are carrying something like caskets, while the second and fourth have something like bundles attached to sticks, which they carry over their shoulders." And again: "Much of the detail is worn away, and the faces quite obliterated. You will note that the castle is on rough rock (Isle of Man probably): the first and third men are military in attire, the second and fourth are civilians, but all carrying bags of money. It is a case of tribute money to the lords and kings of

“Man, with the Derby crest over all. I do not think it is at all masonic.”

There is no doubt, as observed by Mr. Darbyshire, that the figures are in pairs: the first and third, hooded and booted, appear to bear in the right hand a dagger, and in the left a bag, probably of money; the second and fourth figures, apparently unarmed, seem to wear closer-fitting hoods, with a wallet at the girdle, and over the right shoulder a stick ending with two bag-like divisions. I do not think that they are bags; they seem to me more like rude representations of slings, or more likely flails, to distinguish the peasant from the soldier. I cannot, however, explain why they occur here. Mr. Darbyshire's suggestion that the picture represents tribute may be the correct explanation, but I should have expected to find that some more important event was commemorated.

Mr. Planché, in his excellent paper upon the Stanley crest in the *Journal* of the Archæological Association, vol. vi, 1851, writing about this stall says, “we find a procession of stonemasons “with their tools introduced, merely to signify the “name of the family, by its conformity in sound “to ‘Lathomi’”¹⁰ (p. 207). It must be remembered when Mr. Planché expressed this opinion, he had before him the sketch of the panel from which the annexed cut has been taken. It appeared as an illustration to his paper in the *Journal* of the Archæological Association, and I give it here slightly reduced, as it will be seen that two of the figures carry squares, and the other pair carry over their shoulders what have been taken for axes, with bags slung upon them. Had these never existed, it is difficult to understand the origin of the wood-cut and the remarks of Ormerod and

¹⁰ *Vide* Lower's *Curiosities of Heraldry*, p. 190.



CARVING ON WARDEN'S STALL. MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL

FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION, VOL. VI., 1851.



STALL END, MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.
From a drawing by Alfred Darlyshire, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.

Planché. It will, however, be seen from Mr. Darbyshire's drawing that the emblems of mason-craft no longer remain.

I have sometimes thought that the building was not intended for a castle, but for a church, for example, that at Manchester, for additions to which the bishop paid. Again, the idea has suggested itself that Liverpool Tower is intended, and that the carving represents the mythical foundation of the Stanley family, and their descent from the Lathoms, which, according to the first known copy of the legend,¹¹ written by Thomas Stanley, Bishop of Man (1510-1570), came by the marriage of Sir John Stanley, Knight, to Isabella, the only daughter and heiress of Oskell Lathom of Lathom, the child taken up by the eagle. It has also been stated that Liverpool Tower and other lands were given by Sir Thomas Lathom (father of Isabella) to Sir John Stanley: hence the picture of the Lathom legend. I cannot, however, quite give up the idea that Lathom House is intended, but the figures can hardly be connected with the visit of Henry VII; although I think, if this is the house represented, some important event in its history is commemorated.

In Sir Peter Leycester's *Antiquities Touching Cheshire*, 1672, p. 321, is the following:—

There is Engraven in Stone, under the Ledge or Border, on the West-end of Mobberly Steeple, and on the South-west-corner as followeth:—

ORATE PRO BONO STATU DOMINI JOHANNIS TALBOT MILITIS, ET DOMINÆ MARGARETÆ UXORIS SUÆ.

And then beginning again just over the said Border in the very Corner of the Steeple aforesaid,—

PATRONÆ ECCLESIAE.

¹¹ Copies of this legend will be found in the *Journal of the Arch. Assocn.*, vol. vi, 1851, and vol. vii, 1852.

And so passing along to the South-side of the Steeple:—

ANNO DOMINI MILESIMO QUINGENTESIMO TRICE IMO
TERTIO, RICHARD PLAT, MASTER MASON.

Over which, on the said South-side, above, near to the Little Window under the Bells, is Ratcliff's Coat of Arms, Quartered with another Coat, engraven in Stone. So that Mobberly Steeple seems to have been built with Free-stone and the Church repaired, Anno 1533, 24 Hen. 8.

In the Harleian Mss., fol. 306, preserved in the British Museum, No. 2084, is the examination of Richard Hasslewall¹² of Chester, free-mason, aged 82 years or thereabouts, as to the reparation of the causey of the Dee. The date is about 1609-16.

Myles Hatton, "a Mason in London," is entered in the 1580 Visitation in Cheshire (Harl. Soc., vol. xviii). He was the eldest son of John Hatton of Sutton in Surrey, the grandson of Adam Hatton of Northwood in Cheshire.

Again, Harl. Ms. No. 2093, fol. 205, contains the Articles concluded the 6th of May, 1584, between Mr. Robert Brerewood, Maior of Chester, and Allen Waymale, Mason, concerning the Conduit at the High Cross, Chester, to be made by him. He was to build also a house of stone, "wherein to place and sette a sestorne to be appointed by the said maior for receipt of the freshe water thither to be brought." A pen and ink sketch on page 208 shows "a plattform for y^e waterworks." In 16 Elizabeth [1573-4] a contract (page 310) was entered into between the

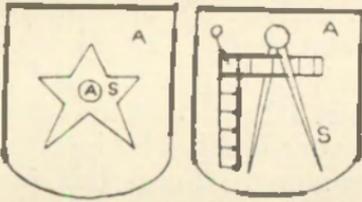
¹² The name of Richard Hasellwall, Hesillwall, or Hassylwall, occurs in the parish books of the church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, during the years 1542 to 1589. From the same books are recovered the names of other masons: Thomas Wissewall, Wuswall, Wyswall, or Woswoall, the City Mason, during the years 1538 to 1554; John Savage, 1544; Henry Biomeley or Bromley, 1545 to 1550; Thomas Lewes, 1547-8; Roger Rede, 1548; Hery Shepert, 1564; and Charles Whitehead, the City Mason in 1724 (Earwaker's *History of the Parish and Church*, 1898).

Mayor of Chester and Peter Morice for a conduit, "to serve the said citie wth water continually for "ever." He was to make a springhead at the late well, called St. Gyles Well, and bring the water with leaden pipes to the cross at the parish church of St. Bride's.

The Manchester Registers contain the following entry :—

Feb. 12, 1603-4.—Humfrey son of Edward Holland ffreemason Bapt[ised.]

The late Mr. Earwaker, to whom I was indebted for this note, informed me that Edward Holland had been previously styled "Gentleman."



Some years ago my brother called my attention to a monument mentioned in a Harl. Ms., No. 2151, as existing in Mr. Wilbraham's chapel

on the south side of Ashton als Acton Church, 21 Apl., 1596, to Peter Ashton and Elizabeth his wife, bearing these curious arms.

Acton or Aghton is in Nantwich hundred, county Chester. Two shields of arms are represented : one contains a black mullet or five-pointed star on a white field, the arms of Ashton ; the other shield bears a set square, marked with measuring spaces, and a pair of compasses placed in a very unusual form of combination. The heraldic colours which are given in the Ms. are worth notice : a gold square and black compasses on a white field.

It must not be forgotten that the square and also the compasses were not the peculiar emblems of the masons, but were used also by the carpenters as builders.

In the Raines Mss. (xxiv., fol. 387) is the following simple entry, no more being given :—

Articles of Agreement made 20 April 1638 Between John Culcheth of Culcheth Esq. of the first part & Daniell Sefton of Ormeschurch Freemason of the 2^d part. To build 20 yards of walling over the River of Glasebrook &c.

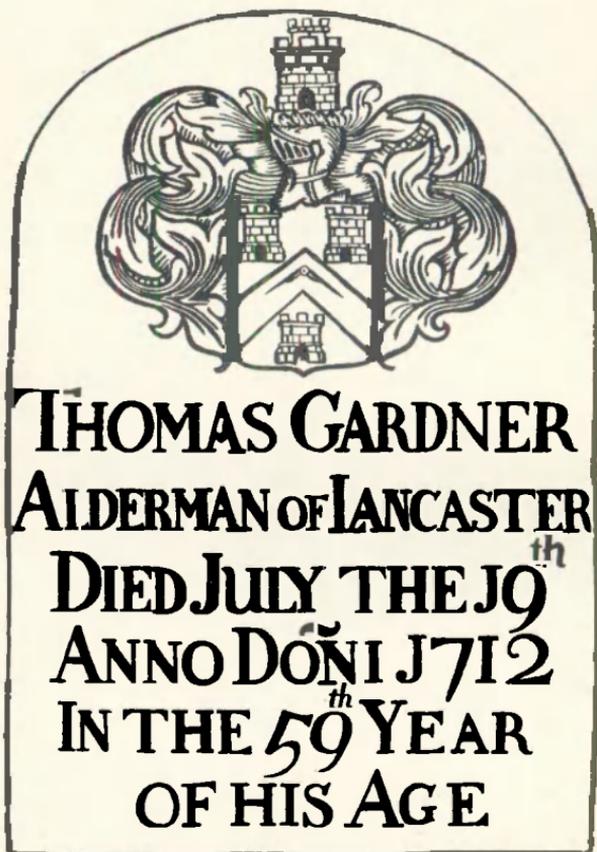
In the year 1885 the Society printed in its journal some notes of deeds referring to Arthur Bentley,¹³ there called Freemason, in the years 1621 and 1622. Evidently he was a man of some little importance, as he then became possessed of the fairs held at Knutsford.

In the Parish Register of Walton occurs the baptism, August 10th, 1637, of Margaret, daughter of Edward Turner, Freemason, for a knowledge of which I was indebted to Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine.

Among the monuments remaining of ancient craftsmen, a few may be mentioned. For a knowledge of the handsome brass in Lancaster Parish Church to Thomas Gardner, I have been indebted to Mr. John Atkinson, who very kindly obtained for me a very carefully made rubbing. From this my drawing was made. The engraving on the original measures 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width. Above is the arms of the Worshipful Company of Masons of the City of London, granted in 1472. No other company or guild of masons in this country, so far as I am aware, ever obtained a grant of arms; one and all adopted the arms of the London company, making a difference by varying the tinctures of the field or of the bearings.

Little or no information was to be obtained about Thomas Gardner, so on applying to Mr. W. O. Roper, he very kindly searched the corporation books of Lancaster, in which the name appears as "Thos. Gardner, mason," and that he was one of those who perambulated the boundaries of the borough in 1682. Mr. Roper also tells me that in

¹³ The name of Bentley occurs during the 17th century, in the books of the Masons' Company of London.



BRASS IN THE PARISH CHURCH, LANCASTER.

Lancaster Church there is another brass, to "Ellen, Relict of Thomas Gardner of Lancaster. "Died May y^e 26th 1715, in y^e 73rd Year of her Age"—probably the widow of Thomas Gardner, who survived her husband three years.

There was also a John Gardner, whose claims in connection with the building of the town-hall in 1670 were referred to arbitration. No doubt they were members of the same family, perhaps father and son.

Various "Companyes of Tradesmen" were established in Lancaster by royal warrant in 1688. The masons, however, are not included.

From the above information, so kindly furnished by Mr. Roper, it is clear that Thomas Gardner was an operative mason of some considerable importance, being elected mayor in 1710. It is singular that the masons are not found among the other incorporated trades; perhaps they had already been established in Lancaster some time previously.¹⁴ They often occupied a prominent place among the trades, as at Gateshead, where, in the deed of incorporation given by John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, dated 24 April, 1671, the "ffree masons" occupy the first place in the list of trades incorporated, followed immediately by the carvers, stonecutters, and sculptures, under the name of a "Communitie, ffellowshipp and Com-pany." Their annual assembly was to be held on the "four & twentieth day of June, commonly "called the feast of St. John Baptist."

The parish register of Lymm, county Chester, records that on the 29th April, 1711, Jemima the daughter of John Gatley, freemason, was baptised.

Other monuments occur: that in the churchyard

¹⁴ The name Gardner is found among the members of the Masons' Company of London in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

at Rochdale:—"Here lyeth Benj. Brearly¹⁵ Free Mason, who died Feby. 1737." It is interesting to note that a very handsome jewel in the possession of Mr. M. C. Peck, of Hull, which bears on the reverse "J. Brearley, fecit." Mr. Clarke, to whom the jewel originally belonged, stated that the two Brearleys were brothers.¹⁶

Of town guilds, that of Preston is one of the most interesting in the country. Little appears to be known of the company of masons in particular (or perhaps no one has thought it worth while to make the necessary search for them), except that at various times they walked in the procession at the Guild Merchant. Curious engravings of the procession ["B. Mayor, "del. et sculp. Pub^a accord^s to Act, 1762, by "T. Anderton"] will be found in the *History of Preston in Lancashire, together with the Guild Merchant*, London, 1822. These are taken from an earlier work, *The Guild Merchant of Preston, or Preston Guild Corporation*, Manchester, Thomas Anderton, 1762, which is a very rare book. Of that of the masons I give a reduced facsimile. In the same work there is also a plate of the arms. The history of the Masons' Company of Preston would be an interesting subject for enquiry.

I may call attention to the long aprons and the squares worn round the neck by the members of the company. Preceded by "music," consisting of a fiddle and a pipe, followed by a banner bearing the arms, walk two figures carrying short batons, and wearing short aprons; then six men, two and two,

¹⁵ An account, with a woodcut, of the grave stone of Thomas Brierly, in the church-yard at Mellor, appeared in the *Stretford Division Advertiser* of August the 25th, 1898. The stone records "he made his ingress July 16th, "1785." As this is the only date mentioned in the paper, it is not clear that it refers to his birth. The stone is covered with masonic emblems.

¹⁶ Note by Mr. W. J. Hugham, in the "*Hist. of the Royal Union Lodge, Cheltenham, 1813-1888.*"

9



B. Mayor del. et sculp.

*Printed according to the original
by J. Amis & Co.*

MASONS COMP

FROM THE GUILD MERCHANT OF PRESTON, 1762.

and wearing long aprons, reaching below the knee. It must, however, be remembered in considering the aprons that in 1762 Freemasonry was firmly established as a society, and some of the figures in the procession of masons may be intended for both operatives and speculatives.

The arms are given on plate iii. Another plate is given of the Company of Carpenters,¹⁷ who wear rounded aprons much smaller in size than those of the masons.

The carpenters of Preston appear to have been incorporated in 1477, but I have been unable to trace the date of the incorporation of the masons, which seems at some time to have included the bricklayers and builders.

At a later period the Free Masons joined in the procession, and in 1822 they appeared in the thirteenth place, immediately before the Corporation, "in full suits of black, united to the number "of 4 or 500 in one Craft Lodge, and supported by "the presence of Thos. Parr, Esq. of Poole, "D.P.G.M. for the county of Dorset." (I. Wilcockson, *The Guild Merchant of Preston, in the year 1822*, p. 59.)

The Chester guild of masons was joined to the goldsmiths. I must not omit to mention here the miracle plays performed by the trades of Chester during three days at Whitsuntide. To the goldsmiths and masons was given "The Slaughter of "the Innocents."¹⁸ It has several times been

¹⁷ The Arms of the "Masons" is, Sable, a chevron Argent between three single towers; Crest, a single tower; Motto, In God is all our Trust. Behind is a trophy of masons' working tools, compasses, mallet, square, etc. The Arms of the "Carpenters, etc.," are given, Quarterly, 1, The Carpenters' Company; 2, Coopers' (wrongly engraved); 3, Joiners'; 4, one quartering of the Painter Stainers; Crest, a stag's head erased: supporters, two stags.

¹⁸ It is, perhaps, worth noting that in York the "Masonns" were responsible for "The coming of the three Kings to Herod," and the "Golæ Smvthis," "The coming of the three Kings to Herod: the adoration." At Coventry the Painters were associated with the Masons. In 1581, the Masons of Newcastle had "the plaie antiently named 'The Buriall of our Lady Saint "Mary the Virgin.'"

repeated that in assigning the various plays to the different trades some care seems to have been taken to make the arrangement appropriate. The whole series of plays or pageants included incidents in the Bible, commencing with the fall of Lucifer, and ending with the coming of our Lord to give eternal judgment.

At the commencement of the orders for the performance of the plays at Chester, on the 4th of June, 1600, we read, under No. 10 in the list :

You, gouldsmythes and masons, make comely shewe,
Howe Herode did rage at the retorne of those kinges,
And how he slewe the small tender male babes,
Being under two yeares of age.

This appears to have been a revival of the plays, which may account for the number of transcripts made of the Chester plays in the closing years of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

Of the masons' marks found in the two counties, thanks to the kindness of friends, I was able to submit to the Society the best series of marks ever published for any county or counties. I have copies of many others, but would ask those sufficiently interested in the study of marks to collect, as occasion permits, any that may be found. Particularly I would ask for those in St. John's Church, Chester, the ruins of the abbey of St. Werburg, and those on the walls of the city. The position on the stone, the size of the marks, and any other peculiarities would be of considerable interest.

Masons' marks, I think, however, belonged essentially to operative masons; speculative or gentleman masons joining operative lodges in Scotland received them, but there is no evidence that they were in any way connected with the old speculative lodges.



CARPENTERS &c Comp^{ys}

FROM THE GUILD MERCHANT OF PRESTON, 1762.

Finding that no one had attempted an examination of the masonic records referring to Ashmole and Randle Holme, in the year 1880 I made the attempt to do so, and I very carefully analysed these two early entries relating to Lancashire and Cheshire Freemasonry. The result was published in my first notes on Freemasonry in Warrington (*Mas. Mag.*, Dec.), and in the following year the second series of notes followed, on Freemasonry in Chester (*Mas. Mag.*, Jan. and Feb., 1882). Since that time very little has been added to our information on the subject, though I must not forget to mention the important discovery made by Mr. Conder, to which I shall refer at a later period.

I was fortunate enough to obtain copies of a number of wills, which appear to suit very well those names given in the entries of Ashmole and Randle Holme. The conclusion then arrived at was—and I have seen no good reason for changing it since—that almost all of the masons present at the lodge held at Warrington on the 16th of October, 1646, were gentlemen, or at least persons occupying a position or occupation which precluded them from being operative masons.

These papers have been for some years out of print, and they will naturally form the basis of my present remarks.

One of the surviving lodges of which I have spoken above existed at Warrington. Of its rules and regulations, as also of the ceremonies carried on, we are told absolutely nothing. There was a report among masons, some years ago, that in the hands of a private person at Warrington there existed some papers or minutes referring to this or some other early lodge. Personally I have never been able to discover any foundation for the report, nor could my good and kind friend, the late Mr. William Sharp, who knew perhaps more about

the masons and masonry of his native town than anyone else, give any information on the subject. I mention the report nevertheless, as it is only by continued searching and watching that we may ever hope to find and rescue papers which may throw a flood of light on the history of the craft.

The entries referring to Freemasonry in the diary of Elias Ashmole were not printed until 1717, in a small edition which has now become comparatively scarce. They were not noticed by Anderson in the first edition of the Book of Constitutions issued in 1723, the fact being, perhaps, as other matters are also omitted, that it was not until he prepared the second edition, in 1738, that he had made any search for definite records bearing on Freemasonry. Indeed the 1723 Constitutions is what it was probably intended to be—a somewhat superficial and general history of the building art. In the second edition Anderson has extended the information and produced a larger book, utterly useless for the purpose, for which the “Old Charges” of masonry were originally intended.¹⁹

After the time of the publication of the entry in Ashmole's diary relating to the lodge of freemasons at Warrington, it has often been more or less correctly repeated, but the subject as to the real character of the lodge has rarely been seriously discussed. Much has been based on the statement in an edition of William Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* that Ashmole was elected a fellow as a singular favour; chapter and verse for such a conclusion it would have been as difficult then as now to produce.

It has also often been stated, following incorrect copies, that “fellow crafts” are mentioned, but no

¹⁹ See the question of these publications in the *Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, vol. viii, 1895, p. 118, 137, 149, 153. The Constitutions of 1738, perhaps one of the most valuable works for the early history of the Grand Lodge, has been printed in fac-simile by this lodge.

1646.

Oct: 16. 4^h 30. p.m. I was made a Free Mason
 at Warrington in Lancashire, with Coll: Henry
 Mainwaring of ~~the~~ Karticham in Cheshire.
 The names of those that were then of the Lodge,
 Mr Rich Penket Warden, Mr James Collier, Mr Rich:
 Sankley, Henry Lither, John Elam, Rich: Elam
 & Hugh Brewer.

Oct: 25. ~~17~~ ^{4^h} p.m. I left Cheshire & came to London about the end
 of this month. viz: the 30 day. 4^h p.m.

such words, as will be seen from the fac-simile, occur in the original. It may be well to give at once the two well-known entries from the diary referring to Freemasonry:—

1646, Oct: 16. 4-30^h PM. I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Coll: Henry Mainwaring of Karnicham in Cheshire. The names of those that were then of the Lodge [were] Mr: Rich Penket Warden, Mr: James Collier, Mr: Rich. Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam Rich: Ellam & Hugh Brewer.

March, 1682, 10: About 5: P.M. I rec^d: a Sumons to appe[ar] at a Lodge to be held the next day, at Masons Hall London.

11. Accordingly I went, & about Noone were admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons,

Sr: William Wilson Knight, Cap^t. Rich: Borthwick, Mr: Will: Woodman, Mr: W^m Grey, Mr: Samuell Taylour & Mr William Wise.

I was the Senior Fellow among them (it being 35 yeares since I was admitted). There were p^rsent beside my selfe the Fellowes after named.

Mr: Tho: Wise Mr: of the Masons Company this p^rsent yeare, Mr: Thomas Shorthose, Mr: Thomas, Shadbolt, Waindsford Esq^r Mr: Nich: Young. Mr: John Shorthose, Mr: William Hamon, Mr: John Thompson, & Mr: Will: Stanton.

Wee all dyned at the halfe Moone Taverne in Cheapeside, at a Noble dinner prepared at the charge of the New=accepted Masons.

It has for some time been known that Ashmole was not a member of the Masons' Company of London, though, as he himself tells us, almost all the persons he names were. It is, then, clear that the "Fellowship of Freemasons" was a lodge of separate freemasons more or less *speculative*. Had Ashmole been a member of the Masons' Company, he, so particular in notifying his other associations, would surely have mentioned this one, though it is worthy of note that he was "made a mason" in 1646 and calls himself the "senior fellow" in 1682, the word being, I think, used in reference to the "fellowship." The use of this word, and imperfect copies of the entry in the diary,

gave rise to the incorrect statement that "fellow-crafts" are mentioned. The latter portion of the sentence referring to the other "fellows," I take to bear the same meaning. Whether this is what is intended or not, I would submit that it does not enter directly into the question. Ashmole himself was not a member of the Masons' Company, and yet he was summoned to appear at a lodge, and was the senior fellow present; formerly I supposed that he therefore took the chair, according to the old custom, and became the acting "Master." This may have been the case; but if it were, I think Ashmole would have entered such an event in his diary. Moreover, I am inclined to believe that, following the custom of the Company, this lodge possessed its proper presiding officer. The meeting, therefore, although held in Masons' Hall, could not be a meeting of the Masons' Company; otherwise why was Ashmole, the "senior fellow" present, "summoned" to, and present at, what must have been a private meeting, where a number of *gentlemen* were admitted fellows? I have left this argument as I wrote it eighteen years ago, and shall refer to the subject again.

Ashmole leaves no record in his diary as to his attendance at any lodge between 1646 and 1682; but it is worth remarking, that although he was first admitted to the "Fellowship" at Warrington, he was *summoned* thirty-five years afterwards to a lodge held in London; is particular to specify that Mr. Thomas Wise was the master of the Masons' Company; and is equally particular to call the "Fellowship" that of the "Free Masons," except where he writes of the "New-accepted Masons." To these points it will be necessary to refer again.

I was indebted to my friend, the late Mr. William Beamont, of Warrington, for the use of his printed

copy of the *Memoirs of Elias Ashmole*, published by Charles Burman, Esq., London, 1717. This was the first edition printed of the diary; and the copy from the original Ms. used for this edition, it is stated in the preface, is in the handwriting of Robert Plot, L.D., collated by David Parry, M.A., both in their time keepers of the Ashmolean Library.

Dr. Robert Plot was a friend of Ashmole; some entries relating to him occur in the diary.

December 10, 1677.—Dr. Plot came to me, to request me to nominate him to be Reader at Oxford, of the Philosophical Lecture upon Natural Things. I told him if the University liked him, he should have my Suffrage.²⁰

August 18, 1684.—Dr. Plot sent from Oxford to visit me, came to me.

Nov. 19, 1684.—Dr. Plot presented me with his Book, *de Origine Fontium*, which he had dedicated to me.

May 23, 1686.—Dr. Plot presented me with his *Natural History of Staffordshire*.

7 October, 1687.—Dr. Plot came to me at my Office, and told me, that the Earl Marshal had chosen him Register of the Court.²¹

It must not be forgotten that Dr. Plot, in his *History of Staffordshire*, several times mentions and gives some interesting particulars about the Freemasons. This is, however, so well known, and has been so often reprinted, that it is not necessary to do more than mention it here. The *History of Staffordshire* was printed in the year 1686.²²

The preface of the first edition of Ashmole's diary is dated from Newington, Feb., 1716-17, and signed Charles Burman. In Mr. Beamont's copy, with what authority I know not, some one has

²⁰ Dr. Plot brought a letter of introduction from J. Evelyn, dated Whitehall, 7th December, 1677. It is printed in full at the end of Ashmole's diary.

²¹ He was made Mowbray Herald Extraordinary, and Register of the Court of Honour.

²² Cf. Mr. R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii, 163, on this subject.

written underneath the printed signature, "alias
"Richard Rawlinson, LL.D." ²³

The writing is perhaps one hundred years old. Allibone²⁴ speaks of John Burman as being the stepson of Dr. Plot.

As already pointed out,²⁵ it is a somewhat suggestive fact that the Sloane Ms., No. 3848, is thus signed: "Finis p me Edwardu Sankey, decimo
"sexto die Octobris, Anno Domini 1646," the very day Ashmole was initiated at Warrington.

*Finis p me
Edwardu Sankey
Decimo sexto die Octobris
Anno Domini 1646*

It will be noticed that in the list of entries from the Warrington Registers, subsequently given, relating to the Sankey family, "Edward, son to
"Richard Sankey, Gent., Bapt. 3rd February,
"1621-2," is mentioned. At the time my notes on these entries were published, I wrote to my friend, the late Mr. William Beamont, about this signature, as he had examined a number of documents referring to the family of Sankey. He replied that he feared none of the writings he had examined

²³ I repeat this note, as although the preface is signed Charles Burman, I am not at all certain that we do not owe to Dr. Rawlinson this first publication of the diary. A very valuable paper by Dr. Chetwode Crawley, on Ashmole and the Rawlinson Mss., appeared in the *Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, vol. xi, 1898, pp. 4-44.

²⁴ Vol. ii, p. 1609.

²⁵ *Early History and Antiquity of Freemasonry*, London, 1878, p. 137, by George L. Fort.

contained an autograph of Edward Sankey. I give here, therefore, a copy of the colophon for future identification; it is taken from the beautiful facsimile of the whole Ms. published by the Lodge Quatuor Coronati, No. 2076.²⁶

On the 22nd November, 1639, Edward Sankey, of Little Sankey, gentleman, son and heir of Thomas Sankey, filed a bill in Chancery about the rights of his property. For the present purpose it matters little which of the two was the freemason.

If I were asked to express an opinion on the Warrington Lodge of 1646, I should feel obliged to say that, so far as I am able to judge, there is not a scrap of evidence that there was more than one operative mason present on the afternoon of the 16th October, 1646; in fact, the whole of the evidence seems to point quite in the opposite direction. How far the following notes will bear out such an opinion, I must leave to the judgment of others.

For astrological reasons Ashmole was particular to note in his diary the exact hour and minute, when possible, of all the events he enters of his life, and from this diary the following notes have been for the most part gathered.

He was the only child of Simon Ashmole, of Lichfield, saddler, the eldest son of Mr. Thomas Ashmole, of the same city, saddler, who was twice chief bailiff of that corporation, by his wife Anne, one of the daughters of Anthony Bowyer, of Coventry, draper, by Bridget, his wife, only daughter of Mr. Fitch, of Ausley, in Warwick, gent. He mentions his uncles, Thomas and Ralph Ashmole, the latter of whom died 29th October, 1675, and a cousin, William Ashmole, saddler, of London. His father, Simon Ashmole, died 1634, and his mother, Anne Ashmole, died of the plague in July, 1646.

²⁶ *Masonic Reprints*, vol. iii, part 2. Margate, 1891.

Elias was born, as he himself informs us, giving the precise time of the day, with his and Lilly's rectification of his nativity, on the 23rd of May, 1617, and was baptized on the 2nd of June, at St. Mary's Church, Lichfield. His father served under Robert, Earl of Essex, in Ireland and elsewhere (A.D. 159—), and loved war better than making saddles and bridles. By his improvidence the family appears to have suffered severely; but, fortunately for Ashmole, his musical voice caused him to be noticed by James Paget, Esq.,²⁷ the Puisne Baron of the Exchequer, who had "married to his "second Wife Bridget, one of my Mother's Sisters, "and Widow to . . . Moyre, a Confectioner in "London."

After having been made a chorister in Lichfield Cathedral, and taught to play upon the virginals and organ, he was sent to London in 1633, by the influence of Thomas, the judge's second son. Here he continued his musical education and studied law, residing in the Temple, under the patronage of his friend. In 1639 he tells us, that "Peter Venables, Baron of Kinderton wrote to me, "to take upon me the Management of his Law "Business." On Feb. 6th, 1641, he was formally admitted of Clement's Inn, and on the 11th was

²⁷ It is worthy of note that the MS. Constitutions in the possession of the Lodge of Antiquity was "Written by Robert Padgett Cleark to the Worshipp-
"full Society of the Free Masons of the City of London," &c., in the year 1686. Robert Padgett's name is not to be found in the books of the Masons' Company of London. Ashmole was very intimate and connected by marriage with the family of the Puisne Baron, and in 1651 Dr. Paget lent him several "Chymical Manuscripts." On "June 14, 1652, 11 *Hor. ante Merid.*, "Dr. Wilkins [John Wilkins, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Chester, a writer "on Philosophy and Mathematics, &c.] and Mr. Wren came to visit me at "Black-Fryers; this was the first time I saw the Doctor." Ashmole is said to have possessed a roll of *pergamenum*; but the possibilities these and other points suggest are too numerous to enter into at the present time. It is nevertheless worth notice that it was stated by Dr. Knipe that Ashmole had made collections for a history of masonry, all of which were burnt at the fire which occurred at his rooms in the Temple. His diary records: "1679, Jan. 26, 10 *Hor. post Merid.*—The fire in the Temple began next "Room to my chamber, and burned my Library, &c."

sworn an Attorney in the Court of Common Pleas. Many were the honours showered upon Ashmole, as is shown by the following extracts from his diary :—

1645, May 9.—I was entered a Gentleman of the Ordnance [in the Garrison of Oxford] 9 ante Merid.

Dec. 8.—I was recommended to be Commissioner for the Excise of Worcester, unknown to me, which when I knew, I accepted, and prepared for my Journey thither.

Dec. 16.—The King caused Mr. — to be out of the Commission of Excise, and mine to be inserted in his place.

Dec. 19, 2 post Merid.—Mr. Swingfield and my self received the Commission of Excise from the Clerk of the Crown.

Dec. 22.—I took my Journey from Oxford to Worcester, 10 Ant. merid., with Sir Charles Lucas.

Dec. 23, 8 Ant Merid.—I arrived at Worcester.

Dec. 27, 11 hor. 15 Min. ant. merid.—Mr. Jordan Mayor of Worcester, Mr. Swingfield, and my self, took the Oath as Commissioners of Excise in the Town-Hall, and thence went unto the Office, and entered upon the Execution of the Commission. The Commission bears Test the 15th of December preceding.

In 1646 he was made Receiver and Register. A new commission was granted for the excise at Worcester. He took the oath with others, and on the 27th April was chosen Register.

On March 12, 1646, he records :—

1 *Hor. post merid.*—I received my Commission for a Captainship in Lord Ashley's Regiment,²⁸ and on May 22, Ten *ante merid.*, Sir Ralph Clare moved me to take a Command about the Ordnance in the Fort of Worcester.

June 12.—I entered upon my Command as Comptroler of the Ordnance.

June 18, One *Hor.* Ten Minutes *post merid.*—I received my Commission from Col. Washington.

July 24.—Worcester was surrendered, and thence I rid out of Town according to the Articles, and went to my Father Mainwaring in Cheshire.

1657, Nov. 11, 2 *Hor.* 15 Minutes *post Merid.*—I was admitted of the Middle Temple.

²⁸ Captain Ashmall, who was killed in single combat by Captain Key, one of the garrison of Lathom House, during the siege, was, of course, not a Royalist.

In 1660, at the time of the Restoration, more honours were added, for we find—

Sep. 3.—My Warrant signed for the Comptroler's Office in the Excise; and Oct. 24, 5 *Hor. post merid.* I came to the Excise-Office and took possession of the Comptroler's Office.

Dec. 28.—I took my Oath as Comptroler of the Excise before Baron Turner.

Nov. 2.—I was this Night called to the Bar in the Middle Temple Hall.

Nov. 7.—I had my Admittance to the Bar in the said Hall.

1661, Jan. 15.—I was admitted a Member of the Royal Society at Gresham-College.

Feb. 9.—A Warrant was signed by the King for my being Secretary of Surinam in the West-Indies.

In 1662 he was made one of the Commissioners for recovering the King's goods. In 1668, "Accomptant-General in the Excise and Country" "Accomptant" in the Excise. In 1669 he was made "Doctor of Physick at Oxford," his diploma being still preserved among his Mss. in the Bodleian Library.

1674, May 29.—He records that "About Five *post merid.* the Order was made in the Chapter House at Windsor, for Recommending me to the Knights of the Garter."

In 1685 he first sat on the Commission of Sewers and that of Charitable Uses. Of his Parliamentary experiences Ashmole gives the following account; there is another reference on November 4th, 1677:

1677, Dec. 19.—Having received several Letters from Lichfield, to request me to stand for a Parliament-Man there; I at length consented, provided it was not too late; and upon attempting it by others for me, found it was so; for I found the Magistrates and Friends not so cordial to me as I expected, and therefore drew off and would not stand.

Another attempt was made at a later date, an account of which we also obtain from the diary.

1685, Mar. 2.—5 *Hor.* 15 Minutes *post merid.* I received an obliging Letter from the Bailiffs, Justices, &c., of Litchfield; so also from the Dean, inviting me to stand to be one of their

Burgesses for Parliament. I sent them Word that I would stand.

1685, Mar. 3.—Whereupon they set about getting Votes for me, and I found the Citizens very affectionate and hearty. About a Fortnight after my Lord Dartmouth told me, the King would take it kindly from me, if I would give way to Mr. Lewson. Upon this I applied myself to my Lord Treasurer, and desired to know of him the King's Pleasure, by whom I found it was the King's Desire, and then I immediately wrote down, to acquaint my Friends that I would resign; but they would not believe my Letter, which occasioned me to go to the King, and let him know so much, who told me he did not know I stood when he gave Mr. Lewson Encouragement to go down, for if he had he would not have done it; I told him I was all Obedience, which he took very kindly. I then wrote down again to assure them I would sit down, and so Mr. Lewson with the Assistance of my Votes carried it at the Day of Election.

At the Restoration he was appointed Windsor Herald, and records in his diary:—

1660, June 18.—10 *Hor. ante merid.* was the second Time I had the Honour to discourse with the King, and then he gave me the Place of Windsor Herald.

June 22nd.—This Day the Warrant bears date.

The grant of arms he received from Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarenceux, bears date May 16th, 1661. From some discontent, probably owing to some such cause as the one he records, "that the Officers of Arms seem unwilling to let him have the "funeral-turn," which would have given him a considerable sum of money, he wished to resign his office, and with some difficulty he obtained the consent of Earl Marshal, on January 29th, 1675. On the sudden death of Sir Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms, February 20th, 1677, had Ashmole wished, he could have succeeded him. Ashmole, however, "absolutely refused" the honour, and his father-in-law, Sir William Dugdale, was appointed.

Ashmole was married three times—it has been said "for affection, fortune, and esteem." He thus informs us of his marriages:—

1637, August 21.—I came to Smallwood, to Mr. Peter Mainwaring, to ask his Consent to Marry his daughter.

Sept. 4.—The second time I went to Smallwood.

Sept. 16.—I returned to London.

1638, March 27.—I was Married to Mrs. Elianor Mainwaring, eldest Daughter to Mr. Peter Mainwaring, and Jane his Wife, of Smallwood, in Com. Cest, Gent. She proved a vertuous good Wife. The Marriage was in St. Benedict's Church near Pauls Wharf, by Mr. Adams, Parson there.

She died on the 5th December, 1641, during Ashmole's absence, and was buried near the west end of the south aisle of Astbury Church, Cheshire.

His second wife, Mary, sole daughter of Sir William Forster, of Aldermaston, co. Berks, Bart., Knight of the Bath, had been before married several times: to Sir Edward Stafford, of Bradfield, co. Berks, Knight; Mr. Thomas Hamlyne (Blanch Lion Herald); and Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Knight, of the Inner Temple, sometime Recorder of Reading. Her marriage, although Ashmole appears to have been in no way to blame, proved an unhappy one; she lodged a suit against him, which failed (in 1657), and died April 1st, 1668.

It is thus recorded in the diary:—

1648, November 6.—Having several times before, made Application to the Lady Mainwaring, in Way of Marriage, this Day, Eleven *Hor.* Seven Minutes, *ante Merid.*, She promised me not to Marry any Man, unless myself.

November 10.—Two *Hor.* Fifteen Minutes, *post Merid.* She Sealed a Contract of Marriage to me.

November 15.—I was Sequestred of my Lands in Berkshire. [Sequestration taken off Nov. 21st.]

1649, December 5.—The Lady Mainwaring was Sequestred by the Committee of Reading, upon her Son Humfrey Stafford's Information.

1649, November 16.—Eight *Hor. ante Merid.*—I Married the Lady Mainwaring. We were Married in Silver-Street, London.

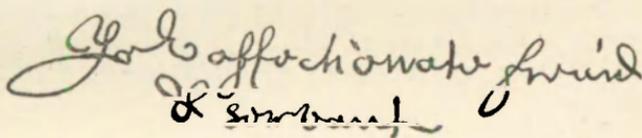
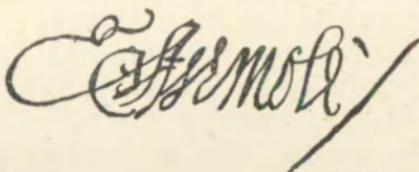
1657, Oct. 8.—The Cause between me and my Wife was heard, where Mr Serjeant Maynard observed to the Court that there were 800 Sheets of Depositions on my Wife's Part, and not one Word proved against me of using her ill, nor ever giving her a bad or provoking Word.

Oct. 9.—The Lords Commissioners having found no Cause for allowing my Wife Alimony, did 4 *Hor. post merid.* deliver my Wife to me; whereupon I carried her to Mr. Lilly's, and there took Lodgings for us both.

1668, April 1. 2 *Hor. ante merid.*—The Lady Mainwaring, my Wife, died.

He thus records his third marriage :

1668, November 3.—I Married Mrs. Elizabeth Dugdale, Daughter to William Dugdale, Esq., Norroy King of Arms, at Lincoln's Inn Chappel.²⁹ Dr. William Floyd married us, and her Father gave her. The Wedding was finished at 10 *Hor. post merid.*

She survived him, and died at Lambeth, in April, 1701. Antony a Wood says that after Ashmole's death she married a "lusty man called John Reynolds, a stone-cutter, but had no issue by him."

His gift to the University of Oxford is thus recorded in the diary :—

1682, Aug. 16.—I went towards Oxford, to see the Building prepared to receive my Rarities, where I arrived about 7 of the Clock in the Evening.

1683, Feb. 15.—I began to put up my Rarities in Cases to send to Oxford. Mar. 14.—The last Load of my Rarities were sent to the Barge, and this Afternoon I relapsed into the Gout.

Ashmole died 18th May, 1692, and was buried in the church at Lambeth, where a black marble

²⁹ 1668, October 24.—Elias Ashmole of the Middle Temple Esq. Widr. about 50, and Elizabeth Dugdale of St. Dunstan's West, Spr. about 34 : at Gray's Inn Chapel : alleged by William Hobbs, of St. Mary, Savoy, Gent. Mar. Lic. Vicar Gen. Abp. of Cant.—*Harleian Society.*

slab at the east end of the south aisle is placed to his memory. It bears the following inscription :

HIC JACET INCLYTUS ILLE & ERUDITISSIMUS
 ELIAS ASHMOLE LEICHFELDENSIS, ARMIGER,
 INTER ALIA IN REPUBLICA MUNERA,
 TRIBUTI IN CERVISIIS CONTRA ROTULATOR,
 FÆCIALIS AUTEM WINDSORIENSIS TITULO
 PER ANNOS PLURIMOS DIGNATUS.
 QUI POST DUO CONNUBIA IN UXOREM DUXIT TERTIAM
 ELIZABETHAM. GULIELMI DUGDALE,
 MILITIS, GARTERI, PRINCIPALIS REGIS ARMORUM, FILIAM ;
 MORTEM OBIT 18 MAII, 1692. ANNO ÆTATIS 76.
 SED DURANTE MUSÆO ASHMOLEANO, OXON,
 NUNQUAM MORITURUS.

Near it is an achievement set up for him, bearing quarterly, *Sable* and *Or*, in the first quarter a fleur-de-lis of *the second*, for Ashmole ; impaling Dugdale *Argent* a cross moline *Gules*, and a torteau, with this motto, " Ex una omnia."

Ashmole bought many libraries, and obtained by deed of gift from John Tredescant all the collections of rarities made by members of his family. Many entries occur in this diary with reference to these curiosities. One says, in 1664, May 18th, " My Cause came to hearing in Chancery against Mrs. Tredescant." This he tells us, May 30th, 1662, was " for the Rarities her Husband had settled on " me." On November 26th, 1674, he obtained some of the " Rarities " ; and on December 1st he records, " I began to remove the rest of the Rarities " to my house at South-Lambeth." It must be remembered that Lambeth seems to have been the home of the astrologers. A fire in Ashmole's house destroyed some of his books and Mss. and his fine collection of engraved portraits, but many of his curiosities are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, which he founded and endowed.

Ashmole was the author of a number of works,³⁰ *The History, &c.. of the Garter*, 1672, being the most famous of them. It earned him a great reputation, and the King made him a special grant out of the "Custom of Paper." It is said that he made collections for, and intended to write a history of Freemasonry, but this never appeared. However, we have in the "Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington,"³¹ the following at p. 157: "I hear that Mr. Ashmole hath published the "orders of the Rosy Crucians and Adepti; can "you tell me what esteem it bears?"

The book here intended may be his *Fasciculus Chemicus*, 1654, or *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, 1652. The latter, Lowndes says, "gained him "great reputation and was the means of extending "his acquaintance in the literary world."

As the subject is an interesting one, perhaps I may be forgiven for adding the following note by the late Mr. James Crossley, F.S.A., the editor of the Chetham Volume, *Worthington's Diary, &c.*:

The work perhaps intended, though it scarcely answers the description, is "The Way to Bliss, in "three books, made public by Elias Ashmole, Esq. "Qui est Mercuriophilus Anglicus." (Lond., 1658, 4to.) The object of this treatise, the author of which, Ashmole informs us, was without doubt an Englishman, "but has hitherto passed with us "among the anonymi," and which "seems to be "written about the beginning of the late, or end of "the former century," was to prove the possibility

³⁰ A list may be found in Watt, Lowndes, Anthony a Wood, &c.

³¹ "Chetham Society," vol. xiii. Entries relating to Ashmole also occur in the reprint of *Newcome's Diary*, published by the Chetham Society, vol. xviii, and *Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, vols. xxvi, xxvii, principally relating to his repeated visits to Cheshire and Staffordshire. It must be remembered that Newcome married July 6th, 1648, Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Peter Mainwaring, of Smallwood, and sister to Ashmole's first wife. It was to Col. Mainwaring that Newcome was indebted for the living of Gaws-worth, in the county of Chester (*Autobiography*, pp. 16, 18, 61, &c.)

of such a thing as the philosopher's stone. The "laborious searcher" who found the manuscript of this treatise was most fortunately directed to three grains of powder, closed up between two leaves thereof, with which he made projection! The judgment of the writer of Ashmole's life, in the "Biographia Britannica" (who was Dr. Campbell, the author of "Hermippus Redivivus") on the book itself, is almost as astonishing as this circumstance. He says "it deserved the pains that both Dr. Everard and Mr. Ashmole bestowed upon it, for beyond all doubt, in the genuine edition of our author, *it is the best and most sensible book in our language.*" I rather agree with Dr. Dibdin, who pronounced it "a work invincibly dull," and "a farrago of sublime nonsense."—"Bibliomania," p. 387. Probably neither of us have the true Hermetic vein, which only, "Pauci quos æquus amavit Jupiter" are blessed with. Dr. Campbell might be one of those more favoured readers of whom Ashmole speaks ("Fasciculus Chemicus," London, 1650, 12mo, prolegomena).

"It is a cause of much wonder, when he that reads, though smatteringly acquainted with nature, should not meet with clear satisfaction; but here is the reason: *Many are called but few are chosen.* 'Tis a haven towards which many skilful pilots have bent their course, yet few have reached it. For, as amongst the people of the Jews, there was but one who might enter into the holy of holies, (and that once a year,) so there is seldom more in a nation whom God lets into the sanctum sanctorum of philosophy, yet some there are. But though the number of the elect are not many, and generally the fathom of most men's fancies that attempt the search of this most subtle mystery is too narrow to comprehend it, their strongest reason too weak to pierce the depth, it

“ lies obscured in, being indeed so unsearchable
“ and ambiguous, it rather exacts the sacred and
“ courteous illuminations of a cherub than the weak
“ assistance of a pen to reveal it, yet let no man
“ despair.”

The address to the “Way to Bliss,” which is dated April, 1658, was a kind of farewell to Hermetic Philosophy on the part of Ashmole. He had fortunately by this time discovered that readier way of acquiring the elixir, which old Anthony Wood, with his usual dry humour (and, though Ashmole was a man after his own heart, Anthony could not forbear the joke), has indicated. “But,” observes he, (*Athen. Oxon.* ii, 891) after enumerating his Hermetic collections, “the best elixir that he enjoyed, which was the foundation of his riches, wherewith he purchased books, rarities, and other things, were the lands and jointures which he had with his second wife Mary, and widow of Sir Thomas Mainwaring, of the Inner Temple, Knt., sometime steward of Reading.” From the references in his diary to his disputes and litigations with his second wife, it may be surmised that Ashmole occasionally found to his sorrow that the possession of the elixir is not always the “way to bliss.” Of Ashmole, who was connected by his two first marriages with the Cheshire family of Manwaring or Mainwaring, and who is too interesting a subject to be compressed within the few lines at present allowed, a fitter opportunity will occur to speak in the preface to Dr. Dee’s “Autobiographical Correspondence.” [This refers to a future volume of the Chetham Society.]

The above is a short sketch of some of the principal events in the life of this extraordinary man, who has been called “the greatest virtuoso and curioso that was ever known or read of in England.”

William Lilly, when writing his own life, addressed to Ashmole, says :—" I may seem to some " to write *incredibilia* ; be it so, but knowing unto " whom, and for whose only sake, I do write them ; " I am much comforted therewith, well knowing " you are the most knowing Man in these curiosities " of any now living in England."

The time of Ashmole's introduction to Lilly marks the period of his life most interesting to freemasons—the year 1646, as it was during the same visit to Cheshire that he was made a freemason at Warrington. After Worcester was surrendered by the king's troops, Ashmole, as mentioned above, rode out of the town and went to stay with his father-in-law, Mr. Peter Mainwaring, in Cheshire. The following entry occurs immediately after that recording his initiation at Warrington. The next entry, Dec. 3rd, records his first acquaintance with Mr. John Booker.

1646, Oct. 25.—I left Cheshire and came to London about the End of this month, viz. the 30 Day, 4 *Hor.*, *post merid.* About a Fortnight or three Weeks before I came to London, Mr. Jonas Moore brought and acquainted me with Mr. William Lilly ; it was on a Friday Night, and I think on the 20th Nov.

This was the beginning of a friendship which so much influenced the thoughts and actions of Ashmole, and some notices of which occur in his diary.

1652, Jan. 29.—Ten *Hor. ante Merid.* Mr. Lilly gave me his Picture in Oyl Colours, of which there never had been copy taken.

1670, Octob. 8.—I moved my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for a License for Mr. Lilly, to practise Physick, which he granted.

1672, July 20.—I and my Wife went to Mr. Lilly's where we stayed till September the 2nd.³²

³² There are several other entries relating to visits paid to Lilly, &c. "1651, "Oct. 20th.—Mr. Lilly gave me several old Astrological Manuscripts."

Besides the libraries, &c., of Milbourn, Hawkins, John Booker, and Dr. Dee, Ashmole bought that of William Lilly, who died 1681, as he records in his diary :

1681, June 12.—I bought Mr. Lilly's Library of Books of his Widow for 50*l*.

A recent writer on the subject of Freemasonry credits Ashmole with having written "an elaborate history of the Knight Templars." This is an error. The full title of his book, published in 1672, is, *The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter*. The same writer adds : "It is not impossible that Elias Ashmole may have sought a knowledge of the mysteries of Freemasonry, presuming, perhaps, upon the service it might afford him in preparing his history of chivalry."!

Pepys appears from his diary to have attended a meeting of the Astrologers' Club at Lilly's house on Oct. the 24th, 1660. He went with Mr. Spong, and met Ashmole and others there, going home with Mr. Rooker [Booker], "who did tell me a great many fooleries, which may be done by natiuities." He "found Ashmole a very ingenious gentleman."

It would appear that after the taking of Worcester, in 1646, Ashmole devoted himself to his profession and various other branches of science, until the Restoration, when he again took office under King Charles II. Mixed up with the *literati* of the time, and having, it is evident, a great love for mysticism of all kinds, such a fellowship as that of the Freemasons would have a peculiar fascination for him; and to this, more probably, his initiation was due.

The following entries from his diary show how, on his return to London, he connected himself with the "Hermetic art."

1647, Feb. 14.—The Mathematical Feast was at the White-Hart in the Old-Baily, where I dined.

1649, Aug. 1.—The Astrologers Feast at Painters-Hall, where I Dined.

1649, Octob. 31.—The Astrologers Feast.

1650, Aug. 8.—I being at the Astrologers Feast, two *Hor. post Merid.*, I was Chosen Steward for the following Year.

1651, Aug. 14.—The Astrologers Feast at Painters-Hall, London.

1653, March 18.—The Astrologers Feast was held.

1654, Aug. 22.—Astrologers Feast.

1656, Aug. 29.—This Day the Astrologer's Feast was held.

1659, July 2.—Was the Antiquaries Feast.

1659, Nov. 2 —Was the Astrologer's Feast.

1682, July 13.—The Astrologer's Feast was restored by Mr. Moxon.

1683, Jan 29.—The Astrologer's Feast was held at the Three Cranes in Chancery-Lane. Sir Edward Deering and the Town Clerk of London were Stewards.

This meeting is no doubt the one referred to in Gadbury's Ephemeris for 1684, where there is an advertisement of a sermon by Mr. Swan, preached by command of Sir Edward Dering and Henry Crisp, Esq., the last of the Stewards of the "Learned Society of Artists and Astrologers."³³ Ashmole records in his Diary on March 15, 1681:—"Mr. Butler, the Minister and Astrologician, brought me acquainted with Sir Edward Deering, Brother to Sir Edward Deering, now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

On June 6th, 1648, Ashmole "entered upon the Study of Plants," and "for the first time I went a Simpling." In January, 1651, he "began to learn Seal-graving, Casting in Sand, and Goldsmiths Work." He records in February, 1652—"About this time I began to learn Hebrew of Rabbi Solomon Frank."

Ashmole was admitted a member of the Royal Society at Gresham College on the 15th of January,

³³ Cf. *Trans. Lodge Quatuor Coronati*, 1898, vol. 11, page 141.

1661, but, unlike many of the great men of his time, does not seem to have indulged in the fancy of becoming an architect. Perhaps his character is well expressed in his own statement under the date June the 16th, 1647, eight months after he was made a mason:—

One *Hor. post merid.*, it pleased God to put me in Mind, that I was now placed in the Condition I always desired, which was, That I might be enabled to live to myself and Studies; without being forced to take Pains for a Livelihood in the World: And seeing I am thus retired, according to my Heart's Desire, I beseech God to bless me in my Retirement, and to prosper my Studies, that I may faithfully and diligently serve him, and in all Things submit to his Will; and for the Peace and Happiness I enjoy (in the Midst of bad Times) to render him all humble Thanks, and for what I attain to in the course of my Studies, to give him the Glory.

His building operations were of the simplest character, though it is interesting to notice the formal procedure of some part of the work.

1675, April 17.— . . . The same Morning I agreed with my Carpenter for building the additional Rooms I made to my House at South-Lambeth.

May 5.—Ten *Hor.* 20 Minutes *ante merid.* I laid the first Stone of my New Building there.

July 15.—This Morning a Jury of Sewers set out my Brick Wall made towards the High-way at my House at South-Lambeth.

1677, Feb 28.—7 *hor. ante merid.* I laid the Foundation of my back Buildings to my House at South Lambeth.

1684, May 5.—2 *Hor. post merid.* I laid the Foundation of my new Stable.

There may still be those who would wish us to believe that Ashmole had so much influence in freemasonry that he was able to change it to its foundations. I do not believe it for a moment. Had he played such an important part in its development, it is almost certain there would have been other references in his diary. His sympathy appears to have been more inclined to those who preferred the vague imaginings of mystics, astrologers and charm-seekers, the 17th century originators

of "Zadkiel" and "Old Moore," as may be seen from the pages of his diary. It is quite impossible that the freemasonry of to-day resembles in every particular that of very early times. The main precepts and laws—the landmarks, in fact—are probably identical; but circumstances, fashion, tinkering, and ignorance have caused alterations to be made. The symbolism has changed; no doubt new symbols have been added, largely from ignorance of the real meaning and secrets of the freemasonry of our forefathers.

Ashmole was an astrologer, and numbered among his friends almost all those whose names have come down to us as identifying themselves with that line of thought; in fact, it would perhaps have been difficult in his time to find anyone with an ordinary amount of education who had not at least some sympathy with the "Science." As mentioned above, the friendship which existed between Ashmole and Lilly was very great; but that between Ashmole and Backhouse was evidently of quite a different character.

It seems absurd to state that Ashmole "called 'father' one Backhouse, an adept, in Fleet-street, over against St. Dunstan's Church," when the Diary makes it quite clear who Ashmole's friend, Backhouse, really was. The following are the entries relating to the name; they are worth notice, because Mr. William Backhouse was evidently supposed to be in possession of the "great Secret," or the "true Matter of the Philosopher's stone," which he communicated to Ashmole. If the *Way to Bliss* of 1658 was a farewell to "Hermetic Philosophy," it only, at most, took five years to prove the value of the legacy:—

1651, Feb. 1, Three *Hor.* Thirty Minutes *past Merid.*—I agreed with Mrs. Backhouse of London, for her deceas'd Husbands Books.

This was probably Christian, dau. of William Williams of London, merchant, and wife of Nicholas Backhouse of London, who died in 1650. His son was Sir William Backhouse of Swallowfield, Bart., high sheriff in 1654, of whom Ashmole records :—

1669, Aug. 22.—Sir William Backhouse of Swallowfield dyed.

Sep. 21.—I went towards Swallowfield to serve at the Funeral of Sir William Backhouse.

Sep. 28.—He was buried at Swallowfield.

William Backhouse was the brother of Sir John Backhouse, Knight of the Bath to Charles I. Ashmole records :—

1651, April 3, Post Merid.—Mr. William Backhouse of Swallowfield in Com. Berks, caused me to Call him Father thence forward.

April 26, Five *Hor.* Thirty Minutes *post Merid.*—My Father Backhouse brought me acquainted with Lord Ruthin, who was a most Ingenious Person.

June 10.—Mr. Backhouse told me I must now needs be his Son, because he had communicated so many Secrets to me.

Octob. 9.—My Father Backhouse and I, went to see Mr. Goodier, the great Botanist, at Petersfield.

Nov. 12.—Sir John Backhouse of Swallowfield, his widow dyed.

1652, Mar. 10.—This Morning my Father Backhouse opened himself very freely, touching the great Secret.

April 12.—This Morning I received more Satisfaction from my Father Backhouse, to the Questions I proposed.

1653, May 13.—My Father Backhouse lying Sick in Fleetstreet, over against St. Dunstan's Church; and not knowing whether he should live or dye, about Eleven of the Clock, told me in Syllables, the True Matter of the Philosophers Stone, which he bequeathed to me as a Legacy.

1662, May 30.—My Father Backhouse dyed this Evening at Swallowfield.

June 17.—This Afternoon my Father Backhouse was buried in Swallowfield Church.³⁴

Ashmole informs us that he was made a Freemason "with Coll. Henry Mainwaring of Karnicham."

³⁴ For a pedigree of the family of Backhouse of Swallowfield, see Ashmole's *Visitation of Berkshire*, 1664-66, edited by Mr. Walter C. Metcalfe, F.S.A., 1882.

This is usually taken as meaning that they were both "made" Freemasons at the same time.

The family of the Mainwarings of Kermincham was a younger branch of the old Cheshire family of the Mainwarings of Peover. Randle Mainwaring, the first of Kermincham, established himself there about the year 1445, his father (of the same name) having purchased the manor in that year. His great-grandson, Randle Mainwaring, of Kermincham, Esq., added to his estates by the purchase of lands in Swanley and Barnshaw, and his son, Henry Mainwaring, Esq., was High Sheriff of Cheshire in 1575. The latter was buried at Swettenham on the 16th March, 1617-18, leaving his estates to his grandson, Henry Mainwaring, of Kermincham, Esq., who died in the year 1638. By his first wife, Mary, daughter of Anthony Kinnersley, of Loxley, co. Stafford, Esq., whom he married about 1607, the latter was the father of Henry Mainwaring, his eldest son and heir, afterwards known as Colonel Mainwaring. Born about the year 1608, in 1626 he was married at Gawsworth to Frances, fourth daughter of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth, county of Chester, Bart., and one of the co-heiresses of her brother, Sir Edward Fitton, Bart. The license for this marriage, as filed at the Bishop's Court, Chester, is dated 12th June, 1626, and the settlement after marriage is dated 20th March, 1626-7. For some years he appears to have resided at Barnshaw, as he is called of that place in 1633, but on the death of his father in 1638 he succeeded to Kermincham.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he attached himself to the Parliamentary party, and is not unfrequently mentioned in the records of the fighting which took place in Cheshire and the neighbouring counties; his father-in-law, on the other hand, being one of the most devoted adherents

to the royal cause. He was the father of three sons (Roger, Edward, and Peter) and four daughters. His eldest son and heir-apparent died before his father in 1660; but by his wife Sarah, daughter of Randle Ashenhurst, of Ashenhurst, county Stafford, and Beard, county Derby, Esq., left issue a son, Roger, who ultimately, as will be mentioned, succeeded his grandfather. Of the other two sons, the one, Edward, became a clergyman in Cheshire, married and left issue, and the other, Peter, died in 1664, unmarried.³⁵

It is recorded in *Newcome's Autobiography*,³⁶ "On September 10th, 1649, I went with Colonel Mainwaring's two sons, Peter and Edward, to Cambridge, and admitted them under Mr. Pickering, Fellow of St. John's College, fellow commoners."

On turning to the *History of East Cheshire*,³⁷ I find the following:—"In February, 1643-4, he [Lieut.-Colonel Robert Duckenfield] attacked and took Wythenshawe Hall, and on May 25th, 1644, he, together with Colonel Henry Mainwaring, commanded the forces sent to guard Stockport, and to prevent Prince Rupert's march into Lancashire."

And again, "Macclesfield does not seem to have played any important part during the Civil War. It is said to have been attacked in 1643 by Sir William Brereton on behalf of the Parliament, and taken from Sir Thomas Aston, the Royalist, who defended it on behalf of the King, and that subsequently the Royalist Colonel Legh, of Adlington, endeavoured to retake it from Colonel Henry Mainwaring, but unsuccessfully."

³⁵ The above account of the Mainwaring family was kindly supplied to me by my friend, the late Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., from his MS. Cheshire Collections.

³⁶ "Chetham Soc.," vols. xxvi and xxvii.

³⁷ By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.; vol. ii., p. 13. *Ibid.*, p. 471.

Another account adds a little more to our knowledge³⁸:—

[1644, May 24.]—Upon Friday they [Prince Rupert and his army] advanc't towards Lancashire and lodged at Knutsford. Upon Saturday [25th] they advanc't towards Stockport, where Col. Mainwaring and Col. Duckenfield were with their companies, but they left the town and fled into Lancashire.

[May] 26th [1643-4].³⁹—Captain Ogle and Captain Rawstone were allotted for the ac'con, but they like good p'vident fellows, thrifty of their owne lives, p'vented the Capt. this hono'r [Captain Mosley to make a sally out next morning with two hundred men], who heaveing of the Prince's [Rupert] victorious entrance into the Countrey (by the defeate of Col. Duckenfield, Mainwaring, Buckley, and others who kept the passe at Stockport, the second key of the county) stole away betwixt 12 and 1 o'clock in the night.

Prince Rupert's march was for the relief of Lathom House. Warrington was surrendered May 27, 1643,⁴⁰ for

when, after a fortnight's attendance, there happened that unfortunate surprise of the Lord Goreing in Wakefield, which utterly disenabled her majesty to spare him any relief; which the Governor of Warrington (Colonel Norris) understanding, after five days siege, gave up the town, the greatest key of the county, to the enemy, and all his lordship's forces, then with the Lord Molineux and Colonel Tildsley, marched down to York.

1644, Jan. 25.—In the north-west, the regiments recalled from Ireland, had been beaten and almost entirely cut to pieces by Fairfax, under the walls of Nantwich in Cheshire.⁴¹

The Battle of Marston Moor was fought on July 2nd, 1644, and on the 15th May, 1645, Chester was relieved by the King; on the 14th June following the King was defeated by Fairfax, at the

³⁸ *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, Chetham Society, vol. ii., p. 187; *The First Siege of Lathom House*, Harl. MS., 2074.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 182; and *Siege of Lathom House, App. to Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, Bohn, p. 489. In the same account a Lieut. Pencket is mentioned as having been one of the garrison of Lathom. Captain Rawstone was also there.

⁴⁰ *Siege of Lathom*, Bohn, p. 492-3.

⁴¹ Guizot, *History of the English Revolution*, translated by W. Hazlitt, p. 229.

Battle of Naseby. Chester surrendered to the Parliament on the 3rd February, 1646.

Of Colonel Mainwaring there is little more to relate. In 1662 he came to Manchester; for Newcome records in his diary, 1662: "Munday, August 4th, Col. Manw: came in & was wth me "a little while." His family, as owners of Barnshaw, had certain small yearly payments reserved to them, which passed in the middle of the last century to the Mainwarings of Peover, when they purchased that lordship.

Fee farm-rents were paid in 1656, 1660, 1662, 1676,⁴² &c., to Colonel Henry Mainwaring, of Kermincham, and in 1685 to Roger Mainwaring, Esq., who, we see from the will, was his grandson.

It is clear from the will of Colonel Mainwaring, here printed, that for some reason, in the year 1672, perhaps finding himself becoming advanced in years, he had given up Kermincham, and made it over to his grandson and heir-apparent, Roger Mainwaring. He then retired to live on one of his smaller estates at Blackden, near Goostrey, co. Chester.

In *Newcome's Autobiography*,⁴³ under the year 1684, it is recorded:—"I heard of the death of old Col. Mainwaring: and of gratitude to him for kindnesses in the former part of my life. I resolved to go to his funeral, and so did on December 2nd." Thus he died, at a ripe old age, having lived through troublous times, and had he survived but a few months would have lived to see King Charles II pass away. Whatever the opinions of the side he took in the politics of his time, it is some satisfaction to us to know that one who played so important a part in the history of his native county, and of England, was also one of the "Fellowship

⁴² *East Cheshire*, vol. ii, p. 361. Chelford Deeds.

⁴³ Chetham Society, vols. xxvi, and xxvii, p. 257.

“of Freemasons.” The following is an abstract of his Will:—

In the Name of God, Amen,

15 Dec., 1680. I, Henry Mainwaring, of Blackden, co. Chester, Esquire, being aged and weake in body. My body to be buried at the discretion of my Executors.

Whereas by a deed of settlement dated 30 April, 24 Charles II [1672], made between me the said Henry Mainwaring, by the name of Henry Mainwaring of Kermincham, co. Chester, Esquire, and my grandson Roger Mainwaring, my Executor hereafter named, by the name of Roger Mainwaring, grandson and heir apparent of the said Henry Mainwaring, upon the one part, and Sir ffulk Lucy, late of Henbury, co. Chester, Knt., deceased, Thomas Kinnersley, of Loxley, co. Stafford, Esquire, Richard Bradshaw, of Pinnington. co. Lanc., Esquire, and Sir James Bradshaw, now knight, by the name of James Bradshaw, of the City of Chester, Esq., upon the other part, this particular clause, amongst divers others, is specified, that from and after the decease of the said Henry Mainwaring and Frances his wife, the sum of £1000, part of £1500, should be paid for the use and benefit of the sisters of the said Roger Mainwaring, and that the £500 residue should remain in the hands of trustees for securing the jointure of Mary [wife of the said Roger Mainwaring] from all manner of incumbrances made by the said Henry Mainwaring, but if the said jointure be clear at the death of the said Henry Mainwaring then the said £500 to be disposed of as the said Henry Mainwaring shall by his will appoint. Now I do bequeath the said £500 to my said grandson, Roger Mainwaring, towards the clearing and securing the premises limited in the jointure of his said wife, from the incumbrances in the said deed of settlement mentioned, and for the payment of any debts which I owe to my said grandson, Roger Mainwaring, and I make my said grandson, Roger Mainwaring of Kermincham, co. Chester, Esquire, my sole Executor.

(Signed) Henry Mainwaring (very shaky).

Armorial seal nearly illegible.

Sealed, signed, &c., in the presence of Edm. Jodrell, Samuell Leadbeater, John Dudley (?), Thomas Whittingham.

Proved 28 Jan. 1684[-5]. Endorsed, Col. Mainwaring's Will.

We are not informed by Ashmole who occupied the place of Master on the 16th of October, 1646, of the lodge at Warrington; but the name of Mr. Richard Penket, *warden*, occurs first on the list;

it does not therefore seem unlikely that he filled the chair.

My friend the late Mr. Beamont, of Warrington, was kind enough to place at my disposal his papers on the Penkeths of Penketh, of which family there is no doubt the Warden of the Lodge at Warrington was a member. I was not a little pleased to find that Mr. Beamont, who was not a mason, had made the same identification with regard to Richard Penketh the Freemason as myself.

The Penkeths of Penketh were an ancient family; Thomas de Penketh was one of the jurors to the inquisition post-mortem of Thomas Boteler of Bewsey, the lord of Warrington, 24th July, 1441.⁴⁴ From the Heralds' Visitation of Lancashire, made by St. George in 1613, it appears that Richard Penketh⁴⁵ of Penketh, who died *circa* 1570, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Sonkey, of Sonkey [gent.], and had a son, Thomas Penketh, of Penketh, county Lancaster, who married Cecilye, daughter of Roger Charnock, of Wellenborough, county Northampton, Esq., whose son Richard (dead in 1652) married Jane, daughter of Thomas Patrick, of Bispham, in the county of Lancaster. This no doubt was the Richard Penketh who was a Freemason at Warrington in 1646.

Mr. Beamont was of opinion that he was twice married. This is probably the case, for in the parish register at Warrington there is the following entry:—

1591, June 11th—Richard Penkethe, Gent., and Mary Etoughe.

By his (second) wife Jane,⁴⁶ he left an eldest son and heir, Thomas Penketh then living, aged three years, and three daughters. In an interesting

⁴⁴ *Lancashire Inquisitions*, vol. ii, Chetham Society.

⁴⁵ Chetham Society, p. 132; also *Visitation*, 1567.

⁴⁶ *Visitation*, 1613.

account of the early history of the Roman Catholic Mission in Leigh, Lancashire,⁴⁷ it is stated that the earliest missionary priest of Leigh was Father John Penketh, *alias* John Rivers, who was serving there in 1678 and again in 1693, and was for six years confined in Lancaster Castle for high treason, under the act of 27 Elizabeth. He appears also to have been at one time a soldier in the French army.

On entering the English College, Rome, 1651 (Oct. 20), he gave the following account of himself⁴⁸:—

My name is John Penketh, *alias* Rivers. I am son of Richard Penketh of Penketh, in the County of Lancaster, Esquire, who married the daughter of Thomas Patrick of Bisham, in the same county, gentleman. I was born and bred up in my father's house, and am now twenty-one years of age. My father, before his death, had spent nearly all his fortune, and left very little to my mother. My relatives are of good families, but reduced to poverty in these evil times. I am the youngest of thirteen children, and have only two brothers and one sister out of the thirteen living. Most of my relatives are Protestant, but my father, with all his family, one brother excepted, were always Catholic, &c.

Father Penketh died on the 1st August, 1707, aged 71.

In 1641, the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Pym,⁴⁹ having resolved on a protestation to defend the privileges of both Houses, and the performance of those duties to God and the King to which they were obliged as good Christians and good subjects, Herle⁵⁰ (Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol iii, p. 181) and his curates, Nicholson, Gee, and Norman, his three men servants, and a number of his parishioners signed the required protestation.

⁴⁷ *Leigh Chronicle Scrap Book*, vol. ii, Nos. 162, 163. From Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*.

⁴⁸ See also Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. v, pp. 328-9, 330-1, 335, 346, 401; vol. vi, pp. 382, 450, 455, 695; vol. vii, pp. 1401, 1445.

⁴⁹ *History of Winwick*, by William Beamont, p. 42.

⁵⁰ Rev. Charles Herle, then Rector of Winwick.

Among a long list of names is entered that of a Richard Penketh.⁵¹ Mr. Beamont writes⁵² :—

When the list of seats in Warrington Church was made, in 1628, Richard Penketh's name does not appear among the parishioners; but in January, 1642, when the protestation was signed to maintain the Protestant Religion, &c., Richard Penketh was one of those who subscribed to it, and we hear of him again in the entry in Ashmole's diary, &c.

It is difficult to reconcile this with the statement of Father Penketh, made in 1652, that his father "was always a Catholic." I am, therefore, inclined to believe that this was not the Richard Penketh of Penketh, Freemason.

Lieut. Penketh was one of those in Lathom House at the time of the siege in the year 1643.

Father Penketh states that his father spent nearly all his fortune before his death, and Mr. Beamont writes,⁵³ "Penketh Hall, the ancient seat of the Penkeths, seems to have changed owners much about the same time that Bewsey, the time-honoured residence of the Butlers [Bewsey Hall, near Warrington] passed into the hands of strangers; for, in the year 1624, we find Sir Thomas Ireland exchanging with Thomas Ashton the hall and demesnes of Penketh, late the inheritance of Richard Penketh," &c.

From this it would appear that Mr. Richard Penketh, Freemason, was the last of his race who held the family property, and that with him also commenced the downfall of the family.

One more member of his lineage, although not bearing on the subject, deserves a note. This was the celebrated Thomas Penketh,⁵⁴ who was a monk of

⁵¹ *History of Winwick*, by William Beamont, p. 43.

⁵² Papers on the family of Penketh, in the *Warrington Guardian*, 1881 (?).

⁵³ *Warrington in 1645*, p. x, note, Chetham Society.

⁵⁴ The work of Johannes Duns Scotus, *Scriptum in quatuor libros sententiarum* was "Per excellentissimum sacre theologie doctore magistrum Thoma

the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine, at Warrington.⁵⁵ The name remained in or near Warrington for many years, and I print an abstract of the will of a Richard Penketh, dated 1705. No will or administration of Richard Penketh, the Freemason, dead before 1652, is on record now at Chester or London.

In the name of God, Amen, I, Richard Penketh of Great Sankey, co. Lanc., yeoman, being weak and "creazy" in body, but of a sound mind, I will that all my just debts and funeral expenses be paid, And whereas I stand siesed of that messuage and tenement in Great Sankey aforesaid, for remainder of a term of 99 years, if the lives in the original Indenture of Lease so long live. Now I do hereby devise unto Ellen my wife the annual sum of £5 for her life (if the term so long continue) to be paid out of the said premises, provided she does not marry, but if she marry I hereby devise unto her only the annual sum of 5s. Item I do further give unto my said loving wife, certain furniture, pewter, linen, my silver watch, &c. Item I give to my son James Penketh, one bed, &c. Item to my daughter Ann now the wife of Henry Seddon of Dallom, yeoman, £15. And to John Seddon their son £15 to be paid out of the profits of my said messuage &c. within 3 years after my decease, To all the children of my son Richard Penketh living after my decease 5s. apiece, and to the children of my son Nicholas Penketh 2s. 6d. apiece, and to the child of my brother in law William Lomas 2s. 6d. To my son Richard Penketh and the said William Lomas, my Executors hereinafter mentioned 20s. apiece, and to my son Nicholas, the annual sum of 20s to be paid out of my said messuage &c., and after payments of my debts &c. I give the said messuage &c. unto my son Nicholas Penketh for the term yet unexpired. And I appoint my said son Richard Penketh and my brother-in-law William Lomas my Executors, hereby revoking all former wills made by me. Dated 24 Nov. 1705.

(Signed) Richard Penketh.

Signed Sealed &c.

in the presence of

Josh. Stockton, his mark.

John Barrow.

Proved 25 Oct. 1706.

Penketh Anglicu ordinis heremitaru sancti Aug. in famosissimus studio Patavino ordinarie legente maxima cum diligentia emendatu. Venice 1481. The same author's "Quaestiones quod libeticae, 1481," were "purgatae per Thomam Penketh."

⁵⁵ *Warrington in 1645*, p. xxxix, Chetham Society.

The next on Ashmole's list of the gentry present is Mr. James Collier. It may be assumed that he was the James Collyer, of Newton-le-Willows, co. Lancaster, who married Ellen, the eighth daughter of William Bretherton, of Hey, the then (he died about 1640) representative of that well-known ancient Lancashire family, by Margaret, daughter of Richard Urmston, of Lostock, co. Lanc.⁵⁶ The register book of the old church of Winwick, situated only a mile and a half from Newton-le-Willows, thus records some members of the family, in all probability the Freemason's and his wife:—

1673-4, Jan. 17.—Mr. James Colliar buried.

1678-9, Jan. 4.—Mrs. Ellen Collier, aff. [idavit that she was not buried in linen, according to the Act of Parliament.]

His will is preserved at Chester. The following is an abstract:—

In the name of God, Amen, This is my last will and testament. My body to the earth to be decently buried there, To my wife Ellen Colliar my house &c and land in the township of Newton. All that is remaining at her death, to my brother William Powell and his issue male, in default, then to the next kinsman I have of the Colliars, [He appoints his wife sole executrix.] I charge you not to trust your brother Bretherton nor any of his, for you and I have found them bad, God forgive them, so with my dear love to you I rest yours.

Signed James Colliar (good signature). (Small red seal: a cross croslet fitchee, a martlet in dexter chief. *Crest*: a cross croslet fitchee between two wings.)

Witnesses—Peter Leigh, John Wilson.

Endorsed—Captain James Collier's Last Will Testament; Aprill the 18th, 1668. Proved 21 March, 1673[4].

(A very long inventory "of the goods of Mr. "James Colliar, late of Newton." The total is not given, and it contains no items of interest.)

Of course it is impossible to state positively that either the entries or the will refer to the Mr. James

⁵⁶ Dugdale's *Visitation of Lancashire*, 1664-5; Chetham Society.

Collier, Freemason, mentioned by Ashmole; but there seems to be every probability that such is the case. Mr. James Collier, or Captain James Collier, as he is called in the endorsement of his will, must be the same as the one entered in the pedigree. He holds lands in Newton-le-Willows; his wife is named Ellen, and "her brother, Bretherton," is mentioned. Although the will is endorsed as being made 18th April, 1668, it was not proved until 21st March, 1673-4, which agrees with the entry of his death from the parish registers of Winwick.

"Captyn Collyer" was taken prisoner with others in the year 1643, when Stafford was surprised by Colonel Brereton and his troops.⁵⁷ Among the Royalist Composition Papers⁵⁸ is the petition of James Collier of Newton, which sheweth that "before the beginning of these distract'ons" he held part of his estate from the Earl of Derby, by which subservience he was occasioned to bear arms against the Parliament, but about three years then previously he had laid down his arms, and as his house had been plundered, his goods taken, and estate sequestered, he had been forced to live where he could procure his necessary maintenance. Having taken the National Covenant and Negative Oath he submitted himself, praying that some reasonable fine might be imposed upon him (9 May, 1646). The National Covenant and Negative Oath were taken by him in March and April, 1645. Particular of his estate, worth £24 a year.

The family of Sonkey, or Sankey of Sankey as they were called, were landowners in Warrington at a very early period, as appears from a charter *circa* 1275.⁵⁹ They held Little Sankey and Great

⁵⁷ *Civil War in Lancashire. Lanc. and Chesh. Record Soc.*, vol. xix, p. 55.

⁵⁸ *Lanc. and Cheshire Record Society*, vol. xxvi., p. 72.

⁵⁹ *Warrington in 1465*, by William Beamont, p. 46 n. Chetham Society.

Sankey, the former in the parish of Warrington, and the latter in that of Prescott. The property in Little Sankey was held under the Botelers, the Lords of Warrington, and evidence is extant that from time to time homage was done by them for these lands.

In the Warrington parish registers are the following entries among the baptisms⁶⁰ :—

1591, Feb. 22nd.—Joane, dau. to Edward Sonkey, Gent.

1595, Aug. 12th.—Allis, dau. to Edw^d Sankey.

1621-2, Feb. 3rd.—Edward, son to Richard Sankey, Gent.⁶¹

1628, Aug. 10th.—Margaret, dau. to Richard Sankey, Gent.

1631, Sep. 4th.—Eleanor, dau. to Richard Sankey, Gent.

1636, April 19th.—Alice, dau. to Richard Sonkey, Gent.

1639, May 27th.—Sen John [St. John], son to Richard Sankey, Gent.

And also among the burials :—

1635, June 11th.—Ellen, dau. to Richard Sankey, Gent., Buried.

At a later period in the same registers are the following entries :—

1634, Mar. 25th.—Cha^s, son to Richard Sankey, baptised.

1635, Ap. 30th.—Cha^s, son to Richard Sankey, buried.

And finally :—

1667, Sep. 28th.—Buried, Mr. Richard Sankie.

As the Warrington parish registers only commence in 1591, there is no record of the marriage of Richard Sankey.

The hamlet of Sankey, like that of Penketh, lies close to Warrington, and coupled with the fact that at no very distant date a Penketh married a Sankey of Sankey, as mentioned above, it is not extraordinary to find two such near neighbours and blood relations associated together as Free-

⁶⁰ *Local Gleanings' Magazine*, 1879-80, p. 136, &c.

⁶¹ This Edward Sankey is the one I suppose copied and signed the Sloane MS., possibly for Ashmole.

masons. Like the Penkeths, many of them belonged to the Roman Catholic religion.⁶²

The names to which the distinguishing title "Mr." is apparently not intended to be prefixed are Henry Littler, John Ellam, Richard Ellam, and Hugh Brewer.

There was certainly a gentle family of Littler or Lytlor settled in Cheshire at this time.

In the *inquisition post mortem* of Sir Richard Bulkeley, Knt., of Cheadle, in Cheshire, taken at Northwich, 8 April, 6 Edward VI (1552), the name of Robert Lytlor, of Wallerscott, appears as a juror.⁶³

In the *Inquisition post mortem*⁶⁴ of John Davenport, Esq., who married Anne, daughter of Randle Mainwaring, of Karincham, taken at Northwich, Sept. 11th, 1582. Richard Lytler, gent., is one of the jurors. The same appears again as a juror in the *inquisition post mortem*⁶⁵ of Sir John Savage, Knt., taken at Chester, 1st October, 41 Eliz. (1599).

In the *inquisition post mortem*⁶⁶ of Thomas Leigh, Esq., of Adlington, taken at Chester, 7 Oct., 44 Eliz. (1602), is the name of Ralph Litlor, of Wallerscote, gent.

And again, in the *inquisition post mortem*⁶⁷ of Thomas Wyche, gent., taken at Middlewich, 16 Sept., 17 James (1619), the marriage of his son, Richard Wyche, gent., with Anne, daughter of Robert Littler, of Tarven, is mentioned.

John Littler was Alderman and Justice of the Peace for Chester in 1603, and Mayor in 1605 ;

⁶² Foley's *English Province of S.J.*, vol. ii, p. 116, 135, 411, 569 ; v, p. 513 ; vi, p. 584, 529 ; vii, p. 685, 1400.

⁶³ Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. i, p. 175.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 382, n.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 190.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 241, n.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 621, 623.

he died on the 2nd of April, 1619, and was buried at Chester.⁶⁸

Richard Littler, junr., gentleman, is mentioned in the list of town-clerks in 1627. Cuitt's *History of Chester*, 1815, p. 265; Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, new edition, vol. ii, p. 222.

The administration and inventory of Thomas Littler, of Burtonwood, a hamlet within a mile or two from Warrington, dated 1674, are preserved among the wills at Chester.

A good yeoman family bearing the name of Ellam has long been resident in the parish of Winwick and the neighbourhood.⁶⁹

In the list of persons above eighteen years of age within Winwick and Houlme (an adjoining hamlet, on the high road between Warrington and Winwick), who took the Protestation Oath before the Rector of Winwick, we find: William Ellam, sen., John Ellam, and William Ellam, jun. The will of Alice Ellam, of Croft, in the parish of Winwick, widow, dated 1636, is in the Probate Court of Chester; and there is also the will of Thomas Ellam, of Croft, in the parish of Winwick, dated 1612.⁷⁰ The John and Richard Ellam mentioned by Ashmole were doubtless members of this family, a probable branch of which had apparently settled at Lymm, a village in Cheshire, about five miles from Warrington. I here give the will of Richard Ellam, Freemason, and that of John Ellam, husbandman, but cannot assert that either refers to the person mentioned by Ashmole. The description in the will of Richard Ellam of "Freemason," refers,

⁶⁸ *Cheshire Funeral Certificates*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. vi, p. 134. The inventory of his goods is preserved at Chester.

⁶⁹ In Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. vi, p. 409, a William Ellam, born at Genoa, of English parents, is mentioned.

⁷⁰ Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: *Index to the Wills at Chester*.

of course, to the "trade of Freemasonry," but it is more than likely that he is the Richard mentioned by Ashmole. At the same time, this John Ellam may have been a Freemason, and the brother of Richard mentioned in the will. He appears to have been more wealthy than Richard, leaving, as he did, goods to the value of over £165, and a tenement.

The 7th day of September, Ano. Döm., 1667.

In the Name of God, Amen. I, Richard Ellom of Lyme [Lymm], co. Chester, freemason, being sick and weak in body. My body to the earth to be buried in Christian burial, at my Parish Church of Lyme, or elsewhere it shall please God to appoint the same. Whereas I have an estate of the messuage and tenement wherein I now dwell by force of one Indenture of Lease, heretofore made by Richard and Maria Domvill, late of Lyme aforesaid, Esq., deceased, bearing date 16 Feb. 16 Charles II [1664], for the term of 99 years, if the said Richard Ellom and William Ellom his son, or either of them, so long live. I assign all my said messuage, &c., immediately after my decease, unto my brothers, John Ellom and Peter Ellom, for the use, education, &c., of all my children, until the youngest is 18 years of age. My will is that my eldest son William shall have all my said messuage, &c., for his life, paying unto my said brothers, John Ellom and Peter Ellom, or their Executors, £10 within 2 years after he shall enter the said messuage, &c., and the said £10 to be employed to the use of the youngest child or children of the said Richard Ellom then living. All my goods, cattle, &c., I give unto my said brothers, John Ellom and Peter Ellom, for the bringing up of my said children. And I ordain my well-beloved brothers, John Ellom and Peter Ellom, Executors, and desire my wellbeloved friend, William Leigh of Rushgreen, and my loving brother in law, Richard Ratlife, to assist my said Executors. Dated 7 Sep., 19 Charles II, 1667.

(Signed) Richard Ellom (in a shaky hand).

Before the sealing of the within written deed the said Richard Ellom did give to his son, William, the dishboard in the house to stand as an heirloom, and then signed and sealed in the presence of

Margaret Mosse her \wedge mark. William Leigh.

Proved 17 Jan. 1669[-70].

The Inventory was taken on 10 Oct., 1667, by John Leigh and Peter Martin. Total 77 li. 16s. ood.

Will of John Ellam.

In the name of God. Amen. 7th June, I. William [1689].
I John Ellams, of Burton, co. Chester, husbandman, being of perfect memory.

First. My body to be buried in Christian burial, at the discretion of my Executors hereafter mentioned. Item. I leave one half of my tenement in Burton, now in the possession of my son in law Samuëll Lighfoot, with half the housing thereunto belonging, to my wife Else [or Alice] Ellams after my decease, so long as she liveth, if the lease so long last.

Item, All the rest of my household goods, husbandry ware, cattle &c. I leave to my daughter Elizabeth Ince, and my daughter Ann Ellams and my daughter Else Ellams after my decease, to be equally divided amongst them, paying my funeral expenses, debts, &c., only I leave to my daughter Ann Ellams, one colt that is 2 years old, and also one other colt that is 2 years old I leave to my daughter Else Ellams. Leaving my wife Else Ellams, and my daughter Ann Ellams, my sole Executors, revoking all other wills by me made.

(Signed) John Ellams, his mark (in a very shaky hand).

Witnesses—John Cawley, Robert Mouldsdales.

Proved 27 July, 1689.

A true and perfect Inventory of John Ellams of Burton late decd. Both of goods and cattle made the 6th day of July, 1689, by Thomas Bruen, Richard Ince, and Robert Mouldsdales. Total 165li. 02s. 08d.

The last name is that of Hugh Brewer. Up to the present time I have been unable to identify him. The name Brewer belongs to the north country, and one branch, a yeoman family, was settled at Broughton, in Lancashire, in the middle of the seventeenth century.⁷¹

The family of Brewer was one of considerable antiquity, having intermarried with the Eyres of Fishwick Hall. Their estate in the adjoining township of Ribblesdale, called The Lodge, remained in the family until the beginning of the present century. The family became extinct on the death of the Rev. Henry Brewer, O.S.B., of Brownedge, in 1840. Another estate at Newton-with-Scoles passed to the Gillows, by the marriage of Richard

71- *Royalist Composition Papers*, Record Society, vol. xxiv, p. 239, etc.

Gillow, of Singleton, Esq., with the sister and heiress of Henry Brewer, the representative of the elder branch of the family in the middle of the last century.⁷²

The administration bond and inventory of John Brewer, of Lymm, gentleman, dated 1730, is preserved at Chester; and the *inquisition post mortem* of John Bruer, Esquire, of Cheshire, is dated the 11th of December, 1626.⁷³

One of the name was also mixed up in the great rebellion. In the account of the burning of Lancaster, from *Mercurius Aulicus*, March 26 to April 2, 1642-3 (p. 159), is the following:—

March 22 (1642).—Serjeant Major Brewyer, who commanded his Lordship's [Lord Derby] regiment of horse, did with a troope of his defeat two troopes of dragooners, being 140 in the totall, under the command of Captaine Norris, taking the Captaine himself prisoner, together with 40 of his soldiers, and having killed no lesse than 50 in the very place.⁷⁴

Thus end my notes on the persons present at the lodge of Warrington in 1646; but it will be necessary to consider for a moment the second entry in Ashmole's diary. From it we learn that the lodge in London included, in the year 1682, the names of Mr. Thomas Wise, Master of the Masons' Company this present year; Mr. Thomas Shorthose; Mr. Thomas Shadbolt; . . . Wainsford, Esquire⁷⁵; Mr. Nicholas Young; Mr. John Shorthose; Mr. William Hamon; Mr. John Thompson; and Mr. William Stanton;

⁷² Foley's *English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. vii, p. 82. See also vol. i, p. 682; vol. v, pp. 325, 870, 882, 909.

⁷³ Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. *Lancashire and Cheshire Records*, vol. vii, p. 184.

⁷⁴ *Civil War Tracts in Lancashire*. Chetham Society, vol. ii, p. 86. The name of Brewer occurs in the *Lancashire Royalist Composition Papers*. Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. 24, p. 239-242.

⁷⁵ Mr. Gould suggests (*History of Freemasonry*, vol. iii, p. 143*n.*) that this is Rowland Rainsford, a member of the Masons' Company. This may be so, but the use of "Esquire" might suggest a connection of Sir Richard Rainsford, Lord Chief Justice. The following entry appears in the Books of the Company—"1677 [1678], January 15. Rowland Raynsford, late "apprentice to Robert Beadles, Citizen and Mason, made free."

March 1682.

10. About 5: ^HP.M. I rec^d: a Summons to app^r: at a Lodge to be held the next day, at Masons Hall London.

11. Accordingly I went, & about Noon was admitted into the Fellowship of Four Masons,
S^r: William Wilson Knight, Capt: Rich: Borthwick,
M^r: Will: Woodman, M^r: W^m: Grey, M^r: Samuel
Jaylor & M^r: William Wise.

I was the Senior Fellow among them (it being 35 years since I was admitted) There were present beside my self the Fellows after named.

M^r: Tho: Wise M^r: of the Masons Company this present year. M^r: Thomas Shorttosi, M^r: Thomas Shadbolt, ~~M^r: Thomas~~ Waindson Esq^r
M^r: Rich: Young. M^r: John Shorttosi, M^r: William Hamon, M^r: John Thompson, & M^r: Will: Stanton.

We all dined at the Raffe Moses Tavern in Chanceryside, at a Noble Dinner prepared at the charge of the New: accepted Masons.

and that "about Noone" were admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons,

Sir William Wilson, Knight; Capt. Richard Borthwick; Mr. William Woodman; Mr. William Grey; Mr. Samuel Tylour; and Mr. William Wise.

In my former paper I argued, that although this meeting was held in Masons' Hall, it could not be a meeting of the Company, and must have been a separate meeting of Freemasons more or less *speculative* in character. It had for some time been well known that Ashmole was not a member of the Masons' Company of London, although almost all the persons he names were.

It is now quite clear, as Mr. Conder states, that the lodge which Ashmole attended in 1682 was that originally belonging to the operative Company of Masons.

Much additional information on the subject was added by my friend, Mr. Edward Conder, F.S.A., in his *History of the Masons' Company*,⁷⁶ and in a paper read by him before the Lodge Quatuor Coronati.⁷⁷ In writing this most interesting history he was so fortunate as to discover in one of the old account books several entries, the value of which cannot be over-estimated. To these two works I must refer those who wish to gain a full knowledge of the subject; it would be out of place here to do more than consider the points which more or less directly bear on the lodge at Warrington.

It must in the first instance be pointed out that this book is not the special cash-book of the Masons'

⁷⁶ *Records of the Hole Crafte and Fellowship of Masons.* By Edward Conder, junr., Master of the Masons' Company this present year. London, 1894.

⁷⁷ *The Masons' Company of the City of London and the Loige of Accepted Masons connected with it.* By Bro. E. Conder, junr. Trans. Lodge Quat. Coronat., 1896, vol. ix, pp. 28-50.

Company Lodge, but contains the general receipts and expenditure of the Company itself, the entries often being very short. Among these general accounts, here and there were found certain references to money received and payments made on account of the speculative lodge, some very full, and others disappointingly concise.

Mr. Conder, from the books of the Company, was enabled to identify the whole of the names of those present at the Lodge held in 1682 as being members of the Company, except Sir William Wilson, Knt., and Capt. Richard Borthwick.

“Sir William Wilson, Knt.,” is no doubt the Sir William Wilson, stated in Le Neve’s *List of Knights*,⁷⁸ “of ye Towne and County of Leic[ester]” “Knighted at Whitehall 8 March 1681.” In Harwood’s *History of Lichfield* (1806, p. 72) appears the following:—“On the top of the roof, betwixt the two spire[s], is the image of K. Charles II, erected at the expense of Bishop Hackett [d. 21 Oct., 1670, æt. 79], an[d] which was the work of Sir William Wilson, originally a stone-mason from Sutton Coldfield, who, after marrying a rich widow, arrived at the honour of knighthood.”⁷⁹ He was an architect, but little seems to be known of his buildings: he is also said to have rebuilt the spire of Warwick Church, after it had been burned. He died about the year 1702.

Captain Richard Borthwick was, most probably, connected with one of the branches of the family of which some of the members made claim to the Barony of Borthwick, at the end of the eighteenth century. Captain Henry Borthwick was killed at the battle of Ramilies, in 1702.

⁷⁸ *Publications of the Harleian Society*, vol. viii, p. 362.

⁷⁹ See also Murray’s *Cathedrals, Lichfield*, p. 272. In Jones’ *Index to Records*, I, occurs: “Ch. II; Wilson (Wilhelmi) Creatm. ad Dignitatem Baronetti. 7 pars. original, anno 13 [1661-2]. Rotulo 63.”

The first entry discovered takes back the record of English non-operative or speculative Freemasonry to the year 1620; this is contained in the earliest book yet found of those belonging to the Company; but from the form of the entry and other matters, I think, with Mr. Conder, that there must certainly have been earlier meetings of this lodge. The members were "accepted" masons, and so generally called throughout the entries, as Ashmole himself writes of them as "the New Accepted Masons." A list of names "in a faire enclosed frame with lock and key" is entered in the inventory of the goods in and about the hall of the Masons' Company, dated June 14th, 1663, and again in that of July 4th, 1676, when it is described as "a faire large table of the Accepted Masons," showing that the number of this body must have been considerable.

The "Accepted Masons" were a body of men not necessarily belonging to the Company, who paid certain fees for their "acceptation," though this ceremony and payment did not carry with it the freedom of the Company. It was a separate body of what we should call *speculative* masons attached to the *operative* Company. It was evidently entirely under the control, so far as payments were concerned, of the Company, for it is clear by the old cash book that the payments made by the accepted masons were in some cases entered to the credit of the Company, and the expenses of a meeting of the acceptance were charged on the other side of the book. It would seem, however, that in some cases, when the amounts paid by the accepted masons equalled the sum required to defray the costs of their "acceptation," no entry appears. If it exceeded this amount, a regular entry was made; if, on the other hand, more was expended than was received, the difference was made up from the

ordinary funds of the Company. Whether the accepted masons paid any quarterage to the general funds is not clear, as each item is not specified in the old cash book; I think they did not. No minute book or cash book of the accepted masons has up to the present time been discovered. It is only from this invaluable old general book of accounts that Mr. Conder has been able to collect the scattered and in some instances imperfect entries, *all of which*—many being in fac-simile—he has given in full in his works already referred to.

In 1666-67 the Masons' Company received its new charter from Charles II, and, as Mr. Conder suggests, some difficulty must have arisen as to including the accepted masons in the incorporation. Thus, in April, 1677, the court of the Company decided to expend the "six pounds remaining in "the hands of the Renter Warden, which was left "of the last Accepted Masons' money, be laid out "for a New Banner." This amount, £6. os. 5d., is credited in the accounts at the beginning of the same year. Such a sum, as a balance, would indicate the "acceptation" of several masons, whose names, it is to be regretted, have not come down to us. Could the "Renter Warden's booke," mentioned in an earlier minute, be recovered, our knowledge would doubtless be much increased. He evidently kept an account of the sums received by him from the Accepted Masons. It seems probable that about this time the lodge became more distinct and separate from the Company.

I have entered into this somewhat at length, as it distinctly points out that the names of many accepted masons, and probably also members of the Masons' Company Lodge have been lost.

It must become a question, what arrangement was made when a mason made at one place wished to join a lodge situated at another; what proofs

were produced, and what was the form of the introduction or examination. One portion of the difficulty might be explained by the *New Articles*, (see Harl. Ms., No. 1942, and Grand Lodge Ms., No. 2; *Reprints, Lodge Quat. Coronat.*, vols. ii and iv):—

That noe p'son hereafter which shall be [an] accepted ffree Mason, shall be admitted into any Lodge or assembly, vntill he have brought a Certificate of y^e tyme of his acception from y^e Lodge y^t accepted him vnto y^e Master of y^t Limitt or Division, where such Lodge was kept, which said master shall Inroll y^e same in p'chment, in a Roll to be kept for y^t purpose, and give an accompt of all such acceptions att every general assembly.³⁰

No such roll, so far as I am aware, is known, but we have it in evidence that the Lodge attached to the Masons' Company, as mentioned above, possessed "a fair large table [or list] of the Accepted Masons," which no doubt recorded all those who belonged to the Lodge. What a flood of light this list would have shed upon Freemasonry had it survived!

Possibly after admission each simply paid his share of the festivities of the evening.

Mr. Gould, in his *History of Freemasonry* (vol. iii, 162-3), supposes that Ashmole was an invited guest. I would rather suppose that the words used by him, "I received a summons to appear at a Lodge," etc., indicate the idea that, although he was not a member of the Company, he was a member of the Masons' Company Lodge, and that, in his case, the ordinary custom of summoning a member was followed; otherwise he was the only guest present.

As I have before stated, the old cash-book records little more than receipts and disbursements, when meetings of the "acception," as it was called, occur; information is not always given of the purpose of these meetings, nor are the

³⁰ Grand Lodge Ms., No. 2, date about 1650.

names always entered. For example, out of the nine names mentioned by Ashmole as being present in 1682, although all of them were members of the Masons' Company, only one, Mr. Thos. Shorthose, is recorded (1649-50) as having joined the "acception." The whole of the remaining eight must have belonged to the Lodge. It has been possible to collect a number of the names of those who joined the "Acception" in the Masons' Company Lodge:—in 1620-1621 there are 7 names; in 1638-1639 there are 6 names; in 1649-1650 there are 7 names; in 1682 there are 15 names; making 35 names in all. The above list extends over sixty-two years, there being blanks of 18, 11, and 32 years, during which it is impossible to believe that the Lodge was idle. We therefore have but a very small portion of the list of names of those who joined the Masons' Company Lodge in London.

If Ashmole was not a member of the lodge, then the question arises whether any system existed by which it was possible to know who were accepted masons and who were not. The Freemasonry of the Warrington Lodge was the same as that of London, otherwise would Ashmole have been "summoned" to attend, and then declare himself the senior fellow or member among them? Also how was it that he who is said to have known so much about masonry was satisfied with what he learnt when he was made a mason in 1646; for in January, 1679, his collections are said to have been burnt. It is perfectly true that he has left, as I have already said, and has often been noted, no record of his having attended any lodge between 1646 and 1682, a period, as he himself points out, of thirty-five years. It seems to me far more probable that he did not record every lodge he attended, any more than he did every

meeting of the astrologers, the entries referring to the latter only recording certain somewhat irregular annual feasts. Other matters, for example, those referring to his portraits, lead me to believe that in this short diary, in which the entries for some years are very few and far between, very many incidents have been omitted; events, according to Ashmole's opinion, of grave importance were entered; minor events were not noted.

It is therefore more than likely that Ashmole attended meetings of both the Freemasons, Astrologers and others of which we have now no record.

There is one fatal error into which many writers have, in my opinion, fallen—through it may be the superabundance, or it may be the want of information—that the mystical teachings of Freemasonry are to be attributed to Ashmole and perhaps some other worthies who amused themselves with what is called Hermeticism. I endeavoured to prove, as I believe, that the earliest secrets of masonry were those which enabled a *Master* to plan out and construct each minute portion of those magnificent buildings which, though in some instances now only ruins, testify to their skill; to construct them, as the old building contracts define it, according to "mason craft." That many moral precepts were connected with operative usages from very early times is clear; some of these survived, but that the secrets of operative masonry lapsed when they were little required, as also much of the real symbolism, during that period called the "Reformation," seems certain, and that much of what is now called the symbolism of masonry I feel certain formed no portion of the earlier teaching in the lodges. It is the development of a system, wrongly understood, and combined with much of the pseudo-oriental learning so much in vogue in the eighteenth century.

To this subject I shall return again, when the records of the connection of the third Randle Holme with Freemasonry have been considered. It may then be possible to form an idea of some portion at least of this seventeenth-century Freemasonry.

One last and great point must not be overlooked. It must not for a moment be supposed that the lodge at Warrington was specially created for the benefit of Elias Ashmole and Col. Mainwaring; such could not be the case. It is true that unlike the lodge connected with the Masons' Company of London, which was regularly worked twenty-six years earlier—in 1620 and before—it stood alone. There was no Incorporation, so far as I am aware, to which it can reasonably be considered to have been attached. It was, perhaps, originally operative, and had survived, like many others, the havoc of the "Reformation," and by the time Ashmole and Col. Mainwaring entered it, it had become speculative. Nor must we suppose all the members were present in 1646; but considering the very small village-town Warrington was at that period, it is very interesting to notice that they were able to muster so satisfactory a number of members as seven to carry on the ceremony. London, in 1782, could produce seven or more, for at the Masons' Company Lodge which Ashmole attended in that year, those of the Lodge who were present numbered nine.

