

A PRIVATE LODGE ROYAL ARCH CERTIFICATE

by Bro. R. J. Barker

ON 16 SEPTEMBER 1806, the Lodge of Harmony No.583, at Hastings in Sussex, issued a Certificate to John Phillips, as confirmation that he was a Royal Arch Mason¹. This Certificate has a number of interesting features, which combined with its age, makes it noteworthy.

The Certificate

At the top of the Certificate, in the centre, is a printed logo. It consists of three concentric circles and in the centre two interlaced triangles around a letter 'G'. While the lettering is clear, possibly because it is metal type, the triangles are unequal and crude. The outer ring is composed of a double circle, within which are the words 'The light shineth in Darkness and the Darkness comprehendeth it not.', with three small stars at the top in a triangular form, apex downward. Another single circle follows, under which is, across the top, the word 'HOLINESS' and along the bottom 'TO THE LORD', with a single star left and right between the two. This was the motto of the Antients' Grand Lodge² and strangely out of place in a Lodge which claimed allegiance to the Premier Grand Lodge. It should also be noted that there are no Triple Tau symbols, which are not found in general use for another 20 years³ or the T over H which was occasionally seen at this date.

There are a few spelling mistakes which must be put down to an error by the setter. The worst example is '...Brother Phillips as lawfully served is Time...' which should read '..has lawfully served his Time..'. There are also some inconsistencies of nomenclature, such as Phillips being called 'our Excellent Brother', rather than a 'Companion', yet the Certificate is directed to '... All our Royal Arch Companions round the Globe'. There is an American Chapter Certificate that has in it some similar wording⁴. It was issued on 24 May 1824 by the Union Lodge no. 119 at Boston, USA, and says 'to all the most Excellent Brethren, Royal Arch, and Super-excellent Masons round the Globe etc.' Attached to the Certificate by a ribbon of red, white and blue, is a dark red wax seal about one inch in diameter, on which some masonic emblems can be seen. The ribbon is woven through a series of horizontal slits in the un-watermarked paper. The white portion of the ribbon appears grey, which with red and blue, were the traditional colours of the pre union Grand and Royal Chapter⁵. Around the edge of the wax seal are the words 'Lodge of (*Harmony*) No 583', though they are badly worn. In the centre is what appears to be an altar, over which is a quadrant and dividers with a letter 'G' in the centre. On either side of these emblems are two pillars, with squared bases and shaped capitols, but the seal does not reveal any fine detail. To the outside of the right pillar are, at the top, two crossed swords, similar to the Inner Guard's jewel. This may be an allusion in this context to the ceremony sometimes referred to as the 'Crossing of the Bridge', but this can only be speculation⁶. Below this is what appears to be a lozenge shape, but it may be a Square and Compass symbol. On the other side of the seal, to the left of the left hand pillar are also two emblems. The bottom one appears to be either a cup or a seven branched candle stick which, as one of the emblems associated with the Veils seems more likely. Above it is what appears to be two triangles on top of a narrow oval, but the form is unclear. It may be a bird in flight, possibly an eagle, or even a crown. In the context of this Certificate another option is that it is meant to represent a Burning Bush.

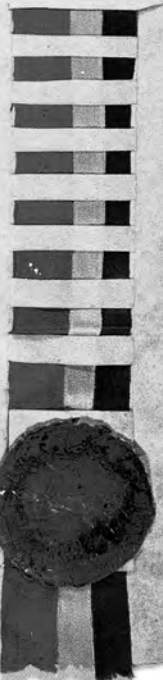


LODGE of HARMONY, No. 583.
HASTINGS, SUSSEX.

To all whom it may concern,

These are to certify that our excellent Brother *Wm Phillips* as lawfully served is Time as an entered Apprentice, duly passed, and afterwards raised to the sublime Degree of a MASTER MASON, and a PAST-MASTER of our Lodge, was by us exalted to the supreme Degrees of Excellent and Super-excellent and Holy Royal Arch; as such, we recommend our said excellent Brother *Wm Phillips* to all our Royal Arch Companions round the Globe; in Testimony whereof, we have subscribed our Names and affixed the Seal of our Chapter this *Eighth* Day of *September* in the Year of Our Lord 1806 and of Masonry 5806

George Kealy }
John H. Smith } Grand Chiefs.
Bryan Finnan }
 Scribe Ezra. *William Jones*



The signatures of the three Chiefs and Scribe are those of George Rielly (Z), Charles Hamilton (H), Bryan Farmer (J), who are bracketed together and shown as the Grand Chiefs and below them the Scribe Ezra, Hugh Gould. None of them appear in the returns made by the Lodge of Harmony to Grand Lodge around this time⁷. The main officers are today called the Principals, but in some other jurisdictions (most notably in Ireland) they are still referred to as the 'Three Chiefs', as is the case in this Certificate. These titles seem to be part of the 'Antient' system of the Royal Arch and are recorded in the Grand and Royal Arch Minutes for 5 November 1783⁸ as well as being alluded to elsewhere⁹. Another more local example can be found in the similarities with a Royal Arch Chapter which met in Arundel at the other end of Sussex, for which documents are known which date from about 1810¹⁰. Here again the three Principals are also referred to as 'Chiefs'.

The overall appearance of the Certificate at first glance is that it was one of a number of pre printed forms to be used over a number of years. A closer look shows that it is in many respects a crude format which could almost be considered a draft for future use, sent as a proof copy to the Chapter for approval or amendment. The need for such a document may be linked to the very nature of the town at this date. It is likely that the mixture of members and visitors was a combination of both military and local inhabitants, as well as visiting sailors to the port, all of whom could have received Degrees if properly vouched for. This may have put pressure on the Lodge to issue a Certificate of some kind to transient Brethren. As Brother Phillips was himself clearly a travelling man, the Certificate may have been prepared in a hurry, if for example he was soon to go abroad again. Such carelessness by the printer is unusual in this period.

Historical Background

Some aspects of local history are necessary to place this document in its proper context. Hastings was in the mediaeval period one of the major 'Cinque Ports' and while it is today little more than a pleasant seaside town, it was still of considerable importance as a port 200 years ago¹¹. During the French Revolutionary Wars, Sussex was the front line, with a string of coastal garrison towns containing many British regiments from all across the country¹². Most had Craft Lodges attached to them, more often than not of Scottish or Irish Warrants, meeting wherever they came to rest¹³. It was against this background that a Warrant was issued by the Premier Grand Lodge of England to the Lodge of Harmony on 1 July 1799, to members of the Royal Westminster Regiment of Middlesex Militia who were stationed in the town. The Lodge continued to meet in Hastings until it united with the 'Antient' Derwent Lodge no. 40 in December, 1817¹⁴. The masonic medley of the area therefore included not only the Premier and the Antient Grand Lodges under the English system¹⁵, but also Irish and Scottish influences which are associated with the many military Lodges at this period. There may also have been Continental themes, as Hastings had many links with France through legitimate trade, as well as the smuggling trade which continued throughout the war years and was not effectively suppressed for another 25 years¹⁶. Brother Phillips was himself an 'Antient' freemason from the Olive Lodge on Alderney in the Channel Islands, having been made a freemason three years before on 6 August 1803.¹⁷

A most unusual feature is that this is a private Lodge Royal Arch Certificate issued in 1806 by a Lodge under the authority of the Premier Grand Lodge¹⁸. The practice of working the 'additional Degrees' is usually considered a feature of the Grand Lodge of the 'Antients'. Indeed, where there are references to the early Royal Arch in connection with the Premier Grand Lodge, they are normally associated with separate bodies which were issued with their own Warrants, separate names and numbers under the obedience of the independent Grand and Royal Chapter¹⁹. The official separation of the Premier Grand Lodge from the Royal Arch can clearly be seen in their minutes, where it is recorded

That this Grand Lodge do agree with its Committee that the Grand Lodge has nothing to do with the proceedings of the Society of Royal Arch Masons²⁰.

It was only after 1817 that the new Supreme Grand Chapter required that a private Chapter should be attached to a Lodge and that it should carry the same number. At the end of the Certificate, though it was issued and headed with the name of the Lodge, the officers who signed it were those of a Chapter. This would seem to indicate that the Royal Arch was being worked within the Lodge as a separate body, much as a Board of Installed Masters would be today.

Unofficially the Premier Grand Lodge and the Grand and Royal Chapter may have been closer than the entries in the official records indicate. Many Grand Lodge officers also held high office in the Grand and Royal Chapter. The painting of the pupils of the Masonic School for Girls of about 1795²¹, for example, clearly depicts three Royal Arch Principals in the centre. They are in a position of honour, with their robes and distinctive head dresses (that were worn at this period)²² out of place with the plainer clothes of the crowd. The First Principal is in the centre of the three, with a red robe edged with fur and wears a red crown. The other two have blue robes also edged with fur: the 'Prophet' with a black hat and the 'Priest' with a white turban of a style traditionally believed to have been worn by the High Priest at Jerusalem. The inclusion of these three in so prominent a position can only be taken as a silent acceptance of the Royal Arch by the rulers of the Premier Grand Lodge when it was painted in 1802.

The Lodge of Harmony was warranted on 1 July 1799, less than two months after the 'Antient' Grand Lodge had called a halt to all public expressions of Freemasonry²³, because of uncertainty of the impending effects of the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799²⁴, but the Premier Grand Lodge did not react in this way until the November²⁵. There is a possibility that the founding Brethren switched loyalty to secure a Warrant, any Warrant, before the Act came into force. The position in 1799 became somewhat confused and it was only after the Act had come into force (with its exemption for freemasons' Lodges that were already meeting) that the future status and continuance of the Craft became clear. This practice of the Antient Grand Lodge after the Act came into effect, was to continue to reissue old Warrants, so that the letter of the law was followed (in that the exemption could be said to be applied to Lodges already in existence). The successor Lodge could, therefore, be said to have existed before the Act came into force. This confusion in the summer of 1799 may be part of the answer to the later problems with this Lodge's working of the Royal Arch, as the Premier Grand Lodge may not have been the first choice of the founders. Sadly the records which survive do not shed any light on this matter.

The Early Royal Arch

The early history of the Royal Arch itself is lost in the period before 1740²⁶. When the Antient Grand Lodge was formed in 1751 the Royal Arch was considered as a part of ancient Freemasonry and worked within Lodges until (and after) the Union in 1813. The Premier Grand Lodge publicly distanced itself from what it considered to be an innovation and because of this division separate Chapters were organised by some 'Moderns, who formed themselves into the Grand and Royal Arch Chapter by the Charter of Compact of 1766. After the Union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813 there was a period of uncertainty as to the future of the two ruling bodies of the Royal Arch, which was not resolved until 1817²⁷. Thereafter it was some years before all Chapters came under the control of the new Supreme Grand Chapter, nor did the working fall into its current form until some time later²⁸.

Great care must be taken when considering how this Certificate fits in with other developments in the Royal Arch. It is all too easy to take the pre-Union era as a single period in the development of the Royal Arch. There are earlier records of the Royal Arch being worked in Lancashire within a 'Modern' Lodge, but this reflects a much earlier

period in the history of the Order²⁹ and cannot be fairly compared to this Lodge half a century later. There can be considered several phases and there were several Grand bodies involved. These phases could very crudely be considered as, firstly the early working, secondly the post-1766 attempt at a London organisation, next a period of stagnation in the Grand and Royal Chapter from about 1797 (though this did not affect the Antients, who appeared to become more organised from about 1792³⁰) followed by a time of re-establishment from about 1807. The dates of this Lodge and the Arch working fall into the stagnation phase, so that events in the periods before and after this may not always be reasonably compared with other Lodges. It seems likely that even if some of the members of this new Lodge had applied for a separate Charter to work the Royal Arch as a separate body, the Grand and Royal Chapter at that time was in no position to grant their request. There is also a danger that the Sussex coast, so accessible today, could wrongly be considered as part of a united England. It was a remote part of a rural backwater being dragged into the 19th century by the presence of a large garrison force. Georgian Hastings was not a 'London by the sea' inhabited solely by Englishmen, but almost a colonial fortress garrisoned by many Irish and Scottish soldiers who brought with them their own brand of Freemasonry, and may even have innocently caused their rituals to be worked in this local Lodge. It would therefore be quite wrong to try and force comparisons with other parts of the country ten or more years either side of our dates³¹.

It may also be useful to be aware of some of the personalities associated with the Royal Arch in Sussex at this time. James Galloway was one of the signatures of the Charter of Compact and went on to hold high office in the Grand and Royal Chapter³². He was the Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Sussex from 1788 to 1796 and it seems unlikely that so prominent a Royal Arch Mason would have failed to inspire others in the Province with his involvement with the Royal Arch. Thomas Dunckerley (1724–1795) was the Provincial Grand Superintendent of the Royal Arch in the county from 1785 to 1797 and again was active in encouraging the development of the rite, though few records remain of his involvement with Sussex. Another Deputy Provincial Grand Master in the Craft in the Sussex (1816 to 1829) was the Rev. Samuel Tuffnell, who also acted as the Provincial Second Grand Principal at the consecration of the Lennox Chapter in 1811³³. He had a friendly exchange of correspondence with William Finch in 1809 and 1810 on the matter of the Royal Arch rituals and other Orders³⁴. It would seem from this correspondence that Finch was well thought of by him and may have visited the Mount Moriah Chapter at Chichester to demonstrate his ritual working. These letters also indicate that the working of the Royal Arch in this county was of variable contents and possibly low standards. That such a senior member of the craft in Sussex at this time was searching for a proper method of working the Royal Arch, shows the confusion that may have existed at this time when there was no Provincial Royal Arch structure.

There is also a possibility that this was a 'Traditioners' Lodge, that is a Lodge that gave allegiance to the Premier Grand Lodge, but maintained what it considered to be the ancient forms of Freemasonry. This was a theory put forward by Lepper and was a topic of much controversy 50 years ago³⁵. As this Lodge was only founded in 1799 this would seem unlikely, but should not be totally discounted. It must be remembered that this was a Lodge attached to the Middlesex Militia and so may have carried on a tradition brought with it from its home county, militias at that time being more territorial than most regiments in their catchment areas for both officers and recruits. Another possibility which fits the dates of this Lodge, is that the authority of the Grand and Royal Arch Chapter was very weak at this time and that this was simply a remote part of England to which the writ of London did not run very often. The Grand Chapter had practically ceased to meet between 1797 and 1800, but regained a more stable establishment between 1807 and 1811³⁶. This lack of centralised control may have led to this working of the Royal Arch within a Lodge with allegiance to the Premier Grand Lodge and may also explain a curious minute of the Grand Chapter when it tried to

re-assert itself in 1801. The entry complains about a lack of support and ‘... *the defection of so many chapters from their obedience to its authority...*’ which would seem to reflect the state of affairs found in this Lodge³⁷.

There is also some negative secondary evidence which may be drawn from the working arrangements of the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799³⁸. While none of the Annual Returns which were required to be made by all Lodges in accordance with this Act are known to have survived from the Lodge of Harmony, it is reasonable to take the overall picture found elsewhere and then to apply this to the Lodge at Hastings. No Chapter is recorded as having made a Return under the 1799 Act in Sussex³⁹. The implication which must clearly be drawn is that the Royal Arch was not at that time considered as a separate body in the eyes of the law. The Act had very harsh penalties, as was clearly demonstrated in 1834, when six Dorset labourers were transported for seven years for taking an oath on joining an Agricultural Union⁴⁰. The Royal Arch could only be considered outside the Act if it was covered by the exemption obtained for freemasons’ Lodges. Security of the Royal Arch was therefore only assured if it was simply an inner working of the Lodge, rather than a truly independent body. This situation is clearly shown in the Certificate issued by this Lodge.

Indications of an Old Style of Wording

While the Certificate makes no direct reference to the ritual used, it alludes to several additional points which are no longer part of the Royal Arch system as currently worked in this country. Firstly there is the statement that Brother Philips was a Past Master and it must be supposed that as a relatively new member of the Craft (and apparently a new arrival in the town) that this is not a reference to his having served as a Master of a Lodge for 12 months. There was a requirement in the Royal Arch until 1834 that it was a ‘Degree’ for Past Masters only⁴¹. With so few Lodges and many Sussex Masters ruling for many years at a time⁴², there were few true Past Masters in the sense that we understand the use of the word now. There are many references to this problem being dealt with (much as it is in parts of America today) by the simple expedient of a short ritual of being entrusted and proclaimed, taking the chair for a few moments before returning the Lodge to its rightful Master, though this practice was frowned upon⁴³. This enabled a candidate to become a ‘Virtual Past Master’ and thus able to give the first pass word, that of an Installed Master. There is much evidence of this practice in Sussex. The Derwent Lodge at Hastings (one of the last Antient Lodges formed) carried out such a ceremony for eight Brethren on 16 December 1813, of whom four were not members of the Lodge, including three who were visiting Irish Masons⁴⁴. This practice continued in use in Hastings as late as 1843⁴⁵. This mode of making Past Masters in the Royal Arch also caused some confusion within other Lodges. The Lodge of Harmony and Friendship at Meresfield in May 1818 asked of the Grand Secretary:

When you say any Past Master can install you, that any person who has passed the chair as the preparatory degree to becoming RA, or one who had actually presided for the required period over a lodge?

and continues ‘...*there are four RA Masons, and consequently as many PMs*’⁴⁶.

There are two other titles given in the Certificate, those of ‘*the supreme degrees of the Excellent and Super Excellent*’. These are associated with the old preparatory Grades of the Royal Arch and possibly the ceremony of ‘Passing the Veils’. In some cases the Veils were viewed as an integral part of the ceremony of Exaltation⁴⁷. This has been lost today from the normal English Royal Arch rituals, but is still worked in Bristol, Scotland, Ireland and almost all of America⁴⁸. The Royal Arch in England was at one time not an isolated system far removed from the tradition of King Solomon, but linked by an historical series of what are now often referred to as ‘the additional Degrees’⁴⁹. They take the ritual story through the completion of the Temple at Jerusalem, the hiding and

loss of the secrets, to the journey back from the Captivity and the ultimate conclusion in the rediscovery of the Royal Arch. These are today spread throughout the Mark, the Royal and Select Masters and parts of the Order of the Allied Masonic Degrees⁵⁰, as well as other parts not worked under the English system at all.

The division of the ceremony into the two parts of Excellent and Super Excellent are likely to be two parts of a single ritual, rather as the ritual of the 'Mark Man' and 'Mark Master' currently form two parts of the single Mark ritual as currently worked in England⁵¹. The original Arch Masons were most probably senior masons, 'Arch' being from the Greek 'arkos' meaning head (hence *arch*bishops etc.) while the building term comes from the Latin 'Arc' meaning a curve (hence *archers* because of their bows) and it seems likely that this double meaning was taken as the basis on which some of the extended ritual evolved⁵². This would seem to have been subsequently developed to create a Royal Arch sequence, from completion of the Temple by the excellent mason, through the hiding of the secrets to their loss and rediscovery in a vaulted chamber. Hence, the Certificate in making reference to some of these preliminary Grades, is reflecting an old style of Royal Arch working. The indications from some American rituals⁵³, which can claim less adulteration than the modern English Royal Arch system, which was only set down in 1834/35, show that the 'Excellent' part of the ritual may have incorporated the first two Veils together with an Obligation and that the 'Super Excellent' refers to the passing of the third Veil. The ritual story of the Veils covers the period from the Babylonian court of Cyrus to the arrival of the Sojourners at Jerusalem. This fills in an apparent gap in the ritual story that exists in our modern edited rite.

Almost nothing of the Ceremony of the Veils remains in the main stream English Royal Arch today, but an echo of it can be found in the titles of the three Principals, who are known collectively as 'their Excellencies' while the First Principal is the 'Most Excellent'. These titles may be derived from a translation of one of the pass words now used at the installation of a third Principal, which was formally the password of the first Veil⁵⁴. It should also be noted that the colours of the robes worn by the three Principals are also in the same order and are of the same colour as those of the last three Veils, which are derived from those of the Tabernacle itself⁵⁵.

Contemporary Sussex Freemasonry

The minute books of the Derwent Lodge no. 40 (the 'Antient' Lodge which also met in Hastings) survives from soon after this period. The entry for 17 December 1817 contains details of the 'Articles of Union' on which the two Hastings Lodges had agreed to merge. The third article states:

*That the Bro. Companions of the Lodge of Harmony be fully entitled to participate in the privilege of the Charter of Constitution for holding a Chapter of the Holy Royal Arch attached to the Derwent Lodge*⁵⁶.

This reflects a very strange reversal of events⁵⁷. The members of the 'Modern' Lodge were holding meetings of the Royal Arch within the Craft Lodge, while the 'Antient' Lodge appears to have had a Royal Arch Chapter attached to it⁵⁸, which received a Warrant of Confirmation issued by the Supreme Grand Chapter in July 1818⁵⁹. In correspondence with the Grand Lodge in 1825, a request was made for Certificates to be issued to some of these Companions of the older Lodge of the Premier Grand Lodge. The reply emphasises the irregular state of affairs which must have existed, for the reply states that:

*... they may have been exalted by members of the Craft Lodge... Those Brethren cannot therefore be recognised as legally exalted Companions...*⁶⁰.

This old Chapter continues today as the Chapter of Emulation no. 40 that now meets at Saint Leonards, a westerly suburb of Hastings⁶¹.

The working of the Royal Arch in Lodges under the Premier Grand Lodge may have been more widespread than was previously thought, especially in Sussex as this Certificate would seem to indicate. The Howard Lodge No. 56 at Arundel was reportedly working the Royal Arch in the 1820s, long after the separate Mount Moriah Chapter had fallen into abeyance⁶². The accuracy of some of this Lodge's records and procedures are somewhat questionable. (The Lodge ceased meeting in 1838, but still made Annual Returns to the Justices of the Peace under the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799 for both 1841 and 1843⁶³.) This would seem to be a continuation of affairs that date back to 1809. In August of that year Brother Tuffnell (later to become the Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Sussex) invited Brother William Finch to '...assist our lodge in opening the Chapter...'⁶⁴. Other correspondence also refers to the working of the Degrees of Past Master, Excellent and Super Excellent, as well as a Red Cross Degree, which from a passing comment in a letter must refer to what would now be considered the Red Cross of Babylon. This is an intermediate Degree before the Royal Arch⁶⁵, currently worked by Councils of the Allied Masonic Degrees. The whole impression is that this is another Sussex Lodge working the Royal Arch within a Lodge.

There was, as mentioned above, the Mount Moriah Chapter which met at Arundel in Sussex, dating from about 1810, where it was founded without authority⁶⁶ and is thought to have originally been a separate body from that of the local Lodge, though the Lodge worked the Royal Arch for many years. The minutes of the Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love show that in December 1823 they worked the fourth Degree (Past Master of Arts and Sciences), the fifth Degree (the Excellent Degree) and the Degree of Super Excellent which may be the equivalent of the Veils⁶⁷. This late working of the Royal Arch within a Lodge may have been as a result of the confusion which fell on the Craft and Royal Arch in the years between the Union of the Grand Lodges and the belated consolidation of the Grand Arch authorities in 1817. Article II of the Act of Union in 1813 clearly says that:

...but this article is not intended to prevent any Lodge or Chapter from holding a meeting in any of the degrees of the orders of Chivalry, according to the constitutions of the said orders'⁶⁸

and on that basis some lodges may have worked the extended Royal Arch system within their Lodges for a time after 1813.

The following items, while not directly linked to this Certificate, are included as they are relevant to local working practice of the additional Degrees and Orders at this period in Sussex. A military Lodge attached to the Regiment of the 6th Dragoons that met in Lewes in 1807, has documents signed by the secretary with 'a Seal of Solomon', surrounded with letters similar to those now used in the Mark, with a T over a H in the centre⁶⁹. The secretary of the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship, at Maresfield in mid Sussex when writing to the Grand Secretary 1820 placed after his signature the 'T over H' symbol as well as the letters 'KT' and 'KM'⁷⁰. This Lodge also records that it was working the Royal Arch in 1818 and had exalted two Brethren. The Certificate does not refer to 'the Degrees of Knighthood', but there are several contemporary references to these having been worked in Sussex at this time⁷¹.

Conclusion

This unusual Certificate may indicate that the Royal Arch was more widely practised within private Lodges than is generally thought and gives some indication of an extended form of working. It is also possible that it was the intention to form a separate Chapter, but that the Lodge was simply making Royal Arch Masons as a preparatory stage to this. This was often found with regard to the craft in old Sussex Lodges, where meetings were held ahead of the consecration to make freemasons⁷². The events concerning this Chapter cover an interesting period in the development of Freemasonry

and the Royal Arch in late-Georgian England at a time of great changes. While the Certificate itself poses as many questions as it answers, it also points towards other interpretations of events with regard to the pre-Union Royal Arch. The unusual meld of factors in Sussex at this time seems to have led to the irregular working of the Royal Arch as indicated by this Certificate, but this may not have been unusual and was clearly accepted by other freemasons locally.

That this is an unusual document there is no question.

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Notes

¹ Hastings Museum: MSS no. Soc 8 B.

² Dermott, L: *Ahiman Rezon*, (1764 edition), frontispiece.

³ Pick F.L. & Knight, G.N.: *Pocket History of Freemasonry*, rev. edn., F. Smyth (1991), p.208.

⁴ Castells, F. de P.: *Antiquity of the Holy Royal Arch* (1927), p.52 refers.

⁵ Jones, B.E.: *Freemason's Guide and Compendium* (1950), p.527.

⁶ Red Cross of Babylon, Grand Council of Allied Masonic Degrees, Ritual No.3, which is considered to be part of the Royal Arch sequence.

⁷ UGLE Library: ref. no. SN 1365 includes the Annual Returns for 1801 and 1808.

⁸ Minutes of the Antients' Royal Arch, reproduced in *QCA*, vol. XI, p 129.

⁹ Ough, A. R.: 'The Origins and Development of Royal Arch Masonry', *AQC*, vol. 108 (1995), p.192.

¹⁰ Hamill, J. M.: 'English Royal Arch MS Rituals, c. 1780-c.1830', *AQC*, vol. 95 (1982), p 37.

¹¹ Arscott, D.: *Explore Sussex* (1986), p.100 gives a brief summary of the town's history.

¹² Ann Hudson: 'Napoleonic Barracks in Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 124 (1986), pp. 267f.

¹³ Smyth, F.: 'The Master-Mason At Arms' [Prestonian Lecture for 1990], *AQC* vol. 104 (1991), pp. 222-236. On p. 224 he says 'It is extremely difficult to draw up a convenient and readable roll of the several hundred army Lodges which were constituted by the English, Irish and Scottish Grand Lodges', but goes on to do so in an appendix!

¹⁴ Dixon, H. R.: *History of Freemasonry in Sussex* (1974), p.22.

¹⁵ Lane, J.: *Masonic Records, 1717-1894* (rev. edn., 1895), p 234.

¹⁶ Waugh, M.: *Smuggling in Kent and Sussex 1700-1840* (1985), pp. 89ff.

¹⁷ Hastings Museum: MS no. Soc 8 A. This is Brother Phillips's Grand Lodge Certificate, issued by the 'Antient' Grand Lodge.

¹⁸ Hamill, J.M.: op. cit., p.38.

¹⁹ Eight titles were used by this body, but this short title has been used throughout this paper for both ease and consistency. Outline details of these can be found in A. R. Hewitt: 'The Supreme Grand Chapter of England' an Address given at an Especial Convocation on 1 July 1966, p.15.

²⁰ Minutes of the Premier Grand Lodge, 1792 referred to in Hamill, J.M.: *The Craft - A History of English Freemasonry* (1994), p.112 (original documents not seen by present writer).

²¹ 'The pupils of the Masonic Girl's School being presented to the Grand Master c. 1795', painted in 1802 by Thomas Stothard RA, in the possession of the Rickmansworth Masonic Girl's School. Details taken from Campbell, M: *The Royal Masonic Institute for Girls Year Book* (1954), a paper on the Chevalier Bartholomew Ruspini, p.188.

²² Beesley, E.B.: *Antiquities of East Lancashire Craft Lodges and R. A. Chapters* (1919), p. 32 and photograph p.73. Examples of the Principals' hats survive from the Chapter of Melchiesidec, Lancashire, which remain the property of the Lodge of Antiquity No.146.

²³ Minutes of 'Antient' Grand Lodge, 6 May 1799 taken from Gould, R.F.: *History and Antiquities of Freemasonry* (1882 edn.), vol. 2, p.452.

²⁴ Statute 39 Geo. III, Cap. 79 passed on 12 July 1799.

²⁵ Premier Grand Lodge Minutes, 20 November 1799, referred to by Gould: op. cit, p. 487.

²⁶ Hughan, W. J.: *Royal Arch Masonry 1743 to 1893*, p 7.

²⁷ Hewitt, A.R.: 'The Supreme Grand Chapter of England', *AQC* vol. 78 (1965), p. 28.

²⁸ Carr, H.: 'More Light on the Royal Arch', *AQC* vol. 76 (1963), p. 216, referring to the Chapter of Promulgation as agreed by the Grand Chapter on 25 November 1834.

²⁹ Clarke, J. R.: 'The Royal Arch Rituals', *AQC* vol. 79 (1966), p. 194, referring to the Lodge of Anchor and Hope.

³⁰ Dashwood J.R. (ed.): *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha, Vol. IX. Early Records of the Grand Lodge of England*, p. 129.

³¹ Comparisons with Lancastrian working of the Royal Arch 40 years before, as discussed by Rogers, N.: 'The Two Oldest Warranted Chapters', *AQC* vol. 71 (1958) which may be taken as a case in point.

³² Hewitt, A.R.: op. cit., p. 129.

- ³³ Francis, T.: *History of the Province of Sussex* (1883), p.109.
- ³⁴ Rickard, F. M.: 'William Finch', *AQC* vol. 55 (1942), pp. 163–283.
- ³⁵ Lepper, H.: 'The Traditioners', *AQC* vol. 56 (1943), pp.138–204.
- ³⁶ Hewitt, A.R.: 'The Supreme Grand Chapter of England', *AQC* Vol. 78 (1965), pp 120–122.
- ³⁷ Minutes of Grand and Royal Arch Chapter, 15 May 1801.
- ³⁸ Statute 39, Geo. III, Cap. 79.
- ³⁹ East Sussex Record Office (ESRO): ref. No. QDS / 1 / EW 1.
- ⁴⁰ Palmer, A.W.: *Dictionary of Modern History, 1789 to 1945*, p. 328.
- ⁴¹ Ough, A.R.: 'The Origin and Development of Royal Arch Masonry ñ A Short History of the Evolution of the Organisation, Government and the Ritual of the Holy Royal Arch [Batham Lecture for 1991], *AQC* vol. 108 (1995), p. 192.
- ⁴² Hawkins, R.: *The South Saxon Lodge No. 311* (1996), p. 3 gives a local example of Brother William Lee, who served as the Master of the Lodge at Lewes for 24 years (1796–1820). Original Minute Book (volume one) is held by the Lodge.
- ⁴³ Gould, R.F.: op. cit., p.445 refers to minutes of the 'Antient' Grand Lodge of 4 December 1771, (originals not seen by present writer).
- ⁴⁴ Carpenter, A.: *Landmarks in the Records of the Derwent Lodge No. 40* (1913), p.9 refers to original Minute Book (not seen by present writer).
- ⁴⁵ Op. cit., p. 22 minutes of 11 December 1843, refers to original Minute Book (not seen by present writer)
- ⁴⁶ Minute Book of the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship, in possession of the South Saxon Lodge No. 311 at Lewes.
- ⁴⁷ Mendoza, H.: 'The Masonic Qualification for the Royal Arch', *AQC* vol. 96 (1983), p.49.
- ⁴⁸ Buckley, M. N.: 'American Masonry', an unpublished paper to be give to the Disciplina Lodge No. 8889 in Sussex, May 1998.
- ⁴⁹ Hewitt, A.R.: *Grand Lodge, 1717–1967* (1967), Appendix E, p. 285. 'They contain frequent references from 1766 onwards to the fact that the 'different sections' were given, or the 'usual sections' were gone through'.
- ⁵⁰ Ritual No. 1, Royal and Select Master of England (1995), Preface, pp. 5–30.
- ⁵¹ Carlile, R.: *Manual of Freemasonry*, (1845), pp.190–199 clearly shows two rituals, one for the Mark Man, the other for the Mark Master. The current Mark Ritual No. 1, runs these two into one ceremony, though there are differences from the Carlile version.
- ⁵² Ward, E.: *AQC*, vol. 88 (1975), p. 21.
- ⁵³ Webb, T.S.: *The Freemasons Monitor* (1797).
- ⁵⁴ Richard Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*, p. 117.
- ⁵⁵ Exodus, 26. 31.
- ⁵⁶ Carpenter, A.: op. cit., p. 14.
- ⁵⁷ Hamill, J.M.: op. cit., p.113, gives general details.
- ⁵⁸ Francis, T.: op. cit., p.110.
- ⁵⁹ Original seen at a meeting of the Chapter, 4 November 1997, where it is exhibited in a gilt frame.
- ⁶⁰ UGLE Library: Letter Book E, fol. 99: SN 1365, dated 5 July 1825.
- ⁶¹ *Sussex Year Book and Directory* (1996–7), p. 219.
- ⁶² Francis, T.: *A History of the Howard lodge of Brotherly Love* (1883), p. 22. Refers to the minutes of the Lodge, 8 December 1823, when the 'fourth' and 'fifth' Degrees were opened and worked.
- ⁶³ ESRO: Ref. no. QDS / 1 / EW 2.
- ⁶⁴ Rickard, F.M.: *AQC*, vol. 55 (1942), William Finch, p. 191, letter of 13th August 1809.
- ⁶⁵ Rickard, F. M.: op. cit., p. 192, letter of 1 February 1810 in which reference is made to the '...part of Cyrus in the R.C....'.
- ⁶⁶ Francis, T.: op. cit., p. 122.
- ⁶⁷ Mendoza, H.: op. cit., p. 49.
- ⁶⁸ Articles of Union, 27 December 1813.
- ⁶⁹ Grantham, W. I.: 'Freemasonry in Lewes (Prior to the Union)', *AQC* vol. 43 (1930), p. 32.
- ⁷⁰ Certificate issued by the Lodge of Harmony and Friendship in 1820.
- ⁷¹ Francis, T.: op. cit., p 8 referring to Love and Harmony Lodge No. 71.
- ⁷² The Minute Books of the following old Sussex Lodges show that they were all working and making masons by Dispensation ahead of their formal consecrations:
Lodge of Harmony and Friendship No 452 (Maresfield) erased 1841,
The Royal Sussex Lodge No. 467 (Worthing) erased 1838,
The Lodge of Friendship No 632 (Chichester) erased 1828 and
The South Saxon Lodge No 311 (Lewes).