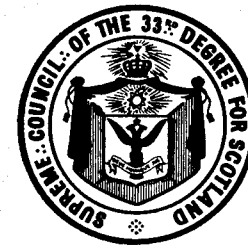


THE SCOTTISH RITE FOR SCOTLAND

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Grand Secretary General for Scotland



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WE sanction the printing and issue on behalf of the Supreme Council for Scotland of the Thirty-third and Last Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry of *The Scottish Rite For Scotland* by R. S. Lindsay 33°, an Honorary Member of our Supreme Council and, lately, its Grand Secretary General.

The above sanction is given to stimulate further research into the antecedents and development of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. It does not imply any official adoption by our Supreme Council of views expressed in the book. These remain the personal views of its author.

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

WHEN I joined the Scottish Constitution of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, I believed from its title, as doubtless others have done, that I was joining a Rite which emerged geographically in Scotland. Wishing to know more about it, I soon found, as again others similarly situated must have done, that nothing concerning the Rite has ever been published in Scotland. Being forced, therefore, to read wherever I could find it anything published outside Scotland, I soon found not only that the advent of the Rite to Scotland has never been discussed in detail but that the documents concerning the Rite are few and scattered in comparison, for example, with Craft Masonry, and that where they do exist no two authors seem to agree either concerning them or as to the background into which they fit. It was further obvious that the conclusions of authors depended entirely on what views they took concerning the early days of Speculative Craft Masonry in France, the date and place where the French Rite of Perfection was extended into the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, and the authorship and true date of the Grand Constitutions of the latter Rite.

What I have written concerning the Rite is the result of my own reading over a period of twenty-five years, and though I write primarily for the adherents of the Scottish Constitution of the Rite I ask neither them nor any other member of the Rite to accept my views but, by study for themselves, to form their own and not to be content with accepting my views or those of anyone else who has written about the Rite.

Had I been claiming to write a "history" of the Rite I should have documented each statement. On the contrary, as the evidence for a "history" does not yet exist, I present only the results of my own reading as a supplement to the studies by members of the Scottish Constitution of the Rite and others of what has already been published outside Scotland concerning the Rite, and in the hope that I may have offered for their consideration some new possibilities on the points already mentioned, which have caused others who have already

written on the Rite to differ in their views. In doing this I have purposely not documented my information culled from previous writers where such information is universally accepted; but, where I put forward my own views on points of difference from previous writers, I have given the sources on which I base my views or my reasons for differing.

R. S. LINDSAY 33°

16 QUEEN STREET, EDINBURGH

22nd March 1957

"THE SCOTTISH RITE" FOR SCOTLAND

There were two different forms of Craft Masonry in the earliest days of Speculative Masonry in France, and the object of this book is to show how the development of one of them led to a Supreme Council being set up in Scotland in 1846 for the control there of what is familiarly known to Freemasons as "The Scottish Rite", or, to give it the full title by which it is known in Scotland, "The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite"¹ of 33 Degrees. Having said no more than this, the immediate and natural question is

I. WHY IS THE RITE CALLED "SCOTTISH"?

The obvious assumptions would be either that its Degrees originated geographically in Scotland or that the system first appeared there; but both would be wrong.

Take the Degrees first, and it will be found that the proper three basic Degrees in the Rite are the 3 Craft Degrees of Apprenti, Compagnon and Maître borrowed from the original Speculative Craft Masonry of France. As a matter of fact, they are never worked in the Rite in order to avoid any intrusion on the recognised jurisdiction of the Grand Lodges of Craft Masonry. Instead, the Rite only accepts as Candidates for its remaining Degrees those who have received the 3 Deistic Craft Degrees under a Grand Lodge of Craft Masonry. Politically this may be necessary, but the result is most unfortunate for the Rite and its Candidates—for the Rite, because the Deistic Craft Degrees provide no basis from which the remaining

¹ Its original title was "The Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite", and so it still remains in the U.S.A. In England and Wales it is known as "The Ancient and Accepted Rite" to obviate any erroneous belief that its geographical birthplace was Scotland.

Degrees of the Rite logically develop; and for the Candidate, because the early Degrees of the Rite amplify the Traditional History of its proper Christian French Master Mason Degree, which is very different from the Traditional History in the Deistic Master Mason Degree received under his Grand Lodge of Craft Masonry. As for the remaining 30 Degrees of the Rite, so far as he has gone in them, everyone with any knowledge of the Degrees worked in Scotland from time to time will realise from his own experience that none of them are native to Scotland, and for the Degrees of the Rite beyond his knowledge, he must take it on trust, until he gets them, that of them also none began in Scotland.

Next, take the Rite as a system. As will later be seen, it first entered Scotland under a Grand Council of Rites set up in 1845,¹ or one year before the erection of the Supreme Council now controlling the system in Scotland. Before that it had emerged in the U.S.A. in 1801, and had spread thence to the French West Indies, the British West Indies, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Ireland, Brazil, Colombia, Portugal, and, if the date of the erection of the present Supreme Council for Scotland is taken as the criterion, England and Wales.

Having disposed of Scotland as the geographical birth-place of the Degrees of the Rite, or of the Rite as a system, how does the Rite come to be called "Scottish"? The answer is that 25 of its Degrees were borrowed from a much older and French type of "High Degree" Masonry, which only emerged in France about the middle of the 18th century and which, when it did emerge, required an antiquity to substantiate its claims, which the Speculative Masonry of France, dating only from some fifteen years earlier, could not itself provide. Therefore it was claimed that these "High Degrees" had come to France from Scotland, wherefore they were familiarly referred to as

¹ See Section XIII, pp. 74-79.

"Eccossais", i.e. Scottish. The remaining 8 Degrees of the Rite were imported into the Rite in the Western Hemisphere and were taken from various sources all familiar there, and, as those who devised the Rite considered them suitable to appear side by side in the Rite along with the 25 French "Eccossais" Degrees without disturbing the general nature of the Rite, the whole Rite was labelled "Scottish", i.e. Eccossais, to denote the type of its Masonry.

Clearly it will be necessary to discuss the nature of French Eccossais Masonry and the factors in French Masonry and otherwise that led to its emergence in France, but these must be postponed until something has been said of the beginnings of Speculative Masonry in France, its Lodges and the first of the French Grand Lodges. Unfortunately all these are largely a matter of what construction each person chooses to put on the isolated French and foreign sources which refer to the early days of French Speculative Masonry, because, on account of her turbulent political history and the internecine feuds between her rival Masonic systems, France has no extant Masonic Minutes or other official Masonic records anything like contemporary with the beginnings of her Speculative Masonry.

II. THE BEGINNINGS AND DIVERSITY OF FRENCH SPECULATIVE CRAFT MASONRY

There is no reason to suppose that there were not casual Meetings of Freemasons in France before the appearance of the first Lodge in France to hold regular Meetings in France. That honour is claimed by the Lodge Amitié et Fraternité, still working as No. 313 under the Grand Lodge of France, on the strength of an alleged erection at Dunkirk in 1721 under Charter from the Grand Lodge of England; but the claim is not substantiated by anything in the records of the Grand Lodge of England, and must therefore be rejected. "Le Sceau Rompu", a

French Exposure first published in 1744, gives 1727 as the date of the first Lodge in France. Though the astronomer de Lalande wrote as late as 1773 and was therefore merely repeating the tradition of his day and not events of which he had any personal knowledge, he gives 1728 as the date in an article in the *Encyclopédie d'Yverdon*. According to de Lalande, several Lodges appeared in Paris about that year, and he says that the earliest of them, dating from 1728, was mainly erected through the exertions of some British Jacobites resident there and that amongst these were a Lord Derwentwater,¹ "le Chevalier Maskelyne"² and "le sieur d'Héguetty".³ Of these, the second named acted until December 1736 by general consensus of the Paris Lodges as the first Grand Master in France; but the first named, by whom he was succeeded in December 1736, was the first Grand Master of France by formal vote of the Paris Lodges.

When the picture of French Craft Masonry becomes clearer towards the middle of the 18th century, two things are certain: (*First*) That France had two vastly different types of Craft Ritual (the one was Deistic and merely a French version of the Ritual of the 3 Craft Degrees as

¹ Charles Radcliffe, brother of the Roman Catholic James, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, executed for his share in the Rising of 1715. Charles, also captured then, escaped to France, where, on the death of his young nephew John in 1732, he assumed the forfeited title of Earl of Derwentwater, having been previously known as Count Derwentwater. Possibly about 1738, Charles returned to England, was captured during the Rising of 1745 and executed.

² James Hector Maclean, 5th Baronet of Duart, born Calais 1703, succeeded his father in March 1716 and in 1716 was created by James III and VIII a Lord and Peer of Parliament under the title of Lord Maclean. On his father's death he returned to Scotland and was brought up by his relative Maclean of Coll prior to studying in Edinburgh. In 1721 he left Edinburgh to finish his education in Paris, and, except for a visit to his Scottish relations in 1725, continued either in Paris or Boulogne until 1745. In 1745 he and his servant, captured at Edinburgh in French uniform, were imprisoned in the Tower of London but released in 1747 under the Act of Indemnity. He then returned to France, and his death, unmarried, is said to have taken place either at Rome in 1750 or at Paris 1751. He was of great physical strength, honesty and generosity. He was fluent in English, Gaelic, Erse, Italian and French, and was said to have been well versed in Latin, Divinity, Civil Law, Mathematics, History and Politics.

³ An Irishman, Heggarty Esquire, of whom nothing is known.

developed under the Grand Lodge of England erected in 1717, the other was Christian and completely unlike the former both in setting and in Ritual content¹); and (*Second*) That side by side in France two very different types of Lodge existed. The one, which merely for convenience is hereafter referred to as "Anglican", practised but the 3 Craft Degrees on the lines which had been developed for these under the Grand Lodge of England. This type of Lodge accepted members of any faith which recognised a Supreme Personal Being. The other type, which for convenience is hereafter referred to as the "Gallic" Lodge, had 3 Craft Degrees and, above them, "High Degrees" of number and nature according to the tastes of the particular Lodge. The members of the "Gallic" type of Lodge were Roman Catholics.² Accordingly the Deistic type of French Craft Ritual was that of the "Anglican" Lodge in France, and the Christian type of Craft ritual that of the "Gallic" Lodge in France.

From one or more of the following it is generally assumed that the type of Masonry developed under the English Grand Lodge of 1717 was the original Masonry of France, because:

1. French Rituals, even those of "Gallic" Lodges, assign the origin of their Craft Masonry to England.
2. The Grand Lodge of France for its first Constitutions adopted those of the Grand Lodge of England.
3. For approximately the first twenty years of its

¹ The set of French Rituals (M302 dated 1764) mentioned in note 1, p. 16, contains "The English Recognition" designed presumably for members of French Lodges of this type to enable them to work their way into English Lodges and French Lodges of the other type when these were working in their Craft Degrees.

² In 1755 the leading "Gallic" Lodge in Paris (St John of Jerusalem) published a set of model Statutes for adoption by other "Gallic" Lodges which cared to do so. For the full text of these see *The Freemason* for June and July 1855, Vol. XVIII, pp. 319, 332, 345. One of these Statutes enjoined attendance at Mass by the Lodge after its annual election on St John's Day in summer. Another enacted that on the next day the new Master should hold a Service for the repose of the souls of the departed Brethren of the Lodge.

existence the Grand Lodge of France was known as "La Grande Loge Anglaise de France".

4. The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England refer to its chartering of Lodges in France.

What is, however, forgotten is, in general, the early history of the Grand Lodge of England,¹ and, in particular, that when French Rituals claim an English origin for the Craft Masonry of France they could easily be referring to the pre-Grand Lodge Christian "Accepted Masonry" of England which did not begin to disappear there until about 1750; that the Grand Lodge of France altered its pattern Constitutions, borrowed from the Grand Lodge of England, to suit its own circumstance; that, as will be shown later, the use of the word "Anglaise" in the title of the Grand Lodge of France is easily capable of a construction implying no tie with or subordination to any Grand Lodge in England; that the first reference in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England to its chartering of a Lodge in France is in 1732, four years or so after the traditional emergence of Craft Masonry in Paris; and, finally, that as late as 1735 Dr Desaguliers was in Paris trying to popularise there the system of the Grand Lodge of England by using the Lodge Room of the Lodge chartered in Paris by the Grand Lodge of England in 1732 for a special working² of its system on picked Candidates, both French and English.

If it seems from the above that the original Lodges at Paris in 1727 or 1728 were much more likely to have been "Gallic" Lodges than "Anglican" Lodges, whence did

¹ It was erected in 1717 merely as a control centre for Lodges in London, and its transformation into a national Grand Lodge was a matter of gradual extension and development. In 1725 (i.e. within three years of the traditional emergence of Craft Masonry in Paris) it was only acknowledged by 43 Lodges, of which 34 were in London and the remaining 9 in Bath, Bristol, Norwich, Chichester, Carmarthen, Gosport, Congleton and Chester (2).

² For the advertisement of this meeting in the *St James's Evening Post* of 20th September 1735 see Gould's *History of Freemasonry* (in 6 parts), Vol. III, Chap. XXV, p. 138.

they get their Christian Craft Ritual? As already mentioned, it was so unlike any of the Deistic Craft Rituals now in force, both in setting and in Ritual content, that it raises the question as to whether this original Craft Masonry of France might not have been indigenous to France. Against this view Bro. R. F. Gould was emphatic that all European Masonry, if traced far enough back, would be found to have had a British source. If he is right, and that British source was the Christian "Accepted" Masonry of England prior to 1717, about which little or nothing is now known, that form of Craft Masonry, whether or not it underwent change in France after its arrival there and before the first Paris Lodges to hold regular meetings appeared in 1727 or 1728, could easily have been imported into France by the many Jacobites trafficking with France after 1688 or by means of Marlborough's troops during their campaigns on the continent of Europe between 1702 and 1711.

III. THE GRAND LODGE OF FRANCE 1735-1768 AND THE EARLY GRAND MASTERS OF FRANCE

All the information concerning the start of a Grand Lodge of Craft Masonry in France which was available to Bro. R. F. Gould when he wrote his *History of Freemasonry* towards the end of the 19th century consisted of:

1. Two statements in Dr Anderson's *Constitutions* (2nd Ed. 1738) to the effect that the "Anglican" Lodges in France had thrown off the patronage of the Grand Master of England (p. 195) and that France had now a Grand Master of her own and also Constitutions which closely resembled those of the Grand Lodge of England (p. 196).
2. A statement in the *Frankfurter Gründliche Nachricht* for 1738 that nothing was heard of Masonry in France prior to 1736.

3. A statement in *Der Sich Selbst* (Frankfort and Leipzig 1744) that the "Earl of Derwentwater" was elected in 1736 Grand Master in succession to Sir James Hector Maclean, "who had served some years previously".
4. A mystifying passage in the tradition recorded by the astronomer de Lalande in 1773 that "Lord Derwentwater was looked upon as Grand Master of the Masons; he afterwards went to England and was beheaded. My Lord Harnouester¹ was elected in 1736 . . .; he is the first regularly elected Grand Master".

Unable to reconcile these various statements, Bro. Gould abandoned the attempt and assumed there was a Grand Lodge of France in 1738, when it is definitely known that the Duc d'Antin was elected Grand Master for life of all Freemasonry in France (i.e. of "Gallic" and "Anglican" Craft Lodges and of such "High Degrees" as then existed in France). The situation, however, can be said to have been clarified by a MS. of date "about 1736", which belonged to the Collection of the Count Bernadotte in Belgium and was Lot 27 in an auction sale at Amsterdam held on 23rd to 25th January 1956 by International Antiquariat (Menno Herzberger). The Catalogue description of this Lot shows that a copy of Anderson's *Constitutions* (1st Ed. 1723) with changes made thereon "by the present Grand Master J. H. Maclean Knight Baronet of Scotland" was given "with the consent of the Grand Lodge to the Grand Assembly held (in Paris) on

¹ Always assumed (and correctly assumed as it turns out) to refer to "Derwentwater", Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett in his Paper on Harnouester (*A.Q.C.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 63) suggests as alternatives: (1) That Harnouester is a rendering of Darwentwater, as the title was pronounced in the 18th century; (2) That when corresponding with the Hanoverian Grand Lodge of England the Jacobite "Derwentwater" may have adopted the nom-de-plume of "Honister" (on the Derwentwater Estates between Borrowdale and the south end of Buttermere) or of Hanister (which, he says, is used in Oxfordshire and means "Free of the Craft"). The present writer suggests that "Harnouester" is a rendering of the English words "Grand Master".

27th Xber 1735"; and that these altered Constitutions were approved and confirmed by "Lord Derwentwater, Grand Master, 27th Xber 1736", and "countersigned by Abbé Morel, Grand Secretary". Reading this along with (2), (3) and (4) earlier given, it seems that some time after the appearance of the first Lodges at Paris in 1727 or 1728, Sir James Hector Maclean was tacitly recognised as the leading Freemason in Paris and that he had an advisory Committee representing the Paris Lodges; that, with the idea of setting up a regular Grand Lodge of France at Paris, he, with the approval of his advisory Committee, called a General Assembly of all the Paris Lodges on 27th December 1735 at which he delivered a copy of Anderson's *Constitutions* as altered by himself, and that he continued to act as unelected Chairman at subsequent meetings of this General Assembly until 27th December 1736; and that he resigned when on 27th December 1736 this General Assembly became the Grand Lodge of France and elected as its first Grand Master "Lord Derwentwater" with the Abbé Morel as its first Grand Secretary. If there is included its originator, the Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge of France down to its extinction in 1771 were:

- ? -1736 Sir James Hector Maclean, 5th Baronet of Duart, who is unlikely to have been initiated in Scotland, as except in 1725 he never again visited it from the time he left it at the age of 18 in 1721. On the other hand, he could have been initiated in the first of the Paris Lodges of 1727 or 1728 which he was instrumental in starting. If so, he was initiated in a "Gallic" Lodge.

1736-1738 Charles Radcliffe, "Earl of Derwentwater", who, it will be remembered, was a Roman Catholic and also instrumental in founding the first of the Paris Lodges in 1727 or 1728,

which was a "Gallic" Lodge. He also could have been initiated in it.

1738-1744 The Duc d'Antin (also Grand Master for life of all Freemasonry in France), who is said to have been initiated in 1737 in the "Anglican" Lodge at Aubigny.

1744-1771 Louis de Bourbon, Comte de Clermont and Prince of the Blood Royal (Grand Master for life of all Freemasonry in France), who, as a Roman Catholic and enthusiastic adherent of "High Degrees", was almost certainly initiated in a "Gallic" Lodge, though the Lodge is unknown.

As for the contention that the word "Anglaise" in the title of the Grand Lodge of France pointed to its origin as a body for the government only of the "Anglican" Lodges at Paris, or that the "Anglican" Lodges dominated it down to 1756 when the "High Degrees" ousted them and removed the word "Anglaise", nothing seems further from the truth than these suggestions. It is known for a fact from the model Statutes of 1755¹ issued by the "Gallic" Lodge St John of Jerusalem at Paris that the "Gallic" Lodges sat side by side with the "Anglican" Lodges in the Grand Lodge of France before 1755, because in these Statutes the "Gallic" Lodges are told that the furnishings of their Craft Degrees and the situation of their office-bearers is to be the same as they are already well acquainted with in the Grand Lodge of France, and, looking at the originator of the Grand Lodge of France and his successor, there is no reason to suppose that the Grand Lodge of France was not a joint production of "Gallic" and "Anglican" Lodges in which they both sat from the start. Under these circumstances the word "Anglaise" in the title of the Grand Lodge of

¹ See note 2 on p. 5.

France should probably be regarded as meaning only that, like its English counterpart, the Grand Lodge of France was concerned with nothing beyond the 3 Degrees of Craft Masonry. That, in fact, is what alone it did concern itself with, and never throughout its career did it make any claim to govern the "High Degrees", though it did at times seek to prevent holders of "High Degrees" seeking special privileges at meetings of Lodges, "Gallic" or "Anglican", during workings of the 3 Craft Degrees. What caused the word "Anglaise" to be dropped from the title of the Grand Lodge of France in 1756 was, more likely than anything else, national sentiment on the part both of its "Gallic" and "Anglican" Lodges.

Before leaving the Grand Lodge of France, the following points in connection with it should be borne in mind:

1. It was erected only by Lodges at Paris.
2. Its members consisted only of Masters of Lodges, "Anglican" and "Gallic", at Paris, and no Provincial Lodge had any direct representation in it before its extinction in 1768.
3. "Gallic" and "Anglican" Lodges at Paris sat side by side in it, almost certainly from its start.
4. It never claimed jurisdiction beyond the 3 Craft Degrees of "Gallic" and "Anglican" Lodges.
5. Its denial of direct representation to Provincial Lodges accounts for the large number of independent Mother Lodges in the French Provinces, chartering Daughter Lodges at home and overseas, and regulating for them as long as the Mother Lodge was able by its prestige to command their obedience.
6. The Grand Lodge at Paris had no powers by which it could enforce its wishes in the Provinces, and these wishes were regarded by Provincial Lodges only so far and so long as it suited them.

7. After a short time the majority of the Lodges represented in the Grand Lodge were, it seems, "Gallic" Lodges and their representatives with impunity turned the meetings of the Grand Lodge into a bear garden by their faction fights with each other's "High Degree" system and the constant attempt of each to get the Craft Grand Lodge of France subordinated to his own favoured "High Degree" system. By 1768 these faction fights had become so violent that the Grand Lodge of France was closed by order of Louis XV, and from then until the death of the Comte de Clermont in 1771 such control as there was over the Lodges in the Grand Lodge of France was privately exercised by him and his official Deputy de Joinville.

IV. FACTORS PRODUCTIVE OF ECOSAIS MASONRY IN FRANCE

The invasion of France by the "Anglican" system started in 1732 with one of the original "Gallic" Lodges going over to the "Anglican" system, and it must have been obvious to the "Gallic" Lodges that counter-measures would have to be taken speedily if they did not want to see a foreign system dominating French Masonry, backed by an organised foreign Grand Lodge able to turn its attention overseas when as yet France had no Grand Lodge of her own. The first and principal factor productive of Ecossais Masonry appears, therefore, to have been political. If the "Gallic" Lodges were to check the invading system, they had not only to concentrate on what were likely to be the weak points of the "Anglican" system in French eyes, but to see that their own system supplied the deficiency. The points in the "Anglican" system likely to be unwelcome in French ideas were that the system was that of France's hereditary foe; that it was comparatively

new; that it had committed itself to a Masonry of but 3 Degrees and so could not hold out any hope that the niceties of the finely graded French Society of the day could be catered for under the "Anglican" system; that the settings and Ritual of these 3 Degrees lacked the colour, glamour and chivalric appeal latent in the French nature; and, finally, that the French sense of logic would not be content with mere Substituted Secrets as the end and be-all of any Masonic System. From the point of view, therefore, of the "Gallic" Lodges, the obvious counter-measures to the "Anglican" invasion were:

1. To set up a Grand Lodge in France, which seems to have been done in 1736.
2. To superimpose on their own Craft Degrees additional Degrees of a colourful and chivalric nature, with attractive and imposing titles and decorations bestowed in each, and sufficiently numerous to preserve where necessary the relative distinctions expected by Society.
3. To ensure that in the course of these additional Degrees there should be restored to the Candidate joining a "Gallic" Lodge that which the "Anglican" system professed to have lost.
4. To furnish the additional Degrees with an ancestry which would not only eclipse the "Anglican" system in antiquity but stretch so far back into the distant past as to give the impression that they might well embody the true Masonry of King Solomon's Temple builders in its pristine purity.

Obviously the Speculative Masonry of France, if it started about 1728, could only be the last and shortest link in this chain; but France's ally Scotland could be used to good purpose. She had Masonic institutions and records going back into the mists of

time. Moreover, in Scotland there was a strange little place called Kilwinning which, for no apparent reason, had a Lodge clearly recognised in Scotland as having some peculiar sanctity judging by the number of Speculative Lodges in Scotland, including among them the more "speculative" of the Scottish Lodges, which had either sought Charters from Kilwinning or had borrowed its name. Further, this Kilwinning Lodge had lost its ancient records and was in no strong position to deny anything which might be "fathered" on to it, as would be the ancient Lodge of Edinburgh which had its records back to 1599. Accordingly the additional Degrees of the "Gallic" Lodges were, when they emerged, declared to be "Ecossais", and their arrival in France to have followed these lines:

- (a) Palestine by way of Rome to Scotland following the destruction of Herod's Temple by the Romans in A.D. 60.
- (b) Preservation in Scotland until their merits were revealed by the valour of these Scottish Masons during the Crusades.
- (c) Dissemination of this true Masonry by the returning Crusades through Europe.
- (d) The subsequent extinction of this Masonry throughout Europe except in Scotland, where its chief seat became Kilwinning.
- (e) Its importation again into France by the Scottish Jacobites sheltering there.

Nowadays such a genesis would not stand scrutiny for a moment; but it must be remembered that Masonic research was still a thing of the distant future when the Ecossais Degrees appeared in France, and that any

suggestion linking Speculative Masonry with King Solomon's Temple was capable of ready acceptance. It should further be said that whereas Masonic research is now of many years standing it has disclosed no evidence whatsoever pointing either to the Ecossais Degrees having been devised by the Jacobites as an instrument for their political ends or to Scotland having been the cradle or asylum at any time of these Degrees. On the other hand, it is well within the bounds of probability that Scottish Jacobites, resident in France and members of "Gallic" Lodges, did have a hand in devising the Ecossais Degrees, and also that they welcomed their adoption by their Lodges on account of the way in which these Degrees extolled their native land and the principles of loyalty to King and Country which had resulted in their exile from it.

Another factor which aided the development of the Ecossais Degrees was a religious one. In 1738 Pope Clement XII pronounced the first Papal Bull ("In Eminent") against Freemasonry on the grounds that it admitted persons of no matter what religion and sect. Before, however, the powers of the civil arm and of the Church could be employed against Freemasonry in any district, the Bull had first to be promulgated by the head of the Roman Catholic Church in that district. Clearly from the grounds of objections to Masonry stated in the Bull the "Anglican" Lodges in France, which admitted persons of no matter what religion and sect, stood in greater danger than the "Gallic" Lodges, in which the membership was Christian, and Roman Catholic at that. Therefore the Bull was a deterrent to any Roman Catholic in future joining an "Anglican" Lodge in France. It is also possible that the existence of the Bull may have shaped the form in which appeared the French Rose Croix Degree and ensured for it that place of eminence which it held in the Masonry of France.

V. ECOSAIS MASONRY: ITS EMERGENCE AND NATURE

The present author is unaware of the existence of any Ritual in French bearing a definite date prior to 1764¹ which contains Ecossais Degrees, meaning thereby the additional Degree adopted by "Gallic" Lodges to counter the invasion of the "Anglican" system, and further Degrees above these later added to the original Ecossais Degrees because they were the natural sequels of the earlier ones, or because they were tagged on by mere whim of a "Gallic" Lodge which was practising an Ecossais system. Nevertheless, because the Ecossais idea was first publicised by an oration delivered at Paris in 1737 by a Scotsman, Michael Andrew Ramsay (see succeeding Section VI), and because Ecossais Degrees in considerable numbers are first found in the systems of "Gallic" Lodges from about 1740, the publicist of the idea is often credited with the manufacture of the Ecossais Degrees that emerged after his Oration. The facts, however, are:

1. That there are many more Ecossais Degrees than ever entered the system of any "Gallic" Lodge.
2. That though the larger "Gallic" systems seem to have adopted, more or less, the same early Ecossais Degrees and departed from each other only in the higher ranges of the Ecossais Degrees, there were also short Ecossais systems all over France bearing the name of the particular locality in which they were favoured, e.g. Ecossisme de Montpellier, &c.
3. That though the initial adoption by "Gallic" Lodges of Ecossais Degrees began about 1740, the process went on until about 1760 or so.

Although on these grounds it seems that the original Ecossais Degrees were probably the work of a central body in Paris and to some extent possibly ready for issue

¹ M302 in the 1906 Ed. Library Catalogue of the Grand Lodge of Scotland's "Morison Collection".

before the Ecossais idea was publicised by Ramsay's Oration in 1737, the subsequent ones adopted between 1740 and 1760 were probably the work of various persons or bodies in different parts of France, because the length of that period and the number of Degrees adopted into "Gallic" systems during it discount the possibility that only one person or central body was concerned.

Associated with the Christian Craft Masonry, which existed in England¹ before the erection of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717 and continued in many parts of England until after the middle of the 18th century, there were "High Degrees". Little is known about them except that they were Christian; that they included a ceremony known as "The Passing of the Bridge"; and that they were of the "Guild" type in which the Candidate was received as a Fellow or Master into an inner circle of Fellows or Masters without attaining any higher level in Masonry than that which he had when he started. There is no reason why these early English Christian "High Degrees" should not have been known to those in France who devised the Ecossais Degrees which began to appear there in 1737 or shortly before; but until more is known concerning the Ritual and subject-matter of the early English "High Degrees" it is not possible to say whether anything was borrowed from them by the French Ecossais Degrees. Certainly no one should be misled into finding any similarity between the two on account of the word

¹ Though a Christian setting for Craft Masonry also existed in Scotland before the erection of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736, no trace has yet been found there of "High Degrees" similar to those in England associated with it. As "High Degrees" were always imported into Scotland and the chief importers of them during the second half of the 18th century, the Military Lodges, were not in existence before 1736, these "High Degrees", if they did exist in Scotland, would probably have been worked (a) in some centre such as Edinburgh, which had frequent contacts with England; (b) by a Lodge there which had no operative influences; (c) and in which the members were of a type likely to be frequently in England. The two Lodges in Edinburgh meeting all these conditions were Canongate Kilwinning (now No. 2) and Kilwinning Scots Arms (struck off the Roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1752). Unfortunately in both these cases the Minutes for the appropriate period are missing.

"Harodim" associated with the early English "High Degrees" and the word "Heredom" associated with the French Ecossais Degrees. The word "Harodim, meaning "The Rulers", attaches to Craft Masonry and therefore, appropriately, to the English "High Degrees" connected with early English Craft Masonry. The word "Heredom", signifying the Mystical Mount of Attainment, is, on the other hand, appropriately found in the Ecossais Degrees in which the Candidate ascends both in perfection and in Masonic rank.

Attempts have been made to trace a uniform pattern running through all Ecossais Degrees by which it might be possible to classify all Degrees with such a pattern as Ecossais, such, for example, as the mention of Sword and Trowel in conjunction or the discovery of a Word in a vault or cavern. Unfortunately any such method breaks down because there are far too many extant Ecossais Rituals in widely separated parts of the world for any exhaustive examination of them by one man in his lifetime. Moreover, it is certain that many Degrees, for no other than reason that they appeared as make-weights in a system, such as the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite that claimed over-all to be Ecossais, were thereby labelled as Ecossais. If, however, a system is examined as a whole, a fair idea may be formed from certain pointers as to whether it is or is not an Ecossais system. These pointers are:

- (a) The appearance in the system of a claim to be superior to any other type of Masonry by reason of having preserved Masonry in its pristine purity and thereby to be able to communicate the original Master Mason Word.
- (b) Combined with (a) or alone, a Traditional History claiming a genesis on the lines set out in the foregoing Section IV.¹

¹ See p. 14.

- (c) Combined with (a) and (b), or either of them, or alone, the inculcation of a measure of Science coupled with the strictest attention to the observance and practice of the Masonic Virtues (in particular, of Constancy, Fervour and Zeal) and the application of the whole in the service of King, Country and Religion.

VI. RAMSAY'S ORATION OF 1737 PUBLICISING THE ECOSSAIS IDEA

The relevant portions of this oration, delivered before an assemblage of Masons in Paris on 21st March 1737, will be found in the Appendix. The giver of it was Michael Andrew Ramsay, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, initiated into Freemasonry, on his own statements,¹ sometime before 1730,² and at some period before his death in 1743 Grand Chancellor of the Grand Lodge of France.

Son of a baker in Ayr, and born in 1680 or 1681, Ramsay was educated locally and afterwards at Edinburgh University. Leaving the latter in 1709, he tutored the children of the Earl of Wemyss for a month or two prior to joining Marlborough's forces in Flanders. Assailed in 1710 by religious doubts, he left the army and settled in France, residing with Fénélon, Archbishop of Cambrai, by whom he was received into the Roman Catholic Church. In 1724, following the death of Fénélon, he moved to Paris, where he divided his time between the editing of his life of Fénélon and acting as tutor to the young Duc de Château-Thierry. At Paris he received his

¹ To his friend Von Geusau, tutor to the Prince of Reuss.

² Bro. D. Murray Lyon states he was not initiated at Kilwinning. Bro. R. F. Gould considered he might have been initiated in England when there between 1727 and 1730; but found nothing. As he became a Roman Catholic shortly after 1710 and from then until 1727 was in France, he may have been initiated there at a casual meeting of Masons of the "Gallic" type.

Order of St Lazarus from his friend the Regent Orleans, who was Grand Master of the Order. Towards the end of 1724 Ramsay went to Rome and for the next two years acted as tutor to Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his younger brother Prince Henry, later Cardinal York. While in Rome, he told his friend Von Geusau he had received a private offer to become tutor to the Duke of Cumberland, which he declined on the very honest grounds that he was a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Shortly after his return to Paris, Ramsay left for England in 1727 to stay, it is said, with the family of the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich. Whilst in England he joined the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding in March 1729; was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in December 1729; and in April 1730 received the honorary Degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. Thereafter returning to Paris, he married there an English woman of means and became tutor to the Prince de Turenne, son of the Duc de Bouillon—but, at his own request, without salary, so that he could resign whenever he wished. In addition to his *Life of Fénelon*, he wrote *The Travels of Cyrus* and *The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion* (published posthumously). He died at St Germain-en-Laye in 1743. It is generally agreed that he was a good scholar, sensitive, introspective, kindly, honest, above all intrigue, and, if he had any vanity, that it was confined to his membership of the Order of St Lazarus.

Broadly, the Oration falls into two sections, the second of which occupies the great portion and, being novel, seems to have led posterity into assumptions hardly justified when the Oration is considered in detail. The first and smaller section of the Oration, appealing for the co-operation of Masons in France in the production of an Encyclopaedia of the Arts on a world-wide basis and already projected in England, pointed out that Masonry

was the one international tie remaining since the dissolution of the brotherhood that combined the nations of Europe in the Crusades. Developing easily from this came the second but greater section of the Oration outlining on chivalric lines how Masonry might have been imported throughout Europe as the result of the Crusades—in fact, the general idea of Ecossais Masonry. Attracted by this original statement of its idea and its consistency with the contents of the Ecossais Degrees, which shortly afterwards emerged in France, posterity has hailed Ramsay as the conscious or unconscious inventor of Ecossais Masonry and the personal originator of a so-called Ecossais Rite de Bouillon, which, unfortunately for the latter claim, never existed. As to being the inventor of Ecossais Masonry, there is extant a letter by Ramsay to Cardinal Fleury, the Foreign Minister of France, written when the Oration was being censored for delivery and commending Masonry in France as worthy of encouragement by the Minister. The suggestion did not appeal to the Minister with perhaps the natural effect on one so sensitive and conscious of authority as Ramsay. He delivered his projected Oration and immediately afterwards withdrew into obscurity so far as Masonry was concerned, and his name nowhere appears in or is connected with any of the Ecossais Degrees which he is supposed to have invented. Surely, had he done so, his name would have been perpetuated in them notwithstanding his personal disappearance from Masonry. Far more likely is the suggestion of Bro. R. F. Gould, who said, "I do not believe this speech first suggested additional Degrees, but I think it probable that it aided intending inventors in their previously conceived designs."¹ What better choice could there have been than Ramsay to "put over" such a preconceived design if that design consisted of additional Degrees of a Christian and chivalric nature, extolling Science and virtue applied to

¹ *History of Freemasonry* (in 6 Parts), Vol. III, Chap. XXIV, p. 91.

the service of King, Country and Religion, and supposedly emanating from Kilwinning in Scotland? Ramsay indeed exemplified the whole of them in his own person. Take the Oration itself. In various places it makes reference to the grounds earlier mentioned on which "Gallic" Masonry would have to combat the invasion of "Anglican" Masonry, and no one has ever suggested that Ramsay was their inventor or that the policy underlying them was not in train before 1737. In the opening words of his speech (not quoted in the Appendix), Ramsay said, "The noble ardour which you, gentlemen, evince to enter into the most noble and very Illustrious Order of Freemasons is a certain proof that you already possess all the qualities necessary. . . .' From this it is clear that the Oration was specifically addressed to distinguished Candidates on the point of becoming Masons, and it is inconceivable to suppose that Ramsay could have sprung on such an audience a new and sudden idea of his own concerning the Masonry they were joining. Later in his speech he refers to the patron of "Our Order" being St John the Baptist. That saint was the patron of Christian "Gallic" Masonry, whilst St John the Evangelist (originally the Patron of Operative Masonry in Britain, and later of its Deistic Masonry) was the Patron of "Anglican" Masonry. Finally, it will be noticed in the concluding passages of Ramsay's Oration that, when he refers to "Anglican" Masonry as having merely "the letter and shell" of Masonry, he does not say the remedy would be the re-passing of the Royal Art from Britain into France, but that this remedy, now beginning (i.e. of Ecossais Masonry), should make France the centre of Masonry. Surely he was referring to something already commenced and known to his audience, which he was only publicising, and not to something of his own invention, which was as yet beyond their ken.

VII. RITE OF PERFECTION IN FRANCE

The first Lodge at Bordeaux was L'Anglaise erected in 1732 and chartered in 1766 by the Grand Lodge of England. Throughout its career its Masonry was "Anglican". In 1740 an offshoot from L'Anglaise started another Lodge at Bordeaux named La Française. Its Masonry also was "Anglican", but only until 1760 when it absorbed its own Daughter Lodge (next mentioned) and thereafter practised the latter's "Gallic" Masonry and "High Degrees". In 1743 Etienne (or Stephen) Morin of San Domingo, who figures so largely in the next section (VIII) in connection with the development of the Rite of Perfection in the Western Hemisphere, and others originally initiated in La Française hived off and started a new Lodge, La Parfaite Harmonie. The Instructional Catechism of the 20th Degree of the Rite of Perfection, which later became the 20th Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, ascribes the start of La Parfaite Harmonie mainly to an unknown Scotsman of noble birth who had resided for many years at Bordeaux, and to a Frenchman "expert in all the Degrees of Freemasonry", who was almost certainly this Etienne Morin, holder of the Chair of La Parfaite Harmonie in 1744. La Parfaite Harmonie from its start was a "Gallic" Lodge with Ecossais "High Degrees" and, as such, one of the earliest Lodges in France to adopt Ecossais Degrees. Its original Ecossais system developed in time into an Ecossais system of 25 Degrees (including 3 Craft Degrees), which became known throughout the world as "The Rite of Perfection". Accordingly the cradle of that Rite was Bordeaux and its Mother Lodge La Parfaite Harmonie. Whilst it is not possible to say how many of the Degrees of the Rite were incorporated into it at Bordeaux, and how many elsewhere in France, before they were adopted for the Rite by its Bordeaux section, this can be said of the outline

of the Rite and its growth above its initial Craft Degrees:

1. That the first portion of the Rite was completed before 1751 and was later known as its "Ancient Masonry" because it dealt with King Solomon's Temple down to its destruction.
2. That, including the 3 Craft Degrees, this first portion consisted of 14 Symbolical Degrees given in Lodge and that they included a 13th ("Royal Arch of Enoch") in which the Candidate recovered what, in the 14th ("Sublime Elect Ecossais Knight"), he was told was the original lost Master Mason Word.
3. That the second or final portion of the Rite, later known as its "Masonry Renewed", consisted of the remaining 11 Degrees of the Rite that dealt with the Second Temple of Zerubbabel, the Third or mystical Temple of Christ, an alleged original dissemination of Masonry throughout Europe by the Christian leaders returned from the Crusades, and the necessity of a new Crusade in the service of God undertaken with the same unity that had existed amongst the original Crusaders until finally lost when the Knights Templar were suppressed in the 14th century.
4. That this second or final portion began in 1751, when there was added to the Rite a 15th Degree ("Knight of the East, or of the Sword"), which had originated in Paris a year or two earlier and which dealt with the Second Temple, and that it was completed by 1762, when other Degrees of the Rite in this portion included such Degrees as its 18th ("Rose Croix"), its 24th (Originally "Knight Kadosh", later known in the Rite as "Knight of the Black and White Eagle") and its 25th and last ("Prince of the Royal Secret").

5. That in the second or final portion of the Rite the Degrees were conferred in several bodies named "Chapters" or "Councils", to which were allotted one or more Degrees and which, in some cases, supervised as well the "Chapter" or "Council" below.
6. That the eventual Constitutions of the Rite, drawn up in 1762, contemplated no person or authority above a local Council of Princes of the Royal Secret, which, in its own district, controlled not only its own Degree but also generally all the Degrees of the second or final portion or the Rite and the various Chapters or other Councils which supervised and worked them.

Of the Bordeaux section of the Rite little is known except that it exported the Rite (when it had probably no more than the 14 Degrees comprising its "Lodge" series) to the French West Indies in 1748 and appointed local Inspectors there responsible to Bordeaux; that its position as the cradle of the Rite was recognised when in 1762, as will be mentioned later, the Constitutions of the Rite were drawn up there; and that it then had a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret which shows that the Rite had then achieved its full complement of Degrees there and that this Council then spoke there for all the subordinate Degrees (including the "Lodge" series of Degrees) and all subordinate Chapters or Councils of the Rite in the district. After 1762, however, nothing more is heard of the Bordeaux sections of the Rite, and everything concerning the Rite in France emanates from Paris. The direct cause of this seems to be attributable to a clause in the Constitutions of 1762 by which it was agreed that there should be set up a Sovereign Grand Council of the 25th Degree with a Grand Secretary General and two subordinate Secretaries (one for Paris and Bordeaux,

and the other for the Provinces and Overseas). As this Sovereign Grand Council was, in fact, already in existence at Paris, let us pass over to Paris to trace the beginnings of the Rite there, the gradual assumption of the headship of the Rite by Paris, and its subsequent history there.

About 1748 the Lodge of St John of Jerusalem¹ at Paris was practising as its system the then 14 existing "Lodge" Degrees of the Rite of Perfection. Also about then there appeared in Paris a separate Chapter for the working of an entirely new Degree called "Knight of the East, or of the Sword", which, in 1751, became associated with the Rite of Perfection as its 15th Degree. Whilst things were in this stage at Paris, so far as the Rite of Perfection was concerned, there was opened on 24th November 1754 by the Chevalier de Bonville² an exclusive "High Degree" Chapter of Clermont³ in a fine building in the Parisian suburb of Nouvelle France. Including the 3 Craft Degrees, it worked in all 7, of which one was Ecossais and at least one was Templar or had a theme concerning the Templars.⁴ Subsequent systems which soon afterwards appeared at Paris proved more popular, and the Chapter of Clermont with its system was displaced there. The first of these rival systems emerged at Paris in 1756 and was that of a body familiarly referred to as "The Knights", though their full title was "Knights of the East, Princes and Sovereigns of Masonry". Their membership was much less exclusive than that of

¹ This was the Lodge which in 1755 issued the model set of Statutes for use by any Lodges practising Ecossais "Lodge" Degrees elsewhere which cared to adopt them (see note 2 on p. 5). An examination of these will show clearly that Bro. R. F. Gould was in error when in his *History of Freemasonry* (in 6 parts), Vol. III, Chap. XXV, p. 144, he stated that St John of Jerusalem was an alternative name for the Craft Grand Lodge of France.

² Also named Comte de Benouville.

³ Called after the then reigning Grand Master for life of all French Freemasonry Louis de Bourbon Comte de Clermont.

⁴ In 1758 the "Clermont" system was imported into Berlin by French prisoners-of-war. Thence it spread throughout north Germany until swept away there by the advent of the Templar Rite of the Strict Observance.

the Chapter of Clermont, but they claimed that "as the Ecossais Masters are the Grand Superiors of the Masonic Order [i.e. superior to Craft Masons] so are the Knights of the East the hereditary Princes of the complete Order". From this it is clear that they practised 3 Craft Degrees and a selection of Ecossais Degrees above the first Ecossais Master Degree of "Secret Master". Beyond that, little can be said except (a) that their system had at least 10 Degrees (including the Craft Degrees)—or at least 3 more than the Chapter of Clermont; (b) that their system differed from that of the Chapter of Clermont in having no Templar Degrees or Degrees based on a Templar¹ theme; (c) that in each locality their system was controlled by a "College" bearing the name of its President; and (d) that the chief of these Colleges at Paris was named the College of Valois and that in 1762 this College assumed the Title of "Sovereign Council of the Knights of the East". In 1758, only two years after the advent of the "Knights", a rival to their system appeared at Paris before which the "Knights" eventually disappeared about 1768, but only after a long and bitter struggle between the two systems, carried even into the Grand Lodge of France by the representatives there of Craft Lodges favouring one or other of the rival systems until the scenes caused by them there forced Louis XV to close the Grand Lodge of France in 1768 for three years. It has been suggested that the new system which appeared in 1758 was the recrudescence in a new guise of the Chapter of Clermont because the latter had been obliterated by the "Knights" and was seeking revenge; because the membership both of the Clermont Chapter and of the new system of 1758 was more aristocratic than the membership of the "Knights"; and because the Chapter and the new system had no objection to Degrees

¹ The word "Templar" in this connection is used by Bro. R. F. Gould in his *History of Freemasonry*, but the possibility of the word "Crusader" being more correct should be kept in mind.

of a Templar (or Crusader) nature or theme, whereas the "Knights" had. That idea does not commend itself to the writer. The Chapter of Clermont, according to De Lalande writing in 1773, was still working at Paris in 1760, and it is difficult to conceive that when the "Knights" appeared in 1756, only two years after the opening of the Chapter of Clermont, any of its members would have foreseen an ultimate ruin by the "Knights" of the Clermont system, which two years later spread through Germany, or any necessity within two years of the appearance of the "Knights" to abandon their own Clermont system, invent a new one and with it take the field under a new title against the "Knights". On the contrary, when it is found that after 1758 there is no further mention of the Chapter at Paris which worked the Degree of "Knight of the East, or of the Sword" and that the new system which appeared at Paris in that year included it as its 15th in a Rite of Perfection of 25 Degrees, it seems simpler and more likely to suppose that the advent of the new system at Paris was due only to the fact that the Rite of Perfection in 25 Degrees was then ready to enter the lists at Paris. Further, there seems to have been some connecting link between the full title of the "Knights" and the full title of their rivals, familiarly called "The Emperors", which was "Emperors of the East and West Sovereign Princes of Masonry". In the first place, the title of the latter seems to claim a superiority over the Knights of the East resting on some difference between their respective systems. Proceeding further on that assumption and remembering that the "Knights" claimed to be heads of Ecossais Masonry but rejected all Degrees with a Templar (Crusader?) nature or theme, it will be noticed that the title of the "Emperors" includes the words "East and West", and it was the 17th Degree (Knight of the East and West) of their system, the full Rite of Perfection, which first introduces its Crusader and

Templar theme Degrees. But to revert again to the history of the Rite of Perfection at Paris after it appeared there with its full complement of 25 Degrees under the "Emperors"—by 1761 the Rite in Paris was no longer governed by a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret. Instead there was at the head of it in Paris, a combined body bearing the title of "The Grand Lodge and Sovereign Council of the Sublime Princes of Masonry", the "Grand Lodge" portion being the Lodge St John of Jerusalem at Paris, now made responsible for the Lodge Degrees of the Rite above the Craft Degrees (i.e. the 4th to 14th Degrees inclusive), and the "Sovereign Council" portion for the remaining Degrees from the 15th to 25th both inclusive. It was this body which in 1761 granted to Étienne Morin, as will be narrated in the next section (VIII), a Patent with powers he could never have got from the Bordeaux section of the Rite and which was of such importance in the development of the Rite in the Western Hemisphere. Again in 1762, it was this body which took the initial step in appointing nine Commissioners representing the Paris section of the Rite to meet at Bordeaux nine Commissioners representing the older section of the Rite there and to draw up Constitutions in that year for the Rite, which became its basis wherever it existed over the globe. Incidentally, these Constitutions of 1762 are of the greatest importance still in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, because, when the latter (an extension by 8 Degrees of the Rite of Perfection) emerged, its own Grand Constitutions bearing date 1786 declared that, in so far as not contrary, the Constitutions of 1762 for the Rite of Perfection were to be valid also for the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. In 1766, before the closure of the Grand Lodge of France, "The Grand Lodge and Sovereign Council" of the Rite of Perfection at Paris, under a new title of "The Sovereign Council and Mother Lodge of the Grand Globe of France",

made an offer of fusion to the Grand Lodge of France which was turned down. Whether this governing body of the Rite of Perfection at Paris had also to close when the Grand Lodge of France was closed by Louis XV in 1768 is not known. In 1771 the death of the Comte de Clermont was regarded at Paris as an opportunity of reviving the Grand Lodge of France, or, perhaps more accurately, of exploring the possibility of starting in France a successor to the Grand Lodge, which should control not only the Craft Degrees but also the "Capital Degrees". To this end the Masters of the Paris Lodges met in 1771 and sent out circulars to the Provincial Lodges which resulted in the formation of a National Grand Lodge, in which, for the first time, the Provincial Lodges had direct representation. Meanwhile the "Grand Globe" of the "Emperors" had also been meeting, and on 26th July 1772 it renewed to the National Grand Lodge the offer of fusion which had been turned down by the Grand Lodge of France in 1766. On 9th August 1772 the offer was accepted and it was agreed to combine under the title of "The Sovereign and Very Worshipful Grand Lodge of France". It was therefore, as much as anything, the line taken at this juncture by the majority of the "Emperors"¹ which was responsible for bringing into being in 1773 the Grand Orient of France as the new governing body intended for both Craft and "High" Degrees, and backed by some 250 Lodges. After still longer negotiations it was decided in 1787 that the control of the "High Degrees" should be entrusted to a Metropolitan Chapter within the Grand Orient, and, further, that the "High Degrees" themselves should be restricted to four in number, terminating with the Degree of Rose Croix and forming a system to be known as the "Rite Moderne" or "Rite Française". Such

¹ So stated on p. 10 of the 1781 Paris Ed. of *Ecossois de St André d'Ecosse*, posthumously printed after the death of its author, the Baron Tschoudy, who had been the most prominent of the "Knights" in their rivalry with the "Emperors".

was the original intention, but in an age favouring long "High Degree" systems the Grand Orient soon found itself faced with the alternative either of assuming their control when it was offered, and so gathering them into its net, or of abiding by its original intention of reducing all "High Degree" systems to the Degrees of the Rite Moderne and, by so doing, failing to secure control of some systems. Not all Lodges, however, threw in their lot with the Grand Orient. Some 73 Lodges set up an opposition body to which they gave the name of the old "Grand Lodge of France". It was joined by the minority of the "Emperors", who intended to work their Degrees in conjunction with it, but in a very short time they resumed their complete independence. Of these minority "Emperors" nothing is heard after 1780, except that their habit of peddling their Rituals caused profound disgust in all quarters; but it is probable that they carried on in ever-declining circumstances until finally swept away in the French Revolution. Although the Revolution had also forced the Grand Orient to close down from 1793 to 1795 and the new Grand Lodge of France from 1791 to 1796, it was the Grand Orient, though a shadow of its former self, that alone weathered the storm, because the Grand Lodge of France was absorbed by it in 1799. Three years after the revival of Masonry in France in 1801 the Rite of Perfection was re-imported from the Western Hemisphere by Germain Hacquet, former Notary in San Domingo, and in the same year, 1804, the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite also appeared from the Western Hemisphere. The latter immediately absorbed Hacquet and his adherents of the Rite of Perfection, as, having 25 similar Degrees, it could easily do. Confronted by an independent Supreme Council for France claiming to govern a new Rite of 33 Degrees and by much discontent amongst its own "High Degree" supporters, who had been refused permission to wear their distinctive decorations at general meetings of

the Grand Orient, the latter began to take notice of the situation caused by the arrival of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. When no compromise satisfactory to both parties could be found, active rivalry commenced. Though the Rite of Perfection was finally at an end in 1805, when Hacquet and his supporters were absorbed into the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, the Grand Orient claimed for itself exclusive jurisdiction over the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite on the grounds that it was no more than the Rite of Perfection with 8 additional Degrees added without authority of the Grand Orient, and that the Grand Orient had succeeded to the old Grand Lodge of France and all its jurisdictions.¹ On the other hand, the Supreme Council for France claimed that the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, though containing the Degrees of the older Rite of Perfection, was an entirely new Rite, with Grand Constitutions of its own drawn up by Frederick the Great, which provided for the government of the Rite in each country by an independent Supreme Council established there for the Rite. It is unnecessary here to retail the struggle which ensued; but merely to say that by 1846 it was still unsettled and that from 1846 both sides have claimed jurisdiction over the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in France, with the result that when a Candidate today wishes to join the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite he must decide for himself whether he joins it under its Supreme Council for France or under its Grand Orient of France.

Before leaving the history of the Rite of Perfection in France, one point should be noted and carefully kept in mind. As a system it never spread from any part of France into Prussia or into any other European country.

¹ The Rite of Perfection was never under the old Grand Lodge of France because the jurisdiction of the latter was confined only to the 3 Craft Degrees. On the other hand, (a) in 1772 the majority of the "Emperors" had agreed to come under the control of a body governing both Craft and "High" Degrees, which came into being as The Grand Orient; and (b) the continuing minority of the "Emperors" disappeared during the Revolution.

VIII. RITE OF PERFECTION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

To the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite the history of the Rite of Perfection in the Western Hemisphere is even more important than its history in France, for it was in the Western Hemisphere that the Rite of Perfection became the basis of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

It has already been mentioned in the previous section how, when it had probably no more than its first 14 "Lodge" Degrees, the Rite of Perfection spread from Bordeaux to the French West Indies in 1748 and how it was there originally supervised by local Inspectors nominated by and answerable to Bordeaux. From the French West Indies in 1763 it first entered the mainland of the North American continent at the French settlement of New Orleans, probably having by then its full complement of 25 Degrees.

Meanwhile there was an "inhabitant of the New World" who had acquired "certain ideas connected with the 25th Degree".¹ From what transpired there is little doubt that he was the Etienne (or Stephen) Morin, mentioned in the previous section as the "expert in all Degrees of Freemasonry", who had been one of the leading founders of the Lodge La Parfaite Harmonie at Bordeaux in 1743 and its Master in 1744. He lived at Jacmel in San Domingo, where he is believed to have been a wine merchant trading with Bordeaux. By 1761 it was clear that Paris was taking the lead from Bordeaux in the Rite of Perfection and it was also clear that Paris, having set up a Grand Lodge and Sovereign Council above any Council of Princes of the Royal Secret, would be more amenable to his ideas for himself than Bordeaux with no more than a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret and Inspectors in the French

¹ See footnotes on pp. 45-47 of the 1781 Paris Ed. of Baron Tschoudy's *Ecossois de St André d'Ecosse*.

West Indies answerable to it. Accordingly in 1761 he presented himself before the Grand Lodge and Sovereign Council at Paris and received from these two portions a combined Patent in which the Grand Lodge portion authorised him, under the name of his old Bordeaux Lodge "La Parfaite Harmonie", to set up, wherever he liked in the French West Indies, a Lodge for the practice of the "Lodge" Degrees (Nos. 1 to 14 inclusive) of the Rite, and the Sovereign Council portion appointed him Grand Inspector for life of all the Degrees of the Rite above its 14th in the Western Hemisphere, with powers to take what steps he cared for the spread of these higher Degrees. Possibly to see what hopes he had of getting this Patent accepted at Bordeaux; possibly to pave the way at Bordeaux for the adjustment with Paris of the Constitutions of the Rite signed at Bordeaux in 1762; or possibly for no other reason than that Bordeaux was his port of departure for home, Morin proceeded from Paris to Bordeaux and sailed thence for the West Indies early in 1762, so that when the Constitutions were completed later in the year, a copy of them had to be sent after him. What happened before he reached his home in San Domingo is recounted in his own letters, now in the possession of the Supreme Council for the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction U.S.A. at Boston.¹ In them Morin says that before his ship reached the West Indies it was captured by a British vessel and taken as a prize to England. As a civilian prisoner he must have been allowed a considerable latitude of movement in Britain, because, during a stay of two months in London, he says that he was able to attend Masonic meetings and to have an interview with

¹ The author has the kind permission of the Sovereign Grand Commander of this Supreme Council to narrate the episodes here quoted from these letters, but, as the letters have not yet received the judgment of his Supreme Council, on the clear understanding that this permission is not to be taken as implying that the Sovereign Grand Commander or the Supreme Council of that Jurisdiction vouches in any way the genuineness of the letters or the accuracy of the episodes here quoted from them.

Lord Ferrers, Grand Master of the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England, at which, Morin says, Lord Ferrers endorsed his Patent of 1761 to the effect of recognising him as the only person responsible in the Western Hemisphere for the conduct of the "Lodge" Degrees of the Rite of Perfection. Morin also says that when he was in Britain he visited Edinburgh for three months in 1762 and that he there met the finest Mason he had ever encountered. Unfortunately he neither mentions the object of this visit nor the name of the Mason he met there. No help on either point is afforded by the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, as they are missing for 1762. His object might have been to visit Kilwinning to satisfy himself as to the correctness of its traditional link with the Ecossais Degrees, but the Minutes of the Lodge Mother Kilwinning No. 0 have been examined by its Secretary, who reported no mention in them of Morin's name as a visitor during 1762. Equally, the Secretaries of all Edinburgh Lodges which have extant Minutes for 1762 have searched the Minutes of their Lodges and have reported no trace of any visit in that year by Morin. It is, however, possible that his journey to Edinburgh was for the purpose of satisfying himself as to the condition of the French military prisoners-of-war incarcerated in Edinburgh Castle. If so, the Mason he admired in Edinburgh was probably Dr John Boswell,¹ brother of the biographer. In 1753 Dr John had been Senior Grand Warden in the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and in 1759, at the request of that Grand Lodge, he agreed to inspect the French prisoners in Edinburgh Castle and to report on their necessities. On his way home in 1763 Morin appointed as his Senior Deputy Inspector at Kingston, Jamaica,

¹ Initiated in Lodge Canongate Kilwinning No. 2, Dr John in 1762 held the Chair of the Lodge now Holyrood House (St Luke's) No. 44, having been invited to it as a prominent man when the Lodge was in low circumstances. As a compliment to him the Lodge assumed its alternative title "St Luke's". Its Minutes for 1762 are extant, but disclose no visit by Morin.

Henry Andrew Francken, a recently naturalised customs official, who is believed to have been of Dutch origin, and who is not only responsible for the only known complete Rituals¹ of the 25 Degrees of the Rite of Perfection (translated by him from Morin's own Ritual) but for the introduction of the Rite into the British Colonies on the mainland of the North American continent by setting up a Lodge of Perfection (for the Degrees 1 to 14 inclusive) at Albany, New York, in 1767. Eventually Morin reached his home in San Domingo in 1763 and found, waiting for him there, his copy of the Constitutions of the Rite drawn up in 1762. In 1764 Morin set up in San Domingo the Lodge of Perfection La Parfaite Harmonie, which he was empowered to do by his Patent of 1761. Whether it was on account of his conduct of that Lodge or because he set it up under his Patent is not known, but in 1766 complaints concerning Morin's disregard of Masonic precedent reached the Grand Lodge of France, which appointed a Bro. Martin to supersede Morin—presumably in connection with the 3 Craft Degrees in Morin's new Lodge, as the Grand Lodge of France never claimed jurisdiction beyond these Degrees. Also unknown are whether Bro. Martin ever went out to the West Indies, or, if he did, whether his appointment, coinciding so nearly with the closing of the Grand Lodge of France, received any attention. It certainly did not so far as Morin himself was concerned. His last known Masonic act was in 1770, though it is generally believed that his death in San Domingo occurred during the first Slave Rising, which broke out there in 1791 and was only temporarily suppressed by the arrival of strong French forces in 1801.

No collection of Morin's papers after his return to San Domingo in 1763 has survived from which a full outline of

¹ The original of one of his Rituals, dated 1783, is in the possession of the Supreme Council for the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction U.S.A., which has presented photostat copies of it to the Supreme Councils for Ireland, England and Wales, and Scotland.

his organisation of the Rite of Perfection in the Western Hemisphere can be constructed. It seems, however, that whilst he resided in San Domingo and exercised a general control from there, he set up a records centre at Kingston, Jamaica, in a "Grand Chapter" of the 25th Degree erected there in 1770 under William Winter, Provincial Grand Master of Jamaica under the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England. Subordinate to this records centre at Kingston, Councils of the 25th Degree for local control of all the Degrees of the Rite in their respective districts were gradually erected at centres round which the Rite had flourished. The actual propagation of the Rite in the Western Hemisphere seems to have been the job of an ever-increasing body of Deputy Inspectors, originally selected because they had a connection with a district where it was desired to spread the Rite, but later, when a Council of the 25th Degree had been established in any district, members of such a Council and working from it. Up to about 1790 Morin's plan for the Rite of Perfection in the Western Hemisphere seems to have worked with great success, but three factors in combination were probably responsible for its eventual failure. The first was the emergence in 1782 of the United States of America bent on controlling all Masonry within their borders free from any foreign domination. The second was the arrival in the Western Hemisphere about 1790 of various new "High Degree" systems from Europe with 33 Degrees and the haphazard way in which, to enhance the importance of themselves and of their Rite of Perfection, the Deputy Inspectors of the Rite of Perfection not only acquired for themselves the higher Degrees of these new systems, regardless of how they fitted the Rite of Perfection, but passed them on to the rank and file of the Rite of Perfection until that Rite completely lost its uniform semblance, so that its original order was reduced to chaos. And the third was Morin's death, which left the Rite of

Perfection without any supreme personal control in the Western Hemisphere.

IX. DE GRASSE-TILLY; DELAHOGUE; AND THE EMERGENCE
OF THE ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE
IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

With its Motto of "Ordo ab Chao" and its 33 Degrees, incorporating all the names of Degrees found in the Rite of Perfection, the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite was certainly designed to end the chaos prevailing in the Western Hemisphere's favourite "High Degree" Rite of Perfection since the newer and longer systems had arrived there from Europe. It is also nowadays becoming increasingly accepted as beyond reasonable doubt that the new Rite was devised in the Western Hemisphere, where it first emerged and where alone conditions existed in "High Degree" Masonry which might have been cured by it. If it is not yet clear by whom, when and how the idea was conceived in the Western Hemisphere, or how, after it started, it developed, certain facts are known in connection with two men who were most prominent during the transition period when the new Rite was emerging. One of them was the Count Alexandre François Auguste de Grasse-Tilly, a son of the French Admiral de Grasse, who materially contributed to the British capitulation at Yorktown in 1782, and who, in an attempt later in the same year to turn the British out of the West Indies, was defeated and captured by Rodney at the Battle of the Saints off Dominica. The other, and possibly the abler of the two, was his twenty-year-old father-in-law Jean Baptiste Noel Marie Delahogue, Notary in San Domingo.

Born at Versailles on 14th February 1765 and initiated in the Ecossais Mother Lodge of the Contrat Social at Paris, de Grasse-Tilly arrived at San Domingo in 1789 to take over the sugar plantations which had fallen to him as

his inheritance on his father's death. He had scarcely arrived there and had become acquainted with his future father-in-law Delahogue, another enthusiastic Mason, when the first Slave Rising, precipitated by the French Revolutionary doctrines of Equality, broke out in 1791 at San Domingo. In its early stages de Grasse-Tilly made a name for himself in command of a local volunteer force and thereafter joined the Staff of the French regular forces in the island. By 1795, however, the position of the French colonists on the island had become so desperate that most of them sought refuge elsewhere. De Grasse-Tilly, Delahogue and their families were amongst those who sought refuge at Charleston in South Carolina. They arrived there early in 1796, and neither of them left it until 1802 except for a short visit by de Grasse-Tilly to San Domingo in the early months of 1797 or 1798,¹ during a period when General Hédouville, in command of the French forces, had formed an idea that he might effect a peaceful settlement with the Slaves. De Grasse-Tilly's motive in joining the General at this juncture may have been dictated by anxiety as to the fate of his sugar plantations, but whatever it was, de Grasse-Tilly found that the General's appreciation of the situation was hopelessly wrong. He was captured by the Slaves, and he only managed to return to Charleston on the vessel of an American captain, who claimed him as a naturalised citizen of the United States.

Before they arrived at Charleston in 1796, both de Grasse-Tilly and Delahogue held a 32°, whatever it was, and had been signing since 1795 as Deputy Inspectors of the Rite of Perfection. Yet on 12th November 1796 Hyman Isaac Long, Deputy Inspector of the Rite of Perfection at Charleston, seems to have extended their scope, as Deputy Inspectors of that Rite, to Charleston,

¹ General Hédouville's command barely lasted into 1798, and the only periods when de Grasse-Tilly is not accounted for at Charleston were between January to August 1797 and January to May 1798.

because, on that date, they, along with five other French refugees, were there appointed by him as Deputy Inspectors and empowered under Delahogue to set up at Charleston (which had no other) a "lodge of H[igh] S[ecrets]"—that is, a Grand or Sublime Council of the 25th and last Degree of the Rite of Perfection for local control of all the Degrees of that Rite in and around Charleston. This Council came into being on 13th January 1797, and de Grasse-Tilly, if not its first Sovereign Grand Commander, was certainly one of the first to hold that office in it. Now it is a fact, and a very interesting one, that on 12th November 1796, the very day on which Long patented him as a Deputy Inspector of the Rite of Perfection at Charleston, de Grasse-Tilly, who to do so must have already held the Degree himself, issued Patents in the 33rd Degree to Delahogue and several other French refugees at Charleston. From whom and when de Grasse-Tilly got this Degree, if he did not just give it to himself, is not known. What the Degree was raises an interesting speculation when it is said that in the Register of an early French member of the 33rd Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in the United States, who received his Register from another Frenchman, who, in turn received his own Register direct from de Grasse-Tilly, there is found what is certainly the prototype of the present 33rd Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. It is headed "The Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33rd Degree or Grand Elect Knight of the Temple, Last Degree of all Masonry, Ancient and Modern, aged several centuries, conferred by the Sovereign Grand Inspectors General of Stockholm on Frederic III, King of Prussia, as Grand Master".¹ At all events,

¹ Swedish research has disclosed no trace of any such Degree in Sweden, nor of any Sovereign Grand Inspectors General there. Also, who was Frederic III? The Prussian monarchs were Frederick I (1688-1713); Frederick-William I (1713-40); Frederick II ("The Great") (1740-86); Frederick-William II (1786-97); and Frederick-William III (1797-1840).

wherever he may have conceived the plan, it does look as if de Grasse-Tilly, as early as 12th November 1796, was actively engaged at Charleston in bringing into being a Rite of 33 Degrees presided over by a Supreme Council under two principal office-bearers having the same titles of Sovereign Grand Commander and Lieutenant Grand Commander as had designated the two principal office-bearers of the Grand Council or "Lodge of H.S." set up at Charleston on 13th January 1797. This he had certainly achieved by 21st February 1801—if not before¹—because the official Bulletin² of the Supreme Council 33° for the Southern Masonic Jurisdiction U.S.A. in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite lists the names at that date of the office-bearers of a Supreme Council 33° for the French West Indies in which de Grasse-Tilly was Sovereign Grand Commander and Delahogue was Lieutenant Grand Commander. At that time it must have existed only on paper, because its own territory, the French West Indies, was still barred to it by the Slave Rising in San Domingo. Nevertheless it had, even at Charleston, a considerable importance from the fact that the conference of the 33rd Degree which was a necessary preliminary to the establishment of the first active Supreme Council was, five days before the latter was erected, carried out in a Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General at Charleston, and no other body answering to this description then existed there except de Grasse-Tilly's Supreme Council for the French West Indies. In the subsequent erection of the first active Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite at Charleston—now the Supreme Council for the Southern Masonic Jurisdiction U.S.A. sitting at Washington D.C.—de Grasse-Tilly and Delahogue played an important part

¹ As early as 10th December 1797 de Grasse-Tilly had signed a 32° Patent as "Sovereign Grand Inspector General 33° and Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council for the French West Indies".

² Vol. VI, pp. 418-440.

and actually were members of it at first so as to make up the required nine necessary for a Supreme Council until others had qualified to take their places. They had, however, both been replaced and were on their way or about to go back to San Domingo when, in 1802, this Supreme Council announced its existence to the world in a circular which said that "On the 31st of May 1801 the Supreme Council for the United States of America was opened with high honours by Brothers John Mitchell¹ and Frederick Dalcho,² Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, and in the course of the present year the whole number of Grand Inspectors General was completed agreeably to the Grand Constitutions". From this Circular it is obvious that the Supreme Council at Charleston had something in the way of Constitutions of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite from which it knew the number required to compose a Supreme Council; but what it actually had will be mentioned in the next section. What it did not know, certainly until after the publication of the first edition of Dr Dalcho's *Orations* in 1803, was the correct composition of its Rite, because these *Orations* mentioned the 29th Degree (Knight of St Andrew) as the 28th, and the 31st Degree (Grand Inspector Inquisitor Commander) as the 29th, and expected the 30th, 31st and 32nd Degrees of the Rite all to be provided for out of the material of its 30th and 32nd Degrees. Moreover, about 1803-1805 there still seemed to be doubt as to what was intended to be the Ritual of the 33rd Degree, because at that period both the Supreme Council at Charleston and the then absent de Grasse-Tilly were writing to each other pressing for a

¹ 1741-1816. An Irish emigrant who became Colonel and Deputy Quartermaster-General of the American forces in the War of Independence, First Sov. G. Commander of this Supreme Council.

² 1770-1836. Of Prussian parentage but born in London. Doctor of Medicine at Charleston 1800-1818, when he entered the Ministry of the Episcopal Church there. Second Sov. G. Commander of this Supreme Council. The most learned of its members and, Masonically, the most important.

copy of it. From these it must be obvious that though two Supreme Councils, one on paper and one active, had come into existence by 1801, the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite was still then only in the "blueprint" stage and by no means settled once and for all. It will also be observed that these two first-known Supreme Councils of the Rite were not brought into existence by any Charter from another Supreme Council, but, like the Supreme Council for Scotland erected in 1846, solely in virtue of a power inherent in every Sovereign Grand Inspector General 33rd Degree of the Rite to erect a Supreme Council in any country where there is as yet none nor any senior member of the 33rd Degree.¹

X. THE INSTITUTES AND GRAND CONSTITUTIONS OF THE A. AND A. S. RITE

There is much loose talk of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite being governed by Grand Constitutions having a shorter French and a longer Latin version. What it has got are these:

(a) In some countries a short set of Constitutions, given by the founder of the Supreme Council at the time of its erection in that country, based on the Grand Constitutions of the Rite but judged by the founder to be sufficient for the regulation of that Supreme Council within its own jurisdiction. In such a case the Supreme Council concerned has to supplement its own private Constitutions by the Grand Constitutions of the Rite on all points relative to other jurisdictions and on any matter

¹ No regulation of the Rite requires that a Supreme Council should receive any Charter from its founder, whether that founder be an individual or another Supreme Council. Yet Charters are not uncommon. For example, the Supreme Council at Charleston chartered (a) in 1813 a daughter Supreme Council at New York (now the Supreme Council for the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction U.S.A. at Boston, Mass.) and (b) in 1826 the Supreme Council for Ireland. The Supreme Council in (a) chartered in 1845 the Supreme Council for England and Wales after its erection, the preliminaries in this case being effected by post for fear that if there was any delay the Supreme Council for Scotland might be earlier in the field.

concerning which its own private Constitutions are silent. When Dr Charles Morison of Greenfield in 1846 set up the Supreme Council for Scotland, he gave it a set of such Constitutions for its own private use, so that it is not only erroneous to refer to such Constitutions as "Grand" Constitutions but also to refer to them as "French" as if they were all in that language. The reason for them being referred to as "French" is that the first set of such private Constitutions to be published in 1832 in the *Receuil des Actes du Suprême Conseil de France* happened to be the set given by de Grasse-Tilly to the Supreme Council of France erected by him in 1804, and it was then found that these corresponded in terms with the private Constitutions of the Supreme Council at Charleston and also the private Constitutions given by de Grasse-Tilly to the Supreme Council of Belgium erected by him in 1817.

(b) Overriding these private Constitutions, the Rite has two associated documents which, whatever may be said or thought of their alleged date and genesis, are admitted by the Supreme Council for Scotland and all Supreme Councils recognised by it to be the principal regulations governing the Rite universally. These were first published in 1834 and are both in Latin and bear date 1786. The first of them is The New Secret Institutes purporting to have been signed at Berlin on 1st May 1786 by Frederick the Great of Prussia using the signature "Fredericus". In these, Frederick claims to be "Supreme Grand Master, Grand Commander, Universal Grand Master and Defender of the Rite". They refer to the disjunction by 1786 of Ecossais Masonry into several branches represented by the Rite of Perfection, a Philosophic Rite, and, later than both, the Primitive Rite of Namur. They recount that though Frederick had long ago consulted the most eminent of the Fraternity as to how these Rites were to be combined, the busy events of his reign had hitherto delayed the project, which, however, was now

to be achieved in a Rite of 33 Degrees on the following design:

- 1°-18° As in the Rite of Perfection.
- 19° Not mentioned at all, though since assumed to be the 19° of the Rite of Perfection ("Grand Pontiff").
- 20° That of "Grand Master ad vitam of Symbolic Lodges", for which the Ritual was to be that of the 19° and 23° of the Primitive Rite of Namur, in combination.
- 21° That of "Noachite or Prussian Knight", for which the Ritual was to be either that of the 20° Rite of Perfection or of the 16° Primitive Rite of Namur.
- 22° Not mentioned at all, though since assumed to be the 22° Rite of Perfection ("Prince of Libanus or Knight of the Royal Axe").
- 23°-27° The Philosophic Degrees of Chief of the Tabernacle, Prince of the Tabernacle, Knight of the Brazen Serpent, Prince of Mercy, and Grand Commander of the Temple—in that order.
- 28° That of "Prince Adept" (23° Rite of Perfection).
- 29° That of Ecossais "Knight of St Andrew" (24° Primitive Rite of Namur).
- 30° That of "Grand Elect Knight KH." (24° Rite of Perfection).
- 31° That of "Grand Inspector Inquisitor Commander" (the origin and Ritual of which not being mentioned caused the difficulties in Dr Dalcho's *Orations* referred to on p. 42 and seems to point to the fact that no Ritual for it

had been devised by 1803 when these *Oration*s were first published).

- 32° That of "Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret" (25° and last of Rite of Perfection).
- 33° That of "Sovereign Grand Inspector General" (in absence of any origin or Ritual being suggested for this Degree, see pp. 40 and 42 for the Ritual eventually selected and the earliest date by which it could have been selected).

The other of the associated documents, the Grand Constitutions, declares that after Frederick's death his powers were to be vested in Supreme Councils of the Rite all over the world, and lays down regulations to be observed by these Supreme Councils as regards the various Degrees of the Rite. It declares that there shall be one such Supreme Council in each Empire, Kingdom or State in Europe, Africa and Asia, but two Supreme Councils (as far apart as possible) in the continent of North America, including its islands, and a similar two Supreme Councils in the continent of South America, including its islands. It bears two docquets. The first docquet declares that the Grand Constitutions were determined, done and sanctioned in a Grand and Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree duly instituted, convoked and held at Berlin on 1st May 1786, Frederick being present and approving. This docquet purports to be signed "D'Esterno", "Stark", "H. Willelm" and "Woellner", all of whom will be referred to later. It is also said to have had three other purported signatures, which, except for the initial letter "D" in one case, the publishers of the Grand Constitutions in 1834 declared to be illegible on the document by attrition or sea-water! The second docquet below these purported signatures is signed "Fredericus" and runs, in English, "Approval given at

our Royal Seat in Berlin 1st May in the year of Grace 1786 and the 47th of Our Reign".

Prior to the publication of these Grand Constitutions in 1834, the Supreme Council at Charleston had no knowledge of them, and, indeed, up to 1859 continued to work only under the set of private Constitutions adopted at its erection. From whom did it get them? Clearly from de Grasse-Tilly, who had already set up, on paper, his Supreme Council for the French West Indies commenced by him in 1796, and who subsequently gave private Constitutions in the same terms to the later Supreme Councils for France and for Belgium erected by him. Now it will be remembered that in its circular of 1802 announcing its start and completion, the Supreme Council at Charleston declared that it had been completed "agreeably to the Grand Constitutions", of which none of its members in 1802 had any knowledge until they were first published in 1834. On the other hand, its private Constitutions received from de Grasse-Tilly at its erection—and indeed all other private Constitutions issued by him—not only have a heading referring to the alleged Supreme Council at Berlin on 1st May 1786, when Frederick was present in person, but in their articles, so far as they go, tally so closely with the Grand Constitutions that, but for one detail, it might be argued that the Grand Constitutions were, notwithstanding their alleged date, a later elaboration from de Grasse-Tilly's private Constitutions. That one detail is that in all of his private Constitutions de Grasse-Tilly allows two more Supreme Councils than are permitted by the Grand Constitutions, viz. his own Supreme Council for the French West Indies started by him in 1796 and completed on paper by 1801, and a further Supreme Council for the British West Indies, which he seems to have erected in 1803 or early 1804. If the Grand Constitutions had been a subsequent elaboration, they would have provided for these two extra

Supreme Councils. Alternatively, if the Grand Constitutions had already been in existence but known only to de Grasse-Tilly, he could have suppressed them. If, however, de Grasse-Tilly in 1801 gave the Charleston Supreme Council a set of private Constitutions clearly based on a knowledge of the Grand Constitutions by that time, and if de Grasse-Tilly felt, as he did, that in these private Constitutions and others following later he must provide for his two West Indian Supreme Councils not authorised by the Grand Constitutions, what is the natural conclusion to be drawn in the event of de Grasse-Tilly having knowledge of the Grand Constitutions but of the only copy of these Grand Constitutions being in the hands of someone other than himself? Surely it is that de Grasse-Tilly had some association with that other person by which he could be reasonably sure that the other person would not publish the terms of the Grand Constitutions until such time as the publication of them would neither damage de Grasse-Tilly nor any Supreme Council set up by him in excess of the number permitted by these Grand Constitutions. As will now be shown, there was a person who could have been in touch with de Grasse-Tilly in San Domingo in 1795 before de Grasse-Tilly fled thence to Charleston in 1796 and at once there started to form his Supreme Council for the French West Indies on paper. Further, as will now be related from a letter that person wrote, he not only claimed to have had the earliest known copy of the Grand Constitutions in his possession since 1795 but that he had communicated their terms, at a date unspecified, to de Grasse-Tilly. Moreover, when the Grand Constitutions were first published in 1834, through the permission and assistance of that person, de Grasse-Tilly had ceased for over ten years to be a power in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, his extra Supreme Council for the French West Indies had been absorbed within the Supreme Council for France,

clearly permissible under the Grand Constitutions, and his other extra Supreme Council for the British West Indies had been extinct for some fifteen years. Bearing all these points in mind, let us see what led up to the publication of the Grand Constitutions in 1834.

The story starts in 1832 at New York, where the Anti-Masonic Movement, which had swept the United States of America since 1826, was beginning to die down. In 1832, possibly because he anticipated little opposition from the Supreme Council at Charleston and its Daughter Supreme Council set up at New York in 1813, both of which had hardly recovered from the effects of the Anti-Masonic Movement, there appeared at New York a mulatto of San Dominican origin who rejoiced in the name of Marie Antoine Nicolas Alexandre Robert de Jachin de Ste Rose de Roume de St Laurent, Marquis de Ste Rose, Comte de St Laurent, a former Captain of a ship and Commander of a flotilla of the Mexican Navy. He claimed to be Sovereign Grand Commander of a Supreme Council, then and still unknown, which had the equally impressive title of "the Supreme Council for New Spain¹ and Mexico, Terra Firma,² Southern America from the one sea to the other,³ the Canary Islands, &c. &c.". His object was to find a seat in New York for his homeless and hitherto unknown Supreme Council. This he hoped to effect by amalgamation with a Rite of Perfection body in New York which was in the process of putting itself on a par with the Supreme Councils of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of 33 Degrees by treating its 25th and last Degree of the Rite of Perfection

¹ Then roughly comprising the present States of Washington, Montana, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas.

² The northern coastline of the continent of South America.

³ The southern belt of the continent of North America consisting of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and West Florida, purchased by the U.S.A. from Spain in 1819. As regards "the one sea to the other", Florida is washed on the East by the Atlantic Ocean, and West Florida, adjoining it, extended to the mouth of the Mississippi River in the Gulf of Mexico.

(Prince of the Royal Secret) as the equivalent of the 32nd Degree under the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite and by claiming to have a Committee of Management, called a Supreme Council, but actually an elective body supplied by its Degree of Prince of the Royal Secret. The advantages on both sides were obvious. St Laurent's Supreme Council, which had probably existed previously only on paper, got a base at New York. On the other side, St Laurent offered this Rite of Perfection body the only known copy of the Grand Constitutions of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, and it is a fact that this Rite of Perfection body, which had previously denied any validity to any private Constitutions in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, suddenly changed its tune in 1832 when it became the custodian of the only alleged copy of the Grand Constitutions. On that basis the amalgamation was concluded in 1832, the united bodies assuming the title of "the United Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere". Later in 1832 St Laurent repaired to Paris, where in 1834 a treaty of Alliance was concluded between the Supreme Councils for France, Brazil, Belgium and the United Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere. During its conclusion St Laurent wrote to the Supreme Council of Belgium in June 1834 as follows,¹ the English translation being the present author's:

"You will find at the end of the treaty now ratified by the Ill.: and P.: Bro. Duc de Choiseuil, Grand Commander of the Council of France, and by that Council itself, a translation made from the original Latin of the genuine Grand Constitutions of 1786. This original, signed in his own hand by the Ill.: Bro. de Wowelner² certifying it Copy Conform from the Minute,³ (and) since

¹ The letter is reproduced to face p. 80 in F. Clément's *Contribution à l'Etude des Hauts Grades, &c., &c.* (Pub. Brussels, September 1937).

² The German Mason Wöllner (see p. 54).

³ Of the alleged Supreme Council Meeting held at Berlin on 1st May 1786.

signed by the Ill.: Bro. de Galvez,¹ former Viceroy of Mexico and by other Ill.: Grand Commanders who have had it and jealously guarded its deposit, was in my hands since 1795 in my capacity of G.: C.: of the S.: C.: of New Spain, &c. I communicated it to the Prince Cambaçères,² to Bros.: de Lacépède,³ de Grasse (Tilly),⁴ &c., &c., but I was never agreeable to copies being made of it. I have deposited it⁵ in the archives of the United S.: C.: of the Western Hemisphere as stipulated by the treaty of 1832,⁶ and of it⁷ I had the honour of sending you a facsimile to Brussels in 1833. It is from the copy of this precious document, officially inserted in my Golden Book⁸ that the convention⁹ has had printed the translation which you will receive with the treaty¹⁰ you have just signed."

Now, even if the facts stated in this letter are accepted as substantially true, it will be observed:

1. That what was deposited by St Laurent at New York in 1832 was no more than an alleged copy of a principal document which no one has ever seen.
2. That except for the members of the United Supreme

¹ Bernardo de Galvez, born 1746 or 1756, died 1786 or 1794. Became Viceroy of Mexico 1781. Attacked Canada and turned the British out of Pensacola, Florida, when they were engaged with the French and Americans at Yorktown 1782. In 1782, had the French Admiral de Grasse been successful at the Battle of the Saints, was ready with a force of 20,000 to invade the British West Indies. Created Count and Lt.-Gen. for his services by the King of Spain. Gave his name to Galveston, Texas.

² Must have been between 1804, when Masonry again permitted in France, and 1814, when Cambaçères, who supported Napoleon, disappeared from French Masonry.

³ Probably between 1815, when de Lacépède dominated French Masonry, and 1822, when he resigned from all but the S. C. for France.

⁴ Note that he had retired from leadership of the A. and A. S. Rite in France in 1822.

⁵ An alleged copy only.

⁶ Between the S. C. for New Spain and Mexico, &c. &c. and the Rite of Perfection "S. C." at New York.

⁷ The alleged copy certified by Wöllner.

⁸ An Official records book kept by each member of the 33° in which he entered copies of all documents of importance affecting the Rite and copies of any Patents granted by him.

⁹ Which at Paris concluded in 1834 the treaty of Alliance.

¹⁰ The treaty referred to in the preceding note.

Council for the Western Hemisphere (who, if they had any doubts, had strong reasons against expressing them concerning this document, which was their palladium amongst other Supreme Councils), no "outsider" ever saw even the alleged copy deposited at New York or had any opportunity to examine the signatures on it because (a) St Laurent himself said in his letter that he had never allowed any copies to be made from it, and (b) the archives of the United Supreme Council of the Western Hemisphere were all destroyed in 1845 by a fire which suspiciously occurred a few months before that Supreme Council became extinct under attacks from the other Supreme Councils in the United States, and which prevented any of its records falling into the hands of the latter.

3. That though the Convention at Paris, which carried through there the treaty of Alliance in 1834 and first published the terms of the Grand Constitutions of 1786, saw nothing but the alleged true copy in the Golden Book of St Laurent, it certified its translation appended to the treaty of Alliance of 1834 as having been made from the alleged original copy deposited at New York.

In other respects also St Laurent's letter arouses suspicion. In it he stated that whereas the alleged original copy deposited at New York had been in his own hands since 1795 as Grand Commander of the Supreme Council for New Spain and Mexico, it had previously been in the hands of the Count de Galvez and others who had been Commanders of this Supreme Council before himself. Now the Count de Galvez died either in 1786 or in 1794. If he died in 1786, how was there time between Frederick's death in August 1786 (after which, according to the Grand Constitutions, it was possible only to set up

Supreme Councils) for him to write to Wöllner in Germany for a copy of the Grand Constitutions, to get it in Mexico, to set up there a Supreme Council for New Spain and Mexico, &c., and to sign as its Commander the copy he had received, even if he had not died until the very last day of 1786? Alternatively, if the Count de Galvez did not die until 1794, how between his death in that year and the copy of the Grand Constitutions passing into the hands of St Laurent in 1795 could there have been, as St Laurent stated in his letter, other intermediate Commanders of his Supreme Council who had custody of and signed the copy? Apart from these, there is no record of the Count de Galvez ever having been a Mason, and as Viceroy of His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain in the Spanish Colony of Mexico, where the auto-da-fé continued as late as 1815, it is extremely improbable that he ever was a Mason. Again, there was no call anywhere in the Western Hemisphere for any extension of the Rite of Perfection into the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of 33 Degrees until the longer Rites began to reach the Western Hemisphere in 1790, with a year or two more for their effects to be felt by the Rite of Perfection. In other words, 1795 is about the earliest date in which there was any possibility of any Supreme Council for New Spain and Mexico, &c., and that, be it noted, was the year in which St Laurent said in his letter that he became its Commander. Would it not be more probable to assume that in 1795, having invented or got hold of an alleged copy of the Grand Constitutions, St Laurent himself began to form on paper a Supreme Council for New Spain and Mexico, &c., just as de Grasse-Tilly in 1796 first began to form, also on paper, his first Supreme Council for the French West Indies?

Consider next the alleged signatures on the Grand Constitutions:

D'Esterno. Biographer and personal associate of Frederick as French Ambassador at Berlin in 1786;

but, as a Mason having any interest in the Rite of Perfection or any other Ecossais Rite, completely unknown.

Johann Augustus von Starck (1741-1818). A Cleric of considerable attainment in Oriental languages. In Masonry a leader of the Templar Rite of the Strict Observance and a subsequent development of it. On his own statement in 1787 he had nothing to do with Masonry after 1777 (meaning, presumably, that he then ceased to take any active part in Masonry, because he continued his Masonic publications up to 1786). Surely, if he had taken any share in the devising of a new Rite such as the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in 1786, he would not have forgotten this in the next year when he wrote denying any active part in Masonry after 1777. And why should a Templar Mason ever take a hand in troubles affecting Ecossais Rites to which he did not belong?

H. Willelm. This alleged signatory is uncertain, though possibly intended for Prince Heinrich Wilhelm (d. 1802), the younger brother of Frederick initiated by the latter personally into Craft Masonry on 20th June 1740; but, so far as is known, without any connection with Ecossais Masonry.

Johann Christopher Wöllner (1732-1800). Canon of the Lutheran Church and a Prussian Minister of State. In Masonry his original predilection was for the Templar Rite of the Strict Observance and in 1775 he was appointed, in connection with that Rite, its Ecossais Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes at Berlin. Regardless of the fact he held that appointment, by 1782 he had already induced his patron Prince Frederick Augustus of Brunswick to join him in the New Gold Rosicrucians, an

alchemical and mystical Order, and the two thereafter devoted themselves to this Order.

Certainly, if one wanted well-known names connected with Germany in 1786 and knew little or nothing about their Masonic connections, it is an imposing list; but with such knowledge one has the right to enquire concerning each in connection with the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, "*Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?*"

Lastly, Frederick. Physically, Frederick could have signed the Grand Constitutions on 1st May 1786; but why should he have done so? At that particular time he knew his long, fatal and painful illness was nearing its end, and his mind was engrossed with such precautions as were possible to prevent the break-up of Prussia on his death. Is it likely at such a time he would have bothered to devise a new Rite giving such prominence in it to the Rite of Perfection? As a young man he had been initiated into Craft Masonry in 1738, but after 1744 he ceased to take any active part in it, though he allowed his name to be used subsequently as Patron or Protector of Masonry in Prussia. He never joined any "High Degree", and the Rite of Perfection never entered Prussia. It is true that in several of its Degrees, which had either a Prussian traditional history or which had a Crusader theme, he was acknowledged in the Rite as their Patron; but his patronage of them was accorded to him in France,¹ in some of these cases because he was King of Prussia when the Degree first emerged, and, in the rest, because of his great name as a military commander. Would it not have been natural for Frederick's favourite nephew, who was trained by him, who succeeded him, and who was, unlike Frederick, personally interested in and connected with "High Degrees", to have introduced the Ancient and

¹ And, let it be noted, at a time when the Rite of Perfection there required its members to be Christians and Roman Catholics, which makes it extremely unlikely, as some have suggested, that Frederick became patron of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite as a Protestant leader.

Accepted Scottish Rite into Prussia, if his Uncle had devised it? He did not even join it, nor did his Uncle's alleged Rite even enter Germany until nearly two hundred years after Frederick's death. Search has been made at Berlin for the principal of the Grand Constitutions or for any mention of the Meeting of the Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree held there on 1st May 1786, when, according to the Grand Constitutions, Frederick himself was present, and the result is—nothing.

Provided the Grand Constitutions of 1786 with their Secret Institutes are recognised to be, as they are, the Grand Constitutions of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, acknowledged as such by the Supreme Councils of the Rite over the world, each may think what seems likely to him concerning the accuracy of their alleged date and genesis. Of strict evidence there is none—nor is it possible to see how there ever could be any in absence of anything in the way of an original of the purported Secret Institutes and Grand Constitutions of 1786, on which the alleged signatures could be examined and checked. On the other hand, if there is no such original, it is abundantly clear that every scrap of circumstantial evidence which has come to light in a century of research points towards these two documents having been framed at some date after 1790 (and, therefore, after the death of Frederick) in the Western Hemisphere¹ to meet conditions affecting the Rite of Perfection there and only there. For such as may share these views with him, the present writer has indicated in the preceding pages what he believes to be a possible starting-point for a hitherto untried line of research to trace the originator of these documents in the Western Hemisphere. It is that in 1795 at San Domingo St Laurent either devised them for himself or

¹ There is no argument for a Prussian origin of the Secret Institutes and Grand Constitutions in the Eagle neck-jewels worn in the 30th-33rd Degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, because the latter have a double-headed eagle and the Prussian eagle is single-headed.

then got into his possession the only copy of them devised by someone else at present unknown, and that he communicated them to de Grasse-Tilly about the time he fled from San Domingo as a refugee to Charleston.

XI. IMPORTATION OF THE A. AND A. S. RITE INTO EUROPE

BY DE GRASSE-TILLY AND DELAHOGUE

To return, however, to de Grasse-Tilly and his father-in-law Delahogue, news reached them at Charleston that in March 1802 Napoleon's brother-in-law, the able General Leclerc,¹ had landed in San Domingo with reinforcements. To be on the spot in order to resume his sugar plantations and to establish a home for his Supreme Council of the French West Indies, completed on paper at Charleston, whenever conditions became sufficiently settled, and, meanwhile, to offer his services on General Leclerc's Staff as a Captain of Cavalry, de Grasse-Tilly with Delahogue left Charleston for San Domingo in the summer of 1802. Unfortunately, Leclerc died of yellow fever and was succeeded in command of the French Forces by the Comte de Rochambeau, who, in November or December 1803, was defeated in a combined operation between the Slave leader Christophe and the British fleet and was forced to capitulate. It is not known whether Delahogue then got clear away to France or whether he suffered the fate of de Grasse-Tilly, who was handed over to the British fleet and transported as a prisoner to Jamaica. Now, it will be remembered that in Morin's organisation of the Rite of Perfection for the Western Hemisphere Jamaica was the records centre of that Rite. Prior to 1803 there is no trace of any Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in Jamaica, but there is definite trace of such a Supreme Council there

¹ Leclerc was the husband of Napoleon's sister Marie Pauline. It has been suggested that Napoleon, jealous of his brother-in-law's reputation and determined to get rid of him, deliberately despatched him to San Domingo without adequate backing.

from 1803, when de Grasse-Tilly arrived as a prisoner, up to 1817, when it apparently became extinct. It seems probable, therefore, that when he was a prisoner in Jamaica de Grasse-Tilly set up there the Supreme Council for the British West Indies, which he had so long projected and for which he had risked tampering with the numbers of Supreme Councils permissible under the Grand Constitutions of 1786. If so, de Grasse-Tilly must have been a quick worker, because he managed to reach Bordeaux on 4th July 1804, and, if he was not in company with Delahogue, he shortly afterwards made contact with him in Paris. There he handed over to Delahogue the supervision of his refugee Supreme Council for the French West Indies, without resigning from its command, so as to leave his hands free to form a Supreme Council for France. When he had completed it in September 1804, he resigned from it as, having lost his sugar plantations in San Domingo, he had to seek a restoration of his finances in military service. To that end, de Grasse-Tilly during 1805 was with the army of the Rhine under Kellermann, another "High Degree" Mason. In 1806 he was with the Army of Italy, and during his service there erected a Supreme Council for Italy at Milan. Later in 1806 he was transferred to the French Staff in Spain, where his brother the Comte de Tilly, then fighting against the French under an assumed Spanish nom-de-guerre, set up a Supreme Council for Spain at Aranjuez in 1808. Notwithstanding this, de Grasse-Tilly in 1811 set up a rival Supreme Council for Spain at Madrid, of which further mention will be made in Section XII in connection with Dr Charles Morison, the eventual founder in 1846 of the Supreme Council for Scotland. For de Grasse-Tilly 1812 was an unfortunate year, because in it he was captured again by the British at the storming of Badajoz, of which he was then Town Major. When he returned to Paris on the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814 and resumed from

Delahogue the control of his Supreme Council for the French West Indies, de Grasse-Tilly found himself confronted with a difficult situation in respect of his Supreme Council, which alone would have been enough to engross his time and energy. As a refugee Supreme Council, its proper concern was to have kept its membership filled and to avoid all participation in French Masonic affairs. Not only did he find it in poor shape internally, but, when he was still a prisoner-of-war, it had most unwisely entered the arena of French Masonic politics by recognising in 1813 the Grand Orient of France as the sole authority over the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in France in preference to the Supreme Council for France set up in 1804 by its own Sovereign Grand Commander de Grasse-Tilly. And de Grasse-Tilly could not look for any support from the Supreme Council for France in any reversal of this step, because the Supreme Council for France, being of Bonapartist membership, had disappeared temporarily from the scene on Napoleon's overthrow in 1814. Even, however, had de Grasse-Tilly wished to remain in Paris to consolidate the position of his Supreme Council for the French West Indies, his financial position made it imperative for him to join as soon as possible Louis XVIII, who was then waiting at Ghent. He did so and secured employment as a superior officer in the Guards of the Portal; but in respect of his duties he was kept at Ghent until 1816. He managed, nevertheless, to erect in 1817 yet another new Supreme Council, that of Belgium at Brussels, which was his last. Meanwhile trouble had been brewing for him within his Supreme Council for the French West Indies, then meeting in the premises of a restaurant known as "The Prado" in Paris. Some of its members had had a new Constitution drawn up and passed, which, if de Grasse-Tilly had signed, would have deprived him of any real rights as the Sovereign Grand Commander. On his refusal to sign in

1818 he was charged in that respect, with failure to account for fees received by him in connection with Degrees he had conferred, and also with insisting on a personal fee to himself whenever he had to sign any document. When it was clear that de Grasse-Tilly had no intention of appearing in answer, he was allotted an official defender and, it is interesting to note, the case was heard in the 31st Degree. As was to be expected, de Grasse-Tilly was held guilty of the charges brought against him; but that worried him no whit. He and his supporters continued to hold their meetings at Paris, but at the Galerie de Pompeii in the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs. Thus in 1818 the Supreme Council for the French West Indies was finally split into two factions, known from their respective meeting-places as "The Prado" (under Maghellan) and "The Pompeii" (under de Grasse-Tilly). At this juncture, however, what remained of the old Supreme Council for France met in 1821 after a dormancy of six years and decided to amalgamate with de Grasse-Tilly's "Pompeii" faction of the Supreme Council for the French West Indies, the united body on 7th May 1821 assuming the title of "The Supreme Council for France and the French Possessions in America". As a counter-demonstration "The Prado" faction tried to stage a festival on 28th and 31st July 1821, and then immediately and most ignominiously expired, thus leaving the field to de Grasse-Tilly's "Supreme Council for France and the French Possessions in America". On the top of that, Delahogue died at Paris on 13th April 1822, leaving de Grasse-Tilly, twenty years younger but possibly not the abler of the two men, to his own devices. From that time de Grasse-Tilly seems to have played no leading part in the affairs of the Rite in France. Little is known of him except from lettres written by him to Charleston in 1828. In these he bemoaned the state of the Rite in France, where, he said, there was almost as

many holders of its 32nd and 33rd Degrees as there was Master Masons. He hoped, if he could reduce the number of his Supreme Council to the nine members contemplated under the Grand Constitutions of 1786, to set up a treaty block composed of the Supreme Council for France, the Supreme Council at Charleston, the Supreme Council founded by the latter at New York, and, presumably after revival, the Supreme Council for the British West Indies. Later, in 1841, he wrote to his friends in the United States complaining of his poor health and desperate finances and that he was considering whether he would not, even now, be better to return there to end his days. It was, however, in Paris, aged 80 and in the Infirmary of the Hôtel des Invalides, that he died of chronic bronchial pneumonia at 12.30 p.m. on 10th June 1845.

XII. THE CAREER OF DR CHARLES MORISON OF GREENFIELD (EVENTUAL FOUNDER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SCOTLAND) UP TO 1845

On account of the Masonic associations he had with the Comte de Grasse-Tilly and the latter's Supreme Council for the French West Indies, it would be fitting to introduce at this stage Dr Charles Morison of Greenfield, eventual founder of the Supreme Council for Scotland.

There is a biography of him prefacing the 1906 Edition of the Library Catalogue of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, but it is full of errors and, in one instance, grossly misleading. For example:

1. It states that Morison was of "noble family". His father was James Morison of Greenfield, Maltster, and his mother Jane Haig.
2. It gives as the date on which he received a Degree the date of his Diploma, though in many cases the

Diplomas were issued anything up to three years after the date of the conferring of the Degrees covered by them.

3. Morison is stated to have received his 33rd Degree in November 1814 from the Supreme Council for the French West Indies at Paris. On his own statement, borne out by his Diplomas, he received his 33rd Degree in 1813 in Spain from the Supreme Council of Spain (probably that at Madrid); but, as the Degree was conferred on him on behalf of the Supreme Council for the French West Indies at Paris, the latter on 15th November 1814 accepted surrender of his Spanish Diploma and issued its own in exchange.
4. It says that after giving up his appointment as Physician to H.R.H. The Duke of Sussex, Morison travelled in Italy and Switzerland before settling permanently at Paris in 1822. According to one of his French Templar Diplomas, issued in 1825 and covering an office in the Order conferred on him in that year, Morison then still held his appointment to the Duke of Sussex.
5. He is credited as being a member of two Supreme Councils in France referred to respectively as "the Supreme Council of the Grand Orient of France" and "the Supreme Council of France". This seems to be the result of a misreading of two Letters of Credence acknowledging Morison as holding the 33rd Degree with all powers attaching to it. Both were issued by the Supreme Council for the French West Indies, i.e. by the two Sections into which it had by now split. One came from its Section which retained the title and recognised the Grand Orient of France; the other from its Section which had amalgamated with the Supreme Council for France.

Morison was never a member of any other Supreme Council than the Supreme Council of Scotland erected by himself in 1846.

6. Morison joined Scottish Templar Masonry in 1798, not, as stated in the Biography, in 1843. What did happen in 1843 was that he requested from it and was granted the rank of Knight Commander.¹
7. Referring its reader to a publication named *Levitikon*,² the Biography states that Morison latterly ceased to believe in the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity and was in consequence "expelled" from (Scottish) Templar Masonry. *Levitikon*, which nowhere mentions Morison, contains a version of the Gospel of St John devised to suit the purposes of Fabré Palaprat's French "Order of the Temple", and in this version there is no place for a Trinitarian belief. Palaprat's Order was not Masonic but an attempt, on faked documents, to restore the spiritual and temporal powers of the original Knights Templar. Morison held high office in the Order as Councillor, Past Grand Chancellor, Grand Prior of Arabia, Bailie of Anjou, and Commander of Alloa. As such it is probably correct to say that he had ceased to believe in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Now, there was in 1845 in Scotland a Masonic Order of Templars, which Morison had joined in 1798, but also a non-Masonic Templar Group, which latter Morison as a high officer of the French "Order of the Temple" could not recognise as genuine without the corollary that the French "Order" was not genuine. Therefore, in 1845, he wrote to the Royal Grand Conclave for Templar Masonry in Scotland requesting to resign from it. He was told in

¹ See Bro. G. S. Draffen's *Pour La Foy*, p. 80.

² In the Morison Collection of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

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¹ See Bro. G. S. Draffen's *Pour La Foy*, p. 80.

² In the Morison Collection of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

reply that on account of his Obligation he could not resign; but that, under the circumstances, his name would not in future appear in its published lists of members. That is hardly being "expelled" from Scottish Templar Masonry as the Biography suggests.¹

8. The Supreme Council for Scotland was founded by Morison on 4th August 1846, not, as the Biography states, "in 1848".

Equally open to question are the comments as to the legitimacy of the bodies granting them which in 1956 are printed on the labels over Dr Morison's Diplomas displayed in the Museum of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. In respect of his famous library, which passed at his request on his death to the Grand Lodge of Scotland as its "Morison Collection", Morison surely deserves better treatment than it has hitherto recorded him in its Biography of him and in its descriptions over his Diplomas.

However, to proceed.

Charles Morison, son of James Morison of Greenfield, Maltster, and Jane Haig his wife, was born at Greenfield House near Alloa on 1st January 1780. At what would now be considered an incredibly early age, he received his 3 Craft Degrees on 27th November 1797 in the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1 during his four sessions at Edinburgh University, where he was studying Medicine.

After holding office as Junior Warden for two years in that Lodge, he was elected its Substitute Master in 1800.

¹ The Biography was compiled by William Officer, S.S.C., who had no use for Morison, or for his Supreme Council for Scotland, which recognised the Supreme Council of France, whereas its author personally held that the legitimate control of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in France was vested in the Grand Orient of France. In 1876 he was allowed to resign his allegiance to the Supreme Council of Scotland under which he held its 30th Degree. Having done so, he rose to the 33rd Degree under the Grand Orient of France.

At a time when there was yet no separate organisations in control of Royal Arch and Templar Masonry in Scotland but the two were commonly conferred under Templar auspices, Morison received in an assembly of Knights Templar,¹ held on 26th November 1798 in the Lodge room of St Stephen's Lodge, Edinburgh, No. 193, what then constituted the usual Royal Arch and Templar Degrees taken in Edinburgh. These were Past Master in the Chair; Excellent, Superexcellent, Arch and Royal Arch Mason; Knight Templar; High Templar, Knight of Malta; Knight Red Cross; Mark Mason; Ark Mason; Link Mason; Mediterranean Pass; and Knight of The Royal Prussian Blue Order—and, however short the Degrees may have been, it was quite a good evening's work.

On getting his M.D., Morison left Edinburgh for England in 1802 prior to being posted as Medical Officer to that famous but expensive Regiment, The Prince of Wales's 10th Hussars, in which "Beau Brummel" had served for four years before succeeding to the inheritance of £30,000 that let him loose on the fashionable world of his day. Morison went to the Peninsula with the Regiment, and in this respect was more fortunate than its Colonel-in-Chief, whose dreams of leading the Regiment against the French in the field were very abruptly dispelled by his father George III. Evidently Morison served in the Peninsula with some distinction, because, before the war ended, he had risen to be Inspector of such Military Hospitals as then existed in the field. It was during his service in the Peninsula, and probably during a lull in the fighting, that Morison in 1810 met de Grasse-Tilly and received from him, on behalf of himself "and other Sovereign Grand Inspectors composing the Supreme Council for the French West Indies" at Paris, the 32nd

¹ The Edinburgh Encampment, which until 1810 was No. 31 on the Roll of the Early Grand Templar Encampment of Ireland.

Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.¹ Later, in 1813, when de Grasse-Tilly was a prisoner-of-war in Britain, Morison also received its 33rd Degree from a Supreme Council for Spain that was probably the one erected by de Grasse-Tilly at Madrid in 1811. This we have on Morison's own statement contained in a letter written by him to the Supreme Council for France on 30th July 1847,² and evidently the Degree was only conferred on him by the Supreme Council for Spain acting on behalf of the Supreme Council for the French West Indies at Paris, because, in the same letter, Morison says that on 15th November 1814 he surrendered to it his Spanish Diploma and received its own in exchange. This is borne out by his extant Diploma received in exchange, which contains a serious error in respect that it declares the holder as a Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the Rite to have power only to erect bodies of the Rite working up to and including its 30th Degree, whereas the General Constitutions of 1786 empower a Sovereign Grand Inspector General, subject to the conditions that he has no senior in the country concerned and that no Supreme Council already exists there, to erect all bodies of the Rite, including even a Supreme Council. Fortunately Morison noticed the error before he started to

¹ Though the Degrees of Rose Croix and Knight K. H. were then worked in some British Templar bodies, Morison received neither from any Templar source. Amongst his Certificates of Membership is one from the Paris Lodge of Mount Thabor in 1827. This Lodge worked under the Supreme Council for France the Symbolic Degrees 4 to 14 of the A. and A. S. Rite, Rose Croix and Knight K. H., but Morison could not have received any of these Degrees there before he received his 32nd Degree, because it was not founded until 1807, by which time Morison was in Spain. There was a short-lived lull of six months under the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 which enabled many British visitors to see Paris for the first time since Britain went to war with France in 1793; but there is no record of Morison having then visited Paris. The probability is, therefore, that, in accordance with a common practice of the time whereby a Candidate for the Rite entered it at a level which was considered consistent with his status, Morison entered the Rite in the 32nd Degree without previously receiving any of its prior Degrees. Incidentally, this same practice was followed in its early days by the Supreme Council for Scotland erected by Morison in 1846.

² Quoted in Section XIV.

erect his eventual Supreme Council for Scotland, and he had it rectified by getting a Letter of Certification as to his status and proper powers from (a) "The Prado" Section of the Supreme Council for the French West Indies on 19th March 1823, a bare four months before this Section finally expired, and (b) the Supreme Council for France on 30th December 1828, which in 1822 under the title of "The Supreme Council for France and the French Possessions in America" had amalgamated with "The Pompeii" Section of the Supreme Council for the French West Indies.

On the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814 Morison was placed on half-pay, like most others, but on the other hand he was appointed Physician to the household of H.R.H. The Duke of Sussex.¹ In 1822, after travelling in Italy and Switzerland, where, for a few years prior to 1822, he had a house at Lausanne, Morison returned to Paris, which, except for occasional visits to see his estate of Greenfield in Scotland, became his permanent home until his death from cholera there on 4th May 1849. It was at Paris in 1827 that he acquired the bulk of his famous collection of over 2,000 Masonic books, pamphlets, Rituals and manuscripts. Following his death and in accordance with wishes he had expressed to her, his widow presented it in August 1849 to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, by which it has since been known as its "Morison Collection". The bulk of it at one time formed part of the library of "the Philalethes" (or "Searchers after Truth"),²

¹ Son of George III and from 1813-43 first Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England and Wales. He had a considerable influence, behind the scenes, upon the shaping of the "High Degrees" in England during this period. From his Diplomas Morison seems to have been Physician to the household of H.R.H. at least up to 1825.

² The Philalethes came into existence in France about 1775 with the original intention of studying the best in the various Masonic systems of the time by means of 9 "classes", superimposed above 3 Craft Degrees, a member of the 12th and last "class" being known as "Master of all Grades". Before the Society was dispersed by the French Revolution, its higher "classes" had begun to show leanings towards alchemy, theosophy, Martinism and Swedenborgianism. For further particulars of this Society, see Bro. R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry* (in 6 parts), Vol. III, Chap. XXIV, pp. 119-20.

but this library was dispersed during the French Revolution. In 1806 Claude Antoine Thory, the first real historian of French Masonry, managed to trace and buy in many of the dispersed volumes, to which he himself added during his lifetime, and, following his death, Morison bought the collection thus made by Thory. It is stated in the Biography of Dr Morison prefacing the 1906 Edition of the Library Catalogue of the Grand Lodge of Scotland that in his lifetime he had refused an offer for his library of £500, which the offerer himself was prepared to admit was then worth over £830.

When Morison appeared in Scotland in 1846 and his intention of setting up a Supreme Council there was known, one of his opponents in Scotland, writing to another on 21st May 1846, said of him, "He seems captious, fond of mischief, and a confirmed plotter."¹ Certainly Morison took his Masonry seriously, and he had high office in every branch of it which he had joined. He had spent years and much money on the amassing of an unrivalled Masonic library, and he very definitely was not only well versed in its regulations but of a temperament not inclined to be thwarted by any obstacles encountered on the way to any goal he had set before himself. For example, at the time the treaty of Alliance was concluded in 1834 between the Supreme Council of France and the Supreme Councils for the Western Hemisphere, Belgium and Brazil, Morison being free and resident in Paris, was appointed by the Supreme Council for Belgium as its Representative at the Supreme Council for France. About 1839 the Anti-Masonic policy of the Roman Catholic Church in Belgium induced the Supreme Council for Belgium to write to its ally the Supreme Council for France in the hope that the latter would accord its active support in a policy of resistance. Instead,

¹ Letter from Bro. J. Linning Woodman to Bro. Dr. G. A. Walker-Arnott (p. 78 in first Letter Book of the Great Priory of the Temple for Scotland, covering the period 1845-68).

the Supreme Council for France merely replied that ~~there~~ and a display of tolerant rectitude on the part of the two allied Supreme Councils would achieve more than force and cleverness. Indignant at the lukewarmness of its ally, the Supreme Council for Belgium instructed Morison as its Representative in Paris to urge a more definite course of action on the Supreme Council for France. Following his natural bent, Morison took up his brief with such vehemence that, to avoid him, the Supreme Council for France took to holding meetings without calling Morison to them. Finally, when such tactics proved of no avail with a man like Morison, the Supreme Council for France requested the Supreme Council for Belgium to appoint another Representative in his place, and, very weakly, it did so in 1842.¹ That seems to have been typical of the way in which Morison set about anything he took up, and of the feelings his methods aroused in those who did not see eye to eye with him.

XIII. EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCOTTISH GRAND COUNCIL OF RITES IN 1845 AND DEGREES OF THE ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE CONFERRED BY IT PRIOR TO THE ERECTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SCOTLAND.²

When Dr Morison received his Scottish Royal Arch and Templar Degrees in 1798, the Royal Order of Scotland was the only "High Degree" system in Scotland on an organised basis and with a Grand Lodge in control of the system, though, on account of the repercussions of the

¹ F. Clement's *Contribution à l'Etude des Hauts Grades, &c., &c.* (Brussels 1937), pp. 151-3.

² Unless otherwise indicated, the information in this section as regards the claims of Deuchar and Walker-Arnott to the 33rd Degree, the purposes and establishment of the Scottish Grand Council of Rites, and Degrees conferred by it, are taken from a copy in the possession of the Supreme Council for Scotland of a letter of 18th April 1862 written by Walker-Arnott to the Supreme Council's then Grand Secretary General, A. J. Stewart, W.S.

French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars on the life of Scotland, that Grand Lodge became temporarily dormant in Scotland in 1798. Matters, however, were vastly changed as regards the "High Degrees" in Scotland by 1846, when Dr Morison was ready to erect his Supreme Council for Scotland in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, and for that two men were chiefly responsible. One was Alexander Deuchar, Seal Engraver in Edinburgh,¹ and the other was George Arnott Walker-Arnott of Arlary, LL.D., Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow.²

Up to the closing years of the 18th century the members of Royal Arch and Templar Degrees in Scotland, though they kept separate Minutes of their meetings, met in the Lodge rooms of their Craft Lodges under the fiction that the Charter granted to the Lodge by the Grand Lodge of Scotland covered any other Degrees beyond the 3 Craft Degrees that members of the Lodge cared to practise there. At the end of the 18th century two things put an end to this. One was the objection taken by the Grand Lodge of Scotland to the increasing habit of the "High Degree" members of a Craft Lodge turning out for a public procession organised by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in the clothing of their "High Degrees" and insisting on walking in the place of honour in the rear of the ordinary members of the Lodge. The other was the Unlawful Assemblies Act of 1799, which, to counter seditious meetings of the revolutionary Society of Friends of the People, forbade all meetings, including Masonic meetings, unless the Masonic Body concerned could yearly satisfy a Magistrate that it was meeting under an existing and recognised Masonic system. When that Act came into force, the Grand Lodge

¹ 1777-1844. Initiated in Lodge St David, No. 36, Edinburgh, but R.W.M. of The Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel), No. 1, 1810-15, 1824-26 and 1834-35. His family owned the estate of Morningside on the then southern outskirts of Edinburgh.

² Died 1867. Arlary is near Kinross.

of Scotland started to issue to its Lodges a yearly certificate which clearly recognised their activities only in the 3 Degrees of Craft Masonry. Accordingly the members of the Craft Lodges in Scotland who practised Royal Arch and Templar Degrees could no longer shelter under the old fiction that they were covered by the Charter issued by the Grand Lodge of Scotland to the Lodge in which they met. They, therefore, took to getting Irish Charters to cover their own activities in some cases. In such cases, mostly in the west of Scotland, their "High Degree" activities came to be known as "The Early Grand Rite". Deuchar, however, adopted a different line in the east of Scotland. In 1810 he obtained from H.R.H. The Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, a Charter setting up under Deuchar in Scotland a Royal Grand Conclave for the control of Templar Masonry. This Charter permitted the Royal Grand Conclave, in accordance with a custom common in English Templar Masonry at the time, to work also the Degrees of Rose Croix and Knight Kadosh (i.e. the Degrees forming the 18th and 30th in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite), though in point of fact these two Degrees were never worked under the Royal Grand Conclave, nor under its successor the Great Priory of Scotland, which now controls Templar Masonry in Scotland. Further, in 1817 Deuchar was chiefly instrumental in setting up, for the control of Royal Arch Masonry in Scotland, the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland, a body having no connection with Craft Masonry in Scotland. Dr Walker-Arnott says that Deuchar's original idea had been to concentrate all Christian "High Degrees" in Scotland under his Royal Grand Conclave and all non-Christian "High Degrees" under the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter for Scotland, but that, finding his hands too full with the affairs of these two bodies, he called Dr Walker-Arnott to his aid in 1842 and asked him to start a Grand Council

of Rites for the control of three systems in Scotland which were still outside the sphere of the Royal Grand Conclave and the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland. These three systems were the Rite of Perfection in 25 Degrees (the last of which had been adopted by the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite as its 32nd Degree), the Rite of Mizraim in 90 Degrees (which included all Degrees found in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite except its 32nd and 33rd Degrees), and the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of 33 Degrees.

The first mention of Scotland in connection with the Rite of Perfection occurs in 1776 when Augustus Prevost¹ of the 60th Regiment, then stationed in America, a Deputy Inspector of the Rite of Perfection, granted a Commission to J. P. Rochat,² a Lieutenant in the same Regiment, to establish that Rite in Scotland with the Commission³ granted to him as the basis of its Constitution there. It was hitherto thought that Rochat did not execute his Commission in any way as, outside Dr Walker-Arnott's letter of 18th April 1862, there is no record of any of the Degrees of this Rite being conferred in Scotland. That view may now have to be regarded as doubtful, because Dr Walker-Arnott in his letter states not only that the Rite of Perfection reached Scotland from America before the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite came into existence, but that Deuchar and some others were initiated into it, and that Deuchar, when visiting Royal Arch Chapters and Templar Encampments in Scotland, was prepared to confer the Degrees of the Rite of Per-

¹ Of Swiss origin, but rank and exact form of Christian name (Augustus or Augustine) doubtful as there was more than one Augustus (or Augustine) Prevost in the Army List at this time. See Bro. R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry* (in 6 parts) Vol. III, Chap. XXIII, pp. 59-60.

² The writer has been unsuccessful in identifying him with any member of the family of Rocheid, owners at this period of the estate of Inverleith, now in the northern suburbs of Edinburgh. Rochat, however, is not an uncommon Swiss surname, and he may also have been of Swiss origin.

³ It is not known whether the Commission covered the whole 25 Degrees of the Rite of Perfection or only its Symbolical Degrees 1 to 14.

fection on any present who might wish them. If it was Rochat who initiated Deuchar into the Rite, it must have been some time about the period 1797 to 1800 for Deuchar (born in 1777) to have been old enough and for the Rite as above mentioned to have entered Scotland before the emergence of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in 1801 at Charleston. How Deuchar was able to confer the Degrees of the Rite is easier to answer, because during the preparation of the present work the author has discovered that there is, in the personal keeping of the District Grand Master of the Punjab under the United Grand Lodge of England and Wales on behalf of his District Grand Library at Lahore, a volume containing an English translation by Henry Andrew Francken, of Kingston in Jamaica,¹ Senior Deputy Inspector of the Rite under Stephen Morin in the Western Hemisphere, of the Rituals of all the Degrees of the Rite. This volume does not contain, unfortunately, the name of any owner prior to Deuchar, nor the date on which Deuchar acquired it, but it does have Deuchar's book-plate on the inside of its front cover.

According to Bro. R. F. Gould, the Rite of Mizraim in 90 Degrees came into existence at Milan shortly after and as the result of the Supreme Council for Italy in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite set up by de Grasse-Tilly at Milan in 1805. The story is that one Lechangeur, admitted there to the higher Degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite but refused a seat on this Supreme Council, devised in revenge the Rite of Mizraim in 90 Degrees and admitted in 1810 three French brothers named Bedarride. Between 1812 and 1813 these three brothers all obtained the last Degree of the Rite elsewhere,

¹ Francken, appointed Senior Deputy Inspector of the Rite in the Western Hemisphere by Morin in 1763, introduced the Rite to the English Colonies on the mainland of the Northern American continent by establishing in 1767 a Lodge of Perfection at Albany near New York. Francken was still alive in 1791, and in 1776 the 60th Regiment was in Jamaica.

and one of them (Michel) also obtained from Lechangeur's successor, Theodore Gerber, at Milan a Warrant to propagate the Rite. Under this it spread to France, where, in 1822 or a little earlier, the heads of it holding its 90th Degree were, according to Dr Walker-Arnott's letter of 18th April 1862, the brothers Bedarride, a Bro. E. R. Roux, and the 6th Duke of Atholl (then Lord Glenlyon).¹ In 1829, he says, the Duke of Atholl was joined in the 90th Degree of the Rite by Deuchar, Sir Patrick Walker of Coates, Bart., and "some others in Scotland". He also says that in the same year as this Rite was introduced into Scotland (1829?) it was established by the brothers Bedarride in Ireland, where, in 1862, it still formed the third series in the systems controlled by an Irish Supreme Council of Rites.

The third of the Rites which Deuchar proposed should be handled in Scotland by a Grand Council of Rites under Dr Walker-Arnott was the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. In his letter of 18th April 1862, Dr Walker-Arnott says that he was shown by Deuchar documents from which it appeared that both Lord Glenlyon (in 1843 6th Duke of Atholl) and Deuchar had received the 33rd Degree of this Rite "regularly, as they believed", and that in consequence Deuchar had acquired from France a copy of the Ritual of the Degree in French and also copies of the Rituals of its 31st and 32nd Degrees, "though he already had these". It is not impossible that Deuchar may, in accordance with an incorrect practice of the time, have received his 33rd Degree from some individual; but he does not seem to have acquired it from the only two bodies in France which claimed authority over the Rite in France (the Supreme Council for France, which it will be remembered amalgamated in 1822 with "The Pompeii" section of the Supreme

¹ See *History of Freemasonry* (in 6 parts), Vol. III, Chap. XXIV, pp. 132-4. The financial methods of the brothers Bedarride when at the head of the Rite reduced it to relative unimportance by 1856. Dr Charles Morison received its 89° in Paris.

Council for the French West Indies, and the Grand Orient of France). Searches of their records have very kindly been undertaken during the preparation of this work by members of these two bodies, and in neither case has the search disclosed Deuchar's name.

So far as Dr Walker-Arnott was concerned, he says in his letter of 18th April 1862 he received from Deuchar on 23rd November 1842 the Degrees of the Rite of Mizraim up to its 77th, and, also from Deuchar, the remaining Degrees of that Rite "very shortly after". Referring presumably to the Rite of Perfection and to the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, he says, "I also obtained the highest Degrees of all the other Rites". This probably means that Deuchar conferred on him the 25th and last Degree of the Rite of Perfection (which appeared in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite as its 32nd) and such 33rd Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite as Deuchar himself claimed to hold. "No-one," Walker-Arnott wrote in 1862, "doubted the perfect legality of our practising these" [i.e. the whole Degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite] "until Dr Morison came" [i.e. to establish his Supreme Council for Scotland in 1846]. "... Although there may be a doubt about the power of the Scottish Council of Rites (formed by the amalgamation of all the Rites) to initiate anyone into the Rite Ancient" [i.e. the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite] "generally, we had full right to confer all the Degrees it contains except the 33rd itself."¹ The object of establishing these Degrees here was one merely of curiosity. No-one considered any to be of the smallest value. . . . A mere trifle was, therefore, charged for initiation, or rather affiliation, from those who resided in Scotland, but a

¹ Deuchar and Walker-Arnott may have thought so at the time; but the argument is quite unsound. To have a right to confer a certain Degree in one Rite does not imply a right to confer the Degrees of another Rite merely because the same Degree also appears in this other Rite. Such a right would only exist where the conferrer himself held that same Degree in both Rites. Admittedly, however, such punctiliousness was not common at the time.

higher rate was taken from those out of Scotland because they had some peculiar object in view." Incidentally, that passage from Dr Walker-Arnott's letter explains how the Scottish Grand Council of Rites proceeded when it came into existence. If someone came to it for a certain Degree in any of the Rite of Perfection, the Rite of Mizraim, or the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, and was accorded his request, he automatically was given at the same time the equivalent of that Degree in the other two Rites controlled by it.

Deuchar died in August 1844; but, in accordance with his wishes, Dr Walker-Arnott opened at Edinburgh his Grand Council of Rites. At first its only member could have been Dr Walker-Arnott himself; but, as its highest Degrees were conferred, so did its membership increase. In his letter of 18th April 1862, Dr Walker-Arnott gives a list of those on whom it had conferred Degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (and, of course, the equivalent Degrees of the other two Rites controlled by it) before Dr Morison set up his Supreme Council for Scotland in August 1846. They were:

Archibald Douglas. ¹	33° 22nd March 1845.
F. Senebier.	} Elected 31° 22nd March 1845. Never obligated.
W. Burn Callander. ²	
Thomas Elder MacRitchie. ³	32° 22nd March 1845.
	33° 4th July 1845.
James Bell. ⁴	32° 22nd March 1845.
Edouard Fischer ("in Belgium") member of the "33° Rite Prime de Namur".	33° 4th June 1845.

¹ Clerk in the G.P.O. Later Grand Scribe E. of the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland.

² Of Prestonhall. Capt. 4th Dragoon Guards.

³ Of Craigton and Dunork, W.S. A member of the Supreme Council for Scotland 1862-78.

⁴ A member of The Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter No. 1.

Lt. Walter Lawrence. ¹	32° 6th June 1845.
	33° 5th January 1846.
John Grant. "Surgeon, Calcutta."	33° 6th June 1845.
J. J. Hamilton Bourgoyne.	32° 4th July 1845;
	33° 12th September 1845.
And. D. Barrowman.	31° 4th July 1845.
W. D. MacRitchie. ²	32° 4th July 1845;
	33° 12th September 1845.
Wm. Lawrence.	33° 4th July 1845.
W. A. Lawrie. ³	33° 12th September 1845.
Viscount Suidale. ⁴	32° 5th January 1846.
George Philip Stanhope. ⁵	30° 5th January 1846.
J. L. Woodman. ⁶	33° 5th January 1846.

When, therefore, Dr. Morison appeared in Scotland to set up his Supreme Council for Scotland in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, the stage was set for an assured battle between two outstanding "High Degree" Masons of their day, both of them men of great determination. For the setting there was:

1. A Grand Council of Rites in existence at Edinburgh since early in 1845 claiming power to confer all the Degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, and, in fact, having conferred them.

¹ E. Walter Lawrence, Yr. of Lisreaghan, Co. Galway.

² M.D.

³ William Alexander Lawrie of Rossend, W.S., Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

⁴ Later 4th Earl of Donoughmore.

⁵ Later 8th Earl of Chesterfield.

⁶ James Linning Woodman, Clerk to the Signet; Grand Clerk to the Grand Lodge of Scotland; Grand Secretary of the Royal Grand Conclave (later Great Priory of Scotland); Correspondent of Dr Walker-Arnott on matters concerning the Scottish Grand Council of Rites and possibly its Secretary. Grand Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Scotland from 1849.

2. This Grand Council of Rites was then in correspondence with the Irish Council of Rites trying to adjust a reciprocal arrangement for the conferring of the 18th Degree¹ and also to extract some sort of Charter or other authority to remove the doubts held by the Scottish Grand Council to confer generally the Degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite through the medium of a Council of Rites.
3. Through Linning Woodman it had already approached John Whyte Melville, then of Mount Melville (later of Bennoch and Strathkinness), Deputy Grand Master of Scotland, "in regard to the 33rd Degree, Order of Mizraim, &c.", and this important Scottish Mason had said he was "quite willing to belong to these Degrees".²
4. As late as 21st July 1846 Dr Walker-Arnott and Linning Woodman had hopes that Dr Morison, even if he found no places in his intended Supreme Council for other members of the Scottish Grand Council of Rites, would at least invite Dr Walker-Arnott to be his Lieutenant Grand Commander and Linning Woodman to fill some other office in it.³ If this did not happen, Linning Woodman agreed that they must be prepared to act as Dr Walker-Arnott had suggested to him.⁴ What this intended course was is not known; but in the light of subsequent events it could have been a protest to the Supreme Council

¹ Letter from Linning Woodman to Viscount Suirdale on 6th July 1846 (p. 80 in first Letter Book of the Great Priory of Scotland covering years 1845-68).

² Letter from Linning Woodman to Dr Walker-Arnott dated 4th February 1846 (p. 78 in first Letter Book of the Great Priory of Scotland covering years 1845-68).

³ Letter from Linning Woodman to Dr Walker-Arnott dated 21st May 1846 (p. 192 in first Letter Book of the Great Priory of Scotland for the years 1845-68).

⁴ Letter from Linning Woodman to Dr Walker-Arnott dated 21st July 1846 (p. 245, *ibid.*).

- for France to refuse recognition of any Supreme Council erected by Dr Morison on the plea that there was already in Scotland a legitimate body controlling the Rite, with members properly possessed of the 33rd Degree.
5. Finally, as to some extent the whole situation hinged on the legality of Deuchar's claim to the 33rd Degree, and he had left no documents of any help to Dr Walker-Arnott, whatever doubts the latter held in regard to his own 33rd Degree received from Deuchar, he was determined to contest as best he could any insinuations to the contrary by Dr Morison. Unfortunately for him, as will be seen in the next section, Dr Morison did make him commit himself to claims which were easily discredited.

As the only account of the preliminaries to and erection of the Supreme Council for Scotland comes from Dr Morison himself, it is perhaps fortunate in this preceding section to be able to give some idea of how Dr Walker-Arnott was placed and felt when Dr Morison put his scheme into operation. It is, therefore, all the more creditable to Dr Walker-Arnott that, when he was defeated by Dr Morison, it was, as will appear later, entirely due to the magnanimous action taken by him that the new Supreme Council for Scotland, when erected, had a free field in which to consolidate its position, so far as the Grand Council of Rites was concerned.

XIV. PRELIMINARIES TO AND ERECTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SCOTLAND IN 1846

Following the erection of the Supreme Council for Scotland on 4th August 1846, one of its first acts was to seek recognition by the Supreme Council for France. This was not immediately accorded, as had been hoped, owing to doubts as to legality of Dr Morison's actings in light of the existence of the Scottish Grand Council of Rites and

the claim of Dr Walker-Arnott to be in possession of the 33rd Degree—doubts, it may be said, which were probably raised on representations to the Supreme Council for France by Dr Walker-Arnott. Dr. Morison, who was then back in Paris, personally intervened and on 30th July 1847 sent the following Explanatory Note ¹ as to his actings in Scotland, in French, to the Supreme Council for France:

"The right of Bro. Morison of Greenfield to form in Scotland a Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree has been contested. The present note has as its object to establish this right in a manner irrefutable.

"In Spain in 1813 Bro. Morison was admitted Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33rd Degree of the Ancient Accepted Rite.

"In the month of November 1814, this rank was recognised in him by the Supreme Council of America sitting in Paris, which delivered to him a new Diploma in exchange for his former.

"In Sept. 1826 the Supreme Council for France set its Visa on this later Diploma, and registered the bearer of it on the roll of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General recognised by it.

"Then from 1835 to 1845, Bro. Morison discharged at the Congress of allied Supreme Councils the duties of representative of the Supreme Council for Belgium.

"Up to 1844, he has figured without interruption, in the rank of 33rd, on the rolls of the Supreme Council for France, and, if his name was dropped from them at this juncture, it was on his own request and for reasons, it is unnecessary to recall.²

"In 1846 Bro. Morison happening to be in Scotland, at

¹ Copy by Dr Morison in the possession of the Supreme Council for Scotland.

² Actually it was the Supreme Council for France which caused his appointment as Representative of the Supreme Council for Belgium to be recalled. See pp. 68 and 69.

his estate of Greenfield, received on 8th July a visit from Bros. Jocelyn,¹ Robertson² and Murray³ who solicited him to form in the kingdom a Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree.

"Bro. Morison agreed to the request; but, before going further, insisted that the applicants should address a proper demand to him. This was done on the 14th of the same month.

"The Petition⁴ was signed by the three Bros. above named and also by Bros. Somerville⁵ and Donaldson,⁶ all Masons of high standing and in the profane world enjoying a proper esteem.

"On the same day, 14th July, Bro. Morison received a letter from Bro. Arnott, styling himself President of a Council of Rites for Scotland, in which figured, as a section, an alleged Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree. In this letter Bro. Arnott demanded to be included in the number of the nine members that were to compose the Supreme Council which Bro. Morison proposed founding at Edinburgh. Bro. Morison replied to him that he had entrusted Jocelyn to present the persons he judged suitable to become part of this Supreme Council and that Bro. Arnott in consequence must discuss with this Bro. the object of his demand.

¹ The Hon. Augustus G. F. Jocelyn, son of the Earl of Roden; Capt. 6th Dragoon Guards and A.D.C. to the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland; Substitute Grand Master in the Grand Lodge of Scotland; Subject of a cartoon in Crombie's *Modern Athenians*.

² James Robertson, Grand Director of Ceremonies in the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

³ Andrew Murray, Proprietor of the Turf Hotel, Princes Street, Edinburgh (site now occupied by the North British Station Hotel); R.W.M. Lodge Celtic, Edinburgh and Leith, No. 291; Photograph in the *History of Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter No. 1*, by W. A. Davis, F.S.A.A.

⁴ There is a copy in the first Minute Book of the Supreme Council for Scotland.

⁵ Samuel Somerville of Ampherlaw, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 17 Hart Street, Edinburgh; Member of Grand Committee in the Grand Lodge of Scotland; Immediate Past Master of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning No. 2; Oil portrait of him in the Lodge room of the latter. Died 1874.

⁶ William, George Street, Edinburgh; Grand Clothier to the Grand Lodge of Scotland; Depute Master of Lodge Celtic, Edinburgh and Leith, No. 291.

"The pretention of Bro. Arnott was rejected by several Bros. and Bro. Arnott was represented as a man difficult to live with, constantly forcing himself to the front in all the societies to which he belonged, and having, besides, a name for trafficking in Masonry although, from his position, he was perfectly sheltered from want. Bro. —¹ declared moreover that he was resolved to withdraw from the Supreme Council if Bro. Arnott was admitted.

"In a fresh letter of 27th July, Bro. Arnott, putting up his demands, proposed a compromise on the terms that the projected Supreme Council should consist of members chosen half by himself and half by Bro. Jocelyn.

"To his exorbitant demand, Bro. Morison replied that he did not recognise in Bro. Arnott any right to impose conditions; that he did not consider him as a regular 33rd, and that he denied the right he had arrogated to himself of instituting a Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree within the body of his Council of Rites; that, however, if Bro. Arnott was in a position to prove by any document that he was a regular Sovereign Grand Inspector General, Bro. Morison would immediately renounce following up the formation of the Supreme Council he projected and that he would put himself at pains to proclaim the legality of his one; that, on the other hand, having no title substantiating his demand for his admission into the future Supreme Council, he must regard this admission, if it was accorded to him, as entirely a favour.

"As his only reply, Bro. Arnott wrote on 1st August 'that he was not prepared to engage in any discussion on a question of Diploma'.

"So matters stood when Bro. Morison set out for Edinburgh to proceed with the constitution of the Supreme Council for Scotland.

"At 11 p.m. on 3rd August, at the close of a meeting of

¹ Probably Bro. Jocelyn. He retired from the Supreme Council for Scotland following the death of Dr Morison and when it was mooted that Dr Walker-Arnott should join it.

the Grand Lodge,¹ Bro. Morison received a visit from Bro. Arnott accompanied by Bro. J. Whyte Melville of Mount Melville, Deputy Grand Master of Scotland. Bro. Arnott renewed, with extreme insistence, his demand for admission into the projected Supreme Council, claiming moreover the same favour for several members of his Council of Rites. Tired of this hostility, and to avoid a schism, always annoying, Bro. Morison finally consented, though with regret, to admit Bro. Arnott with Bro. Woodman, one of his adherents.

"But during the night, Bro. Arnott altered his resolution and, next morning, he charged Bro. Whyte Melville to communicate his retraction to Bro. Morison of Greenfield.

"The same evening the constitution of the Supreme Council took place.²

"Bro. Morison acted in this important matter by virtue of the right, conferred on all Sovereign Grand Inspectors General legally received by Art 2 of the Grand Constitutions of 1786, to set up a Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree in any state or Kingdom where no regular one existed.

"But, it might be asked, did there not already exist in Scotland a regular Supreme Council?

"Far from Bro. Arnott being a regular Sovereign Grand Inspector General, he was not even an irregular Sovereign Grand Inspector General.

"Interrogated as to the origin of the titles that he attributed to himself, it will be seen that he several times varied in his allegations.

¹ It will be noted that Dr Morison makes no mention of the tradition that at the end of this meeting of the Grand Lodge of Scotland he and Dr Walker-Arnott came to blows and had to be parted by the Deputy Grand Master, Whyte Melville.

² On 4th August 1846 Dr Morison was first handed the Petition dated 14th July which, clearly, he had framed for the Petitioners. It requested him, if satisfied with the Petitioners, to confer on them the 33rd Degree and afterwards to erect them into a Supreme Council. He conferred the Degree on Jocelyn and then, with his help, on Dr Somerville, and they three on another, and so on. He then presented them with the Constitutions which in advance he had prepared for the new Supreme Council.

"First, it was, he said, Bro. A. Deuchar of Edinburgh, who conferred on him the 33rd Degree. It was proved to him by a letter of Bro. Deuchar himself, that this Bro. never belonged to the Scottish Rite.¹

"Then he pretended that General Jubé² had received him Sovereign Grand Inspector General at London. A letter from General Jubé, who has never been in London, gives a formal denial to this second assertion.

"He was, however, approached to exhibit his Diploma; it was offered to renounce the establishment of a new Supreme Council, if he could prove by any document whatsoever that his own one was regular. His answer was that he was not prepared to engage in any discussion on a question of Diploma.

"That shows how entirely impossible it was for him to produce any such document.

"So much did he feel the irregularity of his own position, the illegality of his pretended Supreme Council, that with perseverance he solicited his own admission up to the last moment into the Supreme Council which Bro. Morison of Greenfield was organising; and, if he then retracted, it was because he realised that he would not occupy in this Supreme Council the post of his ambition, that he would not exercise the influence and the authority which he dreamed of, and that he would meet with an opposition, both formal and constant, to his views of domination and *trafficking*.

"Now, it is said, he pretends that the 33rd Degree was given to him at London in 1845 by Bro. Guiffrey.³

"If this was so his Supreme Council would be regular;

¹ Dr Morison's actual words were "appartenu à l'Ecosisme". Strictly "l'Ecosisme" means Ecossais Masonry, and Deuchar certainly belonged to Ecossais Masonry in respect that he had and conferred, as has been mentioned, the Degrees of the Rite of Perfection which was Ecossais. As Dr Morison is here talking of the 33rd Degree, he clearly meant by "l'Ecosisme" the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

² Charles. Of the Supreme Council of France. One of its signatories to the Treaty of Alliance of 1834.

³ Of the Supreme Council for France.

and, instead of soliciting as actively as he has done, the favour of being admitted into that which Bro. Morison intended to establish in Edinburgh, he could have claimed his anterior right, invoked his possession, and produced his titles in final protest.

"From another angle, it can be read in the letter which he wrote on 1st August 1846 to Bro. Morison, how when he met Bro. Guiffrey at London in 1845, this Bro. had suggested to him that he should have his pretended Supreme Council recognised by the Supreme Council for France, and he had demanded time to think the matter over. Now if Bro. Guiffrey had made any such suggestions, it was because Bro. Guiffrey thought he was a regular 33rd and regarded his Supreme Council as legal. On the contrary, if Bro. Guiffrey had conferred on him this Grade, recognition by the Supreme Council for France would have followed as a matter of course, and Bro. Arnott would not have demanded time for reflection. His reflections should all have been made.

"It is as clear as day that Bro. Arnott has imagined his reception into the 33rd Degree by Bro. Guiffrey, as he had previously imagined his reception by Bro. Deuchar, and then by Bro. Jubé. Nothing could be more true than this.

"To sum up, if Bro. Arnott was not a regular 33rd, it follows that the Supreme Council he founded was not legal, but Bro. Morison was incontestable in these circumstances under Art. 2 of the Grand Constitutions of 1786. He had the right of establishing in Scotland a Supreme Council and it follows that this Supreme Council is legal and alone legal.

"But apart from its legitimacy, it has the backing of Masonry in Scotland because it is supported by the representatives of that Masonry—The Duke of Athol, Grand Master; Bro. W. Melville of Mount Melville, Deputy Grand Master; Bro. Jocelyn, Substitute Grand Master; The Master of Torphichen, Provincial Grand

Master¹; and other officers of the Grand Lodge. Bro. Arnott, on the contrary, is recognised in all quarters as a trafficker in Masonry as is proved by numerous evidents, that will be forthcoming—and both he and his pretended Supreme Council are rejected by all honourable Masons in Scotland and Ireland.”

All the same, the Supreme Council for Scotland on 4th August 1846 was still not complete, as it consisted only of

Dr Morison, Sovereign Grand Commander.
 Bro. Jocelyn, Lieutenant Grand Commander.
 Dr Somerville, Grand Secretary.
 Bro. Robertson, Grand Treasurer.
 Bro. Murray, Grand Master of Ceremonies.
 Bro. Donaldson, Grand Captain of the Guard.

Without waiting for their Supreme Council to be completed, these six on 19th October 1846 wrote to the Supreme Council for France reporting the erection of their Supreme Council for Scotland and requesting recognition. Anticipating no trouble, Dr Morison, after signing this letter, returned to France and never again visited Scotland before his death on 4th May 1849. Trouble, however, there was, and owing to representations made by Dr Walker-Arnott no answer was returned by the Supreme Council for France, except one from its Administrative Committee to the effect that it was unable to give the recognition requested. The matter was reported to Dr Morison in Paris, and on 30th July 1847 he intervened with a blistering letter to the Supreme Council for France asking by what authority a letter addressed from one Supreme Council to another was being answered by a Committee and demanding immediate recognition. It was accompanied by the foregoing Explanatory Note, quoted at length. The result of Dr Morison's intervention was a Charter of Recognition of the Supreme Council for

¹ Of Linlithgowshire.

Scotland from the Supreme Council for France dated 8th June 1848, in which the latter recommended the Supreme Council for Scotland to its allies of 1834—the United Supreme Council for the Western Hemisphere at New York, the Supreme Council for Belgium, and the latter's daughter the Supreme Council for Brazil. What has been said in respect of this Charter and its nature will, it is hoped, correct the mistaken idea which has been widely held hitherto that the Supreme Council for Scotland was erected under a Charter from the Supreme Council for France. It was erected under no Charter, but entirely by the personal action of Dr Morison relying on the powers accorded to him as a Sovereign Grand Inspector General 33rd Degree by the Grand Constitutions of 1786.

On 17th November 1846 the Supreme Council for Scotland was completed to its full complement of nine members by the original six members admitting the Master of Torphichen,¹ the Duke of Atholl,² and John Whyte Melville of Mount Melville,³ though the number was reduced again by the resignation of William Donaldson before the close of the year.

XV. THE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SCOTLAND AND THE SCOTTISH GRAND COUNCIL OF RITES

From the end of 1846 until 1849 the membership of the Supreme Council for Scotland remained at eight. In

¹ The Hon. Robert Sandilands, Capt. 3rd Regt. Guards and later 11th Baron Torphichen; M.M. of Lodge St John No. 272, Mid-Calder; Substitute Grand Master 1840; Provincial Grand Master of Linlithgowshire 1846-58.

² 6th Duke of Atholl; Grand Master Mason of Scotland. Died 1864.

³ Later of Bennoch and Strathkinness; laid the foundation stone of the first premises of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in George Street, Edinburgh; originator of the Fund of Scottish Masonic Benevolence; the only Scottish Mason to date who at one and the same time has held the principal office in the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland, the Great Priory of Scotland, and the Supreme Council for Scotland; portrait as Captain of the Club in the Club House of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club at St Andrews.

1849 it was reduced to five by the deaths of Dr Morison and James Robertson and by the resignation of the Hon. A. G. F. Jocelyn upon Dr Morison's death. It seems clear that the main opposition to the Scottish Grand Council of Rites had been centred in Dr Morison and the Hon. A. G. F. Jocelyn. On their departure in 1849 Bro. the Duke of Atholl and Bro. John Whyte Melville became Sovereign Grand Commander and Lieutenant Grand Commander, and they immediately came to an arrangement whereby Bro. J. Linning Woodman, Secretary of the Grand Council of Rites, was released by Dr Walker-Arnott from these duties, passed under the allegiance of the Supreme Council for Scotland in the 32nd Degree, was immediately promoted to its 33rd Degree, and given membership of the Supreme Council for Scotland, where he relieved Dr Samuel Somerville of Ampherlaw in his duties of Grand Secretary General. In this connection it should be noted in particular that though the Duke of Atholl, when he entered the Supreme Council in 1846, was treated as if he already held the 33rd Degree, Bro. Linning Woodman, when he passed under the allegiance of the Supreme Council in 1849, only did so in the 32nd Degree although he held the 33rd Degree under the Grand Council of Rites and although there were at the time vacancies in the Supreme Council for Scotland. The inference to be drawn from this is that even Bro. Whyte Melville, who had expressed his willingness to join the Grand Council of Rites before Dr Morison set up his Supreme Council, and who had done so much to try and bring parties together in the initial moves towards the erection of the Supreme Council for Scotland, was now also convinced that the 33rd Degree received by Bro. Linning Woodman from Dr Walker-Arnott in the Grand Council of Rites was not legal.

As so much of the peaceful settlement between the Supreme Council and the Grand Council of Rites was due

to Dr Walker-Arnott, it would be wrong not to give him the credit which is his due. Let him, therefore, tell the story for himself as he gives it in his letter of 18th April 1862 to Bro. A. J. Stewart, W.S., then Grand Secretary General of the Supreme Council. He says:

"After Dr. Morison established his 33° in his own fashion, I, feeling that there was a great impropriety in there being two such powers in Scotland, refused to hold any meetings of the original body,¹ and, although I did not object to confer the degrees in Mizraim and Rite of Perfection—in that, all except the 'Grand Inspector General'²—I formed the determination rather to allow the whole to drop than do anything that would cause umbrage. . . . After Dr Morison's death—at least I think it was not till then—a proposal was made to me to join the 33°³ as there was then a vacancy. I refused unless arrangements could be made to admit also to the same degree they had obtained from my Supr. Council,⁴ all those in my List, and at a trifling fee, and that, if there was no place for them at present in the corresponding degree, they were to be received into the next highest with the understanding that they were to be promoted when a vacancy occurred, or, at all events, were to be so according to seniority—they to rank from the date at which they had obtained this degree from my Sup. Council. This was agreed to by the late J. L. Woodman,⁵ and I find a Memorandum among my papers, dated Glasgow, 1 May 1857 . . . to the following effect:

"In consequence of the Rite Ancient having been established in Scotland by Dr Charles Morison, in connection with the Supreme Council of the 33° of

¹ The Grand Council of Rites.

² Presumably the 25th and last Degree of the Rite of Perfection.

³ Of the Supreme Council for Scotland.

⁴ In the Grand Council of Rites.

⁵ On behalf of the Supreme Council for Scotland, where he had been Grand Secretary General since 1849.

France, and as the late Alex. Deuchar had left no documents to show that this Rite had been properly established in Scotland, and that he had been admitted a member of the 33rd Degree according to the precise manner laid down in its regulations, the members of the Supr. Council of Rites agreed, without any formal meeting, that they would no longer grant any degree *as part of the Rite Ancient*, and, on the other hand, the newly formed body¹ agreed to admit, as far as there was a place for them, those of the 33° in connection with the Council of Rites, either to the 33° or to the next highest degree in which there might be a vacancy, on payment of a modified fee. It was, in consequence, agreed also by the members of the Council of Rites that in future they would not grant any degrees but those belonging to the Order of Mizraim,² and moreover that they would not grant more than the 45 degree to one, who was not a member of the Royal Order, or of the 18° of the Rite Ancient, or more than the 63rd Degree, until one had obtained the 30° of the Rite Ancient, or the 66th degree to one who had not received the 31° in the Rite Ancient. This was agreed to, so as to avoid any collision and in the hope that the fees would be made so moderate as not to exclude Brethren. But the members of the Order of Mizraim reserved to themselves power at any time, if they saw cause, to act quite independently of the Rite Ancient, especially if they found it placed obstacles, either by high fees or the ballot, in the way of any Brother³ of respectability, although not of civil rank, obtaining all the degrees up to the 31° inclusive.⁷

¹ The Supreme Council for Scotland.

² Note that under this arrangement the Degrees of the Rite of Perfection entirely ceased in Scotland.

³ On the Roll of the Grand Council of Rites.

"In consequence of the above, no meeting has taken place for several years, the general wish being to allow the Order of Mizraim to die out, unless for the purpose of admitting some worthy Brother, who would take charge of the papers of this body.¹

"I do not recollect what the modified fees were (but I think £1: 1/-) made by the Sup. Council of 33°. I alone was admitted to the 33°, there being only one vacancy. Archibald Douglas and some others of my 33° were admitted to the 32°. Others care so little about it that they would not apply, or pay the fee. W. A. Laurie, I believe, refused. Dr MacRitchie and Thos. Eld. MacRitchie were both entitled to join the 32° but I do not know if they did so."²

In the above letter Dr Walker-Arnott is not quite accurate when he says that there was one vacancy in the Supreme Council for Scotland when he threw in his lot with it in 1851. Actually, there were three vacancies. And again note that, as in the case of Bro. Linning Woodman, he gave his allegiance to the Supreme Council for Scotland in the 32nd Degree and was then promoted by it to the 33rd Degree with a seat on the Supreme Council. This shows that even he had accepted the position that, though he might, in virtue of his 25th and last Degree of the Rite of Perfection, be considered, according to the idea of the time, as holding legally thereby the 32nd Degree, which it had become in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Deuchar never did have the 33rd Degree of that Rite legally, and, therefore, that his own 33rd Degree received from Deuchar, was equally illegal. This should finally end all argument as to whether there was any legal holder of the 33rd Degree in Scotland when Dr Morison set up his Supreme Council in 1846.

¹ No more admissions to the Order of Mizraim after 1846 are known in Scotland.

² Both did join in 32°. The latter became a member of the Supreme Council for Scotland in 1862.

XVI. EARLY RITUALS OF AND PECULIARITIES IN THE WORKING OF DEGREES BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SCOTLAND

When Dr Morison departed for France in October or November 1846 he left for the use of his new Supreme Council five copy books containing French Rituals of the 28th, 30th, 31st, 32nd and 33rd Degrees; but he promised immediately to order from the Supreme Council for France a complete set of its Rituals, and, when they were ready, to make a present of them to the Supreme Council for Scotland. A year after Dr Morison's death (i.e. in 1850), M. Bernhardt, one of his friends, arrived in Scotland with the promised Rituals, for which Dr Morison's estate had had to pay a charge of £50 to the Supreme Council for France. In view of this, M. Bernhardt explained that his instructions were to hand over the Rituals to the Supreme Council for Scotland on being reimbursed for their cost, but if it was unwilling to do so his instructions were then to offer the Rituals at a similar cost, in their successive order, to the Duke of Leinster,¹ and Dr Robert Crucefix (Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council for England and Wales). The Supreme Council for Scotland found the necessary sum and received the Rituals, which are beautifully written in three large volumes bound in red tooled leather. It is doubtful, however, if they were of any early practical use to the Supreme Council for Scotland, for even yet it only works in full the 18th, 30th, 31st, 32nd and 33rd Degrees, for all of which, except the 18th Degree, it had Dr Morison's own copies of the Ritual.

As regards the 18th or Rose Croix Degree, it will be noticed that Dr Morison left no Ritual when he returned to France in 1846, and, therefore, since the Supreme

¹ Augustus Frederick, 3rd Duke of Leinster, Sovereign G. Commander of the Supreme Council of Ireland 1824-74 and President G. Chapter of Prince Masons of Ireland 1846-74.

ERRATA

This second edition has been reproduced photographically from the first edition. Consequently it has not been possible to incorporate certain addenda and errata in the text. These are given below:—

- Page 4, Line 5; For "1728" read "1725"
Line 14; For "first" read "second"
Footnote 3; Add "See AQC, Vol. 47 for further data on Heggarty."
- Page 8, Delete last sentence of footnote and add "See AQC, Vol. 86."
- Page 9, Line 6; For "1727 or 1728" read "1725"
Line 20; Delete from "If there is included" to "in 1771 were:" and insert "It is now established that the Grand Masters of France were:
?1728-?1731 The Duke of Wharton"
Line 23; For "?1736" read "?1731-1736"
Line 29; For "1727 or 1728" read "1725"
Line 35; For "1727 or 1728" read "1725"
- Page 13, Sub-para 1; For "1736" read "1728"
Sub-para 4, Line 8; For "1728" read "1725"
- Page 14, Sub-para (a); For "A.D.60" read "A.D.70"
- Page 16, Line 13; For "Michael Andrew Ramsay" read "Andrew Michael Ramsay"
- Page 19, Line 12; For "Michael Andrew Ramsay" read "Andrew Michael Ramsay"
Line 15; For "sometime before 1730²" read "in 1730²"
Footnote 2; After "Kilwinning" delete remainder and add "He was initiated in the Horn Lodge at Westminster on 16th March 1730."
- Page 20, Line 3; For "two years" read "one year"
Lines 4 & 5; Delete reference to Prince Henry (he was not born until March 1725).
Line 11; For "1727" read "1729"
- Page 21, Line 21; Ramsay certainly composed the Oration but it is virtually certain that he was not present and that it was delivered on his behalf.
- Page 63, Sub-para 7; Further examination of Levitikon discloses that Palaprat's Order had (a) Nine Levitical Grades of which a Knight of the Order, such as Dr Morison, received only the first. As no details of it are given, it is impossible to say whether it was Trinitarian or not. Of the remaining eight Levitical Grades only the last two were Trinitarian. (b) A "Rituel-Ceremoniaire du Saint Sacrifice Eucharistique ou Premier Service Religieux qui a lieu les jours de feric." It is not known whether such Services were in fact ever held but they were definitely Trinitarian in character and attendance at them was prescribed for Knights of the Order, such as Dr Morison.
The author had no knowledge as to whether or not Dr Morison ceased to be a member of Palaprat's Order before his death; but so long as he remained a member of it, Levitikon affords no evidence for any statement that latterly he abandoned either the Christian Faith or its Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.
- Page 72, Delete first footnote. Insert "Born Geneva 1723, died London 1786."
- Page 108, Index, under "R"; "Ramsay" for "Michael Andrew" read "Andrew Michael."

Council of France's Rituals did not reach Scotland until 1850, something had to be provided in the interval for the 18th or Rose Croix Degree. Now, as earlier mentioned, though the Royal Grand Conclave in Scotland did not work this Degree, albeit it was entitled to do so under its Charter from H.R.H. The Duke of Kent in 1810, it was frequently worked in some Templar Encampments in England, and also may have been worked by some in Scotland which were not under the Royal Grand Conclave. At all events, from its earliest days the Supreme Council for Scotland adopted for its 18th or Rose Croix Degree a Templar Rose Croix Ritual, which is the same as that revised in 1830 for the Newcastle-on-Tyne Royal Kent Templar Encampment by one of its members Alexander Dalziel, who was born at Duns in Berwickshire but subsequently settled at Newcastle-on-Tyne. This fact came to light by the writer during his preparation of this history being afforded an opportunity of seeing a copy of Bro. Alexander Dalziel's revised Ritual, and the whole explains why the Rose Croix Ritual of the Supreme Council for Scotland varies from that of the Supreme Council for England and Wales, which, when it was erected, received from the United States of America a copy of the Rose Croix Ritual generally used in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

Though other peculiarities dating from the early days of the Supreme Council for Scotland have gradually disappeared, they may be of interest to its present adherents. For example:

(1) Until it had sufficient adherents to do otherwise, the Supreme Council for Scotland, in accordance with the profane or Masonic status of a Candidate, selected the level at which he was admitted to the Rite.

(2) Up to 1874, when it was forcibly taken to task for the practice by the other Supreme Councils of the World, it considered it was complying with the provision in the

Grand Constitutions that no one was to receive a higher Degree in the Rite until he held those preceding it, by obligating the Candidate only in the Degree immediately preceding that he was about to receive. The objection taken in 1874 by the other Supreme Councils in that year determined the Supreme Council for Scotland to confer on its Candidates in future, by short Lecture form, the preceding Degrees of the Rite which it did not work in full. As it had no short Lecture forms of its own, it got them from Bro. Albert Pike, Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council for the Southern Masonic Jurisdiction U.S.A., but it did not realise that Bro. Pike's Lecture forms were applicable not to its own 18th-century Rituals obtained from the Supreme Council for France, but to the very different forms of these Degrees prepared by Bro. Pike for use in his own Jurisdiction. Eventually, in 1951, the Supreme Council for Scotland issued fresh Lectures of its own based on its French Rituals. If some of the older adherents of the Supreme Council for Scotland remember and regret the abandonment of Bro. Pike's Lecture forms for the 4th to 17th Degrees and the 19th to the 29th Degrees for something that sounds more primitive, they should, at all events, find consolation in the fact that the new Lecture forms are consistent with the 18th-century forms of the Degrees they cover, whereas those of Bro. Pike were never written for them but for his own revised version of them which is not used by any of the Supreme Councils in Great Britain and Ireland.

(3) While it was obligating Candidates only in the Degree preceding that which was to be conferred, the Supreme Council for Scotland never obligated anyone in any Degree below the 17th Degree, considering, apparently, that as the 15th and 16th Degrees were concerned with the Second Temple, it would arouse the antagonism of the older Supreme Grand Royal Arch

Chapter of Scotland if it extended its activities in any way below the 17th Degree.

(4) Up to 1865 all Degrees conferred by the Supreme Council for Scotland were worked, in so far as they were worked at all, entirely by the Supreme Council itself without the intervention of any subordinate body. As the number of Candidates for the 18th and 30th Degrees rapidly increased, meetings of the Supreme Council (or rather of those of its members who resided in Edinburgh and were available) had to be called at incredibly short intervals, and, judging from the number of Supreme Council members recorded as present on these occasions, it seems quite impossible that either Degree was "worked" in the way that term is now understood. Indeed, it is extremely probable that all the Candidate got was a request to sign a book, in which was written the Obligation of the Degree preceding that he was to receive, the Secrets of the Degree to which he had been elected, and, if anything more, a brief explanation of the setting and salient points of its Ritual. Even so, however, the Supreme Council could not cope with the situation at all, and the waiting-list of Candidates had become so formidable that at length certain members of the 18th and 30th Degrees in Edinburgh suggested that the working of these two Degrees should be delegated by Supreme Council to them. So it came about in 1865 that the Edinburgh Consistory No. 1 was chartered by the Supreme Council for Scotland to work these two Degrees. When it received this Charter, the Edinburgh Consistory No. 1 (now known as the Edinburgh Sovereign Council No. 1) very sensibly formed two separate bodies with separate office-bearers and separate Minute Books—the Edinburgh Consistory No. 1 for the 30th Degree and the Edinburgh Sovereign Chapter No. 1 for the 18th Degree, though both derived right from the same Charter which was held in the custody of the Edinburgh Consistory. Except in respect of their Common

Charter, they were to all intents and purposes entirely separate bodies, and, as it was wrong that the Edinburgh Sovereign Chapter should be working under a Charter it never saw and which was in the custody of the Edinburgh Consistory, with the acquiescence of the two bodies concerned the Supreme Council recalled the original Charter and in October 1950 issued separate new Charters to the Edinburgh Sovereign Council No. 1 and to the Edinburgh Sovereign Chapter No. 1, preserving in them their original dates of erection and precedence.

And here

Let's teach ourselves that honourable stop,
Not to outsport discretion,

for, if this book has gone further in order to explain some of the customs of "The Scottish Rite" in Scotland, which are attributable to the beginnings of the Supreme Council for Scotland, the final objective promised at its outset was the erection of that body in 1846.

APPENDIX

RAMSAY'S ORATION OF 21ST MARCH 1737

Note. The whole of the Oration is given in Bro. R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry* (in 6 parts), Vol. III, Chap. XXIV, pp. 84-89. The following extracts (reproduced here by kind permission of The Caxton Publishing Company Limited, P.O. Box 753, Morley Hall, 25-26 St George Street, Hanover Square, London, W. 1) contain the matter in the Oration relative to the subsequent French Ecossais Degrees then beginning to appear.

"The world is nothing but a huge republic, of which every nation is a family, and every individual a child. Our Society was at the outset established to revive and spread these essential maxims borrowed from the nature of man. . . . Our ancestors the Crusaders, gathered together from all parts of Christendom in the Holy Land, desired thus to reunite into one sole Fraternity the individuals of all nations. What obligations do we not owe to these superior men. . . ? We do not confine ourselves to purely civic virtues. We have amongst us three kinds of brothers: Novices or Apprentices, Fellows or Professed Brothers, Masters or Perfected Brothers. To the first are explained the moral virtues; to the second the heroic virtues; to the last, the Christian virtues. . . . We have Secrets. . . . These were words of War which the Crusaders gave each other in order to guarantee them from the surprises of the Saracens. . . . The word Freemason must not be taken in a literal, gross and material sense, as if our founders had been simple workers in stone, or merely curious geniuses who wished to perfect the arts. They were not only skilful architects desirous of consecrating their talents and goods to the construction of material temples; but also

religious and warrior princes who designed to enlighten, edify, and protect the living Temples of the Most High. This I will demonstrate by developing the history or rather the renewal of the Order. . . . Some ascribe our institution to Solomon, some to Moses, some to Abraham, some to Noah, and some to Enoch, who built the first city, or some to Adam. Without any pretence of denying these origins, I pass on to matters less ancient. This, then, is part of what I have gathered in the annals of Great Britain, in the Acts of Parliament, which speak often of our privileges, and in the living traditions of the English people, which has been the centre of our Society since the eleventh century. At the time of the Crusades in Palestine many princes, lords and citizens associated themselves, and vowed to restore the Temple of the Christians in the Holy Land, and to employ themselves in bringing back their architecture to its first institution. They agreed upon several ancient signs and symbolic words drawn from the well of religion in order to recognise themselves amongst the heathen and Saracens. These signs and words were only communicated to those who promised solemnly, and even sometimes at the foot of the altar, never to reveal them. . . . Some time afterwards our Order formed an intimate union with the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. From that time our Lodges took the name of Lodges of St John. This union was made after the example set by the Israelites when they erected the second Temple, who whilst they handled the trowel and mortar with one hand, in the other held the sword and buckler. Our Order therefore must be considered . . . as an Order founded in remote antiquity, and renewed in the Holy Land by our ancestors in order to recall the memory of the most sublime truths amidst the pleasures of society. The kings, princes and lords returned from Palestine to their own lands, and there established divers Lodges. At the time of the last Crusades many Lodges were already erected in

Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and from thence in Scotland, because of the close alliance between the French and the Scotch. James, Lord Steward of Scotland, was Grand Master of a Lodge established at Kilwinning, in the West of Scotland, MCCLXXXVI, shortly after the death of Alexander III, King of Scotland, and one year before John Baliol mounted the throne. This lord received as Freemasons into his Lodge the Earls of Gloucester and Ulster, the one English, the other Irish. By degrees our Lodges and our Rites were neglected in most places. This is why of so many historians only those of Great Britain speak of our Order. Nevertheless it preserved its splendour among those Scotsmen to whom the Kings of France confided during many centuries the safeguard of their royal persons. After the deplorable mishaps in the Crusades . . . during the eighth and last Crusade, that great Prince Edward, son of Henry III, King of England, seeing there was no longer any safety for his brethren in the Holy Land . . . brought them all back, and this colony of brothers was established in England. As this prince was endowed with all heroic qualities, he loved the fine arts, declared himself protector of our Order . . . and then the members of this fraternity took the name of Freemasons after the example set by their ancestors. Since that time Great Britain became the seat of our Order, the conservator of our Laws and the depository of our Secrets. The fatal religious discords which embarrassed and tore Europe in the sixteenth century caused our Order to degenerate from the nobility of its origin. . . . Thus it was that many of our brothers forgot, like the ancient Jews, the spirit of our laws, and only retained the letter and the shell. The beginnings of a remedy have already been made. It is only necessary to continue and at last to bring everything back to its original institution. . . . From the British Isles the Royal Art is now repassing into France. . . . This nation will become the centre of the Order. . . ."

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A

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